

## ROMA, AND THOREAU'S "NEW ROME IN THE WEST"



And yet – in fact you need only draw a single thread at any point you choose out of the fabric of life and the run will make a pathway across the whole, and down that wider pathway each of the other threads will become successively visible, one by one.

– Heimito von Doderer, *DIE DÄIMONEN*



**“NARRATIVE HISTORY” AMOUNTS TO FABULATION,  
THE REAL STUFF BEING MERE CHRONOLOGY**



ROME

ROMA

“WALKING”: The West of which I speak is but another name for the Wild; and what I have been preparing to say is, that in Wildness is the preservation of the world. Every tree sends its fibres forth in search of the Wild. The cities import it at any price. Men plow and sail for it. From the forest and wilderness come the tonics and barks which brace mankind. Our ancestors were savages. The story of Romulus and Remus being suckled by a wolf is not a meaningless fable. The founders of every state which has risen to eminence, have drawn their nourishment and vigor from a similar wild source. It is because the children of the empire were not suckled by the wolf that they were conquered and displaced by the children of the northern forests who were.

I believe in the forest, and in the meadow, and in the night in which the corn grows. We require an infusion of hemlock spruce or arbor-vitae in our tea. There is a difference between eating and drinking for strength and from mere gluttony. The Hottentots eagerly devour the marrow of the Koodoo and other antelopes raw, as a matter of course. Some of our northern Indians eat raw the marrow of the Arctic reindeer, as well as various other parts, including the summits of the antlers as long as they are soft. And herein perchance they have stolen a march on the cooks of Paris. They get what usually goes to feed the fire. This is probably better than stall-fed beef and slaughter-house pork to make a man of. Give me a Wildness whose glance no civilization can endure, – as if we lived on the marrow of koodoos devoured raw.

ROMULUS AND REMUS



**ROMA**

**ROME**

WALDEN: I see young men, my townsmen, whose misfortune it is to have inherited farms, houses, barns, cattle, and farming tools; for these are more easily acquired than got rid of. Better if they had been born in the open pasture and suckled by a wolf, that they might have seen with clearer eyes what field they were called to labor in. Who made them serfs of the soil? Why should they eat their sixty acres, when man is condemned to eat only his peck of dirt? Why should they begin digging their graves as soon as they are born? They have got to live a man's life, pushing all these things before them, and get on as well as they can. How many a poor immortal soul have I met well nigh crushed and smothered under its load, creeping down the road of life, pushing before it a barn seventy-five feet by forty, its Augean stables never cleansed, and one hundred acres of land, tillage, mowing, pasture and wood-lot! The portionless, who struggle with no such unnecessary inherited encumbrances, find it labor enough to subdue and cultivate a few cubic feet of flesh.

**PEOPLE OF  
WALDEN**

**ROMULUS AND REMUS**



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**1,300 BCE**

Pottery shards found in strata on the Capitoline Hill in [Rome](#) make it clear that the continuous occupation of the site goes back at least to the Bronze Age. (There is also a cemetery below the hill, but it merely dates back to the Iron Age.)

**NOBODY COULD GUESS WHAT WOULD HAPPEN NEXT**



790 BCE

Small villages of primitive thatched huts began to appear on the Palatine and neighboring hills overlooking the Roman countryside. The founding of Rome was still some two generations of human life in the future — and already the latest big burp of the Vesuvius volcano was almost an entire millennium into the forgotten past.

During this century Pompeii and Herculaneum and nearby towns populated by Oscan-speaking descendants of the Neolithic inhabitants of Campania would be coming within the sphere of influence of Greeks who were settling across the bay.



DO I HAVE YOUR ATTENTION? GOOD.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROME****ROMA****753 BCE**

April 21: The founding of [Rome](#) (which is to say, this is the year which would later be regarded as Year 1 in the 10-month [solar calendar](#) of Rome, known as AUC or *Anno Urbis Conditae* — the explanation was that in this year Romulus the son of Mars, brother of Remus, had founded the city — and April 21st was the perhaps arbitrary date that would at some point be selected, purportedly the 18th birthday of wolf-suckled eponymous founding daddy Romulus, on which this would be celebrated).



From this year until 510 BCE, the Laws of the Seven Kings<sup>1</sup> of [Rome](#).

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

In central [Italy](#) were the Italic peoples, embracing Latins, Umbrians and Oscans (Samnites), and Etruscans. To the south of them were Lucanians, Bruttii, Siculi, and Greeks. To the north of them were Ligurians, Gauls, and Venetians.

1. The average reign length of these seven legendary kings, 34 years, is surely ahistorical. Even the British monarchy has achieved an average reign length of but 21 years and there aren't any historical records of a track record better than that. Historians therefore guesstimate this "kings" period of Roman history as about 625 to 500 BCE, for an average reign length of a more realistic 18 years.



ROMA

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ROMULUS AND REMUS



ROME

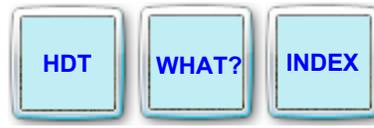
ROMA

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PEOPLE OF  
WALDEN

ROMULUS AND REMUS

**NEVER READ AHEAD! TO APPRECIATE APRIL 21ST, 753 BCE AT ALL ONE MUST APPRECIATE IT AS A TODAY (THE FOLLOWING DAY, TOMORROW, IS BUT A PORTION OF THE UNREALIZED FUTURE AND IFFY AT BEST).**



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**750 BCE**

Settlement in the Sudan of the Kushites, who would develop a sophisticated civilization, with pyramids and palaces, major ironworks at Meroe, use of elephants, and trade with cultures as far away as [Rome](#) and [India](#) — until their royalty would lose power with the death of their last king in 320CE.

**THE TASK OF THE HISTORIAN IS TO CREATE HINDSIGHT WHILE  
INTERCEPTING ANY ILLUSION OF FORESIGHT. NOTHING A HUMAN CAN  
SEE IS EVER TO BE SEEN THROUGH THE EYE OF GOD.**

The men of [Rome](#) made the women of the Sabines an offer they couldn't refuse.



**ROME**

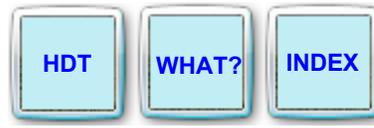
***ROMA***

**747 BCE**

The Sabines captured [Rome](#). The two cultures would merge.

**NO-ONE'S LIFE IS EVER NOT DRIVEN PRIMARILY BY HAPPENSTANCE**





**ROMA**

**ROME**

**735 BCE**

The 1st of [Rome](#)'s sewers was in existence by this date (it may have been constructed as early as 800 BCE).

**CHANGE IS ETERNITY, STASIS A FIGMENT**



**ROME**

**ROMA**

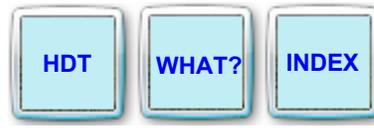
**730 BCE**

There was a wall around the Palatine Hill of [Rome](#).<sup>2</sup>

**THE FUTURE IS MOST READILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT**



2. Since “rhome,” in Greek, means “strength,” it is clear that a site bearing a name resembling that word would have been continuously contested for and prized. (If the site had a name that reminded people of the Greek for “effete,” probably not so much.)



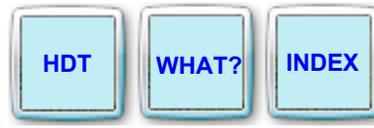
**ROMA**

**ROME**

**717 BCE**

Numa Pompilius succeeded Romulus as legendary king of [Rome](#).<sup>3</sup>

3. The average reign length of these seven legendary kings, 34 years, is surely ahistorical. Even the British monarchy has achieved an average reign length of but 21 years and there aren't any historical records of a track record better than that. Historians therefore guesstimate this "kings" period of Roman history as about 625 to 500 BCE, for an average reign length of a more realistic 18 years (but what do we know?).



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**673 BCE**

Tullus Hostilius succeeded Numa Pompilius as king of [Rome](#).<sup>4</sup>

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**ROMA**

**ROME**

**642 BCE**

Ancus Marcius succeeded Tullus Hostilius as king of [Rome](#).<sup>5</sup>

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ROME

ROMA

634 BCE

According to Damian Thompson's *THE END OF TIME* (Hanover NH: UP of New England, 1996, page 19), apocalyptic thinking gripped many ancient cultures including that of the Romans. Early in [Rome](#)'s history, many citizens feared that their city was going to be destroyed in the 120th year of its founding. There was a myth that 12 eagles had revealed to Romulus a mystical number representing the lifetime of Rome, and some early Romans had hypothesized that each of these eagles had represented a decade. (The Roman [calendar](#) began with the founding of Rome, "1 *Ab Urbe Condita*" equating to "753 BCE." Thus "634 BCE" equated to "120 *AUC*" since it equated to 12 times 10.)

HERE COME DA JUDGE!

WHAT I'M WRITING IS TRUE BUT NEVER MIND  
YOU CAN ALWAYS LIE TO YOURSELF



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**616 BCE**

The Etruscans of northern Italy invaded [Rome](#), and for more than a century would rule as the Tarquin kings. The 1st of these three Tarquin kings, replacing the previous Ancus Marcius, was Lucius Tarquinius Priscus.<sup>6</sup>

**LIFE IS LIVED FORWARD BUT UNDERSTOOD BACKWARD?  
— NO, THAT’S GIVING TOO MUCH TO THE HISTORIAN’S STORIES.  
LIFE ISN’T TO BE UNDERSTOOD EITHER FORWARD OR BACKWARD.**

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**ROME**

**ROMA**

**589 BCE**

Servius Tullius succeeded Lucius Tarquinius Priscus as Etruscan king of [Rome](#).<sup>7</sup>

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**ROMA**

**ROME**

**566 BCE**

The 1st census of [Rome](#).



ROME

ROMA

534 BCE

Reign of the Etruscan ruler Lucius Tarquinius Superbus over [Rome](#) (when Tarquin the Magnificent would die in 510/509 BCE, Etruscan culture would decline into obscurity).<sup>8</sup>

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ROMA

ROME

## 510 BCE

At [Rome](#), the construction, out of hewn stone without cement, of an 11-foot by 12-foot *Cloaca Maxima*. This merely drained a marsh. Later, the sewage of Rome would feed into it — and would pass out of the end of it untreated into the Tiber River.

- 559 Cyrus the first king of Persia.
- 538 The kingdom of Babylon finished; that city being taken by Cyrus, who in 536, issues an edict for the return of the Jews.
- 534 The first tragedy was acted at Athens, on a waggon, by Thespis.
- 526 Learning is greatly encouraged at Athens, and a public library first founded.
- 515 The second Temple at Jerusalem is finished under Darius.
- 509 Tarquin the seventh and last king of the Romans is expelled, and Rome is governed by two consuls, and other republican magistrates, till the battle of Pharsalia, being a space of 461 years.
- 504 Sardis taken and burnt by the Athenians, which gave occasion to the Persian invasion of Greece.
- 486 Æschylus, the Greek poet, first gains the prize of tragedy.
- 481 Xerxes the Great, king of Persia, begins his expedition against Greece.
- 458 Ezra is sent from Babylon to Jerusalem, with the captive Jews, and the vessels of gold and silver, &c. being seventy weeks of years, or 490 years before the crucifixion of our Saviour.
- 454 The Romans send to Athens for Solon's laws.
- 451 The Decemvirs created at Rome, and the laws of the twelve tables compiled and ratified.
- 430 The history of the Old Testament finishes about this time.  
Malachi the last of the prophets.
- 400 Socrates the founder of moral philosophy among the Greeks, believes the immortality of the soul, and a state of rewards and punishments, for which, and other sublime doctrines, he is put to death by the Athenians, who soon after repent, and erect to his memory a statue of brass.
- 331 Alexander the Great, king of Macedon, conquers Darius king of Persia, and other nations of Asia. 323, Dies at Babylon, and his empire is divided by his generals into four kingdoms.
- 285 Dionysius of Alexandria, began his astronomical æra, on Monday, June 26, being the first who found the exact solar year to consist of 365 days, 5 hours, and 49 minutes.
- 284 Ptolemy Philadelphus, king of Egypt, employs seventy-two interpreters to translate the Old Testament into the Greek language, which is called the Septuagint.



ROME

ROMA

**509 BCE**

On the Capitol Hill of [Rome](#), dedication of the Temple of Jupiter. Traditional date for the founding of the Roman Republic (*Res Publica*), subsequent to the death of their Etruscan monarch Tarquinius Superbus. For the initial period, until 350 BCE, these Romans would be at war with adjacent tribes (Etruscans, Latins, Gauls, what have you) and there would be no hint that they were anything other than clueless.

The first [capital punishment](#) enactments of which we have written record date to the legal code of King Hammurabi of Babylon, in the 18th Century BCE, which had specified the penalty of death for 25 distinct offenses. This had been carried forward in the 14th Century BCE in the Hittite code of laws, which also made use of capital punishment, and in the 7th Century BCE, in the legal code implemented by Draco of Athens, which had specified that the penalty was to be the same, capital punishment, for any crime just about irregardless of what it was (this had been, of course, truly Draconian). In this century, the [Roman](#) Law of the Twelve Tablets would also be making use of death, which might be induced through crucifixion, through being burned alive, through being beaten, by drowning, or by means of impalement — whatever seemed most handy.

**THE FUTURE CAN BE EASILY PREDICTED IN RETROSPECT**





**ROMA**

**ROME**

**500 BCE**

Development, by the [Romans](#), of a way to write in their Latin language.



**ROME**

***ROMA***

**490 BCE**

From about this point until 281 BCE, the struggle in [Rome](#) between the Patricians and the Plebeians. (As you will be able to observe in the HBO series “Rome,” the Patricians would win.)

450 BCE

In [Rome](#) the laws that were to be the foundation of Roman jurisprudence were inscribed on a dozen tablets (Twelve Commandments they weren't).



READ THE FULL TEXT



**ROME**

***ROMA***

**394 BCE**

Rome made her initial great stride in the career of conquest they would term the Pax Romana, by the capture of Veii.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**390 BCE**

July 18: After a battle at Allia at which the Gauls led by Brennus defeated the [Romans](#) led by Q. Servius Fidenas, Q. Sulpicius, and P. Cornelius Maluginensis, they sacked and burned [Rome](#) — greatly disrupting [the Pax Romana](#).

[Rome](#) would recover from the events of this occupation of the region by the Gauls — but her old enemies, the Aequians and Volscians, would never recover from this.



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**389 BCE**

Some Romans figured that the mystical number revealed to Romulus in his dream of a dozen eagles represented the number of days in a year (the Great Year concept), so they expected [Rome](#) to be destroyed around this year, 365 years after its formation in 753 BCE, namely 365 *AUC* (*Ab Urbe Condita*). (Thompson, Damian. *THE END OF TIME*. Hanover NH: UP of New England, 1996, page 19)

**HERE COME DA JUDGE!**



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**377 BCE**

Appropriately fearful of being done to by others as they would do to others, [Rome](#) surrounded itself with a wall.



**ROME**

***ROMA***

**366 BCE**

The temple to Concordia was erected in [Rome](#).

**CONCORD**



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**350 BCE**

From about this year until 338 BCE, [Rome](#) would be subduing the Latin League.

**THE PAX ROMANA**

HDT

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ROME

ROMA

343 BCE

Rome began her wars with the Samnites: they would extend over the following half a century. The result of this obstinate contest would be to secure for this city the dominion of the Italian peninsula.



THE PAX ROMANA



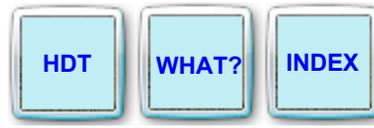
**ROMA**

**ROME**

**341 BCE**

From this year until 264 BCE, [Rome](#)'s conquest of [Italy](#).

**THE PAX ROMANA**



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**312 BCE**

The 1st [Roman](#) aqueduct. A few homes had water piped directly from the aqueduct, but mostly it supplied public fountains to which people came to fill water jugs.

**GOD IN THE JAKES**

**WATER SUPPLY**



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**310 BCE**

The town of [Pompeii](#) was first mentioned in written history at this point, during the 2d Samnite War when a [Roman](#) fleet landed at a nearby port, Sarnus, in order to stage an unsuccessful attack on the neighboring town of Nuceria.

**THE PAX ROMANA**

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ROMA

269 BCE

1st appearance of the [Roman](#) silver coin known as the denarius.

- 269 The first coining of silver at Rome.
- 264 The first Punic war begins, and continues 23 years. The chronology of the Arundelian marbles composed.
- 260 The Romans first concern themselves in naval affairs, and defeat the Carthaginians at sea.
- 237 Hamilcar the Carthaginian causes his son Hannibal, at nine years old, to swear eternal enmity to the Romans.
- 218 The second Punic war begins, and continues 17 years. Hannibal passes the Alps, and defeats the Romans in several battles; but being amused by his women, does not improve his victories by the storming of Rome.
- 190 The first Roman army enters Asia, and from the spoils of Antiochus brings the Asiatic luxury first to Rome.
- 168 Perseus defeated by the Romans, which ends the Macedonian kingdom.
- 167 The first library erected at Rome, of books brought from Macedonia.
- 163 The Government of Judea under the Maccabees begins, and continues 126 years.
- 146 Carthage, the rival to Rome, is razed to the ground by the Romans.
- 135 The history of the Apocrypha ends.
- 52 Julius Cæsar makes his first expedition into Britain.
- 47 The battle of Pharsalia, between Cæsar and Pompey, in which the latter is defeated.  
The Alexandrian library, consisting of 400,000 valuable books, burnt by accident.
- 45 The war of Africa, in which Cato kills himself.  
The solar year introduced by Cæsar.



ROMA

ROME

## 264 BCE

The 1st Punic war, a long struggle between the [Romans](#) and the Carthaginians over the grainfields of Sicily. Forming a fleet, the Romans successfully competed with the marine power of Carthage. (There would be, in June 1851 in the great Exhibition at Hyde Park, London, a model of a piratical galley of Labuan part of the mast of which could be let down on an enemy vessel, to function as a bridge for boarders. This was reminiscent of the account by Polybius, of boarding bridges fixed to the masts of the Roman galleys by which the Roman admiral Duilius would win his great victory over the Carthaginian fleet.) During the latter half of this war, the military genius of Hamilcar Barca would sustain the Carthaginian involvement in Sicily. After 24 years of hostilities the Carthaginians would sue for peace even though their aggregate losses in ships and in men had been lower than those sustained by the Romans. Sicily was to become a Roman province, part of [the Pax Romana](#).

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When fights between gladiators were staged at the funeral ceremonies of Decimus Brutus Pera, this marked the inauguration of the tradition of [Roman gladiatorial](#) combat in honor of the dead — another important element in [the Pax Romana](#).<sup>9</sup>

9. In the 4th episode of the TV series “I, Claudius,” the young [Claudius](#) and his buddy [Herod Agrippa I](#), deeply in debt and a prisoner in Rome under [Tiberius](#), were attending the games in the [Flavian Amphitheater](#) when Claudius attempted to explain to the Jew that the purpose of all this brutality was “to honor the dead.” “By rendering more men dead?” Herod inquired incredulously (which evades, of course, the fact that King Herod Agrippa I died in 44 CE while the site that eventually was to become [Rome](#)’s “[Colosseum](#)” was still beneath the waters of a lovely lake).

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ROME

260 BCE

1st naval victory of the [Romans](#), under G. Duilius at Mylae in the 1st Punic War.

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ROME

ROMA

240 BCE

When a peace treaty had been arrived at between Carthage and [Rome](#), yielding up the grainfields of Sicily to Rome, the Carthaginian mercenaries were brought back from Sicily to Africa. In Africa, they mutinied and nearly succeed in taking control of Carthage before being destroyed by the forces under General Hamilcar Barca. While Carthage was thus preoccupied, Rome took the opportunity to seize the island of Sardinia. Hamilcar Barca then sought to make conquests in Spain, taking his boy named Hannibal along with him. Hannibal and, after Hannibal's death, his brother Hasdrubal, would subdue a great part of southern Spain.

THE PAX ROMANA

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The Alexandrian library, consisting of 400,000 valuable books, burnt by accident.  
45 The war of Africa, in which Cato kills himself.  
The solar year introduced by Cæsar.



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**ROME**

**226 BCE**

The Cisalpine Gauls formed an alliance with one of the fiercest tribes of their brethren on the northern slopes of the Alps and began a war against the [Romans](#) which would last for six years. The Roman legions would inflict several severe defeats and seize part of their territories in the Po River valley.

**THE PAX ROMANA**



ROME

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218 BCE

Until 202 BCE, [Rome](#) would be preoccupied with its 2d Punic War against Carthage. During November and December of this year General Hannibal would be achieving key victories on the Ticino River and the Trebia River just above their entries into the Po River. What would save Rome and “delinda” Carthage would be the generalship during this extended conflict of the Roman leaders Publius Cornelius Scipio and his son Scipio Africanus.<sup>10</sup>

THE PAX ROMANA

269 The first coining of silver at Rome.  
264 The first Punic war begins, and continues 23 years. The chronology of the Arundelian marbles composed.  
260 The Romans first concern themselves in naval affairs, and defeat the Carthaginians at sea.  
237 Hamilcar the Carthaginian causes his son Hannibal, at nine years old, to swear eternal enmity to the Romans.  
218 The second Punic war begins, and continues 17 years. Hannibal passes the Alps, and defeats the Romans in several battles; but being amused by his women, does not improve his victories by the storming of Rome.  
190 The first Roman army enters Asia, and from the spoils of Antiochus brings the Asiatic luxury first to Rome.  
168 Perseus defeated by the Romans, which ends the Macedonian kingdom.  
167 The first library erected at Rome, of books brought from Macedonia.  
163 The Government of Judea under the Maccabees begins, and continues 126 years.  
146 Carthage, the rival to Rome, is razed to the ground by the Romans.  
135 The history of the Apocrypha ends.  
52 Julius Cæsar makes his first expedition into Britain.  
47 The battle of Pharsalia, between Cæsar and Pompey, in which the latter is defeated.  
The Alexandrian library, consisting of 400,000 valuable books, burnt by accident.  
45 The war of Africa, in which Cato kills himself.  
The solar year introduced by Cæsar.

10. There is a sci-fi story by Poul Anderson, “Delinda Est,” in which a time-traveler returns to this ancient period and, by killing both Publius Cornelius Scipio and Scipio Africanus, enables Carthage to “delinda” Rome rather than vicey versey. I have no idea why Anderson wrote this or, for that matter, why anyone read it.

HDT

WHAT?

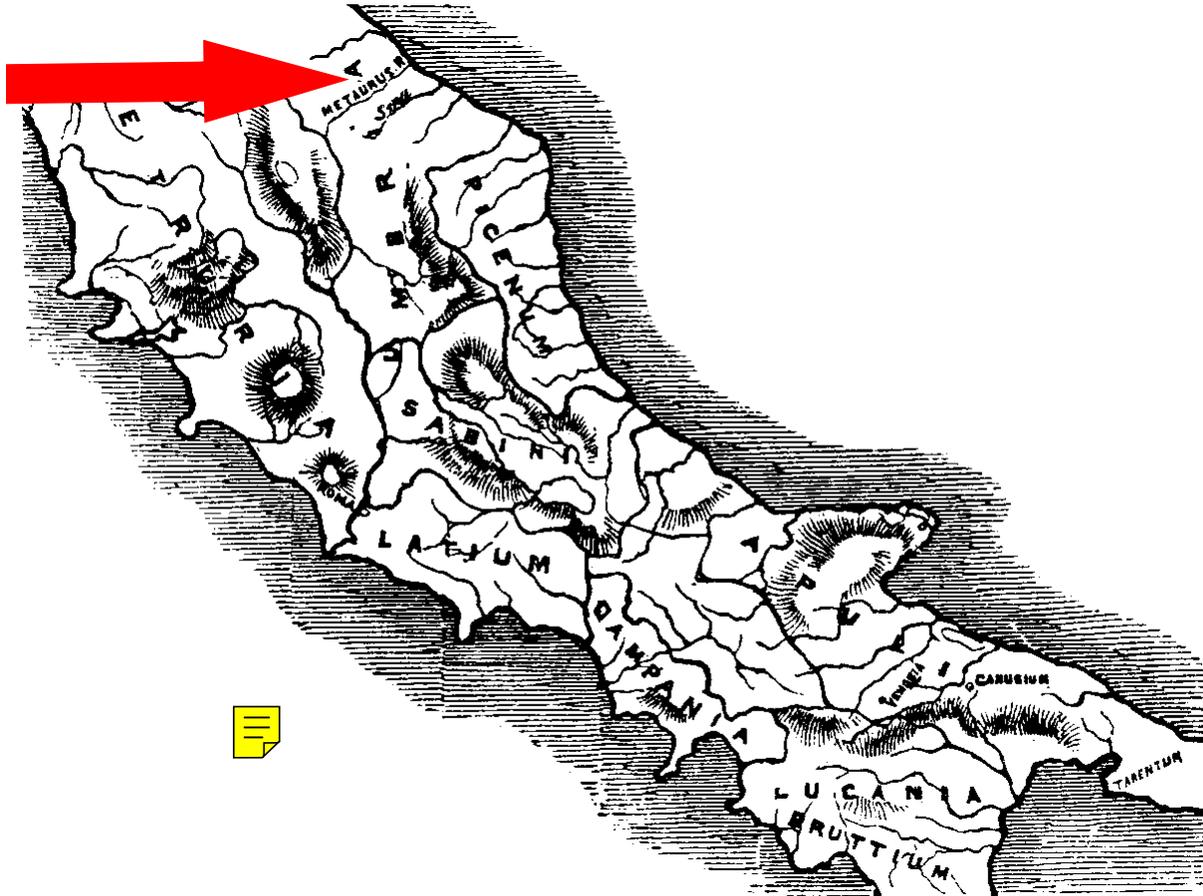
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207 BCE

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people: at a battle on the Metaurus River, the [Romans](#) led by M. Livius Salinator and C. Claudius Nero defeated the Carthaginians under Hasdrubal Barca and decisively brought their 2nd Punic War with Carthage to an end, creating [the Pax Romana](#):



ITALY



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"Brilliant generalship in itself is a frightening thing – the very idea that the thought processes of a single brain of a Hannibal or a Scipio can play themselves out in the destruction of thousands of young men in an afternoon."



– Victor Davis Hanson, *CARNAGE AND CULTURE: LANDMARK BATTLES IN THE RISE OF WESTERN POWER* (NY: Doubleday, 2001)



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"The consul Nero, who made the unequalled march, which deceived Hannibal, and defeated Hasdrubal, thereby accomplishing an achievement almost unrivaled in military annals. The first intelligence of his return, to Hannibal, was the sight of Hasdrubal's head thrown into his camp. When Hannibal saw this, he exclaimed with a sigh, that 'Rome would now be the mistress of the world.' To this victory of Nero's it might be owing that his imperial namesake reigned at all. But the infamy of the one has eclipsed the glory of the other. When the name of Nero is heard, who thinks of the consul? But such are human things." —BYRON.

About midway between Rimini and Ancona a little river falls into the Adriatic, after traversing one of those districts of Italy, in which a vain attempt has lately been made to revive, after long centuries of servitude and shame, the spirit of Italian nationality, and the energy of free institutions. That stream is still called the Metauro; and wakens by its name recollections of the resolute daring of ancient Rome, and of the slaughter that stained its current two thousand and sixty-three years ago, when the combined consular armies of Livius and Nero encountered and crushed near its banks the varied host which Hannibal's brother was leading from the Pyrenees, the Phoe, the Alps, and the Po, to aid the great Carthaginian in his stern struggle to annihilate the growing might of the Roman Republic, and make the Punic power supreme over all the nations of the world.

The Roman historian, who termed that struggle the most memorable of all wars that ever were carried on, wrote in no spirit of exaggeration. For it is not in ancient, but in modern history, that parallels for its incidents and its heroes are to be found. The similitude between the contest which Rome maintained against Hannibal, and that which England was for many years engaged in against Napoleon, has not passed unobserved by recent historians. "Twice," says Arnold, "has there been witnessed the struggle of the highest individual genius against the resources and institutions of a great nation; and in both cases the nation has been victorious. For seventeen years Hannibal strove against Rome; for sixteen years Napoleon Bonaparte strove against England; the efforts of the first ended in Zama, — those of the second in Waterloo. "One point, however, of the similitude between the two wars has scarcely been adequately dwelt on. That is, the remarkable parallel between the Roman general who finally defeated the great Carthaginian, and the English general who gave the last deadly overthrow to the French emperor. Scipio and Wellington both held for many years commands of high importance, but distant from the main theaters of warfare. The same country was the scene of the principal military career of each. It was in Spain that Scipio, like Wellington, successively encountered and overthrew nearly all the subordinate generals



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of the enemy, before being opposed to the chief champion and conqueror himself. Both Scipio and Wellington restored their countrymen's confidence in arms, when shaken by a series of reverses. And each of them closed a long and perilous war by a complete and overwhelming defeat of the chosen leader and the chosen veterans of the foe.

Nor is the parallel between them limited to their military characters and exploits. Scipio, like Wellington, became an important leader of the aristocratic party among his countrymen, and was exposed to the unmeasured invectives of the violent section of his political antagonists. When, early in the last reign, an infuriated mob assaulted the Duke of Wellington in the streets of the English capital on the anniversary of Waterloo, England was even more disgraced by that outrage, than Rome was by the factions accusations which demagogues brought against Scipio, but which he proudly repelled on the day of trial, by reminding the assembled people that it was the anniversary of the battle of Zama. Happily, a wiser and a better spirit has now for years pervaded all classes of our community; and we shall be spared the ignominy of having worked out to the, end the parallel of national gratitude. Scipio died a voluntary exile from the malevolent turbulence of Rome. Englishmen of all ranks and politics have now long mated in affectionate admiration of our modern Scipio: and even those who have most widely differed from the Duke on legislative or administrative questions, forget what they deem the political errors of that time-honored head, while they gratefully call to mind the laurels that have wreathed it.

Scipio at Zama trampled in the dust the power of Carthage; but that power had been already irreparably shattered in another field, where neither Scipio nor Hannibal commanded. When the Metaurus witnessed the defeat and death of Hasdrubal, it witnessed the ruin of the scheme by which alone Carthage could hope to organize decisive success,—the scheme of enveloping Rome at once from the north and the south of Italy by chosen armies, led by two sons of Hamilcar. That battle was the determining crisis of the contest, not merely between Rome and Carthage, but between the two great families of the world, which then made Italy the arena of their oft-renewed contest for preeminence.

The French historian, Michelet, whose "Histoire Romaine" would have been invaluable, if the general industry and accuracy of the writer had in any degree equaled his originality and brilliancy, eloquently remarks: "It is not without reason that so universal and vivid a remembrance of the Punic wars has dwelt in the memories of men. They formed no mere struggle to determine the lot of two cities or two empires; but it was a strife, on the event of which depended the fate of two races of mankind, whether the dominion of the world should belong to the Indo-Germanic or to the Semitic family of nations. Bear in mind, that the first of these comprises. besides the Indians and the Persians, the Greeks, the Romans, and the Germans. In the other are ranked the Jews and the Arabs, the Phoenicians and the



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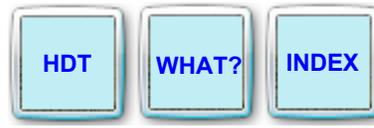
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Carthaginians. On the one side is the genius of heroism, of art, and legislation: on the other, is the spirit of industry, of commerce, of navigation. The two opposite races have everywhere come into contact, everywhere into hostility. In the primitive history of Persia and Chaldea, the heroes are perpetually engaged in combat with their industrious and perfidious neighbors. The struggle is renewed between the Phoenicians and the Greeks on every coast of the Mediterranean. The Greek supplants the Phoenician in all his factories, all his colonies in the east: soon will the Roman come, and do likewise in the west. Alexander did far more against Tyre than Salmanasar or Nabuchodonosor had done. Not content with crushing her, he took care that she never should revive: for he founded Alexandria as her substitute, and changed for ever the track of the commerce of the world.

There remained Carthage – the great Carthage, and her mighty empire, – mighty in a far different degree than Phoenicia's had been. Rome annihilated it. There occurred that which has no parallel in history – an entire civilization perished at one blow – vanished, like a falling star. The 'Perilous' of Hanno, a few coins, a score of lines in Plautus, and, Lo, all that remains of the Carthaginian world!

"Many generations must needs pass away before the struggle between the two races could be renewed; and the Arabs, that formidable rear-guard of the Semitic world, dashed forth from their deserts. The conflict between the two races then became the conflict of two religions. Fortunate was it that those daring Saracenic cavaliers encountered in the East the impregnable walls of Constantinople, in the West the chivalrous valor of Charles Martel, and the sword of the Cid. The crusades





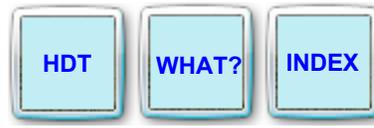
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were the natural reprisals for the Arab invasions, and form the last epoch of that great struggle between the two principal families of the human race."

It is difficult amid the glimmering light supplied by the allusions of the classical writers to gain a full idea of the character and institutions of Rome's great rival. But we can perceive how inferior Carthage was to her competitor in military resources; and how far less fitted than Rome she was to become the founder of centralized and centralizing dominion, that should endure for centuries, and fuse into imperial unity the narrow nationalities of the ancient races, that dwelt around and near the shores of the Mediterranean sea.

Carthage was originally neither the most ancient nor the most powerful of the numerous colonies, which the Phoenicians planted on the coast of northern Africa. But her advantageous position, the excellence of her constitution (of which, though ill-informed as to its details, we know that it commanded the admiration of Aristotle,) and the commercial and political energy of her citizens gave her the ascendancy over Hippo, Utica, Leptis, and her other sister Phoenician cities in those regions; and she finally reduced them to a condition of dependency, similar to that which the subject allies of Athens occupied relatively to that once imperial city. When Tyre and Sidon, and the other cities of Phoenicia itself sank from independent republics into mere vassal states of the great Asiatic monarchies, and obeyed by turns a Babylonian, a Persian, and a Macedonian master, their power and their traffic rapidly declined; and Carthage succeeded to the important maritime and commercial character which they had previously maintained. The Carthaginians did not seek to compete with the Greeks on the north-eastern shores of the Mediterranean, or in the three inland seas which are connected with it: but they maintained an active intercourse with the Phoenicians, and through them with lower and central Asia; and they, and they alone, after the decline and fall of Tyre, navigated the waters of the Atlantic. They had the monopoly of all the commerce of the world that was carried on beyond the Straits of Gibraltar. We have yet extant (in a Greek translation) the narrative of the voyage of Hanno, one of their admirals, along the western coast of Africa as far as Sierra Leone. And in the Latin poem of Festus Avienus, frequent references are made to the records of the voyages of another celebrated Carthaginian admiral, Himilco, who had explored the north-western coast of Europe. Our own islands are mentioned by Himilco as the lands of the Hiberni and the Albioni. It is indeed certain that the Carthaginians frequented the Cornish coast (as the Phoenicians had done before them) for the purpose of procuring tin, and there is every reason to believe that they sailed as far as the coasts of the Baltic for amber. When it is remembered that the mariner's compass was unknown in those ages, the boldness and skill of the seamen of Carthage, and the enterprise of her merchants, may be paralleled with any achievements that the history of modern navigation and commerce



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can supply.

In their Atlantic voyages along the African shores, the Carthaginians followed the double object of traffic and colonization. The numerous settlements that were planted by them along the coast from Morocco to Senegal, provided for the needy members of the constantly increasing population of a great commercial capital; and also strengthened the influence which Carthage exercised among the tribes of the African coast. Besides her fleets, her caravans gave her a large and lucrative trade with the native Africans; nor must we limit our belief of the extent of the Carthaginian trade with the tribes of central and western Africa, by the narrowness of the commercial intercourse which civilized nations of modern times have been able to create in those regions.

Although essentially a mercantile and seafaring people, the Carthaginians by no means neglected agriculture. On the contrary, the whole of their territory was cultivated like a garden. The fertility of the soil repaid the skill and toil bestowed on it; and every invader, from Agathocles to Scipio Aemilianus, was struck with admiration at the rich pasture-lands carefully irrigated, the abundant harvests, the luxuriant vineyards, the plantations of fig and olive trees, the thriving villages, the populous towns, and the splendid villas of the wealthy Carthaginians, through which his march lay, as long as he was on Carthaginian ground.

The Carthaginians abandoned the Aegean and the Pontus to the Greeks, but they were by no means disposed to relinquish to those rivals the commerce and the dominion of the coasts of the Mediterranean westward of Italy. For centuries the Carthaginians strove to make themselves masters of the islands that lie between Italy and Spain. They acquired the Balearic islands, where the principal harbor, Port Macon, still bears the name of the Carthaginian admiral. They succeeded in reducing the greater part of Sardinia; but Sicily could never be brought into their power. They repeatedly invaded that island, and nearly overran it; but the resistance which was opposed to them by the Syracusan's under Gelon, Dionysius, Timoleon, and Agathocles, preserved the island from becoming Punic, though many of its cities remained under the Carthaginian rule, until Rome finally settled the question to whom Sicily was to belong, by conquering it for herself.

With so many elements of success, with almost unbounded wealth, with commercial and maritime activity, with a fertile territory, with a capital city of almost impregnable strength, with a constitution that ensured for centuries the blessings of social order, with an aristocracy singularly fertile in men of the highest genius, Carthage yet failed signally and calamitously in her contest for power with Rome. One of the immediate causes of this may seem to have been the want of firmness among her citizens, which made them terminate the first Punic war by begging peace, sooner than endure any longer the hardships and burdens caused by a state of warfare, although their antagonists



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had suffered far more severely than themselves. Another cause was the spirit of faction among their leading men, which prevented Hannibal in the second war from being properly reinforced and supported. But there were also more general causes why Carthage proved inferior to Rome. These were her position relatively to the mass of the inhabitants of the country which she ruled, and her habit of trusting to mercenary armies in her wars.

Our dearest information as to the different races of men in and about Carthage, is derived from Diodorus Siculus. That historian enumerates four different races: first, he mentions the Phoenicians who dwelt in Carthage: next, he speaks of the Liby-Phoenicians; these, he tells us, dwelt in many of the maritime cities, and were connected by intermarriages with the Phoenicians, which was the cause of their compound name: thirdly, he mentions the Libyans, the bulk and the most ancient part of the population, hating the Carthaginians intensely, on account of the oppressiveness of their domination lastly, he names the Numidians, the nomad tribes of the frontier.

It is evident, from this description, that the native Libyans were a subject class, without franchise or political rights; and, accordingly, we find no instance specified in history of a Libyan holding political office or military command. The half-castes, the Liby-Phoenicians, seem to have been sometimes sent out as colonists; but it may be inferred, from what Diodorus says of their residence, that they had not the right of the citizenship of Carthage: and only a solitary case occurs of one of this race being entrusted with authority, and that, too, not emanating from the home government. This is the instance of the officer sent by Hannibal to Sicily, after the fall of Syracuse; whom Polybius calls Myttnus the Libyan, but whom, from the fuller account in Livy, we find to have been a Liby-Phoenician and it is expressly mentioned what indignation was felt by the Carthaginian commanders in the island that this half-caste should control their operations.

With respect to the composition of their armies, it is observable that, though thirsting for extended empire, and though some of the leading men became generals of the highest order, the Carthaginians, as a people, were anything but personally warlike. As long as they could hire mercenaries to fight for them, they had little appetite for the irksome training, and they grudged the loss of valuable time, which military service would have entailed on themselves.

As Michelet remarks, "The life of an industrious merchant, of a Carthaginian, was too precious to be risked, as long as it was possible to substitute advantageously for it that of a barbarian from Spain or Gaul Carthage knew, and could tell to a drachma, what the life of a man of each nation came to. A Greek was worth more than a Campanian, a Campanian worth more than a Gaul or a Spaniard. When once this tariff of blood was correctly made out, Carthage began a war as a mercantile speculation. She tried to make conquests in the hope of getting new mines to work, or to



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open fresh markets for her exports. In one venture she could afford to spend fifty thousand mercenaries, in another, rather more. If the returns were good, there was no regret felt for the capital that had been lavished in the investment; more money got more men, and all went on well."'

Armies composed of foreign mercenaries have, in all ages, been as formidable to their employers as to the enemy against whom they were directed. We know of one occasion (between the first and second Punic wars) when Carthage was brought to the very brink of destruction by a revolt of her foreign troops. Other mutinies of the same kind must from time to time have occurred. Probably one of these was the cause of the comparative weakness of Carthage at the time of the Athenian expedition against Syracuse; so different from the energy with which she attacked Gelon half a century earlier, and Dionysius half a century later. And even when we consider her armies with reference only to their efficiency in warfare, we perceive at once the inferiority of such bands of condottieri, brought together without any common bond of origin, tactics, or cause, to the legions of Rome, which at the time of the Punic wars were raised from the very flower of a hardy agricultural population, trained in the strictest discipline, habituated to victory, and animated by the most resolute patriotism. And this shows also the transcendency of the genius of Hannibal, which could form such discordant materials into a compact organized force, and inspire them with the spirit of patient discipline and loyalty to their chief, so that they were true to him in his adverse as well as in his prosperous fortunes; and throughout the checkered series of his campaigns no panic rout ever disgraced a division under his command; no mutiny, or even attempt at mutiny, was ever known in his camp; and, finally, after fifteen years of Italian warfare, his men followed their old leader to AMA, "with no fear and little hope;" ["We advanced to Waterloo as the Greeks did to Thermopylae; all of us without fear, and most of us without hope."—Speech of General Foy] and there, on that disastrous field, stood firm around him, his Old Guard, till Scipio's Numidian allies came up on their flank; when at last, surrounded and overpowered, the veteran battalions sealed their devotion to their general with their blood!

"But if Hannibal's genius may be likened to the Homeric god, who, in his hatred to the Trojans, rises from the deep to rally the fainting Greeks, and to lead them against the enemy, so the calm courage with which Hector met his more than human adversary in his country's cause, is no unworthy image of the unyielding magnanimity displayed by the aristocracy of Rome. As Hannibal utterly eclipses Carthage, so, on the contrary Fabius, Marcellus, Claudius Nero, even Scipio himself, are as nothing when compared to the spirit, and wisdom, and power of Rome. The senate, which voted its thanks to its political enemy Varro, after his disastrous defeat, because he had not despaired of the commonwealth, and which disdained either to solicit, or to reprove, or to threaten, or in any way to notice the twelve



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colonies which had refused their customary supplies of men for the army, is far more to be honored than the conqueror of Zama. This we should the more carefully bear in mind, because our tendency is to admire individual greatness far more than national; and, as no single Roman will bear comparison to Hannibal, we are apt to murmur at the event of the contest, and to think that the victory was awarded to the least worthy of the combatants. On the contrary, never was the wisdom of God's Providence more manifest than in the issue of the struggle between Rome and Carthage. It was clearly for the good of mankind that Hannibal should be conquered: his triumph would have stopped the progress of the world. For great men can only act permanently by forming great nations; and no one man, even though it were Hannibal himself, can in one generation effect such a work. But where the nation has been merely enkindled for a while by a great man's spirit, the light passes away with him who communicated it; and the nation, when he is gone, is like a dead body, to which magic power had, for a moment, given unnatural life: when the charm has ceased, the body is cold and stiff as before. He who grieves over the battle of Zama, should carry on his thoughts to a period thirty years later, when Hannibal must, in the course of nature, have been dead, and consider how the isolated Phoenician city of Carthage was fitted to receive and to consolidate the civilization of Greece, or by its laws and institutions to bind together barbarians of every race and language into; In organized empire, and prepare them for becoming, when that empire was dissolved, the free members of the commonwealth of Christian Europe." [Arnold, vol., iii p. 61.—The above is one of the numerous bursts of eloquence that adorn Arnold's third volume, and cause such deep regret that that volume should have been the last, and its great and good author have been cut off with his work thus incomplete.

It was in the spring of 201, BC, that Hasdrubal, after skillfully disentangling himself from the Roman forces in Spain, and, after a march conducted with great judgment and little loss, through the interior of Gaul and the passes of the Alps, appeared in the country that now is the north of Lombardy, at the head of troops which he had partly brought out of Spain, and partly levied among the Gauls and Ligurians on his way. At this time Hannibal, with his unconquered, and seemingly unconquerable army, had been eleven years in Italy, executing with strenuous ferocity the vow of hatred to Rome, which had been sworn by him while yet a child at the bidding of his father, Hamilcar; who, as he boasted, had trained up his three sons, Hannibal, Hasdrubal, and Mago, like three lion's whelps, to prey upon the Romans. But Hannibal's latter campaigns had not been signalized by ally such great victories as marked the first years of his invasion of Italy. The stern spirit of Roman resolution, ever highest in disaster and danger, had neither bent nor despaired beneath the merciless blows, which "the dire African" dealt her in rapid succession at Trebia, at Thrasymene, and at Cannae. Her population was thinned by repeated slaughter in the field; poverty and actual



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scarcity wore down the survivors, through the fearful ravages which Hannibal's cavalry spread through their corn-fields, their pasture-lands, and their vineyards; many of her allies went over to the invader's side; and new clouds of foreign war threatened her from Macedonia and Gaul. But Rome receded not. Rich and poor among her citizens vied with each other in devotion to their country. The wealthy placed their stores, and all placed their lives at the state's disposal. And though Hannibal could not be driven out of Italy, though every year brought its sufferings and sacrifices, Rome felt that her constancy had not been exerted in vain. If she was weakened by the continued strife, so was Hannibal also; and it was clear that the unaided resources of his army were unequal to the task of her destruction. The single deer-hound could not pull down the quarry which he had so furiously assailed, Rome not only stood fiercely at bay, but had pressed back and gored her antagonist, that still, however, watched her in act to spring. She was weary, and bleeding at every pore, and there seemed to be little hope of her escape, if the other hound of old Hamilcar's race should come up in time to aid his brother in the death-grapple.

Hasdrubal had commanded the Carthaginian armies in Spain for some time with varying, but generally unpropitious fortune. He had not the full authority over the Punic forces in that country, which his brother and his father had previously exercised. The faction at Carthage, which was at feud with his family, succeeded in fettering and interfering with his power; and other generals were from time to time sent into Spain, whose errors and misconduct caused the reverses that Hasdrubal met with. This is expressly attested by the Greek historian, Polybius, who was the intimate friend of the younger Africanus, and drew his information respecting the second Punic war from the best possible authorities. Livy gives a long narrative of campaigns between the Roman commanders in Spain and Hasdrubal, which is so palpably deformed by fictions and exaggerations, as to be hardly deserving of attention.

It is clear that, in the year 208 BC., at least, Hasdrubal out-maneuvered Publius Scipio, who held the command of the Roman forces in Spain; and whose object was to prevent him from passing the Pyres and marching upon Italy. Scipio expected that Hasdrubal would attempt the nearest route along the coast of the Mediterranean; and he therefore carefully fortified and guarded the passes of the eastern Pyrenees. But Hasdrubal passed these mountains near their western extremity; and then, with a considerable force of Spanish infantry, with a small number of African troops, with some elephants and much treasure, he marched, not directly towards the coast of the Mediterranean, but in a north-eastern line towards the center of Gaul. He halted for the winter in the territory of the Arverni, the modern Auvergne; and conciliated or purchased the good-will of the Gauls in that region so far, that he not only found friendly winter-quarters among them, but great numbers of them enlisted under him; and on the approach of spring, marched with him to



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invade Italy.

By thus entering Gaul at the south-west, and avoiding its southern maritime districts, Hasdrubal kept the Romans in complete ignorance of his precise operations and movements in that country; all that they knew was that Hasdrubal had baffled Scipio's attempts to detain him in Spain; that he had crossed the Pyrenees with soldiers, elephants, and money, and that he was raising fresh forces among the Gauls. The spring was sure to bring him into Italy; and then would come the real tempest of the war, when from the north and from the south the two Carthaginian armies, each under a son of the Thunderbolt, were to gather together around the seven hills of Rome. [Hamilcar was surnamed Barca, which means the Thunderbolt. Sultan Bejazet had the similar surname of Yilderim.]

In this emergency the Romans looked among themselves earnestly and anxiously for leaders fit to meet the perils of the coming campaign.

The senate recommended the people to elect, as one of their consuls, Caius Claudius Nero, a patrician of one of the families of the great Claudian house. Nero had served during the preceding years of the war, both against Hannibal in Italy, and against Hasdrubal in Spain; but it is remarkable that the histories, which we possess, record no successes as having been achieved by him either before or after his great campaign of the Metaurus. It proves much for the sagacity of the leading men of the senate, that they recognized in Nero the energy and spirit which were required at this crisis, and it is equally creditable to the patriotism of the people, that they followed the advice of the senate by electing a general, who had no showy exploits to recommend him to their choice.

It was a matter of greater difficulty to find a second consul; the laws required that one consul should be a plebeian; and the plebeian nobility had been fearfully thinned by the events of the war. While the senators anxiously deliberated among themselves what fit colleague for Nero could be nominated at the coming comitia, and sorrowfully recalled the names of Marcellus, Gracchus, and other plebeian generals who were no more—one taciturn and moody old man sat in sullen apathy among the conscript fathers. This was Marcus Livius, who had been consul in the year before the beginning of this war, and had then gained a victory over the Illyrians. After his consulship he had been impeached before the people on a charge of peculation and unfair division of the spoils among his soldiers, the verdict was unjustly given against him, and the sense of this wrong, and of the indignity thus put upon him, had rankled unceasingly in the bosom of Livius, so that for eight years after his trial he had lived in seclusion at his country seat, taking no part in any affairs of state. Latterly the censors had compelled him to come to Rome and resume his place in the senate, where he used to sit gloomily apart, giving only a silent vote. At last an unjust accusation against one of his near kinsmen made him break silence; and he harangued the house in words of



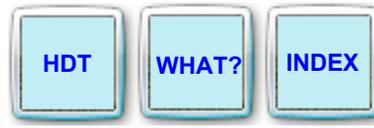
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weight and sense, which drew attention to him, and thought the senators that a strong spirit dwelt beneath that unimposing exterior, Now, while: they were debating on what noble of a plebeian house was fit to assume the perilous honors of the consulate, some of the elder of them looked on Marcus Livius, and remembered that in the very last triumph, which had been celebrated in the streets of Rome, this grim old man had sat in the car of victory; and that he had offered the last grand thanksgiving sacrifice for the success of the Roman arms, that had bled before Capitoline Jove. There had been no triumphs since Hannibal came into Italy. [Marcellus had only allowed an ovation for the conquest of Syracuse.] The Illyrian campaign of Livius was the last that had been so honoured; perhaps it might be destined for him now to renew the long-interrupted series. The senators resolved that Livius should be put in nomination as consul with Nero; the people were willing to elect him; the only opposition came from himself. He taunted them with their inconsistency in honoring a man they had convicted of a base crime. "If I am innocent," said he, "why did you place such a stain on me? If I am guilty, why am I more fit for a second consulship than I was for my first one?" The other senators remonstrated with him, urging the example of the great Camillus, who, after an unjust condemnation on a similar charge, both served and saved his country. At last Livius ceased to object; and Caius Claudius Nero and Marcus Livius were chosen counsels of Rome.

A quarrel had long existed between the two counsuls, and the senators strove to effect. a reconciliation between them before the campaign. Here again Livius for a long time obstinately resisted the wish of his fellow senators. He said it was time for the state that he and Nero should continue to hate one another. Each would do his duty better, when he knew that he was watched by an enemy in the person of his own colleague. At last the entreaties of the senators prevailed, and Livius consented to forego the feud, and to cooperate with Nero in preparing for the coming struggle.

As soon as the winter snows were thawed, Hasdrubal commenced his march from Auvergne to the Alps. He experienced none of the difficulties which his brother had met with from the mountain tribes. Hannibal's army had been the first body of regular troops that had ever traversed their regions; and, as wild animals assail a traveler, the natives rose against it instinctively, in imagined defense of their own habitations, which they supposed to be the objects of Carthaginian ambition. But the fame of the war, with which Italy had now been convulsed for eleven years, had penetrated into the Alpine passes; and the mountaineers understood that a mighty city, southward of the Alps, was to be attacked by the troops whom they saw marching among them, They not. only opposed no resistance to the passage of Hasdrubal, but many of them, out of the love of enterprise and plunder, or allured by the high pay that he offered took service with him; and thus he advanced upon Italy with an army



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that gathered strength at every league. It is said, also, that some of the most important engineering works, which Hannibal had constructed, were found by Hasdrubal still in existence, and materially favoured the speed of his advance. He thus emerged into Italy from the Alpine valleys much sooner than had been anticipated. Many warriors of the Ligurian tribes joined him; and, crossing the river Po, he marched down its southern bank to the city of Placentia, which he wished to secure as a base for his future operations. Placentia resisted him as bravely as it had resisted Hannibal eleven years before; and for some time Hasdrubal was occupied with a fruitless siege before its walls. Six armies were levied for the defense of Italy when the long-dreaded approach of Hasdrubal was, announced. Seventy thousand Romans served ill the fifteen legions, of which, with an equal number of Italian allies, those armies and the garrisons were composed. Upwards of thirty thousand more Romans were serving in Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain. The whole number of Roman citizens of an age fit for military duty, scarcely exceeded a hundred and thirty thousand. The census taken before the commencement of the war had shown a total of two hundred and seventy thousand, which had been diminished by more than half during twelve years. These numbers are fearfully emphatic of the extremity to which Rome was reduced, and of her gigantic efforts in that great agony of her fate. Not merely men, but money and military stores, were drained to the utmost; and if the armies of that year should be swept off by a repetition of the slaughters of Thrasymene and Cannae, all felt that Rome would cease to exist. Even if the campaign were to be marked by no decisive success on either side, her ruin seemed certain. In South Italy Hannibal had either detached Rome's allies from her, or had impoverished them by the ravages of his army. If Hasdrubal could have done the same in Upper Italy; if Etruria, Umbria, and northern Latium had either revolted or been laid waste, Rome must have sunk beneath sheer starvation; for the hostile or desolated territory would have yielded no supplies of corn for her population; and money, to purchase it from abroad, there was none. Instant victory was a matter of life or death. Three of her six armies were ordered to the north, but the first of these was required to overawe the disaffected Etruscans. The second army of the north was pushed forward, under Porcius, the praetor, to meet and keep in check the advanced troops of Hasdrubal; while the third, the grand army of the north, which was to be under the immediate command of the consul Livius, who had the chief command in all north Italy, advanced more slowly in its support. There were similarly three armies in the south, under the orders of the other consul, Claudius Nero. The lot had decided that Livius was to be opposed to Hasdrubal, and that Nero should face Hannibal. And "when all was ordered as themselves thought best, the two consuls went forth of the city; each his several way. The people of Rome were now quite otherwise affected. than they had been, when L. Aemilius Paulus and C. Terentius Varro were sent against Hannibal. They did no

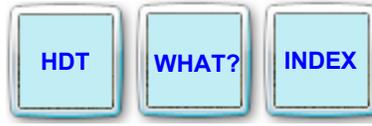


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longer take upon them to direct their generals, or bid them dispatch, and win the victory betimes; but rather they stood in fear, lest all diligence, wisdom, and valor, should prove too little. For since, few years had passed, wherein some one of their generals had not been slain; and since it, was manifest, that if either of these present consuls were defeated, or put to the worst the two Carthaginians would forthwith join, and make short work with the other: it seemed a greater happiness than could be expected, that each of them should return home victor; and come off with honour from such mighty opposition as he was like to find. With extreme difficulty had Rome held up her head ever since the battle of Cannae; though it were so, that Hannibal alone, with little help from Carthage, had continued the war in Italy. But there was now arrived another son of Hamilcar; and one that, in his present expedition, had seemed a man of more sufficiency than Hannibal himself. For, whereas in that long and dangerous march through barbarous nations, over great rivers and mountains, that were thought unpassable, Hannibal had lost a great part of his army; this Hasdrubal, in the same places, had multiplied his numbers; and gathering the people that he found in the way, descended from the Alps like a rolling snow-ball, far greater than he came over the Pyrenees at his first setting; out of Spain. These considerations, and the like, of which fear presented many unto them, caused the people of Rome to wait upon their consuls out of the town, like a pensive train of mourners; thinking upon Marcellus and Crispinus, upon whom, in the like sort, they had given attendance the last year; but saw neither of them return alive from a less dangerous war. Particularly old Q. Fabius gave his accustomed advice to M. Livius, that he should abstain from giving or taking battle, until he well understood the enemies condition. But the consul made him a forward answer, and said, that he would fight the very first day, for that he thought it long till he should either recover his honor by victory, or by seeing the overthrow of his own unjust citizens, satisfy himself with the joy of a great, though not an honest revenge. But his meaning was better than his words." [Sir Walter Raleigh]

Hannibal at this period occupied with his veteran, but much reduced forces the extreme south of Italy. It had not been expected either by friend or foe, that Hasdrubal would effect his passage of the Alps so early in the year as actually occurred. And even when Hannibal learned that his brother was in Italy, and had advanced as far as Placentia, he was obliged to pause for further intelligence, before he himself commenced active operations, as he could not tell whether his brother might not be invited into Etruria, to aid the party there that was disaffected to Rome, or whether he would march down by the Adriatic sea. Hannibal led his troops out of their winter quarters in Bruttium, and marched northward as far as Canusium. Nero had his head-quarters near Venusia, with an army which he had increased to forty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, by incorporating under his own command some of



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the legions which had been intended to act under other generals in the south. There was another Roman army twenty thousand strong, south of Hannibal, at Tarentum. The strength of that city secured this Roman force from any attack by Hannibal, and it was a serious matter to march northward and leave it in his rear, free to act against all his depots and allies in the friendly part of Italy, which for the two or three last campaigns had served him for a base of his operations. Moreover, Nero's army was so strong that Hannibal could not concentrate troops enough to assume the offensive against it without weakening his garrisons, and relinquishing, at least for a time, his grasp upon the southern provinces. To do this before he was certainly informed of his brother's operations would have been an useless sacrifice; as Nero could retreat before him upon the other Roman armies near the capital, and Hannibal knew by experience that a mere advance of his army upon the walls of Rome, would have no effect on the fortunes of the war. In the hope, probably, of inducing Nero to follow him, and of gaining an opportunity of out-maneuvering the Roman consul and attacking him on his march, Hannibal moved into Lucania, and then back into Apulia;—he again marched down into Bruttium, and strengthened his army by a levy of recruits in that district. Nero followed him but gave him no chance of assailing him at a disadvantage. Some partial encounters seem to have taken place; but the consul could not prevent Hannibal's junction with his Bruttian levies, nor could Hannibal gain an opportunity of surprising and crushing the consul.

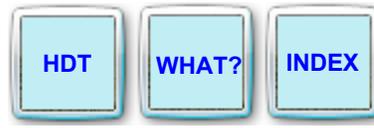
The annalists whom Livy copied, spoke of Nero's gaining repeated victories over Hannibal, and killing and taking his men by tens of thousands. The falsehood of all this is self-evident. If Nero could thus always beat Hannibal, the Romans would not have been in such an agony of dread about Hasdrubal, as all writers describe. Indeed, we have the express testimony of Polybius that such statements as we read in Livy of Marcellus, Nero, and others gaining victories over Hannibal in Italy, must be all fabrications of Roman vanity. Polybius states, lib. Iv. sec 16, that Hannibal was never defeated before the battle of Zama; and in another passage, book ix. chap. 3, he mentions that after the defeats which Hannibal inflicted on the Romans in the early years of the war, they no longer dared face his army in a pitched battle on a fair field, and yet they resolutely maintained the war. He rightly explains this by referring to the superiority of Hannibal's cavalry, the arm which gained him all his victories. By keeping within fortified lines, or close to the sides of the mountains when Hannibal approached them, the Romans rendered his cavalry ineffective; and a glance at the geography of Italy will show how an army can traverse the greater part of that country without venturing far from the high Grounds. Hannibal returned to his former head-quarters at Canusium, and halted there in expectation of further tidings of his brother's movements. Nero also resumed his former position in observation of the Carthaginian army. Meanwhile, Hasdrubal had raised the



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siege of Placentia, and was advancing towards Ariminum on the Adriatic, and driving before him the Roman army under Porcius. Nor when the consul Livius had come up, and united the second and third armies of the north, could he make head against the invaders. The Romans still fell back before Hasdrubal, beyond Ariminum, beyond the Metaurus, and as far as the little town of Sena, to the south-east of that river. Hasdrubal was not unmindful of the necessity of acting in concert with his brother. He sent messengers to Hannibal to announce his own line of march, and to propose that they should unite their armies in South Umbria, and then wheel round against Rome. Those messengers traversed the greater part of Italy in safety; but, when close to the object of their mission, were captured by a Roman detachment; and Hasdrubal's letter detailing his whole plan of the campaign, was laid, not in his brother's hands, but in those of the commander of the Roman armies of the south. Nero saw at once the full importance of the crisis. The two sons of Hamilcar were now within two hundred miles of each other, and if Rome were to be saved, the brothers must never meet alive. Nero instantly ordered seven thousand picked men, a thousand being cavalry, to hold themselves in readiness for a secret expedition against one of Hannibal's garrisons; and as soon as night had set in, he hurried forward on his bold enterprise: but he quickly left the southern road towards Lucania, and wheeling round, pressed northward with the utmost rapidity towards Picenum. He had, during the preceding afternoon, sent messengers to Rome, who were to lay Hasdrubal's letters before the senate. There was a law forbidding a consul to make war or to march his army beyond the limits of the province assigned to him, but in such an emergency, Nero did not wait for the permission of the senate to execute his project; but, informed them that he was already on his march to join Livius against Hasdrubal. He advised them to send the two legions, which formed the home garrison, on to Narnia, so as to defend that pass of the Flaminian road against Hasdrubal, in case he should march upon Rome before the consular armies could attack him. They were to supply the place of these two legions at Rome by a levy en masse in the city, and by ordering up the reserve legion from Capua. These were his communications to the senate. He also sent horsemen forward along his line of march, with orders to the local authorities to bring stores of provisions and refreshments of every kind to the road-side, and to have relays of carriages ready for the conveyance of the wearied soldiers. Such were the precautions which he took for accelerating his march; and when he had advanced some little distance from his camp, he briefly informed his soldiers of the real object of their expedition. He told them that there never was a design more seemingly audacious, and more really safe. He said he was leading them to a certain victory, for his colleague had an army large enough to balance the enemy already, so that their swords would decisively turn the scale. The very rumor that a fresh consul and a fresh army had come up, when heard on the battle-field



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(and he would take care that they should not be heard of before they were seen and felt) would settle the campaign. They would have all the credit of the victory, and of having dealt the final decisive blow. He appealed to the enthusiastic reception which they already met with on their line of march as a proof and an omen of their good fortune. and, indeed, their whole path was amidst the vows and prayers and praises of their countrymen. The entire population of the districts through which they passed, flocked to the road-side to see and bless the deliverers of their country. Food, drink, and refreshments of every kind were eagerly pressed on their acceptance. Each peasant thought a favor was conferred on him, if one of Nero's chosen band would accept aught at his hands. The soldiers caught the full spirit of their leader. Night and day they marched forwards, taking their hurried meals in the ranks, and resting by relays in the wagons which the zeal of the country-people provided, and which followed in the rear of the column.

Meanwhile, at Rome, the news of Nero's expedition had caused the greatest excitement and alarm. All men felt the full audacity of the enterprise, but hesitated what epithet to apply to it. It was evident that Nero's conduct would be judged of by the event, that most unfair criterion, as the Roman historian truly terms it. People reasoned on the perilous state in which Nero had left the rest of his army, without a general, and deprived of the core of its strength, in the vicinity of the terrible Hannibal. They speculated on how long it would take Hannibal to pursue and overtake Nero himself, and his expeditionary force. They talked over the former disasters of the war, and the fall of both the consuls of the last year. All these calamities had come on them while they had only one Carthaginian general and army to deal with in Italy. Now they had two Punic wars at a time. They had two Carthaginian armies; they had almost two Hannibals in Italy. Hasdrubal was sprung from the same father; trained up in the same hostility to Rome; equally practiced in battle against their legions; and, if the comparative: speed and success with which he had crossed the Alps was a fair test, he was even a better general than his brother. With fear for their interpreter of every rumor, they exaggerated the strength of their enemy's forces in every quarter, and criticized and distrusted their own.

Fortunately for Rome, while she was thus a prey to terror and anxiety, her consul's nerves were strong, and he resolutely urged on his march towards Sena, where his colleague, Livius, and the praetor Porcius were encamped; Hasdrubal's army being in position about half a mile to their north. Nero had sent couriers forward to apprise his colleague of his project and of his approach; and by the advice of Livius, Nero so timed his final march as to reach the camp at Sena by night. According to a previous arrangement, Nero's men were received silently into the tents of their comrades, each according to his rank. By these means, there was no enlargement of the camp that could betray to Hasdrubal the accession of force which the Romans had



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received. This was considerable; as Nero's numbers had been increased on the march by the volunteers, who offered themselves in crowds, and from whom he selected the most promising men, and especially the veterans of former campaigns. A council of war was held on the morning after his arrival, in which some advised that time should be given for Nero's men to refresh themselves, after the fatigue of such a march. But Nero vehemently opposed all delay. "The officer," said he, "who is for giving time to my men here to rest themselves, is for giving time to Hannibal to attack my men, whom I have left in the camp in Apulia. He is for giving time to Hannibal and Hasdrubal! to discover my march, and to maneuver for a junction with each other in Cisalpine Gaul at their leisure. We must fight instantly, while both the foe here and the foe in the south are ignorant of our movements. We must destroy this Hasdrubal, and I must be back in Apulia before Hannibal awakes from his torpor." Nero's advice prevailed. It was resolved to fight directly; and before the consuls and praetor left the tent of Livius, the red ensign, which was the signal to prepare for immediate action, was hoisted, and the Romans forthwith drew up in battle array outside the camp. Hasdrubal had been anxious to bring Livius and Porcius to battle, though he had not judged it expedient to attack them in their lines. And now, on hearing that the Romans offered battle, he also drew up his men, and advanced towards them. No spy or deserter had informed him of Nero's arrival; nor had he received any direct information that he had more than his old enemies to deal with. But as he rode forward to reconnoitre the Roman line, he thought that their numbers seemed to have increased, and that the armour of some of them was unusually dull and stained. He noticed also that the horses of some of the cavalry appeared to be rough and out of condition, as if they had just come from a succession of forced marches. So also, though, owing to the precaution of Livius, the Roman camp showed no change of size, it had not escaped the quick ear of the Carthaginian general, that the trumpet, which gave the signal to the Roman legions, sounded that mooting once oftener than usual, as if directing the troops of some additional superior officer. Hasdrubal, from his Spanish campaigns, was well acquainted with all the sounds and signals of Roman war; and from all that he heard and saw, he felt convinced that both the Roman consuls were before him. In doubt and difficulty as to what might have taken place between the armies of the south, and probably hoping that Hannibal also was approaching, Hasdrubal determined to avoid an encounter with the combined Roman forces, and to endeavor to retreat upon Insubrian Gaul, where he would be in a friendly country, and could endeavor to re-open his communications with his brother. He therefore led his troops back into their camp; and, as the Romans did not venture on an assault upon his entrenchment's, and Hasdrubal did not choose to commence his retreat in their sight, the day passed away in inaction. At the first watch of the night, Hasdrubal led his men silently out of their camp, and moved northwards towards the Metaurus, in the hope of placing



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that river between himself and the Romans before his retreat was discovered. His guides betrayed him; and having purposely led him away from the part of the river that was fordable, they made their escape in the dark, and left Hasdrubal and his army wandering in confusion along the steep, bank, and seeking in vain for a spot where the stream could be safely crossed. At last they halted; and when day dawned on them, Hasdrubal found that great numbers of his men, in their fatigue and impatience, had lost all discipline and subordination, and that many of his Gallic auxiliaries had got drunk, and were lying helpless in their quarters. The Roman cavalry was soon seen coming up in pursuit, followed at no great distance by the legions, which marched in readiness for an instant engagement. It was hopeless for Hasdrubal to think of continuing his retreat before them. The prospect of immediate battle might recall the disordered part of his troops to a sense of duty, and revive the instinct of discipline. He therefore ordered his men to prepare for action instantly, and made the best arrangement of them that the nature of the ground would permit.

Heeren has well described the general appearance of a Carthaginian army. He says, "It was an assemblage of the most opposite races of the human species from the farthest parts of the globe. Hordes of half-naked Gauls were ranged next to companies of white-clothed Iberians, and savage Ligurians next to the far-traveled Nasamones and Lotophagi. Carthaginians and Phoenicia-Africans formed the centre; while innumerable troops of Numidian horsemen, taken from all the tribes of the Desert, swarmed about on unsaddled horses, and formed the wings; the van was composed of Balearic slingers; and a line of colossal elephants, with their Ethiopian guides, formed, as it were, a chain of moving fortresses before: the whole army." Such were the usual materials and arrangements of the hosts that fought for Carthage; but the troops under Hasdrubal were not in all respects thus constituted or thus stationed. He seems to have been especially deficient in cavalry, and he had few African troops, though some Carthaginians of high rank were with him. His veteran Spanish infantry, armed with helmets and shields, and short cut-and-thrust swords, were the best part of his army. These, and his few Africans, he drew up on his right wing, under his own personal command. In the centre, he placed his Ligurian infantry, and on the left wing he placed or retained the Gauls, who were armed with long javelins and with huge broadswords and targets. The rugged nature of the ground in front and on the flank of this part of his line, made him hope that the Roman right wing would be unable to come to close quarters with these unserviceable barbarians, before he could make some impression with his Spanish veterans on the Roman left. This was the only; chance that he had of victory, or safety, and he seems to have done everything that good generalship could do to secure it. He placed his elephants in advance of his centre and Fight wing. He had caused the driver of each of them to be provided with a sharp iron spike and a mallet; and had given orders that every



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beast that became unmanageable, and ran back upon his own ranks, should be instantly killed, by driving the spike into the vertebra at the junction of the head and the spine. Hasdrubal's elephants were ten in number. We have no trustworthy information as to the amount of his infantry, but it is quite clear that he was greatly- outnumbered by the combined Roman forces.

The tactic of the Roman legions had not yet acquired the perfection which it received from the military genius of Marius, [Most probably during the period of his prolonged consulship, from BC. 104 to BC. 101, while he was training his army against the Cimbri and the Teutons.] and which we read of in the first chapter of Gibbon. We possess in that great work an account of the Roman legions at the end of the commonwealth, and during the early ages of the empire, which those alone can adequately admire, who have attempted a similar description. We have also, in the sixth and seventeenth books of Polybius, an elaborate discussion on the military system of the Romans in his time, which was not far distant from the time of the battle of the Metaurus. But the subject is beset with difficulties: and instead of entering into minute but inconclusive details, I would refer to Gibbon's first chapter, as serving for a general description of the Roman army in its period of perfection; and remark, that the training and armor which the whole legion received in the time of Augustus, was, two centuries earlier, only partially introduced. Two divisions of troops, called Hastati and Principes, formed the bulk of each Roman legion in the second Punic war. Each of these divisions was twelve hundred strong. The Hastatus and the Principes legionary bore a breast-plate or coat of mail, brazen greaves, and a brazen helmet, with a lofty, upright crest of scarlet or black feathers. He had a large oblong shield; and, as weapons of offense, two javelins, one of which was light and slender, but the other was a strong and massive weapon, with a shaft about four feet long, and an iron head of equal length. The sword was carried on the right thigh, and was a short cut-and-thrust weapon, like that which was used by the Spaniards. Thus armed, the Hastati formed the front division of the legion, and the Principes the second. Each division was drawn up about ten deep; a space of three feet being allowed between the files as well as the ranks, so as to give each Legionary ample room for the use of his javelins, and of his sword and shield. The men in the second rank did not stand immediately behind those in the first rank, but the files were alternate, like the position of the men on a draught-board. This was termed the quincunx order. Niebuhr considers that this arrangement enabled the legion to keep up a shower of javelins on the enemy for some considerable time. He says, "When the first line had hurled its pila, it probably stepped back between those who stood behind it, who with two steps forward restored the front nearly to its first position; a movement which, on account of the arrangement of the quincunx, could be executed without losing a moment. Thus one line succeeded the other in the front till it was time to draw the swords; nay, when it was found



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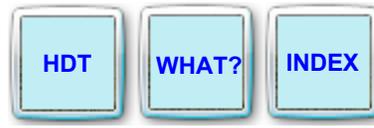
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expedient, the lines which had already been in the front, might repeat this change, since the stores of pila were surely not, confined to the two which each soldier took with him into battle. "The same change must have taken place in fighting with the sword; which, when the same tactic was adopted on both sides, was anything but a confused melee; on the contrary, it was a series of single combats. "He adds, that a military man of experience had been consulted by him on the subject, and had given it as his opinion, "that the change of the lines as described shove was by no means impracticable; and in the absence of the deafening noise of gunpowder, it cannot have had even any difficulty with trained troops."

The third division of the legion was six hundred strong, and acted as a reserve. It was always composed of veteran soldiers, who were called the Triarii. Their arms were the same as those of the Principes and Hastati; except that each Triarian carried a spear instead of javelins. The rest of the legion consisted of light-armed troops, who acted as skirmishers. The cavalry of each legion was at this period about three hundred strong. The Italian allies, who were attached to the legion, seem to have been similarly armed and equipped, but their numerical proportion of cavalry was much larger.

Such was the nature of the forces that advanced on the Roman side to the battle of the Metaurus. Nero commanded the right wing, Livius the left, and the praetor Porcius had the command of the center. "Both Romans and Carthaginians well understood how much depended upon the fortune of this day, and how little hope of safety there was for the vanquished. Only the Romans herein seemed to have had the better in conceit and opinion, that they were to fight with men desirous to have fled from them. And according to this presumption came Livius the consul, with a proud bravery, to give charge on the Spaniards and Africans, by whom he was so sharply entertained, that victory seemed very doubtful. The Africans and Spaniards were stout soldiers, and well acquainted with the manner of the Roman fight. The Ligurians, also, were a hardy nation, and not accustomed to give ground; which they needed the less, or were able now to do, being placed in the midst. Livius, therefore, and Porcius found great opposition; and, with great slaughter on both sides, prevailed little or nothing. Besides other difficulties, they were exceedingly troubled by the elephants, that brake their first ranks, and put them in such disorder, as the Roman ensigns were driven to fall back; all this while Claudius Nero, laboring in vain against a steep hill, was unable to come to blows with the Gauls that stood opposite him, but out of danger. This made Hasdrubal the more confident, who, seeing his own left wing safe, did the more boldly and fiercely make impression on the other side upon the left wing of the Romans."

But at last Nero, who found that Hasdrubal refused his left wing, and who could not overcome the difficulties of the ground in the quarter assigned to him, decided the battle by another stroke of that military genius which had inspired his march. Wheeling



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a brigade of his best men round the rear of the rest of the Roman army, Nero fiercely charged the flank of the Spaniards and Africans. The charge was as successful as it was sudden. Rolled back in disorder upon each other, and overwhelmed by numbers, the Spaniards and Ligurians died, fighting gallantly to the last. The Gauls, who had taken little or no part in the strife of the day were then surrounded, and butchered almost without resistance. Hasdrubal, after having, by the confession of his enemies, done all that a general could do, when he saw that the victory was irreparably lost scorning to survive the gallant host which he had led, and to gratify, as a captive, Roman cruelty and pride, spurred his horse into the midst of a Roman cohort; where, sword in hand, he met the death that was worthy of the son of Hamilcar and the brother of Hannibal.

Success the most complete had crowned Nero's enterprise. Returning as rapidly as he had advanced, he was again facing the inactive enemies in the south, before they even knew of his march. But he brought with him a ghastly trophy of what he had done. In the true spirit of that savage brutality which deformed the Roman national character, Nero ordered Hasdrubal's head to be flung into his brother's camp. Eleven years had passed since Hannibal had last gazed on those features. The sons of Hamilcar had then planned their system of warfare against Rome, which they had so nearly brought to successful accomplishment. Year after year had Hannibal been struggling in Italy, in the hope of one day bailing the arrival of him whom he had left in Spain; and of seeing his brother's eye flash with affection and pride at the junction of their irresistible hosts. He now saw that eye glazed in death, and, in the agony of his heart, the great Carthaginian groaned aloud that he recognized his country's destiny. Rome was almost delirious with joy. So agonizing had been the suspense with which the battle's verdict on that great issue of a nation's life and death had been awaited; so overpowering was the sudden reaction to the consciousness of security, and to the full glow of glory and success. From the time when it had been known at Rome that the armies were in - presence of each other, the people had never ceased to throng the forum, the Conscript Fathers had been in permanent sitting at the senate house. Ever and anon a fearful whisper crept among the crowd of a second Cannae won by a second Hannibal. Then came truer rumors that the day was Rome's; but the people was sick at heart, and heeded them not. The shrines were thronged with trembling women, who seemed to weary heaven with prayers to shield them from the brutal Gaul and the savage African. Presently the reports of good fortune assumed a more definite form. It was said that two Narnian horsemen had ridden from the East into the Roman camp of observation in Umbria, and had brought tidings of the utter slaughter of the foe. Such news seemed too good to be true. Men tortured their neighbors and themselves by demonstrating its improbability and by ingeniously criticizing its evidence. Soon, however, a letter came from Lucius Manlius Acidinus, who commanded in Umbria, and who



ROME

ROMA

announced the arrival of the Narnian horsemen in his camp, and the intelligence which they brought thither. The letter was first laid before the senate, and then before the assembly of the people. The excitement grew more and more vehement. The letter was read and re-read aloud to thousands. It confirmed the previous rumor.

But even this was insufficient to allay the feverish anxiety that thrilled through every breast in Rome. The letter might be a forgery: the Narnian horsemen might be traitors or impostors. "We must see officers from the army that fought, or hear dispatches from the consuls themselves, and then only will we believe." Such was the public sentiment, though some of more hopeful nature already permitted themselves a foretaste of joy. At length came news that officers who really had been in the battle, were near at hand. Forthwith the whole city poured forth to meet them, each person coveting to be the first to receive with his own eyes and ears convincing proofs of the reality of such a deliverance. One vast throng of human beings filled the road from Rome to the Milvian bridge. The three officers, Lucius Veturius Pollio, Publius Licinius Varus, and Quintus Caecilius Metellus came riding on, making their way slowly through the living sea around them. As they advanced each told the successive waves of eager questioners that Rome was victorious. "We have destroyed Hasdrubal and his army, our legions are safe, and our consuls are unhurt." Each happy listener, who caught the welcome sounds from their lips, retired to communicate his own joy to others, and became himself the center of an anxious and inquiring group. When the officers had, with much difficulty, reached the senate house, and the crowd was with still greater difficulty put back; from entering and mingling with the Conscript Fathers, the dispatches of Livius and Nero were produced and read aloud. From the senate house the officers proceeded to the public assembly, where the dispatches were read again; and when the senior officer, Lucius Veturius, gave in his own words a fuller detailed how went the fight. When he had done speaking to the people, an universal shout or rapture rent the air. The vast assembly then separated: some hastening to the temples to find in devotion a vent for the overflowing excitement of their hearts; others seeking their homes to gladden their wives and children with the good news, and to feast their own eyes with the sight of the loved ones, who now, at last, were safe from outrage and slaughter. The senate ordained a thanksgiving of three days for the great deliverance which had been vouchsafed to Rome; and throughout that period the temples were incessantly crowded with exulting worshippers; and the matrons, with their children round them, in their gayest attire, and with joyous aspects and voices, offered grateful praises to the immortal gods, as if all apprehension of evil were over, and the war were already ended.

With the revival of confidence came also the revival of activity in traffic and commerce, and in all the busy intercourse of daily life. A numbing load was taken off each heart and brain, and



**ROMA**

**ROME**

once more men bought and sold, and formed their plans freely, as had been done before the dire Carthaginians came into Italy. Hannibal was, certainly, still in the land; but all felt that his power to destroy was broken, and that the crisis of the war-fever was past. The Metaurus, indeed, had not only determined the event of the strife between Rome and Carthage, but it had ensured to Rome two centuries more of almost unchanged conquest. Hannibal did actually, with almost superhuman skill, retain his hold on Southern Italy for a few years longer, but the imperial city, and her allies, were no longer in danger from his arms; and, after Hannibal's downfall, the great military Republic of the ancient world met in her career of conquest no other worthy competitor. Byron has termed Nero's march "unequaled," and, in the magnitude of its consequences, it is so. Viewed only as a military exploit, it remains unparalleled, save by Marlborough's bold march from Flanders to the Danube, in the campaign of Blenheim, and, perhaps, also, by the Archduke Charles's lateral march in 1796, by which he overwhelmed the French under Jourdain, and then, driving Moreau through the Black Forest and across the Rhine, for a while freed Germany from her invaders.



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**190 BCE**

March 14: Per Livy's *AB URBE CONDITA* — a solar [eclipse](#) was observed in [Rome](#).

**ASTRONOMY**



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**179 BCE**

Construction of the Pons Aemilius, which is now the oldest stone bridge in [Rome](#).



ROME

ROMA

168 BCE

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people: the war between [Rome](#) and Macedonia came to completion with the decisive defeat of the Macedonian King Perseus by the Roman General Lucius Aemilius Paulus at Pydna, resulting in the destruction of that monarchy and the creation of [the Pax Romana](#). The legions of Rome would bring home so much plunder that Roman citizens would be relieved of direct taxation. An intriguing factoid about booty, or boody: an [enslaved](#) female Macedonian would turn out to be considered by the Roman public to be 50 times more valuable than a male.

INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE

269 The first coining of silver at Rome.  
264 The first Punic war begins, and continues 23 years. The chronology of the Arundelian marbles composed.  
260 The Romans first concern themselves in naval affairs, and defeat the Carthaginians at sea.  
237 Hamilcar the Carthaginian causes his son Hannibal, at nine years old, to swear eternal enmity to the Romans.  
218 The second Punic war begins, and continues 17 years. Hannibal passes the Alps, and defeats the Romans in several battles; but being amused by his women, does not improve his victories by the storming of Rome.  
190 The first Roman army enters Asia, and from the spoils of Antiochus brings the Asiatic luxury first to Rome.  
168 Perseus defeated by the Romans, which ends the Macedonian kingdom.  
167 The first library erected at Rome, of books brought from Macedonia.  
163 The Government of Judea under the Maccabees begins, and continues 126 years.  
146 Carthage, the rival to Rome, is razed to the ground by the Romans.  
135 The history of the Apocrypha ends.  
52 Julius Cæsar makes his first expedition into Britain.  
47 The battle of Pharsalia, between Cæsar and Pompey, in which the latter is defeated.  
The Alexandrian library, consisting of 400,000 valuable books, burnt by accident.  
45 The war of Africa, in which Cato kills himself.  
The solar year introduced by Cæsar.

June 21: Per Livy's *AB URBE CONDITA* — a lunar [eclipse](#) was observed in [Rome](#).

ASTRONOMY



ROMA

ROME

135 BCE

Rome's first [servile insurrection](#) began when [slaves](#) on large estates in Sicily revolted under the leadership of a Syrian named Eunus, styling himself "King Antiochus."

THE PAX ROMANA

269 The first coining of silver at Rome.  
264 The first Punic war begins, and continues 23 years. The chronology of the Arundelian marbles composed.  
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The solar year introduced by Cæsar.



ROME

ROMA

134 BCE

From this year into 132 BCE, the 1st of the [Roman](#) “Servile Wars” — putting down a [slave](#) uprising in Sicily.

SERVILE INSURRECTION  
THE PAX ROMANA

There was great turmoil in [Rome](#) as the Gracchi attempted to reform the commonwealth. (This period of revolution would persist until it would come to its completion at the battle of Actium in 31 BCE, the decisive battle which would confirm the control of one person –the Emperor [Augustus Caesar](#)– over the entire Roman world.)





ROMA

ROME

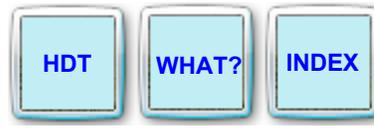
133 BCE

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): the forces of P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus destroyed Numantium on the Iberian peninsula, creating [the Pax Romana](#).<sup>11</sup>

From 133 BCE to 131 BCE is termed the period of the “[Roman](#) Revolution” (from Republic to Empire).

From 133 BCE to 121 BCE, the Gracchi brothers would be attempting reforms in [Rome](#), until eventually they would get themselves murdered.

11. This war against the Spaniards had begun in 200 BCE, six years after the total expulsion of the Carthaginians from their country in 206 BCE, and had continued almost without interruption. It had for the most part been carried on concurrently in Hispania Citerior, stronghold of the Celtiberi, and in Hispania Ulterior, stronghold of the Lusitani. Hostilities had been at the highest pitch in 195 BCE, under M. Porcius Cato, who had reduced Hispania Citerior to a state of tranquillity in 185-179 BCE, when the Celtiberi were attacked in their native territory; and 155-150 BCE, when the Romans in both provinces had been so often defeated in battle, that nothing was more dreaded by the soldiers at home than to be sent there. The extortions and perfidy of Servius Galba had placed Viriathus, in the year 146 BCE, at the head of his nation, the Lusitani: the war, however, soon extended itself to Hispania Citerior, where many nations, particularly the Numantines, had taken up arms against Rome in 143 BCE. Viriathus, sometimes victorious and sometimes defeated, had never been more formidable than in the moment of defeat; because he knew how to take advantage of his knowledge of the country and of the dispositions of his countrymen. After his murder caused by the treachery of Saepio in 140 BCE, Lusitania had been subdued; but the Numantine war had become still more violent, and the Numantines had compelled the consul Mancinus to a disadvantageous treaty in 137 BCE. When Scipio Aemilianus, in this year, brought the fighting to an end, the northern parts of Spain, though the Romans penetrated as far as Galatia, remained still outside of the Roman influence.



ROME

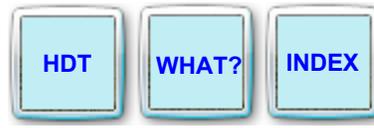
ROMA

132 BCE

Rome's 1st [slave](#) war ended with the capture of the Syrian Eunu, otherwise known as King Antiochus. He was then, as you might imagine, savagely executed, along with his supporters.

SERVILE INSURRECTION

THE PAX ROMANA



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**106 BCE**

September 28: Pompey (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus) was born in [Rome](#).





ROME

ROMA

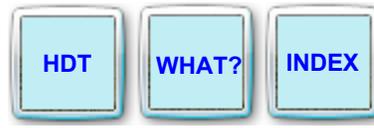
103 BCE

Rome's 2d slave war began when slaves in Sicily revolted under the leadership of Tryphon and Athenion.

SERVILE INSURRECTION

THE PAX ROMANA

The Romans had a canal dug to connect Arelate (Arles) in France to the Mediterranean.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**102 BCE**

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): near Aix in Provence the legions of General C. Marius defeated the Teutones and Ambrones at Aquae Sextiae, then the Cimbrians at Vercellae, creating [the Pax Romana](#).

The 2d of the [Roman](#) “Servile Wars” would go on into 99 BCE — putting down another [slave](#) uprising in Sicily. (The 1st such [servile insurrection](#) had occurred in 135-132 BCE.)

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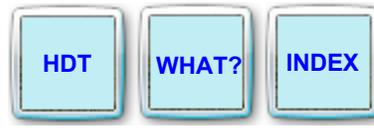
ROME

ROMA

100 BCE

July 12: Gaius [Julius Caesar](#), who would become *Dictator Perpetuus* of [Rome](#) (and, it must be pointed out, a god), was born — on what would become, famously, a number of centuries later, [Henry David Thoreau](#)'s birthday.





**ROMA**

**ROME**

**90 BCE**

Gladiatorial games were being staged in Rome in circuses and forums.

**COLOSSEUM**



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**89 BCE**

For eighteen years, [Rome](#) would be engaging in a series of campaigns against Mithridates of Pontus.

**THE PAX ROMANA**

At the end of the Samnite wars, Campania had become a part of the Roman confederation and its towns had become therefore “allies” of [Rome](#). [Pompeii](#), however, joined in a revolt against Rome and was in this year besieged by the Roman general Lucius Cornelius Sulla. (At the conclusion of these hostilities, all free persons south of the Po River would receive Roman citizenship, including the inhabitants of Pompeii.)

**THE PAX ROMANA**



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**88 BCE**

First Period of the [Italian](#) Civil Wars (Marius and Sulla).

**ROME**  
**THE PAX ROMANA**



ROME

ROMA

87 BCE

August 6: Halley's Comet whipped around the sun, and this time observations seem to be recorded in Chinese, in Babylonian, and in Roman sources. Marius was in power in Rome during this period. Probably, this apparition is what Gaius Plinius Secundus or Pliny the Elder would be writing about later, when he would write of a "terrible star, announcing no small shedding of blood in the consulate of Octavian" (meaning not the Octavian who would become Caesar Augustus but an earlier Octavian).

SKY EVENT

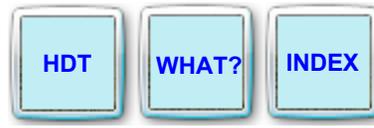
This is what Halley's Comet looked like, the last time it passed us. We have records of the appearances of this comet on each and every one of its past 30 orbits, which is to say, we have spotty records of observations before that, in 1,404 BCE, 1,057 BCE, 466 BCE, 391 BCE, and 315 BCE, but then on the 240 BCE return the sightings record begins to be complete. The Babylonians recorded seeing it in 164 BCE and again in 87 BCE, and then it was recorded as being seen in 12 BCE, 66 CE, 141 CE, 218 CE, 295 CE, 374 CE, 451 CE, 530 CE, 607 CE, 684 CE, 760 CE (only by Chinese), 837 CE, 912 CE, 989 CE, 1066, 1145, 1222, 1301, 1378, 1456, 1531, 1607, 1682, 1758, 1835, 1910, and 1986 - and we are confidently awaiting sightings in 2061 and 2134 even though due to a close conjunction with the earth we are presently unable to calculate what orbit it will have by the date of that approach. Each time P/Halley orbits in out of the Kuiper belt beyond the planets Neptune and Pluto and whips around the sun, it has been throwing off about one 10,000ths of its mass into a streaming tail, which means that this comet which we know to have been visiting us for at the very least the past 3,000 years or so is only going to be visiting us for perhaps another half a million years or so!



HALLEY'S COMET

EDMOND HALLEY





**ROMA**

**ROME**

**86 BCE**

[Posidonius](#) of Apamea, while living on the island of Rhodes, had been accepted as a citizen and had once been trusted with the high office of *prytanis*, and in this year he was part of an embassy sent to [Rome](#).

Yet more battles involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Chaeronea and at Orchomenus the legions of L. Cornelius Sulla Felix defeated the army of Pontus under Archelaus, creating [the Pax Romana](#).



ROME

ROMA

80 BCE

At [Pompeii](#), the builders of the Small Theater dug out a larger amphitheater at the extreme east of the city. The earth removed from the hole was used to fashion bleachers for the crowd. Awnings were placed over it to protect audiences from the sun, and refreshment booths were placed outside its gates. While theatricals were staged there, boxing matches and wild animal shows were more popular. This is now the oldest known such amphitheater — far, far older than the [Flavian Amphitheater](#) at [Rome](#). (This would be the arena in which would break out, in 59 CE, the riot between the Pompeians and the Nocerians that would be followed by a famous massacre.)

COLOSSEUM

73 BCE

For the 3d and final Roman "Servile War," during this year and the following two years, Crassus and Pompey



put down a slave uprising led by a popular former gladiator, the Thracian prisoner of war Spartacus who had escaped along with about 70 other slave gladiators in training from the training camp of Lentulus Batiatus at Capua. (The 1st such servile wars had occurred in 134-132 BCE, and the 2d in 102-99 BCE.)



COLOSSEUM

After failing to break through northern Italy to the safety of the barbarian world, the gladiators fighting in this 3d servile war would take refuge on the slopes near Mount Vesuvius with the intent of holding out as long as possible before they were defeated in battle and then crucified.

In the 2004 made-for-TV version of the Howard Fast epic, Goran Visnjic offers the following as what the escaped gladiators were fighting for:

"There'll be no more slaves and no more masters."





ROME

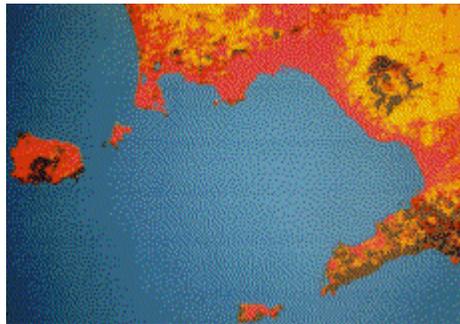
ROMA

That would amount, of course, to the sheerest presentism. Spartacus might have been able to conceive of an alternative universe in which he was the master, and somebody else the slave, but it would never have crossed his mind that there might be an alternative universe in which there were neither slaves nor masters.

As Sir Charles Lyell would point out, this volcano actually posed its maximal danger to the [Romans](#) in general not when lavas and poisonous gases were erupting from its crater in 79 CE, but when an escaped slave established its more quiescent side crater as his fortress:



When Spartacus encamped his army of ten thousand gladiators in the old extinct crater of Vesuvius, the volcano was more justly a subject of terror to Campania than it has ever been since the rekindling of its fires.



"The capacity to get free is nothing; the capacity to be free, that is the task."

– André Gide, *THE IMMORALIST*  
translation Richard Howard

NY: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970, page 7



(Some of the buildings that would be excavated in the

**SERVILE INSURRECTION**

**THE PAX ROMANA**

ruins of [Pompeii](#) had been originally erected during this timeframe of the Servile Wars.)

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**ROME**





ROME

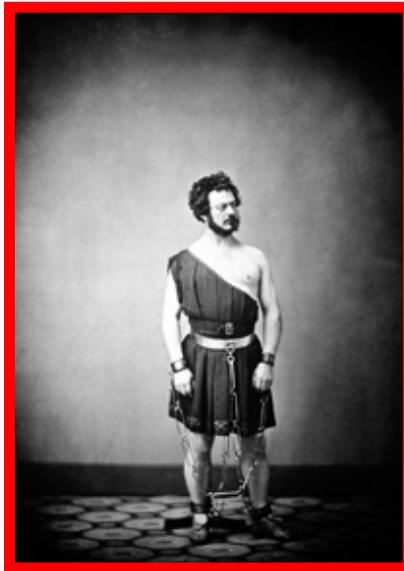
ROMA

72 BCE

At Cabira the [Roman](#) legions under Lucullus defeated the army of Pontus under Mithridates VI, recreating [the Pax Romana](#).

[Cato the Younger](#) enlisted in the [Roman](#) army raised to fight against the [slave](#) army of [Spartacus](#).

SERVILE INSURRECTION





**ROMA**

**ROME**

**71 BCE**

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at the Silarus River the legions of M. Licinius Crassus wounded [Spartacus](#) in the thigh and then finished him off, and dispersed the [slave](#) army he had led. Pompey returned from the Hispanic provinces to mop up the remnants, restoring [the Pax Romana](#).



Some 6,000 survivors of the final battle would be rounded up and crucified alongside the Via Appia between Capua and Rome — which according to a back-of-the-envelope calculation would have resulted in approximately a cross each 120 running feet. Spartacus's body would not be distinguishable, among the



ROME

ROMA

corpses.



In an encampment outside of [Rome](#), according to director Stanley Kubrick, general Lawrence Olivier confronted captured slave/gladiator Kirk Douglas. “I am Marcus Licinius Crassus,” Olivier declared, “You must answer when I speak to you.” When Douglas wouldn’t say his lines, Olivier slapped him, so then of course Douglas spat in his face. (When you go to the movies, you really go — which means of course that movies are a part of reality.)

SERVILE INSURRECTION



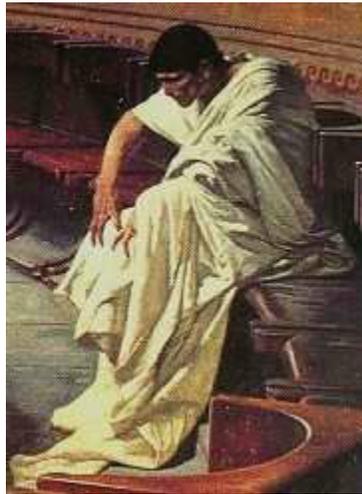
ROMA

ROME

63 BCE

In about this year Mark [Antony](#) got married with his cousin Antonia (the first of several wives).

[Cato the Younger](#) was elected as tribune of the plebs for the following year. Lucius Sergius Catilina, a patrician, was leading a rebellion inside Rome with the purpose of making himself king. Cato assisted the consul, [Marcus Tullius Cicero](#), in dealing with the Catiline conspiracy. Cato proposed to set an example by executing all the conspirators, over the objection of Gaius [Julius Caesar](#), who advocated exile for the conspirators while their comrades were still in arms, possibly for the duration of their lives. The senate voted for execution and the rebellion was utterly crushed.



When Quintus Caecilius Metellus Pius died, Caesar became *Pontifex Maximus* in charge of Roman religion. He was Papa Caesar, the Pope of [Rome](#), and you could kiss his ring, or perhaps his foot. (The head of the Roman Catholic religion would not be referred to as *Pontifex Maximus* until at least four additional centuries



## ROME

## ROMA

had passed, which is to say, at the very earliest the 4th Century of our Common Era.)

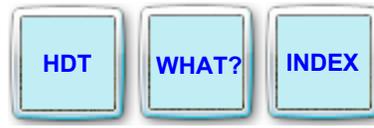
ITALY



September 23: [Octavian](#) was born at [Rome](#) to Gaius Octavius and Atia.



He would receive early training from a great uncle, [Gaius Julius Caesar](#), and in 27 BCE would become the Emperor [Augustus Caesar](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**60 BCE**

The 1st Triumvirate (Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, Marcus Licinius Crassus, and [Gaius Julius Cæsar](#)).

In this period Marcus [Antonius](#) and his intimate friends such as Scribonius Curio and Publius Clodius were preoccupied not by politics or by warfare but in having themselves expansively riotous good times.

[Cato the Younger](#) required Caesar to choose between consulship and triumph.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROME****ROMA****59 BCE**

At [Pompeii](#) in 80 BCE, the builders of the Small Theater had dug out an amphitheater at the extreme east of the city. The earth removed from the hole had been used to fashion bleachers for the crowd — this is now the oldest known such amphitheater. In this year there broke out in this arena a riot between the Pompeians and the Nocerians that was completed by a famous massacre. After a fight of gladiators organized by the Livineis Regolo who had been banished from the Senate, the incident began as rock throwing and went on to the use of metal weapons to destroy trapped spectators. In result the [Roman](#) Senate would exile those who had been prominent in the massacre and, for the following decade, ban all such exciting spectacles.

[THE PAX ROMANA](#)

[Cato the Younger](#) opposed [Gaius Julius Cæsar](#)'s laws.

Politically, [Marcus Terentius Varro](#) had supported Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, reaching the office of praetor after having been tribune of the people, quaestor, and curule aedile. In this year he was one of the 20-member commission that was carrying out the great agrarian scheme of [Cæsar](#) for the resettlement of Capua and Campania.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**53 BCE**

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people: at Carrhae the Parthians of Surenas defeated the legions of [Rome](#), killing Marcus Licinius Crassus (one of the richest human beings ever to have lived in any time) and quite disrupting [the Pax Romana](#). (See what happens when you're not pushy enough?)



ROME

ROMA

50 BCE

[Marcus Terentius Varro](#) described Roman agriculture, including cultivation of grain (wheat, spelt, & barley — but not rye or oats), legumes, olive, and grapes. By this time [Romans](#) had well-developed systems of legume rotation (the use of legumes as a fertilizer crop to return nitrogen to the soil.)

The [Romans](#) brought mustard seed to England.

At about this point, the Funeral Oration for [Octavian](#)'s grandmother Julia.

Curio, as tribune of the people, represented the interests of Gaius [Julius Caesar](#). Mark [Antony](#) was elected augur, and also was elected to function as tribune of the people for the following year.

By this point the rise of [Alexandria](#) and the growth of [Roman](#) power had overshadowed the political and economic importance of the Greek city states. Athens was no longer the philosophical center of the Mediterranean world. The Stoics were still being attracted to their Stoa there, but were coming there from elsewhere. Zeno had come to the Stoa in Athens from Citium on Cyprus, and had been succeeded by Cleanthes from Assos in Asia Minor and Chrysippus from Soli in Asia Minor. The Late Stoa would be entirely Roman, featuring such names as Seneca, Epictetus, and [Marcus Aurelius](#). The rich scholar Panaetius of Rhodes, who had studied under Crates the Stoic at the library of Pergamum, became a student of [Diogenes of Sinope](#) in Athens but then passed on to the capital city of the Mediterranean world, Rome, where he and Scipio the Younger were at the center of a circle of philosophical admirers. After the death of Scipio, he had assumed leadership of the Stoic school and had returned to the Stoa in Athens for the final two decades of his life. His most illustrious student had been [Posidonius](#) of Apamea, a city in northern Syria, who died during this year on the island of Rhodes near the southwestern tip of Turkey.



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROME****ROMA****49 BCE**

2d Period of the [Roman](#) Civil Wars (Caesar versus Pompey, until 45 BCE).



The siege of Massilia ([Vitruvius](#) offers us some information about this siege).

At the beginning of the civil war between the party of Gaius [Iulius Cæsar](#) and the party of Gnaeus (Cneius) Pompeius Magnus, Iulius would drive Pompeius out of [Italy](#), conquering his forces in Spain and then passing into Greece, where Pompeius and the other aristocratic chiefs had assembled a large army. Iulius would give them a decisive defeat at the great battle of Pharsalia. Pompeius would flee for refuge to [Alexandria](#), where he would be assassinated. Iulius, who followed him there, would become involved in a war with the Egyptians, in which finally he would be victorious. [Cleopatra](#) would become Queen of [Egypt](#). Iulius would go into Pontus



and defeat the son of Mithridates, who had taken part in the war against him. He would then proceed to the



ROMA

ROME

Roman province of Africa, where some of the Pompeian chiefs had established themselves, aided by Juba, a native prince. He would overthrow them at the battle of Thapsus. He would again be obliged to lead an army into Spain, where the sons of Gnaeus (Cneius) Pompeius Magnus had collected the wrecks of their father's party. He would crush the last of his enemies at the battle of Munda. Under the title of Dictator (which is amusing, because we don't ordinarily think highly of dictators), Iulius would make himself sole master of the Roman world, and would make his given name, Caesar, a synonym for "Emperor of the Romans."

Here three full centuries shall Hector's race  
have kingly power; till a priestess queen,  
by Mars conceiving, her twin offspring bear;  
then Romulus, wolf-nursed and proudly clad  
in tawny wolf-skin mantle, shall receive  
the sceptre of his race. He shall uprear  
and on his Romans his own name bestow.  
To these I give no bounded times or power,  
but empire without end. Yea, even my Queen,  
Juno, who now chastiseth land and sea  
with her dread frown, will find a wiser way,  
and at my sovereign side protect and bless  
the Romans, masters of the whole round world,  
who, clad in peaceful toga, judge mankind.  
Such my decree! In lapse of seasons due,  
the heirs of Ilium's kings shall bind in chains  
Mycenae's glory and Achilles' towers,  
and over prostrate Argos sit supreme.  
Of Trojan stock illustriously sprung,  
lo, Caesar comes! whose power the ocean bounds,  
whose fame, the skies. He shall receive the name  
Iulus nobly bore, great Julius, he.  
Him to the skies, in Orient trophies dress,  
thou shalt with smiles receive; and he, like us,  
shall hear at his own shrines the suppliant vow.  
Then will the world grow mild; the battle-sound  
will be forgot; for olden Honor then,  
with spotless Vesta, and the brothers twain,  
Remus and Romulus, at strife no more,  
will publish sacred laws. The dreadful gates  
whence issueth war, shall with close-jointed steel  
be barred impregnably; and prisoned there  
the heaven-offending Fury, throned on swords,  
and fettered by a hundred brazen chains,  
shall belch vain curses from his lips of gore.

— Publius Vergilius Maro ([Virgil](#)), sucking up big time in 19 BCE in the *AENEID* (as translated here by Theodore C. Williams), would praise the carnage of this civil war as bringing forth [the Pax Romana](#) (while he was at it he should have praised [Mount Vesuvius](#) as the cat's pajamas of human population control)



## ROME

## ROMA

January 10: When the tribune Mark [Antony](#) and a fellow tribune had vetoed a proposal of the [Roman](#) Senate that the army of the successful [Roman](#) general Gaius [Julius Caesar](#) be disbanded, the two of them had been ejected by the Senate. They escaped disguised as slaves and joined Caesar in his camp in Cisalpine Gaul, where Caesar exhibited them to his legions before giving them a chance to wash or change, as examples of how shabbily the Republic was treating we steadfast warrior servants who were merely sacrificing ourselves to protect the benefits of the folks back home. Then, disregarding his orders, the general brought his army down across the Rubicon River into the Italian peninsula proper — a hostile and definitive act. He would be Caesar, and a dictator, and a god.



July/August: [Julius Caesar](#) was in Spain, having left Lepidus in charge of administrative matters in [Rome](#) and Mark [Antony](#) to command his troops remaining in Italy. When Caesar returned and led his legions in an advance down the east coast of Italy, Antony held Arretium for him. The Senate would be forced into flight.



[Cato the Younger](#) fled with Pompey and the Senate toward Greece.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**48 BCE**

October 18: The ceremony of *Toga virilis* was conducted for [Octavian](#) as he legally entered upon his manhood at the age of 15.



ROME

ROMA

45 BCE

As in the year before, Mark [Antony](#) held no posts, and [Cleopatra](#) was in [Rome](#) with her toddler "[Caesarion](#)," residing at [Julius Caesar](#)'s villa outside the city.





ROMA

ROME

48 BCE

August: Yet more battles involving our favorite pushy people: at [Dyrrachium](#) in what is now Albania the legions of Gnaeus (Cneius) Pompeius Magnus defeated the legions of Gaius [Julius Caesar](#) and at Pharsalus in Thessaly the legions of Caesar (Mark [Antony](#) commanding the army's left wing) defeated the legions of Pompey the Great, restoring [the Pax Romana](#) ([Vitruvius](#) offers us some information about these battles).



During the civil war [Marcus Terentius Varro](#) had been in command of one of Pompey's armies in the Ilerda campaign. He would escape the penalties of being on the losing side in a civil war through two pardons granted by Caesar, one prior to and the other subsequent to the Battle of Pharsalus.

When Pompey was defeated, [Cato the Younger](#) fled to Africa. Afterward, [Julius Caesar](#) would dispatch [Antony](#) back to [Rome](#) with the legions he did not immediately need, to look after his interests. When Caesar would be appointed *dictator* Antony would become his *magister equitum*.



ROME

ROMA

46 BCE

Mark [Antony](#) held no posts.

[Cleopatra](#) was in [Rome](#) with her toddler “[Caesarion](#),” residing at [Julius Caesar](#)’s villa outside the city.





ROMA

ROME

45 BCE

March 17: Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at the plain of Munda on the Iberian peninsula the legions of Gaius [Julius Caesar](#) defeated the legions of Titus Labienus and Gnaeus Pompeius (Pompey's oldest son), creating [the Pax Romana](#).



[Octavian](#) was with [Julius Caesar](#) during this battle. Later he would go to Apollonia to study and to await his uncle's expedition to Parthia.

Mark [Antony](#) would meet [Julius Caesar](#) on the latter's return from Spain, and traveled with him in his carriage.

269 The first coining of silver at Rome.  
264 The first Punic war begins, and continues 23 years. The chronology of the Arundelian marbles composed.  
260 The Romans first concern themselves in naval affairs, and defeat the Carthaginians at sea.  
237 Hamilcar the Carthaginian causes his son Hannibal, at nine years old, to swear eternal enmity to the Romans.  
218 The second Punic war begins, and continues 17 years. Hannibal passes the Alps, and defeats the Romans in several battles; but being amused by his women, does not improve his victories by the storming of Rome.  
190 The first Roman army enters Asia, and from the spoils of Antiochus brings the Asiatic luxury first to Rome.  
168 Perseus defeated by the Romans, which ends the Macedonian kingdom.  
167 The first library erected at Rome, of books brought from Macedonia.  
163 The Government of Judea under the Maccabees begins, and continues 126 years.  
146 Carthage, the rival to Rome, is razed to the ground by the Romans.  
135 The history of the Apocrypha ends.  
52 Julius Cæsar makes his first expedition into Britain.  
47 The battle of Pharsalia, between Cæsar and Pompey, in which the latter is defeated.  
The Alexandrian library, consisting of 400,000 valuable books, burnt by accident.  
45 The war of Africa, in which Cato kills himself.  
The solar year introduced by Cæsar.



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**44 BCE**

[Julius Caesar](#)'s charter for the settlement at Urso on the Iberian peninsula.

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

The Law of Caesar on Municipalities.

**READ THE FULL TEXT**

Mark [Antony](#) was co-consul with [Julius Caesar](#).

As had been the case for several years, [Cleopatra](#) was in [Rome](#) with her toddler "Caesarion," residing at [Julius](#)

HDT

WHAT?

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Caesar's villa outside the city.



44 Cæsar, the greatest of the Roman conquerors, after having fought fifty pitched battles, and slain 1,192,000 men, and overturned the liberties of his country, is killed in the senate-house.

35 The battle of Actium fought, in which Mark Antony and Cleopatra are totally defeated by Octavius, nephew to Julius Cæsar.

30 Alexandria, in Egypt, is taken by Octavius, upon which Antony and Cleopatra put themselves to death, and Egypt is reduced to a Roman province.

27 Octavius by a decree of the senate, obtains the title of Augustus Cæsar, and absolute exemption from the laws, and is properly the first Roman emperor.

8 Rome at this time is fifty miles in circumference, and contains 463,000 men fit to bear arms.

The temple of Janus is shut by Augustus as an emblem of universal peace, and JESUS CHRIST is born.

A. C.

12 JESUS CHRIST disputes with the doctors in the temple ;

27 \_\_\_\_\_ is baptized in the Wilderness by John ;

33 \_\_\_\_\_ is crucified ;

His Resurrection and Ascension.

36 St. Paul converted.

39 St. Matthew writes his Gospel.

Pontius Pilate kills himself.

40 The name of Christians first given at Antioch to the followers of Christ.

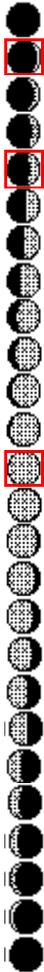
43 Claudius Cæsar's expedition into Britain.

44 St. Mark writes his Gospel.

49 London is founded by the Romans ; 368, surrounded by ditto with a wall, some parts of which are still observable.

51 Caractacus, the British king, is carried in chains to Rome.

St. Luke writes his Gospel.



March 15: On the Ides of March, Gaius [Julius Cæsar](#) the *Dictator Perpetuus* allegedly was assassinated by Brutus *et*



*al* in the Senate-house (or perhaps suffered a fatal epileptic fit). When Caesar's will is opened, it is discovered that he has adopted [Octavian](#) and designated him as his principal heir.

[Cleopatra](#) fled from [Rome](#) to [Alexandria](#) with her son by Caesar, [Caesarion](#). The civil wars would soon begin



again, with Brutus and Cassius at the head of the aristocratic party, and with the party of Caesar being led by Mark [Antony](#) and [Octavian](#) (afterwards [Augustus Caesar](#)):



We say this was 44 BCE although the [Romans](#) considered a year to have begun on the 18th birthday of Romulus, *circa* 750 BCE — so from their standpoint this was happening in the year 706 of the city of [Rome](#).

The Romans did not have a seven-day week and did not count the days of a month beginning with 1. Instead, the Roman monthly [calendar](#) was based on the first three phases of the moon, and three days of a month had



ROMA

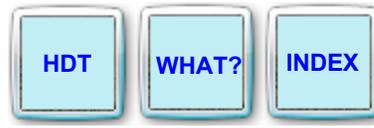
ROME

unique names. Each month began with a day of the new moon referred to as the Kalends, the day on which bills were due for payment. (Romans were all about payment, and their KALENDARIUM was an account-book in which creditors entered the names of their debtors and the sums which they owed; this vital ledger was so called because interest on borrowed money was due on the Kalendae of each month.)

Then when the moon reached its first quarter that was the day of the Nones, this happening usually on the 5th or 7th of the month. A day referred to as the Ides would come on the 13th or 15th of the month, when the moon supposedly was full. (I say “supposedly” because the calendar in use was an accident waiting to happen, and kept drifting out of whack.)

They never counted in terms of days after, only in terms of days before. Their full phrase for “on the second of January” was “ante diem quartum nonas Januarias.” The phrase “ante diem,” commonly abbreviated as “ad,” might be omitted, the name of the day becoming “quartum nonas Januarias.” Thus:

- To refer to “March 1st,” in Latin, one says “the Kalends of Martius.”
- To refer to “March 2nd,” in Latin, one says “V Nonas Martius” or “5 days before the Nones of Martius.”
- To refer to “March 3rd,” in Latin, one says “IV Nonas Martius” or “4 days before the Nones of Martius.”
- To refer to “March 4th,” in Latin, one says “III Nonas Martius” or “3 days before the Nones of Martius.”
- To refer to “March 5th,” in Latin, one says “II Nonas Martius” or “2 days before the Nones of Martius.”
- To refer to “March 6th,” in Latin, one says “I Nonas Martius” or “the day before the Nones of Martius.”
- To refer to “March 7th,” in Latin, one says “the Nonas of Martius.” (The Nones was the 7th day in Martius, Maius, Quinctilis, and October, and the 5th in other months.)
- To refer to “March 8th,” in Latin, one says “VII Ides Martius” or “7 days before the Ides of Martius.”
- To refer to “March 9th,” in Latin, one says “VI Ides Martius” or “6 days before the Ides of Martius.”
- To refer to “March 10th,” in Latin, one says “V Ides Martius” or “5 days before the Ides of Martius.”
- To refer to “March 11th,” in Latin, one says “IV Ides Martius” or “4 days before the Ides of Martius.”
- To refer to “March 12th,” in Latin, one says “III Ides Martius” or “3 days before the Ides of Martius.”
- To refer to “March 13th,” in Latin, one says “II Ides Martius” or “2 days before the Ides of Martius.”
- To refer to “March 14th,” in Latin, one says “I Ides Martius” or “the day before the Ides of Martius.”
- To refer to “March 15th,” in Latin, one says “the Ides of Martius.” (The Ides was the 15th day in Martius, Maius, July, and Quinctilis, and the 13th in other months.)
- To refer to “March 16th,” in Latin, one says “XVI Kalends Aprilis” or “16 days before the Kalends of Aprilis.”
- To refer to “March 17th,” in Latin, one says “XV Kalends Aprilis” or “15 days before the Kalends of Aprilis.”
- To refer to “March 18th,” in Latin, one says “XIV Kalends Aprilis” or “14 days before the Kalends of Aprilis.”



ROME

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- To refer to “March 19th,” in Latin, one says “XIII Kalends Aprilis” or “13 days before the Kalends of Aprilis.”
- To refer to “March 20th,” in Latin, one says “XII Kalends Aprilis” or “12 days before the Kalends of Aprilis.”
- To refer to “March 21st,” in Latin, one says “XI Kalends Aprilis” or “11 days before the Kalends of Aprilis.”
- To refer to “March 22nd,” in Latin, one says “X Kalends Aprilis” or “10 days before the Kalends of Aprilis.”
- To refer to “March 23rd,” in Latin, one says “IX Kalends Aprilis” or “9 days before the Kalends of Aprilis.”
- To refer to “March 24th,” in Latin, one says “VIII Kalends Aprilis” or “8 days before the Kalends of Aprilis.”
- To refer to “March 25th,” in Latin, one says “VII Kalends Aprilis” or “7 days before the Kalends of Aprilis.”
- To refer to “March 26th,” in Latin, one says “VI Kalends Aprilis” or “6 days before the Kalends of Aprilis.”
- To refer to “March 27th,” in Latin, one says “V Kalends Aprilis” or “5 days before the Kalends of Aprilis.”
- To refer to “March 28th,” in Latin, one says “IV Kalends Aprilis” or “4 days before the Kalends of Aprilis.”
- To refer to “March 29th,” in Latin, one says “III Kalends Aprilis” or “3 days before the Kalends of Aprilis.”
- To refer to “March 30th,” in Latin, one says “II Kalends Aprilis” or “2 days before the Kalends of Aprilis.”
- To refer to “March 31st,” in Latin, one says “I Kalends Aprilis” or “the day before the Kalends of Aprilis.”

I should mention, however, that I fancy that Caesar was not assassinated on the Ides of March. I think what happened was that unexpectedly the guy had one of his epileptic fits, and croaked, and then his political cronies had suddenly to figure out how they were going to spin this — and they decided they would make this perfectly ordinary death appear as if it had been a foul assassination by their political rivals. My reasons for inferring that this was what happened is that they got a bit too dramatic, and a bit too superstitious, in their playing out of the scenario. For instance, they claimed the corpse had the exact number of stab wounds as the number of political-rival assassins whom they were entitled to hunt down and summarily off, in spite of the fact that upon autopsy this corpse was found to have only one fatal stab-wound. They claimed that their leader had known that he was in special danger on this day and yet had dismissed his bodyguard, to approach his known enemies against whom he had been warned entirely unarmed and unguarded. They claimed to have found a piece of parchment clutched in the cold bloody fist, that provided them with the names of the assassins — but this of course is so preposterous that today it would be presumed to be direct evidence of a frame-up. Since Caesar had been proclaimed as a deity, we can understand that for him to have become understood to have died of one of his epileptic fits would have been for him to have been unmasked as no deity at all, but instead revealed as an impostor — with the most extreme of political consequences for his cronies. An immortal may not die of some disgustingly ordinary illness; however, a man proclaimed immortal may yet die due to the agency of evil-wishing others. Therefore the political colleagues of this tin hero, I suspect, made a list of all the problem people, senators whom otherwise they would have needed to neutralize, and solved their two problems at once by inserting this list into the bloody grip. They solved their immediate problem, of how an immortal can perish and still be allowed as a deity, and simultaneously they solved totally their grand problem, of how to maintain their control over the city and the empire.



ROMA

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March 17: Mark [Antony](#), as surviving consul, convened the Roman Senate, and with Lepidus as *magister equitum*, established order. The senate confirmed the acts of Gaius [Julius Caesar](#), but offered amnesties to his murderers, and agreed to the terms of his will being read out, and to a public funeral, which would be spectacularly stage-managed by Antony. [Octavian](#), to everyone's surprise and to Antony's fury, was discovered to be Caesar's principal heir. Antony managed to get his appointment for the following year as governor of Macedonia switched to a 5-year tenure in Cisalpine Gaul, and appropriated four legions stationed in Macedonia. [Marcus Tullius Cicero](#) began his "Philippics," attacking Antony, who left for Cisalpine Gaul and besieged Decimus Brutus, the province's previous governor, in Mutina.

April 18: [Octavian](#) was at Naples.

Early May: [Octavian](#) met with Mark [Antony](#) at the *Horti Pompei* (Pompey's Gardens) in Rome, to attempt to collect his legacy because Mark [Antony](#) had placed himself in actual possession of [Julius Caesar](#)'s papers and fortune.

In May and June, in [China](#) and in [Korea](#), a reddish-yellow [comet](#) had been observed, with its tail spanning some 12 degrees in the northwest. Within a few days it was near the constellation of Orion, and it had a 15-degree tail that had rotated toward the northeast. THE COMET OF 44 BC AND CAESAR'S FUNERAL GAMES was published by Scholars Press on the ides of March in 1997, the 2,040th anniversary of Caesar's demise. Written by John Ramsey of the Classics Department and Lewis Licht of the Physics Department at the University of Illinois at Chicago, this study draws upon the sources in the Orient, as well as the Greco-Roman world, to shed new light on the probable orbit of the great daylight comet seen in the north for three to seven days in July 44 BCE during the games that [Octavian](#) was holding in honor of the supposedly assassinated Gaius [Julius Caesar](#) (actually, he may merely have had one of his epileptic fits and died in a manner very much unlike what we imagine as the apotheosis of a deity, after which his political colleagues made it look like a political assassination in order to be able to legitimate their killing off of a good bunch of the opposition politicians), and on the factors that caused it in this case to be treated not as a baleful omen but as a sign of Caesar's apotheosis. For details, visit <http://www.uic.edu/las/clas/comet>; or send e-mail to [comet@uic.edu](mailto:comet@uic.edu).



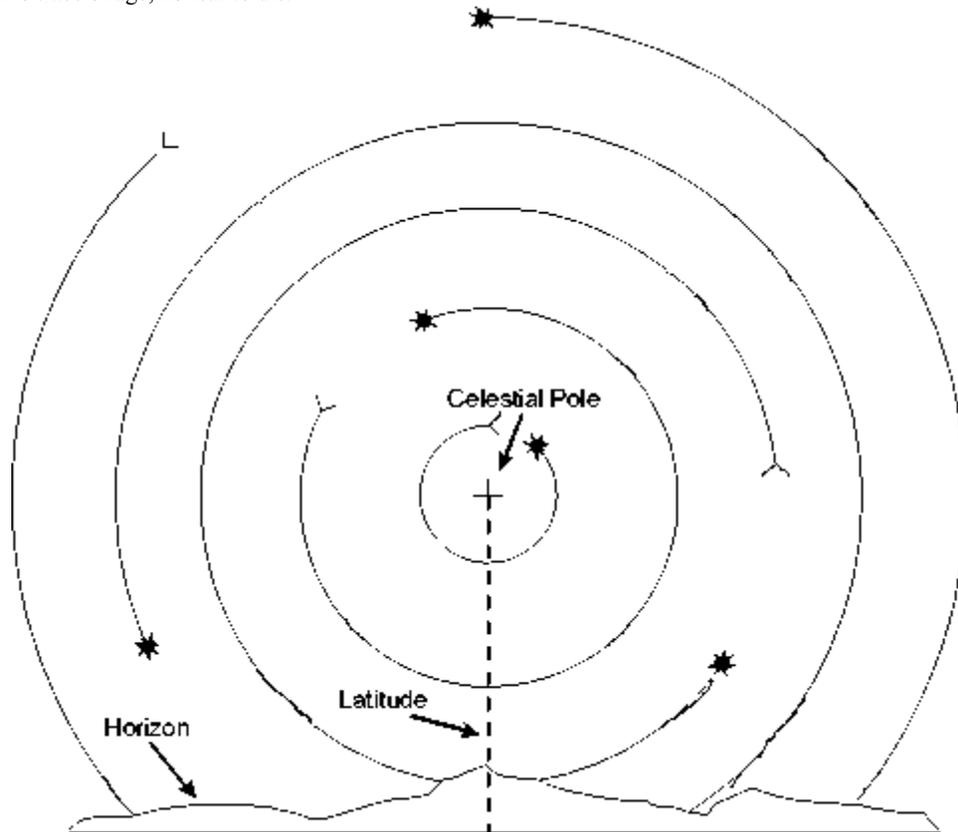
ASTRONOMY

In this period of the earth's history, there was no "North Star" marking the direction of the North Pole.

As constellations progress across the sky through the course of a single night, they change their orientation, but not their defining patterns, or their relative spacings. Waldo Emerson lauded this permanence:

"Teach me your mood, O patient stars!  
Who climb each night the ancient sky,  
Leaving no space, no shade, no scars,

No trace of age, no fear to die.”



The changing appearance of the earth’s moon, however, has fascinated all cultures. Some have professed to be comforted by the faithful regularity of its gentle waxing and waning, fortnight by fortnight. Others, however, have been troubled by this as it is construed to be inconstancy in the heavens, which is exactly the wrong place for there to be inconstancy. Thus in William Shakespeare’s romance, when Romeo attempts a pledge on the moon, this is a wrong move as it does nothing but distress his Juliet:

Romeo:  
 Lady, by yonder blessed moon I swear  
 That tips with silver all these fruit-tree tops  
 Juliet:  
 O, swear not by the moon, the inconstant moon,  
 That monthly changes in her circled orb,  
 Lest that thy love prove likewise variable. (II.2.109-111)

Eclipses are not only changes, but because they bring darkness, they are an even worse sign of disaster. Having just murdered his wife Desdemona, Othello wonders how she can look so virtuous and wonders why no disruption in nature comes as a sign of the universe being so out of order:

...She’s dead...  
 Still as the grave...  
 I think she stirs again...  
 My wife, my wife! I have no wife.  
 O insupportable! O heavy hour!  
 Methinks it should be now a huge eclipse



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ROME

Of sun and moon, and that th' affrighted globe  
Should yawn at alteration... (V.2.115-125)

Comets show up at unpredictable times, thus upsetting the invariance of the universe, and so they obviously also are omens of evil to come. In "Henry VI," the Duke of Bedford remarks upon the death of the greatest English hero, Henry V:

Comets, importing change of times and states,  
Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky,  
And with them scourge the bad revolting stars  
That have consented unto Henry's death. (I.1.2-5)

The planets are wanderers, and wandering is considered to be inherently disorderly. Disorder, in the heavens where only the perfection of order ought to appear, produces uncertainty and foretells disaster here below. As Ulysses observes in "Troilus and Cressida":

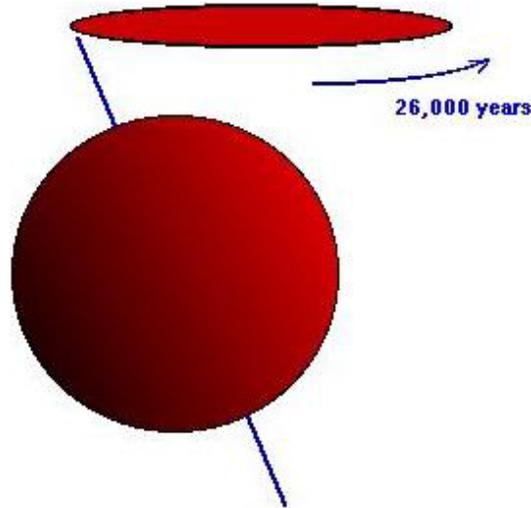
..when the planets  
In evil mixture to disorder wander,  
What plagues and what portents, what mutiny,  
What raging of the sea, shaking of the earth,  
Commotion in the winds, frights, changes, horrors,  
Divert and crack, rend and deracinate  
The unity and married calm of states  
Quite from their fixture! (I.3.94-101)

In contrast, the playwright has his main Roman, in his tragedy "Julius Caesar," affirm himself to be "constant as the Northern Star, of whose true fixed and resting quality there is no fellow in the firmament." How stalwart is this politician Julius! When the conspirators pretend to plea that Gaius [Julius Caesar](#) should pardon the exiled Publius Cimber, great Caesar is entirely unswayed:

Caesar: I could be well moved, if I were as you  
But I am constant as the Northern Star,  
Of whose true fixed and resting quality  
There is no fellow in the firmament.  
The skies are painted with unnumbered sparks;  
They are all fire, and every one doth shine.  
But there's one in all doth hold his place.  
So in the world: 'tis furnished well with men,  
And men are flesh and blood, and apprehensive.  
Yet in the number I do know but one  
That unassailable holds onto his rank,  
Unshaked of motion; and that I am he  
Let me a little show it, even in this:  
That I was constant Cimber should be banished

And constant do remain to keep him so. (III.1.64-79)

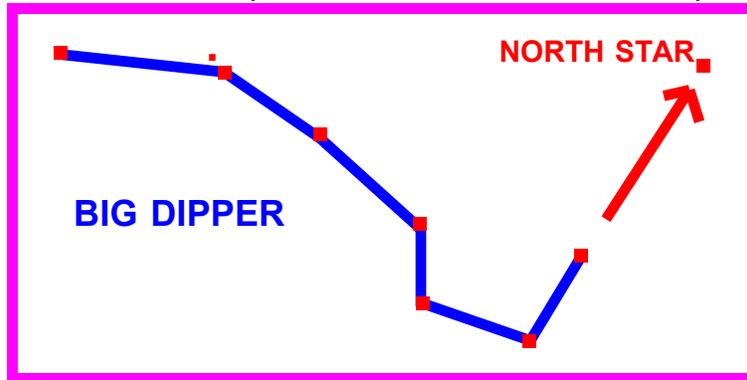
Shakespeare was, evidently, supposing the star Polaris, marking the earth's north pole, to be, as opposed to the planet's inconstant moon, some sort of gold standard of astronomical fixity — though in fact it is variable. Astronomers have known for some time that although this object 310 light years away from us now hangs in our sky roughly above the earth's North Pole, it has not always been in such a position, definitely will not in the remote future be in that position, and anyway, is a Cepheid variable the visibility of which can be expected to change markedly from time to time. The Earth's axis precesses (it is like a wobbling top), so in about 14,000 years, Vega (the brightest star in the constellation Lyra) will be the North Star, and then in another 5,000 years it will be Alpha Cephei (the brightest star in the constellation Cepheus), but at the completion of the entire cycle of 26,000 years — it will be Polaris again. This cycle known as precession is caused by the gravitational



attraction of the sun and the moon, acting on the fact that the planet Earth is not quite spherical. Back in the time of the Egyptian pharaohs, however it had another star, Thuban (the brightest star in the constellation Draco), that had functioned as this planet's North Star. Over time, as the axis of our planet has tipped, the constellation Draco had been moving along, and so by the 1st Century BCE, during the reign of Julius Caesar, there was no star at all in that polar position — only a pretend Caesar with the sensibilities of Shakespeare's era could have made such a remark about stellar constancy. For, by Shakespeare's era, Polaris had wandered into the region near the pole once occupied by Thuban — and Shakespeare, no astronomer, was presuming incorrectly that this had ever been so.

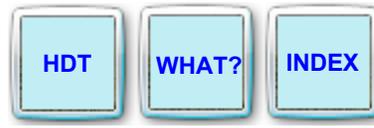
A "Cepheid variable" is a type of star that has almost exhausted its hydrogen fuel and is, consequently, caught in a cycle of bloating and collapsing. Polaris brightens or dims every four days or so, and over the period of time that we have been observing it, these pulsations have been slowing, with its period of oscillation between bright and dim lengthening by about eight seconds each year. Even on average, the brightness of Polaris has historically been unstable. For instance, over the past half a century it has now brightened on average by 10%, becoming a star of the 2d magnitude of brightness (magnitude is a scale devised by the Greek astronomer Hipparchus around 120 BCE ranking stars from 1st-magnitude bright, very bright and noticeable in the heavens, to 6th-magnitude dim, so dim as to be next to invisible — its change from 3d magnitude to 2d magnitude would indicate that Polaris has become about 2.5 times as bright as it had been a couple of millennia ago), but during Thoreau's 19th Century, it appears to have been on average about 20% dimmer even than before it began this current brightening trend. During the 16th Century, according to Tycho Brahe, it had been

even dimmer. In 140 CE, when Ptolemy of Alexandria had made a star catalog, he had listed Polaris as a star of but the 3d magnitude, and in the 10th Century, when the Persian astronomer al-Sufi had checked Ptolemy's evaluations, he had confirmed Ptolemy's evaluation of Polaris as a star of merely the 3d magnitude.



Actually, it is incorrect to refer to the Big Dipper (in England this is known as “the plough,” to American slaves it was “the drinking gourd”) as a constellation. Among the 88 groups of stars that are officially recognized and listed as constellations, there is of course the constellation Ursa Major. The Big Dipper, however, is merely a conspicuous portion of that constellation. Such a star pattern as the Big Dipper is referred to as an asterism, rather than as a constellation. This asterism is presently helpful, for it presently helps us to identify Polaris, the North Star. Two bright stars mark the outer edge of the bowl of the Big Dipper. These two stars –Dubhe and Merak– we term the Pointer Stars, due to the fact that they direct our eyes toward Polaris. Draw a line across the night sky, in your imagination, between these two stars, and then prolong this line about 5 times, and your eyes will arrive at a moderately bright star. Polaris. –But that is merely for the present, as, of the seven stars that make up this asterism, five of the closer ones (78 to 84 light years from Earth) are swarming through space at roughly the same speed and in the same direction, but two of the farther away ones (Alkaid, 101 light years from Earth, and Dubhe, 124 light years from Earth) are moving at a different speed in an opposite direction. Due to these differing motions, the asterism now known as the Big Dipper will eventually tear itself apart. The bent handle will bend even more, while the spreading bowl will spread even more. In 50,000 years there will no longer be a recognizable dipper shape.

There remains an unanswered question, however. Why would it have been that, in [WALDEN](#), Thoreau identified the pole star as having the name Kalpa? –For, in Hindu cosmology, “Kalpa” is not the name assigned to any object, but instead is the name assigned to a very lengthy period of time.



ROME

ROMA

**WALDEN:** There was an artist in the city of Kouroo who was disposed to strive after perfection. One day it came into his mind to make a staff. Having considered that in an imperfect work time is an ingredient, but into a perfect work time does not enter, he said to himself, It shall be perfect in all respects, though I should do nothing else in my life. He proceeded instantly to the forest for wood, being resolved that it should not be made of unsuitable material; and as he searched for and rejected stick after stick, his friends gradually deserted him, for they grew old in their works and died, but he grew not older by a moment. His singleness of purpose and resolution, and his elevated piety, endowed him, without his knowledge, with perennial youth. As he made no compromise with Time, Time kept out of his way, and only sighed at a distance because he could not overcome him. Before he had found a stock in all respects suitable the city of Kouroo was a hoary ruin, and he sat on one of its mounds to peel the stick. Before he had given it the proper shape the dynasty of the Candahars was at an end, and with the point of the stick he wrote the name of the last of that race in the sand, and then resumed his work. By the time he had smoothed and polished the staff Kalpa was no longer the pole-star; and ere he had put on the ferule and the head adorned with precious stones, Brahma had awoke and slumbered many times. But why do I stay to mention these things? When the finishing stroke was put to his work, it suddenly expanded before the eyes of the astonished artist into the fairest of all the creations of Brahma. He had made a new system in making a staff, a world with full and fair proportions; in which, though the old cities and dynasties had passed away, fairer and more glorious ones had taken their places. And now he saw by the heap of shavings still fresh at his feet, that, for him and his work, the former lapse of time had been an illusion, and that no more time had elapsed than is required for a single scintillation from the brain of Brahma to fall on and inflame the tinder of a mortal brain. The material was pure, and his art was pure; how could the result be other than wonderful?

PEOPLE OF  
WALDEN

ARTIST OF KOUROO



ROMA

ROME

## 43 BCE

Following the death of Julius Caesar, many Romans had been proscribed by [Mark Antony](#). For instance, [Marcus Terentius Varro](#) had been proscribed, resulting in the loss of much of his property, including his library. We describe this as the 3d Period of Civil Wars ([Octavian Caesar](#), M. Junius Brutus, [Mark Antony](#), C. Cassius Longinus). As the Republic would give way to Empire, [Varro](#) would gain the favour of [Augustus](#), under whose protection he would find the security and quiet to devote himself to study and writing.<sup>12</sup>

THE PAX ROMANA

April 14: At Forum Gallorum, the forces of Mark [Antony](#) were defeated.

12. [Varro](#)'s writings would be extensive, and have been estimated to have consisted of some 74 works in some 620 books — Quintilian would characterize him as “the most learned of the Romans.” Only one of these 74 works survives complete, the others existing only in fragments, mostly recovered from Gellius's *NOCTES ATTICAE*. His compilation of a “Varronian chronology,” an attempt to establish a detailed year-by-year timeline of Roman history based on the traditional sequence of the consuls of the Roman Republic, would be of use to historians. He eked out his consular framework, where details did not fit, through the insertion of dictatorial and anarchic years. This is what would be inscribed on the Arch of Augustus in Rome, and although that arch no longer stands its substance is perpetuated under the rubric “Fasti Capitolini.” His NINE BOOKS OF DISCIPLINES, in which he wrote on grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, musical theory, medicine, and architecture, would be a model for later encyclopedists such as Pliny the Elder.

Still extant works:

*DE LINGUA LATINA LIBRI XXV* (ON THE LATIN LANGUAGE IN 25 BOOKS; of which six survive, partly mutilated)

*RERUM RUSTICARUM LIBRI III* (AGRICULTURAL TOPICS IN THREE BOOKS)

Known lost works:

*SATURARUM MENIPPEARUM LIBRI CL* or Menippean Satires in 150 books

*Antiquitates rerum humanarum et divinarum libri XLI*

*Logistoricon libri LXXVI*

*Hebdomades vel de imaginibus*

*DISCIPLINARUM LIBRI IX* (An encyclopedia on the liberal arts, of which the first book dealt with grammar)

*De rebus urbanis libri III*

*DE GENTE POPULI ROMANI LIBRI IIII* (cf. Augustine, “De civitate dei” xxi. 8.)

*De sua vita libri III*

*De familiis troianis*

*DE ANTIQUITATE LITTERARUM LIBRI II* (addressed to the tragic poet Lucius Accius; it's therefore one of his earliest writings)

*DE ORIGINE LINGUAE LATINAE LIBRI III* (addressed to Pompey; cf. Augustine, “De civitate dei” xxii. 28.)

*Περὶ Χαρακτήρων* (in at least three books, on the formation of words)

*QUAESTIONES PLAUTINAE LIBRI V* (containing interpretations of rare words found in the comedies of Plautus)

*DE SIMILITUDINE VERBORUM LIBRI III* (on regularity in forms and words)

*DE UTILITATE SERMONIS LIBRI IIII* (on the principle of anomaly or irregularity)

*DE SERMONE LATINO LIBRI V* (?) (addressed to Marcellus, on orthography and the metres of poetry)

*DE PHILOSOPHIA* (cf. Augustine, “De civitate dei” xix. 1.)



ROMA

ROME

42 BCE

[Herod the Great](#) took the line, in presenting himself before [Mark Antony](#) and [Octavian](#), that although his father had indeed helped [Julius Caesar](#)'s murderers, this had been done only under duress. Evidently they were sufficiently persuaded, or were willing to pretend that they were sufficiently persuaded, for they would appoint him tetrarch of Galilee. This would of course bring a potful of trouble, as many Jews still considered this Herodian family, recent converts and good friends of the Roman intrusives, despite the undeniable fact of the rebuilding of the holy temple in Jerusalem, to be what you might term fake Jews.



Yet more altercations involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): 1st Philippi battle, fought to a draw between [Antony](#) and incidentally [Octavian](#), versus M. Junius Brutus and C. Cassius Longinus, and then the 2nd Philippi battle, fought by [M. Antonius](#) and [Octavian Caesar](#) versus M. Junius Brutus (C. Cassius Longinus having committed suicide) — restoring [the Pax Romana](#). Death of M. Junius Brutus. (Dissension would soon break out between Octavian Caesar and Mark Antony, rupturing [the Pax Romana](#).)

November 16: [Tiberius](#) was born at [Rome](#).



ROME

ROMA

41 BCE

As a teenager [Albius Tibullus](#) seems to have lost much of his property during the confiscations by Mark [Antony](#) and [Octavian](#) (as has recently been so aptly described in the HBO television series “Rome”).



During this year and the following one there would be an extended conflict in Perusia between the legions of [Octavian](#), on the one side, and those of Lucius Antonius (a brother of Mark [Antony](#)) and his wife Fulvia.

Mark [Antony](#) met [Cleopatra](#) at Tarsus and followed her to [Egypt](#), where he would spend the winter. Cleopatra would become again pregnant.



At [Cleopatra](#)'s insistence, [Antony](#) ordered the execution of her younger sister Arsinoe, who had sought sanctuary at Ephesus.

Finally [Octavian](#) defeated Antony's brother Lucius Antonius and his wife Fulvia, at Perusia.

January 24: The Emperor Gaius Caesar Germanicus ([Caligula](#)) was assassinated at the age of 19.



The new emperor was Tiberius Claudius Drusus, who would rule under the name [Claudius](#).



He banished [Seneca the Younger](#) to Corsica on a charge of adultery with the princess Julia Livilla, the Emperor's niece.



From this year into 44 CE, Claudius would be adding Judaea and Samaria to the kingdom of [Herod Agrippa I](#).



From this year into 48 CE, Herod of Chalcis, the brother of [Herod Agrippa I](#), would be the king of Chalcis.

Messalina bore [Claudius](#) a son, named Tiberius Claudius Britannicus.



ROMA

ROME

40 BCE

Fulvia died. Presumably, therefore, by this time [Octavian](#) had written the six lines mentioning her that have been preserved for us by Martial, a little poem that presents us with four uses of the Latin verb *futuo*, to fuck. It is to be noted that one of these lines presents the verb as coming from the mouth of Fulvia, a woman — which must have made this little poem even more problematic:

Quod futuit Glaphyran Antonius, hanc mihi poenam  
Fulvia constituit, se quoque uti futuam.  
Fulviam ego ut futuam? quid si me Manius oret  
pedicem? faciam? non, puto, si sapiam.  
"aut futue aut pugnemus" ait. quid quod mihi vita  
carior est ipsa mentula? signa canant!

A LITERAL TRANSLATION, DEVOID OF ANY ATTEMPT AT POETRY: "Because Antony is fucking Glaphyra, Fulvia decrees the following penalty for me, that I should fuck her too. I fuck Fulvia? What if Manius begged me to bugger him? Should I do it? Not, I think, if I had any sense. 'Either fuck or fight,' she says. What of the fact that my penis is dearer to me than life itself? Let the trumpets sound!"

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## ROME

## ROMA

Antigonus attempted again to seize the throne, this time with the help of the Parthians. This time he was more successful and [Herod the Great](#) was forced to flee to Rome and ask the [Romans](#) to intercede with their legions. The Roman Senate appointed Herod as “King of the Jews.”

At Brundisium a treaty was forged between the Triumvirs Octavian, Antony, and Lepidus: [Octavian](#) was to focus his operations in the West (Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, Transalpine Gaul, Narbonne), [Antony](#) in the East (Macedonia, Asia, Bithynia, Cilicia, Syria), and Lepidus in Africa (Tunisia, Algeria).

[Mark Antony](#) returned to Italy and got married with [Octavian Caesar](#)'s sister Octavia, this of course meaning that he was somehow being expected to set not [Egypt](#) but [Cleopatra](#) aside. However, six months after he left [Alexandria](#) and [Cleopatra](#), she gave birth to fraternal twins, first Alexander Helios (“Sun”) and then Cleopatra Selene (“Moon”).





**ROMA**

**ROME**

**39 BCE**

It seemed like a good idea at the time in [Rome](#), so [Mark Antony](#) and [Octavian Caesar](#) appointed their friend [Herod the Great](#) to be king of Judea.



At Tarentum a treaty was forged in which [Antony](#) and [Octavian](#) ceded the major islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica in the Mediterranean Sea to Sextus Pompeius as a “protectorate.” Octavian Caesar took as his wife Scribonia, a relative of Sextus Pompeius, with whom he would have one daughter who would be called Julia.

[Antony](#) returned to Athens with his wife Octavia, Octavian’s sister. His legate Ventidius restored order in Syria and Asia Minor. Octavia gave birth to Antonia Major, grandmother of the emperor [Nero](#).



ROME

ROMA

38 BCE

After [Octavian Caesar](#) had engaged the ships of Sextus Pompey in two indecisive sea battles, Sextus Pompey lost his fleet to storms.



After [Octavian](#) Caesar's wife Scribonia had given birth to a daughter, Julia, he divorced her in order to marry Livia.

[Octavian](#) Caesar charged [Mark Antony](#) to meet him at Brundisium, but when the forces of Mark Antony arrived at Brundisium the forces of Octavian Caesar was not there. Mark Antony then led his men in a return toward the east.

The mandate of the 2d Triumvirate, which had been for five years, came to its close.

Mark [Antony](#)'s legate Ventidius celebrated a triumph in Rome, but soon afterward died.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROMA****ROME****37 BCE**

The mandate of the 2d Triumvirate consisting of [Octavian Caesar](#), [Mark Antony](#), and Lepidus (although this 3d member was no longer around) was renewed by the Senate of [Rome](#) for an additional 5 years.

Romans legions subdued Judaea, and with the execution of Antigonus, the Hasmonean dynasty ended. [Herod the Great](#), who had been named by the Roman Senate as King of the Jews, took up his duties as sole ruler in Judaea and assumed for himself the title *basileus*, beginning a Herodian Dynasty (he would rule there for 34 years).



[Antony](#) sent his wife Octavia back to [Italy](#) pregnant with their 2d child, and [Cleopatra](#) joined him in Antioch.





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***ROMA***

(Presumably she had left their tiny twins Helios and Selene back home at the palace in Egypt.)

At the naval base of [Naples](#) Marcus Vispanius Agrippa was training a great new fleet.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROMA****ROME****36 BCE**

Yet further battles involving our favorite pushy people: at Naulochus in Sicily, [Octavian](#) Caesar, with the help of Marcus Vispanius Agrippa and Lepidus, defeated Sextus Pompey, and at Phraaspano, a battle was fought to a draw between the legions of Mark [Antony](#) and the Parthians under Phraates IV — these of course constituting attempts to restore [the Pax Romana](#).

When the Triumvir Lepidus then attempted to take over the island of Sicily, he and his army and his navy were forced into exile. What this meant was that henceforth any struggle would pit the East under Mark Antony against the [Romans](#) in the West under Octavian Caesar. In any such struggle Octavian Caesar would have access to considerably more military resources than Mark [Antony](#). By the elimination of Lepidus, that is, Octavian Caesar came into control of Africa and thus became the effective sole ruler in [Rome](#).

Failure of Mark [Antony](#)'s Parthian expedition.

Birth, to Mark [Antony](#) and Octavia, of Antonia Minor, mother of the emperor [Claudius](#) and grandmother of the emperor [Caligula](#).

Mark [Antony](#) and [Cleopatra](#) had some sort of marriage ceremony. She gave birth to another son, Ptolemaeus Philadelphos (meaning that during this singular year Mark Antony acquired a daughter by an occidental wife and a son by an oriental wife).





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**ROME**

**34 BCE**

Mark [Antony](#) succeeded in his military campaign in Armenia, and annexed it to [Rome](#). He then decisively broke off his alliance with [Octavian](#) Caesar by staging a “triumph” in [Alexandria](#) to celebrate this victory of his and by officially divorcing Octavian’s sister Octavia. He announced that he was dividing much of Rome’s eastern provinces among the children of [Cleopatra](#) ([Caesarion](#), and three more whom he had himself since fathered), declaring Octavian to be a usurper of Caesar’s rightful heir Caesarion, his wife’s son by [Julius Caesar](#).



He was flipping [Octavian](#) off, right and left. Hey dude, you don’t got the real Caesar moxie, it’s me, I got the real Caesar moxie!



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**33 BCE**

The clock ran out on the 2d 5-year period of the 2d Triumvirate (from which Lepidus had already been ousted) while [Octavian](#) Caesar was campaigning in Illyria. Octavian Caesar began making nasty remarks about Mark [Antony](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**32 BCE**

Mark [Antony](#) divorced Octavia. There was a “war of words” between him and her brother [Octavian](#) Caesar. Octavian Caesar acquired and proclaimed in the Senate of [Rome](#) the contents of Mark [Antony](#)’s will, which had declared [Caesarion](#) as [Julius Caesar](#)’s lawful heir. The Senate, alarmed at this evidence of Mark [Antony](#)’s preferring the East over the West, his willingness to advance the interests of [Cleopatra](#)’s [Egypt](#) over those of Rome, declared war on Egypt and assigned Octavian Caesar the title of “Dux” or leader of this war effort. Some of the senators, however, defected to Mark Antony.



31 BCE

September 2: Yet another altercation involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#):



Off Cape Actium on the coast of western Greece, the fleet of Mark [Antony](#) was completely defeated by the fleet of [Octavian](#) (who had for the 3d time become a consul of [Rome](#)) commanded by Marcus Vispanius Agrippa, after which Antony fled to [Egypt](#) with his ally [Cleopatra](#) toward [Alexandria](#).



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[Octavian](#) would pursue and [Antony](#) and [Cleopatra](#) would famously commit suicide. [Egypt](#) would be made a Roman province. Octavianus Caesar would remain as undisputed master of Rome and its empire, restoring [the Pax Romana](#).<sup>13</sup> (“I’m king of the wooorld!” Hot damn, is he going to have fun!)

(The TV series “I, Claudius” opens with a bunch of dancers shaking their naked stuff for the benefit of a dinner party being held in celebration of the seventh anniversary of the Battle of Actium in 24 BCE. A cake has been prepared in the shape of Marcus Vispanius Agrippa’s ship. Aristarchus, a Greek orator, performs a “prose hymn” about the victory of dinner guests Augustus and Marcus Vispanius Agrippa over Cleopatra and Marcus Antonius.)

13. You will note that in these records of battles leaving fields littered with corpses, the terms “creating the Pax Romana” and “disrupting the Pax Romana” are terms of art — and are employed arbitrarily. Please don’t try to figure out why sometimes the term “creating” is selected, and sometimes the word “disrupting,” as this won’t get you anywhere at all.



ROME

ROMA

30 BCE

August 1: Mark [Antony](#)'s remaining ships defected to the forces of [Octavian](#), and [Alexandria](#) suddenly belonged again to the Roman Empire. At the palace, Mark [Antony](#) granted himself [the Pax Romana](#) by falling on his sword (in the "Rome" series on HBO, he asks the centurion Lucius Vorenus to hold the sword for him).

August 12: [Cleopatra](#) VII, queen of denial, failing to make an acceptable deal with [Octavian](#), used a poisonous snake to follow her husband Mark [Antony](#) to the grave. They had sent [Caesarion](#), then 17, from the palace in



[Alexandria](#) toward the Red Sea port of Berenice, possibly with a plan to escape to India (since Octavian is said to have remarked that two Caesars was one too many, it is possible that he had him killed, but, first in the Asterix comic book and then in the HBO special, with great dramatic interest, the lad is allowed to survive since this makes for so much more pleasant a children's story). Cleopatra's three younger children would be taken to Rome and would grow up in the household of Octavia Minor, Octavian's second eldest sister. Cleopatra's daughter would marry the king of Numidia and Mauritania, Juba II:



Cleopatra's sons must somehow have died because had they remained alive they would have been reasonably important — and we have turned up no trace whatever of them.



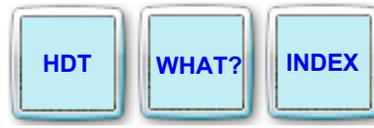
**ROMA**

**ROME**

**29 BCE**

August 13-15: [Egypt](#) was a Roman province. On these three successive days [Rome](#) celebrated three separate triumphs (those of Illyria, Actium, and [Alexandria](#)), attributing this success to the god Apollo since [Octavian](#)'s modesty had no limits.

During the celebration the three orphans of [Antony](#) and [Cleopatra](#) were paraded draped in gold chains of such weight that not only the 6-year-old Ptolemaeus Philadelphus but also the older twins Alexander Helios and Cleopatra Selene would turn out to be quite unable to walk. This influx of money and booty brought about a sharp decrease in interest rates which made Octavian exceedingly popular among the people.



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**28 BCE**

Next to his home on the Palatine Hill of [Rome](#), [Octavian](#) dedicated a temple to Apollo, to whom he had attributed his military successes in Illyria, off the cape of Actium, and at [Alexandria](#).



ROMA

ROME

27 BCE

The “Julio-Claudian” series of emperors:

Reigned 41 years, from 27 BCE to 14 CE: [Octavian](#) (Imperator Caesar Divi Filius Augustus) was born at [Rome](#) on September 23, 63 BCE (C. Octavianus); died at Nola in Campania on August 19, 14 CE at age 77 from an illness.

Reigned 23 years, from 14 to 37 CE: [Tiberius](#) Caesar Augustus was born at [Rome](#) on November 16, 42 BCE; died at Misenum on March 16, 37 CE at age 77 from being smothered with a pillow while on his death bed from a terminal illness.

Reigned 4 years, from 37 to 41 CE: [Caligula](#) (Gaius Caesar Augustus Germanicus) was born at Antium (Anzio) on August 31, 12 CE; died at [Rome](#) on January 24, 41 CE at age 19 from assassination.

Reigned 13 years, from 41 to 54 CE: [Claudius](#) (Tiberius Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus) was born at Lugdunum on August 1, 10 BCE; died at [Rome](#) on October 13, 54 CE at age 64 from eating deliberately poisoned mushrooms given to him by his wife Agrippina (Nero’s mother).

The last of this line, the emperor [Nero](#) Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, reigned 14 years, from 54 to 68 CE. He was born at Antium (Anzio) on December 15, 37 CE; died at [Rome](#) on June 9, 68 CE at age 31 from suicide.

The next emperor would be Galba (Servius Galba Imperator Caesar Augustus), one of the military leaders who had revolted against the emperor [Nero](#), who had been born near Tarracina on December 24, 3 BCE and would be assassinated at [Rome](#) on January 15, 69 CE at the age of 72 during a rebellion among his rivals (reigned, that is, for less than a year, from 68 into 69 CE).



## ROME

## ROMA

January 13 and 16: [Octavian](#) “handed the Republic back to the people” and in return received the title [Augustus](#) and an enormous proconsular province including Spain, Gaul, Syria, and [Egypt](#). He thus came into control of most of the military provinces, and would henceforward maintain his preeminent power. His virtues were commemorated on a golden shield (*clipeum virtutis*) that was set up in the senate house (*Curia Julia*) in the [Roman](#) Forum. He was definitively numero uno, the man.

44	Cæsar, the greatest of the Roman conquerors, after having fought fifty pitched battles, and slain 1,192,000 men, and overturned the liberties of his country, is killed in the senate-house.
35	The battle of Actium fought, in which Mark Antony and Cleopatra are totally defeated by Octavius, nephew to Julius Cæsar.
30	Alexandria, in Egypt, is taken by Octavius, upon which Antony and Cleopatra put themselves to death, and Egypt is reduced to a Roman province.
27	Octavius by a decree of the senate, obtains the title of Augustus Cæsar, and absolute exemption from the laws, and is properly the first Roman emperor.
8	Rome at this time is fifty miles in circumference, and contains 463,000 men fit to bear arms. The temple of Janus is shut by Augustus as an emblem of universal peace, and JESUS CHRIST is born.
A. C.	
12	JESUS CHRIST disputes with the doctors in the temple ;
27	————— is baptized in the Wilderness by John ;
33	————— is crucified ; His Resurrection and Ascension.
36	St. Paul converted.
39	St. Matthew writes his Gospel. Pontius Pilate kills himself.
40	The name of Christians first given at Antioch to the followers of Christ.
43	Claudius Cæsar's expedition into Britain.
44	St. Mark writes his Gospel.
49	London is founded by the Romans ; 368, surrounded by ditto with a wall, some parts of which are still observable.
51	Caractacus, the British king, is carried in chains to Rome. St. Luke writes his Gospel.

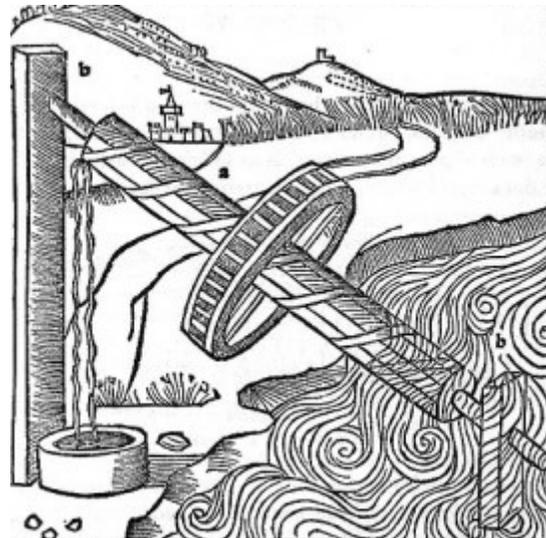
25 BCE

[Augustus Caesar](#) married his daughter Julia to his sister's son Marcellus.

During the reign of the emperor Augustus, [Vitruvius](#) was being sponsored through his sister Octavia Minor, who would presumably have arranged for him to have a pension. Here is [Marcus Vitruvius Pollio](#) presenting his *M. VITRUVII POLLIONIS DE ARCHITECTVRA LIBRI DECEM* (TEN BOOKS ON ARCHITECTURE), written in Latin and Greek, to the emperor Augustus (this woodcut was done in 1684):



It is likely that Book I refers to the campaign of public repairs and improvements led by Marcus Agrippa. Book VIII offers empirical observation of laborer illnesses in the lead foundries of his time and advises that clay pipes and masonry channels be used to conduct drinking water — not lead pipes. Book X describes the construction of the “[Archimedes's screw](#)” device widely used for raising water to irrigate fields and dewater mines.



He was writing in the period during which many of the surviving Roman aqueducts were built, such as those at Segovia and the Pont du Gard, and describes in detail the use of the inverted siphon, including practical problems of the high pressures developed in the pipe at the base of such a siphon. [Vitruvius](#) asserts that a structure must exhibit the three qualities *firmitas*, *utilitas*, and *venustas* (it must be solid and useful, as well as



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beautiful). Architecture is an imitation of nature — just as birds and bees built their nests, so do humans construct shelters, against the elements, out of natural materials.

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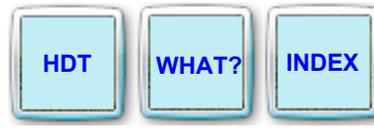
**ROMA**

**ROME**

**24 BCE**

The TV series “I, [Claudius](#)” opens with a bunch of dancers shaking their naked stuff for the benefit of a dinner party being held in celebration of the 7th anniversary of the Battle of Actium. A cake has been prepared in the shape of Marcus Vispanius Agrippa’s ship. Aristarchus, a Greek orator, performs a “prose hymn” about the virtues of dinner guests [Augustus Caesar](#) and Marcus Vispanius Agrippa over Mark [Antony](#) and [Cleopatra](#).



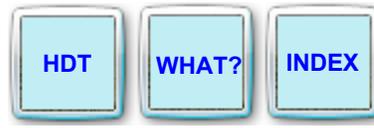


ROME

ROMA

23 BCE

June: [Augustus Caesar](#) laid aside the Consular office he had held continuously since 31 BCE in order to allow more aristocrats a chance at prestige, receiving in return *imperium maius*, which gave him authority over all other magistrates and commanders, and *tribunicia potestas*, which gave him broad legislative authority. On the domestic side, his nephew and son-in-law Marcellus died, so Augustus had Agrippa divorce his wife and marry Julia — she would bear Agrippa three sons, Gaius, Lucius and Postumus, and two daughters, Agrippina and Julia.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**20 BCE**

Through diplomatic negotiations, [Augustus Caesar](#) recovered standards captured by the Parthians in three wars against [Rome](#), and commemorated this event in art and coinage.

ITALY

THE PAX ROMANA



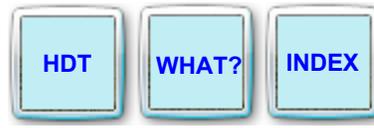
ROME

ROMA

19 BCE

October 12: [Augustus Caesar](#)'s return to [Rome](#) from the East was celebrated with religious vows and a new altar to "Bringing Fortune Back Home," *Fortuna Redux*.

ITALY



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**18 BCE**

A revision of the Senate of [Rome](#), the *lectio Senatus*.

**ITALY**



ROME

ROMA

17 BCE

[Augustus Caesar](#) adopted his grandsons Gaius and Lucius.

Before May 24: [Augustus Caesar](#) proclaimed new marriage laws, the *lex Iulia de ordinibus maritandis*. There was to be no more of this messing around.

May 31-June 3: [Augustus Caesar](#) celebrated a new age (*saeculum*) with special sacrifices and games termed *Ludi Saeculares* (such ceremonies had been held at Rome every 100 to 110 years). For this special occasion, [Ovid](#) wrote *LUDI SAECULARES*.

Rome had relied on an Etruscan time system that counted the days from one market day to the next, which would be on the 9th day following and was referred to of course in Latin as the *nundinae*. Either on this particular occasion, or on some similar occasion, the emperor [Augustus](#) decided to match the week that Egypt had been using since it had abandoned its 10-day week before 500BCE, a 7-day week that India had been using since time immemorial, and legitimated this locally with the deity Apollo as the Sun for Sunday, the 1st day of the week, Diana as the Moon for the 2d, Ares for the 3d, Hermes for the 4th, Zeus for the 5th, Aphrodite for the 6th, and Cronos for the 7th. Augustus's scheme would be endorsed by the emperor Constantine in 321CE and by about the 7th century of our Common Era would be observed not only in Egypt and India but even in China and Japan (the Inca 10-day week, the Aztec 13-day week, and the Maya 20-day week would of course persist until European intrusion would bring the 7-day week to the New World during the 16th Century).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**12 BCE**

Agrippa died. [Augustus Caesar](#) forced his stepson [Tiberius](#) to divorce his wife Vipsania, daughter of Marcus Vispanius Agrippa and Marcella, in order to marry Augustus's daughter Julia, the widow of Marcus Vispanius Agrippa.



ROME

ROMA

March 6: Marcus Aemilius Lepidus died and [Augustus Caesar](#) became *Pontifex Maximus* in his place. By this office he was in charge of Roman religion. He was Papa Augustus, the Pope of [Rome](#), and you could kiss his ring, or perhaps his foot.

ITALY



(The head of the Roman Catholic religion would not be referred to as *Pontifex Maximus* until at least three additional centuries had passed, which is to say, at the very earliest the 4th Century of our Common Era.)



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**11 BCE**

The *lectio Senatus*.

May 4: In [Rome](#), the Theater of Marcellus opened its doors to the public.

**ITALY**



ROME

ROMA

8 BCE

This was the year of the [Roman](#) Census spoken of in the *BIBLE*.

44 Cæsar, the greatest of the Roman conquerors, after having fought fifty pitched battles, and slain 1,192,000 men, and overturned the liberties of his country, is killed in the senate-house.

35 The battle of Actium fought, in which Mark Antony and Cleopatra are totally defeated by Octavius, nephew to Julius Cæsar.

30 Alexandria, in Egypt, is taken by Octavius, upon which Antony and Cleopatra put themselves to death, and Egypt is reduced to a Roman province.

27 Octavius by a decree of the senate, obtains the title of Augustus Cæsar, and absolute exemption from the laws, and is properly the first Roman emperor.

8 Rome at this time is fifty miles in circumference, and contains 463,000 men fit to bear arms.

The temple of Janus is shut by Augustus as an emblem of universal peace, and JESUS CHRIST is born.

A. C.

12 JESUS CHRIST disputes with the doctors in the temple ;

27 ————— is baptized in the Wilderness by John ;

33 ————— is crucified ;

His Resurrection and Ascension.

36 St. Paul converted.

39 St. Matthew writes his Gospel.

Pontius Pilate kills himself.

40 The name of Christians first given at Antioch to the followers of Christ.

43 Claudius Cæsar's expedition into Britain.

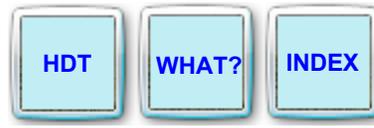
44 St. Mark writes his Gospel.

49 London is founded by the Romans ; 368, surrounded by ditto with a wall, some parts of which are still observable.

51 Caractacus, the British king, is carried in chains to Rome.

St. Luke writes his Gospel.

November 27: A few months after the death of his friend Maecenas, [Horace](#) died in [Rome](#) at the age of 57. Since he had no heirs and his friend Maecenas was already deceased, he left his little farm to his friend [Augustus Caesar](#), to be used for imperial needs. (This farm may still be visited.)



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**5 BCE**

January 1: [Augustus Caesar](#) presented Gaius Caesar as his heir in public in the Forum.

**DOCUMENTS OF THIS ERA**



ROME

ROMA

2 BCE

The Emperor [Augustus Caesar](#) recalled [Tiberius](#) to [Rome](#).

In Rome, Emperor [Augustus Caesar](#) banished his daughter Julia, the wife of [Tiberius](#), to a barren island because of her adultery, which had been undercutting his attempts at moral reform (he would need to banish his granddaughter Julia for that same offense).

(In the 3d episode of the TV series “I, [Claudius](#),” Augustus lines up Julia’s lovers and goes down the line asking them one by one if they “slept” with his daughter. They admit it, though some commit comedy. He sends them away, promising to punish them later, but clearly, there are far too many for them to be punished. He must banish Julia for life. Julia is outside his chamber pleading with him while inside, the father covers his ears.)

January 1: [Augustus Caesar](#) presented Lucius Caesar as his heir in public in the Forum. Augustus was designated “*pater patriae*,” Father of His Country.

August 1: In [Rome](#), the dedication of the Forum Augustum and the temple of Mars Ultor.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**2 CE**

The Emperor [Augustus Caesar](#)'s grandson and adopted son Lucius died.



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**5 CE**

[Rome](#) acknowledged Cymbeline, King of the Catuvellauni, as king of Britain.

In about this year [Saul](#) was born at [Tarsus](#), the capital city in the Roman province of Cilicia on the coast of Asia Minor (now Turkey).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**4 CE**

The *lectio Senatus*.

The Emperor [Augustus Caesar](#)'s grandson and adopted son Gaius having died, he formally adopted [Tiberius](#) and then sent him to Boiohaemum to conquer the west German tribal state of the Marcomanni.



[Tiberius](#) adopted an 18-year-old nephew, Germanicus Caesar.



ROME

ROMA

6 CE

Herod Archelaus was deposed by [Augustus Caesar](#) of Rome; Samaria, Judea and Idumea were annexed as the province of Iudaea under direct Roman administration, with its capitol at Caesarea.<sup>14</sup>



The taxing of Caesar [Augustus](#) reported in LUKE 2:1sq., which specified that this was “the first census while Quirinius was governor of Syria.” This dovetails nicely with Josephus’s account:

Now Quirinius...arrived in Syria with a small contingent, since he had been sent out by [[Augustus](#)] Caesar to govern the people & assess their wealth. Coponius, a cavalry officer, was sent along with him with full authority to govern the Jews. Since Judea had been annexed to Syria, Quirinius also came to assess

14. Roman Emperor Gaius [Augustus](#) Octavianus Caesar (43 BCE-14 CE) conducted a joint Judaism and Samaritan hearing.



The Samaritans accused Archelaus (4 B.C - 6 CE) Tetrarch of Judaea and Sumeria, the son of King Herod (40-4 BCE) of cruelty toward the people. Both groups who seldom joined forces demanded the abolition of the monarchy. It is noteworthy that the Zealot sect of Galilee is extremely nationalistic in their beliefs. Caesar Augustus as a result banished Archelaus (4 BCE - 6 CE) the son of Herod (40-4 BCE) to Vienna, a city in Gaul (France) and his property is transferred to Caesar’s treasury. The Essene Judaism sect member Simon had predicted Archelaus fall from power. The Essene is known to be schooled as scribes, seers and prophets. Coponius (6-9 CE) is appointed Roman Prefect of Judaea in Palaestina that is now added to the Province of Syria. Cyrenius a Roman senator is appointed judge of Syria. Judaea effectively became a part of a Roman Province rather than a territory of Syria. During his reign a Galilean named Judas of Gama a Sophist (Zealot teacher, rabbi, or philosophic teacher) incited a revolt against the Roman census being conducted by Quirinius Governor of Syria. Sadduc a Pharisee joined the Judas Zealot movement. Judas and Zaddok (scholar of the school of Shammai) of the Pharisee Judaism sect inflamed the anger of the people against Rome. Joezer the high priest, son of Boethus calmed the popular feelings and prevented revolution during the Coponius reign. At this time the Pharisees Judaism sect do not take away the freedom from men of acting as they see fit but this will shortly change. The Sadducees Judaism sect at this time is not liked by the multitude. The Essenes Judaism sect is excluded from the common court of the temple, are addicted to virtue and righteousness. These Essenes sect share everything in common. The Judaism Zealot Sects or followers of Judas the Galilean have an inviolable attachment to Judaism liberty and they say that God is to be their only Ruler and Lord. The Zealots do not fear death.



ROMA

ROME

them [the Judeans] as well and to sell off Archelaus' estate.  
— JEWISH ANTIQUITIES 18.1-2

The year Josephus specified for this taxation, 6 CE, causes problems because it is a decade after the death of [Herod the Great](#), thus disallowing the accuracy of the account of Jesus's birth given in MATTHEW. In that year occurred also the rebellion of Judas of Galilee mentioned in ACTS 5:37. This is the event that led to the formation of the rebel movement which Josephus styled "the 4th philosophy" (for details see JEWISH ANTIQUITIES 18.1-23).<sup>15</sup> Again LUKE has its chronology and details confused, for it specifically identifies Judas's revolt as "after" Theudas, when really it had been about a generation earlier. Moreover, Josephus does not support LUKE's claim that Judas the Galilean "also perished," if by this it meant "was executed" like Theudas. LUKE may have confused Judas with his sons James (Ya'akov) and Simon (Shim'on), who were executed by the procurator Tiberius Alexander circa 48 CE. Josephus described the latter event in the following manner:

And in addition, James & Simon the sons of Judah the Galilean, who as I pointed out in a previous book had led the people to revolt against the Romans when Quirinius came to assess the property of the [Jews](#), were now brought up and crucified by order of [the Roman procurator Tiberius] Alexander.  
— JEWISH ANTIQUITIES 20.102

Or, all this confusion may be merely semantics. Quirinius was in fact in the area during the reign of Herod, engaged in the war against the Homanadenses. During that period he would have set up a seat of government and as a consul he would have outranked Saturninus. In 6 CE Quirinius was sent to Syria as legate along with Coponius who would be the first prefect of Judea and a predecessor of Pontius Pilatus. The registration and census of 6 CE is too late to be connected with the birth of Jesus. Additionally, the registration of 6 CE did not include the Galilee. This has long been a stumbling block in the determination of the date of Jesus' birth and many scholars merely assumed that Luke had made a mistake. In 1912, however, the discovery by W. M. Ramsey of a fragmentary inscription at Antioch of Pisidia arguably established Quirinius was in Syria on a previous occasion. His role was more military to lead a campaign against the Homanadenses, a tribe in the Taurus Mountains. This is confirmed by Tacitus. This means that Quirinius would have established a seat of government in Syria, including Palestine, from the years 10 to 7 BCE. In this position he would have been responsible for the census mentioned by Luke. This census of 7 BCE would therefore have been the "first" census taken when Cyrenius was governor (Luke 2:2) and the historically documented census of 6/7 CE was really the second. There is further evidence of this first census of 7 BCE in the writings of Tertullian who records the census "taken in Judea by Sentius Saturninus." C. Sentius Saturninus was Legate of Syria from 9 to 6 BCE. Another inscription, the Lapis Tiburtinus, was found in 1764 near Tivoli (Tibur). Composed after 14 CE, the inscription names an unknown personage who was legate of Syria twice. The man is described as having been victorious in war. There is considerable dissension among scholars as to whether the unnamed person is Quirinius.

PVBLIVS SVLPICIVS PVBLII FILIVS QVIRINIVS CONSVL (...) PRAETOR  
PROCONSVL CRETAM ET CYRENEAS PROVINCIAM OPTINVIT LEGATVS PRO  
PRAETORE DIVI AVGVSTI SYRIAM ET PHOENICIAM OPTINENS BELLVM GESSIS  
CVM GENTE HOMONADENSIVM QVAE INTERFECERAT AMYNTAM REGEM QVA REDACTA  
IN POTESTAM IMPERATORIS CAESARIS AVGVSTI POPVLIQVE ROMANI SENATVS  
DIS IMMORTALIBVS SVPPPLICATIONES BINAS OB RES PROSPERE AB EO GESTAS

15. Josephus the historian assigns Judas of Gama (Galilee) a Sophist and Zaddok the Pharisee as being the real founders of the Zealot sect. The Zealot sect inaugurated the eschatological reign of the Kingdom of Heaven for God's elected people here and now. The Zealots aligned with most of the philosophies of the Pharisees but they are messianic and a revolutionary movement. The Jerusalem Zealots wanted to democratize the high priesthood and are not interested in the messianic expectations. The Galilean Zealots however wanted real far-reaching social change.



ROME

ROMA

ET IPSI ORNAMENTA TRIVMPHALIA DECEVIT PRO CONSVL ASIAM PROVINCIAM  
OPTINVIT LEGATVS PRO PRAETORE DIVI AVGVSTI ITERVM SYRIAM ET  
PHOENICEN OPTENVIT

(Roughly, Publius Sulpicius son of Publius Quirinius the Consul... made Praetor/Proconsul of the Cretan and Cyreneas province. Made Praetor/Legate Syria and Phoenecia by the Divine Augustus to wage war against the Homonadenses who had cut off the King of Amyntas from Loyal service to Caesar for which Augustus and the Senate and People of Rome gave him a triumph. The Divine Augustus made him Consul for the Province of Asia and Praetor/Legate for Syria and Phoenicia.)

Quirinius obtained his triumph for his victory on the Homonadians [Homonadenses]. Legate in Syria in 751 [3 BCE] and 759 AUC [6 BCE]. He was Consul in 742 AUC [11 BCE].) This would make it appear that LUKE confuses the date of the Triumph of Quirinius with the date of the Census of Quirinius.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**8 CE**

Julia (the Younger) was banished.



ROME

ROMA

9 CE

The Emperor [Augustus Caesar](#) obtained the enactment of the Papia/Poppaeian Laws, to promote large families and increase the population. (Ironically, the two consuls these fecundative laws were named after happened to have been themselves bachelors!)



(In the 3d episode of the TV series “I, [Claudius](#),” Augustus summons some Romans of the Noble Order of Knights and lines them up in his courtyard to berate them seriously about the head and shoulders for their disinclination to get married and make Roman babies. Enter Clau-Clau-Claudius, and Augustus uses the twitching child as his example of the product of a proper Roman union. Livia remarks about Claudius that “He ought to have been exposed at birth ... he twitches, he stutters, he limps, he’s an embarrassment to everyone and even his own mother can’t stand him.”)

Summer: P. Quinctilius Varus and his three legions were massacred by the Germans in the Teutoburger Wald; panic ensued in Italy; [Augustus Caesar](#), distraught, began his final decline.



ROMA

ROME

12 CE

Germanicus Caesar became consul to the Emperor [Augustus Caesar](#).

From about this point until 15 CE, Annius Rufus would be the Roman Prefect of Iudaea (that is, of Samaria, Judea, and Idumea).

The [Chinese](#) Emperor Wang Mang repealed his reforms, which had created widespread protest. Maybe freeing all [slaves](#) had not been such a hot idea, after all.

44 Cæsar, the greatest of the Roman conquerors, after having fought fifty pitched battles, and slain 1,192,000 men, and overturned the liberties of his country, is killed in the senate-house.

35 The battle of Actium fought, in which Mark Antony and Cleopatra are totally defeated by Octavius, nephew to Julius Cæsar.

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[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROME****ROMA****13 CE**

Germanicus Caesar was given command of eight Roman legions. [Tiberius](#) was given *imperium maius* equal with that of the Emperor [Augustus Caesar](#). His mother Livia Drusilla, the most powerful woman in the Roman Empire, would change her name to Julia Augusta as part of an unsuccessful attempt to take control of the government.



April 3: [Augustus Caesar](#) wrote his will.

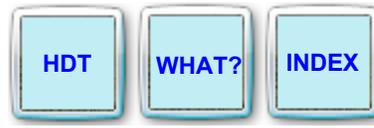
[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROMA****ROME****14 CE**

August 19: After [Tiberius](#) had started out for Illyricum, he was recalled because [Augustus Caesar](#) was ill. On this day the Emperor died at Nola in Campania, having deposited his last will and testament, and an account of accomplishments, with the Vestal Virgins. This *Res Gestae Divi Augusti* is carved on bronze pillars in front of his mausoleum, in Rome. Tiberius became Emperor (to 37 CE). Germanicus Caesar would quell a mutiny among the legions.



This coin of Livia Drusilla, the most powerful woman in the Roman Empire, was struck during or after this year. After her son [Tiberius](#) succeeded [Augustus Caesar](#) as emperor she changed her name to Julia Augusta, and attempted unsuccessfully to take control of the government.





ROME

ROMA

15 CE

The Romans subdued the part of Austria south of the Danube River, extending [the Pax Romana](#). In the garrison town of Ara Ubiorum at the bridge on the river Rhine (the modern Cologne), Julia Agrippina was born.

GERMANY

From this year until 26 CE, Valerius Gratus would be serving as Prefect over Iudaea (Samaria, Judea, and Idumea), preserving [the Pax Romana](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**16 CE**

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Idistaviso the legions of Gaius Claudius Drusus Germanicus defeated the Germans under Arminius, claiming Germany as part of the empire and creating [the Pax Romana](#).

**GERMANY**



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**24 CE**

Aelius Gallus, the [Egyptian](#) prefect for [Augustus Caesar](#)'s Roman empire, went off on an ill-fated expedition to conquer the [spice](#) kingdoms of South Arabia.

**PLANTS**

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROMA****ROME****25 CE**

It would be quite a while yet, before the masonry [Colosseum](#) which we can now visit would be created in the center of [Rome](#). The settings for gladiatorial struggles were more on the order of the one you see accurately depicted in the TV series “Rome” (Season 1, Episode 11), when Titus Pullo is rescued by his comrade Lucius Vorenus of the 13th Legion (*Legio XIII Gemina*). During this year an immense wooden amphitheater, that would soon collapse with great loss of life, was however erected by Titus Statilius.



Just Years and Years and Years Later



ROME

ROMA

27 CE

It would be quite a while yet, before the masonry Colosseum would be erected in the center of [Rome](#). In this period, in the collapse of the immense wooden amphitheater that had been erected by Titus Statilius in 29 CE, some 20,000-50,000 spectators were crushed.

[TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS](#)

At about this point the Emperor [Tiberius](#) moved from the Campagna to the island of Capri in the Bay of [Naples](#), leaving [Rome](#) under the control of Lucius Aelius Sejanus.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**32 CE**

A. Avilius Flaccus would be the Roman Governor of [Egypt](#) until 38 CE. A shortage of grain in [Rome](#) led to public protests.

HDT

WHAT?

INDEX

ROME

ROMA

36 CE

According to one account, this was the year of the conversion of [Paul](#):



- 44 Cæsar, the greatest of the Roman conquerors, after having fought fifty pitched battles, and slain 1,192,000 men, and overturned the liberties of his country, is killed in the senate-house.
- 35 The battle of Actium fought, in which Mark Antony and Cleopatra are totally defeated by Octavius, nephew to Julius Cæsar.
- 30 Alexandria, in Egypt, is taken by Octavius, upon which Antony and Cleopatra put themselves to death, and Egypt is reduced to a Roman province.
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- 51 Caractacus, the British king, is carried in chains to Rome.
- St. Luke writes his Gospel.



ROMA

ROME

(This was also, perhaps coincidentally, the year of the Samaritan prophet we list as [Messiah](#) claimant #7.)

From about this point in time until about 65 CE, the initial period of oral tradition among the *Christianos* between Jesus and the Gospel of Mark, the era of [Paul](#) of Tarsus as eventually “recorded” in ACTS OF THE APOSTLES — Simon Peter as maybe the leader? —maybe as the 1st Pope? This was the period of John, James, Andrew, Philip, Thomas, Bartholomew, Matthew, James son of Alpheus, Simon the Revolutionary or Zealot, Jude son of James, Mary the mother of Jesus, Jesus’ brothers and sisters and various other women per ACTS 1: 13-14, but none of that supposedly factual history has ever been confirmed in any other independent record: (whatever happened to Thaddeus?) (were there actually only about 120 initial believers as indicated in ACTS 1: 15?) (did Judas the betrayer actually commit “suicide” as indicated in ACTS 1: 18-19, and was Matthias voted in as his replacement as indicated in ACTS 1: 23-26?) (did they actually gain 3,000 new converts in a single day as indicated in ACTS 2: 41?) (did Peter and John really get clapped into jail for a single night for having created riots, producing more converts until the number of Christians had risen to 5,000 as per ACTS 3?) (did Ananias and Sapphira die under mysterious circumstances upon failing to give all their possessions to Christianity as per ACTS 5?) (Was Aramaic in use early on as indicted in ACTS 1: 19, and Greek as indicated in ACTS 6?) (were 7 Greeks added to the 12 apostles and were they named Stephen, Philip, Prochorus, Nicanor, Timon, Parmenas, Nicolaus as indicated in ACTS 6?) (was there initially only one Christian *ekklesia* or “church” or “assembly” in Jerusalem?) (did Paul, prior to his conversion, cause Stephen to be martyred and the Jerusalem *ekklesia* destroyed, dispersing the original Christians throughout Judaea and Samaria, as indicated in ACTS 8: 1ff?) (was Paul converted into the “Apostle to the Gentiles” and did the main activity of Christianity shift from the Hellenic-Jewish-Christians of Judaea, Samaria, and Galilee?)<sup>16</sup>

16. Saul (Saulus) of Tarsus also called [Paul](#) was born a Roman citizen at Tarsus (Turkey) in the Roman Province of Cilicia. Paul would later claim to be of the tribe of Benjamin and therefore a Semite. He also, having been reared at Tarsus, had a Greek cultural tradition. Saul of Tarsus was also educated in Jerusalem in the rigid religious doctrine of the Pharisees Judaism Sect. Some suggest Saul was born about 5 CE. Others suggest that Saul was a convert to the Judaism tradition. Paul alias Saulus some say played a key role in the events leading up to the destruction of Jerusalem. His brother Costobarus was associated with Antipas, a Herodian Temple Treasurer, in the 40s. James the Just was attacked and injured in the 40s by Paul but escaped with his followers to Jericho (this is most likely a confusion with James the son of Zebedee who was attacked in the early 40s). Others suggest that Paul had much less theological or historical importance in the first century and only became important in the sixteenth century. It is noteworthy the Paul would create the Roman Christian Cult (Paulist Cult) and failed to adhere to the standards of the Christian Judaism sect. Josephus the historian, who died about 100 CE, mentions Jesus [Jews](#) and Jesus Greeks but makes no mention of the Paulist Christians. Since Josephus spent time in [Rome](#) while writing his history, this failure to mention them is curious.



**ROME**

***ROMA***

**40 CE**

Mauretania (now northern Morocco and northwestern Algeria) was annexed by [Rome](#).

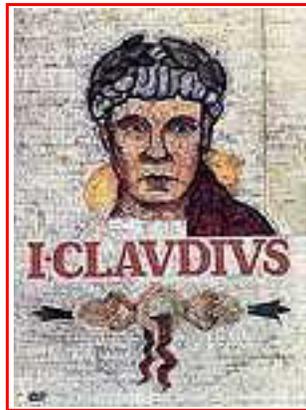


ROMA

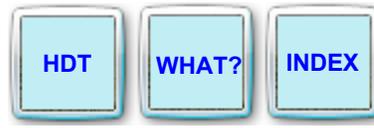
ROME

43 CE

In the south-east of Britain, Togodumnus and Caratacus had been whipping up anti-Roman feeling and had cut off the Belgae tribute payments to [Rome](#). The Emperor [Claudius](#) sent four legions (some 20,000 legionnaires) under Aulus Plautius, and they set ashore at Richborough in Kent for a by-the-rulebook pacification. Caratacus, who led the main British resistance, would be defeated in 51 CE.



Saul of Tarsus, alias [Paul](#), of the Paulist Cult, and his disciple Barnabas were mistaken by the people of Lystra, Turkey for the messengers of the Gods Zeus and Hermes (Thoth). Hermes the Greek alias Thoth Trismegistus the Egyptian as a spirit concept is a messenger of the gods. The people labeled Paul as a disciple of Thoth meaning an interpreter of the divine will of mankind. Based upon this understanding others suggest Paul was being mistaken for the messianic messenger of the Mount of Olives, the so-called Egyptian. Antioch in Syria became the center of the Judo-Hellenistic Messianic sect. This was the year in which some allege that Simon Peter the Judah-Messianic leader and Paul heatedly argued the keeping or abandonment of ancient Jewish tradition, but there is no evidence that Peter even knew that Paul existed. Simon Peter the Joshua-Judah leader, keeper of the covenant had been preaching that Judo-Messianic sect members must observe Jewish tradition just as Joshua (Jesus) had remained in God's covenant. Paul argued that it is not necessary to follow Judah tradition. This likely represents the beginning of the schism between Eastern and Western Messianic orthodoxy. Many of the Jerusalem Community of James the Just considered [Paul](#) to be Roman, a Pharisee, and a killer of Jews.



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**46 CE**

Tiberius Julius Alexander, an apostate Jew, was made the Roman Procurator of Iudaea.

[Paul](#)'s initial missionary journey (until 48 CE?).

At the age of 12 [Aulus Persius Flaccus](#) came from his home town of Volaterrae to [Rome](#), where he was taken under instruction by Remmius Palaemon and the rhetor Verginius Flavius. During the following four years he would develop friendships with the Stoic philosopher Lucius Annaeus Cornutus, the lyric poet Caesius Bassus, the poet Lucan, and his relative Arria's husband Thrasea Paetus. Later he would meet [Seneca the Younger](#), but be unimpressed.



ROMA

ROME

50 CE

[Lucius Junius Moderatus Columella](#), a [Roman](#) agricultural author,<sup>17</sup> wrote a 2d treatise on agriculture, *DE RE RUSTICA* (ON THINGS RURAL), covering many subjects, including the various benefits and difficulties of managing [slaves](#) versus tenants on large properties:

Book I covers choice of farming site; water supply; buildings; staff.

II: Ploughing; fertilising; care of crops.

III, IV, V: Cultivation, grafting and pruning of fruit trees, vines, and olives.

VI: Acquisition, breeding, and rearing of oxen, horses, and mules; veterinary medicine.

VII: Sheep, goats, pigs, and dogs.

VIII: Poultry; fish ponds.

IX: Bee-keeping.

X (in hexameter poetry, and intended as a supplement to the *GEORGICS* of Virgil): Gardening.

XI: Duties of the overseer of a farm; calendar for farm work; more on gardening.

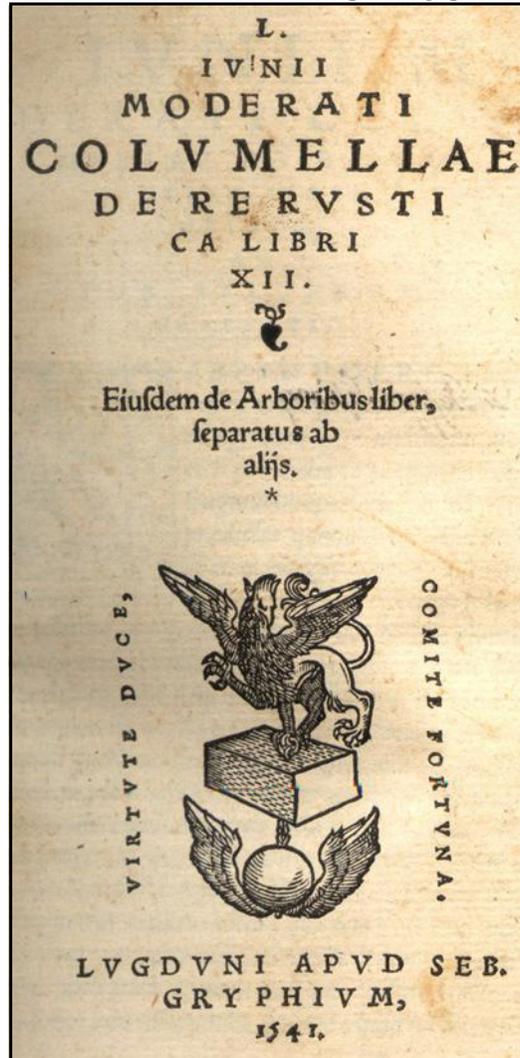
17. After serving with the Roman legion in Syria and Cilicia he had settled as an agriculturalist near Rome. He would live to about 70 CE and would probably die in Tarentum. His 1st work product has been lost except for a section entitled *DE ARBORIBUS* (ON TREES) on vines and olives and various trees, but all twelve scrolls of this 2d work, *DE RE RUSTICA* (ON THINGS RURAL), have survived.



ROME

ROMA

XII: Duties of the overseer's wife; manufacture of wines; pickling; preserving.



([Henry Thoreau](#) would chance belatedly upon this treatise in Fall 1851  while looking through Bronson Alcott's library.)



ROMA

ROME

54 CE

[Paul](#) began his 4th period of missionary travels (54 CE-58 CE) with a visit to Ephesus, and with letters to the Christian communities of [Philippi](#) in Greece (PHILIPPIANS), [Galatia](#) (GALATIANS), [Corinth](#) (1 and 2 CORINTHIANS), and [Rome](#) (ROMANS). He would then travel to Corinth and Jerusalem, where he would be arrested and imprisoned in Caesarea from 58 CE to 60 CE.

October 13: In [Rome](#), the emperor [Claudius](#) was fed some poisoned mushrooms by his wife Agrippina the Younger,



and suddenly her son [Nero](#) was, at the age of 17, Caesar of the Roman Empire. He would get all carried away with this and kill various relatives including his brother, his pregnant wife, and his mother Agrippina. Nero's two advisers would be [Seneca the Younger](#) and Sextus Afranius Burrus.



Now, the Romans could get with the idea of killing one's brother, especially if he was an adoptive one rather than a blood kin. And, they could as easily grasp the need to terminate an inconvenient wife as they could the need to terminate an inconvenient pregnancy. But, there was something about killing one's own mother, the person who had given one life, that just stuck in their throats. They wouldn't ever be able to forgive their emperor after he had killed his own mom.

## ROME

## ROMA

It was, likely, at some time during the reign of Claudius, that the Roman historian [Quintus Curtius Rufus](#) wrote (unless, indeed, he would write under the emperor Vespasian who would rule 69 CE-79 CE). Of his only surviving work, a biography of [Alexander the Great](#) in Latin in ten books, the first two books have been lost and of the remaining eight we have preserved only incomplete copies. This has been found in the personal library of [Henry Thoreau](#), in a Latin edition *HISTORIAE ALEXANDRI MAGNI. ADIECTA SUNT SUPPLEMENTA FREINSHEMII. ED. STEREOTYPA EX NOVA TABULARUM IMPRESSIONE EMENDATISSIMA*, prepared in “Lipsiae: Sumtibus et typis C. Tauchnitii” in 1829. The historical work of Quintus Curtius Rufus focused on Alexander’s character and offers precious little insight into geography, the chronology of the historical events, or the military techniques that Alexander utilized.

Q. CURT. pag. 65.



ALEXANDER MAGNUS,  
Ex Nummis Ursini et Thesouro Numism. Palat. Begeri.

QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**55 CE**

[Paul](#) traveled from Antioch in Syria through Asia (Turkey) to Troas (Troy) on the Aegean Sea. He then traveled in Macedonia Achaia (Greece), from Neapolis (Kavala) to Athens (Athinai). From Athens he sailed back to Asia (Turkey), and then journeyed on to Jerusalem in Judaea, and back to Antioch in Syria.

From this point until 58 CE, [Paul](#) would be sending epistles to the Christian communities of [Galatia](#) (GALATIANS), [Corinth](#) (1 and 2 CORINTHIANS), and [Rome](#) (ROMANS).

At about this point, according to ACTS OF THE APOSTLES 21 and according to Josephus, Felix killed an “Egyptian” [Messiah](#) claimant #10 who was planning to take over in Jerusalem.



ROMA

ROME

58 CE

James the Just (who would die in 62 CE) was at the head of the Messianic Church of Jerusalem and the Christian Church of Greece as Papa and was alleged to have written the Letter to the Christian dispersion.

Some have suggested that this Jew [Paul](#) who was so defensive and Antisemitic may have had some sort of inferiority complex. While defaming Jewish tradition in Jerusalem he was taken into custody by the High Priest Ananias (Anas) son of Nebeus, who held him personally responsible for the schism in the Judah Churches, and imprisoned in Caesarea (ACTS OF THE APOSTLES 25: 4). It is believed by the present church that he was in and out of prison until executed about 67 AD, but there is no evidence to suggest execution — he simply disappears from the historical record. It is believed that he wrote to the Galatians at about this time, but that he was ignorant of the decree of 49 CE of the Council of Jerusalem.

[Paul](#) for the 1st time claimed that Jesus Christ had granted to him his apostle authority, rather than simply attributing this to God. The new claim was made to the Galatians of Turkey, who had turned away from Paulist theology to different followers of the Good News. He warned that anyone who preached a different version of the Paulist Good News would be a mere troublemaker even were he an angel from heaven, and was to be condemned.

[Paul](#) suggested that he and his Greek Paulist teachings were under severe attack by the Jerusalem community of James the Just. He proclaimed that God had chosen him while he was still in his mother's womb. He acknowledged having failed to consult with the Apostles even during his stays in Jerusalem. He admitted having had a violent physical encounter with James the Just, in the year 52 CE or 54 CE, resulting in bodily harm to the brother of Jesus. He firmly believed that the Apostles of Jerusalem have nothing to add to his cult's Good News. He considered that Simon Peter had been commissioned only to teach among the circumcised and that he, Paul, had the divine commission to teach among the uncircumcised.

[Paul](#) claimed that he opposed Simon Peter (Cephas) on his visit to Antioch. Paul attempted to belittle Simon Peter for associating with pagans precisely in the manner in which Jesus had been belittled for associating with sinners. It is noteworthy that most sources suggest that it was most likely James the Just, the brother of Jesus, rather than Peter, who was heading the church in the Jerusalem community. Although this leader of the Paulist cult is claimed to have written or influenced more than half of material in the New Testament, it is noteworthy that the scriptural materials not authored by Paul are oblivious of his existence.

[Paul](#) returned through Turkey, Macedonia, and Achaea but then went along the coast to Jerusalem in Judaea. He was brought to trial before the procurator of Judaea, Antonius Felix (52-59 CE), and appealed to the Roman Emperor as a Roman citizen. While traveling to [Rome](#) he supposedly wrote letters to the Christian communities of [Philippi](#) in Greece (PHILIPPIANS), [Ephesus](#) in Asia Minor (EPHESIANS), and [Colossae](#) near Ephesus (COLOSSIANS).



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**60 CE**

According to ACTS OF THE APOSTLES 28:16, [Paul](#) was imprisoned in [Rome](#).

Rebels of the Temple of the Jerusalem Church had for two decades been drawing religious battle lines both with Rome and with the new Judo-Messianic sects. The Roman citizens considered the sects of Judah as a sordid lot. The Judo-Messianic sects went as a body every day to the Temple of Jerusalem. The Judah sect insisted on the banning of “fornication” by the Holy People of the Temple — such “fornication” consisted in any mixing of Judah and Gentile by marriage, thereby polluting the Holy Seed of Judah. This definition was expanded to include anything of a Gentile nature, including articles for sacrifice. The Law rendered them unclean and thereby their presence was a trespass on the purity of the Temple. The Law was based on Israel and Judah being a Holy People, a Holy Seed. The Judo-Messianic sect of Jerusalem was taking a somewhat less righteous stance by claiming there were no forbidden things, and that accepting Gentiles into the Brotherhood did not amount to fornication. They openly acknowledge having sexual intercourse with Gentiles and prostitutes, condemning only such impurities as sleeping with one’s own wife during her monthly period of blood. They refused the use of cups made by Gentiles or handled by Gentiles. The extremists would eventually trigger a war with Rome in 66 CE-77 CE by stopping temple sacrifices on behalf of Romans and other Gentiles.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**61 CE**

[Paul](#) was restricted to [Rome](#) although not under restraint (until 63 CE) and it may be that he wrote letters from there to the Christian communities in [Colossae](#) and [Ephesus](#), and to [Philemon](#) (and the Christians of [Philippi](#)). Apparently when he went to trial no-one spoke up on his behalf, and Eusebius (260 CE-339 CE) would suppose that he had simply been left to his fate. (Although some traditions hold that Peter visited Rome about 61 CE-63 CE and was executed there in 67 CE, there is no direct evidence of any such event, and such a story would not surface until more than four generations later in the writings of Irenaeus and Dionysius of Corinth.)



ROME

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62 CE

[Paul](#), the leader of the Paulist Cult, during this year and the following one wrote letters to the Christian communities of [Philippi](#) in Greece (PHILIPPIANS), [Colossae](#) near Ephesus (COLOSSIANS), and [Ephesus](#) in Asia Minor (EPHESIANS), as well as to a church leader in Colossae known as [Philemon](#) (PHILEMON). He confirmed a harsh condemnation of woman that would perpetuate into the 21st Century. Based on the 2d version of the creation story in *GENESIS*, he categorized woman as at best the reflection of man's glory. He taught that woman came from man and existed for the sake of man. He proclaimed as Church Law that women were to remain silent at meetings and were to remain perpetually subject to their husbands and fathers. The Law (Judah) orders this because it was a woman's tongue that caused the fall of man from God's grace and therefore changed the nature of things so that what had been good is now experienced as ill. This divided the early church into two camps. The cult led by James the Just (deceased in 62 CE), brother of [Jesus](#), sought to remain faithful to the Judah Law. The cult led by Stephan sought to break away from this temple tradition. As a compromise the Roman Hellenistic Churches forced the Principle of Salvation through Faith in Christ thereby dispensing non-Judaic Christians from obeying the Law of Moses. This it is claimed had been established at the Council of Jerusalem in 49 CE.

These early Messianic sects of Jerusalem were socialistic, and later Roman Christian Church descendents would condemn their practices as being pagan and heathenistic. They shared food gladly and generously, and owned everything in common. They met by common consent. The Church of [Rome](#) would come to consider

## ROMA

## ROME

these traditions a squandering of one's belongings. Those who continued these early Essene and Christian principles would be persecuted.

There are some stories that Joseph of Arimathea came through Glastonbury in this year on the first Christian mission to Britain.

The [Romans](#) captured the last remnants of the Babylonian Empire in Northern Syria. The Judo-Messianic sect of Nazareth believed that Satan resided to the Northwest of Nazareth. Rebels killed the High-Priest Ananus (Anas) II (62 CE-63 CE) of Jerusalem hoping to return the Priesthood to the traditional House of Zadokite.

- 59 The emperor Nero puts his mother and brothers to death.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ persecutes the Druids in Britain.
- 61 Boadicea, the British queen, defeats the Romans; but is conquered soon after by Suetonius, governor of Britain.  
 St. Paul is sent in bonds to Rome; writes his Epistles between 51 and 66.
- 62 The council of the Apostles at Jerusalem.
- 63 The Acts of the Apostles written.  
 Christianity is supposed to be introduced into Britain by St. Paul or some of his disciples, about this time.
- 64 Rome set on fire, and burned for six days; upon which began (under Nero) the first persecution against the Christians.
- 67 St. Peter and St. Paul put to death.
- 70 Whilst the factious Jews are destroying one another with mutual fury, Titus, the Roman general, takes Jerusalem, which is razed to the ground, and the plough made to pass over it.
- 83 The philosophers expelled Rome by Domitian.
- 85 Julius Agricola, Governor of South Britain, to protect the civilized Britons from the incursions of the Caledonians, builds a line of forts between the rivers Forth and Clyde, defeats the Caledonians under Galacus on the Grampian hills; and first sails round Britain, which he discovers to be an island.
- 96 St. John the Evangelist wrote his revelation; his Gospel in 97.
- 121 The Caledonians reconquer from the Romans all the southern parts of Scotland: upon which the emperor Adrian builds a wall between Newcastle and Carlisle; but this also proving ineffectual, Pollius Urbicus, the Roman general, about the year 144, repairs Agricola's forts, which he joins by a wall four yards thick.
- 135 The second Jewish war ends, when they were all banished Judæa.
- 139 Justin writes his first Apology for the Christians.
- 152 The Emperor Antoninus Pius stops the persecution against the Christians.



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64 CE

July 18-26: A great fire that began in the [Circus Maximus](#) for six days ravaged [Rome](#). Some blamed [Nero](#), who in turn blamed the fire on the Messianic Judaism sects and so began their persecution:

Therefore to squelch the rumor [that Nero had started the Great Fire of Rome], Nero created scapegoats and subjected to the most refined tortures those whom the common people called "Christians," [a group] hated for their abominable crimes. Their name comes from Christ, who, during the reign of Tiberius, had been executed by the procurator Pontius Pilate. Suppressed for the moment, the deadly superstition broke out again, not only in Judea, the land which originated this evil, but also in the city of Rome, where all sorts of horrendous and shameful practices from every part of the world converge and are fervently cultivated.

-Tacitus's ANNALS 15. 44; MARGINAL JEW; Meier; pages 89-90





ROMA

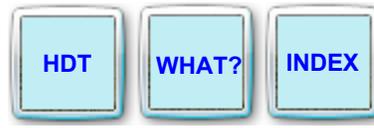
ROME

It is noteworthy that Nero married Poppaea, a Judaeen. Until this time the Jerusalem Community of James the

- 59 The emperor Nero puts his mother and brothers to death.  
————— persecutes the Druids in Britain.
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Just, brother of Jesus Sects, Roman Paulists and the various other Judo-Messianic sects were still considered the same sect by the Romans. This growing Roman scorn was because these Roman-Christians and Paulists were waiting for the last judgment and failed to participate in political and social life of the Empire. The Roman-Christians and Paulists were rumored to hold orgies, killing small children to provide the blood and body they consumed during their services. Those Roman Messianic sects welcomed inferior beings, women and slaves into their culture and proclaiming all other traditions false. Beliefs became truths and became the basis for judgment of who is or is not civilized. The persecution of Judaism and Messianic sects in the Roman Empire would continue sporadically, often brought on by a calamity, such as an earthquake, flood, or even a loss in battle, for which the Judah Sects would then be held responsible. The Edict of Milan would finally be granted, in 313 CE, giving official sanction to Roman Christianity within the Empire. Roman Christianity and some other Messianic cultures like the Paulists would begin to merge and the Roman Christians would become essentially a New Roman Culture basically void of most Judah or Judo-Messianic traditions. Publius Cornelius Tacitus (55 CE-116? CE) would write that the Roman Christian Sects were being severely punished not to protect public welfare but to satisfy the ferocity of Nero.

Publius Cornelius Tacitus (55 CE-116? CE) would note, or would later be made to have noted, that Christus,



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the founder of the named sect, had undergone the death penalty in the region of Tiberius, by sentence of the Prefect Pontius Pilatus (26 CE-36 CE), and the pernicious superstition was checked for the moment, only to break out once more, not merely in Judaea, the home of the disease, but in the capital itself, where all things horrible or shameful in the world collect and find a vogue. Simon Peter the Apostle who most likely died 64 or at the latest by 67 AD had urged the Gentiles to abide by Judah dietary Laws. Peter (died 64 CE-67 CE) accepted the correction and changed his ruling establishing the precedent that Church officials are not free from grievous error in matters of faith and morals. Peter was surely aware of the schism developing within the Judo-Christian community. It is also noteworthy that Peter never claimed to be Papa of Rome.

There is no evidence to support the claim by Irenaeus and Dionysius of Corinth in 170 CE that Peter visited Rome and yet the official story is that the apostle Simon Peter was crucified in 64 CE-67 CE on the Mons Vaticanus. Christianity was spreading from Antioch to Syria and Edessa, from Ephesus to Asia Minor and Gaul, from Alexandria to the south and south east of the Roman Empire, from Rome to Italy and Africa and from there to Spain. Constantinople became the center for the spread to the Balkans (Goths and Slavs).

[Pliny the Younger](#) would write to the emperor Marcus Ulpius Trajanus ([Trajan](#)) that fraternities were forbidden in Bithynia in Asia Minor, yet he arrested two female Judo-Christian deaconesses. It should be noted that female priests were fairly common in the early Jerusalem Judo-Christian Church sects. The Roman Christian Sect would abandon this practice and most Jewish tradition. Rebels killed the High Priest Jesus of Jerusalem (63-64 CE), hoping thereby to return the Priesthood to the House of Zadokite. Gessius Florus (64-66 CE) was appointed Procurator of Judea. He would improve upon the evils of Albinus by declaring that anyone might become a bandit as long as he received his share of the spoils. Many Jews fled the region to foreign provinces. During Gessius Florus's procuratorship, 64 CE-66 CE, the Galilean Sect (Zealots) began to go wild and revolt against Rome. Josephus the historian would suggest that Gessius Florus started the rebellion in Jerusalem when he ordered his soldiers to sack the upper market. About 3,000 men, women and children were killed. He ordered senior Jews with Roman status to be whipped and then nailed to the cross.



**ROMA**

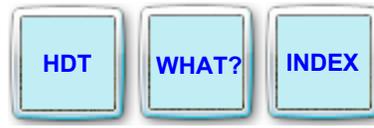
**ROME**

**65 CE**

The funeral rites for [Nero](#)'s wife Poppaea at [Rome](#) consumed a year's supply of [cinnamon](#).

SPICE

PLANTS



ROME

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67 CE

In [Rome](#), [Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus](#)'s "[Golden House](#)" was completed. The Roman Governor of Spain proclaimed this Emperor to be unworthy and began a march on the capitol city.

[COLOSSEUM](#)

By this point [Paul](#) must have written the letters that would be canonized as [1 TIMOTHY](#), [TITUS](#), and [2 TIMOTHY](#), for in [Rome](#) the Pharisee-Christian alias Saul the Roman citizen, the self-proclaimed apostle, was put to death under orders of [Nero](#). (or maybe not).



Some say [Paul](#) was beheaded on the road to Ostia. Others suggest he escaped to Spain. Some suppose him to have been killed as being a member of the Roman conspiracy and revolution of 64 CE-68 CE ([Nero](#) did tour Greece executing conspirators). It is noteworthy that Flavius Josephus, the [Jewish](#) historian, makes no reference to Paul alias Saul but does speak of a Saulus. Some have suggested that he lived and played a key role in the events leading up to the destruction of Jerusalem — if this was the case it would neatly explain why the Paulist Church writings are strangely silent about his death or whereabouts after this time. It is noteworthy that there is no direct evidence of an execution, and noteworthy that such a tradition would be pioneered by Irenaeus and Dionysius of Corinth only as of CE 170. The writings attributed to him comprise nearly a third of the New Testament but were not edited and compiled until nearly five centuries after his death.

At this time it is alleged that Linus (about 67 CE-76 CE) was appointed by [Paul](#) as the first Papa of Rome and headed the Roman Greek Paulist Christian Church, rather than Peter as is commonly assumed. Simon Peter is never once recorded as Papa of Rome and likely only spent 3 to 4 years in Rome. Most evidence suggests that James the Just was Papa of the Christian Churches, which were centered in Jerusalem rather than Rome.

68 CE

June 9: Emperor [Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus](#), who had reigned 14 years, had returned from Greece. When the Praetorian Guards and the Spanish and Gallic legions revolted against him, he had fled [Rome](#). The Senate having declared him a public enemy, on this day he committed suicide and was resurrected as “Nero redivivus.”



NERON CAESAR = 666

Despite the fact that he was being hailed as a deity the Flavian emperors would proceed to erect the [Flavian Amphitheater](#) in an attempt to obliterate the Roman people’s memory of him. This would be a new use for the site of the artificial lake that had sheltered his Golden House, and was their way to give the site back to the people. It would not be until the Middle Ages that this huge amphitheater would come to be referred to as the [Colosseum](#), and it would be known by that name by virtue of being named after the 120-foot Colossus statue commissioned by Nero that had been dragged by 12 pairs of elephants to the site. (There is little real evidence that any but an occasional Christian ever was put to death in this structure, it having not been erected until well after the final mass persecution.)

The new emperor, Galba (Servius Galba Imperator Caesar Augustus), would in short order be murdered,



then another new emperor Marcus Salvius Otho would commit suicide,



and Aulus Vitellius was killed



before Titus Flavius Vespasian Augustus (69-79 CE) was able to prevail (hence this would be known as “The Year of the Four Emperors”).



The enormous bronze statue of [Nero](#) created by the architect Zenodorus, the [Colossus Neronis](#), that at 106.5 Roman feet rivaled the famed Colossus of Rhodes, would have a sun-ray crown added to it by the new emperor, Vespasian, to repurpose it as [Colossus Solis](#) (the Emperor Hadrian would reposition this next to [Rome's Amphitheatrum Flavianum](#)):



The Senate was irrelevant during this period of civil strife. The Judah staged a full-scale revolution that required the attention of six Roman Legions. The Roman General Vespasian marched on Jerusalem leaving scorched earth behind him and driving the Zealots into Jerusalem. The Zealots turned against the hereditary Temple aristocratic and high-priestly leaders replacing them by lot with lowborn individuals. This stage of the rebellion represents the peasants against the aristocrats. The Judah Sects complained that the tax rate of 25 percent on top of the temples 22 percent is unacceptable. Civilis the Roman commander guarding the Rhine also rebelled against Rome in support of Vespasian. At this time Rome is gripped by a civil struggle between Aulus Vitellius and Vespasian who would become Emperor. Many outlying regions seized this as an opportunity to gain advantage. When Vespasian was chosen to become Roman Emperor, he returned from Judaea to Rome leaving behind his son Titus to continue the fight.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**70 CE**

June 21: The foundation stone for the Capitoline Temple was laid in [Rome](#).



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**72 CE**

In [Rome](#), the beginning of construction of the [Flavian Amphitheater](#), eventually to be known as the [Colosseum](#). The material used in its construction was travertine, a calcareous sinter quarried along the Anio River at Tivoli 16 miles east of the city (the same material would later be used to build St. Peter's Basilica, and the Pennsylvania Railway Station of New York City).

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73 CE

Jonathan the weaver, [Messiah](#) claimant #16.

The Jewish fortress at Masada on the cliffs above the Dead Sea fell to its besieging [Roman](#) legion, with its residents committing mass suicide:



THE PAX ROMANA



ROME

ROMA

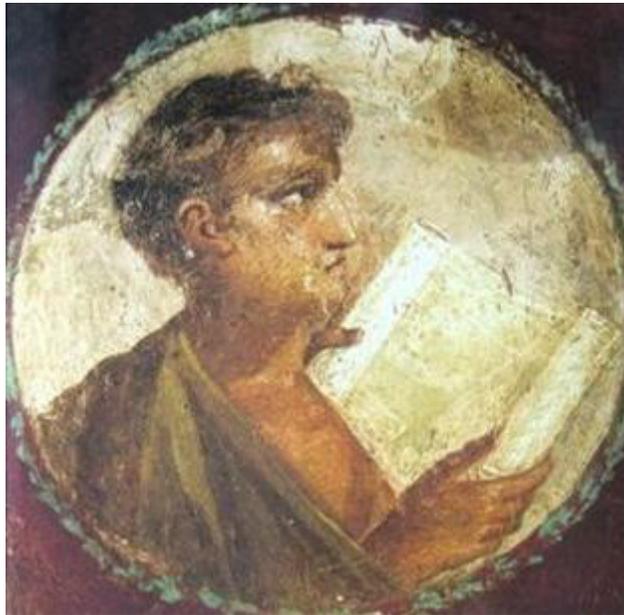
79 CE

Near Pompeii, Mount Vesuvius erupted.

Though construction on the [Flavian Amphitheater](#) in [Rome](#) was not yet complete, the Emperor Vespasian dedicated it (He would die on June 23d and would be succeeded by Titus).

[COLOSSEUM](#)

At the age of eighteen, [Pliny the Younger](#) was beginning to make appearances in civil-law courts. Success there would put him in demand in a political court that tried provincial officials for extortion, where his most notable achievements would be in securing the condemnation of a corrupt governor in Africa, and of a clique of officials from Spain.





**ROMA**

**ROME**

**80 CE**

Fire, plague, and religion were causing problems in [Rome](#). The emperor Titus staged a gala 100-day celebration, including venations, gladiator games, and a naval battle, at the new [Flavian Amphitheater](#) (known informally as the “[Colosseum](#)” because of the [Colossus Solis](#) bronze statue nearby).

Many Judah-Christian Sect followers were being ejected from synagogues because they refused to observe the Torah. These were followers of Paul, a Roman and a self-proclaimed apostle of Christ, who was preaching a disregard for such traditions. The Romans, who highly valued the following of such ancestral customs, began to suspect this new Jesus sect that was thus breaking with the faith of its fathers of being fanatics.

At about this point, the GOSPEL OF MATTHEW, the most popular in the early church, was being based on the information already available in MARK and Q, but with the overlaying of a good deal of new Antisemitism.

HDT

WHAT?

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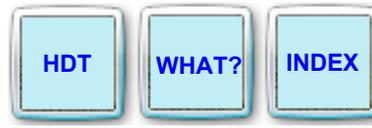
81 CE

September: The Emperor Titus died of a fever and his brother Titus Flavius Domitian became Emperor.



He ordered hard fighting on the Danube against the Dacians. Although he is considered to have been a cruel ruler with little respect for the Senate ("*Nero redivivus?*"), he legislated against immorality and strictly controlled the governors of the provinces. During the reign of the Emperor Domitian construction would be completed on Rome's [Flavian Amphitheater](#).

COLOSSEUM



ROMA

ROME

85 CE

In the 4th year of the emperor Domitian, the 1st “Papa” or bishop of Alexandria, Annianus, died, having served his community of Christians for 22 years, and was succeeded by a 2d Papa, Avilus, who according to Eusebius would serve for the following 13 years.

It is likely that the lost “Q” (“Quelle”) source document, Mark, Luke, Matthew, and John represent five different sects or flavors of early Christianity during this turbulent 1st Century. The gospel attributed to Mark reflects a major shift away from rabbinical authority. Scholars suggest that the gospel attributed to Matthew was being written in about this period in Antioch, the capital of the Roman Province of Syria and the 3d largest city of the Roman empire. The gospel attributed to Matthew provides a major criticism of the 12 Apostles, and especially of the innermost three. It is suggested that the gospel attributed to Luke was also being written in about this period, but in a Greek city of the empire. These unknown authors omitted some of the Mark source’s materials, changed some of it, and supplied additional uncorroborated material. Originally the gospel “according to Luke” was directly followed by the Acts of the Apostles as a single, linked, two-volume work. The gospel attributed to Luke and the Acts of the Apostles document reflect a major shift, from the authority of Jerusalem to the authority of [Rome](#). The Acts of the Apostles were written by Luke, a Syrian from Antioch and a follower of the Paulist sect, and in deploying his writings in an attempt to legitimize [Paul](#) as an apostle he contradicts his authority’s own writings, which had admitted that for the initial 14 years he had had no contact whatever with the real Apostles of Jesus.

The Gospel attributed to Peter dates to the late 2d or early 3d century in [Egypt](#) and is given short shrift by conventional studies.

The Gospel attributed to Thomas alias Didymus the tax collector, written in Greek and Coptic, was found in [Egypt](#) and dates to 200-250 CE. In the name “Judas Didymus Thomas,” “Didymus” is Greek but “Thomas” is Syric — this Gospel likely originated in eastern Syria beyond the Euphrates. This Gospel emphasized the authority of Thomas, especially against Peter and Matthew.

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## ROME

## ROMA

The Emperor Domitian went to war against the Dacians.



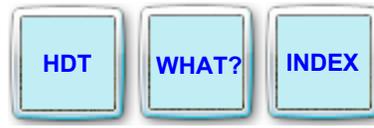
The father of the future Roman Emperor Hadrian died and Hadrian was entrusted to the care of two guardians,



one being Marcus Ulpius Trajanus, the future emperor [Trajan](#).



- 59 The emperor Nero puts his mother and brothers to death.  
 \_\_\_\_\_ persecutes the Druids in Britain.
- 61 Boadicea, the British queen, defeats the Romans; but is conquered soon after by Suetonius, governor of Britain.  
 St. Paul is sent in bonds to Rome; writes his Epistles between 51 and 66.
- 62 The council of the Apostles at Jerusalem.
- 63 The Acts of the Apostles written.  
 Christianity is supposed to be introduced into Britain by St. Paul or some of his disciples, about this time.
- 64 Rome set on fire, and burned for six days; upon which began (under Nero) the first persecution against the Christians.
- 67 St. Peter and St. Paul put to death.
- 70 Whilst the factious Jews are destroying one another with mutual fury, Titus, the Roman general, takes Jerusalem, which is razed to the ground, and the plough made to pass over it.
- 83 The philosophers expelled Rome by Domitian.
- 85 Julius Agricola, Governor of South Britain, to protect the civilized Britons from the incursions of the Caledonians, builds a line of forts between the rivers Forth and Clyde, defeats the Caledonians under Galacus on the Grampian hills; and first sails round Britain, which he discovers to be an island.
- 96 St. John the Evangelist wrote his revelation; his Gospel in 97.
- 121 The Caledonians reconquer from the Romans all the southern parts of Scotland: upon which the emperor Adrian builds a wall between Newcastle and Carlisle; but this also proving ineffectual, Pollius Urbicus, the Roman general, about the year 144, repairs Agricola's forts, which he joins by a wall four yards thick.
- 135 The second Jewish war ends, when they were all banished Judæa.
- 139 Justin writes his first Apology for the Christians.
- 152 The Emperor Antoninus Pius stops the persecution against the Christians.



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**109 CE**

At about this point Alexander I, presumably a member of the [Paulist](#) group of Christians, became the 5th or 6th Papa of [Rome](#). He would fill that office for some 7 to 10 years. Supposedly it was he who inserted a Last Supper tradition into the mass (there's precious little historical foundation for such assertions).

110 CE

At about this point [Pliny the Younger](#) left off the serial publication of his collections of EPISTULAE (private letters), because the Emperor [Trajan](#) had dispatched him to investigate accusations of corruption in the municipal administration of Pontus/Bithynia.



A Roman edict to force solidarity in religion required all people to perform worship of the state deities — and then having paid their dues they were to be free to worship other Gods besides these if they so chose. Those who do not conform were to be executed of course, as enemies of the state. Many [Jews](#) and Christians would refuse to render unto Caesar under this law and would be persecuted. The initial documented Christian martyrdom in [Rome's Flavian Amphitheater](#) was that of St. Ignatius of Antioch. At this time it was related that the Emperor Nero of detested memory, when he had needed to stifle the rumor the he had set [Rome](#) on fire, had ascribed it to these people who were hated for their wicked practices, and called by the vulgar, Christians.

[COLOSSEUM](#)

It was in about this year that Polycarp wrote to the Philippians.

“Letters of Ignatius,” bishop of Antioch, martyred in Rome, his letters were subjected to heavy Christian forgery especially during the 4th Century.



ROME

ROMA

121 CE

[Marcus Aurelius Antoninus](#), who would succeed the Emperor [Antoninus Pius](#), was born in [Rome](#).



The Emperor [Hadrian](#) (117-138 CE) visited England and, to contain the Highlanders (Picts), ordered the construction of Hadrian's Wall from the Firth of Forth to the mouth of the Clyde.

- 59 The emperor Nero puts his mother and brothers to death.  
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ROME

ROMA

128 CE

At about this point the enormous bronze statue of [Nero](#) created by the architect Zenodorus, the [Colossus Neronis](#) that at 106.5 Roman feet rivaled the famed Colossus of Rhodes, that had had a sun-ray crown added to it by the Emperor Vespasian to repurpose it as [Colossus Solis](#), was repositioned next to [Rome's Amphitheatrum Flavianum](#) by the architect Decrianus with the assistance of a dozen pairs elephants at the order of the Emperor Hadrian:



[Hadrian](#) ordered that Christians were not to be hunted — but should they be denounced, and found guilty, were to be punished.



ROMA

ROME

161 CE

The Emperor [Antoninus Pius](#) and [Marcus Aurelius Antoninus](#) became Emperor. He requested that the [Roman](#) Senate appoint Lucius Aurelius Verus as his co-Emperor:



From this point until 180 CE, the Emperor [Marcus Aurelius](#) would be recording *MEDITATIONES*, presumably as part of his own spiritual discipline rather than for any sort of audience.



"As the earth is a pinpoint in infinite space, so the life of man is a pinpoint in infinite time – a knife-edge between eternities."

– [Marcus Aurelius](#), *MEDITATIONES*

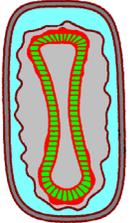




ROME

ROMA

165 CE



The [small pox](#) microorganism reached [Rome](#) for the 1st time, and millions would die in the Roman Empire during this year and the following one. This devastation would be referred to as the “Plague of Antoninus,” and actually would be continuing until 180 CE. The Greek doctor Galen would abandon Rome and its sufferers, seeking relative personal safety in the countryside.

[Lucian of Samosata](#), an opponent of the cynics in [Rome](#), wrote: “The city swarms with these vermin, particularly those who profess the tenets of [Diogenes](#), Antisthenes, and Crates.”

In “The Way to Write History,” he would offer that “history has only one concern and aim, and that is the useful; which again has one single source, and that is truth.” (Although I do not controvert that Lucian desired for this to be so, I do controvert that it has become so! There has been a whole lot of water that has passed under this bridge, and the discipline of academic historicizing as it presently exists does have only one concern and aim, the useful, but in fact paid historians have come to be in competition with one another in this task and are able to win in their competition against one another only through being the very most fulsome of all in their mendacity. The academic historian is transformed by his or her setting, as an academic who needs to obtain a teaching position and then tenure and then professorship, into a panderer seeking to please a paying audience at least as well as any other competing academic historian — that situation is obscured only by the triviality of the salary payments made to all and only the historians who prove themselves to be most excellent at this game. The fault is in the audience — the audience demands meaning and will reward the historian only for the spurious creation of precisely the desired meanings. Doris Kearns Goodwin’s 2005 *TEAM OF RIVALS: THE POLITICAL GENIUS OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN* springs to mind, although this has nothing whatever to do with the descriptions of her plagiarisms in her previous work on the Kennedys, a topic which I consider to be merely silly. The task of the historian has become to —without departing in any challengeable manner from the preserved factoids— find some way surreptitiously to insert this needed modality of “meaningfulness” — which is the sin Goodwin has committed in her work on Lincoln without indulging in any plagiarizing at all. One of the primary venues of this sort of historical mendacity is in the creation of one or another “national identity” by the processes of narrative historicizing — but this is merely one of the



**ROMA**

**ROME**

more prominent venues in which paid historians indulge in such attention-mongering.)

## **LINCOLN IDOLATRY**

I do not mean to say here that I am in opposition only to the sort of preposterous “court history” being authored by a Goodwin. I am in opposition more generally to any sort of “narrative history,” because I consider it all necessarily to constitute nothing more than tendentious pandering. The “court historian” panders to the court of the panderer’s choice to be sure, but more generally, the “narrative historian” tendentiously panders to the need of us all for meaning. —Whereas the actual course of events is so overfull of such black swans, and Brownian motions, as to render such a quest for meaningfulness as never anything more, and never anything less, than a mug’s game.



Obviously, there can be nothing meaningful or progressive about any process determined primarily by unrelated chance events — and history as we know indeed is channeled primarily by such unrelated chance events.



ROME

ROMA

166 CE

The Parthians invaded Syria. Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Ctesiphon and Seleucia the legions of Gaius Avidius Cassius defeated the Parthians, creating [the Pax Romana](#). During the Roman Triumph celebration after defeating the Parthians, Commodus (5-year-old son of Emperor [Marcus Aurelius](#)) was proclaimed a Caesar.



Soter, an Italian from the Campania, was listed as Papa of Rome (until 174 CE). As a compromise, Easter would become firmly established during his reign as had been previously recommended by the Asia Minor Churches, albeit not on Nisan 14 during Passover as they had recommended per the Jewish tradition but on the Sunday following. Soter papa of Rome dispatched a letter with gifts to the Corinthian Church, Dionysius papa of Corinth agreed to read his letter at service.

[Roman](#) merchants in search of a better price for spices and silk (then worth at least more than their weight in gold) sailed east from Sri Lanka to reach south [China](#) and the Mekong Delta. Marcus Aurelius sent an embassy to [China](#). Meanwhile, other Romans returning home from wars against the Sassanid Persians introduce smallpox into Italy (a quarter of the Imperial Roman population would die within the decade). As if that were not bad enough, Roman soldiers and merchants also spread rubella along the Mediterranean littoral during the 250s. Deaths from this disease in the city of Rome alone were credibly reported at 5,000 persons per day. These body counts are mentioned as a reminder that disease may have hurried the collapse of late Roman civilization more than the military invasions so gleefully described by 18th- and 19th-Century historians.

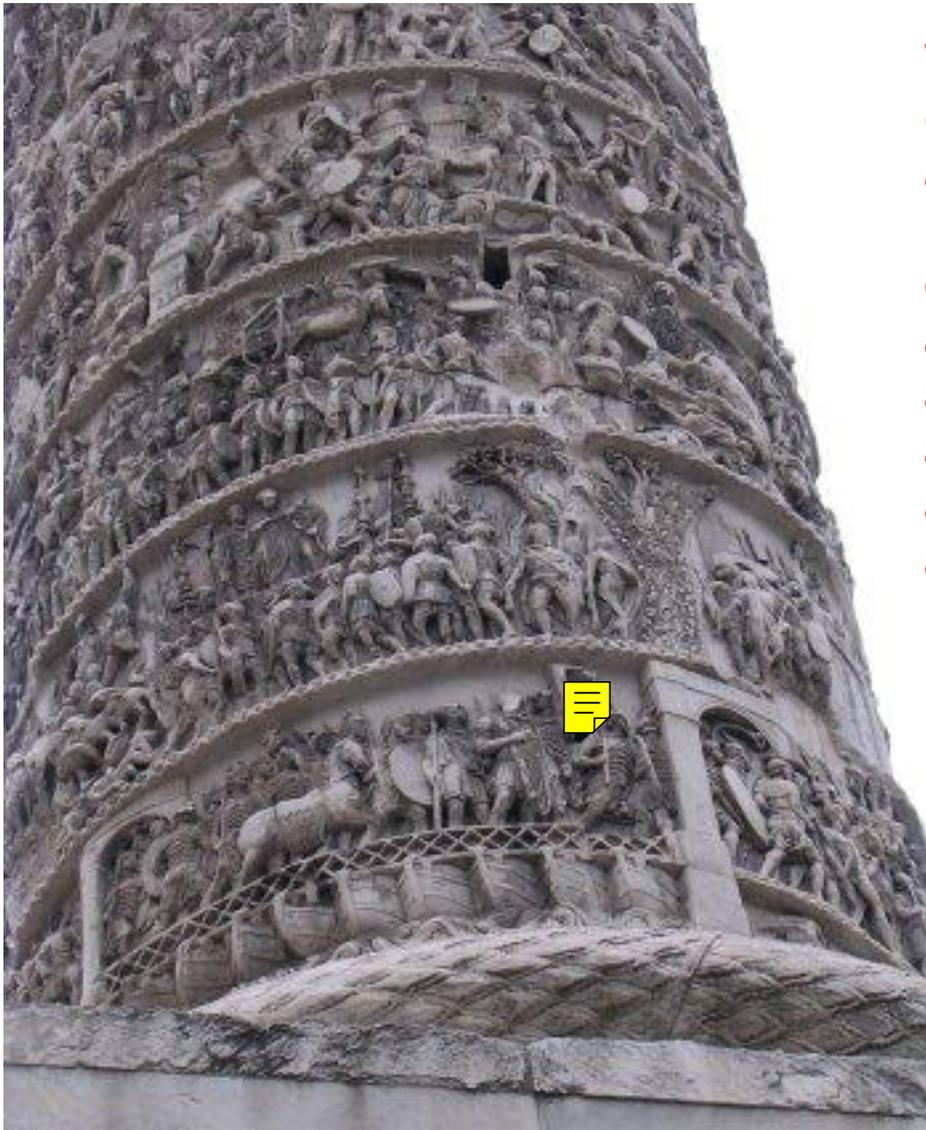
ROMA

ROME

Speaking of invasions, however, hordes of Marcomanni and kindred tribes from Bohemia were crossing the Danube River and attacking in Austria, locally disrupting [the Pax Romana](#).

GERMANY

What goes around keeps coming around and around...





ROME

ROMA

176 CE

The Emperor [Marcus Aurelius](#) returned to [Rome](#) from his campaigns.



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ROME

177 CE

Reign of the emperor Commodus, who would “fight” in the [Flavian Amphitheater](#) (against sparring partners brandishing swords of soft lead). Eventually he would need to be strangled (and would be immortalized in the Russell Crowe film “Gladiator”).

COLOSSEUM



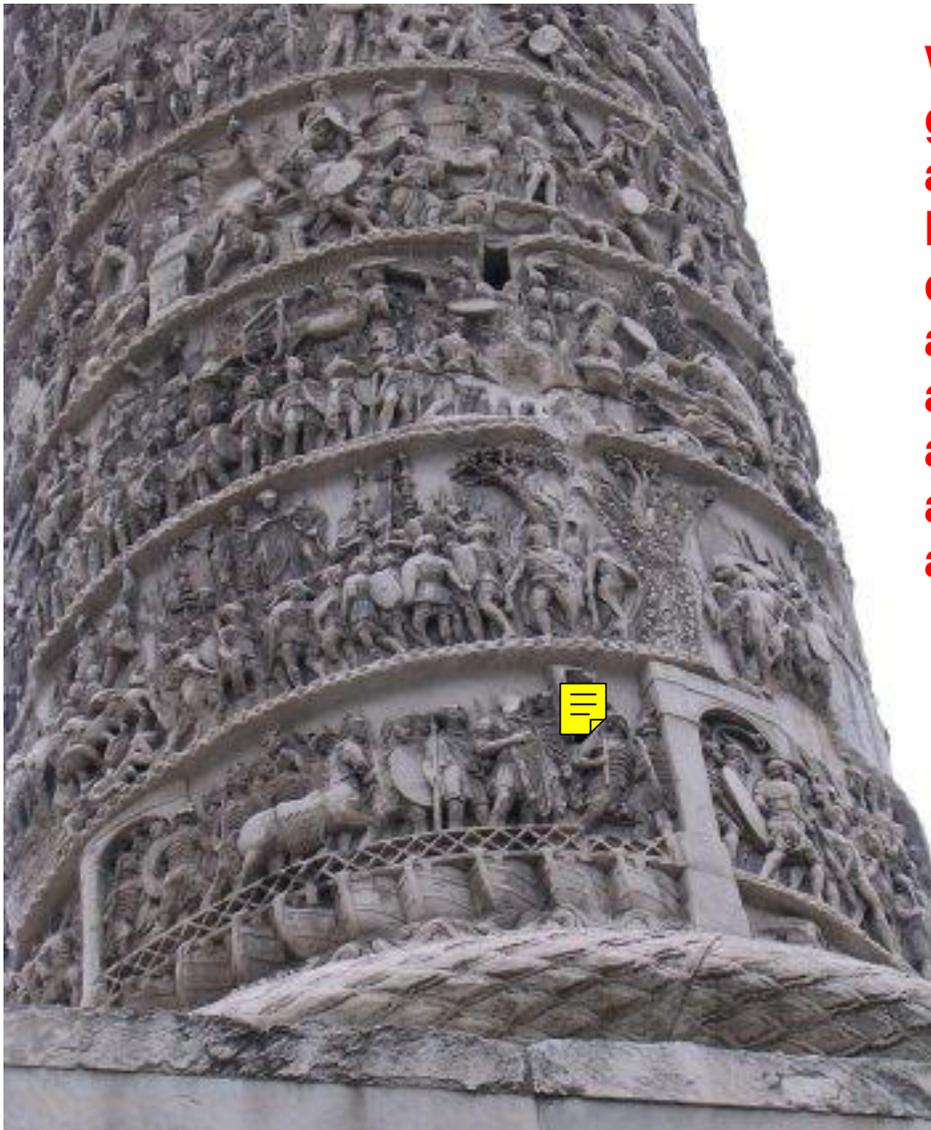
Commodus had the head of [Rome's Colossus Solis](#) bronze statue, which had represented [Nero](#), replaced with one of himself (after his death the original head, and the sun-ray crown, would be restored):



ROME

ROMA

The Emperor [Marcus Aurelius](#) returned toward the Danube again to continue his fighting there.



What goes around keeps coming around and around and around...



ROMA

ROME

He granted his son Commodus tribunal power.

Since it was from Lyon that Christianity was spreading to the West, Marcus Aurelius ordered torture of the Christians there. Irenaeus of Lyon visited [Rome](#), speaking of Lyon suffering grievous persecution, and of the New Prophecy on Montanism started in Phrygia.





ROME

ROMA

180 CE

After the Emperor [Marcus Aurelius](#) had died during a plague ([small pox?](#)), his son Commodus took over as Caesar of the [Roman](#) Empire.



There was to be no more [Pax Romana](#). For the following more than a century –until 284 CE– Rome would be enduring a series of soldier-emperors:

- 180-192 CE — Commodus (then there would be Pertinax, and Didius Julianus, with the empire auctioned off by the Praetorian Guard)
- 193-211 CE — Septimus Severus
- 211-217 CE — Caracalla
- 253-253 CE — Aemilian
- 270-275 CE — Aurelian
- 276-282 CE — Probus



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**206 CE**

The building of the Baths of Caracalla was begun in [Rome](#) by the emperor Septimius Severus.



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROME****ROMA****217 CE**

April: The Emperor Caracalla, coming from Edessa, was assassinated by his praetorian prefect Macrinus at Carrhae (where Crassus had been killed so many years before). Here's one of the emperor-wannabees of this year:



This guy wouldn't last so long before the empire would be seized by Marcus Opellius Macrinus.



This Marcus Opellius Macrinus dude not being any part of the Severan Dynasty, the loyal legions, who knew which side of the bread their butter had been on, declared Elagabalus to be emperor. So then, this Elagabalus needed to be dealt with — and he was, restoring [the Pax Romana](#).

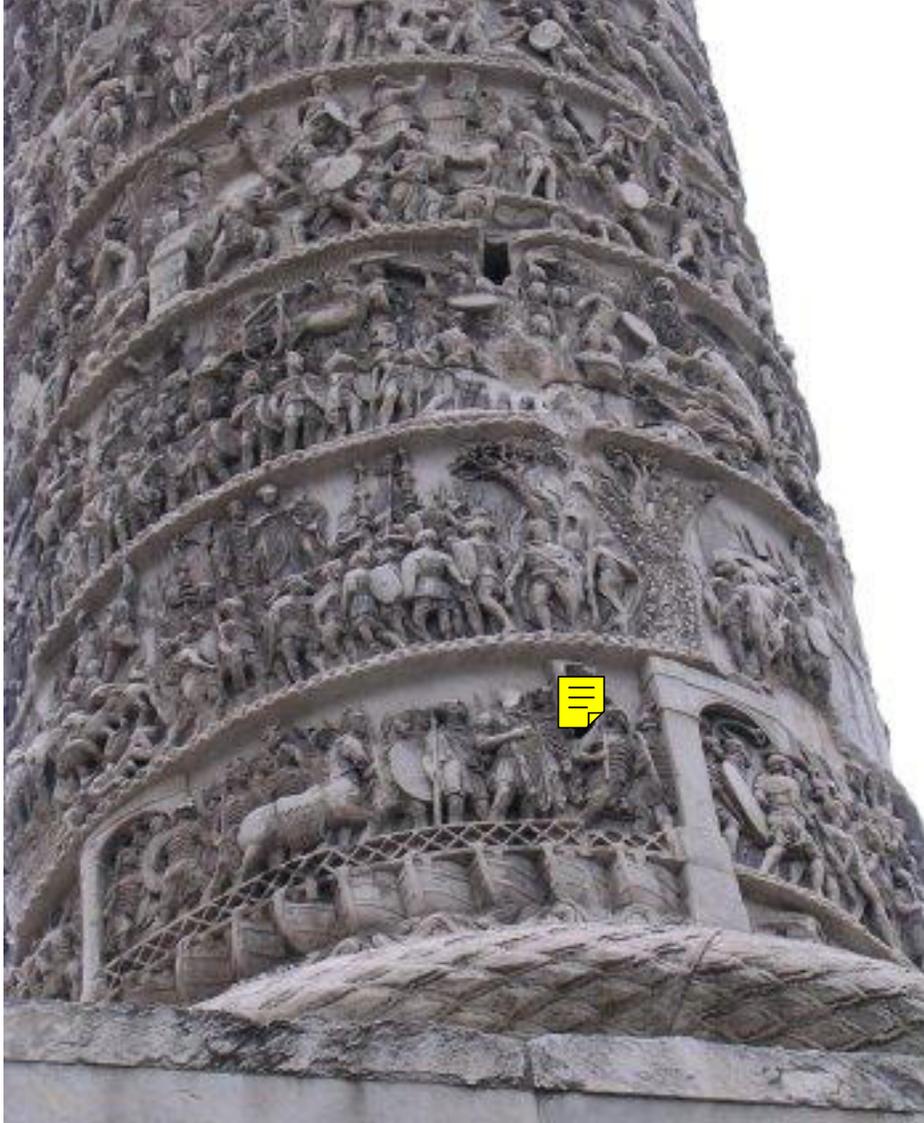
During this year much of the [Flavian Amphitheater](#) of [Rome](#) was destroyed by fire after the structure was struck by lightning.

[COLOSSEUM](#)

In yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people: at Nisibisno a drawn battle in which the [Romans](#) led

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROMA****ROME**

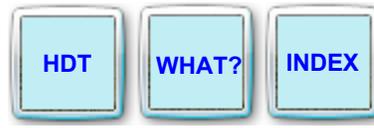
by Macrinus more or less defeated the Parthians under Artabatus V.



**What  
goes  
around  
keeps  
coming  
around  
and  
around  
and  
around...**



In this year Callistus I (Calixtus) (217 CE-222 CE), a slave of a Christian freeman Carpophorus, became Papa of [Rome](#). Carpophorus had previously established Calixtus (217 CE-222 CE) as a banker but he panicked and fled when his business failed. There were serious losses to the Paulist Christian depositors. He was brought back to walk a treadmill as punishment, and then released. Calixtus, another failed banker, was charged with brawling in a synagogue on the Sabbath and sentenced to a really bad thing, hard labor deep in the mines of Sardinia. Victor I (189 CE-198 CE), Papa of Rome, did not like Calixtus but Zephyrinus (198 CE-217 CE), Papa of Rome, did like him, and so he obtained his release from the mines of Sardinia, making him his principle deacon. Papa Calixtus excommunicated Sabellius, the leader of “modalism” (whatever that was), but never formally censured Papa Hippolytus (217 CE-235 CE) of Rome. He preached that the Church was a home for sinners as well as saints and freely offered reconciliation, something that of course was found absolutely infuriating by the Saints of the Church — it is believed that, using the cover offered by a popular riot, the Saints



**ROME**

**ROMA**

of the Church had him murdered.

The 16th Bishop of [Rome](#) was St. Calixtus I.

This was the period in the Roman Church during which a position of Bishop of [Rome](#) was first emerging. Prior to this time such a position simply had not existed. The first list of bishops of Rome alleged dates from 160 CE to 185 CE, but is likely to have been a later piece of just-so invention. This list makes Peter and Paul out to have been conjointly the founders of the Roman Church. No one at that time had even asserted St. Peter to have been so much as a Bishop. Callistus I was the 1st to claim Peter as the initial bishop of Rome, and in all likelihood he did this simply to support his own position. Callistus I (Calixtus) was the initial Paulist Papa of Rome to directly invoke Petrine authority to impose his doctrine of penance on all the other Christian Churches. This didn't work, but Stephen I (254 CE-257 CE) would again try by adopting the idiom "the Chair of Peter."

St. Hippolytus (217 CE-235 CE), a Greek Presbyter and chief intellectual of the Roman Church, became what the Roman Church now terms the 1st anti-Papa of [Rome](#). St. Jerome considered him Papa of Rome. Hippolytus, Papa of Rome, accused Callistus, Papa of Rome, of "modalism" and laxity in discipline. He said Calixtus permitted papas guilty of grace offences to remain in office, ordained men who had been married two or even three times, refused to condemn clergy who married, recognized unions condemned by Roman law between upperclass women and men of inferior status, and readmitted to the church without penance converts from heretical or schismatic sects. Damn, he was altogether too forgiving! Hippolytus envisaged the Roman Church as a community of saints.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**222 CE**

The [Flavian Amphitheater](#) of [Rome](#) was reopened after some restoration.

[COLOSSEUM](#)

When Elagabalus was murdered in an insurrection of the praetorians, his cousin and adopted son Alexander Severus became Roman Emperor.



He would tolerate all religions. Domitius Ulpianus, a Roman jurist born at Tyre, would become Alexander's principal adviser and praetorian prefect.

The 17th Bishop of [Rome](#) was St. Urban I (222 CE-230 CE). Urban's son Pontianus, a Roman, was elected Papa of [Rome](#). Since St. Hippolytus (217 CE-235 CE) still reigned as Papa of Rome, this of course split the

## ROME

## ROMA

local church.

- 222 About this time the Roman empire begins to sink. The Barbarians begin their irruptions, and the Goths have annual tribute not to molest the empire.
- 260 Valerius is taken prisoner by Sapor, king of Persia, and flayed alive.
- 274 Silk first brought from India; the manufactory of it introduced into Europe by some monks, 551; first worn by the clergy in England, 1534.
- 306 Constantine the Great begins his reign.
- 308 Cardinals first made.
- 313 The tenth persecution ends by an edict of Constantine, who favours the Christians, and gives full liberty to their religion.
- 314 Three bishops or fathers are sent from Britain to assist at the council of Arles.
- 325 The first general council at Nice, when 318 fathers attended against Arius, where was composed the famous Nicene Creed, which we attribute to them.
- 328 Constantine removes the seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium, which is thenceforwards called Constantinople.
- 331 ——— orders all the heathen temples to be destroyed.
- 363 The Roman emperor, Julian, surnamed the Apostate, endeavours in vain to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem.
- 364 The Roman empire is divided into the eastern (Constantinople the capital), and western (of which Rome continued to be the capital), each being now under the government of different emperors.
- 400 Bells invented by bishop Paulinus of Campagna.
- 404 The kingdom of Caledonia, in Scotland, revives under Fergus.
- 406 The Vandals, Alans, and Suevi, spread into France and Spain, by a concession of Honorius, emperor of the West.
- 410 Rome taken and plundered by Alaric, king of the Vizi-Goths.
- 412 The Vandals begin their kingdom in Spain.
- 420 The kingdom of France begins upon the Lower Rhine, under Pharamond.
- 426 The Romans reduced to extremities at home, withdraw their troops from Britain, and never return; advising the Britons to arm in their own defence, and trust to their own valour.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**247 CE**

Rome celebrated its 1,000th anniversary this year. At this time the Roman government was paying a whole lot more attention to the Christians (in the Latin language, “Let’s party” and “Let’s kill somebody” are etymologically close), so that according to the PBS Frontline special “Apocalypse!”, many of them suspected that the End Time had arrived.

**MILLENNIALISM**





ROME

ROMA

249 CE

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Verona the legions of Decius defeated the legions of Philippus Arabus, disrupting [the Pax Romana](#).<sup>18</sup>

When the Roman emperor Iulius Philippus the Arab (Philip I the Arab) sent Messius Quintus Traianus Decius to reduce the rebellious army of Moesia, against his better judgment the legionnaires declared their general Decius to be emperor. Encountering Iulius Philippus near Verona, he killed him and in that manner officially became emperor.



The new emperor, Decius, consigned those who could not for religious reasons sacrifice to the emperor (such as, likely, the Jews, Roman Christians, and other non-loyal sects) to death in the arena of the [Flavian Amphitheater](#) of [Rome](#).

COLOSSEUM

18. You will note that in these records of battles leaving fields littered with corpses, the terms “creating the Pax Romana” and “disrupting the Pax Romana” are terms of art — and are employed arbitrarily. Please don’t try to figure out why sometimes the term “creating” is selected, and sometimes the word “disrupting,” as this won’t get you anywhere at all.



**ROMA**

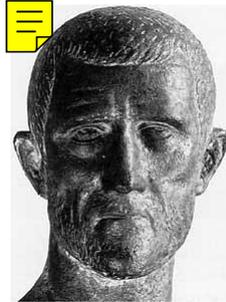
**ROME**

**270 CE**

[Plotinus](#) died at Campania.

The Romans evacuated Dacia (from 270-275 CE).

The emperor Claudius Gothicus died and Aurelian became emperor. He would defeat Queen Zenobia of Palmyra, whose husband was Odenathus and whose infant son was Vaballathus. During his reign he would have thousands of Christians killed.



(Other than that he was a regular guy and would come to be regarded, in some circles in [Rome](#), as *restitutor orbis*, “restorer of the world.”)



ROME

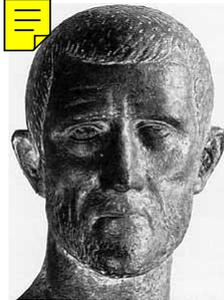
ROMA

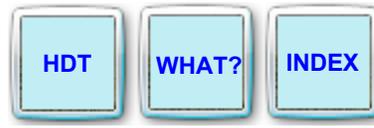
271 CE

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the Romans: at Placentia the Alemanni of Marcomanni and Juthungi defeated the legions of Aurelian, disrupting the Pax Romana.

The Roman Empire attempted to impose the Sun God as a single God concept. December was chosen to celebrate the one true Sun God (Roman Christians would later select December 25th to celebrate the birth of Jesus Christ, the Son of God, in all likelihood to compete with this Roman initiative and with the rites of Saturnalia).

From this year to 276 CE, the building of the Aurelian walls around [Rome](#).





**ROMA**

**ROME**

**272 CE**

Yet more battles involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Immae and at Emesa the legions of Aurelian defeated the Palmyrenes under Zabdas, creating [the Pax Romana](#).



ROME

ROMA

274 CE

Flavius Valerius Aurelius Constantius was born, the eldest bastard of Constantius Chlorus with his first mistress Helena (a tavern-keeper from Bithynia), at Naissus in upper Moesia.

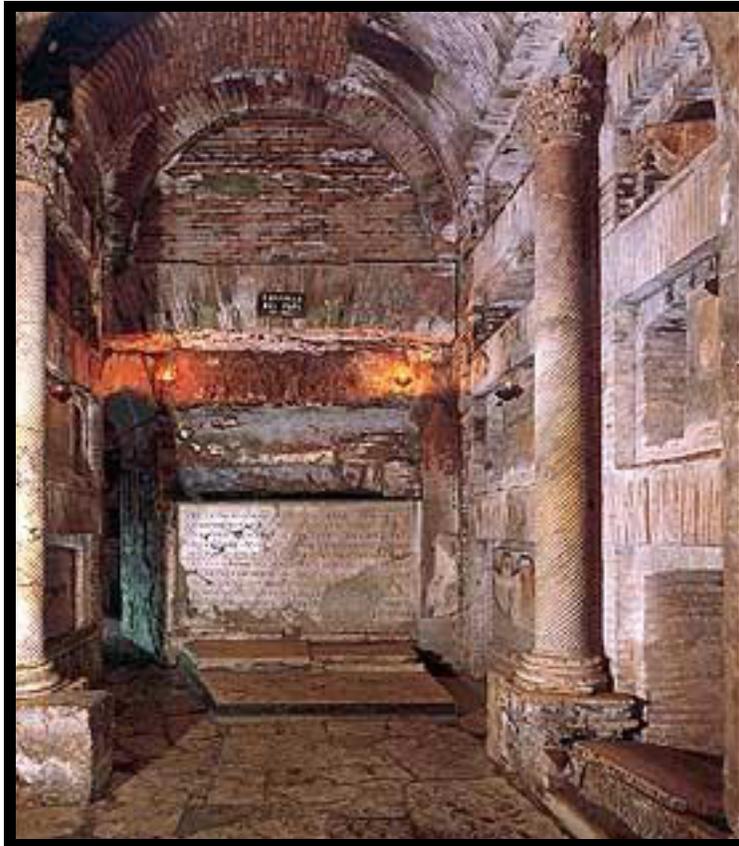
CONSTANTINE

In this year there was yet another altercation involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Campi Catalaunii the legions of Aurelian defeated the legions of Tetricus, disrupting [the Pax Romana](#).

In a stinging renunciation of the Gnostics' Buddhist-influenced descriptions of reincarnation, the Christian bishop of Lyons decreed that human souls go immediately to heaven, hell, or purgatory (get this: such an acknowledgment of an afterlife was something new for most Christians, because previously they had been imagining death as a kind of permanent sleep).

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Papa Felix had become the 26th Papa of [Rome](#)<sup>19</sup> in 269 CE, and was martyred under the Emperor Aurelian. He was interred in the Crypt of the Popes in the Catacombs of St. Callixtus near Rome (the epigraph stone for this saint has not been found):



- 235 CE: Pope Pontianus had become the 18th Papa of [Rome](#) in 230 CE and had been banished by the Emperor Maximinus Thrax to forced labor in the Sardinian mines.
- 236 CE: St. Antherus or Anterus, a Greek, had become the 19th Papa of [Rome](#) in 235 CE and was the Papa of Rome for 43 days, all of which were spent in prison, before he died of natural causes.
- 250 CE: Papa Fabian had become the 20th Papa of [Rome](#) in 236 CE, and the large part of his pontificate was during a period of little persecution of Christians. It was he who had the remains of St. Fabian brought back to Rome from Sardinia. When the government policy changed under the Emperor Decius, St. Fabian was decapitated.
- 250-253 CE: There is a gap in the chronology at this point because the candidates for Papa of [Rome](#) were in prison, including the most likely candidate, Moses. Novatian acted as the church's spokesperson during this period, and is #21 on the list. Moses died in prison.

19. Bear in mind that the Papa of Rome was considered, at that time, to be merely yet another bishop of the Christian church, rather than as that institution's Supreme Pontiff. The title "Papa" would not become the exclusive possession of the Bishop of Rome until the following century –the 4th Century CE– so it would be **revisionist** to consider these nine burials to have been nine "Popes" in the current sense of that term.



## ROME

## ROMA

- 254 CE: Papa Lucius (I) had become the 22d Papa of [Rome](#) in 253 CE, during a period of persecution under the emperor Valerian, and served for eight months, all of which were in exile at Civitavecchia.
- 257 CE: Papa Stephen (I) had become the 23d Papa of [Rome](#) in 254 CE, and served during the persecution organized by the Emperors Valerian and Gallienus. (The epigraph stone for Stephen has not been found.)
- 258 CE: St. Sixtus II (Xystus, a Greek) had become the 24th Papa of [Rome](#) in 257 CE, and was conducting a religious observance in the Catacombs of St. Callixtus on August 6th when taken into custody by soldiers of the Emperor Valerian. A short trial was staged and he and his four deacons Gennarius, Magnus, Vincent, and Stephen were beheaded on the spot:

At the time when the sword pierced the bowels of the Mother (Church),  
I, buried here, taught as pastor the Word of God.  
When suddenly the soldiers rushed in, dragged me from the chair.  
The faithful offered their necks to the sword,  
But as soon as the Pastor saw the ones who wished to rob him of the palm  
he was the first to offer himself and his own head,  
not tolerating that the frenzy should harm the others.  
Christ, who gives recompense, made manifest the Pastor's merit, preserving unharmed the flock.  
— poem by Pope Damasus (366-384)

- 268 CE: Papa Dionysius had become the 25th Papa of [Rome](#) in 259 CE, and died during this year. (The epigraph stone for Dionysius has not been found.)
- **274 CE: Papa Felix had become the 26th Papa of [Rome](#) in 269 CE, and was martyred under the Emperor Aurelian. (The epigraph stone for St. Felix has not been found.)**
- 283 CE: Papa Eutichian, from Luni, in Liguria, Italy, had become the 27th Papa of [Rome](#) in 275 CE, and died in this year. Gaius (Caius), a Dalmatin and possibly a relative of the Emperor Diocletian (284 CE-305 CE), would be the 28th Papa of Rome until 296 CE.

The crypt would be discovered in 1854 by the archeologist de Rossi, and would be labeled by him “the little Vatican, the central monument of all Christian cemeteries.” There was room available for 17 corpses, since in its lower part the crypt had four niches containing sarcophagi, and there were six tombs on each side, and in front of the end-wall, there was a table-tomb (known as a *mensa*). When the area was excavated, all 17 sepulchres were found to have been emptied, but at the end of the 3d Century CE they had evidently contained the remains of 9 Papas of [Rome](#) and of 8 other Bishops of the Church. All remaining inscriptions were in Greek. On four tombstones, next to the name of the occupant, there is the title *epi*, meaning *episcopos* or “bishop.” On two slabs some years later was added the abbreviation *mrt* indicating *martyr*, a word which meant “witness” and indicated that the person had been killed for having been Christian.<sup>20</sup>

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROMA****ROME****284 CE**

August 29: [Egyptian](#) Coptic churchmen figured out that the Lord had created the world in 5,502 BCE.

In this year the Roman consuls were Bassus, Carinus, Numerian, and Diocletian (with four co-emperors ruling the empire, their name for this was “the tetrarchy”). When Numerian died on this day, the army at Chalcedon proclaimed the consul Diocletian the new emperor. Diocletian then replaced Carinus and Numerian as Roman emperor in the east. He would murderize thousands of Christians during the two decades of his ascendancy, including Marcellinus (296 CE-304 CE), Papa of [Rome](#).



He would fix wages and prices by means of an Edict of Maximum Prices. He would ban all books on alchemy.

20. It appears that during the 4th Century CE, the underground private burial site was transformed by Pope Damasus into a small underground church, by decorating the walls with marble, opening two skylights, placing an altar in front of the marble slab, and installing two spiral columns supporting an architrave which would have carried, according to the usage of the times, lamps, crosses, and ornamental wreaths:

If you are looking for, know that here lies a host of the Blessed.  
The venerable sepulchres enclose the bodies of the Saints,  
but the royal palace of heaven carried off to itself their sublime souls.  
Here lie the companions of Sixtus who bear the trophies won from the enemy.  
Here the group of the elders who keep guard of the altars of Christ.  
Here the bishop who lived through the long peace.  
Here the holy Confessors sent to us from Greece.  
Here the young men and children, the old men and their chaste nephews  
who preferred to keep their virginal purity.  
Here too, I, Damasus, confess I would have liked to have been buried  
were it not for fear of vexing the holy ashes of the Blessed.

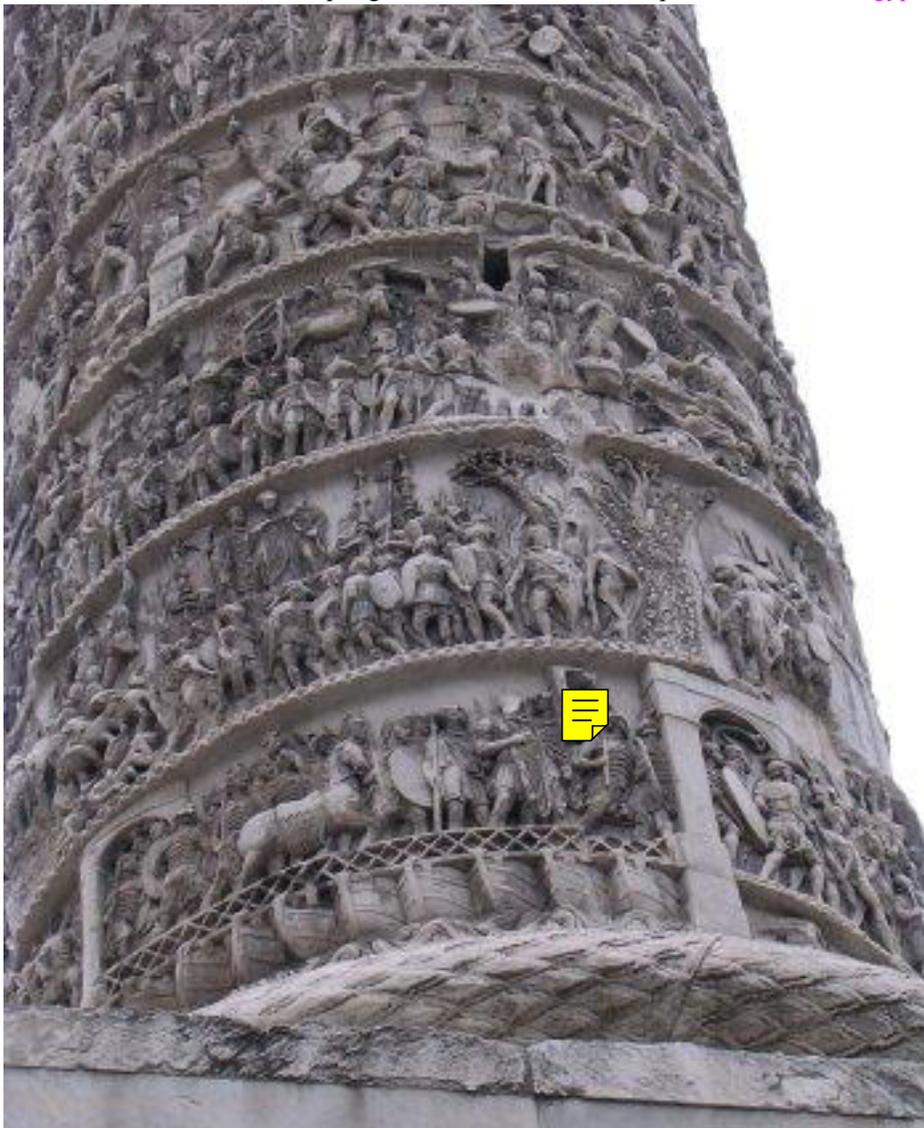
(“The group of the elders, who keep guard of the altars of Christ” referred to would be the Papas of Rome buried in this catacomb. “The bishop who lived through the long peace” would refer to one or another of the Papas of Rome who had died before the great persecutions roused by Diocletian between the end of the 3rd and the first years of the 4th century, and thus would be Fabian, or Dionysius, or Eutichian. “The holy confessors sent to us from Greece” would probably indicate the group of martyrs Martia, Neon, Hippolytus, Adria, Paulina, Martha, Valeria, Eusebius, and Marcellus, interred nearby in the “Callixtian Complex.”)

296 CE

Roman-British insurgent Allectus died, and Britain was restored to the empire.

The 29th Bishop of Rome, Papa St. Marcellinus (296 CE-304 CE), who would later be known to the Holy Roman Catholic Church as an apostate because he would offer pagan sacrifice for Diocletian.

Yet more battles involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Carrhae the Persians under Narses defeated the legions of Galerius, and near Silchester the legions of Asclepiodotus defeated the legions of Allectus, disrupting [the Pax Romana](#). The Emperor Diocletian's [Egyptian](#) expedition.



What goes around keeps coming around and around and around...



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROME****ROMA****297 CE**

Yet more battles involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Armenia and Ctesiphon the legions of Galerius defeated the Persians under Narses, creating [the Pax Romana](#) (Rome recaptured Armenia and Mesopotamia).

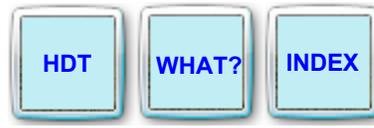


This was the year of the first mention by the Romans of people living north of Hadrian's Wall who dyed their bodies with woad to ensure their life after death. The Romans termed them "Picts," meaning "Blue People," and "Caledonians," meaning "People of the Underbrush."<sup>21</sup> Fingal and his son [Oisín \(Ossian\)](#) were for these people legendary hero-kings.<sup>22</sup>

21. The Scots referred to them as Cruithni, and they were terming themselves Gaedil, a Gaelic word meaning "Stormy People."

22. Whether Fingal and Ossian had been real people is a matter of scholarly debate but in any case, they were not in any sense Scots; this Pict group is instead the origin of the Gaelic, the Irish, and the Manx. The name "Scott" only dates to the late 4th Century CE, when Norwegian pirate worshippers of the Finno-Ugric snow-goddess Skadi would begin settling in northern Britain (a wife of Odin, Skadi was the daughter of an ice-giant killed by Thor; she hunted wolves and bears from skis and was notorious for her collection of dead men's penises).

**WHO WERE THESE FOLKS?**



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**300 CE**

[Constantine the Great](#) called the first ecumenical council. He recognized three bishops as leading, those of [Rome](#), Antioch, and Alexandria. Arius was exiled and then submitted from exile an acceptable creed to Constantine, and was released from exile. When Arius and his ilk regained power, they anathematized Athanasius. Arius died. The Emperor Constantine died and his empire was divided among three sons, Constantius, Constantine II, and Constans Eusebius.

312 CE

October 28: Our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#), met at Augusta Taurinorum in northern [Italy](#) some even pushier people, to wit the legions of [Constantine the Great](#) — and the outcome of this would be [an entirely new Pax Romana](#). While about to do battle against the legions of Maxentius which outnumbered his own 4 to 1, Constantine had a vision in which he saw a compound symbol ✠ (*chi* Χχ and *rho* Ρρ, the beginning of Χρῆστος) appearing in the cloudy heavens,<sup>23</sup> and heard “Under this sign you will be victorious.” He placed the symbol on his helmet and on the shields of his soldiers, and Maxentius’s horse threw him into the water at Milvan (Mulvian) Bridge and the Roman commander was drowned (what more could one ask God for?).



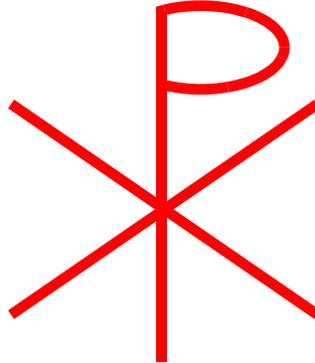
23. In a timeframe in which no real distinction was being made between astrology and astronomy, you will note, seeing a sign like this in the heavens may be classed as astronomy quite as readily as it may be classed as astrology. Also, in a timeframe in which no real distinction was being made between God being on your side and you being on God’s side, having this sort of belief system may be classed as theology quite as readily as it may be classed as superstition.

According to an account written by an Orthodox bishop named Eusebius during the 330s, the Eastern Roman Caesar Constantinus I converted to Christianity, his goal being to obtain magical power over his enemies. However, this account by Eusebius is of questionable veracity. The cross he describes sounds more like a Mithraic labarum than a Christian cross. Also, Constantinus did not ever convert the Roman Empire to Christianity but instead merely ended its persecution of heterodox religious cults. Subsequent churchly agitprop notwithstanding, Constantinus would not become a Christian before his deathbed in 337 — and then his conversion would be to Arian or Alexandrian Christianity rather than to what we would regard as orthodox Roman Catholicism.



"History teaches us that religion and patriotism have always gone hand in hand."

– [General Douglas MacArthur](#)



Thus began nominal Christianity, something that has been with us ever since. The back of this coin depicts two soldiers beside their standard — which utilizes the battle symbol in question.



Constantine, who had been born a bastard, would be able to enter [Rome](#) in triumph as the new Emperor. Sylvester I, who would be the Papa of Rome from 314 CE to 335 CE, would have no difficulty with the concept of a warrior coming to the Christian faith by slaughtering his enemies. So was to begin the fatal alliance between Caesar and Papa. Throne and Altar would become part of the orthodoxy of the Roman church establishment. As Emperor, Constantine would retain his other title, Pontifex Maximus, which is to say, head of the pagan state cult. However, confident that his victory at the bridge meant the Christian God was on his side, in Milan in the following year he would proclaim religious tolerance for everyone without distinction, thereby allowing the Christian Church and the Jewish Church to come out of the gloom of the catacombs into the full light of day. The tragedy is that this fundamental principle of religious tolerance would not be accepted by the Roman [Catholic](#) Church until the late 20th Century. He would opinion that even he himself had become something of a Christian (although this wouldn't prevent him from offing his second wife). Constantine allegedly would be baptized by a heretical Arian Papas named Eusebius just prior to his death. He saw the church merely as an instrument of political and cultural cohesion, a pillar of the Imperial structure he was building. The Emperor's actions represent the Roman obsession with order rather than any religious conviction. He would call the first Ecumenical Council in 325. He established the idea of a council of all Christian communities as the only way to formulate the faith incontestably and forever. It would be he who



ROME

ROMA

would order that the Roman citizen Paul's letters and other manuscripts be compiled together into one book. It is noteworthy that some have considered this man to be "the thirtieth Apostle."

The coinage of the subsequent emperors would increasingly rely on this symbolism that had been pioneered by Constantine, and elaborate on it with **IN HOC SIGNO VINCES** — in the same devout spirit as during our civil war Secretary of the Treasury Salmon Portland Chase would order that we engrave **In God We Trust** on our sacred gold half-eagle, eagle, and double-eagle coins, and on our sacred silver dollar, half-dollar, and quarter-dollar, and on our sacred nickel five-cent piece.<sup>24</sup> (No one whose opinion matters ever considers this sort of thing to be an act of cynicism — with the signal exception of President Theodore Roosevelt, whose opinion in the matter we have utterly ignored!)



"No matter how cynical you get,  
it is impossible to keep up."  
— Lily Tomlin



During this year at some point, the founder of the Exegetical School in Antioch, Lucian, who had revised the LXX, would be martyred.

24. Such bumper-sticker philosophy won't fit on our dime or penny coins, because they are too small to hold so many words.



ROMA

ROME

## 313 CE

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Campus Serenus the legions of Licinius defeated the legions of Maximinus Daia, disrupting [the Pax Romana](#).<sup>25</sup>

By the Edict of Milan, Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire, and henceforward the Bishop at Lyon would bear the designation Primate of Gauls.

SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

Miltiades excommunicated Donatus, for requiring the rebaptism of returning apostates.

222 About this time the Roman empire begins to sink. The Barbarians begin their irruptions, and the Goths have annual tribute not to molest the empire.  
260 Valerius is taken prisoner by Sapor, king of Persia, and flayed alive.  
274 Silk first brought from India; the manufactory of it introduced into Europe by some monks, 551; first worn by the clergy in England, 1534.  
306 Constantine the Great begins his reign.  
308 Cardinals first made.  
313 The tenth persecution ends by an edict of Constantine, who favours the Christians, and gives full liberty to their religion.  
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25. You will note that in these records of battles leaving fields littered with human and animal corpses, the terms of art “creating the Pax Romana” and “disrupting the Pax Romana” are employed somewhat arbitrarily. Please don’t try to figure out why sometimes in this database the term “creating” is selected, and sometimes the word “disrupting” — as such speculations won’t get you anywhere at all. Sometimes one needs to piss on the corpses in order to keep from breaking out in tears.

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316 CE

The Council of Arles was called by [Constantine](#), against the Donatist schism of Donatus.

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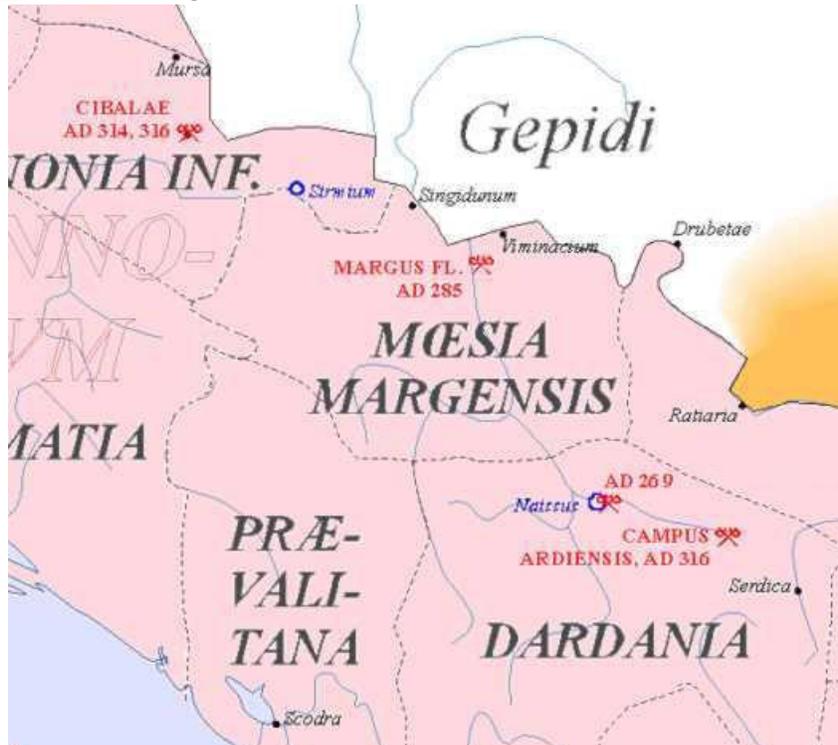
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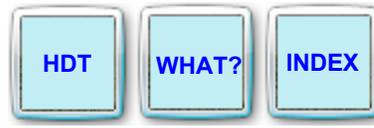
People with not enough to do were creating [the Pax Romana](#) as indicated: the [Romans](#) at Cibalae, legions of

Constantine, defeated the legions of Licinius.



(The usual sort of thing. However, when he became a “soldier of Christ,” Martin of Tours, a Roman army officer, renounced violence.)

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**324 CE**

Yet more battles involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Adrianople and again at Chrysopolis the legions of [Constantine](#) defeated the legions of Licinius, creating [the Pax Romana](#) (Constantine, who had in 312 CE become the western emperor, became the sole emperor).

326 CE

The emperor [Constantine the Great](#) banned [gladiatorial](#) games, although due to their popularity this would continue illegally in some regions (much as dog-fighting continues in our own era).



COLOSSEUM

ROME

ROMA

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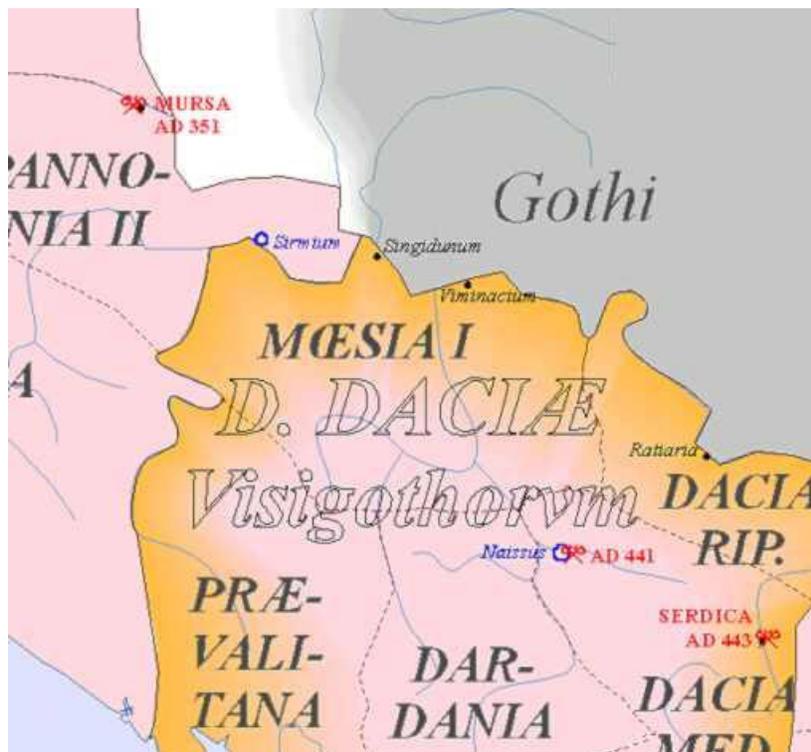
**ROME**

**330 CE**

The capital of the Roman Empire was moved to a new city of Constantinople (now Istanbul) inaugurated on site of ancient Greek city of Byzantium in European Turkey. By the end of the century, the empire would have become divided into a Western Roman Empire and an Eastern Roman Empire.

351 CE

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Mursa the legions of Constantius II defeated the legions of Magnentius, creating [the Pax Romana](#). People offing one another, the usual sort of thingie:



(It's the sort of thing that's happened so often, it's getting hard to keep track of all the piles of bones.)



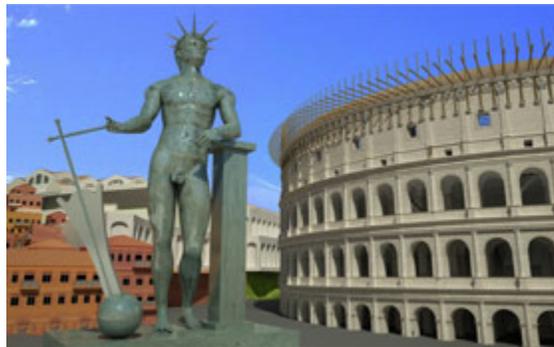
ROMA

ROME

354 CE

November 13: Aurelius Augustinus of Hippo (AKA “St. [Augustine](#)”) was born in Tagaste in Numidia, a region of the North African coast that is now Souk Ahras, Algeria.<sup>26</sup> His parents, named Patricius and Monica, had middle-class aspirations but were forever short of money. Monica was a Christian and Patricius would accept baptism on his deathbed. With the help of an affluent family friend, Augustine would manage to get away to Madaura, a dozen miles away, where the 2nd-Century sophist and novelist Apuleius would be residing and where adequate schooling would be available.

[Rome](#)’s [Colossus Solis](#) bronze statue was mentioned in the Chronography for this year (and would not again be mentioned in these Roman records):



26. Since the details of Augustine’s early life come for the most part from his own CONFESSIONS, which are quite as highly selective as Franklin’s MEMOIRES, what he has to offer about himself should always be compared and contrasted with the treatment in P. Brown, AUGUSTINE OF HIPPO (London, 1967). I might alert you also to the fact that you will see, here and there, the assertion that Aurelius Augustinus was a black man, so you should bear in mind that such assertions are based solely on his birth in a town which indisputably was situated on the coast of the continent of Africa — combined with some sort of absurd presumption that anybody who would get born in Africa would need to get born black — combined with a sort of curious political preference, that the guy would be ever so much more interesting, or perhaps relevant, if we could think of him as not just another DWM dead white man.

357 CE

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Argenterate the legions of Julian defeated the Alemanni, creating [the Pax Romana](#):



They tried really hard. They did their very best. They gave their lives to make the world a better place now. Remember them on Memorial Day.



**ROMA**

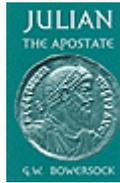
**ROME**

**360 CE**

About this time [Japanese](#) Empress Jingo took over at the death of her husband, Emperor Chuai.

At about this point, Japanese adventurers occupied large portions of the [Korean](#) coastline (they would enjoy this country so well that they would not be successfully ejected until 562 CE). Perhaps in response to these Japanese invasions, the Korean Silla kingdom began to adopt [Chinese](#) bureaucratic practices.

The beginning of the reign in [Rome](#) of the emperor known as Julian the Apostate — a believer in the old-time religion.



An embassy from King Meghavarna of Sri Lanka reached the Gupta court; a religious monument for Sri Lankan visitors was built.

The scroll begin to be replaced by the book (i.e., the “codex”).

**HISTORY OF THE BOOK**



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**364 CE**

Under Hermanric, north of the Danube, the Gothic kingdom would achieve splendor.

The beginning of the reign of the emperors Valentinian I (until 375 CE) in [Rome](#) and Valens (until 378 CE) in the east.



Valentinian would repulse the Alemanni, and other German invaders from Gaul.

The Ecumenical Council of Laodicea issued a canon prohibiting Christian clerks and priests from becoming

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## ROME

magicians, enchanters, astrologers, or mathematicians.

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- 426 The Romans reduced to extremities at home, withdraw their troops from Britain, and never return; advising the Britons to arm in their own defence, and trust to their own valour.



ROME

ROMA

367 CE

Yet another altercation involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Black Forest the legions of Valentinian defeated the Alemanni in what is known as the Battle of Solicinium (even though we have no clue where this Solicinium had been located), creating [the Pax Romana](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**378 CE**

At about this point the rivalry between the leading Maya cities Tikal and Uaxactin ended in invasion and capture of Uaxactin by Tikal, with Tikal going on to great prosperity. Rather than fighting in the prevalent in hand-to-hand manner, the Tikal king Jaguar-Paw and his brother Smoking-Frog began the use of standoff weapons known as atlats (spear-throwers), that could kill from a safer distance. These Mayan warrior-princes were also experimenting with the use of prisoners for religious sacrifice. This is now referred to as “Tlaloc-Venus warfare” because the military campaigns of the campaigns were coordinated with the cycles of the planets Tlaloc (Jupiter) and Venus.

Letters of Titus of Bostra, Ambrosiaster, Priscillian.

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Adrianople the Visigoths under Fritigern defeated the legions of the emperor Valens, disrupting [the Pax Romana](#). What happened was that the Visigoth cavalry overran and destroyed an army numbering more than 60,000 soldiers near the Thracian town of Adrianople and Valens was killed. The death of their emperor would cause the Romans to speculate that perhaps God was punishing them for having had an Arian Christian ruler rather than an Orthodox one. Theodosius the Great would become the final ruler of united Empire and his reign would continue until 395CE.



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**379 CE**

The reign of Theodosius, who prohibited paganism, until 395 CE.



He would divide the empire between his sons Honorius (395-432, Western emperor, in [Italy](#), transferred his residence to Ravenna in 402) and Arcadius (Eastern emperor, at Byzantium).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**380 CE**

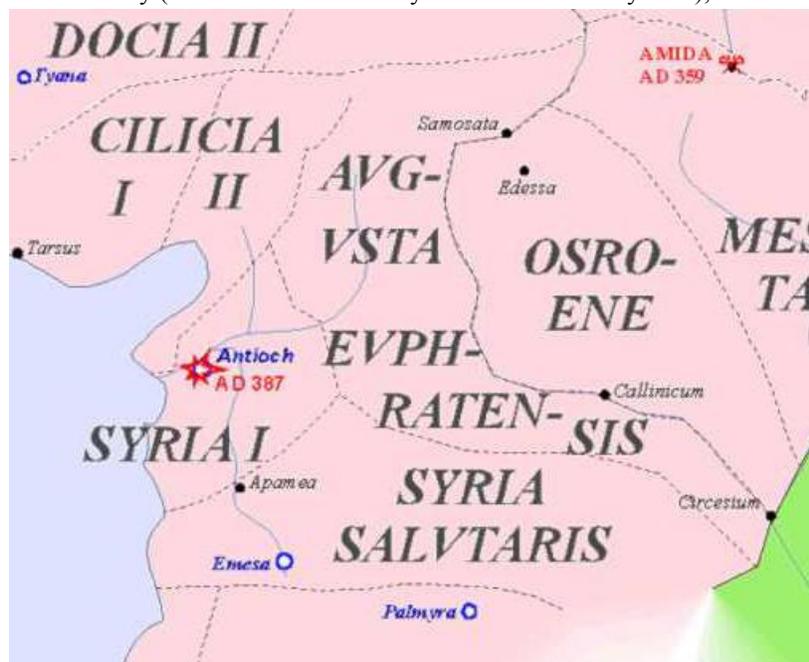
Having relocated from Carthage to [Rome](#), [Aurelius Augustinus](#) persuaded some Manichee friends to set up an interview for him with the prefect of the city of Rome, Symmachus, who was choosing a professor of rhetoric for the imperial court at Milan.<sup>27</sup> (He would be able to head north to take up this position in late 384.)

27. This was the Symmachus who was the last spokesperson for paganism in the western Roman empire: J. Matthews, *WESTERN ARISTOCRACIES AND IMPERIAL COURT, A.D. 364-425* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975) 12-17, 205-10.

387 CE

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Siscia the legions of Theodosius defeated the legions of Magnus Maximus, creating [the Pax Romana](#).

As if they didn't have anything better to do, some people were offing one another in a siege of Antioch that would go down in history (for some reason nobody cares about this anymore), as the "Riot of the Statues":





**ROMA**

**ROME**

**390 CE**

August 7: A [comet](#) which appeared on this night in the constellation of Gemini would be observed for thirty days in [China](#), in [Korea](#), and in [Rome](#).

SKY EVENT

394 CE

September 5/6: Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at the River Frigidus (Frigid River) the legions of the Eastern Emperor Theodosius I the Great defeated the legions of the Western Emperor



Eugenius –an army led by the Frankish magister militum Arbogast– and for one final time [the Pax Romana](#) had but a single ruler.





ROMA

ROME

400 CE

The Goth leader Haric (Alaric) demanded, among other items, 3,000 pounds of black [pepper](#) to lift his siege of the city of [Rome](#). His assaults continued and the city would fall after a 3d siege, on August 24, 410 CE.

PLANTS

Early in January, [Claudian](#) delivered a recitation at Milan in honor of General Stilicho, and then in February, he delivered another in honor of his consulship at Rome. During this year, also, a bronze statue would be erected in the poet's honor in the forum of Trajan in [Rome](#), and he would get married and go on honeymoon in Libya.

From an inscription discovered in the forum of Trajan that is now in the Naples Museum: "Rome and its emperors recognize that Claudian combines in one the intellect of Virgil and the inspiration of Homer." Literally, the inscription reads in translation in full "To Claudian Claudianus, a vir clarissimus ["the right honorable"], tribune, and notarius, [among] other elegant arts, the most famed of poets, although the songs written by him are sufficient for his eternal memory, nevertheless for the sake of proof and because of their faith in their own judgment, our lords, the most blessed and learned emperors Arcadius and Honorius, in accordance with the wish of the Senate, order a statue to be erected and located in the Forum of the divine Trajan. Rome and her kings – to one who has combined a Homer's music with a Vergil's mind."

```
<Cl.> Claudiani v[iri] c[larissimi]
<Cla>udio Claudiano v. c. tri-
<bu>no et notario inter ceteras
<de>centes artes prae<g>lorissimo
<po>etarum, licet ad memoriam sem-
piternam carmina ab eodem
scripta sufficiant, adtamen
testimonii gratia ob iudicii sui
<f>idem dd. nn. Arcadius et Honorius
<fe>licissimi ac doctissimi
imperatores senatu petente
statuam in foro divi Traiani
erigi collocarique iusserunt.
```

Εἰν ἐνὶ Βιργιλίῳ νόον  
καὶ Μοῦσαν Ὁμήρου  
Κλαυδιανὸν Ῥώμῃ καὶ  
Βασιλῆς ἔθεσαν.

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ROME

ROMA

This Claudian Claudianus came to be a “right honorable,” and came to be regarded as in the same league with the illustrious Homer and Vergil, by making himself useful as a publicity flack for the Vandal general Flavius Stilicho, pictured here, who as *Magister Militum* was effectively ruling the western Roman empire on behalf of the emperor Theodosius’s son Honorius:



Every time the Roman legions commanded by Stilicho the Vandal triumphed, Claudian made sure he was right there to provide the appropriate publicity and adulation. No praises were beneath him, and of course he got his

reward, part of which was that Stilicho's wife Serena, pictured here, helped him obtain a suitably rich bride:



ROME

ROMA



March 31: The perigee of the [comet](#). This was a very close miss, as the comet passed us by with a mere 0.08 astronomical units gap. We have reports on this comet from [China](#), from [Korea](#), and from [Rome](#). It was described as sword-like.

SKY EVENT



ROMA

ROME

404 CE

[Augustine](#)'s *ACTA CONTRA FELICEM MANICHAEUM*.

Death of [Claudian](#).

222 About this time the Roman empire begins to sink. The Barbarians begin their irruptions, and the Goths have annual tribute not to molest the empire.

260 Valerius is taken prisoner by Sapor, king of Persia, and flayed alive.

274 Silk first brought from India; the manufactory of it introduced into Europe by some monks, 551; first worn by the clergy in England, 1534.

306 Constantine the Great begins his reign.

308 Cardinals first made.

313 The tenth persecution ends by an edict of Constantine, who favours the Christians, and gives full liberty to their religion.

314 Three bishops or fathers are sent from Britain to assist at the council of Arles.

325 The first general council at Nice, when 318 fathers attended against Arius, where was composed the famous Nicene Creed, which we attribute to them.

328 Constantine removes the seat of empire from Rome to Byzantium, which is thenceforwards called Constantinople.

331 ————— orders all the heathen temples to be destroyed.

363 The Roman emperor, Julian, surnamed the Apostate, endeavours in vain to rebuild the temple of Jerusalem.

364 The Roman empire is divided into the eastern (Constantinople the capital), and western (of which Rome continued to be the capital), each being now under the government of different emperors.

400 Bells invented by bishop Paulinus of Campagna.

404 The kingdom of Caledonia, in Scotland, revives under Fergus.

406 The Vandals, Alans, and Suevi, spread into France and Spain, by a concession of Honorius, emperor of the West.

410 Rome taken and plundered by Alaric, king of the Vizi-Goths.

412 The Vandals begin their kingdom in Spain.

420 The kingdom of France begins upon the Lower Rhine, under Pharamond.

426 The Romans reduced to extremities at home, withdraw their troops from Britain, and never return; advising the Britons to arm in their own defence, and trust to their own valour.

During this year or the following one a Christian monk named Telemachus attempted to stand between gladiatorial contenders in the [Flavian Amphitheater](#). The [Romans](#) were unamused by this impiety and beat him to death.

COLOSSEUM



ROME

ROMA

406 CE

In this year, or in 421 CE, [Augustine](#)'s *TRACTATUS IN EVANGELIUM IOHANNIS*.

In this year or the following one, [Augustine](#)'s *TRACTATUS IN IOHANNIS EPISTULAM AD PARTHOS*.

Germanic tribes invaded the Western Roman Empire.

222 About this time the Roman empire begins to sink. The Barbarians begin their irruptions, and the Goths have annual tribute not to molest the empire.

260 Valerius is taken prisoner by Sapor, king of Persia, and flayed alive.

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**ROMA**

**ROME**

**408 CE**

The Visigoths of Alaric showed off before the walls of [Rome](#). They would eventually seize control of the city and badly damage the [Flavian Amphitheater](#) (they would be hanging around until 410 CE).

**COLOSSEUM**

HDT

WHAT?

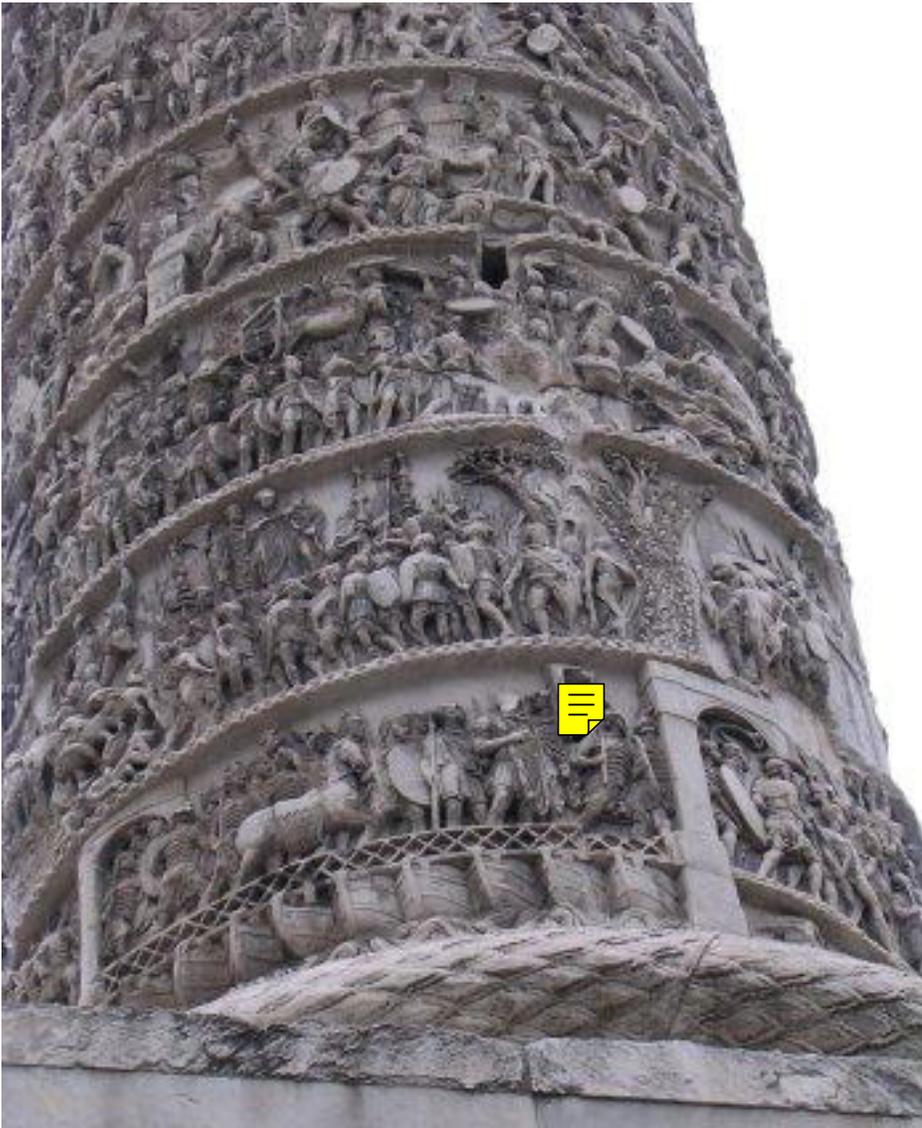
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ROME

ROMA

410 CE

August 23: Yet another altercation involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): in the Sack of [Rome](#), the Visigoths under Alaric defeated the Romans, disrupting [the Pax Romana](#).



**What  
goes  
around  
keeps  
coming  
around  
and  
around  
and  
around...**





ROMA

ROME

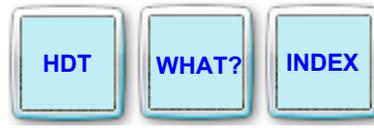
Edward Gibbon notwithstanding, the main importance of this event is that it effectively severed the Western Roman Empire from the Eastern Roman Empire.



The Visigoths had previously obtained 3,000 pounds of **pepper** as a ransom for Rome, and two years later would begin to extract an annual tribute of 300 pounds from the city.

SPICE

- 222 About this time the Roman empire begins to sink. The Barbarians begin their irruptions, and the Goths have annual tribute not to molest the empire.
- 260 Valerius is taken prisoner by Sapor, king of Persia, and flayed alive.
- 274 Silk first brought from India; the manufactory of it introduced into Europe by some monks, 551; first worn by the clergy in England, 1534.
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- 426 The Romans reduced to extremities at home, withdraw their troops from Britain, and never return; advising the Britons to arm in their own defence, and trust to their own valour.



ROME

ROMA

It is customary to say that shock waves ran throughout the Roman world at this event, but actually it is more correct to say that shock waves ran through those citizens of the Roman world prosperous enough to care about expensive symbols of Roman grandeur. A fair number of wealthy Romans fled the city to country estates in Campania, in Sicily, and in north Africa. Enough of them showed up in Hippo for [Augustine](#) to warn his flock that they should receive the refugees with open arms and charity.

Not long after the refugees settled on their African estates and began to frequent the salons of Carthage, the more intellectual among them began to wonder aloud whether their new religion might not be to blame for the disaster they had suffered. After all, the argument ran, Rome had been immune from capture for fully eight centuries; but now, just two decades after the formal end of public worship of the pagan gods (commanded by the emperor Theodosius in 391 CE), the city had fallen to the barbarians. Perhaps it was true what pagans had said, that the new Christian god with ideas about turning the other cheek and holding worldly empires in low esteem was not an efficient guardian of the best interests of the ruling class. Most of the people who indulged in these idle speculations were themselves Christian. The “paganism” of these people was no revival of ancient religion, but only the persistence of the ancient notion of religion as a bargain you struck with the gods in order to preserve your health, wealth, and complacency.

[Augustine](#) was invited by the imperial commissioner Marcellinus, who was in Africa to look into the Donatist quarrel for the emperor, to respond to these charges. He knew that it was more than a question of why Rome fell; here were Christians who still did not know what Christianity was about, how it differed from the Roman religions it had replaced. His response was a masterpiece of Christian apologetics, *DE CIVITATE DEI* (THE CITY OF GOD), whose composition stretched over fifteen years. The first books, consoling those the Visigoths had frightened, were published quickly and seem to have done their job. But the work as a whole continued to come forth in installments, revealing a broad vision of history and Christianity.



ROMA

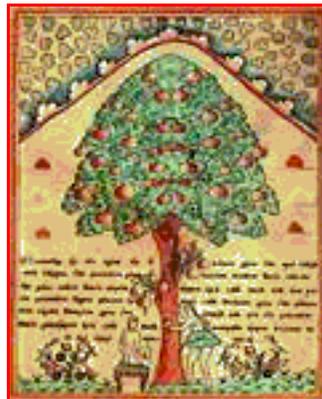
ROME

411 CE

At this point [Pelagius](#), one of those who were trying to transform practical Christianity into a form of religious athleticism, had sailed away from [Rome](#) permanently and landed on the coast of North Africa near Hippo. Per [Augustine](#)'s *DE PECCAT. ORIG.* he had lived in Rome for "a very long time," so presumably he had been there at least since the reign of Pope Anastasius (398-401CE). During his period in Rome this ascetic monk had composed:

- *DE FIDE TRINITATIS LIBRI III* (lost)
- *ECLOGARUM EX DIVINIS SCRIPTURIS LIBER UNUS*, of which we have a number of fragments because they were preserved in [Augustine](#)'s responses
- *COMMENTARII IN EPISTOLAS S. PAULI*, a work known to [Augustine](#)

[Pelagius](#) thought Bishop [Augustine](#) to be excessively pessimistic in his view that humankind was sinful by nature and needed to rely totally upon grace for salvation. Instead he offered that human beings have a natural capacity to reject evil and seek God, that Christ's admonition, "Be ye perfect," presupposes this capacity, and that grace is the natural ability given by God to seek and to serve God. Rejecting the doctrine of original sin, he suggested that little children are innocent of the sin of Adam and do not need baptism in order to attain grace. He denied the primitive state in paradise and original sin, insisted on the naturalness of concupiscence and the death of the body, and ascribed the actual existence and universality of sin to the bad example which Adam set by his first sin.



Such ideas were deeply rooted in Stoicism rather than in Christianity: he regarded the moral strength of man's will (*liberum arbitrium*), when steeled by asceticism, as sufficient in itself to desire and to attain the loftiest ideal of virtue. The value of Christ's redemption was, in his opinion, limited mainly to instruction (*doctrina*)



ROME

ROMA

and example (*exemplum*), which the Saviour threw into the balance as a counterweight against Adam's wicked example, so that nature retains the ability to conquer sin and to gain eternal life even without the aid of grace. By justification we are indeed cleansed of our personal sins through faith alone, but this pardon (*gratia remissionis*) implies no interior renovation or sanctification of the soul. For that period, Pelagius would have been announcing nothing novel, since the Antinomists of the early Apostolic Church were already familiar with "justification by faith alone." In a later culture, this *sola-fides* doctrine would obtain the assent of Martin Luther.

[Pelagius](#) and a traveling companion would pass on into Palestine and Ephesus without actually meeting Bishop [Augustine](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**416 CE**

The Visigoths, driven away from [Rome](#), took control of the Iberian peninsula.

At about this point C.R. Namatianus, the last pagan Latin poet, wrote “de Reditu Suo.”



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**418 CE**

April 30: The [Roman](#) Emperor Honorius, at Ravenna, banished all Pelagians from the cities of [Italy](#). ([Pelagius](#) himself was not affected as he was elsewhere at the time, probably somewhere in the Middle East.)



ROMA

ROME

422 CE

The [Flavian Amphitheater](#) in [Rome](#) was damaged in an earthquake.

[COLOSSEUM](#)

[Augustine](#)'s *DE CURA PRO MORTUIS GERENDA* (?) and *ENCHIRIDION AD LAURENTIUM DE FIDE ET SPE ET CARITATE*. From this year into 425 CE, his *DE OCTO DULCITHI QUAESTIONIBUS*. In 399 CE, and from this year into 426 CE, his *DE TRINITATE*:



"Things that are past do not themselves exist, but only certain signs of them as past, the sight or hearing of which makes it known that they have been and have passed away. And these signs are either situated in the places themselves, as for example monuments of the dead or the like; or exist in written books worthy of credit, as is all history that is of weight and approved authority; or are in the minds of those who already know them."



— [Augustine](#), ON THE TRINITY 14.8.11

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ROMA

451 CE

The letters of Hesychius and Quodvultdeus, early Christian church fathers, date to this year.

According to Nestorius of Constantinople and his Nestorians, Mary could not have been the “Mother of God.”

At the Council of Chalcedon, which was the 4th ecumenical conference, as a compromise, it was discovered that Jesus was of a double nature, both human and divine in one.

As if this theology stuff weren't even happening, people just kept on killing each other. For instance, in this year there was yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): the Battle of the Catalaunian Fields (near Châlons), was between a coalition led by the Roman general Flavius Aëtius and the Visigothic king Theodoric I on the one side, versus Huns and their allies led by [Attila](#).



Tactically, the Romans and Visigoths won, more or less, creating [the Pax Romana](#), while the forces under Attila suffered a setback (the Hun horde would be dispersed by the Germans at the Battle of Nedao in 454 CE, creating a “Pax Germania” or something).



ROME

ROMA

455 CE

July 15: Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): the Vandals under Geiseric sacked the city of [Rome](#), rather disrupting [the Pax Romana](#).<sup>28</sup>



28. You do understand, this amounted almost to Vandalism.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**468 CE**

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): off Carthage, the Vandals under Geiseric defeated the legions of Basiliscus, disrupting [the Pax Romana](#).

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ROMA

472 CE

Olybrius was [Roman](#) Emperor for the year. Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at [Rome](#) the Vandal legions of Ricimer defeated the defending Romans, disrupting [the Pax Romana](#).



At about this point [Chinese](#) monks were describing the [Indian](#) meditation practices that subsequently would become known as Ch'an (Zen) Buddhism.



ROMA

ROME

476 CE

When the Germanic invader Odoacer took control of the city of [Rome](#) and was proclaimed king of [Italy](#), he expelled the Roman emperor Romulus Augustulus, thus making this unlucky man the last emperor and quite extinguishing [the Pax Romana](#) of the Roman empire of the West. (When will Mr. Bertolucci get around to making a movie about Romulus Augustulus?)



- 446 The Britons, now left to themselves, are greatly harassed by the Scots and Picts, upon which they once more make their complaint to the Romans, but receive no assistance from that quarter.
- 447 Attila (surnamed the Scourge of God) with his Huns, ravages the Roman empire.
- 449 Vortigern, king of the Britons, invites the Saxons into Britain against the Scots and Picts.
- 455 The Saxons having repulsed the Scots and Picts, invite over more of their countrymen, and begin to establish themselves in Kent, under Hengist.
- 476 The western empire is finished, 523 years after the battle of Pharsalia; upon the ruins of which several new states arise in Italy and other parts, consisting of Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other Barbarians, under whom literature is extinguished, and the works of the learned are destroyed.
- 496 Clovis, king of France, baptized, and Christianity begins in that kingdom.
- 508 Prince Arthur begins his reign over the Britons.
- 516 The computing of time by the Christian æra is introduced by Dionysius the monk.
- 529 The code of Justinian, the eastern emperor, is published.
- 581 Latin ceased to be spoken about this time in Italy.
- 596 Augustine the monk comes into England with forty monks.
- 606 Here begins the power of the popes, by the concessions of Phocas, emperor of the east.
- 622 Mahomet, the false prophet, flies from Mecca to Medina, in Arabia, in the 44th year of his age, and 10th of his ministry, when he laid the foundation of the Saracen empire; and from whom the Mahometan princes to this day claim their descent. His followers compute their time from this æra, which in Arabic is called Hegira, i. e. the Flight.
- 637 Jerusalem is taken by the Saracens, or followers of Mahomet.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROME****ROMA****484 CE**

It was in this year (or perhaps in the year 508 CE — who knows and who cares?) that the earthquake termed the *abominandus* hit [Rome](#), devastating the [Flavian Amphitheater](#). Officials would eventually reconstruct enough of it to be able to seat a small crowd for [gladiatorial](#) games (which is all that you're looking at now when as a tourist you are so inspired by how truly enormous the place was).



Just Years and Years and Years Later

When you visit you can peruse the inscription commemorating this *pro bono* repair work (I'll fill in some worn spots in this inscription for you):



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**DECIUS MARIUS VENANTIUS  
BASILIUS VIR CLARISSIMUS ET INLUSTRIS PRAEFECTUS  
URBI PATRICIUS CONSUL  
ORDINARIUS ARENAM ET  
PODIUM QUAE ABOMI  
NANDI TERRAE MO  
TUS RUINA PROS  
TRAVIT SUMPTU PRO  
PRIO RESTITUIT**



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**486 CE**

The Frankish chieftain Clovis (Louis I) overran the province of Gaul, introducing features of [Roman](#) life in western [Germany](#) (what goes around comes around).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**508 CE**

The [Flavian Amphitheater](#) in [Rome](#) was again damaged by an earthquake.

**COLOSSEUM**

HDT

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ROME

ROMA

523 CE

The last known games were held in (what little was left of) the [Flavian Amphitheater](#) at [Rome](#). Some unknown person became the final person to “bleed out” into the blood-soaked sand of that arena.



COLOSSEUM

530 CE

At about this point, according to tradition, an Indian monk known as Bodhidharma (literally, “Carrier of Wisdom”) introduced southern Indian moving meditations to the inmates of the Shaolin monastery in Honan Province. These meditations are often cited as the inspiration for northern Shaolin boxing. While this relationship is probably mythological, the idea that monks had a responsibility to exercise was clearly in the air, as Saint Benedict was simultaneously introducing the idea of Christian monastic labors into France and Italy. In France, as in China, prayer services, or matins, were held every three to four hours. To increase the power of prayer, simultaneity was encouraged. Yet there was a problem here: not only were hours of different length during the summer and winter, but sundials didn’t work in the dark, water-clocks froze in the winter, and guards (“watches”) sometimes fell asleep or got distracted, and so did not light one-hour candles or incense sticks. More importantly, none of these devices were useful for making the precise astronomical observations that astrology required. So research continued into ways of making more accurate timekeeping devices, research that would result in the invention of mechanical bell-ringers during the eleventh century and mechanical clocks during the thirteenth.

However, as if they didn’t have anything better to do, some folks were offing/getting offed by some other folks at Daras:



This was yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): the legions of Belisarius defeated the Persians, creating [the Pax Romana](#).<sup>29</sup>

29. You will note that in these records of battles leaving fields littered with corpses, the terms “creating the Pax Romana” and “disrupting the Pax Romana” are terms of art — and are employed arbitrarily. Please don’t try to figure out why sometimes the term “creating” is selected, and sometimes the word “disrupting,” as this won’t get you anywhere at all.



ROME

ROMA

533 CE

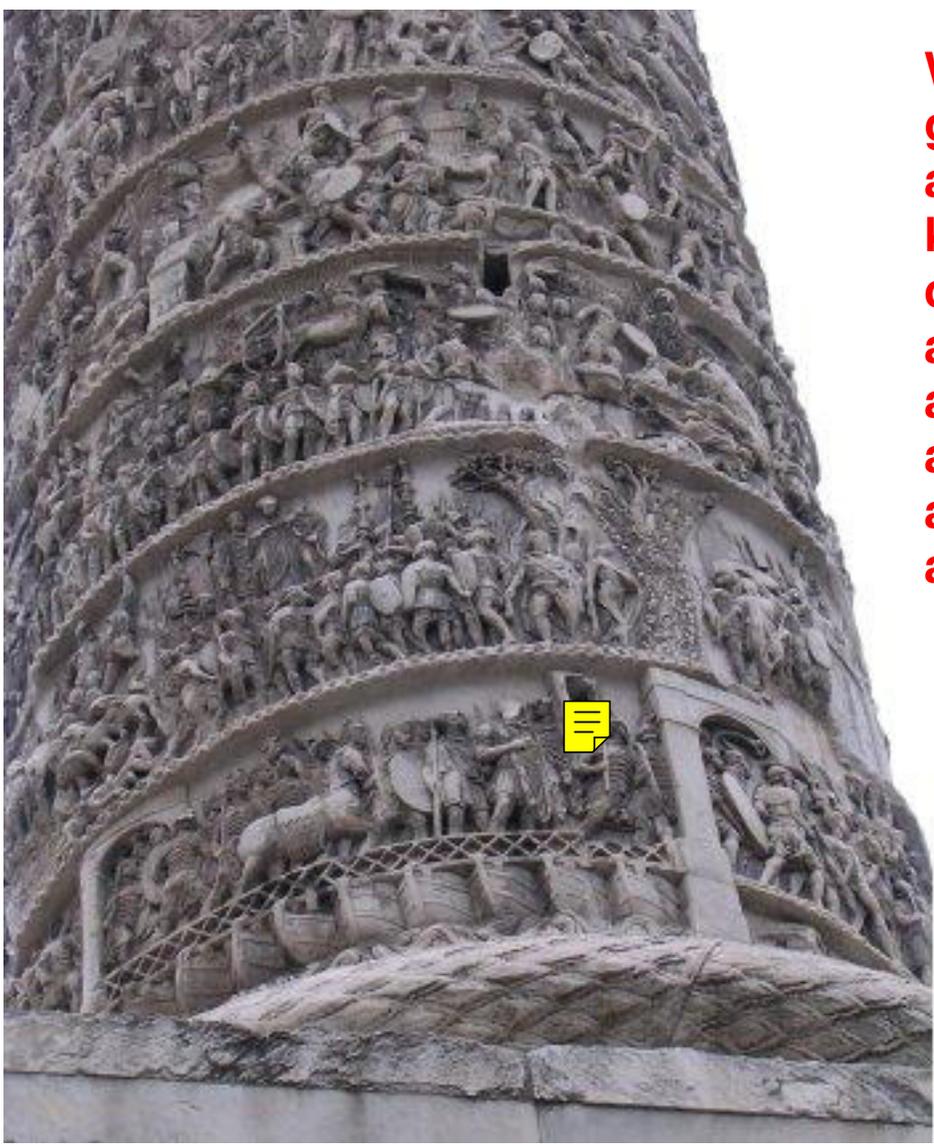
Some people offered some other people at the indicated locations:



This Tricameron/Ad Decimum thingie shown above was yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): the legions of Belisarius were defeating Vandals under Geilamir and creating anew [the Pax Romana](#).

ROMA

ROME



What goes around keeps coming around and around and around...





**ROME**

**ROMA**

**537 CE**

From this year to 555 CE, the papacy of Pope Vigilius. He was involved in the death of Pope Silverius, he conspired with Justinian and Theodora, and he would be excommunicated by North African bishops in 550 CE.

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at [Rome](#) the legions of Belisarius defeated the Goths under Wittiges, restoring [the Pax Romana](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**545 CE**

During this year and the following one, yet another altercation involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at a siege of [Rome](#) the Goths under Totila would defeat the legions of Belisarius, disrupting [the Pax Romana](#).



ROME

ROMA

552 CE

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Taginae the legions of Narses defeated the Goths under Totila, creating [the Pax Romana](#).



They done real well and we thank them for it, whenever we remember.



ROMA

ROME

553 CE

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at the Draco River south of Naples, now the Sarno River, the legions of the Romanized Armenian eunuch Narses (a fine guy whom everybody trusted) defeated the Ostrogoths and killed their leader Teias (Teia), creating [the Pax Romana](#). That is to say, there were some people left over, still alive, from having struggled to off one another in the previous year, 552 CE, and so some of these leftover still-alive people got together at Mons Lactarius, the modern Monti Lattari in Campania (it doesn't make a difference whether you describe this battle as taking place at the river Sarno or at the hill Lattari, as the river and the hill are right next to one another), to struggle again against one another in what has otherwise been described as the Battle of [Mount Vesuvius](#) (a more noticeable geographic feature on the local skyline) to make the world be a decent place through this process of repeatedly offing one another (this is a project that keeps coming up in people's minds, more or less spontaneously it would seem):



(I'm sorry it's so difficult to describe all this stuff. It's sorta like the US Civil War, where Americans can never agree over whether one of the episodes of nastiness is to be called the Battle of Bull Run after a little stream that runs through the locale, or the Battle of Manassas after a nearby railroad station — all we can agree on is that we experienced an unproblematic impulse to kill each other to make America be a superior place for decent folks to live in.)



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**554 CE**

Yet another battle involving our favorite pushy people, the [Romans](#): at Casilinum the legions of the Romanized Armenian eunuch Narses (a fine guy whom everybody trusted) defeated the Franks under Buccelin, creating [the Pax Romana](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**604 CE**

In [Rome](#), Sabinian was pope.



ROME

ROMA

606 CE

In [Rome](#), Boniface III was the pope, to be succeeded in the following year by Boniface IV.

- 446 The Britons, now left to themselves, are greatly harassed by the Scots and Picts, upon which they once more make their complaint to the Romans, but receive no assistance from that quarter.
- 447 Attila (surnamed the Scourge of God) with his Huns, ravages the Roman empire.
- 449 Vortigern, king of the Britons, invites the Saxons into Britain against the Scots and Picts.
- 455 The Saxons having repulsed the Scots and Picts, invite over more of their countrymen, and begin to establish themselves in Kent, under Hengist.
- 476 The western empire is finished, 523 years after the battle of Pharsalia; upon the ruins of which several new states arise in Italy and other parts, consisting of Goths, Vandals, Huns, and other Barbarians, under whom literature is extinguished, and the works of the learned are destroyed.
- 496 Clovis, king of France, baptized, and Christianity begins in that kingdom.
- 508 Prince Arthur begins his reign over the Britons.
- 516 The computing of time by the Christian æra is introduced by Dionysius the monk.
- 529 The code of Justinian, the eastern emperor, is published.
- 581 Latin ceased to be spoken about this time in Italy.
- 596 Augustine the monk comes into England with forty monks.
- 606 Here begins the power of the popes, by the concessions of Phocas, emperor of the east.
- 622 Mahomet, the false prophet, flies from Mecca to Medina, in Arabia, in the 44th year of his age, and 10th of his ministry, when he laid the foundation of the Saracen empire; and from whom the Mahometan princes to this day claim their descent. His followers compute their time from this æra, which in Arabic is called Hegira, i. e. the Flight.
- 637 Jerusalem is taken by the Saracens, or followers of Mahomet.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**625 CE**

Paulinus of [Rome](#) went to convert Northumbria to Christianity.

From this year into 638 CE, Pope Honorius I.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROME****ROMA****697 CE**

Roman [Catholic](#) priests prohibited Irish women and children from appearing on contested battlefields. This instituted a considerable cultural change for, in pre-Christian times, Irish women and children had often accompanied their men into battle.

On the [Italian](#) peninsula, the Adriatic city-state of Venice declared independence from both Byzantium and [Rome](#).

In this year and the following one, Saracens destroyed the Byzantine city of Carthage in North Africa, disrupting [the Pax Romana](#) (the new city of Tunis would begin nearby).





ROMA

ROME

730 CE

The Venerable Bede recorded an epigram about Rome's *Colossus Solis*, *Quandiu stabit coliseus, stabit et Roma; quando cadit coliseus, cadet et Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus* "as long as the Colossus stands, so shall Rome; when the Colossus falls, Rome shall fall; when Rome falls, so falls the world" (this is commonly taken to be a reference to the *Amphitheatrum Flavianum*, but since it was the masculine form of the noun that was applied, is a reference instead to the nearby enormous bronze statue).

China's Ming Huang emperor proclaimed polo to be one of the arts of war. If it was this, it would prove not to be very effective for troop training, as the Ming Huang emperor would be deposed in 756 for his inability to stop the Turkish warlord An Lu-shan who had established himself as the "Heroically Martial Emperor" in Lo-yang. While An was cruel and would be murdered by a eunuch in 757, his invasion had effectively terminated T'ang Dynasty control over its northern and western frontiers.



ROME

ROMA

754 CE

The Frankish king Pepin began to march into [Italy](#) against the Lombards and Byzantines, and would by 756 CE have achieved control of the papal succession in [Rome](#).



CATHOLICS



ROMA

ROME

800 CE

December 25, Christmas: [Charlemagne](#) was crowned Emperor of the Roman Empire of the West by Pope Leo III in St. Peter's Church, [Rome](#). An enormously good time was had by all.

- 640 Alexandria in Egypt is taken by the Saracens, and the grand library there burnt by order of Omar, their caliph or prince.
- 653 The Saracens now extend their conquests on every side, and retaliate the barbarities of the Goths and Vandals upon their posterity.
- 664 Glass invented in England by Benalt, a monk.
- 685 The Britons after a brave struggle of near 150 years, are totally expelled by the Saxons, and driven into Wales and Cornwall.
- 713 The Saracens conquer Spain.
- 726 The controversy about images begins, and occasions many insurrections in the eastern empire.
- 748 The computing of years from the birth of Christ began to be used in history.
- 749 The race of Abbas became caliphs of the Saracens, and encourage learning.
- 762 The city of Bagdad upon the Tigris is made the capital for the caliphs of the house of Abbas.
- 800 Charlemagne, king of France, begins the empire of Germany, afterwards called the western empire; gives the present names to the winds and months; endeavours to restore learning in Europe; but mankind are not yet disposed for it, being solely engrossed in military enterprises.
- 826 Harold, king of Denmark, dethroned by his subjects, for being a Christian.
- 828 Egbert, king of Wessex, unites the Heptarchy, by the name of England.
- 836 The Flemings trade to Scotland for fish.
- 838 The Scots and Picts have a decisive battle, in which the former prevail, and both kingdoms are united by Kenneth, which begins the second period of Scottish history.
- 867 The Danes begin their ravages in England.
- 896 Alfred the Great, after subduing the Danish invaders (against whom he fought 56 battles by sea and land), composes his body of laws; divides England into counties, hundreds, and tithings; erects county courts, and founds the university of Oxford about this time.
- 915 The university of Cambridge founded.
- 936 The Saracen empire is divided by usurpation into seven kingdoms.
- 975 Pope Boniface VII. is deposed and banished for his crimes.
- 979 Coronation oaths said to be first used in England.
- 991 The figures in arithmetic are brought into Europe by the Saracens from Arabia. Letters of the alphabet were hitherto used.
- 996 Otho III. makes the empire of Germany elective.
- 999 Boleslaus, the first king of Poland.

On this auspicious occasion the emperor presented the pope with the authentic foreskin of [Jesus Christ](#) — what a singularly appropriate present for a pope! Although this object may have been given to Chuck as a wedding present by the Byzantine Empress Irene, the story he told was that it had been given to him by an angel, of



**ROME**

**ROMA**

course while praying at the Holy Sepulchre. The pope would deposit this sacred piece of Jesus in the *Sanctum sanctorum* of the Lateran basilica in Rome (from which it would be looted during the Sack of Rome in 1527).

**CATHOLICS**



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**962 CE**

The Turkish warrior slave known as Alptigin seized the Afghan fortress of Ghazni and founded for himself what would be known as the Ghaznavid dynasty.

At Aachen, Otho the Great of [Germany](#) was crowned Otto I, Holy [Roman](#) Emperor.

HDT

WHAT?

INDEX

ROME

ROMA

1054 CE

Split between Catholic church of [Rome](#) and Orthodox Christian church of Byzantium.

- 1000 Paper made of cotton rags was in use ; that of linen rags in 1170 ; the manufactory introduced into England at Dartford, 1588.
- 1005 All the old churches are rebuilt about this time in a new manner of architecture.
- 1015 Children forbidden by law to be sold by their parents in England.
- 1017 Canute, king of Denmark, gets possession of England.
- 1040 The Danes, after several engagements with various success, are about this time driven out of Scotland, and never again return in a hostile manner.
- 1041 The Saxon line restored under Edward the Confessor.
- 1043 The Turks (a nation of adventurers from Tartary, serving hitherto in the armies of contending princes) become formidable, and take possession of Persia.
- 1054 Leo IX. the first pope that kept up an army.
- 1057 Malcolm III. king of Scotland, kills the tyrant Macbeth at Dunsinane ; and marries the princess Margaret, sister to Edgar Atheling.
- 1065 The Turks take Jerusalem from the Saracens.
- 1066 The battle of Hastings fought between Harold and William (surnamed the bastard) duke of Normandy, in which Harold is conquered and slain ; after which William becomes king of England.
- 1070 William introduces the feudal law.  
Musical notes invented.
- 1075 Henry IV. emperor of Germany, and the pope, quarrel about the nomination



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1154 CE**

Henry Plantagenet of Anjou became King Henry II of England (until 1189 CE).

Barbarossa campaigned against the Lombard towns. In the following year he would be crowned emperor at [Rome](#).

ROME

ROMA

1305

Clement V established the Avignon papacy. That is to say, Pope Clement V departed [Rome](#) in favor of his papal residence at Avignon.

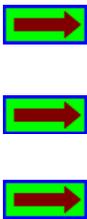
This was a year of bad decisions. People with nothing better to do offed one another as indicated:



Rikebon, who owed the monarchy of England a debt of 1,000 marks, was taken into the [Tower of London](#), which it seems was enough to capture his attention. After a deal had been struck he was released.

1377

John Ball, although excommunicated for having the temerity to advocate elimination of class distinctions, continued to preach in the marketplace and in other public spaces. Perhaps in this year, or by the year 1381, in Latin, [John Gower](#)'s *VOX CLAMANTIS*.





ROME

ROMA

This poet wrote in praise for the ruthlessness with which the English aristocracy, led by the new King Richard II, suppressed the common folk and their “Peasants’ Revolt.” The aristocrats were moral and the people immoral — that was the difference between these two orders.

*VOX CLAMANTIS*

Pope Gregory XI issued a bull ordering the chancellor of [Oxford](#) to prevent Wycliff’s heresies. He returned from Avignon to [Rome](#).





**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1438**

The Habsburg Archduke of Austria was made Holy [Roman](#) Emperor (the family would retain the title almost continuously until 1806).

**GERMANY**

ROME

ROMA

1501

The French entered [Rome](#).



In the “Peace of Trent” between France and Emperor Maximilian I, the French conquests in [Italy](#) were formally recognized. The Pope declared Louis XII to be King of [Naples](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1505**

[Michelangelo](#) began carving a “St. Matthew” on a project for a set of twelve Apostles for the cathedral in Florence, of which only this statue would ever even be begun. Pope Julius II called him to [Rome](#). The [Swiss Guard](#), which is to say, the papal guard of the Vatican in Rome made up all and only of tall Swiss males, was being formed. The privates would not be allowed to marry, a detail of their life at the Vatican which would prove intriguing to Michelangelo (although some would tell you that the artist designed their colorful uniform, there is no reason to suppose that the artist ever took any interest in the clothes they had on).

[Gonzalo Fernández de Córdoba y Aguilar](#) became Viceroy of [Naples](#).

In about this year Amerigo Vespucci got married with Maria Cerezo.

[Giovanni Battista Ramusio](#) became secretary to [Venice](#)'s ambassador to France, Alvise Mocenigo. He would begin to compile intelligence reports from travelers, and translate them into Italian.



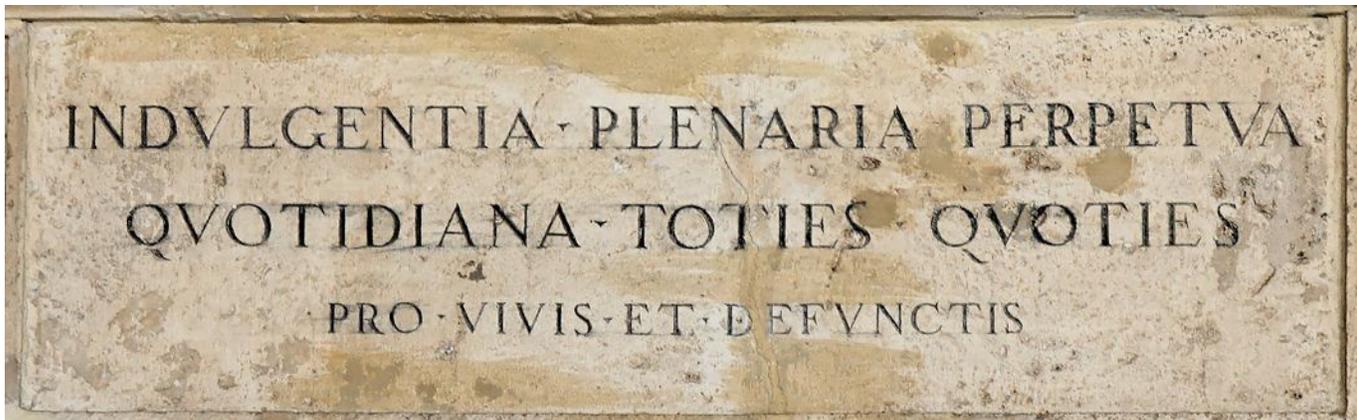
ROME

ROMA

1506

Pope Julius II ordered the demolition of the old St. Peter's Basilica in [Rome](#), originating in the 4th Century. He desired a new edifice designed by Donato Bramante, having atop it the largest all-stone dome in the world. Of course this all needed to be paid for, and construction would be going on into the Year of Our Lord 1612 — therefore Johann Tetzel, a [Dominican monk](#), began to sell indulgences in [Germany](#). (The 2d largest such dome is now atop the state edifice of [Rhode Island](#) in [Providence](#) and the 3d largest is atop the state edifice of Minnesota in the Twin Cities, but to the best of our knowledge neither this grand dome in Providence, Rhode Island nor this grand dome in St. Paul, Minnesota would be being paid for by the sale of “indulgences,” which is to say, purchased forgivenesses for sin.)

Here is an actual inscription on a building in Rome erected with the proceeds from sale of such indulgences:



ROMA

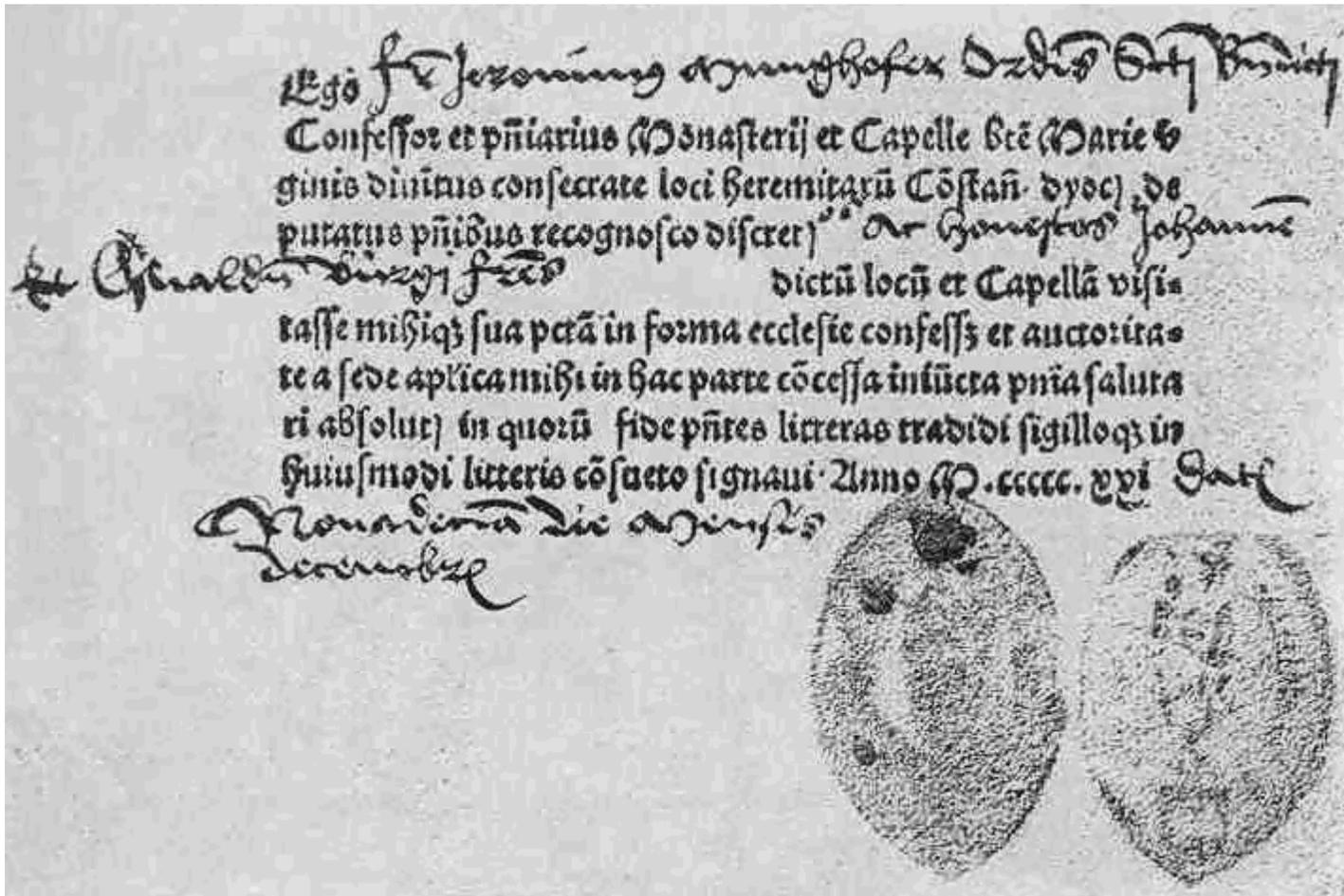
ROME

1507

The remains of [Nero's Rome-to-Naples canal](#) were discovered.

April 3, Saturday (Old Style): In [Germany](#), 23-year-old [Martin Luder](#) was ordained as a [Catholic](#) priest — but in this year, coincidentally, in [Rome](#), Pope Julius II was proclaiming an indulgence for any sinner who would aid in the rebuilding of the Basilica of St. Peter's (a certain number of stones for a certain number of sins, hot damn).

Here is an actual indulgence document, bought and paid for:





ROME

ROMA

1510

Pope Julius II absolved Venice.

[Leonardo da Vinci](#) designed a horizontal water wheel (we now call this device a turbine).

During this year and the following one there would be a hiatus in [Michelangelo](#)'s painting of the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel, due to the Vatican having stopped paying its bills. Hey, guys, I don't do this sort of thingie for free.

During November of this year, Father [Martin Luder](#) would be chosen to journey with another monk to [Rome](#) to present the appeal of some dissident German houses of the Augustinians. He would ascend on his knees the steps of the Scala Santa, said to have been transported from Pontius Pilate's judgment hall in Jerusalem, saying an "Our Father" on each step to free his grandfather from purgatory. This [Catholic](#) priest would be shocked, just shocked, at the worldly goings-on he would see going on at Vatican City. Upon return he would become a loyal supporter of Johann von Staupitz, vicar general of the order, who seems to have been theologically trained as a Thomist (Realist) and under the influence of the Augustinian tradition of his order, though his theology shows elements derived from a conflation of German mysticism with the *devotio moderna* of the Brethren of the Common Life.





**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1513**

Pope Julius II died and Giovanni di Lorenzo de' Medici of Florence became Pope Leo X. The House of Fugger secured an exclusive concession to vend papal indulgences north of the Alps, in [Germany](#).

Correggio discovered chiaroscuro.

Niccolò Machiavelli wrote the [Italian](#) comedy *LA MANDRAGOLA*.

[Michelangelo](#) began the three-year project of carving his "Moses."

In response to an appeal by the Lateran Council, [Nicolas Copernicus](#) compiled a proposal for the reform of the calendar and sent it to [Rome](#).

**ASTRONOMY**



**ROME**

**ROMA**

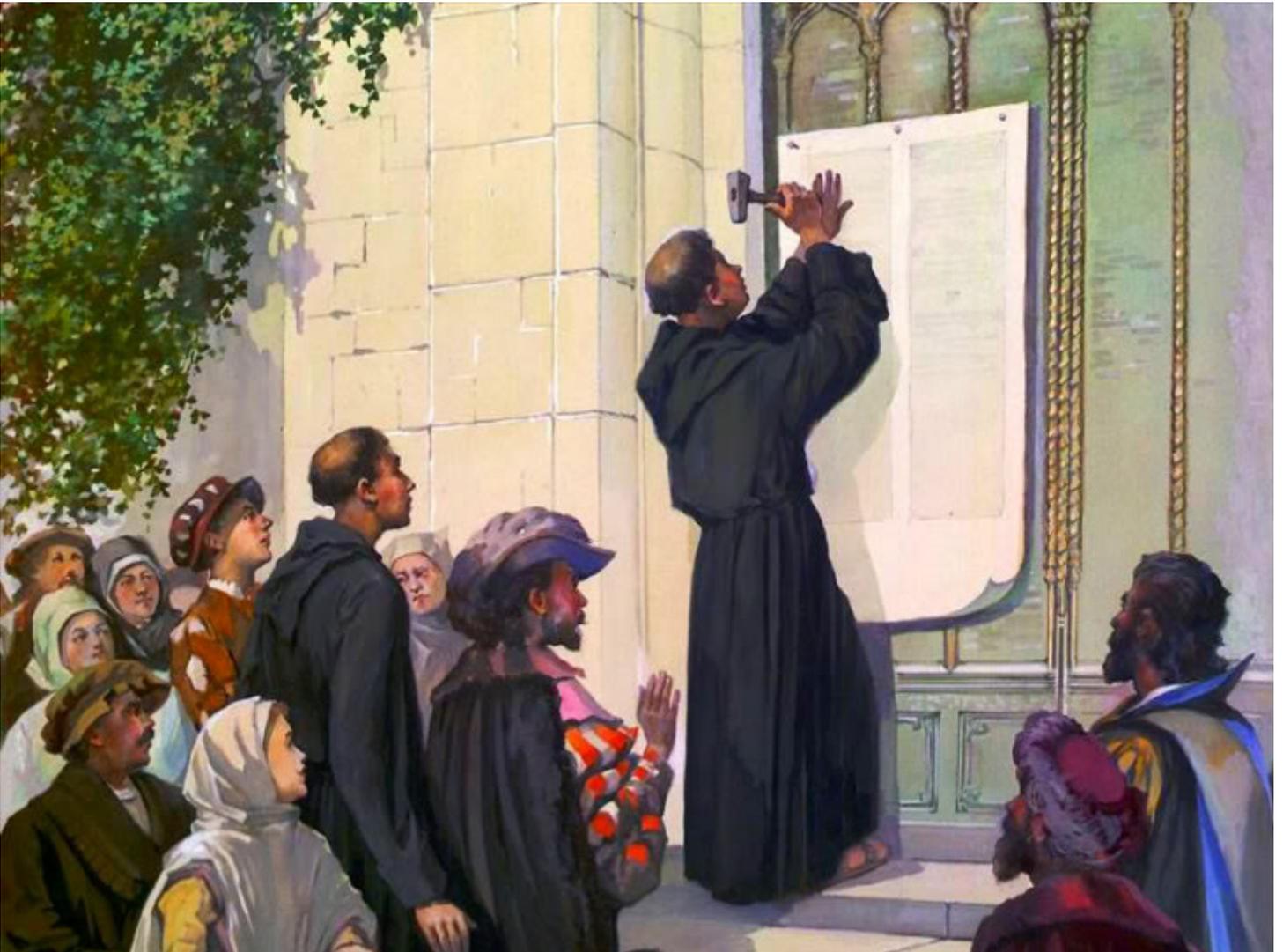
**1516**

The Imperial mail service was extended to [Rome](#) and [Naples](#).

Giuliano, of the Medici family, died and the family needed a place to put him. (What do you do for a family that has everything? –You build them a container to put it all in.)

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROMA****ROME****1517**

October 31, Saturday (Old Style): In Wittenberg, [Martin Luther](#) instigated the Protestant Reformation by proclaiming 95 theses (objections to [Catholic](#) practices such as Johannes Tetzel's promiscuous vending of indulgences), by nailing his document to the door of Castle Church.



(Parishioners had not been showing up for confession because they had purchased a church document entitling them to commit sins. The church door was at that point functioning as a sort of community bulletin board, and the professor had entitled his document “Disputation of Martin Luther on the Power and Efficacy of Indulgences.” He might as well have entitled it “You’re Not Getting Away With Anything.”)

The Reverend didn’t just tack this up in Latin on the local bulletin board. He also offered a [German](#) translation



**ROME**

**ROMA**

to a printer in Wittenberg who would in the course of a couple of weeks spread it throughout the region, plus, he posted a copy to Bishop Schulze of Brandenburg and Albrecht, the new Archbishop of Mainz — who would, and this goes without saying, forward the document to the authorities in [Rome](#).

November 1, Sunday (Old Style): It was All Saints Day, the big day of the year for All Saints Church, the church of the Catholic priest [Martin Luther](#) — and, as his [German](#) parishioners flocked in that morning, those who could understand Latin were able to read his Thesis 32 posted there, a thesis that directly pertained to the fate of the eternal souls of some of them: “Those who believe that they can be certain of their salvation because they have indulgence letters will be eternally damned, together with their teachers.”

December: Johannes Tetzel published 106 theses in defense of the papacy, categorizing Herr Professor [Martin Luther](#) as an enemy of the Church (in the preparation of this document, he had the assistance of friends in the Dominican Order).



**ROMA**

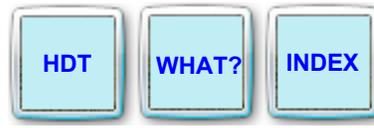
**ROME**

**1519**

[Benvenuto Cellini](#) removed to [Rome](#), where he would reside until that bastion would fall to the Spanish emperor in 1527.



Lucrezia Borgia died. Lorenzo (not the magnificent Lorenzo, but another one of the Medici family named after him) died and the family needed a place to put him. (What do you do for a family that has everything? –You build them a container to put it all in.) Giulio de Medici (who would become Pope Clement VII in 1523) succeeded Lorenzo at Florence.



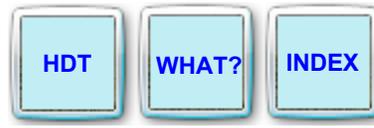
**ROME**

**ROMA**

**1520**

January 9, Monday (1519, Old Style): To respond to [Martin Luther](#) and his notions, [Rome](#) reinstated the [Inquisition](#) — no more Mr. Nice Guy.

March 15, Thursday (1519, Old Style): A letter from the church in [Rome](#) was delivered to Johann Staupitz, vicar of [Martin Luther](#)'s monastic order, requiring that he restrain the professor or be dismissed (a couple of months later Staupitz would resign; he would join the Benedictines in 1522 and become Abbot of St. Peter's in Salzburg).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1526**

The initial African [slaves](#) were imported to labor in the canefields of Cuba.

At about this point, by command of [King João III](#), [Fernão Lopez](#) returned to Portugal and visited his family of origin. Going to [Rome](#), [Pope Clement VII](#) granted him an audience and forgave his Moslem apostasy. The maimed [hermit](#) then returned to [St. Helena](#) (the Pope hadn't given him back his ears).

Congolese king Mbemba Nzinga protested to [King João III](#) that Portuguese merchants were “taking every day our natives, sons of the land and sons of our noblemen and our vassals and our relatives.” The king was a convert to Christianity and he alleged that the [slavers](#) were depopulating his country.

**INTERNATIONAL SLAVE TRADE**

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROME****ROMA****1527**

This was a poor harvest year in Europe.

The first Protestant University was founded in Marburg.

[German](#) mercenary soldiers, troops in the pay of [Holy Roman Emperor Charles V](#), put [Rome](#) to fire and sword, killing 4,000 of its inhabitants and looting its art treasures — well, so much for the Renaissance. The [Swiss](#) guards transferred Pope Clement VII to safe custody at the Castel Sant' Angelo, with in the process 147 of them losing their lives. [Benvenuto Cellini](#), participating in the unsuccessful defense of the city, at one point —if we are to take his word for it— slew the Constable of Bourbon and at another point slew the Prince of Orange, Philibert — he was, it seems, quite the slayer.



King Charles V himself also was slewed during this Roman holiday event. Also, the authentic foreskin of [Jesus Christ](#), which had been passed along to the pope by the emperor [Charlemagne](#) upon the occasion of his coronation on Christmas Day, 800 CE, was taken by a German soldier from the *Sanctum sanctorum* of the Lateran basilica in Rome, in its jeweled reliquary. That soldier would soon be captured in the village of Calcata, just a day or two's travel north of Rome, and taken into confinement, and would hide the precious object in his cell for the following three decades, until it would be discovered there in 1557 and taken to the local church.

**CATHOLICS**

With the sack of Rome, Pope Clement was put to ignominious flight — and so Florence revolted against the Medici and restored its traditional republic. The Medici were expelled. The left arm of [Michelangelo's](#) "[David](#)" was struck with a bench during a riot, and broken into three pieces (it would be reattached but the seams still show).



[Michelangelo](#) completed the marble interior of the Medici family chapel devoted to the memory of their dear departed youths Giuliano and Lorenzo.

This was a fateful year for Anglican religion — [King Henry VIII](#) began the divorce proceedings against his wife Queen Consort [Catherine of Aragón](#) which would radically divorce London from Rome.



In London, Boccaccio's THE FALL OF PRINCES, PRINCESSES, AND OTHER NOBLES was translated by John Lydgate and printed by Richard Pynson who, in addition to William Caxton and Wynkyn de Worde, was among the 1st to bring printing to the British Isles. He had been Printer to the King since 1508 and would continue in that capacity until 1529. He was still using black-letter face, though this had long since been abandoned in Italy and elsewhere on the Continent.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1528**

[Nicolas Copernicus](#) worked on the final draft of his treatise on the minting of money. During this year and the following one, he would be serving as chancellor of his Chapter.

Pope Clement VII ordered that Florence be surrounded by the same German mercenary soldiers who had put the city of [Rome](#) to fire and sword in the previous year. [Michelangelo](#) was forced to stop working on all the projects he had under way. The new government of Florence asked him to prepare plans for defense against the assault.

February 13, Thursday (1527, Old Style): [Giovanni da Verrazano](#) set sail for the New World for a 3d time in search of a passage to the Pacific Ocean, taking a brother. After exploring Florida, the Bahamas, and the Lesser Antilles he and his brother would row ashore from their fleet of two or three ships, probably at Guadeloupe, and in full view of the crews be killed and eaten by local Caribs.

The German mercenary troops of [Holy Roman Emperor Charles V](#) began to evacuate from [Rome](#).



**ROME**

***ROMA***

**1590**

Pope Urban VII (Giambattista Castagna of [Rome](#)), then Gregory XIV (Niccolo Sfondrati of Milan).

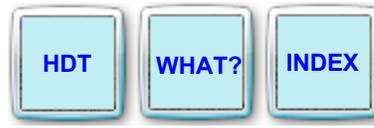


**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1603**

Prince Federico Cesi established the Lincean, or Lyncean, Academy in [Rome](#), perhaps the initial scientific academy of the modern era.



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**1607**

“The Flight of the Earls”: The feudal order declined in [Ireland](#) when the Ulster chiefs –101 of them– fled *en masse* to [Rome](#) after being defeated by the English, and then resettled themselves in Spain. The counties of Armagh, Cavan, Coleraine, Donegal, Fermanagh, and Tyrone were declared forfeit and Crown property.



ROMA

ROME

1611

[Galileo Galilei](#) took with him on his trip to [Rome](#) in this year a little box containing fragments of a rock which had recently been discovered by the alchemists of Bologna, which he had been exposing to the sunlight at his home in Firenze. We now know this mineral as barium sulfide, but what it was termed in those days was “the solar sponge.” When this natural philosopher (scientist) took his colleagues into a dark room and opened the box, they could perceive a cold light emanating from the rock, a light which had been stored there for the length of time which it had taken to journey from Firenze to Roma. Florentine light in Rome! Galileo used this to demonstrate to them the wrongness of the Aristotelian understanding that light was a  $\sigma\psi\mu\beta\epsilon\beta\epsilon\kappa\omicron\varsigma$  accident or quality of a transparent medium. No — light was a thing, it could be carried from place to place in a box.



I’ll bet you didn’t know that Galileo did stuff like that.

[Johannes Kepler](#), in his *DIOPTRICE*, presented an explanation of the principles involved in the convergent-lens/divergent-lens microscopes and telescopes. In the same treatise, he suggested that a telescope could be constructed using a converging objective in conjunction with a converging eye lens, that would later become known as “the astronomical telescope,” inverting the image, and described a combination of lenses that would later become known as “the telephoto lens.” He described total internal reflection but was unable to discover a satisfactory relationship between the angle of incidence and the angle of refraction.

**HISTORY OF OPTICS**



ROME

ROMA

1612

[Galileo Galilei](#) went to Rome, where he joined the Accademia dei Lincei. After for some months pointing out [sunspots](#) to astronomers in [Rome](#), he provided a correct explanation for the observation.

SKY EVENT



1613

October: Hasekura Tsunenaga (1571-1622), at the head of a crew of 180 [Japanese](#), set out for Acapulco in a 500-ton galleon that had been built in six months under Spanish supervision by Japanese shipwrights. He would have audiences with the Mexican viceroy in 1614 and, after a voyage on a Western ship, with the Spanish monarch Philip III in 1615. While in Spain he would have himself baptized as a [Christian](#):



There is still in Seville, Spain a family of surname “Japon” that has one or another of the 20 Japanese that made it that far, among its ancestors. The story is well told in *“Relación breve, y sumaria del edito que mandó publicar en todo su Reyno del Bojō, uno de las mas poderosos del Iapon, el rey Idate Masamune, publicando la fê de Cristo, y del embaxador que embio a españa....”*

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROME****ROMA**

Hasekura Tsunenaga would voyage on to [Rome](#) where he would score an audience with Pope Paul V. Here he is in the attire he would don for his audience:



(Back home, however, the Japanese ruler Tokugawa Ieyasu would during February 1613/14 have issued an edict expelling all priests from Japan, and eventually this would result in a hardening of the Spanish attitude toward trade; thus Hasekura's mission ultimately would come to nothing. After two years in the Philippines, Hasekura would return to Japan in September 1620.)



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1621**

At the Vatican in [Rome](#), selection of Alfonso Ludovisi as Pope Gregory XV.



**ROME**

***ROMA***

**1626**

November 18, Saturday (Old Style): In [Rome](#), St. Peter's Basilica was consecrated.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1634**

A quaint [Catholic](#) village in the Bavarian alps had begun staging, at least by this year, a quaint Christian piece of guerrilla theatre the explicit focus of which was the claim that it had been the [Jews](#), not the [Romans](#), who had offed [Christ](#). This idea would prove so attractive that the piece of theater, in which all Jewish characters (other than Jesus himself, of course) wore horn nubs as part of their costumes, would from this point forward be restaged every ten years with a fresh generation of local actors. The village of Oberammergau dedicated itself to the moral principle of watchfulness, that never again would a filthy Semite be allowed to off a Christian.<sup>30</sup>

**ANTISEMITISM**

30. Setting the stage for [Mel Gibson](#)'s "Jesus: The Snuff Movie"

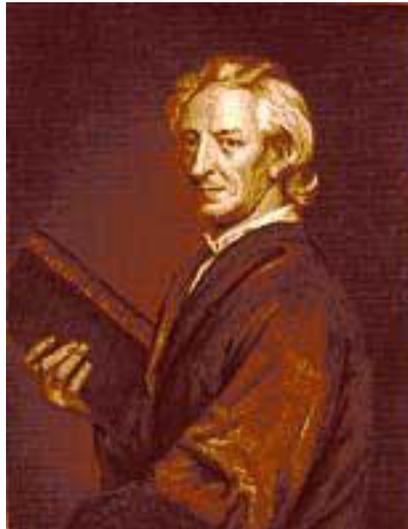


ROME

ROMA

1643

After studying in the Middle Temple, [London](#), and at [Balliol College of Oxford University](#), and after a brief period of service with the Royalist army during the English Civil War, [John Evelyn](#) decided to avoid further involvement in the conflict by traveling abroad, first in France and then to [Rome](#), Venice, and Padua.





**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1644**

[John Evelyn](#) visited the English College at [Rome](#) where Catholic priests were being training for service in England.



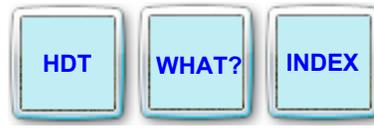


**ROME**

**ROMA**

**1649**

April 24, Tuesday (Old Style): In [Rome](#), [Richard Crashaw](#) had been denouncing the misdeeds of others, and in an attempt to shield him from vengeance Cardinal Giovanni Battista Maria Pallotta designated him a canon of the Holy House at Loretto (a shrine credited as being the actual house of the Virgin Mary from the village of Nazareth, magically transported to Italy by angels toward the close of the 13th century).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1650**

The General Court of the colony of Connecticut ordered that there was to be no smoking of [tobacco](#) by any person under the age of 21, and there was to be no smoking except upon the order of a physician.

The habit of smoking [tobacco](#) was spreading in Austria.

Pope Innocent X issued a bull against smoking [tobacco](#) on the grounds of St. Peter's in [Rome](#).



ROME

ROMA

1652

[Athanasius Kircher](#)'s *OEDIPUS AEGYPTIACUS* was published in [Rome](#).



He was the Joseph Campbell of the era and, Joseph-Campbell style, he easily equated [Isis](#) with Cybele the Mother of the Gods, with Minerva, with Venus, with Juno, with Proserpina, with Ceres, with Diana, with Rhea (Mother Earth), with the war-goddess Bellona, with Hecate, with the Moon, and with the “polymorphous Daemon.”

Here she is:



Sameness was all over the place. You only had to put your mind to it and this became this and that and the other.



ROME

ROMA

1657

Friends [John Perrot](#) and [John Luffe \(Love\)](#) traveled on the [Italian](#) peninsula to convert [Catholics](#) and Jews to [Quakerism](#). Eventually they would seek an audience with Pope Alexander VII at the Vatican in [Rome](#) and be imprisoned.

In this year [Friend George Fox](#) is said to have written in reproach to an aged and failing [Oliver Cromwell](#):  
“O Oliver, hadst thou been faithful and thundered down the deceit, the Hollander had been thy subject and tributary, Germany had given up to have done thy will, and the Spaniard had quivered like a dry leaf wanting the virtue of God, the King of France should have bowed his neck under thee, the Pope should have withered as in winter, the Turk in all of his fatness should have smoked, thou shouldst not have stood trifling about small things, but minded the work of the Lord as He began with thee at first.”



Some Quakers have taken this to mean that Friend George was rebuking Cromwell for not having had English soldiers adorn their armor with the big red cross of the Crusader, and gone off on a 5th Crusade against Islam, and have offered this as a limitation on the early understanding of [the Quaker Peace Testimony](#): that the testimony was at this early point entirely compatible with the use of war as an instrument of the monarch. My own contention would be, however, that when Friend George wrote “O Oliver, hadst thou been faithful and thundered down the deceit,” he was writing a phrase that is to us at the very least indefinite, or ambiguous. Precisely what would it be for a person to be faithful as Friend George proposed? Being faithful does not, of course, intrinsically, involve armies and shedding the blood of others, for one can on occasion be faithful even when one has no army at one’s disposal and even when one is refusing to shed the blood of others. Exactly what is it for a person to thunder down deceit as Friend George proposed? Thundering down deceit does not, of course, intrinsically, involve the use of cannon and gunpowder, for one can on occasion thunder down deceit, even if one is out of gunpowder and all one’s cannon have become Quaker cannon, fallen entirely silent. So if one is going to insist that when Friend George told the Lord Protector that “the Turk in all of his fatness should have smoked” what he meant was that that Cromwell should have sent the English army off on a 5th Crusade to kill so many of them that the ones still alive would fear the Lord Protector and do his will,<sup>31</sup> one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, “the Hollander had been thy subject and tributary” would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Hollanders that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, “Germany had given up to have done thy will” would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Germans that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, “the Spaniard had quivered like a dry leaf wanting the virtue of God” would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Spaniards that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and one is going to have to admit also

31. Note that Friend Mary Fisher’s missionary voyage to the court of the Great Turk was at this point an entirely unknown and unimagined, because future, event.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

that by the same token, “the King of France should have bowed his neck under thee” would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Frenchmen that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will, and one is going to have to admit also that by the same token, “the Pope should have withered as in winter” would have meant that Cromwell should have killed so many Roman Catholics that the ones still alive would fear him and do his will. What a spasm of 17th-Century conquest and bloodshed and terror this Quaker of today seems to suppose Friend George to have been imagining! But this is preposterous. Friend George certainly was not suggesting to Lord Protector Cromwell that he should have played Alexander the Great and conquered the known world. Had he meant that he would have said that. Where might any Quaker scholar have acquired such a conceit? And why would a Quaker now be furthering such a conceit?

Please notice once and for all that the phrase “O Oliver, hadst thou been faithful and thundered down the deceit” is consistent also with an attitude that if Lord Protector Cromwell had studied to make himself a man of the spirit of God rather than a man of violence, he would have had a greater and more lasting influence upon his fellows, rather than experiencing, as he was, in his declining years, that for all the blood he had caused to be shed his life had produced no lasting benefit.





ROME

ROMA

1658

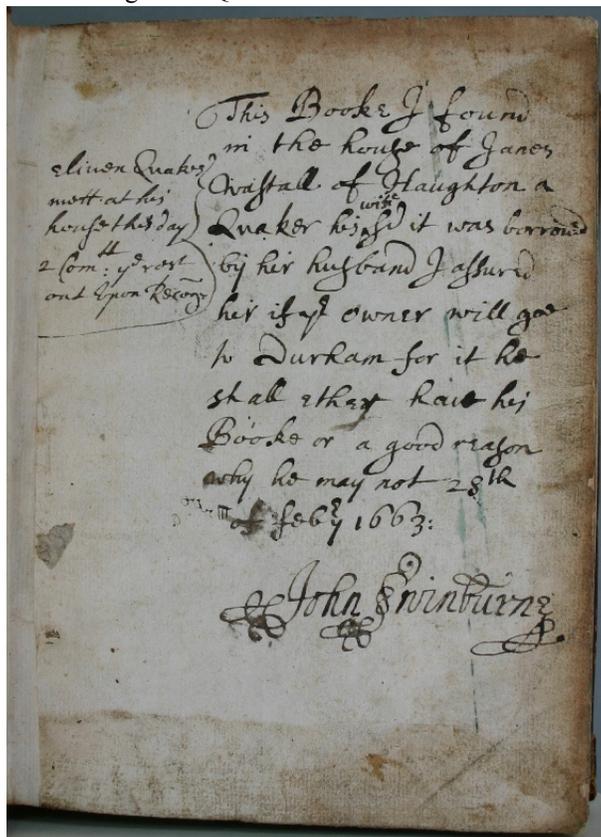
William Marston, Sr. was charged with the possession of [Friend](#) John Lilburne's THE RESURRECTION OF JOHN LILBURNE, NOW A PRISONER IN DOVER-CASTLE (an announcement of his conversion to Quakerism dated the 4th day of the 10th month, 1655) and [Friend](#) William Dewsbury's THE MIGHTY DAY OF THE LORD IS COMING (a [Quaker](#) sermon delivered on January 12, 1656), but managed to get his fine rebated to him by turning these documents over to the authorities and exhibiting appropriate penitence.

Arriving in Venice, the [Quaker](#) missionaries [John Perrot](#) and [John Luffe](#) called on the Doge in his palace. They then went to [Rome](#) and sought an audience with Pope Alexander VII in the Vatican. Luffe directly confronted the Pope and was either tortured and hanged or, another story, refused to eat while imprisoned. Perrot was relegated to an insane asylum. Friend Samuel Fisher (1605-1665), Friend John Stubbs, and other Quakers would travel to Rome to seek his release.

1661

June: The anti-[Quaker](#) penalties of the Massachusetts Bay Colony were modified with a “Cart and Whip Act.” Friend Wenlock Christison and 27 other Quakers were dragged from the prison behind carts and whipped to the borders of the colony, where they were untied and released.

Friend [John Perrot](#) was released from the insane asylum in [Rome](#). On the way home to England he would be again briefly arrested, in France. There exists a book, FIFTEEN QUAKER TRACTS BY JOHN PERROT, in the library of [Bishop John Cosin](#), that on February 28 (new style), 1663 (this would be, in our years, 1664) was confiscated from a Northumberland [Quaker](#) group following the break-up of a meeting of “Eliven Quakes” in the house of John Wastall of Houghton a Quaker.





**ROME**

***ROMA***

**1701**

[Père Louis Hennepin](#), who had never returned to North America, died presumably in [Rome](#).



ROMA

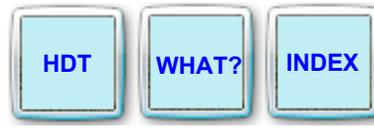
ROME

1704

A decision was reached in the Papal city in [Rome](#) to condemn Confucian and Buddhist rites as heathen. This decision would be one ingredient of a cultural mix which would make Christians in [China](#) utterly intolerant of their neighbors, and would thus set up their *Tai-p'ing T'ien-kuo* or [Christian](#) “Central Kingdom of Great Peace” of the mid-19th Century in South China to indulge in what would become if not the longest then for sure the bloodiest civil war in the history of the world<sup>32</sup> — and then be utterly extirpated to the point at which today it is not even **remembered** that once upon a time there were large and influential groups of Christians in China.<sup>33</sup>

32. The US civil war would last maybe 5 years, from 1860 into 1865, while this Taiping civil war would last 14 years, from 1850 into 1864, the Moslem rebellion in the northwest of China 16 years, from 1862 into 1878, the Nien rebellion 17 years, from 1851 into 1868, and the “Panthay” rebellion in Yunnan 18 years, from 1855 into 1873. This won't be the longest civil war on record even if it will be far longer than our own civil war — it will only be by far the bloodiest at a body count of some 25 million souls.

33. The usual story which is told, of course, is that Westerners are tolerant but Easterners intolerant. The usual story which is told, of course, is that the superstitious and chauvinist Chinese closed themselves off against us as mere foreign devils. Nobody remembers that the very first thing that happened was, that we issued a blanket condemnation of anything and everything which they happened to regard as of significance. Note carefully that both the Chinese Communists of the PRC (People's Republic of China, on the mainland) and the Chinese Nationalists of the ROC (Republic of China, on Taiwan) claim to have originated in this *Tai-p'ing* nativist resistance movement against the Manchu overlords in Beijing.



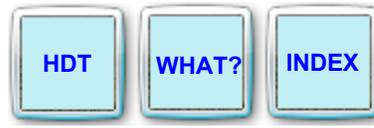
ROME

ROMA

1715

The decision which had been taken in the Papal city in [Rome](#) in 1704,  that the Confucian and Buddhist rites were mere heathenism, at this point was brought to the attention of the [Chinese](#) themselves. This would be one of the influences by which Confucians and Buddhists in China would become utterly intolerant of their Chinese Christians, known contemptuously as Longhairs, and would thus determine to exterminate the [Christian](#) *Tai-p'ing T'ien-kuo* or “Central Kingdom of Great Peace” of the mid-19th Century in South China in what would become the longest and bloodiest civil war in the history of the world.<sup>34</sup>

34. This cultural extirpation would be so complete that today it is not even remembered, in Christendom, that once upon a time there had been large and influential groups of Christians in China.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1729**

January 3, Friday (1728, Old Style): On this date one “Eustachio Gaspare Grimani” was born, and there seems to be reason to credit that this was the same person we would come to know under the name “[Gasparo Grimani](#).” The birth was either in Venice or in Bologna, more likely Bologna. Intending a career in the church (a Grimani family tradition), he would study in [Rome](#), but somehow would fall into difficulties with the church (also traditional in this family) and in about 1755 would leave Italy.



**ROME**

***ROMA***

**1754**

February 10, Sunday: Siroe, an opera by Baldassare Galuppi to words of Metastasio, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Argentina of [Rome](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1756**

January 7, Wednesday: Idomeneo, an opera seria by Baldassare Galuppi was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Argentina of [Rome](#).

February 9, Monday: Antigono, a dramma per musica by Christoph Willibald Gluck to words of Metastasio, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Argentina of [Rome](#). During his time in [Rome](#), Gluck would be named a Knight of the Golden Spur.

February 26, Thursday: Baldassare Galuppi's farsetta a La cantarina, to words of Goldoni, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Capranica of [Rome](#).



**ROME**

***ROMA***

**1757**

February 5, Saturday: Creso, an opera seria by Niccolò Jommelli to words of Pizzi, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Argentina of [Rome](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

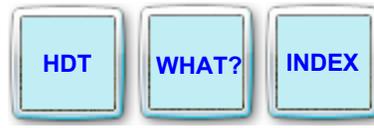
**1758**

January 2, Monday: Adriano in Siria, an opera seria by Rinaldo di Capua to words of Metastasio, was performed for the initial time, in the Torre Argentina of [Rome](#).

January 21, Saturday: Alessandro nelle Indie, an opera seria by Niccolò Piccinni to words of Metastasio, was performed for the initial time, at the Teatro Argentina of [Rome](#).

May 3, Wednesday: The British East India Company trading town of Gondelour, India surrendered to the French.

Prospero Lambertini, Pope Benedict XIV, died in [Rome](#).



**ROME**

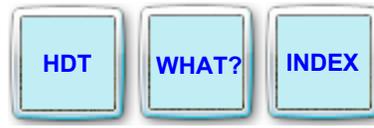
**ROMA**

**1759**

January 13, Saturday: The people who had attempted to kill King José of Portugal during the previous September were put to death in the public square of Belém. The Marchioness of Távora was first to be beheaded, and then her two sons. The Count of Atougia and three of his servants were broken on the wheel and then strangled, followed by the Duke of Aveiro, and then the Marquis of Távora. A non-noble accomplice was burned alive. After the ceremonies they set the entire scaffold on fire, and after the fire had burned down they dumped the ashes into the Taugus River. It was a clean sweep.

With only 5,000 of its original 9,000 invasion force, the British began a naval bombardment of Martinique.

Melite riconosciuto, an opera seria by Baldassare Galuppi to words of Roccaforte, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro delle Dame of [Rome](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1760**

February 6, Wednesday: La Cecchina, ossia La buona figliuola, a drama giocosa by Niccolò Piccinni to words of Goldoni, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Delle Dame of [Rome](#) (this will turn out to be perhaps the most successful comic opera of the 18th Century).



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**1761**

January 3, Saturday: Niccolò Piccinni's intermezzo and comedy *Le vicende della sorte* to words of Petrosellini after Goldoni, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Valle of [Rome](#).



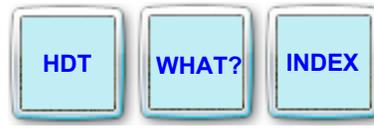
**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1762**

February 3, Wednesday: Two Paris institutions, the Opéra-Comique and the Comédie-Italienne, merged by royal edict.

Artaserse, an opera seria by Niccolò Piccinni to words of Metastasio, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Argentina of [Rome](#).



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**1764**

January 1, Sunday: [Moses Brown](#) got married with his 1st cousin Anna Brown (1744-1773), daughter of Obadiah Brown and Mary Harris Brown.

The cantata Singet um einander TWV 1: 1347 by Georg Philipp Telemann was performed for the initial time, in Hamburg.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart performed on the organ before King Louis XV of France in the chapel of the Palace of Versailles. The Mozart family attended a court dinner.

Gli stravaganti, ossia La schiava riconosciuta, an intermezzo by Niccolò Piccinni, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Valle of [Rome](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1765**

January 10, Thursday: Il barone di Torrefonte, an intermezzo by Niccolò Piccinni, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Capranica of [Rome](#).



ROME

ROMA

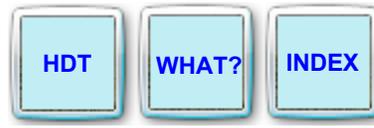
1766

January 1, Wednesday: At the death of his father, Bonnie Prince Charlie acceded to all his British claims and denominated himself King Charles III. Later this month he would take up residence in [Rome](#).

At the 1st Parish Church in [Concord](#), the Reverend [William Emerson](#) was ordained as minister.

On the 18th of February, 1765, the church chose [William Emerson](#) to be their pastor; and in this vote the town concurred, in March, 128 to 62. The only other candidate mentioned was Mr. Samuel Williams. It was agreed to give him £200 as a settlement, and £100 as an annual salary. He was ordained January 1, 1766. The council, on the occasion, was composed of ministers and delegates from the First and Second churches in Sudbury, the Second in Cambridge, the Second in Wells, the Second in Reading, and the churches in Malden, Stow, Littleton, Acton, Chelmsford, Topsfield, Lexington, Hollis, Pepperell, Lincoln, Bedford, and Billerica. The Rev. John Gardner, of Stow, was moderator. The Rev. Daniel Rogers of Littleton made the introductory prayer; the Rev. Joseph Emerson, of Malden, preached from 1 Chron. xxix. 1; the Rev. John Gardner gave the charge; the Rev. William Cook, of East Sudbury, made the last prayer; and the Rev. John Smith, of Acton, gave the right hand of fellowship.

When Mr. Emerson began his ministry, some of those feelings, which had been fostered in the previous controversies, were still existing. But though he came into office under these disadvantageous circumstances, his piety, talents, and popular manner, as a preacher, secured the affection and support of a great majority of the church and town. The subsequent difficulties in his church arose principally from the rejection of an individual [Mr. Joseph Lee] who offered himself as a candidate for admission. When the church was called upon to act on his admission, it was well known that objections existed in the minds of some of the communicants against him; and Deacon Simon Hunt arose, after the question was put, and before the vote was declared, and requested it to be made certain. Considering this an unjustifiable act, the candidate immediately withdrew. This happened in 1767, and *nine* of the members of the church, uniting with some who were not professors of religion, and considering its proceedings improper and arbitrary, and Mr. Emerson as partial for approving them, espoused the cause of the rejected individual, and composed the principal opposition, and were known as the *aggrieved brethren*. In the progress of the controversy, many frivolous complaints were brought forward, and much personal feeling was excited; but few important principles in doctrine or discipline were discussed or settled. The records concerning these transaction are very imperfect.<sup>35</sup>



**ROMA**

**ROME**

January 9: La pescatrice, ovvero L'erede riconosciuta, an intermezzo by Niccolò Piccinni, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Capranica of [Rome](#).

January 27: Niccolò Piccinni's intermezzo La baronessa di Montecupo was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Capranica, [Rome](#).

35. [Lemuel Shattuck](#)'s 1835 [A HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF CONCORD;...](#). Boston: Russell, Odiorne, and Company; Concord MA: [John Stacy](#)  
(On or about November 11, 1837 [Henry Thoreau](#) would indicate a familiarity with the contents of at least pages 2-3 and 6-9 of this historical study.)



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**1769**

January 3, Tuesday: *Lo sposo burlato*, an intermezzo by Niccolò Piccinni to words of Casti, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Valle of [Rome](#).

January 18, Wednesday: Anton Ignaz Joseph, Count Fugger-Glött replaced Clemens Wenzel von Sachsen as Prince Bishop of Regensburg.

France, Spain, and [Naples](#) issued an ultimatum to Pope Clement XIII through their ambassadors in [Rome](#), to suppress entirely the Society of Jesus.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1770**

January 1, Monday: Forward Janus, turn thine eyes, an ode by William Boyce to words of Whitehead, was performed for the initial time.

As a surprise, Count Schafgotsch, prince-bishop of Breslau, presented the Cross of the Order of the Golden Spur to his employee, Carl Ditters. The Count used his influence in [Rome](#) to get Ditters named a Knight of the Golden Spur.

January 8, Monday: Didone abbandonata, an opera seria by Niccolò Piccinni to words of Metastasio, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Argentina of [Rome](#).

Scipione in Cartagena, an opera seria by Antonio Sacchini to words of Giunti, was performed for the initial time, in the München Residenz.

April 11, Wednesday: Leopold and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart arrived in [Rome](#) during a thunderstorm, on the Wednesday of Holy Week. In the afternoon, they went to the Sistine Chapel where they heard Gregorio Allegri's Miserere (which Wolfgang would later note down from memory).

May 8, Tuesday: After a month of performances, meetings with important people, and sightseeing, Leopold and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart departed from [Rome](#) heading toward [Naples](#).

June 25: After six weeks in the city, Leopold and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart departed from [Naples](#) on their way back to [Rome](#).

June 26: Leopold and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart arrived back in [Rome](#) from [Naples](#) after a journey of 27 hours, having on the way a coach accident in which Leopold had gashed his right leg.

July 5, Thursday: In the name of Pope Clement, Cardinal Pallavicini officially informed Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart that he would receive the Order of the Knight of the Golden Spur, in the Palazzo Quirinale, [Rome](#).

A statue in honor of [William Pitt the Elder \(1708-1778\)](#), who had brought about the repeal of the Stamp Act during March 1766, believed to be the first statue commemorating a public figure to be erected in America, was dedicated at Meeting and Broad Streets in [Charleston, South Carolina](#). One hand of the statue held the Magna Carta while the other reached out across the pond to America. "Where Law Ends, Tyranny Begins." After their speeches the dedicators withdrew to the shelter of Dillon and Gray's Tavern.



**ROME**

**ROMA**

July 8: Pope Clement XIV received Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and his father Leopold in a private audience at the Palazzo Santa Maria Maggiore in [Rome](#). Wolfgang wore a ceremonial robe and his decoration as a Knight of the Golden Spur. Among the Pope's entourage was the Bishop of Gurk, Hieronymus Colloredo, who would feature prominently in the lives of both Mozarts.

July 9: Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart was voted a member of the Accademia Filarmonica, [Rome](#).

July 10: Leopold and Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart departed [Rome](#) heading toward Bologna.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1771**

January 2, Wednesday: *Le finte gemelle*, an intermezzo by Niccolò Piccinni to words of Petrosellini, was performed for the first time, in the Teatro Valle of [Rome](#).

January 26, Saturday: A 2d version of Nicolò Jommelli's opera seria *Achille in Sciro*, to words of Metastasio, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro della Dame of [Rome](#).

February 16, Saturday: French astronomer Charles Messier published his first catalogue of "nebulae" in the Memoirs of the French Academy of Sciences. These were 45 unexplained objects he had noticed while searching for comets. They would turn out to be galaxies and other celestial phenomena.

**ASTRONOMY**

Niccolò Piccinni was appointed 2d organist of the Royal Chapel, [Naples](#). During his decade as 2d organist, Piccinni would spend much of his time on leave and away at the opera centers of Europe, especially [Rome](#).



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**1772**

January 11, Saturday: Nicolo Piccinni departed [Naples](#) for [Rome](#).

February 22, Saturday: L'americano, an intermezzo by Niccolò Piccinni, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Capranica, [Rome](#).

March 11, Wednesday: Niccolò Piccinni returned to [Naples](#) from [Rome](#).

December 12: After being closed for 15 months due to an outbreak of plague, government offices in Moscow reopened.

Niccolò Piccinni departed [Naples](#) for [Rome](#) on his second leave of the year.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1773**

January 9, Saturday: La sposa collerica, an intermezzo by Niccolò Piccinni, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Valle of [Rome](#).

February 4, Thursday: Niccolò Piccinni returned to [Naples](#) from [Rome](#).



ROME

ROMA

1774

The 11th edition of the Reverend John Clarke, M.A.'s translation *EUTROPII HISTORIÆ ROMANÆ BREVIARIUM: CUM VERSIONE ANGLICA, IN QUA VERBUM DE VERBO EXPRIMITUR, NOTIS QUOQUE & INDICE: OR, EUTROPIUS'S COMPENDIOUS HISTORY OF ROME, TOGETHER WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION AS LITERAL AS POSSIBLE, NOTES AND AN INDEX* (L. Hawes, W. Clarke, and R. Collins). (The initial edition of this had appeared sometime between 1720 and 1734. The 4th edition had appeared in 1750. The 10th edition had appeared in 1769. A 2d American edition would appear in 1802. We have no idea what edition it was that young David Henry Thoreau saw during his early schooling, although probably this would have been an American edition.)

REVEREND JOHN CLARKE

[Oliver Goldsmith](#)'s AN ABRIDGEMENT OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND and

ABRIDGED ENGLISH HISTORY

ABRIDGED ENGLISH HISTORY

THE HISTORY OF GREECE: FROM THE EARLIEST STATE TO THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

THE HISTORY OF GREECE

His RETALIATION: A POEM.

RETALIATION: A POEM

His AN HISTORY OF THE EARTH AND ANIMATED NATURE has been described as everything from “hackwork” to his “most substantial literary legacy” (Wardle, 1957). The first edition (in eight volumes) in this year appeared in London. The work sought to draw together virtually all that was known about the planet earth, its plants and animals, and even its human inhabitants described from a biological perspective. Although Goldsmith drew almost all of his information from the work of other naturalists, he set out with a very Romantic goal in mind. He had first planned to translate Pliny's NATURAL HISTORY and then, after reading Buffon, he decided that “the best imitation of the ancients was to write from our own feelings and to imitate nature.” The linking of emotion and mimetic imitation to the natural world echoed precisely the claims poets would be making for the next century. AN HISTORY OF THE EARTH AND ANIMATED NATURE would go through over 20 editions into the Victorian era; though it can be criticized on technical grounds, the work became the source of what countless individuals in the English-speaking world knew about the natural world around them. Goldsmith wrote with clarity and precision; for example, he admitted one of the most common confusions in natural history of the period in his discussion of the “border” between plants and animals:

it frequently puzzles the naturalist to tell exactly where animal life begins, and vegetable terminates; nor, indeed, is it easy to resolve, whether some objects offered to view be of the lowest of the animal, or the highest of the vegetable races. The sensitive plant, that moves at the touch, seems to have as much perception as the fresh water polypus, that is possessed



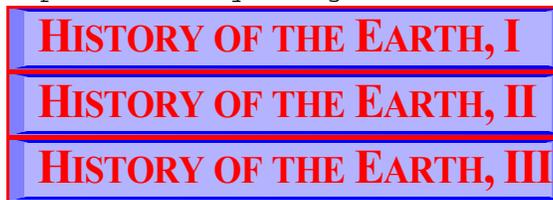
**ROMA**

**ROME**

of a still slower share of motion. Besides, the sensitive plant will not re-produce upon cutting it in pieces, which the polypus is known to do; so that the vegetable production seems to have the superiority.

[Goldsmith](#) weighed in on the side of those who believed that all human varieties derived from a single species, admitting however that great changes seemed able to occur in individual members of a species, including our own. His entire discussion of humans takes place, significantly, in a section of his work entitled “An History of Animals”:

If we look round the world, there seem to be not above six distinct varieties in the human species, each of which is strongly marked, and speaks the kind seldom to have mixed with any other. But there is nothing in the shape, nothing in the faculties, that shows their coming from different originals; and the varieties of climate, of nourishment, and custom, are sufficient to produce every change.



September 22, Thursday: Giovanni Vincenzo Antonio Ganganelli, Pope Clement XIV, died in [Rome](#).

At a meeting in Cumberland County in Maine, [Concord](#), Massachusetts was accepted as the designated place of assembly for the 1st Provincial Congress of Massachusetts.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROME****ROMA****1776**

The 1st steam-driven pump for water supply had been installed in [London](#) in about 1761. In this year a company was formed to pump potable water from the Seine through the use of such a steam pump, for the provisioning of the city of [Paris](#). (Still, in Paris in 1789, there would remain a class of nearly 2,000 “water carriers” — men who brought water for the needs of residents.)

Antonia Fabbri Grimani, the wife of [Gasparo Grimani](#), died in [Paris](#). Gasparo would travel, for a time making his living by exhibiting a model of [Rome](#) that he had carved.



(Section of Grimani's model of Rome, centering upon the Spanish Steps)

January 2, Tuesday: [William Bartram](#) departed the Upper Creek Towns.

La vera costanza, a dramma giocoso by Pasquale Anfossi to words of Puttini, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro delle Dame, [Rome](#).

January 3, Wednesday: Le due contesse, an intermezzo by Giovanni Paisiello to words of Petrosellini, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Valle of [Rome](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1779**

December 22: *La partenza inaspettata*, an opera by Antonio Salieri to words of Petrosellini, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro alle Valle, [Rome](#). It was a complete triumph.

December 28: *L'italiana in Londra*, an intermezzo by Domenico Cimarosa to words possibly by Petrosellini, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro alla Valle, [Rome](#), the composer directing from the harpsichord. This was a triumph.



**ROME**

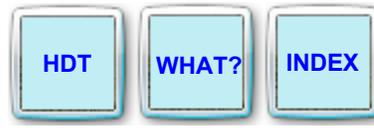
**ROMA**

**1781**

January 2, Tuesday: Il pittore parigino, an intermezzo by Domenico Cimarosa to words of Petrosellini, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Valle of [Rome](#).

February 11, Sunday: Alessandro nell'Indie, a dramma per musica by Domenico Cimarosa to words of Metastasio, was performed for the initial time, in the Teatro Argentina of [Rome](#).

November 28, Wednesday: Emperor Joseph II declared Austrian monastic orders independent of [Rome](#). He would spend the next eight years dissolving a third of the monasteries in Austria.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1782**

March 3, Sunday: A cantata by Domenico Cimarosa, *Le tue parole o padre* to words of Monti, was performed for the initial time, under the name *L'ombra, Genio ed Enrico*, in the Palace of the French Academy, [Rome](#) to celebrate the birth of the Dauphin.

Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart gave an academy concert at the Burgtheater, Vienna. This would be the high point of the season. He played the Piano Concerto K.175 with a new rondo finale, K.382. This and the entire performance were very successful.



**ROME**

***ROMA***

**1783**

[Gasparo Grimani](#) produced A TOPOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL DESCRIPTION OF ANTIENT & MODERN [ROME](#), ... (38 pages, printed by S. Hazard).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1787**

July 31, Tuesday: Johann Wolfgang von Goethe viewed a performance of L'impresario in angustie by Domenico Cimarosa in [Rome](#). He was so impressed that he took a full score in manuscript back to Weimar with him, where he would translate it into [German](#) and produce it.



ROME

ROMA

1792

March 5, Monday: One day before the premiere of *Adrien, empereur du Rome*, an opera by Etienne-Nicolas Mehul to words of Hoffman, was cancelled by the Commune de Paris (city council). The censorship was due to the current anti-Austrian sentiment (the opera showed the ancient Roman emperor in a favorable light, and the parallel to the Holy Roman Emperor was too close).

March 12, Monday: For a 2d time, the Commune de Paris (city council) forbade the following day's scheduled performance of *Adrien, empereur du Rome*, an opera by Etienne-Nicolas Mehul to words of Hoffman (they cited fears of anti-imperial rioting).

Symphonic Concertante B.114 by Ignaz Pleyel was performed for the initial time, in London.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1798**

February 11, Sunday: The French forces of Louis Alexandre Berthier captured [Rome](#).

February 15, Thursday: The Roman Republic was proclaimed. When Pope Pius VI refused to surrender his temporal powers he was taken into custody.

February 20, Tuesday: Because of his refusal to give up his temporal authority, Pope Pius VI was removed from [Rome](#) by Louis Alexandre Berthier (he would be taken first to Siena, then to Certosa).

November 29, Thursday: [Naples](#) declared war on France and King Ferdinando IV entered [Rome](#) at the head of his troops.

December 15, Saturday: French forces recaptured [Rome](#) and pushed on to [Naples](#).



ROME

ROMA

1800



March 20, Thursday: Alessandro Volta reported his invention of the electric battery to Sir Joseph Banks, President of the Royal Society in London.

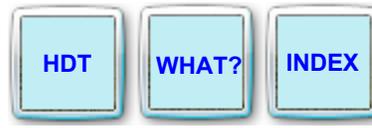
A bill was introduced in the federal House of Representatives providing for the division of the Northwest Territory into two separate governments. The principal supporters of the measure were William Henry Harrison, territorial delegate from Northwest Territory, and Robert C. Harper of South Carolina. They urged that the existing situation was too unwieldy for good government, that the growth of population justified the change, and that popular sentiment made it highly desirable. The act would leave the present state of [Ohio](#), approximately half of Michigan, and the “gore” in southeastern Indiana in the Northwest Territory, while reconstituting the remainder of the original Northwest Territory as “Indiana Territory.”<sup>36</sup>

French forces defeated Turks and Mamelukes at Heliopolis (Masr el Gedida), opening their advance on Cairo.

[EGYPT](#)

Maria Anna Aloysia Apollonia Keller, estranged wife of Joseph Haydn, died in Baden attended by her husband.

36. Acts Passed at the First Session of the Sixth Congress of the United States (Philadelphia, n.d.), 139-141; United States Statutes at Large (Boston, 1850- ), II, 58-60; Annals of Congress, 6 Cong., I Sess., 645, 649, 1498-1500; Carter (ed.), Territorial Papers, VII, 7-10; Kettleborough (ed.), Constitution Making in Indiana, I, 39-43; Barnhart and Carmony, Indiana, I, 94-95, 100. The “gore” was transferred to Indiana Territory when [Ohio](#) became a state in 1803.



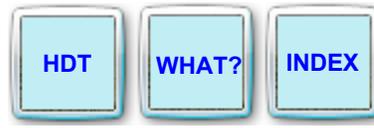
**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1802**



[François-Auguste-René, vicomte de Chateaubriand](#)'s *RENÉ*, and his *GÉNIE DU CHRISTIANISME*, which was his attempt to justify his Roman Catholic faith. At the time [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) was campaigning to win the favor of the Church, and so he appointed Chateaubriand as secretary of a legation to the Holy See. Chateaubriand accompanied Cardinal Fesch to [Rome](#) but the two soon got on each other's nerves. Napoleon then nominated him as minister to Valais, Switzerland.



ROME

ROMA

1803

-  January 22, Saturday: [Ludwig van Beethoven](#) placed an announcement in the *Wiener Zeitung* denouncing the publishing firm of Artaria and Mollo. They had published his String Quartet op.29 in Vienna after Beethoven's authorized publication by Breitkopf and Härtel in Leipzig (Artaria had received the manuscript from the dedicatee, Count Moritz von Fries).
-  January 28, Friday: The French Republic formally established the Grand Prix de [Rome](#) in Musical Composition. The annual winners were to receive a stipend for 4 years, the initial 2 to be spent at the Villa Medici, [Rome](#), the 3d in Germany or Austria, the 4th in [Rome](#) or Paris. They would be expected to compose various works during this time. Illustrious composers who would win the Prix de [Rome](#) would include Berlioz, Gounod, Bizet, Massenet, Debussy, Schmitt, and Ibert.
-  January 29, Saturday: Ercole in Lidia, a drama per musica by Simon Mayr to words of de Gamerra, was performed for the initial time, in the Burgtheater, Vienna.

1804

→ When [Napoléon Bonaparte](#) ordered the execution of the Duc d'Enghien, in protest [François-Auguste-René, vicomte de Chateaubriand](#) resigned his post as minister to Valais. Resolving to live by his income as an author, he laid plans to create a prose page-turner set in the period of the fascinating persecution of early Christianity. This was to be about the ultimate good guys who got done wrong, *LES MARTYRS*, and about those ultimate nasty dudes, the [Romans](#) — quite an outstanding formula for a trade press crowd-pleaser, huh?

→ Word was out that being an American was a virtual passport into the presence of the great man [Alexander von Humboldt](#), brother of the great man Wilhelm, *Freiherr* von Humboldt.



From this year into 1806, [Washington Irving](#) was touring in Europe. As we might have anticipated, he was one of the earliest American visitors to collect this specimen. Did he solicit the autograph? –Did he proffer a blank check? –Did he press the actual flesh?

In [Rome](#), [Irving](#) met [Washington Allston](#).



ROME

ROMA

1806

 January: [Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#) was in [Roma](#), in [Firenze](#), and in Pisa, [Italy](#).

It would have been during this period that he would have met his lifelong friend [Washington Allston](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1808**

 February 2, Tuesday: French troops occupied [Rome](#) after [Pope Pius VII](#) refused to recognize the King of Naples or join in an alliance against Britain.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 2 of 2 M / Still in suspence about [Providence](#), whenever my mind has been turn'd that way there has been a thick cloud, but whether the cloud is owing to the Situation of things there or at home I am hardly able to determine - The prospect however has brightened this evening & I am induced to think if it is a good time in the morning that I shall go -*

**RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS**



ROME

ROMA

1810

 February 17, Saturday: [Rome](#) was formally annexed to the French Empire.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*7th day 17 of 2 M // Much occupied at Trade. The mind in a poor condition as to life, indeed I have suffer'd so much with the tooth Ach of late that my head has been so confused that I have been unable to think on any subject -*

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 18, Sunday: King Friedrich of Württemberg was about to banish Carl Maria von Weber when 42 creditors pressed their cases against him, causing the duke to re-arrest the composer at the expense of the creditors (he would finish Silvana during his imprisonment).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*1st day 18 of 2 M 1810// I went to meeting in the forenoon, & Abigail Sherman preached a little to us "This day choose whom you will serve, if God be God serve him but if Baal be God serve him" but I suffered so much with the tooth Ach that I could feel but little else, however these thoughts run thro' my mind, that when a person had the tooth Ach they were for putting off the sure remedy (extraction) & trying Paliatives which only tend to keep us longer under suffering, when if we would come to the point at once & have it out, our suffering would be soon over - so I thought it is with those who are called to make religious sacrifices, allways dreading the thing required & putting it off from season to season in hopes to make something else answer, but nothing will give permanent peace but A sacrifice of that which is required at our hands -With these thoughts I went home concluding to try one prescription more, & if that did not answer I would then think more seriously of extraction, which I did, & staid from meeting to make the experiment, but all would not do, so accordingly I put on my boots early in the evening come out of the house not letting any boody know where I was going, & went to J Lawton & had it pulled & return'd on my way rejoicing, as did my dear H when She found my sufferings in that respect (at least for a time) were ended*

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



ROMA

ROME

 February 19, Monday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*2nd 19 of 2 Mo// The mind in rather a poor state but not so Poor as at some times. Our little Son is very sick today, & Sister Ruth is very affectinately with us - he appears to be about his teeth.*

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 20, Tuesday: Andreas Hofer, who had led the uprisal of the Tyrol against France and Bavaria, was executed in Mantua (Mantova).

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*3rd day 20 of 2 Mo// Our little boy has been very sick today, so that I began to be apprehensive of the Issue but is this evening much more quiet & comfortable. -*

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

 February 21, Wednesday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*4th day 21 of 2 Mo// Our dear little son continues much better -I desire to be thankful, but I desire also but to have my affections to much placed upon him, so that if he is taken from this to a better home, the Shock may not be to Great*

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RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROME****ROMA****1814**

December 17, Saturday: Lady Holland wrote from [Rome](#) to report that the ground had recently been removed in the old Foro Romanum, “to give the full height of the shafts to the columns. The coliseum stands level with the soil to the base, the arches are all open, and it is seen perfectly as when it was open for its shows; but the living Rome is as dirty and insecure as it was twenty years ago.”



The Reverend [William Kirby](#)'s wife Sarah Ripper Kirby had died earlier this month, and on this day the body was interred.



ROMA

ROME

1816

→ [Joseph Wolff](#) went to [Switzerland](#) where, among others, he met [Johann Heinrich Pestalozzi](#). Passing on, he arrived at [Rome](#), where ambassador Count Waldbourg-Truchsess introduced him to [Pope Pius VII](#).

→ September 5, Thursday: Urged on by his liberal advisors, King Louis XVIII of France dissolved the conservative Chamber of Deputies and called new elections.

In [Rome](#), [Joseph Wolff](#) was allowed to become a student at the Collegio Romano.

Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*5th day 5 of 9 M / To me a favor'd meeting tho' some part of it was a little trying on some accounts – After sitting a little while I felt the quickening spirit run thro' me in a remarkable lively manner which raised a thankfulness to the great giver of all good things & drew the silent tears from mine eyes – This little rejoicing is quite in humility for such is the discouraged State of my mind with respect to myself & Society, that I hardly know at seasons what to do or Say – Mary Tillinghast & cousin Borden & My Mother & sister Sally spent the Afternoon*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS



ROME

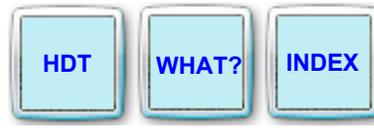
ROMA

1818

 After attacking the doctrine of papal infallibility, and criticising his tutors, [Joseph Wolff](#) found himself expelled from the Collegio di Propaganda in [Rome](#) (gosh, do you suppose?). He would stay for a brief period in the monastery of the Redemptorists at Val Sainte near Fribourg, Switzerland and pass on to London, where he would enter the Anglican Church and resume, at Cambridge, his Oriental and theological studies. At this point he learned of the interpretation of 9th-century Rabbi Benjamin Nahawendi, that the “thousand three hundred and five and thirty yamim” of DANIEL 8:14 indicated years rather than days, meaning that this world was going to be brought to an end during the 1840s.

 November: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) and [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) traveled to [Rome](#) and [Naples](#), making excursions to [Mount Vesuvius](#), Paestum, etc. The usual tourist stuff.

[Samuel Taylor Coleridge](#) revised his periodical [The Friend](#) and issued it in book form.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1819**



March 5, Friday: [Percy Bysshe Shelley](#) and [Mary Godwin Wollstonecraft Shelley](#) reached [Rome](#), where at about the middle of the month Mary would become pregnant.



ROME

ROMA

1821

 February 23, Friday: Friend [Stephen Wanton Gould](#) wrote in his journal:

*6th day 23rd of 2 M 1821 / This evening Sally Brown spent with us, & to me it was an agreeable time – Oh that she & I too were more religiously devoted. –*

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

The “rapid [consumption](#)” mentioned by Shelley –the last stage of the [tuberculosis](#) he had caught from tending his brother Tom Keats in the previous year – resulted in [John Keats](#)’s death at the age of 25 in a small room overlooking the Spanish Steps in [Rome](#).

“Bring me the candle,” he called to Brown, with whom he was staying, “and let me see this blood.” He looked at the bright red spot on his pillow and then, his excitement and intoxication gone, he said calmly, “I know the colour of that blood. It’s arterial blood.... That blood is my death warrant.”

## Famous Last Words:



"What school is more profitably instructive than the death-bed of the righteous, impressing the understanding with a convincing evidence, that they have not followed cunningly devised fables, but solid substantial truth."



— A COLLECTION OF MEMORIALS CONCERNING DIVERS DECEASED MINISTERS, Philadelphia, 1787

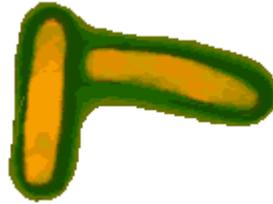
**"The death bed scenes & observations even of the best & wisest afford but a sorry picture of our humanity. Some men endeavor to live a constrained life — to subject their whole lives to their will as he who said he might give a sign if he were conscious after his head was cut off — but he gave no sign Dwell as near as possible to the channel in which your life flows."**

**—Thoreau's JOURNAL, March 12, 1853**

1821	John Keats	dying of TB in Rome	<i>"Severn ... I am dying ... I shall die easy ... don't be frightened ... be firm and thank God it has come."</i>
1825	Phebe Walker Bliss Emerson Ripley	died in Concord	<i>"Don't call Dr. Ripley his boots squeak so, Mr. Emerson used to step so softly, his boots never squeaked."</i>
1826	<a href="#">Thomas Jefferson</a>	died at 12:50PM	<i>"Is it the 4th? —Ah."</i>
1826	John Adams	died at 5: 30PM — Jefferson actually had, in Virginia, predeceased him	<i>"Thomas Jefferson still surv..."</i>
1830	King George IV	early one morning in Windsor Castle	<i>"Good God, what is this? — My boy, this is death."</i>
1832	Sam Sharpe	being hanged after an unsuccessful slave revolt on the island of Jamaica	<i>"I would rather die on yonder gallows than live in slavery."</i>
<i>... other famous last words ...</i>			

ROME

ROMA



Here is Keats's deathmask:





ROMA

ROME

A WEEK: We read that Aristæus "obtained of Jupiter and Neptune, that the pestilential heat of the dog-days, wherein was great mortality, should be mitigated with wind." This is one of those dateless benefits conferred on man, which have no record in our vulgar day, though we still find some similitude to them in our dreams, in which we have a more liberal and juster apprehension of things, unconstrained by habit, which is then in some measure put off, and divested of memory, which we call history. According to fable, when the island of Ægina was depopulated by sickness, at the instance of Æacus, Jupiter turned the ants into men, that is, as some think, he made men of the inhabitants who lived meanly like ants. This is perhaps the fullest history of those early days extant. The fable which is naturally and truly composed, so as to satisfy the imagination, ere it addresses the understanding, beautiful though strange as a wild-flower, is to the wise man an apothegm, and admits of his most generous interpretation. When we read that Bacchus made the Tyrrhenian mariners mad, so that they leapt into the sea, mistaking it for a meadow full of flowers, and so became dolphins, we are not concerned about the historical truth of this, but rather a higher poetical truth. We seem to hear the music of a thought, and care not if the understanding be not gratified. For their beauty, consider the fables of Narcissus, of Endymion, of Memnon son of Morning, the representative of all promising youths who have died a premature death, and whose memory is melodiously prolonged to the latest morning; the beautiful stories of Phaeton, and of the Sirens whose isle shone afar off white with the bones of unburied men; and the pregnant ones of Pan, Prometheus, and the Sphinx; and that long list of names which have already become part of the universal language of civilized men, and from proper are becoming common names or nouns, – the Sibyls, the Eumenides, the Parcae, the Graces, the Muses, Nemesis, &c. It is interesting to observe with what singular unanimity the farthest sundered nations and generations consent to give completeness and roundness to an ancient fable, of which they indistinctly appreciate the beauty or the truth. By a faint and dream-like effort, though it be only by the vote of a scientific body, the dullest posterity slowly add some trait to the mythus.

PEOPLE OF  
A WEEK

ENDYMION  
JOHN KEATS

1826



December: Alexis de Tocqueville and his brother Edouard visited [Rome](#), [Naples](#), and [Sicily](#). He began writing *VOYAGE EN SICILE*.





**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1830**

 At Villa Gherardesca in [Fiesole](#), [Walter Savage Landor](#) was visited by [John Robert Kenyon](#), establishing a long friendship.

From the 1830s through the 1840s, the wealthy Massachusetts sculptor [Horatio Greenough](#) would be becoming the “leader” of the American artists’ colony in [Rome, Italy](#).



ROME

ROMA

 In [Rome](#), the painter Karl Briullov, who is said to have become the first internationally known Russian, began his “The Last Day of [Pompeii](#)”:



[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROMA****ROME****1833**

Publication, during this year and the following one, of THE COMPLETE WORKS OF [SIR WALTER SCOTT](#), by Conner & Cooke in New-York. Out of this collection [Henry Thoreau](#) would mention “Lady of the Lake” in his journal on May 21, 1839 And “Thomas the Rhymer” on September 28, 1843. There would be a mention in A WEEK ON THE CONCORD AND MERRIMACK RIVERS, and in EXCURSIONS there would be casual mention of a category that would include IVANHOE, QUENTIN DUNWARD, and THE TALISMAN. In [Rome](#), the painter Karl Briullov (Carlo Brullo) –who is said to have made himself the first internationally known Russian– completed his “The Last Day of [Pompeii](#)”:



Reportedly [Sir Walter Scott](#), after having stared at this Disneyish fantasia for all of an hour at the studio during the process of its composition, had declared it to be not so much a painting as an epic. (Part of this may have



ROME

ROMA

been politeness toward his host, of course, but surely a small part of this would have been the enormous doses of [opiates](#) that Scott was needing to rely upon in order to live in his pain-wracked body.)

 March 25, Monday: [Waldo Emerson](#) left [Naples](#) and [Mount Vesuvius](#), and would arrive at [Rome](#) on March 26th.

 April 3, Wednesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) left [Rome](#) for [Firenzi](#) (Florence).

Pro-democracy students attacked the main police station in Frankfurt-am-Main in an attempt to free political prisoners and begin a general republican uprising. Failing to attract public support, the uprising collapsed.

At the request of Charles Babbage, a pair of arbitrators, Messrs. Field and Donkin, had visited the contractor for the Calculational Engine project. They found the main point at issue to be who it was who was responsible to the contractor for the project, whether it be the Parliament or Babbage himself.

In Salisbury, New Hampshire, the [Reverend Horatio Wood](#) delivered an address on [temperance](#) (this would be printed as an 18-page tract in Concord, New Hampshire by the firm of Hill and Barton). It is to be noted, in this address, that the “temperance” being urged was not abstinence from [ethanol](#) products, but instead consisted in two things, a total abstinence from [distilled spirits](#) such as [rum](#), [whiskey](#), [vodka](#), [brandy](#), etc. and in sale of such [distilled spirits](#) to others, coupled with sufficient moderation in the consumption of [wine](#), [beer](#), and [cider](#), that public or private [drunkenness](#) is never the result.

### REVEREND HORATIO WOOD

Every friend of temperance should show himself. Let him take a decided stand. We want no half way men. I will tell you what I think a decided stand is, the only stand, from which one can consistently and properly lift up his voice with effect, and prove himself a friend of temperance. This stand is total abstinence from the use of ardent spirits. ... It is enjoined in holy writ, that no man put a stumbling block, or an occasion to fall in his brothers way. Let those who drink temperately abstain altogether, is it to be doubted that they would check the tendency of many to ruin, and stop others in the first steps of a dangerous habit? ... Let me ask to, how it happens, that ardent spirit is needed in so many cases as alleged, when it is well known, that ardent spirit had its invention within three hundred years, and has been in common use in New-England less than one hundred. ... Break away from a slavish regard to self alone, and let the generous spirit breathed through these words of the holy page possess you, “Let no man seek his own but every man another’s good.” ... Those who drink temperately and who are here, I would respectfully ask, whether it would not be really safer for them not to drink ardent spirit at all, and whether duty to others does not prompt them to a generous declaration of entire disuse for the future. ... You ought also, I conceive, not to drink to excess of other things which do not come under the denomination of the forbidden article; for thereby you do yourself injury and discredit, injure the cause, and are keeping



ROMA

ROME

up the appetite which sometimes may find its old channel of gratification.



August 28, Wednesday: [Waldo Emerson](#) had met, while in [Rome](#), the Gustave d'Eichthal who had sent Saint-Simonian materials to [Thomas Carlyle](#), and this scion of a Jewish banking family had given to the American tourist a letter of introduction to the sympathetic Scottish author. On this August day, therefore, Emerson showed up on the doorstep of the farmhouse at Craigenputtock — this is how Emerson would describe, later, how the visit had gone down, in his ENGLISH TRAITS:

From Edinburgh I went to the Highlands. On my return, I came from Glasgow to Dumfries, and being intent on delivering a letter which I had brought from Rome, inquired for Craigenputtock. It was a farm in Nithsdale, in the parish of Dunscore, sixteen miles distant. No public coach passed near it, so I took a private carriage from the inn. I found the house amid desolate heathery hills, where the lonely scholar nourished his mighty heart. Carlyle was a man from his youth, an author who did not need to hide from his readers, and as absolute a man of the world, unknown and exiled on that hill-farm, as if holding on his own terms what is best in London. He was tall and gaunt, with a cliff-like brow, self-possessed, and holding his extraordinary powers of conversation in easy command; clinging to his northern accent with evident relish; full of lively anecdote, and with a streaming humor, which floated every thing he looked upon. His talk playfully exalting the familiar objects, put the companion at once into an acquaintance with his Lars and Lemurs, and it was very pleasant to learn what was predestined to be a pretty mythology. Few were the objects and lonely the man, "not a person to speak to within sixteen miles except the minister of Dunscore;" so that books inevitably made his topics. **[continued on following screen]**



ROME

ROMA



*Horatio Wood*



ROMA

ROME

He had names of his own for all the matters familiar to his discourse. "Blackwood's" was the "sand magazine;" "Fraser's" nearer approach to possibility of life was the "mud magazine;" a piece of road near by that marked some failed enterprise was the "grave of the last sixpence." When too much praise of any genius annoyed him, he professed hugely to admire the talent shown by his pig. He had spent much time and contrivance in confining the poor beast to one enclosure in his pen, but pig, by great strokes of judgment, had found out how to let a board down, and had foiled him. For all that, he still thought man the most plastic little fellow in the planet, and he liked Nero's death, "*Qualis artifex pereo!*" better than most history. He worships a man that will manifest any truth to him. At one time he had inquired and read a good deal about America. Landor's principle was mere rebellion, and **that** he feared was the American principle. The best thing he knew of that country was, that in it a man can have meat for his labor. He had read in Stewart's book, that when he inquired in a New York hotel for the Boots, he had been shown across the street and had found Mungo in his own house dining on roast turkey.

We talked of books. [Plato](#) he does not read, and he disparaged [Socrates](#); and, when pressed, persisted in making Mirabeau a hero. [Gibbon](#) he called the splendid bridge from the old world to the new. His own reading had been multifarious. Tristram Shandy was one of his first books after ROBINSON CRUSOE, and Robertson's America an early favorite. Rousseau's CONFESSIONS had discovered to him that he was not a dunce; and it was now ten years since he had learned German, by the advice of a man who told him he would find in that language what he wanted.

He took despairing or satirical views of literature at this moment; recounted the incredible sums paid in one year by the great booksellers for puffing. Hence it comes that no newspaper is trusted now, no books are bought, and the booksellers are on the eve of bankruptcy.

He still returned to English pauperism, the crowded country, the selfish abdication by public men of all that public persons should perform. "Government should direct poor men what to do. Poor Irish folk come wandering over these moors. My dame makes it a rule to give to every son of Adam bread to eat, and supplies his wants to the next house. But here are thousands of acres which might give them all meat, and nobody to bid these poor Irish go to the moor and till it. They burned the stacks, and so found a way to force the rich people to attend to them."

We went out to walk over long hills, and looked at Criffel, then without his cap, and down into Wordsworth's country. There we sat down, and talked of the immortality of the soul. It was not Carlyle's fault that we talked on that topic, for he had the natural disinclination of every nimble spirit to bruise itself against walls, and did not like to place himself where no step can be taken. But he was honest and true, and cognizant of the subtle links that bind ages together, and saw how every event affects all the future. "Christ died on the tree: that built Dunscore kirk yonder: that brought you and me together. Time has only a relative existence."

He was already turning his eyes towards London with a scholar's appreciation. London is the heart of the world, he said, wonderful only from the mass of human beings. He liked the huge machine. Each keeps its own round. The baker's boy brings muffins to the window at a fixed hour every day, and that is all the Londoner knows or wishes to know on the subject. But it turned out good men. He named certain individuals, especially one man of letters, his friend, the best mind he knew, whom London had well served.



ROME

ROMA

1844



March 4, Monday: The Reverend [Theodore Parker](#), touring the catacombs of [Rome](#), collected some bones belonging to early Christians, to bring home to [Boston](#). (Quite an honor I'm sure. Too bad they weren't the bones of Peter himself, as this would have provided the Boston Music Hall a good deal of additional cachet. :-)



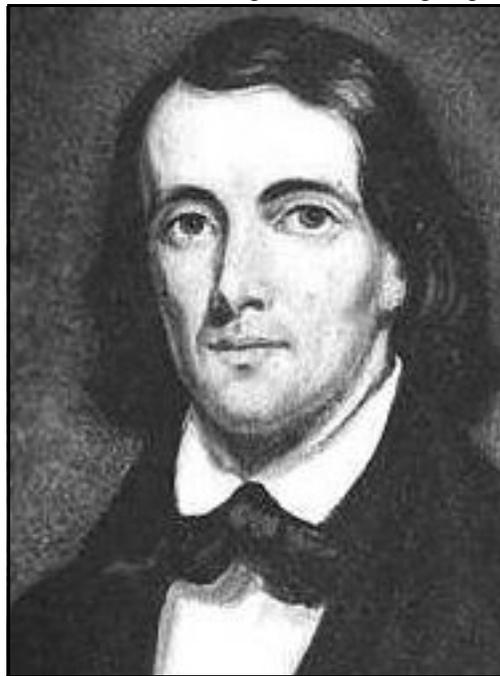
**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1846**

Charles Godfrey Leland arrived in [Rome](#), to begin studies that would lead to his becoming one of the most famous balladeers and folklorists of the 19th Century. Leland, as a 9-year-old boy, had read Spenser's THE FAERIE QUEENE with Bronson Alcott at Alcott's school in Philadelphia. In 1893, recalling this in his memoirs, Leland would say that it was this boyhood exposure to the "Poly-Pantheism" of [Transcendentalism](#) under Alcott which had led to his studies of the country survival of paganism, culminating in his ETRUSCAN-ROMAN REMAINS IN POPULAR TRADITION.<sup>37</sup>

Beginning of March: While trundling his bags down the road toward the Concord railroad station, [Ellery Channing](#) passed a Concord resident who hollered out asking where he was going. "To [Rome](#)," he hollered back.



37. Leland became well known to the American reading public under the pen identity he assumed, of a hard-drinking German-American brawler by the name "Hans Breitmann" who spoke in dialect, "vhre" for "where," "excebt" for "except," etc.

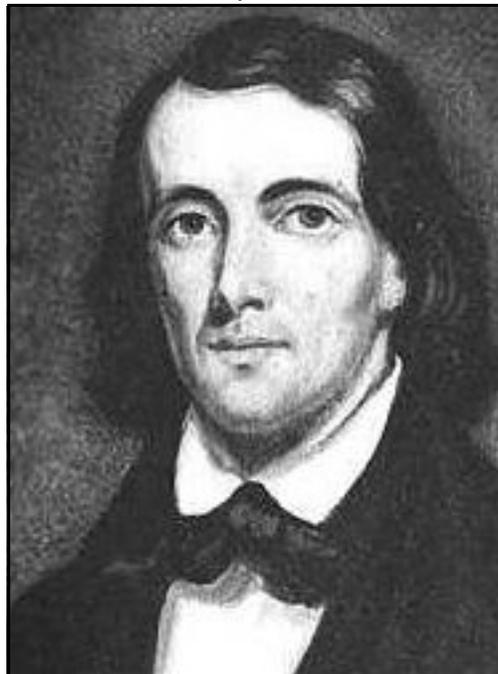
ROME

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March 3, Tuesday: [Ellery Channing](#) sailed from New-York harbor on the packet *Nebraska* bound for Marseilles, [Genoa](#), Leghorn, and *Civita Vecchia* (the modern port associated with [Rome](#)).



June: After having spent 16 days in [Rome, Italy](#), toward the end of the month [Ellery Channing](#) sailed back toward New-York harbor on the return voyage of the packet *Nebraska* — and thus it is that we can discover buried in [WALDEN](#) a reference to “a true Mediterranean sky”!



[following screen]



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WALDEN: SOMETIMES I had a companion in my fishing, who came through the village to my house from the other side of the town, and the catching of the dinner was as much a social exercise as the eating of it.

*Hermit*. I wonder what the world is doing now. I have not heard so much as a locust over the sweet-fern these three hours. the pigeons are all asleep upon their roosts, -no flutter from them. Was that a farmer's noon horn which sounded from beyond the woods just now? The hands are coming in to boiled salt beef and cider and Indian bread. Why will men worry themselves so? He that does not eat need not work. I wonder how much they have reaped. Who would live there where a body can never think for the barking of Bose? And O, the housekeeping! to keep bright the devil's door-knobs, and scour his tubs this bright day! Better not keep a house. Say, some hollow tree; and then for morning calls and dinner-parties! Only a woodpecker tapping. O, they swarm; the sun is too warm there; they are born too far into life for me. I have water from the spring, and a loaf of brown bread on the shelf. -Hark! I hear a rustling of the leaves. Is it some ill-fed village hound yielding to the instinct of the chase? or the lost pig which is said to be in these woods, whose tracks I saw after the rain? It comes on apace; my sumachs and sweet-briars tremble. -Eh, Mr. Poet, is it you? How do you like the world to-day?

*Poet*. See those clouds; how they hang! That's the greatest thing I have seen to-day. There's nothing like it in old paintings, nothing like it in foreign lands, -unless when we were off the coast of Spain. That's a true Mediterranean sky. I thought, as I have my living to get, and have not eaten to-day, that I might go a-fishing. That's the true industry for poets. It is the only trade I have learned. Come, let's along.

*Hermit*. I cannot resist. My brown bread will soon be gone. I will go with you gladly soon, but I am just concluding a serious meditation. I think that I am near the end of it. Leave me alone, then, for a while. But that we may not be delayed, you shall be digging the bait meanwhile. Angle-worms are rarely to be met with in these parts, where the soil was never fattened with manure; the race is nearly extinct. The sport of digging the bait is nearly equal to that of catching the fish, when one's appetite is not too keen; and this you may have all to yourself today. I would advise you to set in the spade down yonder among the ground-nuts, where you see the johnswort waving. I think that I may warrant you one worm to every three sods you turn up, if you look well in among the roots of the grass, as if you were weeding. Or, if you choose to go farther, it will not be unwise, for I have found the increase of fair bait to be very nearly as the squares of the distances.

*Hermit alone*. Let me see; where was I? Methinks I was nearly in this frame of mind; the world lay about at this angle. Shall I go to heaven or a-fishing? If I should soon bring this meditation to an end, would another so sweet occasion be likely to offer? I was as near being resolved into the essence of things as ever I was in my life. I fear my thoughts will not come back to me. If it would do any good, I would whistle for them. When they make us an offer, is it wise to say, We will think of it? My thoughts have left no track, and I cannot find the path again. What was it that I was thinking of? It was a very hazy day. I will just try these three sentences of Con-fut-see; they may fetch that state about again. I know not whether it was the dumps or a budding ecstasy. Mem. There never is but one opportunity of a kind.

*Poet*. How now, Hermit, is it too soon? I have got just thirteen whole ones, beside several which are imperfect undersized; but they will do for the smaller fry; they do not cover up the hook so much. Those village worms are quite too large; a shiner may make a meal off one without finding the skewer.

*Hermit*. Well, then, let's be off. Shall we to the Concord? There's good sport there if the water be not too high.



**ROME**

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December: [James Burrill Curtis](#) joined his brother [George William Curtis](#) to spend the winter in [Rome](#) and they continued for an extended tour of the Continent, including Leghorn, Pisa, and Florence. Burrill would go on into Africa and the Near East while James would continue his explorations in Italy.

[Ellery Channing](#) elected to sin a 2d time against the muse of poetry — on terms that he was to receive 70% of the retail on each volume sold, once the full cost of publication had been recovered.

The original sin had been:

**POEMS (1843)**

This time the volume was arranged by James Munroe and Company and printed by Thurston, Torrey and Company at 81 Devonshire Street in Boston.

**POEMS (SECOND SERIES)**



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1847

In this year Ebenezer Rockwood Hoar, to be like Julius Caesar or to best him, swam the Tiber — twice.

May 15, Saturday: An undated letter from [Margaret Fuller](#) on the need for radical reform was printed as a column by the New-York [Tribune](#):

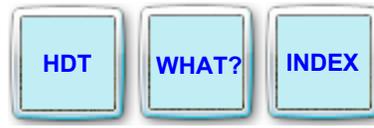
[Rome](#), May, 1847.

There is very little that I can like to write about Italy. Italy is beautiful, worthy to be loved and embraced, not talked about. Yet I remember well that, when afar, I liked to read what was written about her; now, all thought of it is very tedious.

The traveller passing along the beaten track, vetturinoed from inn to inn, ciceroned from gallery to gallery, thrown, through indolence, want of tact, or ignorance of the language, too much into the society of his compatriots, sees the least possible of the country; fortunately, it is impossible to avoid seeing a great deal. The great features of the part pursue and fill the eye.

Yet I find that it is quite out of the question to know Italy; to say anything of her that is full and sweet, so as to convey any idea of her spirit, without long residence, and residence in the districts untouched by the scorch and dust of foreign invasion (the invasion of the *dilettanti* I mean), and without an intimacy of feeling, an abandonment to the spirit of the place, impossible to most Americans. They retain too much, of their English blood; and the travelling English, as a class, seem to me the most unseeing of all possible animals. There are exceptions; for instance, the perceptions and pictures of Browning seem as delicate and just here on the spot as they did at a distance; but, take them as a class, they have the vulgar familiarity of Mrs. Trollope without her vivacity, the cockneyism of Dickens without his graphic power and love of the odd corners of human nature. I admired the English at home in their island; I admired their honor, truth, practical intelligence, persistent power. But they do not look well in Italy; they are not the figures for this landscape. I am indignant at the contempt they have presumed to express for the faults of our semi-barbarous state. What is the vulgarity expressed in our tobacco-chewing, and way of eating eggs, compared to that which elbows the Greek marbles, guide-book in hand, — chatters and sneers through the Miserere of the Sistine Chapel, beneath the very glance of Michel Angelo's Sibyls, — praises St. Peter's as "nice" — talks of "managing" the Colosseum by moonlight, — and snatches "bits" for a "sketch" from the sublime silence of the Campagna.

Yet I was again reconciled with them, the other day, in visiting the studio of Macdonald. There I found a complete gallery of the aristocracy of England; for each lord and lady who visits Rome



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considers it a part of the ceremony to sit to him for a bust. And what a fine race! how worthy the marble! what heads of orators, statesmen, gentlemen! of women chaste, grave, resolute, and tender! Unfortunately, they do not look as well in flesh and blood; then they show the habitual coldness of their temperament, the habitual subservience to frivolous conventionalities. They need some great occasion, some exciting crisis, in order to make them look as free and dignified as these busts; yet is the beauty there, though, imprisoned, and clouded, and such a crisis would show us more than one Boadicea, more than one Alfred. Tenerani has just completed a statue which is highly-spoken of; it is called the Angel of the Resurrection. I was not so fortunate as to find it in his studio. In that of Wolff I saw a Diana, ordered by the Emperor of Russia. It is modern and sentimental; as different from, the antique Diana as the trance of a novel-read young lady of our day from the thrill with which the ancient shepherds deprecated the magic pervasions of Hecate, but very beautiful and exquisitely wrought. He has also lately finished the Four Seasons, represented as children. Of these, Winter is graceful and charming.

Among the sculptors I delayed longest in the work-rooms of Gott. I found his groups of young figures connected with animals very refreshing after the grander attempts of the present time. They seem real growths of his habitual mind, – fruits of Nature, full of joy and freedom. His spaniels and other frisky poppets would please Apollo far better than most of the marble nymphs and muses of the present day.

Our Crawford has just finished a bust of Mrs. Crawford, which is extremely beautiful, full of grace and innocent sweetness. All its accessories are charming, – the wreaths, the arrangement of drapery, the stuff of which the robe is made. I hope it will be much seen on its arrival in New York. He has also an Herodias in the clay, which is individual in expression, and the figure of distinguished elegance. I liked the designs of Crawford better than those of Gibson, who is estimated as highest in the profession now.

Among the studios of the European painters I have visited only that of Overbeck. It is well known in the United States what his pictures are. I have much to say at a more favorable time of what they represented to me. He himself looks as if he had just stepped out of one of them, – a lay monk, with a pious eye and habitual morality of thought which limits every gesture.

Painting is not largely represented here by American artists at present. Terry has two pleasing pictures on the easel: one is a costume picture of Italian life, such as I saw it myself, enchanted beyond my hopes, on coming to Naples on a day of grand festival in honor of Santa Agatha. Cranch sends soon to America a picture of the Campagna, such as I saw it on my first entrance into Rome, all light and calmness; Hicks, a charming half-length of an Italian girl, holding a mandolin: it will be sure to please. His pictures are full of life, and give the promise of some real achievement in Art.



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Of the fragments of the great time, I have now seen nearly all that are treasured up here: I have, however, as yet nothing of consequence to say of them. I find that others have often given good hints as to how they *look*; and as to what they *are*, it can only be known by approximating to the state of soul out of which they grew. They should not be described, but reproduced. They are many and precious, yet is there not so much of high excellence as I had expected: they will not float the heart on a boundless sea of feeling, like the starry night on our Western prairies. Yet I love much to see the galleries of marbles, even when there are not many separately admirable, amid the cypresses and ilexes of Roman villas; and a picture that is good at all looks very good in one of these old palaces.

The Italian painters whom I have learned most to appreciate, since I came abroad, are Domenichino and Titian. Of others one may learn something by copies and engravings: but not of these. The portraits of Titian look upon me from the walls things new and strange. They are portraits of men such as I have not known. In his picture, absurdly called *Sacred and Profane Love*, in the Borghese Palace, one of the figures has developed my powers of gazing to an extent unknown before.

Domenichino seems very unequal in his pictures; but when he is grand and free, the energy of his genius perfectly satisfies. The frescos of Caracci and his scholars in the Farnese Palace have been to me a source of the purest pleasure, and I do not remember to have heard of them. I loved Guercino much before I came here, but I have looked too much at his pictures and begin to grow sick of them; he is a very limited genius. Leonardo I cannot yet like at all, but I suppose the pictures are good for some people to look at; they show a wonderful deal of study and thought. That is not what I can best appreciate in a work of art. I hate to see the marks of them. I want a simple and direct expression of soul. For the rest, the ordinary cant of connoisseurship on these matters seems in Italy even more detestable than elsewhere.

I have not yet so sufficiently recovered from my pain at finding the frescos of Raphael in such a state, as to be able to look at them, happily. I had heard of their condition, but could not realize it. However, I have gained nothing by seeing his pictures in oil, which are well preserved. I find I had before the full impression of his genius. Michel Angelo's frescos, in like manner, I seem to have seen as far as I can. But it is not the same with the sculptures: my thought had not risen to the height of the Moses. It is the only thing in Europe, so far, which has entirely outgone my hopes. Michel Angelo was my demigod before; but I find no offering worthy to cast at the feet of his Moses. I like much, too, his Christ. It is a refreshing contrast with all the other representations of the same subject. I like it even as contrasted with Raphael's Christ of the Transfiguration, or that of the cartoon of *Feed my Lambs*. I have heard owls hoot in the Colosseum by moonlight, and they spoke more to the purpose than I ever heard any other voice upon



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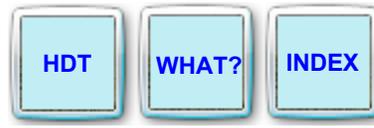
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that subject. I have seen all the pomps and shows of Holy Week in the church of St. Peter, and found them less imposing than an habitual acquaintance with the place, with processions of monks and nuns stealing in now and then, or the swell of vespers from some side chapel. I have ascended the dome, and seen thence Rome and its Campagna, its villas with, their cypresses and pines serenely sad as is nothing else in the world, and the fountains of the Vatican garden gushing hard by. I have been in the Subterranean to see a poor little boy introduced, much to his surprise, to the bosom of the Church; and then I have seen by torch-light the stone popes where they lie on their tombs, and the old mosaics, and virgins with gilt caps. It is all rich, and full, – very impressive in its way. St. Peter's must be to each one a separate poem.

The ceremonies of the Church, have been numerous and splendid during our stay here; and they borrow unusual interest from the love and expectation inspired by the present Pontiff. He is a man of noble and good aspect, who, it is easy to see, has set his heart upon doing something solid for the benefit of man. But pensively, too, must one feel how hampered and inadequate are the means at his command to accomplish these ends. The Italians do not feel it, but deliver themselves, with all the vivacity of their temperament, to perpetual hurras, vivas, rockets, and torch-light processions. I often think how grave and sad must the Pope feel, as he sits alone and hears all this noise of expectation.

A week or two ago the Cardinal Secretary published a circular inviting the departments to measures which would give the people a sort of representative council. Nothing could seem more limited than this improvement, but it was a great measure for Rome. At night the Corso in which, we live was illuminated, and many thousands passed through it in a torch-bearing procession. I saw them first assembled in the Piazza del Popolo, forming around its fountain a great circle of fire. Then, as a river of fire, they streamed slowly through the Corso, on their way to the Quirinal to thank the Pope, upbearing a banner on which the edict was printed. The stream, of fire advanced slowly, with a perpetual surge-like sound of voices; the torches flashed on the animated Italian faces. I have never seen anything finer. Ascending the Quirinal they made it a mount of light. Bengal fires were thrown up, which cast their red and white light on the noble Greek figures of men and horses that reign over it. The Pope appeared on his balcony; the crowd shouted three vivas; he extended his arms; the crowd fell on their knees and received his benediction; he retired, and the torches were extinguished, and the multitude dispersed in an instant.

The same week came the natal day of Rome. A great dinner was given at the Baths of Titus, in the open air. The company was on the grass in the area; the music at one end; boxes filled with the handsome Roman women occupied the other sides. It was a new thing here, this popular dinner, and the Romans greeted it in an intoxication of hope and pleasure. Sterbini, author of



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"The Vestal," presided: many others, like him, long time exiled and restored to their country by the present Pope, were at the tables. The Colosseum, and triumphal arches were in sight; an effigy of the Roman wolf with her royal nursling was erected on high; the guests, with shouts and music, congratulated themselves on the possession, in Pius IX., of a new and nobler founder for another state. Among the speeches that of the Marquis d'Azeglio, a man of literary note in Italy, and son-in-law of Manzoni, contained this passage (he was sketching the past history of Italy): –

"The crown passed to the head of a German monarch; but he wore it not to the benefit, but the injury, of Christianity, – of the world. The Emperor Henry was a tyrant who wearied out the patience of God. God said to Rome, 'I give you the Emperor Henry'; and from these hills that surround us, Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII., raised his austere and potent voice to say to the Emperor, 'God did not give you Italy that you might destroy her,' and Italy, Germany, Europe, saw her butcher prostrated at the feet of Gregory in penitence. Italy, Germany, Europe, had then kindled in the heart the first spark of liberty."

The narrative of the dinner passed the censor, and was published: the Ambassador of Austria read it, and found, with a modesty and candor truly admirable, that this passage was meant to allude to his Emperor. He must take his passports, if such home thrusts are to be made. And so the paper was seized, and the account of the dinner only told from, mouth to mouth, from those who had already read it. Also the idea of a dinner for the Pope's fête-day is abandoned, lest something too frank should again be said; and they tell me here, with a laugh, "I fancy you have assisted at the first and last popular dinner." Thus we may see that the liberty of Rome does not yet advance with seven-leagued boots; and the new Romulus will need to be prepared for deeds at least as bold as his predecessor, if he is to open a new order of things.

I cannot well wind up my gossip on this subject better than by translating a passage from the programme of the *Contemporaneo*, which represents the hope of Rome at this moment. It is conducted by men of well-known talent.

"The *Contemporaneo* (Contemporary) is a journal of progress, but tempered, as the good and wise think best, in conformity with the will of our best of princes, and the wants and expectations of the public....

"Through discussion it desires to prepare minds to receive reforms so soon and far as they are favored by the law of *opportunity*.

"Every attempt which is made contrary to this social law must fail. It is vain to hope fruits from a tree out of season, and equally in vain to introduce the best measures into a country not prepared to receive them."

And so on. I intended to have translated in full the programme, but time fails, and the law of opportunity does not favor, as my "opportunity" leaves for London this afternoon. I have given



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enough to mark the purport of the whole. It will easily be seen that it was not from the platform assumed by the *Contemporaneo* that Lycurgus legislated, or Socrates taught, – that the Christian religion was propagated, or the Church, was reformed by Luther. The opportunity that the martyrs found here in the Colosseum, from whose blood grew up this great tree of Papacy, was not of the kind waited for by these moderate progressists. Nevertheless, they may be good schoolmasters for Italy, and are not to be disdained in these piping times of peace. More anon, of old and new, from Tuscany.

[Henry Thoreau](#) was written to by [Isaac Hecker](#) in Wittem.

*May 15. 1847. Wittem.*

*Dear Friend.*

*My interest in your greatest welfare comp[els] me to write you a few lines, perhaps they may aid you in your progress. I have found my centre and of course my place in the Roman Catholic Church. This gives me the peace and liberty which have long been the object of my pursuit. I have come to this result not as one who is ignorant or worse who has an erroneous idea of the C. Church would suppose, by being false to my nature, no, but by being true, true to my highest aspirations and ideal. My ideal is real, or rather the ideal of humanity is the R.C. Church. I can readily conceive that those who know not what the Church is, will smile at this statement. But I repeat it. The Catholic Church is the ideal of every individual of the race, the universal ideal of humanity. It is for her communion the hearts of men sigh, it is for her perfection their souls aspire, she is the inspiration of humanity. Let those my friend smile who wish. Your singularities so called in your uncatholic community, and not only yours, are to a catholic so many proofs of this assertion. They are the evidences of the secret workings of that life which will and eventually must, so that you remain true, bring you into the unity of the one, holy, catholic Church. Be true O my friend! for all my you hopes of ever meeting depend upon my confidence in ^ in your fidelity, heroic fidelity. Be true the catholic Church is one and universal, take what road you will you will arrive into the bosom of her who is destined to receive the human race entire. Be true, for your*



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*ideal is real, divine, and means more than you are now aware of.*

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*The soul once in actual communion with the Church a new life is commenced. It enters upon a higher, sublimer supernatural career. The beatific instinct of the soul fed with a supernatural food, invigorated with an uninterrupted divine excitement,—“grace”,—gradually elevates the soul towards its ultimate end. It passess through vi[ol]ent combats and victories from sphere to sphere. After having passed countless struggles and made frequent conquests sustained only by this supernatural force, its forces and fidelity having been tried and purified, it reaches the end of its creation, the perfect union with, and immediate vision of God. This is the highest end for which the soul of Man can aspire. This is the destiny of each individual and of humanity. And this is the work of the C. Church. For she alone directs and furnishes her children with the means of obtaining this sublime end of their creation. This is but a simple statement of the Church in her rapport with the individual soul from the religious or mystic point of view. Her rapport with humanity, with society is equally triumphant and divine. Wherever her influence penetrates Man acts from a higher inspiration. She is the life of art, of poesy, of social happiness, of political freedom. True heroism is only found in her bosom. This is evident from its nature and pooven too by fact. A hero is one who possesses virtue in a heroic degree, invariable, constant even unto death. But this surpasses the natural forces of Man. Hence a Hero necessarily supposes act the aid of a force supernatural, divine. A heroic is ^ possible but an act does not make a Hero. But the Church, the Catholic Church is the sole organ of this force divine. Hence out of her communion heroism is impossible. For the fact. No sect seperated from the R.C. Church can show one example*

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*which will bear this test. Let them produce one example of a constant invariable heroic life in all the virtues if they can. They cannot. But this is the test of a Hero, a*



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*Saint in the language of the Church. It is such she has never ceased, ~~to~~ and never will cease to produce. This proves her divine origin and sanctity and their cant and falsehood. It is a sad fact that Carlyle and many others, tho they recognize [this] truth in the middle ages, when speaking of the present, make use of the same cant that all the flunkies have employed against the Church from Martin Luther to Joe Smith. A little more disinterested research and study will it is to be hoped lead them to see what they are now ignorant of. The fact is my friend the protestant world lays under great ignorance, and is sadly deluded concerning the C. Church. The future lies hid in her bosom. O happy is he who sees it and becomes its voice. Tho now my friend within cloistered walks in my cell I am infinitely freer than I was when breathing the air on Concord cliffs. After having passed one years Novitiate I was admitted to take the "vows". Let me tell thee my friend it is no small affair to be scholar in that school where I came to Jesus the God-Man is Master. From the Novitiate the College where ^ I now am. The community of this house is composed of upwards a hundred members. The order is prohibited from begging and from holding benefices, thus it is thrown upon & supported spontaneous by providence, the voluntary charity of the faithful. When ^ I remember the dreams of fruitlands and see how far [~~the~~] below their boldest aspirations fall from what has existed for centuries in the C. Church and now exists, I am led to smile, but I esteem truly these men as far as they went. Would to God that they knew what they were striving after and had the manliness to act up to their aspirations, Tho the primary object of the order of which I am a member is the same as all other religious orders [MS torn?] render its members saints, its distinctive characteristic is [MS torn?]tion to the cause of the*

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*poor "the souls the most abandoned". Its life is half contemplative & half active. Its founder St. Alphonse of Ligouri of Naples who lived in the latter part of the 18teenth century. If these men who say that the Church is dead would look a little below the surface of things they would see that the life of the middle ages which they laud so high is not dead, but*



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*only retarded by the enemies of the Church for a few centuries past, and which is now ready to burst upon the world in all its glory. We don't want the Middle Ages, but we want its*  
[written perpendicular to text in center of page:  
*Henry Thorough.  
Concord.  
Massachusetts.]  
inspiration. It is here my friend, it is here. Mon Dieu  
could you see & feel it once!  
Your true & sincere Friend  
I. Hecker  
My address is. Chez les R. [illegible] Redemptoristes. Wittem.  
Province de Limbou [illegible] Hollande.*

October: [Margaret Fuller](#) reported to the [New-York Tribune](#) from [Rome](#) on the Italian lakes, and warned of a “coming storm”:

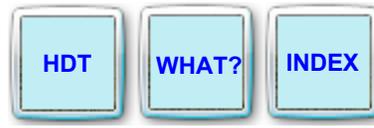
Rome, October, 1847.

I think my last letter was from Milan, and written after I had seen Manzoni. This was to me a great pleasure. I have now seen the most important representatives who survive of the last epoch in thought. Our age has still its demonstrations to make, its heroes and poets to crown.

Although the modern Italian literature is not poor, as many persons at a distance suppose, but, on the contrary, surprisingly rich in tokens of talent, if we consider the circumstances under which it struggles to exist, yet very few writers have or deserve a European or American reputation. Where a whole country is so kept down, her best minds cannot take the lead in the progress of the age; they have too much to suffer, too much to explain. But among the few who, through depth of spiritual experience and the beauty of form in which it is expressed, belong not only to Italy, but to the world, Manzoni takes a high rank. The passive virtues he teaches are no longer what is wanted; the manners he paints with so delicate a fidelity are beginning to change; but the spirit of his works, – the tender piety, the sensibility to the meaning of every humblest form of life, the delicate humor and satire so free from disdain, – these are immortal.

Young Italy rejects Manzoni, though not irreverently; Young Italy prizes his works, but feels that the doctrine of “Pray and wait” is not for her at this moment, – that she needs a more fervent hope, a more active faith. She is right.

It is well known that the traveller, if he knows the Italian language as written in books, the standard Tuscan, still finds himself a stranger in many parts of Italy, unable to comprehend the dialects, with their lively abbreviations and witty slang. That of Venice I had understood somewhat, and could enter into the drollery and *naïveté* of the gondoliers, who, as a class, have



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an unusual share of character. But the Milanese I could not at first understand at all. Their language seemed to me detestably harsh, and their gestures unmeaning. But after a friend, who possesses that large and ready sympathy easier found in Italy than anywhere else, had translated for me verbatim into French some of the poems written in the Milanese, and then read them aloud in the original, I comprehended the peculiar inflection of voice and idiom in the people, and was charmed with it, as one is with the instinctive wit and wisdom of children.

There is very little to see at Milan, compared with any other Italian city; and this was very fortunate for me, allowing an interval of repose in the house, which I cannot take when there is so much without, tempting me to incessant observation and study. I went through, the North of Italy with a constantly increasing fervor of interest. When I had thought of Italy, it was always of the South, of the Roman States, of Tuscany. But now I became deeply interested in the history, the institutions, the art of the North. The fragments of the past mark the progress of its waves so clearly, I learned to understand, to prize them every day more, to know how to make use of the books about them. I shall have much to say on these subjects some day.

Leaving Milan, I went on the Lago Maggiore, and afterward into Switzerland. Of this tour I shall not speak here; it was a beautiful little romance by itself, and infinitely refreshing to be so near nature in these grand and simple forms, after so much exciting thought of Art and Man. The day passed in the St. Bernardin, with its lofty peaks and changing lights upon the distant snows, – its holy, exquisite valleys and waterfalls, its stories of eagles and chamois, was the greatest refreshment I ever experienced: it was bracing as a cold bath after the heat of a crowd amid which one has listened to some most eloquent oration.

Returning from Switzerland, I passed a fortnight on the Lake of Como, and afterward visited Lugano. There is no exaggeration in the enthusiastic feeling with which artists and poets have viewed these Italian lakes. Their beauties are peculiar, enchanting, innumerable. The Titan of Richter, the Wanderjahre of Goethe, the Elena of Taylor, the pictures of Turner, had not prepared me for the visions of beauty that daily entranced the eyes and heart in those regions. To our country Nature has been most bounteous; but we have nothing in the same kind that can compare with these lakes, as seen under the Italian heaven. As to those persons who have pretended to discover that the effects of light and atmosphere were no finer than they found in our own lake scenery, I can only say that they must be exceedingly obtuse in organization, – a defect not uncommon among Americans.

Nature seems to have labored to express her full heart in as many ways as possible, when she made these lakes, moulded and planted their shores. Lago Maggiore is grand, resplendent in its beauty; the view of the Alps gives a sort of lyric exaltation to the scene. Lago di Garda is so soft and fair, – so glittering sweet on one side, the ruins of ancient palaces rise so softly



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with the beauties of that shore; but at the other end, amid the Tyrol, it is sublime, calm, concentrated in its meaning. Como cannot be better described in general than in the words of Taylor:

"Softly sublime, profusely fair."

Lugano is more savage, more free in its beauty. I was on it in a high gale; there was a little clanger, just enough to exhilarate; its waters were wild, and clouds blowing across the neighboring peaks. I like very much the boatmen on these lakes; they have strong and prompt character. Of simple features, they are more honest and manly than Italian men are found in the thoroughfares; their talk is not so witty as that of the Venetian gondoliers, but picturesque, and what the French call *incisive*. Very touching were some of their histories, as they told them to me while pausing sometimes on the lake.

On this lake, also, I met Lady Franklin, wife of the celebrated navigator. She has been in the United States, and showed equal penetration and candor in remarks on what she had seen there. She gave me interesting particulars as to the state of things in Van Diemen's Land, where she passed seven years when her husband was in authority there.

I returned to Milan for the great feast of the Madonna, 8th September, and those made for the Archbishop's entry, which took place the same week. These excited as much feeling as the Milanese can have a chance to display, this Archbishop being much nearer the public heart than his predecessor, who was a poor servant of Austria.

The Austrian rule is always equally hated, and time, instead of melting away differences, only makes them more glaring. The Austrian race have no faculties that can ever enable them to understand the Italian character; their policy, so well contrived to palsy and repress for a time, cannot kill, and there is always a force at work underneath which shall yet, and I think now before long, shake off the incubus. The Italian nobility have always kept the invader at a distance; they have not been at all seduced or corrupted by the lures of pleasure or power, but have shown a passive patriotism highly honorable to them. In the middle class ferments much thought, and there is a capacity for effort; in the present system it cannot show itself, but it is there; thought ferments, and will yet produce a wine that shall set the Lombard veins on fire when the time for action shall arrive. The lower classes of the population are in a dull state indeed. The censorship of the press prevents all easy, natural ways of instructing them; there are no public meetings, no free access to them by more instructed and aspiring minds. The Austrian policy is to allow them a degree of material well-being, and though so much wealth is drained from, the country for the service of the foreigners, yet enough must remain on these rich plains comfortably to feed and clothe the inhabitants. Yet the great moral influence of the Pope's action, though obstructed in their case, does reach and rouse them, and they, too, felt the thrill of indignation at the occupation of



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Ferrara. The base conduct of the police toward the people, when, at Milan, some youths were resolute to sing the hymn in honor of Pius IX., when the feasts for the Archbishop afforded so legitimate an occasion, roused all the people to unwonted feeling. The nobles protested, and Austria had not courage to persist as usual. She could not sustain her police, who rushed upon a defenceless crowd, that had no share in what excited their displeasure, except by sympathy, and, driving them like sheep, wounded them *in the backs*. Austria feels that there is now no sympathy for her in these matters; that it is not the interest of the world to sustain her. Her policy is, indeed, too thoroughly organized to change except by revolution; its scope is to serve, first, a reigning family instead of the people; second, with the people to seek a physical in preference to an intellectual good; and, third, to prefer a seeming outward peace to an inward life. This policy may change its opposition from the tyrannical to the insidious; it can know no other change. Yet do I meet persons who call themselves Americans, – miserable, thoughtless Esaus, unworthy their high birthright, – who think that a mess of pottage can satisfy the wants of man, and that the Viennese listening to Strauss's waltzes, the Lombard peasant supping full of his polenta, is *happy enough*. Alas: I have the more reason to be ashamed of my countrymen that it is not among the poor, who have so much, toil that there is little time to think, but those who are rich, who travel, – in body that is, they do not travel in mind. Absorbed at home by the lust of gain, the love of show, abroad they see only the equipages, the fine clothes, the food, – they have no heart for the idea, for the destiny of our own great nation: how can they feel the spirit that is struggling now in this and others of Europe?

But of the hopes of Italy I will write more fully in another letter, and state what I have seen, what felt, what thought. I went from Milan, to Pavia, and saw its magnificent Certosa, I passed several hours in examining its riches, especially the sculptures of its façade, full of force and spirit. I then went to Florence by Parma and Bologna. In Parma, though ill, I went to see all the works of the masters. A wonderful beauty it is that informs them, – not that which is the chosen food of my soul, yet a noble beauty, and which did its message to me also. Those works are failing; it will not be useless to describe them in a book. Beside these pictures, I saw nothing in Parma and Modena; these states are obliged to hold their breath while their poor, ignorant sovereigns skulk in corners, hoping to hide from the coming storm. Of all this more in my next.

**ARTHUR FULLER'S BOOK**



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December 17, Friday: Duchess Maria Luigia of Parma, daughter of Austrian Emperor Franz II and widow of the Emperor [Napoléon I](#), died in Parma and was succeeded by Carlo II, son of Luigi I of Etruria and grandson of Duke Ferdinando of Parma.

Esmerelda, an opera by Alyeksandr Sergeyeovich Dargomizhsky to his own words after Hugo, was performed for the initial time, at the Bolshoi Theater, Moscow.

[Margaret Fuller](#) reported to the New-York [Tribune](#) from [Rome](#):

This 17th day of December I rise to see the floods of sunlight blessing us, as they have almost every day since I returned to Rome, – two months and more, – with scarce three or four days of rainy weather. I still see the fresh roses and grapes each morning on my table, though both these I expect to give up at Christmas.

This autumn is *something like*, as my countrymen say at home. Like *what*, they do not say; so I always supposed they meant like their ideal standard. Certainly this weather corresponds with mine; and I begin to believe the climate of Italy is really what it has been represented. Shivering here last spring in an air no better than the cruel cast wind of Puritan Boston, I thought all the praises lavished on

"Italia, O Italia!"

would turn out to be figments of the brain; and that even Byron, usually accurate beyond the conception of plodding pedants, had deceived us when he says, you have the happiness in Italy to "See the sun set, sure he'll rise to-morrow,"

and not, according to a view which exercises a withering influence on the enthusiasm of youth in my native land, be forced to regard each pleasant day as a *weather-breeder*.

How delightful, too, is the contrast between this time and the spring in another respect! Then I was here, like travellers in general, expecting to be driven away in a short time. Like others, I went through the painful process of sight-seeing, so unnatural everywhere, so counter to the healthful methods and true life of the mind. You rise in the morning knowing there are a great number of objects worth knowing, which you may never have the chance to see again. You go every day, in all moods, under all circumstances; feeling, probably, in seeing them, the inadequacy of your preparation for understanding or duly receiving them. This consciousness would be most valuable if one had time to think and study, being the natural way in which the mind is lured to cure its defects; but you have no time; you are always wearied, body and mind, confused, dissipated, sad. The objects are of commanding beauty or full of suggestion, but there is no quiet to let that beauty breathe its life into the soul; no time to follow up these suggestions, and plant for the proper harvest. Many persons run about Rome for nine days, and then go away; they might as well expect to appreciate the Venus by throwing a stone at it, as hope really to see Rome in this time. I stayed in Rome nine weeks, and came away unhappy as he who, having been taken in the visions of the night through some



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wondrous realm, wakes unable to recall anything but the hues and outlines of the pageant; the real knowledge, the recreative power induced by familiar love, the assimilation of its soul and substance, – all the true value of such a revelation, – is wanting; and he remains a poor Tantalus, hungrier than before he had tasted this spiritual food.

No; Rome is not a nine-days wonder; and those who try to make it such lose the ideal Rome (if they ever had it), without gaining any notion of the real. To those who travel, as they do everything else, only because others do, I do not speak; they are nothing. Nobody counts in the estimate of the human race who has not a character.

For one, I now really live in Rome, and I begin to see and feel the real Rome. She reveals herself day by day; she tells me some of her life. Now I never go out to see a sight, but I walk every day; and here I cannot miss of some object of consummate interest to end a walk. In the evenings, which are long now, I am at leisure to follow up the inquiries suggested by the day.

As one becomes familiar, Ancient and Modern Rome, at first so painfully and discordantly jumbled together, are drawn apart to the mental vision. One sees where objects and limits anciently wore; the superstructures vanish, and you recognize the local habitation of so many thoughts. When this begins to happen, one feels first truly at ease in Rome. Then the old kings, the consuls and tribunes, the emperors, drunk with blood and gold, the warriors of eagle sight and remorseless beak, return for us, and the togated procession finds room to sweep across the scene; the seven hills tower, the innumerable temples glitter, and the Via Sacra swarms with triumphal life once more.

Ah! how joyful to see once more *this* Rome, instead of the pitiful, peddling, Anglicized Rome, first viewed in unutterable dismay from the *coupé* of the vettura, – a Rome all full of taverns, lodging-houses, cheating chambermaids, vilest *valets de place*, and fleas! A Niobe of nations indeed! Ah! why, secretly the heart blasphemed, did the sun omit to kill her too, when all the glorious race which wore her crown fell beneath his ray? Thank Heaven, it is possible to wash away all this dirt, and come at the marble yet.

Then the later Papal Rome: it requires much acquaintance, much thought, much reference to books, for the child of Protestant Republican America to see where belong the legends illustrated by rite and picture, the sense of all the rich tapestry, where it has a united and poetic meaning, where it is broken by some accident of history. For all these things – a senseless mass of juggleries to the uninformed eye – are really growths of the human spirit struggling to develop its life, and full of instruction for those who learn to understand them.

Then Modern Rome, – still ecclesiastical, still darkened and damp in the shadow of the Vatican, but where bright hopes gleam now amid the ashes! Never was a people who have had more to corrupt them, – bloody tyranny, and incubus of priestcraft, the invasions, first of Goths, then of trampling emperors and kings,



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then of sight-seeing foreigners, – everything to turn them from a sincere, hopeful, fruitful life; and they are much corrupted, but still a fine race. I cannot look merely with a pictorial eye on the lounge of the Roman dandy, the bold, Juno gait of the Roman Contadina. I love them, – dandies and all? I believe the natural expression of these fine forms will animate them yet. Certainly there never was a people that showed a better heart than they do in this day of love, of purely moral influence. It makes me very happy to be for once in a place ruled by a father's love, and where the pervasive glow of one good, generous heart is felt in every pulse of every day.

I have seen the Pope several times since my return, and it is a real pleasure to see him in the thoroughfares, where his passage is always greeted as that of *the* living soul.

The first week of November there is much praying for the dead here in the chapels of the cemeteries. I went to Santo Spirito. This cemetery stands high, and all the way up the slope was lined with beggars petitioning for alms, in every attitude find tone, (I mean tone that belongs to the professional beggar's gamut, for that is peculiar,) and under every pretext imaginable, from the quite legless elderly gentleman to the ragged ruffian with the roguish twinkle in his eye, who has merely a slight stiffness in one arm and one leg. I could not help laughing, it was such a show, – greatly to the alarm of my attendant, who declared they would kill me, if ever they caught me alone; but I was not afraid. I am sure the endless falsehood in which such creatures live must make them very cowardly. We entered the cemetery; it was a sweet, tranquil place, lined with cypresses, and soft sunshine lying on the stone coverings where repose the houses of clay in which once dwelt joyous Roman hearts, – for the hearts here do take pleasure in life. There were several chapels; in one boys were chanting, in others people on their knees silently praying for the dead. In another was one of the groups in wax exhibited in such chapels through the first week of November. It represented St. Carlo Borromeo as a beautiful young man in a long scarlet robe, pure and brilliant as was the blood of the martyrs, relieving the poor who were grouped around him, – old people and children, the halt, the maimed, the blind; he had called them all into the feast of love. The chapel was lighted and draped so as to give very good effect to this group; the spectators were mainly children and young girls, listening with ardent eyes, while their parents or the nuns explained to them the group, or told some story of the saint. It was a pretty scene, only marred by the presence of a villanous-looking man, who ever and anon shook the poor's box. I cannot understand the bad taste of choosing him, when there were *frati* and priests enough of expression less unprepossessing.

I next entered a court-yard, where the stations, or different periods in the Passion of Jesus, are painted on the wall. Kneeling before these were many persons: here a Franciscan, in his brown robe and cord; there a pregnant woman, uttering, doubtless, some tender aspiration for the welfare of the yet



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unborn dear one; there some boys, with gay yet reverent air; while all the while these fresh young voices were heard chanting. It was a beautiful moment, and despite the wax saint, the ill-favored friar, the professional mendicants, and my own removal, wide as pole from pole, from the positron of mind indicated by these forms, their spirit touched me, and. I prayed too; prayed for the distant, every way distant, – for those who seem to have forgotten me, and with me all we had in common; prayed for the dead in spirit, if not in body; prayed for myself, that I might never walk the earth

“The tomb of my dead self”;

and prayed in general for all unspoiled and loving hearts, – no less for all who suffer and find yet no helper.

Going out, I took my road by the cross which marks the brow of the hill. Up the ascent still wound the crowd of devotees, and still the beggars beset them. Amid that crowd, how many lovely, warm-hearted women! The women of Italy are intellectually in a low place, *but* – they are unaffected; you can see what Heaven meant them to be, and I believe they will be yet the mothers of a great and generous race. Before me lay Rome, – how exquisitely tranquil in the sunset! Never was an aspect that for serene grandeur could vie with that of Rome at sunset.

Next day was the feast of the Milanese saint, whose life has been made known to some Americans by Manzoni, when speaking in his popular novel of the cousin of St. Carlo, Federigo Borromeo. The Pope came in state to the church of St. Carlo, in the Corso. The show was magnificent; the church is not very large, and was almost filled with Papal court and guards, in all their splendid harmonies of color. An Italian child was next me, a little girl of four or five years, whom her mother had brought to see the Pope. As in the intervals of gazing the child smiled and made signs to me, I nodded in return, and asked her name. “Virginia,” said she; “and how is the Signora named?” “Margherita,” “My name,” she rejoined, “is Virginia Gentili.” I laughed, but did not follow up the cunning, graceful lead, – still I chatted and played with her now and then. At last, she said to her mother, “La Signora e molto cara,” (“The Signora is very dear,” or, to use the English equivalent, *a darling*,) “show her my two sisters.” So the mother, herself a fine-looking woman, introduced two handsome young ladies, and with the family I was in a moment pleasantly intimate for the hour.

Before me sat three young English ladies, the pretty daughters of a noble Earl; their manners were a strange contrast to this Italian graciousness, best expressed by their constant use of the pronoun *that*. “*See that man!*” (i.e. some high dignitary of the Church,) “Look at that dress!” dropped constantly from their lips. Ah! without being a Catholic, one may well wish Rome was not dependent on English sight-seers, who violate her ceremonies with acts that bespeak their thoughts full of wooden shoes and warming-pans. Can anything be more sadly expressive of times out of joint than the fact that Mrs. Trollope is a resident in Italy? Yes! she is fixed permanently in Florence, as I am told,



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pensioned at the rate of two thousand pounds a year to trail her slime over the fruit of Italy. She is here in Rome this winter, and, after having violated the virgin beauty of America, will have for many a year her chance to sully the imperial matron of the civilized world. What must the English public be, if it wishes to pay two thousand pounds a year to get Italy Trollopified?

But to turn to a pleasanter subject. When the Pope entered, borne in his chair of state amid the pomp of his tiara and his white and gold robes, he looked to me thin, or, as the Italians murmur anxiously at times, *consumato*, or wasted. But during the ceremony he seemed absorbed in his devotions, and at the end I think he had become exhilarated by thinking of St. Carlo, who was such another over the human race as himself, and his face wore a bright glow of faith. As he blessed the people, he raised his eyes to Heaven, with a gesture quite natural: it was the spontaneous act of a soul which felt that moment more than usual its relation with things above it, and sure of support from a higher Power. I saw him to still greater advantage a little while after, when, riding on the Campagna with a young gentleman who had been ill, we met the Pope on foot, taking exercise. He often quits his carriage at the gates and walks in this way. He walked rapidly, robed in a simple white drapery, two young priests in spotless purple on either side; they gave silver to the poor who knelt beside the way, while the beloved Father gave his benediction. My companion knelt; he is not a Catholic, but he felt that "this blessing would do him no harm." The Pope saw at once he was ill, and gave him a mark of interest, with that expression of melting love, the true, the only charity, which assures all who look on him that, were his power equal to his will, no living thing would ever suffer more. This expression the artists try in vain to catch; all busts and engravings of him are caricatures; it is a magnetic sweetness, a lambent light that plays over his features, and of which only great genius or a soul tender as his own would form an adequate image.

The Italians have one term of praise peculiarly characteristic of their highly endowed nature. They say of such and such, *Ha una phisonomia simpatica*, - "He has a sympathetic expression"; and this is praise enough. This may be pre-eminently said of that of Pius IX. *He* looks, indeed, as if nothing human could be foreign to him. Such alone are the genuine kings of men.

He has shown undoubted wisdom, clear-sightedness, bravery, and firmness; but it is, above all, his generous human heart that gives him his power over this people. His is a face to shame the selfish, redeem the sceptic, alarm the wicked, and cheer to new effort the weary and heavy-laden. What form the issues of his life may take is yet uncertain; in my belief, they are such as he does not think of; but they cannot fail to be for good. For my part, I shall always rejoice to have been here in his time. The working of his influence confirms my theories, and it is a positive treasure to me to have seen him. I have never been presented, not wishing to approach, so real a presence in the



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path of mere etiquette; I am quite content to see him standing amid the crowd, while the band plays the music he has inspired. "Sons of Rome, awake!"

Yes, awake, and let no police-officer put you again to sleep in prison, as has happened to those who were called by the Marseillaise.

Affairs look well. The king of Sardinia has at last, though with evident distrust and heartlessness, entered the upward path in a way that makes it difficult to return. The Duke of Modena, the most senseless of all these ancient gentlemen, after publishing a declaration, which made him more ridiculous than would the bitterest pasquinade penned by another, that he would fight to the death against reform, finds himself obliged to lend an ear as to the league for the customs; and if he joins that, other measures follow of course. Austria trembles; and, in fine, cannot sustain the point of Ferrara. The king of Naples, after having shed much blood, for which he has a terrible account to render, (ah! how many sad, fair romances are to tell already about the Calabrian difficulties!) still finds the spirit fomenting in his people; he cannot put it down. The dragon's teeth are sown, and the Lazzaroni may be men yet! The Swiss affairs have taken the right direction, and good will ensue, if other powers act with decent honesty, and think of healing the wounds of Switzerland, rather than merely of tying her down, so that she cannot annoy them.

In Rome, here, the new Council is inaugurated, and elections have given tolerable satisfaction. Already, struggles ended in other places begin to be renewed here, as to gas-lights, introduction of machinery, &c. We shall see at the end of the winter how they have gone on. At any rate, the wants of the people are in some measure represented; and already the conduct of those who have taken to themselves so large a portion of the loaves and fishes on the very platform supposed to be selected by Jesus for a general feeding of his sheep, begins to be the subject of spoken as well as whispered animadversion. Torlonia is assailed in his bank, Campana amid his urns or his Monte di Picti; but these assaults have yet to be verified.

On the day when the Council was to be inaugurated, great preparations were made by representatives of other parts of Italy, and also of foreign nations friendly to the cause of progress. It was considered to represent the same fact as the feast of the 12th of September in Tuscany, — the dawn of an epoch when the people shall find their wants and aspirations represented and guarded. The Americans showed a warm interest; the gentlemen subscribing to buy a flag, the United States having none before in Rome, and the ladies meeting to make it. The same distinguished individual, indeed, who at Florence made a speech to prevent "the American eagle being taken out on so trifling an occasion," with similar perspicuity and superiority of view, on the present occasion, was anxious to prevent "rash demonstrations, which might embroil the United States with Austria"; but the rash youth here present rushed on, ignorant



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how to value his Nestorian prudence, – fancying, hot-headed simpletons, that the cause of Freedom was the cause of America, and her eagle at home wherever the sun shed a warmer ray, and there was reason to hope a happier life for man. So they hurried to buy their silk, red, white, and blue, and inquired of recent arrivals how many States there are this winter in the Union, in order to making the proper number of stars. A magnificent spread-eagle was procured, not without difficulty, as this, once the eyrie of the king of birds, is now a rookery rather, full of black, ominous fowl, ready to eat the harvest sown by industrious hands. This eagle, having previously spread its wings over a piece of furniture where its back was sustained by the wall, was somewhat deficient in a part of its anatomy. But we flattered ourselves he should be held so high that no Roman eye, if disposed, could carp and criticise. When lo! just as the banner was ready to unfold its young glories in the home of Horace, Virgil, and Tacitus, an ordinance appeared prohibiting the display of any but the Roman ensign.

This ordinance was, it is said, caused by representations made to the Pope that the Oscurantists, ever on the watch to do mischief, meant to make this the occasion of disturbance, – as it is their policy to seek to create irritation here; that the Neapolitan and Lombardo-Venetian flags would appear draped with black, and thus the signal be given for tumult. I cannot help thinking these fears were groundless; that the people, on their guard, would have indignantly crushed at once any of these malignant efforts. However that may be, no one can ever be really displeased with any measure of the Pope, knowing his excellent intentions. But the limitation of the festival deprived it of the noble character of the brotherhood of nations and an ideal aim, worn by that of Tuscany. The Romans, drilled and disappointed, greeted their Councillors with but little enthusiasm. The procession, too, was but a poor affair for Rome. Twenty-four carriages had been lent by the princes and nobles, at the request of the city, to convey the Councillors. I found something symbolical in this. Thus will they be obliged to furnish from their old grandeur the vehicles of the new ideas. Each deputy was followed by his target and banner. When the deputy for Ferrara passed, many garlands were thrown upon his carriage. There has been deep respect and sympathy felt for the citizens of Ferrara, they have conducted so well under their late trying circumstances. They contained themselves, knowing that the least indiscretion would give a handle for aggression to the enemies of the good cause. But the daily occasions of irritation must have been innumerable, and they have shown much power of wise and dignified self-government.

After the procession passed, I attempted to go on foot from the Café Novo, in the Corso, to St. Peter's, to see the decorations of the streets, but it was impossible. In that dense, but most vivacious, various, and good-humored crowd, with all best will on their part to aid the foreigner, it was impossible to advance. So I saw only themselves; but that was a great pleasure. There



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is so much individuality of character here, that it is a great entertainment to be in a crowd.

In the evening, there was a ball given at the Argentina. Lord Minto was there; Prince Corsini, now Senator; the Torlonias, in uniform of the Civic Guard, – Princess Torlonia in a sash of their colors, given her by the Civic Guard, which she waved often in answer to their greetings. But the beautiful show of the evening was the Trasteverini dancing the Saltarello in their most brilliant costume. I saw them thus to much greater advantage than ever before. Several were nobly handsome, and danced admirably; it was really like Pinelli.

The Saltarello enchants me; in this is really the Italian wine, the Italian sun. The first time, I saw it danced one night very unexpectedly near the Colosseum; it carried me quite beyond myself, so that I most unamiably insisted on staying, while the friends in my company, not heated by enthusiasm like me, were shivering and perhaps catching cold from the damp night-air. I fear they remember it against me; nevertheless I cherish the memory of the moments wickedly stolen at their expense, for it is only the first time seeing such a thing that you enjoy a peculiar delight. But since, I love to see and study it much.

The Pope, in receiving the Councillors, made a speech, – such as the king of Prussia intrenched himself in on a similar occasion, only much better and shorter, – implying that he meant only to improve, not to *reform*, and should keep things *in statu quo*, safe locked with the keys of St. Peter. This little speech was made, no doubt, more to reassure czars, emperors, and kings, than from the promptings of the spirit. But the fact of its necessity, as well as the inferior freedom and spirit of the Roman journals to those of Tuscany, seems to say that the pontifical government, though from the accident of this one man's accession it has taken the initiative to better times, yet may not, after a while, from its very nature, be able to keep in the vanguard.

A sad contrast to the feast of this day was presented by the same persons, a fortnight after, following the body of Silvani, one of the Councillors, who died suddenly. The Councillors, the different societies of Rome, a corps *frati* bearing tapers, the Civic Guard with drums slowly beating, the same state carriages with their liveried attendants all slowly, sadly moving, with torches and banners, drooped along the Corso in the dark night. A single horseman, with his long white plume and torch reversed, governed the procession; it was the Prince Aldobrandini. The whole had that grand effect so easily given by this artist people, who seize instantly the natural poetry of an occasion, and with unanimous tact hasten to represent it. More and much anon.



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December 30, Thursday: At 38 years of age F.A.P. Barnard married with Margaret Heywood McMurray, who was about 27 and from England. There would be no children.

[Margaret Fuller](#) reported to the [New-York Tribune](#) from [Rome](#) her rainy-days observations:

Rome, December 30, 1847.

I could not, in my last, content myself with praising the glorious weather. I wrote in the last day of it. Since, we have had a fortnight of rain falling incessantly, and whole days and nights of torrents such as are peculiar to the "clearing-up" shower in our country.

Under these circumstances, I have found my lodging in the Corso not only has its dark side, but is all dark, and that one in the Piazza di Spagne would have been better for me in this respect; there on these days, the only ones when I wish to stay at home and write and study, I should have had the light. Now, if I consulted the good of my eyes, I should have had the lamp lit on first rising in the morning.

"Every sweet must have its bitter," and the exchange from the brilliance of the Italian heaven to weeks and months of rain, and such black cloud, is unspeakably dejecting. For myself, at the end of this fortnight without exercise or light, and in such a damp atmosphere, I find myself without strength, without appetite, almost without spirits. The life of the German scholar who studies fifteen hours out of the twenty-four, or that of the Spielberg prisoner who could live through ten, fifteen, twenty years of dark prison with, only half an hour's exercise in the day, is to me a mystery. How can the brain, the nerves, ever support it? We are made to keep in motion, to drink the air and light; to me these are needed to make life supportable, the physical state is so difficult and full of pains at any rate.

I am sorry for those who have arrived just at this time hoping to enjoy the Christmas festivities. Everything was spoiled by the weather. I went at half past ten to San Luigi Francese, a church adorned with some of Domenichino's finest frescos on the life and death of St. Cecilia.

This name leads me to a little digression. In a letter to Mr. Phillips, the dear friend of our revered Dr. Charming, I asked him if he remembered what recumbent statue it was of which Dr. Charming was wont to speak as of a sight that impressed him more than anything else in Rome. He said, indeed, his mood, and the unexpectedness in seeing this gentle, saintly figure lying there as if death had just struck her down, had no doubt much influence upon him; but still he believed the work had a peculiar holiness in its expression. I recognized at once the theme of his description (the name he himself had forgotten) as I entered the other evening the lonely church of St. Cecilia in Trastevere. As in his case, it was twilight: one or two nuns were at their devotions, and there lay the figure in its grave-clothes, with an air so gentle, so holy, as if she had only ceased to pray as the hand of the murderer struck her down. Her gentle limbs seemed instinct still with soft, sweet life; the expression was not of



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the heroine, the martyr, so much as of the tender, angelic woman. I could well understand the deep impression made upon his mind. The expression of the frescos of Domenichino is not inharmonious with the suggestions of this statue.

Finding the Mass was not to begin for some time, I set out for the Quirinal to see the Pope return from that noble church, Santa Maria Maggiore, where he officiated this night. I reached the mount just as he was returning. A few torches gleamed before his door; perhaps a hundred people were gathered together round the fountain. Last year an immense multitude waited for him there to express their affection in one grand good-night; the change was occasioned partly by the weather, partly by other causes, of which I shall speak by and by. Just as he returned, the moon looked palely out from amid the wet clouds, and shone upon the fountain, and the noble figures above it, and the long white cloaks of the Guardia Nobile who followed his carriage on horseback; darker objects could scarcely be seen, except by the flickering light of the torches, much blown by the wind. I then returned to San Luigi. The effect of the night service there was very fine; those details which often have such a glaring, mean look by day are lost sight of in the night, and the unity of impression from the service is much more undisturbed. The music, too, descriptive of that era which promised peace on earth, good-will to men, was very sweet, and the *pastorale* particularly soothed the heart amid the crowd, and pompous ceremonial. But here, too, the sweet had its bitter, in the vulgar vanity of the leader of the orchestra, a trait too common in such, who, not content with marking the time for the musicians, made his stick heard in the remotest nook of the church; so that what would have been sweet music, and flowed in upon the soul, was vulgarized to make you remember the performers and their machines.

On Monday the leaders of the Guardia Civica paid their respects to the Pope, who, in receiving them, expressed his constantly increasing satisfaction in having given this institution to his people. The same evening there was a procession with torches to the Quirinal, to pay the homage due to the day (Feast of St. John, and name-day of the Pope, *Giovanni Maria Mastai*); but all the way the rain continually threatened to extinguish the torches, and the Pope could give but a hasty salute under an umbrella, when the heavens were again opened, and such a cataract of water descended, as drove both man and beast to seek the nearest shelter.

On Sunday, I went to see a nun take the veil. She was a person of high family; a princess gave her away, and the Cardinal Ferreti, Secretary of State, officiated. It was a much less effective ceremony than I expected from the descriptions of travellers and romance-writers. There was no moment of throwing on the black veil; no peal of music; no salute of cannon. The nun, an elegantly dressed woman of five or six and twenty, — pretty enough, but whose quite worldly air gave the idea that it was one of those arrangements made because no suitable



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establishment could otherwise be given her, – came forward, knelt, and prayed; her confessor, in that strained, unnatural whine too common among preachers of all churches and all countries, praised himself for having induced her to enter on a path which would lead her fettered steps “from palm to palm, from triumph to triumph,” Poor thing! she looked as if the domestic olives and poppies were all she wanted; and lacking these, tares and wormwood must be her portion. She was then taken behind a grating, her hair cut, and her clothes exchanged for the nun’s vestments; the black-robed sisters who worked upon her looking like crows or ravens at their ominous feasts. All the while, the music played, first sweet and thoughtful, then triumphant strains. The effect on my mind was revolting and painful to the last degree. Were monastic seclusion always voluntary, and could it be ended whenever the mind required a change back from seclusion to common life, I should have nothing to say against it; there are positions of the mind which it suits exactly, and even characters that might choose it all through life; certainly, to the broken-hearted it presents a shelter that Protestant communities do not provide. But where it is enforced or repented of, no hell could be worse; nor can a more terrible responsibility be incurred than by him who has persuaded a novice that the snares of the world are less dangerous than the demons of solitude.

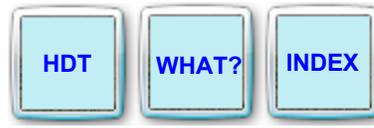
Festivities in Italy have been of great importance, since, for a century or two back, the thought, the feeling, the genius of the people have had more chance to expand, to express themselves, there than anywhere else. Now, if the march of reform goes forward, this will not be so; there will be also speeches made freely on public occasions, without having the life pressed out of them by the censorship. Now we hover betwixt the old and the new; when the many reasons for the new prevail, I hope what is poetical in the old will not be lost. The ceremonies of New Year are before me; but as I shall have to send this letter on New-Year’s day, I cannot describe them. The Romans begin now to talk of the mad gayeties of Carnival, and the Opera is open. They have begun with “Attila,” as, indeed, there is little hope of hearing in Italy other music than Verdi’s. Great applause waited on the following words: –

“EZIO (THE ROMAN LEADER).

“E gittata la mia sorte,  
Pronto sono ad ogni guerra,  
S’ io cadrò, cadrò da forte,  
E il mio nome resterà.

“Non vedrò l’amata terra  
Svener lenta e farri a brano,  
Sopra l’ultimo Romano  
Tutta Italia piangerà.”

“My lot is fixed, and I stand ready for every conflict. If I must fall, I shall fall as a brave man, and my fame will survive.



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I shall not see my beloved country fall to pieces and slowly perish, and over the last Roman all Italy will weep."

And at lines of which the following is a translation: -

"O brave man, whose mighty power can raise thy country from such dire distress; from the immortal hills, radiant with glory, let the shades of our ancestors arise; oh! only one day, one instant, arise to look upon us!"

It was an Italian who sung this strain, though, singularly enough, here in the heart of Italy, so long reputed the home of music, three principal parts were filled by persons bearing the foreign names of Ivanoff, Mitrovich, and Nissren.

Naples continues in a state of great excitement, which now pervades the upper classes, as several young men of noble families have been arrested; among them, one young man much beloved, son of Prince Terella, and who, it is said, was certainly not present on the occasion for which he was arrested, and that the measure was taken because he was known to sympathize strongly with the liberal movement. The nobility very generally have not feared to go to the house of his father to express their displeasure at the arrest and interest in the young man. The ministry, it is said, are now persuaded of the necessity of a change of measures. The king alone remains inflexible in his stupidity.

The stars of Bonaparte and Byron show again a conjunction, by the almost simultaneous announcement of changes in the lot of women with whom they were so intimately connected; - the Archduchess of Parma, Maria Louisa, is dead; the Countess Guiccioli is married. The Countess I have seen several times; she still looks young, and retains the charms which by the contemporaries of Byron she is reputed to have had; they never were of a very high order; her best expression is that of a good heart. I always supposed that Byron, weary and sick of the world such as he had known it, became attached to her for her good disposition, and sincere, warm tenderness for him; the sight of her, and the testimony of a near relative, confirmed this impression. This friend of hers added, that she had tried very hard to remain devoted to the memory of Byron, but was quite unequal to the part, being one of those affectionate natures that must have some one near with whom to be occupied; and now, it seems, she has resigned herself publicly to abandon her romance. However, I fancy the manes of Byron remain undisturbed. We all know the worthless character of Maria Louisa, the indifference she showed to a husband who, if he was not her own choice, yet would have been endeared to almost any woman, as one fallen from an immense height into immense misfortune, and as the father of her child. No voice from her penetrated to cheer his exile: the unhappiness of Josephine was well avenged. And that child, the poor Duke of Reichstadt, of a character so interesting, and with obvious elements of greatness, withering beneath the mean, cold influence of his grandfather, - what did Maria Louisa do for him, - she, appointed by Nature to be his



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inspiring genius, his protecting angel? I felt for her a most sad and profound contempt last summer, as I passed through her oppressed dominion, a little sphere, in which, if she could not save it from the usual effects of the Austrian rule, she might have done so much private, womanly good, – might have been a genial heart to warm it, – and where she had let so much ill be done. A journal announces her death in these words: "The Archduchess is dead; a woman who *might* have occupied one of the noblest positions in the history of the age"; – and there makes expressive pause.

Parma, passing from bad to worse, falls into the hands of the Duke of Modena; and the people and magistracy have made an address to their new ruler. The address has received many thousand signatures, and seems quite sincere, except in the assumption of good-will in the Duke of Modena; and this is merely an insincerity of etiquette.

December 31, Friday: [Margaret Fuller](#) reported to the New-York Tribune from Rome, on New-Year's-Eve there, and on the Pope and his people.

**ARTHUR FULLER'S BOOK**



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The protests of Berliners led to the abolition of the last restrictions on their use of [tobacco](#).

In [Italy](#), a “Tobacco War” modeled on the Boston Tea Party erupted as Italians protested Austrian control of the [tobacco](#) monopoly.

Our PG war correspondent in [Italy](#), [Margaret Fuller](#), insisted “Those have not lived who have not seen [Rome](#).”



THE GRAND TOUR



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January: Friedrich Engels visited [Heinrich Heine](#) and wrote “... *Heine ist am Kaputtgehen. Vor vierzehn Tagen war ich bei ihm, da lag er im Bett und hatte einen Nervenfall gehabt. Gestern war er auf, aber höchst elend. Er kann keine drei Schritte mehr gehen, er schleicht an den Mauern sich stützend von Fauteuil bis ans Bett und vice versa. Dazu Lärm in seinem Hause, der ihn verrückt macht.*” Since 1844, the poet had suffered not only financial reversals and but also a general physical deterioration. According to some suppositions this may have been either congenital neuropathy or amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (Lou Gehrig’s disease). From this year until his death he would lie paralyzed, partly blind, and heavily sedated on what he termed his “mattress grave” — but in this condition he would author one of his finest collection of verse, *ROMANZERO*.

The [French](#) Prime Minister [François Pierre Guillaume Guizot](#) refused permission for opposition political groups to stage political meetings in celebration of the birthday of [George Washington](#) (these had been being termed the “[Paris](#) Banquets”).

Martin Johnson Heade was in [Rome](#). (Probably, he then went on to [Paris](#).) Thomas Hicks, his former associate under [Edward Hicks](#), was also in [Rome](#) at this point. It was presumably in this year that Heade painted his surviving genre picture, “The Roman Newsboys,” as the torn posters on the wall behind the two newsboys reflect the political unrest of this year (one poster has to do with Vincenzo Gioberti of the Risorgimento movement, and the name of Pope Pius IX is scrawled in several locations), while the leaflets being handed out are antigovernmental in nature.





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January 22, Sunday: With the fighting finally at an end, Representative Abraham Lincoln of [Illinois](#) gave a speech on floor of the House of Representatives in opposition to President [James Knox Polk](#)'s war policy regarding [Mexico](#).

[Margaret Fuller](#) reported to the New-York [Tribune](#) from [Rome](#):

January 22, 2 o'clock, P.M.

Pour, pour, pour again, dark as night, — many people coming in to see me because they don't know what to do with themselves. I am very glad to see them for the same reason; this atmosphere is so heavy, I seem to carry the weight of the world on my head and feel unfitted for every exertion. As to eating, that is a bygone thing; wine, coffee, meat, I have resigned; vegetables are few and hard to have, except horrible cabbage, in which the Romans delight. A little rice still remains, which I take with pleasure, remembering it growing in the rich fields of Lombardy, so green and full of glorious light. That light fell still more beautiful on the tall plantations of hemp, but it is dangerous just at present to think of what is made from hemp.

This week all the animals are being blessed,<sup>38</sup> and they get a gratuitous baptism, too, the while. The lambs one morning were taken out to the church of St. Agnes for this purpose. The little companion of my travels, if he sees this letter, will remember how often we saw her with her lamb in pictures. The horses are being blessed by St. Antonio, and under his harmonizing influence are afterward driven through the city, twelve and even twenty in hand. They are harnessed into light wagons, and men run beside them to guard against accident, in case the good influence of the Saint should fail.

This morning came the details of infamous attempts by the Austrian police to exasperate the students of Pavia. The way is to send persons to smoke cigars in forbidden places, who insult those who are obliged to tell them to desist. These traps seem particularly shocking when laid for fiery and sensitive young men. They succeeded: the students were lured, into combat, and a number left dead and wounded on both sides. The University is shut up; the inhabitants of Pavia and Milan have put on mourning; even at the theatre they wear it. The Milanese will not walk in that quarter where the blood of their fellow-citizens has been so wantonly shed. They have demanded a legal investigation of the conduct of the officials.

At Piacenza similar attempts have been made to excite the Italians, by smoking in their faces, and crying, "Long live the Emperor!" It is a worthy homage to pay to the Austrian crown, — this offering of cigars and blood.

"O this offence is rank; it smells to Heaven."

This morning authentic news is received from Naples. The king, when assured by his own brother that Sicily was in a state of irresistible revolt, and that even the women quelled the troops, — showering on them stones, furniture, boiling oil, such means of warfare as the household may easily furnish to a thoughtful

38. One of Rome's singular customs. — ED.



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matron, – had, first, a stroke of apoplexy, from, which the loss of a good deal of bad blood relieved him. His mind apparently having become clearer thereby, he has offered his subjects an amnesty and terms of reform, which, it is hoped, will arrive before his troops have begun to bombard the cities in obedience to earlier orders.

Comes also to-day the news that the French Chamber of Peers propose an Address to the King, echoing back all the falsehoods of his speech, including those upon reform, and the enormous one that "the peace of Europe is now assured"; but that some members have worthily opposed this address, and spoken truth in an honorable manner.

Also, that the infamous sacrifice of the poor little queen of Spain puts on more tragic colors; that it is pretended she has epilepsy, and she is to be made to renounce the throne, which, indeed, has been a terrific curse to her. And Heaven and Earth have looked calmly on, while the king of France has managed all this with the most unnatural of mothers.

Spring: [Margaret Fuller](#) was preparing to leave [Rome](#) in order to conceal her swelling abdomen when she received a letter from [Waldo Emerson](#) advising her that Mrs. [Lidian Emerson](#) had objected to her staying at their home in Concord upon her return to the USA. Emerson mentioned that [Mrs. Lucy Jackson Brown](#)'s home across the road remained a possibility.

November: In [Italy](#), the Pope fled from [Rome](#) to Gaeta.

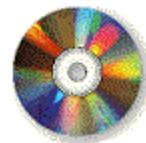
December 2, Saturday: Professor [Louis Agassiz](#) wrote off to his mother in Switzerland to advise her of what he had established about Negroes: "They are not of the same blood as we."<sup>39</sup>



## EVOLUTIONARY ETHICS



"Scientists have power by virtue of the respect commanded by the discipline. We may therefore be sorely tempted to misuse that power in furthering a personal prejudice or social goal – why not provide that extra oomph by extending the umbrella of science over a personal preference in ethics or politics?"



– [Stephen Jay Gould](#)  
BULLY FOR BRONTOSAURUS  
NY: Norton, 1991, page 429

[Margaret Fuller](#) reported to the New-York [Tribune](#) from [Rome](#) on the events of the preceding summer in [Italy](#):

39. "I have always suspected [Agassiz](#) of superficiality & wretched reasoning powers; but I think such men do immense good in their way. See how he stirred up all Europe about [Glaciers](#)." – [Charles Darwin](#), commenting on [Agassiz](#)'s pseudoscientific political agenda, in a private letter to Thomas Henry Huxley on [September 26, 1857](#).

HDT

WHAT?

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Rome, December 2, 1848.

I have not written for six months, and within that time what changes have taken place on this side "the great water," – changes of how great dramatic interest historically, – of bearing infinitely important ideally! Easy is the descent in ill.

I wrote last when Pius IX. had taken the first stride on the downward road. He had proclaimed himself the foe of further reform measures, when he implied that Italian independence was not important in his eyes, when he abandoned the crowd of heroic youth who had gone to the field with his benediction, to some of whom his own hand had given crosses. All the Popes, his predecessors, had meddled with, most frequently instigated, war; now came one who must carry out, literally, the doctrines of the Prince of Peace, when the war was not for wrong, or the aggrandizement of individuals, but to redeem national, to redeem human, rights from the grasp of foreign oppression.

I said some cried "traitor," some "imbecile," some wept, but In the minds of all, I believe, at that time, grief was predominant. They could no longer depend on him they had thought their best friend. They had lost their father.

Meanwhile his people would not submit to the inaction he urged. They saw it was not only ruinous to themselves, but base and treacherous to the rest of Italy. They said to the Pope, "This cannot be; you must follow up the pledges you have given, or, if you will not act to redeem them, you must have a ministry that will." The Pope, after he had once declared to the contrary, ought to have persisted. He should have said, "I cannot thus belie myself, I cannot put my name to acts I have just declared to be against my conscience."

The ministers of the people ought to have seen that the position they assumed was utterly untenable; that they could not advance with an enemy in the background cutting off all supplies. But some patriotism and some vanity exhilarated them, and, the Pope having weakly yielded, they unwisely began their impossible task. Mamiani, their chief, I esteem a man, under all circumstances, unequal to such a position, – a man of rhetoric merely. But no man could have acted, unless the Pope had resigned his temporal power, the Cardinals been put under sufficient check, and the Jesuits and emissaries of Austria driven from their lurking-places.

A sad scene began. The Pope, – shut up more and more in his palace, the crowd of selfish and insidious advisers darkening round, enslaved by a confessor, – he who might have been the liberator of suffering Europe permitted the most infamous treacheries to be practised in his name. Private letters were written to the foreign powers, denying the acts he outwardly sanctioned; the hopes of the people were evaded or dallied with; the Chamber of Deputies permitted to talk and pass measures which they never could get funds to put into execution; legions to form and manoeuvre, but never to have the arms and clothing they needed. Again and again the people went to the Pope for



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satisfaction. They got only – benediction.

Thus plotted and thus worked the scarlet men of sin, playing the hopes of Italy off and on, while *their* hope was of the miserable defeat consummated by a still worse traitor at Milan on the 6th of August. But, indeed, what could be expected from the "Sword of Pius IX.," when Pius IX. himself had thus failed in his high vocation. The king of Naples bombarded his city, and set on the Lazzaroni to rob and murder the subjects he had deluded by his pretended gift of the Constitution. Pius proclaimed that he longed to embrace *all* the princes of Italy. He talked of peace, when all knew for a great part of the Italians there was no longer hope of peace, except in the sepulchre, or freedom.

The taunting manifestos of Welden are a sufficient comment on the conduct of the Pope. "As the government of his Holiness is too weak to control his subjects," – "As, singularly enough, a great number of Romans are found, fighting against us, contrary to the *expressed* will of their prince," – such were the excuses for invasions of the Pontifical dominions, and the robbery and insult by which they were accompanied. Such invasions, it was said, made his Holiness very indignant; he remonstrated against these; but we find no word of remonstrance against the tyranny of the king of Naples, – no word of sympathy for the victims of Lombardy, the sufferings of Verona, Vicenza, Padua, Mantua, Venice.

In the affairs of Europe there are continued signs of the plan of the retrograde party to effect similar demonstrations in different places at the same hour. The 15th of May was one of these marked days. On that day the king of Naples made use of the insurrection he had contrived to excite, to massacre his people, and find an excuse for recalling his troops from Lombardy. The same day a similar crisis was hoped in Rome from the declarations of the Pope, but that did not work at the moment exactly as the foes of enfranchisement hoped.

However, the wounds were cruel enough. The Roman volunteers received the astounding news that they were not to expect protection or countenance from their prince; all the army stood aghast, that they were no longer to fight in the name of Pio. It had been so dear, so sweet, to love and really reverence the head of their Church, so inspiring to find their religion for once in accordance with the aspirations of the soul! They were to be deprived, too, of the aid of the disciplined Neapolitan troops and their artillery, on which they had counted. How cunningly all this was contrived to cause dissension and dismay may easily be seen.

The Neapolitan General Pepe nobly refused to obey, and called on the troops to remain with him. They wavered; but they are a pampered army, personally much attached to the king, who pays them well and indulges them at the expense of his people, that they may be his support against that people when in a throe of nature it rises and striven for its rights. For the same reason, the sentiment of patriotism was little diffused among them in comparison with the other troops. And the alternative presented



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was one in which it required a very clear sense of higher duty to act against habit. Generally, after wavering awhile, they obeyed and returned. The Roman States, which had received them with so many testimonials of affection and honor, on their retreat were not slack to show a correspondent aversion and contempt. The towns would not suffer their passage; the hamlets were unwilling to serve them even with fire and water. They were filled at once with shame and rage; one officer killed himself, unable to bear it; in the unreflecting minds of the soldiers, hate sprung up for the rest of Italy, and especially Rome, which will make them admirable tools of tyranny in case of civil war. This was the first great calamity of the war. But apart from the treachery of the king of Naples and the dereliction of the Pope, it was impossible it should end thoroughly well. The people were in earnest, and have shown themselves so; brave, and able to bear privation. No one should dare, after the proofs of the summer, to reiterate the taunt, so unfriendly frequent on foreign lips at the beginning of the contest, that the Italian can boast, shout, and fling garlands, but not *act*. The Italian always showed himself noble and brave, even in foreign service, and is doubly so in the cause of his country. But efficient heads were wanting. The princes were not in earnest; they were looking at expediency. The Grand Duke, timid and prudent, wanted to do what was safest for Tuscany; his ministry, "*Moderate*" and prudent, would have liked to win a great prize at small risk. They went no farther than the people pulled them. The king of Sardinia had taken the first bold step, and the idea that treachery on his part was premeditated cannot be sustained; it arises from the extraordinary aspect of his measures, and the knowledge that he is not incapable of treachery, as he proved in early youth. But now it was only his selfishness that worked to the same results. He fought and planned, not for Italy, but the house of Savoy, which his Balbis and Giobertis had so long been prophesying was to reign supreme in the new great era of Italy. These prophecies he more than half believed, because they chimed with his ambitious wishes; but he had not soul enough to realize them; he trusted only in his disciplined troops; he had not nobleness enough to believe he might rely at all on the sentiment of the people. For his troops he dared not have good generals; conscious of meanness and timidity, he shrank from the approach of able and earnest men; he was only afraid they would, in helping Italy, take her and themselves out of his guardianship. Antonini was insulted, Garibaldi rejected; other experienced leaders, who had rushed to Italy at the first trumpet-sound, could never get employment from him. As to his generalship, it was entirely inadequate, even if he had made use of the first favorable moments. But his first thought was not to strike a blow at the Austrians before they recovered from the discomfiture of Milan, but to use the panic and need of his assistance to induce Lombardy and Venice to annex themselves to his kingdom. He did not even wish seriously to get the better till this was done, and when this was done, it was too late. The



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Austrian army was recruited, the generals had recovered their spirits, and were burning to retrieve and avenge their past defeat. The conduct of Charles Albert had been shamefully evasive in the first months. The account given by Franzini, when challenged in the Chamber of Deputies at Turin, might be summed up thus: "Why, gentlemen, what would you have? Every one knows that the army is in excellent condition, and eager for action. They are often reviewed, hear speeches, and sometimes get medals. We take places always, if it is not difficult. I myself was present once when the troops advanced; our men behaved gallantly, and had the advantage in the first skirmish; but afterward the enemy pointed on us artillery from the heights, and, naturally, we retired. But as to supposing that his Majesty Charles Albert is indifferent to the success of Italy in the war, that is absurd. He is 'the Sword of Italy'; he is the most magnanimous of princes; he is seriously occupied about the war; many a day I have been called into his tent to talk it over, before he was up in the morning!"

Sad was it that the heroic Milan, the heroic Venice, the heroic Sicily, should lean on such a reed as this, and by hurried acts, equally unworthy as unwise, sully the glory of their shields. Some names, indeed, stand, out quite free from this blame. Mazzini, who kept up a combat against folly and cowardice, day by day and hour by hour, with almost supernatural strength, warned the people constantly of the evils which their advisers were drawing upon them. He was heard then only by a few, but in this "Italia del Popolo" may be found many prophecies exactly fulfilled, as those of "the golden-haired love of Phoebus" during the struggles of Ilium. He himself, in the last sad days of Milan, compared his lot to that of Cassandra. At all events, his hands are pure from that ill. What could be done to arouse Lombardy he did, but the "Moderate" party unable to wear themselves from old habits, the pupils of the wordy Gioberti thought there could be no safety unless under the mantle of a prince. They did not foresee that he would run away, and throw that mantle on the ground.

Tommaso and Manin also were clear in their aversion to these measures; and with them, as with all who were resolute in principle at that time, a great influence has followed.

It is said Charles Albert feels bitterly the imputations on his courage, and says they are most ungrateful, since he has exposed the lives of himself and his sons in the combat. Indeed, there ought to be made a distinction between personal and mental courage. The former Charles Albert may possess, may have too much of what this still aristocratic world calls "the feelings of a gentleman" to shun exposing himself to a chance shot now and then. An entire want of mental courage he has shown. The battle, decisive against him, was made so by his giving up the moment fortune turned against him. It is shameful to hear so many say this result was inevitable, just because the material advantages were in favor of the Austrians. Pray, was never a battle won against material odds? It is precisely such that a



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good leader, a noble man, may expect to win. Were the Austrians driven out of Milan because the Milanese had that advantage? The Austrians would again, have suffered repulse from them, but for the baseness of this man, on whom they had been cajoled into relying, – a baseness that deserves the pillory; and on a pillory will the "Magnanimous," as he was meanly called in face of the crimes of his youth and the timid selfishness of his middle age, stand in the sight of posterity. He made use of his power only to betray Milan; he took from the citizens all means of defence, and then gave them up to the spoiler; he promised to defend them "to the last drop of his blood," and sold them the next minute; even the paltry terms he made, he has not seen maintained. Had the people slain him in their rage, he well deserved it at their hands; and all his conduct since show how righteous would have been that sudden verdict of passion.

Of all this great drama I have much to write, but elsewhere, in a more full form, and where I can duly sketch the portraits of actors little known in America. The materials are over-rich. I have bought my right in them by much sympathetic suffering; yet, amid the blood and tears of Italy, 'tis joy to see some glorious new births. The Italians are getting cured of mean adulation and hasty boasts; they are learning to prize and seek realities; the effigies of straw are getting knocked down, and living, growing men take their places. Italy is being educated for the future, her leaders are learning that the time is past for trust in princes and precedents, – that there is no hope except in truth and God; her lower people are learning to shout less and think more.

Though my thoughts have been much with the public in this struggle for life, I have been away from it during the summer months, in the quiet valleys, on the lonely mountains. There, personally undisturbed, I have seen the glorious Italian summer wax and wane, – the summer of Southern Italy, which I did not see last year. On the mountains it was not too hot for me, and I enjoyed the great luxuriance of vegetation. I had the advantage of having visited the scene of the war minutely last summer, so that, in mind, I could follow every step of the campaign, while around me were the glorious relics of old times, – the crumbling theatre or temple of the Roman day, the bird's-nest village of the Middle Ages, on whose purple height shone the sun and moon of Italy in changeless lustre. It was great pleasure to me to watch the gradual growth and change of the seasons, so different from ours. Last year I had not leisure for this quiet acquaintance. Now I saw the fields first dressed in their carpets of green, enamelled richly with the red poppy and blue corn-flower, – in that sunshine how resplendent! Then swelled the fig, the grape, the olive, the almond; and my food was of these products of this rich clime. For near three months I had grapes every day; the last four weeks, enough daily for two persons for a cent! Exquisite salad for two persons' dinner and supper cost but a cent, and all other products of the region were in the same proportion. One who keeps still in Italy, and



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lives as the people do, may really have much simple luxury for very little money; though both travel, and, to the inexperienced foreigner, life in the cities, are expensive.

## ARTHUR FULLER'S BOOK

[Margaret Fuller](#) continued her report to the New-York Tribune on the revolution in Rome:

Rome, December 2, 1848.

Not till I saw the snow on the mountains grow rosy in the autumn sunset did I turn my steps again toward Rome. I was very ready to return. After three or four years of constant excitement, this six months of seclusion had been welcome; but now I felt the need of meeting other eyes beside those, so bright and so shallow, of the Italian peasant. Indeed, I left what was most precious, but which I could not take with me;<sup>40</sup> still it was a compensation that I was again to see Rome, — Rome, that almost killed me with her cold breath of last winter, yet still with that cold breath whispered a tale of import so divine. Rome so beautiful, so great! her presence stupefies, and one has to withdraw to prize the treasures she has given. City of the soul! yes, it is *that*; the very dust magnetizes you, and thousand spells have been chaining you in every careless, every murmuring moment. Yes! Rome, however seen, thou must be still adored; and every hour of absence or presence must deepen love with one who has known what it is to repose in thy arms.

Repose! for whatever be the revolutions, tumults, panics, hopes, of the present day, still the temper of life here is repose. The great past enfolds us, and the emotions of the moment cannot here greatly disturb that impression. From the wild shout and throng of the streets the setting sun recalls us as it rests on a hundred domes and temples, — rests on the Campagna, whose grass is rooted in departed human greatness. Burial-place so full of spirit that death itself seems no longer cold! O let me rest here, too! Hest here seems possible; meseems myriad lives still linger here, awaiting some one great summons.

The rivers had burst their bounds, and beneath the moon the fields round Rome lay one sheet of silver. Entering the gate while the baggage was under examination, I walked to the entrance of a villa. Far stretched its overarching shrubberies, its deep green bowers; two statues, with foot advanced and uplifted finger, seemed to greet me; it was near the scene of great revels, great splendors in the old time; there lay the gardens of Sallust, where were combined palace, theatre, library, bath, and villa. Strange things have happened since, the most attractive part of which — the secret heart — lies buried or has fled to animate other forms; for of that part historians have rarely given a hint more than they do now of the truest life of our day, which refuses to be embodied, by the

40. Her child, who was born in Rieti, September 5, 1848, and was necessarily left in that town during the difficulties and siege of Rome. — ED.



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pen, craving forms more mutable, more eloquent than the pen can give.

I found Rome empty of foreigners. Most of the English have fled in affright, – the Germans and French are wanted at home, – the Czar has recalled many of his younger subjects; he does not like the schooling they get here. That large part of the population, which lives by the visits of foreigners was suffering very much, – trade, industry, for every reason, stagnant. The people were every moment becoming more exasperated by the impudent measures of the Minister Rossi, and their mortification at seeing Rome represented and betrayed by a foreigner. And what foreigner? A pupil of Guizot and Louis Philippe. The news of the bombardment and storm of Vienna had just reached Rome. Zucchi, the Minister of War, at once left the city to put down over-free manifestations in the provinces, and impede the entrance of the troops of the patriot chief, Garibaldi, into Bologna. From the provinces came soldiery, called by Rossi to keep order at the opening of the Chamber of Deputies. He reviewed them in the face of the Civic Guard; the press began to be restrained; men were arbitrarily seized and sent out of the kingdom. The public indignation rose to its height; the cup overflowed.

The 15th was a beautiful day, and I had gone out for a long walk. Returning at night, the old Padrona met me with her usual smile a little clouded. "Do you know," said she, "that the Minister Rossi has been killed?" No Roman said *murdered*.

"Killed?"

"Yes, – with a thrust in the back. A wicked man, surely; but is that the way to punish even the wicked?"

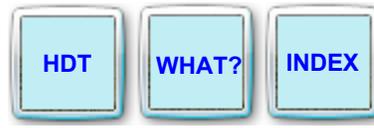
"I cannot," observed a philosopher, "sympathize under any circumstances with so immoral a deed; but surely the manner of doing it was great."

The people at large were not so refined in their comments as either the Padrona or the philosopher; but soldiers and populace alike ran up and down, singing, "Blessed the hand that rids the earth of a tyrant."

Certainly, the manner *was* "great."

The Chamber was awaiting the entrance of Rossi. Had he lived to enter, he would have found the Assembly, without a single exception, ranged upon the Opposition benches. His carriage approached, attended by a howling, hissing multitude. He smiled, affected unconcern, but must have felt relieved when his horses entered the courtyard gate of the *Cancellaria*. He did not know he was entering the place of his execution. The horses stopped; he alighted in the midst of a crowd; it jostled him, as if for the purpose of insult; he turned abruptly, and received as he did so the fatal blow. It was dealt by a resolute, perhaps experienced, hand; he fell and spoke no word more.

The crowd, as if all previously acquainted with the plan, as no doubt most of them were, issued quietly from the gate, and passed through the outside crowd, – its members, among whom was he who dealt the blow, dispersing in all directions. For two or three minutes this outside crowd did not know that anything special



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had happened. When they did, the news was at the moment received in silence. The soldiers in whom Rossi had trusted, whom he had hoped to flatter and bribe, stood at their posts and said not a word. Neither they nor any one asked, "Who did this? Where is he gone?" The sense of the people certainly was that it was an act of summary justice on an offender whom the laws could not reach, but they felt it to be indecent to shout or exult on the spot where he was breathing his last. Rome, so long supposed the capital of Christendom, certainly took a very pagan view of this act, and the piece represented on the occasion at the theatres was "The Death of Nero."

The next morning I went to the Church of St. Andrea della Valle, where was to be performed a funeral service, with fine music, in honor of the victims of Vienna; for this they do here for the victims of every place, — "victims of Milan," "victims of Paris," "victims of Naples," and now "victims of Vienna." But to-day I found the church closed, the service put off, — Rome was thinking about her own victims.

I passed into the Ripetta, and entered the Church of San Luigi dei Francesi. The Republican flag was flying at the door; the young sacristan said the fine musical service, which this church gave formerly on St. Philip's day in honor of Louis Philippe, would now be transferred to the Republican anniversary, the 25th of February. I looked at the monument Chateaubriand erected when here, to a poor girl who died, last of her family, having seen all the others perish round her. I entered the Domenichino Chapel, and gazed anew on the magnificent representations of the Life and Death of St. Cecilia. She and St. Agnes are my favorite saints. I love to think of those angel visits which her husband knew by the fragrance of roses and lilies left behind in the apartment. I love to think of his visit to the Catacombs, and all that followed. In one of the pictures St. Cecilia, as she stretches out her arms toward the suffering multitude, seems as if an immortal fount of purest love sprung from her heart. It gives very strongly the idea of an inexhaustible love, — the only love that is much worth thinking about.

Leaving the church, I passed along toward the Piazza del Popolo. "Yellow Tiber rose," but not high enough to cause "distress," as he does when in a swelling mood. I heard the drums beating, and, entering the Piazza, I found the troops of the line already assembled, and the Civic Guard marching in by platoons, each battalion saluted as it entered by trumpets and a fine strain from the band of the Carbineers.

I climbed the Pincian to see better. There is no place so fine for anything of this kind as the Piazza del Popolo, it is so full of light, so fair and grand, the obelisk and fountain make so fine a centre to all kinds of groups.

The object of the present meeting was for the Civic Guard and troops of the line to give pledges of sympathy preparatory to going to the Quirinal to demand a change of ministry and of measures. The flag of the Union was placed in front of the obelisk; all present saluted it; some officials made addresses;



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the trumpets sounded, and all moved toward the Quirinal. Nothing could be gentler than the disposition of those composing the crowd. They were resolved to be played with no longer, but no threat was uttered or thought. They believed that the court would be convinced by the fate of Rossi that the retrograde movement it had attempted was impracticable. They knew the retrograde party were panic-struck, and hoped to use the occasion to free the Pope from its meshes. All felt that Pius IX. had fallen irrevocably from his high place as the friend of progress and father of Italy; but still he was personally beloved, and still his name, so often shouted in hope and joy, had not quite lost its *prestige*.

I returned to the house, which is very near the Quirinal. On one side I could see the palace and gardens of the Pope, on the other the Piazza Barberini and street of the Four Fountains. Presently I saw the carriage of Prince Barberini drive hurriedly into his court-yard gate, the footman signing to close it, a discharge of fire-arms was heard, and the drums of the Civic Guard beat to arms.

The Padrona ran up and down, crying with every round of shot, "Jesu Maria, they are killing the Pope! O poor Holy Father! — Tito, Tito," (out of the window to her husband,) "what *is* the matter?"

The lord of creation disdained to reply.

"O Signora! pray, pray, ask Tito what is the matter?"

I did so.

"I don't know, Signora; nobody knows."

"Why don't you go on the Mount and see?"

"It would be an imprudence, Signora; nobody will go."

I was just thinking to go myself, when I saw a poor man borne by, badly wounded, and heard that the Swiss were firing on the people. Their doing so was the cause of whatever violence there was, and it was not much.

The people had assembled, as usual, at the Quirinal, only with more form and solemnity than usual. They had taken with them several of the Chamber of Deputies, and they sent an embassy, headed by Galetti, who had been in the late ministry, to state their wishes. They received a peremptory negative. They then insisted on seeing the Pope, and pressed on the palace. The Swiss became alarmed, and fired from the windows and from the roof. They did this, it is said, without orders; but who could, at the time, suppose that? If it had been planned to exasperate the people to blood, what more could have been done? As it was, very little was shed; but the Pope, no doubt, felt great panic. He heard the report of fire-arms, — heard that they tried to burn a door of the palace. I would lay my life that he could have shown himself without the slightest danger; nay, that the habitual respect for his presence would have prevailed, and hushed all tumult. He did not think so, and, to still it, once more degraded himself and injured his people, by making promises he did not mean to keep.

He protests now against those promises as extorted by violence,



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– a strange plea indeed for the representative of St. Peter! Rome is all full of the effigies of those over whom violence had no power. There was an early Pope about to be thrown into the Tiber; violence had no power to make him say what he did not mean. Delicate girls, men in the prime of hope and pride of power, – they were all alike about that. They could die in boiling oil, roasted on coals, or cut to pieces; but they could not say what they did not mean. These formed the true Church; it was these who had power to disseminate the religion of him, the Prince of Peace, who died a bloody death of torture between sinners, because he never could say what he did not mean. A little church, outside the gate of St. Sebastian commemorates the following affecting tradition of the Church. Peter, alarmed at the persecution of the Christians, had gone forth to fly, when in this spot he saw a bright figure in his path, and recognized his Master travelling toward Rome. "Lord," he said, "whither goest thou?" "I go," replied Jesus, "to die with my people." Peter comprehended the reproof. He felt that he must not a fourth time deny his Master, yet hope for salvation. He returned to Rome to offer his life in attestation of his faith. The Roman Catholic Church has risen a monument to the memory of such facts. And has the present head of that Church quite failed to understand their monition?

Not all the Popes have so failed, though the majority have been intriguing, ambitious men of the world. But even the mob of Rome – and in Rome there *is* a true mob of unheeding cabbage-sellers, who never had a thought before beyond contriving how to satisfy their animal instincts for the day – said, on hearing the protest, "There was another Pius, not long since, who talked in a very different style. When the French threatened him, he said, 'You may do with me as you see fit, but I cannot consent to act against my convictions.'"

In fact, the only dignified course for the Pope to pursue was to resign his temporal power. He could no longer hold it on his own terms; but to it he clung; and the counsellors around him were men to wish him to regard *that* as the first of duties. When the question was of waging war for the independence of Italy, they regarded him solely as the head of the Church; but when the demand was to satisfy the wants of his people, and ecclesiastical goods were threatened with taxes, then he was the prince of the state, bound to maintain all the selfish prerogatives of bygone days for the benefit of his successors. Poor Pope! how has his mind been torn to pieces in these later days! It moves compassion. There can be no doubt that all his natural impulses are generous and kind, and in a more private station he would have died beloved and honored; but to this he was unequal; he has suffered bad men to surround him, and by their misrepresentations and insidious suggestions at last entirely to cloud his mind. I believe he really thinks now the Progress movement tends to anarchy, blood, and all that looked worst in the first French revolution. However that may be, I cannot forgive him some of the circumstances of this flight. To



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fly to Naples; to throw himself in the arms of the bombarding monarch, blessing him and thanking his soldiery for preserving that part of Italy from anarchy; to protest that all his promises at Rome were null and void, when he thought himself in safety to choose a commission for governing in his absence, composed of men of princely blood, but as to character so null that everybody laughed, and said he chose those who could best be spared if they were killed; (but they all ran away directly;) when Rome was thus left without any government, to refuse to see any deputation, even the Senator of Rome, whom he had so gladly sanctioned, – these are the acts either of a fool or a foe. They are not his acts, to be sure, but he is responsible; he lets them stand as such in the face of the world, and weeps and prays for their success.

No more of him! His day is over. He has been made, it seems unconsciously, an instrument of good his regrets cannot destroy. Nor can he be made so important an instrument of ill. These acts have not had the effect the foes of freedom hoped. Rome remained quite cool and composed; all felt that they had not demanded more than was their duty to demand, and were willing to accept what might follow. In a few days all began to say: "Well, who would have thought it? The Pope, the Cardinals, the Princes are gone, and Rome is perfectly tranquil, and one does not miss anything, except that there are not so many rich carriages and liveries."

The Pope may regret too late that he ever gave the people a chance to make this reflection. Yet the best fruits of the movement may not ripen for a long time. It is a movement which requires radical measures, clear-sighted, resolute men: these last, as yet, do not show themselves in Rome. The new Tuscan ministry has three men of superior force in various ways, – Montanelli, Guerazzi, D'Aguila; such are not as yet to be found in Rome.

But should she fall this time, – and she must either advance with decision and force, or fall, since to stand still is impossible, – the people have learned much; ignorance and servility of thought are lessened, – the way is paving for final triumph.

And my country, what does she? You have chosen a new President from a Slave State, representative of the Mexican war. But he seems to be honest, a man that can be esteemed, and is one really known to the people, which is a step upward, after having sunk last time to choosing a mere tool of party.

Pray send here a good Ambassador, – one that has experience of foreign life, that he may act with good judgment, and, if possible, a man that has knowledge and views which extend beyond the cause of party politics in the United States, – a man of unity in principles, but capable of understanding variety in forms. And send a man capable of prizing the luxury of living in, or knowing Rome; the office of Ambassador is one that should not be thrown away on a person who cannot prize or use it. Another century, and I might ask to be made Ambassador myself,



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('tis true, like other Ambassadors, I would employ clerks to do the most of the duty,) but woman's day has not come yet. They hold their clubs in Paris, but even George Sand will not act with women as they are. They say she pleads they are too mean, too treacherous. She should not abandon them for that, which is not nature, but misfortune. How much I shall have to say on that subject if I live, which I desire not, for I am very tired of the battle with giant wrongs, and would like to have some one younger and stronger arise to say what ought to be said, still more to do what ought to be done. Enough! if I felt these things in privileged America, the cries of mothers and wives beaten at night by sons and husbands for their diversion after drinking, as I have repeatedly heard them these past months, – the excuse for falsehood, "I *dare not* tell my husband, he would be ready to kill me," – have sharpened my perception as to the ills of woman's condition and the remedies that must be applied. Had I but genius, had I but energy, to tell what I know as it ought to be told! God grant them me, or some other more worthy woman, I pray.

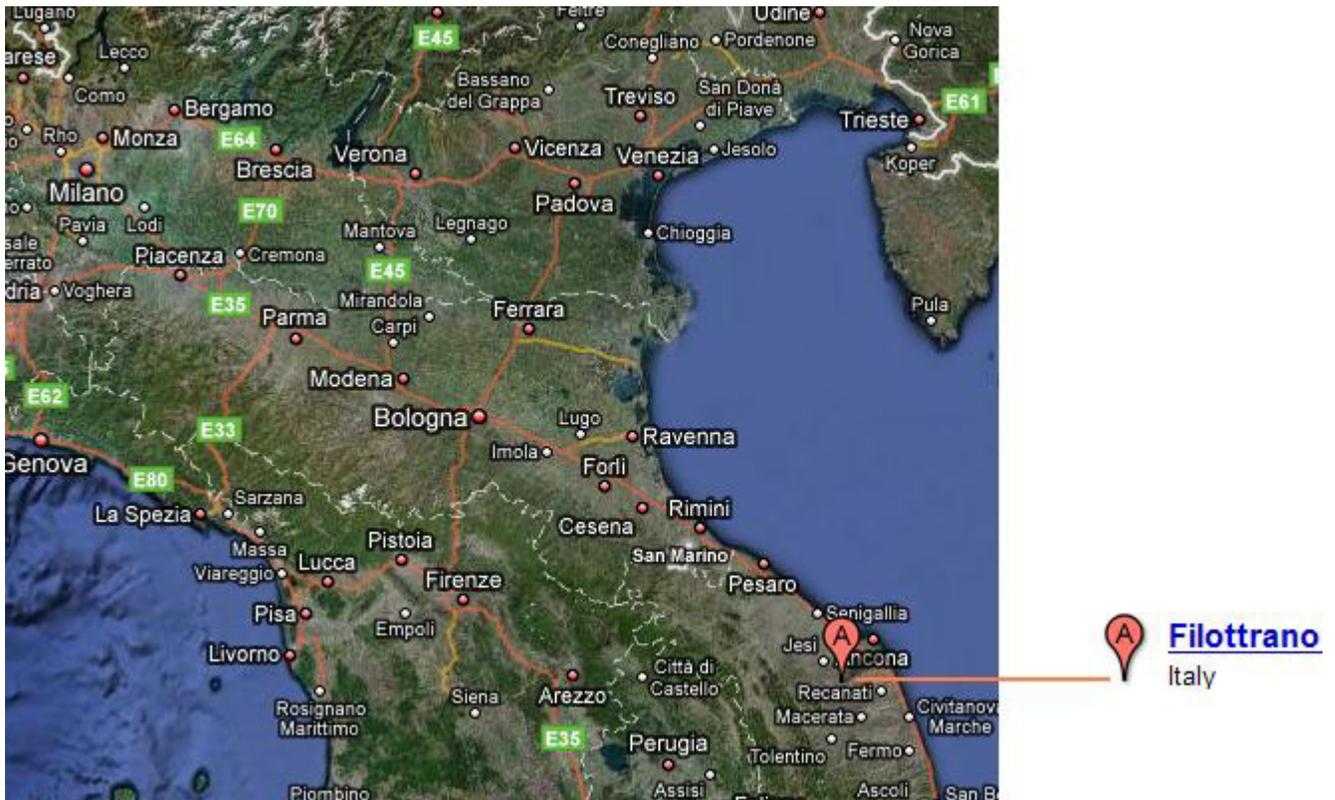
*Don Tirlone*, the *Punch* of Rome, has just come in. This number represents the fortress of Gaëta. Outside hangs a cage containing a parrot (*pappagallo*), the plump body of the bird surmounted by a noble large head with benign face and Papal head-dress. He sits on the perch now with folded wings, but the cage door, in likeness of a portico, shows there is convenience to come forth for the purposes of benediction, when wanted. Outside, the king of Naples, dressed as Harlequin, plays the organ for instruction of the bird (unhappy penitent, doomed to penance), and, grinning with sharp teeth, observes: "He speaks in my way now." In the background a young Republican holds ready the match for a barrel of gunpowder, but looks at his watch, waiting the moment to ignite it.

A happy New Year to my country! may she be worthy of the privileges she possesses, while others are lavishing their blood to win them, – that is all that need be wished for her at present.

**ARTHUR FULLER'S BOOK**

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROME****ROMA****1849**

[Giacomo Costantino Beltrami](#) sold his villa in Germany and returned to his Azienda estate in Filottrano, Ancona, Italy. It would turn out, however, that due to the intransigence of the Roman Catholic hierarchy he would still be unable to get his books published in [Italy](#).



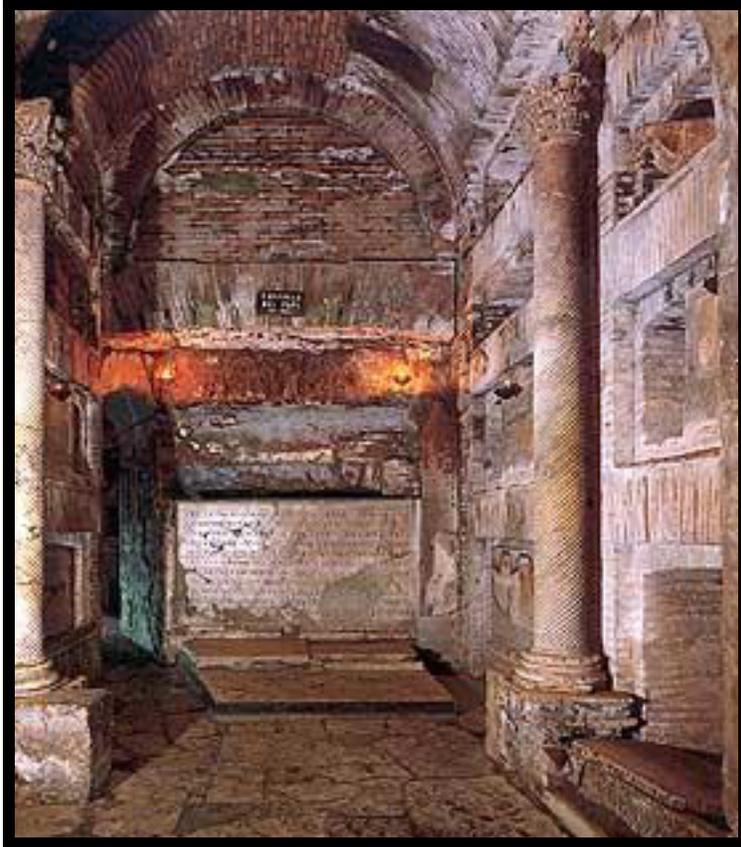
He would take up a mode of life resembling that of the Franciscans and begin to refer to himself as “Fra Giacomo.” For the remainder of his life he would work in his house and garden while residing in a small cell he had constructed in his large palazzo.

Vittorio Emanuele II became King of Sardinia.

Returning to the [Italian](#) peninsula, [Giuseppe Mazzini](#) was welcomed in Tuscany and then, after the Pope had fled, ruled for a short period in [Rome](#).

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROMA****ROME**

The archeologist Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822-1984) discovered a surface clue, in a peasant cottage near [Rome](#), that eventually would lead him to the Tomb of the Popes:



The 18th through the 24th Popes of Rome had been interred here, back at a time in the 3d Century when the Roman papas did not have sovereignty over the papas of other Christian congregations in other cities.

January: The Pope, safe in Gaeta, excommunicated the populace of the city of [Rome](#). His fiat of excommunication with the papal seal was paraded through the streets dangling above a chamber pot. [Margaret Fuller](#) wrote that this piece of silliness was “probably the last document of the kind the world will see.” However, the Pope would summon a French army, the republic would fall, and [Giuseppe Mazzini](#) would again need to flee from the peninsula to London.



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May 11, Friday: [Madame Julie Récamier née Bernard](#) died in Paris, France.

**MADAME RÉCAMIER**

After a cathedral choir concert, Otto Nicolai suffered a stroke and died in Berlin at the age of 38. He never had a chance to learn that earlier in the day he had been elected as a member of the Royal Academy of Arts.

The Schumann family moved into the small village of Kreischa.

[Giuseppe Garibaldi](#) entered [Rome](#).

July 2, Monday: Prussian troops surrounded the revolutionary army in Rastatt. Their cause hopeless, [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#) led his 4,500 men out of [Rome](#) into the Apennine Mountains.

July 3, Tuesday: As French troops entered [Rome](#), [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#) began his retreat across [Italy](#).



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1851

The wealthy Massachusetts sculptor [Horatio Greenough](#) finally returned to his nation, to die, from his artists' colony in [Rome, Italy](#).

February 9, Sunday: [Henry Thoreau](#) wrote something in his journal on this day that Dr. Alfred I. Tauber would consider relevant to an understanding of his attitude toward time and eternity: "My desire for knowledge is intermittent but my desire to commune with the spirit of the universe –to be intoxicated even with the fumes, call it, of that divine nectar –to bear my head through atmospheres and over heights unknown to my feet –is perennial & constant."



February 9, Sunday: The last half of January was warm & thawy. The swift streams were open & the muskrats were seen swimming & diving & bringing up clams leaving their shells on the ice. We had now forgotten summer & autumn, but had already begun to anticipate spring. Fishermen improved the warmer weather to fish for pickerel through the ice– Before it was only the Autumn landscape with a thin layer of snow upon it we saw the withered flowers through it –but now we do not think of autumn when we look on this snow That earth is effectually buried– It is mid winter. Within a few days the cold has set in stronger than ever though the days are much longer now. Now I travel across the fields on the crust which has frozen since the Jan. thaw –& I can cross the river in most places. It is easier to get about the country than at any other season– Easier than in summer because the rivers & meadows are frozen –& there is no high grass or other crops to be avoided –easier than in Dec. before the crust was frozen

Sir John Mandeville says –"In fro what partie of the earth that men dwell, outhr aboven or benethen, it seemeth always to hem that dwellen there, that they gon more right than any other folk."

Again –"And yee shulle undirstonde, that of all these contrees, and of all these yles, and of all the dyverse folk, that I have spoken of before, and of dyverse laws and of dyverse beleeves that thei have, yit is there non of hem alle, but that thei have sum resoun within hem and understandinge, but gif it be the fewere."

I have heard that there is a Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge– It is said that Knowledge is power and the like–

Methinks there is equal need of a society for the diffusion of useful Ignorance –for what is most of our boasted so called knowledge but a conceit that we know something which robs us of the advantages of our actual ignorance–

In What consists the superiority of that

{*One leaf missing*}

auctoritatis. Habemus enim hujusmodi senatûs-consultum, veruntamen inclusum in tabulis, tanquam gladium in vaginâ reconditum; quo ex senatûs-consulto, confestim interfectum te esse, O Business, convenit. Vivis; et vivis, non ad deponendam, sed ad confirmandam, audaciam. Cupio, Patres Conscripti, me esse clementem: cupio in tantis rei-privatae periculis, me non dissolutum videri: sed jam me ipse inertiae nequitiaeque condemno.

Castra sunt in Italiâ, contra rem-privatam, in Etruriae faucibus collocata: crescit in dies singulos hostium numerus: eorum autem imperatorem castrorum, ducemque hostium, intra moenia, atque adeò in senatu, videmus, intestinam aliquam quotidie perniciem rei-privatae molientem."

For a man's ignorance sometimes is not only useful but beautiful while his knowledge is oftentimes worse than useless beside being ugly.

In reference to important things whose knowledge amounts to more than a consciousness of his ignorance Yet what more refreshing & inspiring knowledge than this?

How often are we wise as serpents without being harmless as doves.

Donne says "Who are a little wise the best fools be

Cudworth says "we have all of us by nature **μαντενιά τι** (as both Plato & Aristotle call it) a certain divination, presage and parturient vaticination in our minds, of some higher good & perfection than either power or knowledge." – Aristotle himself declares, that there is **λόγου τι κρείττον**, which is **ισλόγου ἀρχή**.

RALPH CUDWORTH



ROME

ROMA

something better than reason & knowledge, which is the principle and original of all.”  
Lavater says “Who finds the clearest not clear, thinks the darkest not obscure”  
My desire for knowledge is intermittent but my desire to commune with the spirit of the universe –to be intoxicated even with the fumes, call it, of that divine nectar –to bear my head through atmospheres and over heights unknown to my feet –is perennial & constant.  
It is remarkable how few events or crises there are in our minds’ histories– How little *exercised* we have been in our mind –how few experiences we have had I would fain be assured that I am growing apace & rankly – though  
{*Two leaves missing*}  
society –to that culture –that interaction of man on man which is a sort of breeding in & in and produces a merely English nobility a puny & effoete nobility, a civilization which has a speedy limit.  
The story of [Romulus & Remus](#) being suckled by a wolf is not a mere fable; the founders of every state which has risen to eminence have drawn their nourishment and vigor from a similar source. It is because the children of the empire were not suckled by wolves that they were conquered & displaced by the children of the northern forests who were.  
America is the she wolf to day and the children of exhausted Europe exposed on her uninhabited & savage shores are the [Romulus & Remus](#) who having derived new life & vigor from her breast have founded a new Rome in the west.  
It is remarkable how few passages comparatively speaking there are in the best literature of the day which betray any intimacy with nature.  
It is apparent enough to me that only one or two of my townsmen or acquaintances (not more than one in many thousand men in deed –) feel or at least obey any strong attraction drawing them toward the forest or to nature, but all almost without exception gravitate exclusively toward men or society. The young men of Concord and in other towns do not walk in the woods but congregate in shops & offices– They suck one another– Their strongest attraction is toward the mill dam.  
A thousand assemble about the fountain in the public square –the town pump –be it full or dry clear or turbid, every morning but not –one in a thousand is in the meanwhile drinking at that fountain’s head.  
It is hard for the young aye & the old man in the uteskirts to keep away from the Mill dam a whole day –but he will find some excuse as an ounce of cloves that might be wanted or a new England Farmer still in the office –to tackle up the horse –or even go afoot but he will go at some rate– This is not bad comparatively this is because he cannot do better. In spite of his hoeing & chopping he is unexpressed & undeveloped.  
I do not know where to find in any literature whether ancient or modern –any adequate account of that Nature with which I am acquainted. Mythology comes nearest to it of any.  
The actual life of men is not without a dramatic interest at least to the thinker. It is not altogether prosaic. 70,000 pilgrims proceed annually to Mecca from the various nations of Islám. But this is not so significant as the far simpler & more unpretending pilgrimage to the shrines of some obscure individual which yet makes no bustle in the world  
I believe that adam in paradise was not so favorably situated on the whole as is the backwoodsman in America– You all know how miserably the former turned out –or was turned out –but there is some consolation at least in the fact that it yet remains to be seen how the western Adam Adam in the wilderness will turn out –

In Adams fall  
We sinned all.  
In the new Adam’s rise  
We shall all reach the skies.

Infusion of hemlock in our tea, if we must drink tea –not the poison hemlock –but the hemlock spruce I mean –or perchance the Arbor Vitae –the tree of life is what we want.

ARISTOTLE

DIFFERENT  
DRUMMER

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**ROME**



Pilgrim Costumes



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“WALKING”: The West of which I speak is but another name for the Wild; and what I have been preparing to say is, that in Wildness is the preservation of the world. Every tree sends its fibres forth in search of the Wild. The cities import it at any price. Men plow and sail for it. From the forest and wilderness come the tonics and barks which brace mankind. Our ancestors were savages. The story of Romulus and Remus being suckled by a wolf is not a meaningless fable. The founders of every state which has risen to eminence, have drawn their nourishment and vigor from a similar wild source. It is because the children of the empire were not suckled by the wolf that they were conquered and displaced by the children of the northern forests who were.

I believe in the forest, and in the meadow, and in the night in which the corn grows. We require an infusion of hemlock spruce or arbor-vitae in our tea. There is a difference between eating and drinking for strength and from mere gluttony. The Hottentots eagerly devour the marrow of the Koodoo and other antelopes raw, as a matter of course. Some of our northern Indians eat raw the marrow of the Arctic reindeer, as well as various other parts, including the summits of the antlers as long as they are soft. And herein perchance they have stolen a march on the cooks of Paris. They get what usually goes to feed the fire. This is probably better than stall-fed beef and slaughter-house pork to make a man of. Give me a Wildness whose glance no civilization can endure, – as if we lived on the marrow of koodoos devoured raw.

#### ROMULUS AND REMUS

September 2, Tuesday: [Henri-Frédéric Amiel](#), who would be referred to as the “Swiss [Thoreau](#),” wrote in his *JOURNAL INTIME*: “Read the work of Tocqueville (“De la Democratie en Amérique.”) My impression is as yet a mixed one. A fine book, but I feel in it a little too much imitation of Montesquieu. This abstract, piquant, sententious style, too, is a little dry, over-refined and monotonous. It has too much cleverness and not enough imagination. It makes one think, more than it charms, and though really serious, it seems flippant. His method of splitting up a thought, of illuminating a subject by successive facets, has serious inconveniences. We see the details too clearly, to the detriment of the whole. A multitude of sparks gives but a poor light. Nevertheless, the author is evidently a ripe and penetrating intelligence, who takes a comprehensive view of his subject, while at the same time possessing a power of acute and exhaustive analysis.”

[Henry Thoreau](#) studied [Marcus Porcius Cato](#) the Censor’s *DE RE RUSTICA* in *REI RUSTICAE AUCTORES LATINE VETERES, M. CATO, M. VARRO, L. COLVMELLA, PALLADIUS: PRIORES TRES, E VETUSTISS. EDITIONIBUS; QUARTUS, E VETERIBUS MEMBRANIS ALIQUAMMULIS IN LOCIS EMENDATIORES: CUM TRIBUS INDICUBUS, CAPITUM, AUCTORUM, & RERUM AC VERBORUM MEMORABILIMUM ...*



ROMA

ROME



September 2, Tuesday: The dense fog came into my chamber early this morning freighted with light & woke me. It was no doubt lighter at that hour than if there had been no fog.

Not till after several months does an infant find its hands— And it may be seen looking at them with astonishment holding them up to the light—and so also it finds its toes. How many faculties there are which we have never found! Some men methinks have found only their hands & feet—at least I have seen some who appeared never to have found their heads but used them only instinctively—as the negro who butts with his—or the water carrier—who makes a pack horse of his. They have but partially found their heads.

We cannot write well or truly but what we write with gusto. The body the senses must conspire with the spirit— Expression is the act of the whole man. that our speech may be vascular— The intellect is powerless to express thought without the aid of the heart & liver and of every member— Often I feel that my head stands out too dry— when it should be immersed. A writer a man writing is the scribe of all nature—he is the corn & the grass & the atmosphere writing. It is always essential that we love to do what we are doing—do it with a heart. The maturity of the mind however may perchance consist consist with a certain dryness.

There are flowers of thought & there are leaves of thought—most of our thoughts are merely leaves—to which the thread of thought is the stem.

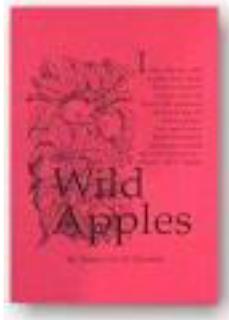
What affinity is it brings the goldfinch [American Goldfinch ■ *Carduleis tristis*] to the sunflower—both yellow—to pick its seeds. Whatever things I perceive with my entire man—those let me record—and it will be poetry. The sounds which I hear with the consent & coincidence of all my senses these are significant & musical— At least they only are heard.

In a day or two the first message will be conveyed or transmitted over the magnetic telegraph through this town—as a thought traverses space—and no citizen of the town shall be aware of it. The atmosphere is full of telegraphs equally unobserved. We are not confined to Moses or Houses or Bain's line—

Raise some sun flowers to attract the goldfinches to feed them as well as your hens. What a broad & loaded bounteously filled platter of food is presented this bon vivant!

Here is one of those thick fogs which last well into the day. While the farmer is concerned about the crops which his fields bear, I will be concerned about the fertility of my human farm— I will watch the winds & the rains as they affect the crop of thought.— the crop of crops ripe thoughts—which glow & rustle—& fill the air with fragrance—for centuries— Is it a drought—how long since we had a rain—what is the state of the springs? Are the low springs high?

I now begin to pluck wild apples—



The difference is not great between some fruits in which the worm is always present and those gall fruits which were produced by the insect.

Old Cato says well—*patrem familias vendacem, non emacem esse oportet*— These Latin terminations express better than any English that I know the greediness as it were & tenacity of purpose with which the husbandman & householder is required to be a seller & not a buyer— —with mastiff like tenacity—these **lipped** words which like the lips of moose & browsing creatures gather in the herbage & twigs with a certain greed. This termination *cious* adds force to a word like the lips of browsing creatures which greedily collect what the jaw holds— — as in the word tenacious the first half represents the jaw which holds the last the lips which collect— It can only be pronounced by a certain opening & protruding of the lips so avaricious— These words express the sense of their simple roots with the addition as it were of a certain lip greediness. hence capacious & capacity—emacity When these expressive words are used the hearer gets something to chew upon. To be a seller with the tenacity & firmness & of the jaws which hold & the greediness of the lips which collect. The audacious man not only dares—but he greedily collects more danger to dare. The avaricious man not only desires & satisfies his desire—but he collects ever new browse in anticipation of his ever springing desires—what is luscious is especially tasted



ROME

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by the lips.

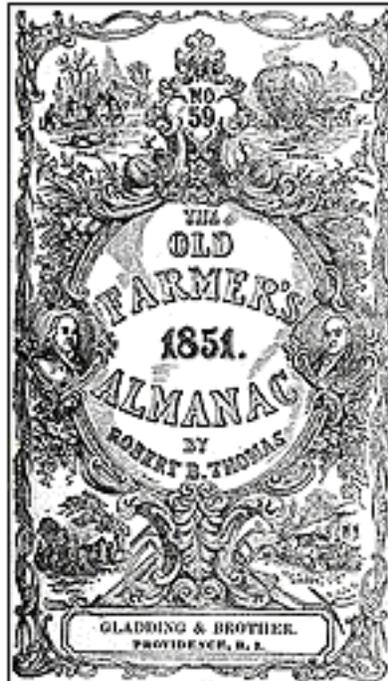
The mastiff mouthed are tenacious. To be a seller with mastiff-mouthed tenacity of purpose—with moose-lipped greediness— To be edacious & voracious is to be not nibbling & swallowing merely—but eating & swallowing while the lips are greedily collecting more food.

There is a reptile in the throat of the greedy man always thirsting & famishing— It is not his own natural hunger & thirst which he satisfies.

The more we know about the ancients the more we find that they were like the moderns. When I read Mar. Cato De Re Rustica a small treatise or Farmer's Manual of those days fresh from the field of Roman life—all reeking with & redolent of the life of those days—containing more indirect history than any of the histories of Rome of direct—all of that time but that time— **Here** is a simple direct pertinent word addressed to the Romans— And where are **the Romans**? Rome and the Romans are commonly a piece of Rhetoric— As if New England had disappeared poetically and there were left—Buel's Farmers Companion or the letters of Solon Robinson— or a volume of extracts from the New England Farmer— Though the Romans are no more but a fable and an ornament of Rhetoric—We have here their New England Farmer the very manual those Roman farmers read— speaking as if they were to hear—it—its voice not silenced As if Rome were still the mistress of the world— As fresh as a dripping dishcloth from a Roman kitchen.— As when you overhaul the correspondence of a man who died 50 years ago—with like surprise—& feelings you overhaul the manuscripts of of the Roman Nation— There exist certain old papers manuscripts—either the originals or faithful & trustworthy old copies of the originals which were left by the Roman people. They have gone their way—but these old papers of all sorts remain. Among them there are some farm journals—or Farm books—just such a collection of Diary & memorandum—as when the cow-calved—& the dimensions with a plan of the barn—& How much paid to Joe Farrar for work done on the farm &c &c as you might find in an old farmers pocketbook today.

Indeed the farmer's was pretty much the same routine then as now.

Cato says “Sterquilinium magnum stude ut habeas. Stercus sedulo conserva, cum exportabis purgato et comminuito. Per autumnum evehito.”— Study to have a great dungheap. Carefully preserve your dung, when you carry it out make clean work of it and break it up fine. Carry it out during the autumn.— Just such directions as you find in the Farmer's almanac today. It reminds me of what I see going on in our fields every



autumn. As if the Farmers of Concord were obeying Cato's directions. And Cato but repeated the maxims of a remote antiquity. Nothing can be more homely & suggestive of the every day life of the Roman agriculturalists—thus supplying the very deficiencies in what is commonly called Roman history—i.e. revealing to us the actual life of the Romans— —the how they got their living and what they did from day to day.



ROMA

ROME

They planted rapa raphanos milium and panicum in low foggy land “ager nebulosus”

I see the farmer now i.e. I shall in Autumn on every side carting out his manure & sedulously making his compost heap—or scattering it over his grass ground and breaking it up with a mallet—and it reminds me of Cato’s advice.— He died 150 years before Christ. Before Christianity was heard of this was done. A Roman family appears to have had a great supply of tubs & kettles.

A fire in the sitting room today— Walk in the afternoon by Walden Road & RR. to Minn’s Place & round it to RR & home. The first coolness is welcome so serious & fertile of thought. My skin contracts & I become more continent. Carried umbrellas— It mizzling. As in the night now in the rain I smell the fragrance of the woods. The Prunella leaves have turned a delicate claret or lake color—by the road side. I am interested in these revolutions as much as in those of kingdoms— Is there not tragedy enough in the autumn?

Walden seems to be going down at last— The pines are dead and leaning red & half upset about its shore. Thus by its rising once in 25 years perchance it keeps an open shore—as if the ice had heaved them over. Found the succory at Minn’s Bridge on R R—& beyond. Query— May not this & the Tree Primrose and other plants be distributed from Boston on the rays of the Railroads—the seeds mixing with the grains & all kinds of dirt & being blown from the passing freight cars?

The feathery tailed fruit of the fertile flowers of the Clematis conspicuous now.

The shorne meadows looked—of a living green as we came home at eve even greener than in spring—the “foenum cordum” the aftermath “sicilimenta de prato” the 2nd mowings of the meadow. this reminds me of—in Cato

September 12, Friday: [Henry Thoreau](#) read the MEMOIRS OF [BENVENUTO CELLINI](#), A FLORENTINE ARTIST; WRITTEN BY HIMSELF. CONTAINING A VARIETY OF INFORMATION RESPECTING THE ARTS AND THE HISTORY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. WITH NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS OF G.P. CARPANI. TRANSLATED BY THOMAS ROSCOE (New-York: Wiley & Putnam, 1845).



CELLINI’S MEMOIRS, I

CELLINI’S MEMOIRS, II

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Compare his journal entry of this day with what he had to say in [WALDEN](#):

[WALDEN](#): Once it chanced that I stood in the very abutment of a rainbow's arch, which filled the lower stratum of the atmosphere, tinging the grass and leaves around, and dazzling me as if I looked through colored crystal. It was a lake of rainbow light, in which, for a short while, I lived like a dolphin. If it had lasted longer it might have tinged my employments and life. As I walked on the railroad causeway, I used to wonder at the halo of light around my shadow, and would fain fancy myself one of the elect. One who visited me declared that the shadows of some Irishmen before him had no halo about them, that it was only natives that were so distinguished. Benvenuto Cellini tells us in his memoirs, that, after a certain terrible dream or vision which he had during his confinement in the castle of St. Angelo, a resplendent light appeared over the shadow of his head at morning and evening, whether he was in Italy or France, and it was particularly conspicuous when the grass was moist with dew. This was probably the same phenomenon to which I have referred, which is especially observed in the morning, but also at other times, and even by moonlight. Though a constant one, it is not commonly noticed, and, in the case of an excitable imagination like Cellini's, it would be basis enough for superstition. Beside, he tells us that he showed it to very few. But are they not indeed distinguished who are conscious that they are regarded at all?

PEOPLE OF  
WALDEN

ROME

ITALY

BENVENUTO CELLINI

HDT

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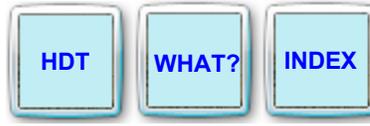
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Travellers upon the top of Ben Lomond startled by seeing their images of colossal size upon a passing cloud.



ROME

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September 12, Friday: Not till after 8 AM does the fog clear off so much that I see the sun shining in patches on Nawshawtuct. This is the season of fogs.

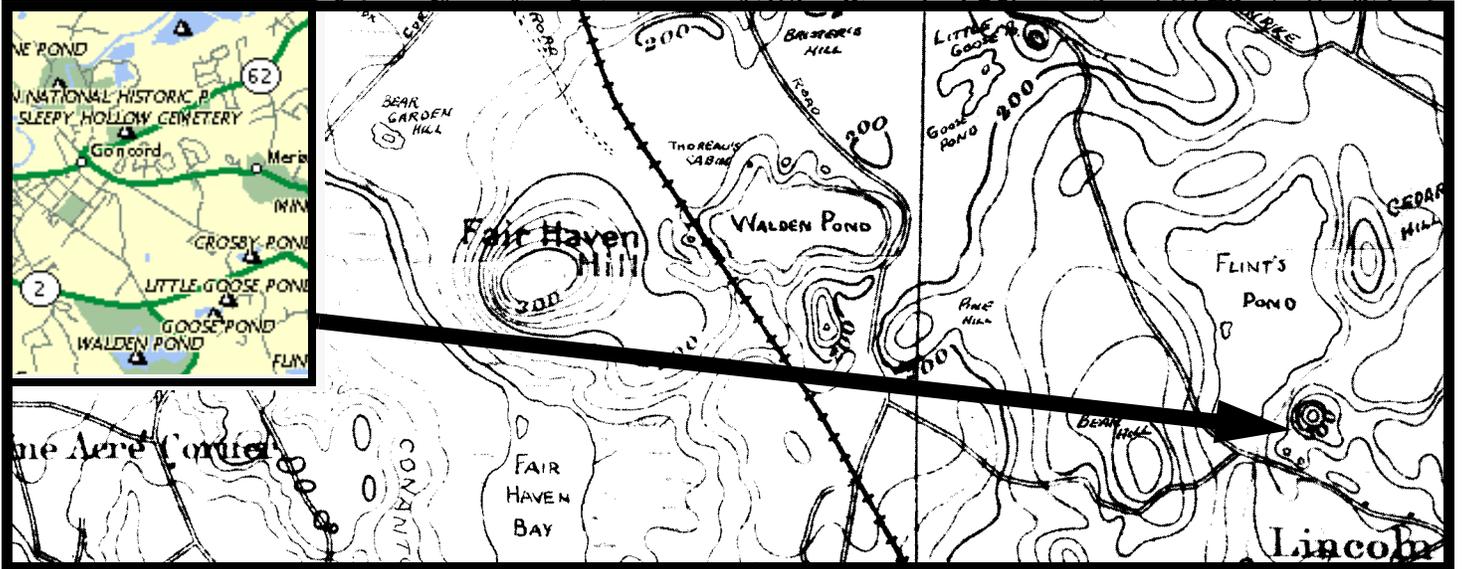
like knight like esquire When Benvenuto Cellini was attacked by the constables in Rome – His boy Cencio assisted him or at least stood by –& afterward related his masters exploits –“& as they asked him several times whether he had been afraid, he answered that they should propose the question to me, for he had been affected upon the occasion just in the same manner that I was.”

Benvenuto Cellini relates in his Memoirs that during his confinement in the Castle of St Angelo in Rome he had a terrible dream or vision in which in which certain events were communicated to him which afterward came to pass –& he adds– “From the very moment that I beheld the phenomenon, there appeared (strange to relate!) a resplendent light over my head, which has displayed itself conspicuously to all that I have thought proper to show it to, but those were very few. This shining light is to be seen in the morning over my shadow till two o’clock in the afternoon, and it appears to the greatest advantage when the grass is moist with dew: it is likewise visible in the evening at sunset. This phenomenon I took notice of when I was at Paris, because the air is exceedingly clear in that climate, so that I could distinguish it there much plainer than in Italy, where mists are much more frequent; but I can still see it even here, and show it to others, though not to the same advantage as in France.” This reminds me of the halo around my Shadow which I notice from the cause way in the morning –also by moonlight– as if in the case of a man of an excitable imagination this were basis enough for his superstition.

ENDYMION

After I have spent the greater part of a night abroad in the moonlight I am obliged to sleep enough more the next night to make up for it –Endymionis somnum dormire –to sleep an Endymion sleep as the ancients expressed it. And there is something gained still by thus turning the day into night. Edymion is said to have obtained of Jupiter the privilege of sleeping as much as he would. Let no man be afraid of sleep – if his weariness comes of obeying his Genius. He who has spent the night with the gods sleeps more innocently by day than the sluggard who has spent the day with the satyrss sleeps by night. He who has travelled to fairy-land in the night – sleeps by day more innocently than he who is fatigued by the merely trivial labors of the day sleeps by night. That kind of life which sleeping we dream that we live awake – in our walks by night, we, waking, dream that

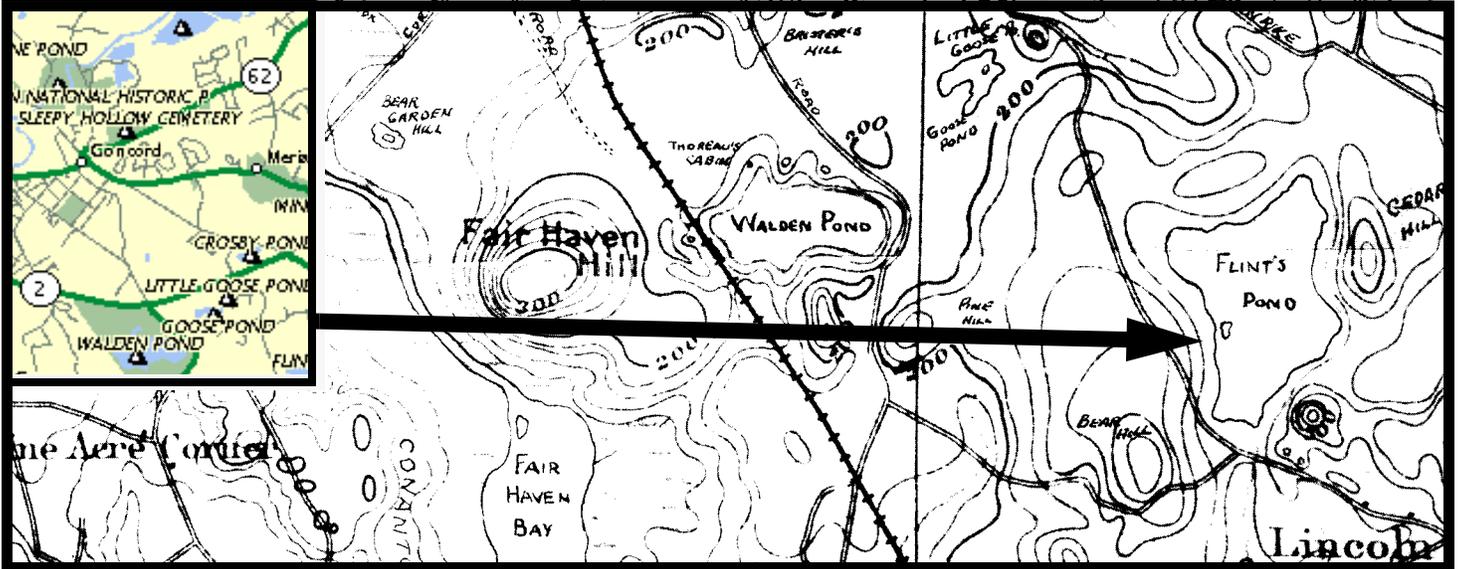
we live, while our daily life appears as a dream.



2 P M To the Three Friends' Hill beyond Flints Pond – via RR. RWEs Wood Path S side Walden – Geo Heywood's Cleared Lot & Smith's orchards – return via E of Flints' P via Goose P & my old home to RR– I go to Flints P. for the sake of the Mt view from the hill beyond looking over Concord. I have thought it the best especially in the winter which I can get in this neighborhood. It is worth the while to see the Mts in the horizon once a day. I have thus seen some earth which corresponds to my least earthly & trivial – to my most heaven-ward looking thoughts– The earth seen through an azure an ethereal veil. They are the natural **temples** elevated brows of the earth – looking at which the thoughts of the beholder are naturally elevated and etherealized. I wish to see the earth through the medium of much air or heaven – for there is no paint like the air. Mts thus seen are worthy of worship. I go to Flints' Pond also to see a rippling lake & a reedy-island in its

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midst – Reed Island.



A man should feed his senses with the best that the land affords

At the entrance to the Deep Cut I heard the telegraph wire vibrating like an Aeolian Harp. It reminded me suddenly – reservedly with a beautiful paucity of communication – even silently, such was its effect on my thoughts – It reminded me, I say, with a certain pathetic moderation – of what finer & deeper stirrings I was susceptible – which grandly set all argument & dispute aside – a triumphant though transient exhibition of the truth. It told me by the faintest imaginable strain – it told me by the finest strain that a human ear can hear – yet conclusively & past all refutation – that there were higher infinitely higher plains of life – which it behoved me never to forget. As I was entering the Dep Cut the wind which was conveying a message to me from heaven dropt it on the wire of the telegraph which it vibrated as it past. I instantly sat down on a stone at the foot of the telegraph pole – & attended to the communication. It merely said “Bear in mind, Child – & never for an instant forget – that there are higher plains infinitely higher plains of life than this thou art now travelling on. Know that the goal is distant & is upward and is worthy all your life’s efforts to attain to.” And then it ceased and though I sat some minutes longer I heard nothing more.

**AEOLIAN HARP**

There is every variety & degree of inspiration from mere fullness of life to the most rapt mood. A human soul is played on even as this wire – which now vibrates slowly & gently so that the passer can hardly hear it & anon the sound swells & vibrates with such intensity as if it would rend the wire – as far as the elasticity & tension of the wire permits – and now it dies away and is silent – & though the breeze continues to sweep over it, no strain comes from it – & the traveller hearkens in vain. It is no small gain to have this wire stretched through Concord though there may be no Office here. Thus I make my own use of the telegraph – without consulting the Directors – I like the sparrows which I perceive use it extensively for a perch.

Shall I not go to this office to hear if there is any communication for me – as steadily as to the Post office in the village?

I can hardly believe that there is so great a difference between one year & another as my journal shows.

The 11th of this month last year the river was as high as it commonly is in the spring – over the causeway on the Corner Road. It is now quite low. Last year Oct 9th the huckleberries were fresh & abundant on Conantum – They are now already dried up.

We yearn to see the Mts daily – as the Israelites yearned for the Promised land – & we daily live the fate of Moses who only looked into the Promised land from Pisgah before he died.

On Monday the 15th instant I am going to perambulate the bounds of the town. As I am partial to across-lot routes, this appears to be a very proper duty for me to perform, for certainly no route can – well be chosen which shall be more across lot – since the roads in no case run round the town but ray out from its center, and my course will lie across each one. It is almost as if I had undertaken to walk round the town at the greatest distance from its centre & at the same time from the surrounding villages. There is no public house near the line. It is a sort of reconnaissance of its frontiers authorized by the central government of the town – which will bring



ROMA

ROME

the surveyor in contact with whatever wild inhabitant or wilderness its territory embraces  
This appears to be a very ancient custom. And I find that this word perambulation has exactly the same meaning that it has at present in Johnson & Walkers dictionary– A hundred years ago they went round the towns of this state every three years. And the old select men tell me that before the present split stones were set up in 1829, the bounds were marked by a heap of stones, and it was customary for each select man to add a stone to the heap. Saw a pigeon place on Geo. Heywoods cleared lot – the six dead trees set up for the pigeons [**American Passenger Pigeon** █ *Ectopistes migratorius*] to alight on, and the brush-house close by to conceal the man. I was rather startled to find such a thing going now in Concord– The pigeons on the trees looked like fabulous birds with their long tails & their pointed breasts I could hardly believe they were alive & not some wooden birds used for decoys – they sat so still – and even When they moved their necks I thought it was the effect of art. As they were not catching them I approached & scared away a dozen birds who were perched on the trees and found that they were freshly baited there – though the net was carried away – perchance to some other bed. The smooth sandy bed was covered with buckwheat – wheat or rye – & acorns – sometimes they use corn shaved off the ear in its present state with a knife– – There were left the sticks with which they fastened the necks– As I stood there I heard a rushing sound & looking up saw a flock of 30 or 40 pigeons dashing toward the trees, who suddenly whirled on seeing me & circled round & made a new dash toward the bed as if they would fain alight if I had not been there – then steered off. I went into the bough-house & lay awhile looking through the leaves – hoping to see them come again & feed – but they did not while I stayed. This net & bed belongs to one Harrington of Weston as I hear– Several men still take pigeons in Concord every year. By a method methinks extremely old – and which I seem to have seen pictured in some old book of fables or symbols – & yet few in Concord know exactly how it is done. And yet it is all done for money & because the birds fetch a good price – just as the farmers raise corn & potatoes. I am always expecting that those engaged in such a pursuit will be somewhat less grovelling & mercenary than the regular trader or farmer, but I fear that it is not so. Found a violet – apparently *viola cucullata* or hoodleaved violet in bloom in Bakers meadow beyond Pine Hill. Also the *bidens cernua* Nodding Burr-marygold with 5 petals – in same place. Went through the old cornfield on the hill side beyond now grown up to birches & hickories. Woods where you feel the old corn hills under your feet –f or these not being disturbed or levelled in getting the crop like potatoe hills last an indefinite while – & by some they are called Indian corn fields – though I think erroneously not only from their position in rocky soil frequently – but because the squaws probably with their clam shells or thin stones or wooden hoes did not hill their corn more than many now recommend.

JAMES BAKER

What we call woodbine is the *vitis hederacea* or Common creeper or American ivy.  
When I got into the Lincoln road I perceived a singular sweet scent in the air – which I suspected arose from from some plant now in a peculiar state owing to the season, but though I smell everything around I could not detect it, but the more eagerly I smelled the further I seemed to be from finding it – but when I gave up the search – again it would be wafted to me– It was one of the sweet scents which go to make the autumn air – which fed my sense of smell rarely & dilated my nostrils– I felt the better for it. Methinks that I possess the sense of smell in greater perfection than usual–& have the habit of smelling of every plant I pluck. How autumnal is the scent of ripe grapes now by the roadside! From the pondside hill I perceive that the forest leaves begin to look rather rusty or brown. The pendulous drooping barberries are pretty well reddened. I am glad when the berries look fair & plump. I love to gaze at the low island in the Pond – at any island or inaccessible land. The isle at which you look always seems fairer than the main-land on which you stand.  
I had already bathed in Walden as I passed, but now I forgot that I had been wetted & wanted to embrace & mingle myself with the water of Flints pond – this warm afternoon – to get wet inwardly & deeply.  
Found on the shore of the Pond that singular willow like herb in blossom – though its petals were gone. It grows up 2 feet from a large woody horizontal root & droops over to the sand again – meeting which it puts out a myriad rootlets from the side of its stem – fastens itself & curves upward again to the air– –thus spanning or looping itself along. The bark just above the ground thickens into a singular cellular or spongy substance which at length appears to crack nearer the earth giving that part of the plant a winged appearance & some what 4 sided It appears to be the cellular tissue or what is commonly called the green bark – & like-wise invests the root to a great thickness – somewhat like a fungus & is of a fawn color The *Lythrum verticillatum* or swamp Loosestrife – or Grass Poly – but I think better named as in Dewey Swamp-willow herb– The *Prinos* berries are pretty red.  
Any redness like cardinal flowers or poke – or the evening sky or *Cheronea* excites us as a red flag does cows & turkies.



ROME

ROMA

In general, for this Brocken phenomenon, refer to Irwin, John T. AMERICAN HIEROGLYPHICS: THE SYMBOL OF THE EGYPTIAN HIEROGLYPHICS IN THE AMERICAN RENAISSANCE. New Haven CT: Yale UP, 1980. Here is what Jerry Dennis has had to offer in IT'S RAINING FROGS AND FISHES: FOUR SEASONS OF NATURAL PHENOMENA AND ODDITIES OF THE SKY (Illustrations by Glenn Wolff. NY: HarperCollins Publishers, 1992, pages 156-7):

An odd halo phenomenon sometimes occurs in early morning when the sun is just up and a closely trimmed lawn is soaked with dew. To observe it, stand with your back to the sun, so that your shadow is cast across the damp grass. If conditions are right a luminous white halo will surround the head of your shadow, creating an effect eerily reminiscent of the halos said to surround the heads of saints. Thoreau noticed it near his cabin on Walden Pond: "As I walked on the railroad causeway, I used to wonder at the halo of light around my shadow, and would fain fancy myself one of the elect." The halo, known as a dew halo or heiligenschein (German for "holy shining"), is startling enough to have caused the immodest sixteenth-century sculptor Benvenuto Cellini to imagine he had been sainted, or at least given divine reward for his genius. Unfortunately for Benvenuto, dew halos, while certainly not an everyday occurrence, can appear over the heads of saints and sinners alike. They form when sunlight, streaming past a viewer's head, strikes dewdrops. In much the same way that rainbows are formed, light penetrates each drop, is bent slightly, then reflects off the rear of the drop back to the viewer. A similar phenomenon frightened the climbing shorts off early mountaineers who reached the fog-shrouded peak called Broken, in Germany's Hartz Mountains. Frightened climbers returned from the mountain and told of a bizarre apparition they had seen climbing along with them near the peak. The stories were quickly added to ancient legends of the Broken peak of the Hartz Mountains as the place where witches gathered on Walpurgis night, a legend Goethe used in the witches' sabbath scene in *FAUST*. The apparition, dubbed the "Brocken specter," proved to be the climbers' own shadows enlarged and cast on clouds of fog banks above, below, or beside them. The dispersal of light in water droplets within the fog sometimes cause the shadows to be ringed with a colorful glory, or "Brocken bow," draping the specter in rainbowlike colors and adding to the eerie effect. Glories are refraction phenomena most commonly seen when you stand facing mist or a bank of fog with the sun behind you, and your shadow is cast against the white screen of the fog. The glory appears around the head of your shadow as a series of colored rings. They are also commonly seen from aircraft, when the shadow of the craft is visible on clouds below.



ROMA

ROME

MEMOIRS  
OF  
BENVENUTO CELLINI,  
A Florentine Artist ;  
WRITTEN BY HIMSELF :  
CONTAINING  
A VARIETY OF INFORMATION RESPECTING THE ARTS,  
AND THE  
HISTORY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.  
NOW FIRST COLLATED WITH THE NEW TEXT OF GUISEPPE MOLINI,  
AND CORRECTED AND ENLARGED FROM THE LAST  
MILAN EDITION,  
WITH  
NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS OF G. P. CARPANI.  
TRANSLATED BY THOMAS ROSCOE.

---

" Cellini was one of the most extraordinary men of an extraordinary age ; his life, written by himself, is more amusing than any novel I know." — HORACE WALPOLE.

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LONDON :  
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.  
1847.

HDT

WHAT?

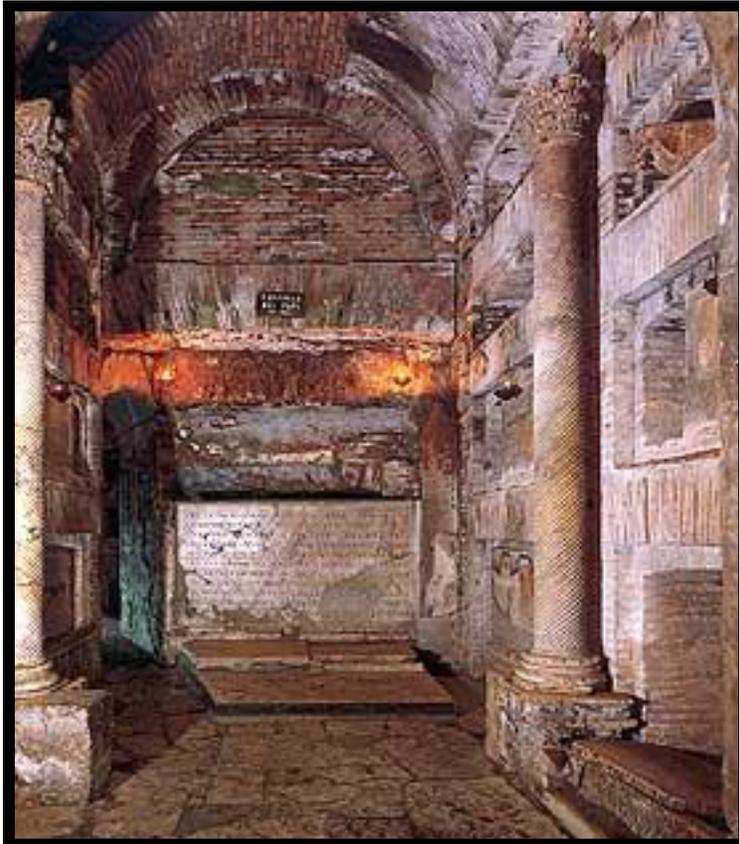
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ROME

ROMA

1854

The archeologist Giovanni Battista de Rossi (1822-1984) put on display the Tomb of the Popes, discovered in a catacomb near [Rome](#):



The 18th through the 24th Papas of Rome had been interred here, back at a time in the 3d Century when the Roman papas did not have sovereignty over the papas of other Christian congregations in other cities.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

Fall: Due to the illness of his wife [Virginia Young Roberts](#), the Reverend [Issachar J. Roberts](#) 罗孝全 was forced to abandon his plan to proceed from [Shanghai](#) to Nanking. The family returned to the United States.

Chacón surrendered himself.

At the convention of the American Unitarian Association, the Reverend Samuel Joseph May was at the point of acknowledging that although he believed that Jesus had counseled nonresistance, the American institution of chattel servitude had brought him to a point at which he personally could no longer obey Jesus, or insist upon obedience by the oppressed.

In his newspaper [The Citizen](#), John Mitchel had the unwisdom to take on the Catholic hierarchy of New-York by averring that the Pope should not be allowed to return to power in [Rome](#), Italy — this newspaper was doomed.



ROME

ROMA

1857

Spring: Bishop James R. Bayley invited the [Redemptorists](#) to establish their English-speaking religious house in Newark but when Father Clarence Walworth communicated this to Father George Ruland, he not only repudiated it on account of its “laxity and nationalism” but also wrote off to the [Catholic](#) congregation’s headquarters in [Rome](#) to have them repudiate it as well. Indignant at this misrepresentation of their goal and their motives, the dissident priests delegated Father [Isaac Hecker](#) to plead their case in person in Rome, before Father Nicholas Mauron, the rector major of the Redemptorist Fathers, but then Father George Ruland **of course** refused permission for Father Thomas to go over his head to Rome. This manifested itself as a dispute over the interpretation of a Redemptorist writing in regard to rights of direct access to the superior general of the order.

August 5, Wednesday: The Atlantic cable.

Believing the journey to be both within the rules and in the best interests of the [Redemptorist](#) order despite the opposition of the superior, [Isaac Hecker](#)’s brother George gave him some bakery money and Father Thomas sailed for Europe. On this day of departure his mentor, [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#), posted one final letter of encouragement to him. In his luggage he carried a number of letters of recommendation from foremost members of the American hierarchy, and in addition from outstanding laypersons such as Brownson, Dr. Levi Silliman Ives, and Louis B. Binsse. When [Father Thomas](#) would present himself in [Rome](#), the church authorities wouldn’t even wait for him to open his mouth. He would be summarily informed that his abandonment of his post in America had amounted to a violation not only of his vow of obedience but also of his vow of poverty, he would be summarily dismissed from the ordered community, and he would be peremptorily instructed in effect “You, outa here!” At this point the only thing the defrocked Hecker would have going for him was the fact that the American continents were classified as missionary territory. He could appeal to the Cardinal Alessandro Barnabo, the prefect of the Sacred Congregation of the Propagation of the Faith whose jurisdiction over missionary territory included the Church in the USA. The secretary in that office, Archbishop Gaetano Bedini, of course sympathized with his plight –which would have been ridiculously extreme even in the days when Christians went to Rome to attend the Circus in the Colosseum– and Hecker would be shown how to prepare the necessary legal brief laying out his basis for a direct appeal to Pope Pius IX. This was obviously gonna take a while, so, to kill time in Rome, Hecker would write for the benefit of Vatican officials about the state of affairs in the New World “missions.” At first he would merely be attempting to put his mentor [Brownson](#)’s essay “Mission of America” into the Italian, but he would end up writing a fresh piece, anonymous of course, for *Civiltà Cattolica*. In this opinion piece he would plump for the problematic notions that a.) a free man tends to be a good Catholic, and that b.) a free nation tends to be the most promising field for apostolic zeal.

The record indicates that Hecker was unable to persuade Il Papa of the advantages of religious freedom. –Quite to the contrary, the head of the [Roman Catholic Church](#) would point out to Hecker that already

*in the United States there exists a too unrestricted freedom;  
all the refugees and revolutionists gather there.*



ROMA

ROME

September 1, Tuesday: Father [Isaac Hecker](#), CSSR, wrote to [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#) from [Rome](#).



September 1, Tuesday: P.M. –To Fair Haven Pond by boat.

Landing at Bittern Cliff, I see that fine purple grass; how long? At Baker’s shore, I at length distinguished fairly the *Sagittaria simplex*, which I have known so long, the small one with simple leaves. But this year there are very few of them, being nearly drowned out by the high water.

**JAMES BAKER**

On the west side of Fair Haven Pond, an abundance of the *Utricularia purpurea* and of the whorled, etc., whose finely dissected leaves are a rich sight in the water. Again I observe that the heart-leaf, as it decays, preserves fresh and green for some time within, or in its centre, a finely dissected green leaf, suggesting that it has passed through this stage in its development. Immersed leaves often present this form, but [it] seems that even emersed ones remember it. High blackberries are still in their prime on Lee’s Cliff, but huckleberries soft and wormy, many of them.

I have finally settled for myself the question of the two varieties of *Polygonum amphibium*. I think there are not even two varieties. As formerly, I observe again to-day a *Polygonum amphibium* extending from the shore six feet into the water. In the water, of course, the stem is prostrate, rank, and has something serpent-like in its aspect. From the shore end rise erect flowering branches whose leaves are more or less roughish and prickly on the midrib beneath. On the water end the leaves are long-petioled, heart-shaped, and perfectly smooth. Vide a specimen pressed. I have seen this same plant growing erect in the driest soil, by the roadside, and it ranges from this quite into the water.

October 24, Saturday: Father [Isaac Hecker](#) wrote to [Orestes Augustus Brownson](#) from [Rome](#).



October 24, Saturday: P.M. –To Smith’s chestnut grove.

Rain last night, raising the springs a little. To-day and yesterday still, gray days, but not cold. The sugar maple leaves are now falling fast.

I get a couple of quarts of chestnuts by patiently brushing the thick beds of leaves aside with my hand in successive concentric circles till I reach the trunk; more than half under one tree. I believe I get more by resolving, where they are reasonably thick, to pick all under one tree first. Begin at the tree and brush the leaves with your right hand in toward the stump, while your left holds the basket, and so go round and round it in concentric circles, each time laying bare about two feet in width, till you get as far as the boughs extend. You may presume that you have got about all then. It is best to reduce it to a system. Of course you will shake the tree first, if there are any on it. The nuts lie commonly two or three together, as they fell. I find on a chestnut tree, while shaking it, fifteen or twenty feet high, on the bark of the trunk, a singular green



kind of slug nearly half an inch long, of this form, and about three sixteenths high from the paper up, narrower on back, as appears in sketch; a brown mark across middle of back and near tail as drawn (only full). It can elongate itself and also run out its head a little from beneath this soft kind of shell. Beneath, quite flat and fleshy-ribbed. Climbs up glass slowly but easily. Reminds me of a green beechnut, but flat-backed. Would hardly suspect it to have life at first sight. Sticks very firmly to the bark or glass; hard to be pushed aside.

I find one of those small, hard, dark-brown millipede worms partly crawled into a hole in a chestnut.

I read of an apple tree in this neighborhood that had blossomed again about a week ago.

I find my account in this long-continued monotonous labor of picking chestnuts all the afternoon, brushing the leaves aside without looking up, absorbed in that, and forgetting better things awhile. My eye is educated to discover anything on the ground, as chestnuts, etc. It is probably wholesomer to look at the ground much than at the heavens. As I go stooping and brushing the leaves aside by the hour, I am not thinking of chestnuts merely, but I find myself humming a thought of more significance. This occupation affords a certain broad pause and opportunity to start again afterward, –turn over a new leaf.





**ROME**

***ROMA***

I hear the dull thump of heavy stones against the trees from far through the rustling wood, where boys are ranging for nuts.

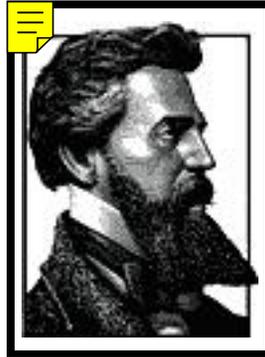


**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1858**

[Herman Melville](#) continuing on tour abroad, visited [Italy](#), [Switzerland](#), [Germany](#), and the Netherlands, returned to England, and sailed for home. In the US again, he lectured on topics such as “Statues in Rome.”



Speaking of statues in Rome, here is Harriet Goodhue Hosmer's marble confection "Will-o-the-Wisp," done in her Rome studios during this year:



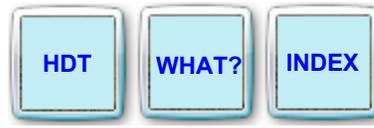
(One wishes that someone had suggested she do it in butter, or sugar or anything more or less edible.)

October: Upon the return of the Hawthornes from their summer in Florence, to Rome, they were visited by Cephas Thompson (the painter who had been commissioned to paint Hawthorne upon his entry to fame with the publication of THE SCARLET LETTER; OR, THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS OF A DECAPITATED SURVEYOR in 1850) bearing some sort of scandalous story about the sculptress Maria Louisa Lander. Whatever the nature of this story, Hawthorne recorded only "What a pity!" in his diary. From a remark made by her cousin John Rogers, the story may have been to the effect that she had, before "respectable" viewers, immodestly "exposed herself



as a model."

At any rate, the community of American artists in Rome set up a "court of inquiry" to look into the substance of this story, a court of inquiry headed by William Wetmore Story. Lander refused to cooperate with this unofficial committee of her peers. The fact that the married Nathaniel Hawthorne, fully two decades her



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senior, had been visiting her repeatedly alone in her studio, and the fact that his marble bust displayed him with his shoulders and chest exposed, was definitely not lost on anyone in the Roman expat community. Nathaniel began to take steps to separate himself insofar as possible from such scandal. One of the tactics the family would utilize would be to suggest that the naked flesh of the bust, rather than being part of the original design, had been brought about by a certain “person of culture” who had demanded on his own authority that the workers make “certain alterations” during the carving of the marble. Then, when “Miss Lander & her sister” came to visit the Hawthornes in Roma, they “were not admitted” on their first visit –nor on their return on the subsequent day –nor on a 3d attempt. The Hawthorne family consented only to receive the letters which the Lander sisters had carried from America, such as a letter from [Henry Wadsworth Longfellow](#). Hawthorne wrote them a letter telling them how pleased he was to be informed that “some (he hopes many) of Miss Louisa Lander’s friends are convinced of the purity of her life and character,” but in this letter he referred to himself and his family as “her former friends.” He urged her to “throw her life open to the world ... at once” and declared that he “would most gladly be enabled again to think and speak as highly of her as he had done hitherto.” But in the meanwhile, they informed her, she might be “assured of Mr Hawthorne’s silence on this painful subject.” The sculptor, who never made any response to the rumors, soon left Italy, and she lived until the age of 97 in the city of [Washington DC](#).

[Sojourner Truth](#) was speaking against slavery in Silver Lake, Indiana when a group of Democrats led by T.W. Strain made the tactical error of accusing her of being a man in drag.<sup>41</sup> Ever the showman, she bared her breasts:

41. It must be borne in mind that just about any woman addressing a group in this era would have been suspect in such a manner, since raising one’s voice in public was exceedingly unusual and unprecedented, even non-feminine. Thus it came about that the preacher Harriet Livermore was suspected of being a man in drag, the antislavery lecturer Frances Ellen Watkins Harper was suspected of being a man in drag, and even the actress Rachel of the *Comédie Française* was suspected of being a man in drag.



ROME

ROMA

Silver Lake, Kosciusko Co., Ind.  
October 4th, 1858

Editor of Northern Indianian

Sir:

**SOJOURNER TRUTH**, an elderly colored woman well known throughout the Eastern States, is now holding a series of Anti-Slavery meetings in Northern Indiana. Sojourner comes well recommended by Harriet Beecher Stowe and others, and was welcomed and received by the friends of the slave in this locality. Her progress in knowledge, truth, and righteousness is very remarkable, especially so, when we consider her former low position as a slave....

The Slave Democracy of Indiana, however, appear to be jealous and suspicious of every Anti-Slavery movement. A rumor was circulated that Sojourner was an impostor; that she was, indeed, a man disguised in woman's clothing....

At her third appointed meeting in this vicinity, which was held in the meeting house of the United Brethren, a large number of Democrats and ... pro-slavery persons were present, and at the close of the meeting Dr. T.W. Strain, the mouthpiece of the Slave Democracy, called upon the large congregation to "hold on," stating that a doubt existed in the minds of many persons present respecting the sex of the speaker, and that it was his impression that a majority believed the speaker to be a man, and also proposed that Sojourner should show her breasts to some of the ladies present, so that by their testimony the doubt might solved.

A large number of ladies were present, who were ashamed and indignant at the Doctor's proposition.

Dr. Strain further said (which was not believed by the friends of the Slave) that it was particularly for the speaker's sake that he made this demand....

Confusion and uproar ensued. A gun or pistol was fired near the door. However, the tumult was soon suppressed by Sojourner rising in all the dignity of womanhood, and demanded why they suspected her "to be a man?" and was answered, "your voice is not the voice of a woman; it is the voice of a man."

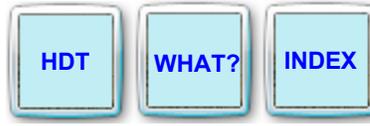
Sojourner told them that her "breasts had suckled many a white babe; that some of those babes had grown up to man's estate, and that they were far more manly than they (her persecutors) appeared to be."

In vindication of her truthfulness, she told them that she would show her breasts to the whole congregation; that it was not to her shame but to their shame, that she uncovered her breasts before them. Two young men, viz.: A. Badgely and J. Hamar voluntarily stepped forward to the examination. As Sojourner disrobed her bosom, she quietly asked them if they too "wished to suck." As she presented her naked breast to the gaze of the audience, a Democrat cried out, "Why, it is a sow, for I see the teat." ...

As "the agitation of thought is the beginning of wisdom," we hope that Indiana will yet be redeemed.

Respectfully,  
William Hayward

Two young men in the audience attempted to shield her from the crowd, but evidently were not entirely successful in this — for one of the Democrats instantly cried out "Why, it does look like an old sow's teat!"



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Her biographer Mabee has commented, in regard to this, that:

### Carleton Mabee's SOJOURNER TRUTH

Truth was not forced to respond to the rude challenge as she did. She could have refused to respond at all. She could have responded only verbally, or she could have consented to show her breasts only privately, to a few women.

Truth's showing her breasts to the whole audience is startling. Despite her general inclination to choose modest dress, when the occasion seemed to her to demand it, she was able quickly, apparently without hesitation, to abandon modesty about dress, to say the least. She could express her anger dramatically, seemingly without inhibitions. Evidently her experience of slavery and poverty, her feminist outlook, and her biblically based contempt for the world, had readied her to flout the stereotype of what modest femininity meant, and to do it with poise.

October 26, Tuesday: [Nathaniel Hawthorne](#) visited the studio of Randolph Rogers in [Roma](#) and viewed bas-reliefs for bronze doors currently in preparation. This would be material for THE MARBLE FAUN.



October 26, 1858: The sugar maples are about bare, except a few small ones.

Minott remembers how he used to chop beech wood. He says that when frozen it is hard and brittle just like glass, and you must look out for the chips, for, if they strike you in the face, they will cut like a knife.

He says that some call the stake-driver "belchersquelcher," and some, "wollerkertoot." I used to call them "pump-er-gor." Some say "slug-toot."

The largest scarlet oak that I remember hereabouts stands by the penthorum pool in the Sleepy Hollow cemetery, and is now in its prime. I found the sap was flowing fast in it.<sup>42</sup>White birches, elms, chestnuts, *Salix alba* (small willows), and white maple are a long time falling. The scarlet oak generally is not in prime till now, or even later.

I wear a thicker coat, my single thick fall coat, at last, and begin to feel my fingers cool early and late.

One shopkeeper has hung out woollen gloves and even thick buckskin mittens by his door, foreseeing what his customers will want as soon as it is finger-cold, and determined to get the start of his fellows.

GEORGE MINOTT

42. Also in another Nov. 2d. It had a pleasant acorn-like taste.



ROME

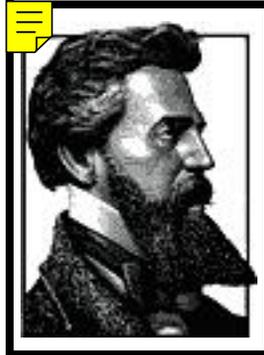
ROMA

1859

[Mr William White Cooper](#)'s ON WOUNDS AND INJURIES OF THE EYE, the initial ophthalmic textbook in English devoted to injuries of the eye. He was appointed Surgeon-Oculist in Ordinary to [Queen Victoria](#).

During the first few months of this year, Victoria's son [Albert Edward](#) was making an educational trip to [Rome](#). Then he spent the summer studying under Lyon Playfair and others at the University of Edinburgh in preparation for matriculating in October at [Christ Church, Oxford](#).

[Herman Melville](#) was still lecturing on topics such as "Statues in [Rome](#)" and "The South Seas" when, in this year, a harpoon finally hit a vital area in Mocha Dick, an actual sperm whale that over the years had caused the actual deaths of more than 30 whaling men. During this year, also, the Reverend Henry Whitney Bellows of All Souls Church in New-York, Unitarian minister of Herman and Elizabeth Melville, went to the [Harvard Divinity School](#) without a harpoon to lecture a select group of alumni about "The Suspense of Faith."





ROMA

ROME

1860

Use of the [guillotine](#) ceased in the Papal States near [Rome](#), and in the kingdoms of Piedmont and Bourbon [Naples](#). (You don't suppose, do you, that they might have come, after due reflection, to think of this sort of activity as somewhat inconsistent with the spirit of Jesus Christ?)

HEADCHOPPING

 April 21, Saturday: The Reverend [Theodore Parker](#) relocated from [Rome](#) to Firenze, [Italy](#).

October 23, Tuesday: Efram Nute, Jr. wrote from Medford, Massachusetts to Charles Wesley Slack, accepting an invitation to speak. He planned to provide his audience with his reminiscences of [Italy](#) (especially [Rome](#) and Firenze).



October 23. Anthony Wright tells me that he cut a pitch pine on Damon's land between the Peter Haynes road and his old farm, about '41, in which he counted two hundred and seventeen rings, which was therefore older than Concord, and one of the primitive forest. He tells me of a noted large and so-called primitive wood, Inches Wood, between the Harvard turnpike and Stow, sometimes called Stow Woods, in Boxboro and Stow. Also speaks of the wood north of Wetherbee's mill near Annurnsnack and belonging to W., as large and old, if not cut.

Melvin thinks that a fox would not on an average weigh more than ten pounds. Says that he saw a flock of brant yesterday by day. (Rarely seen by day or even by night here.) He says that Hildreth collects moss (probably cladonia) from the rocks for kindling.

There is no such mortality in nobler seeds—seeds of living creatures, as eggs of birds, for instance—as I have noticed in white oak acorns. What if the eggs of any species of bird should be added to this extent, so that it should be hard to find a sound one? In Egypt, where they hatch eggs artificially in an oven, they can afford to return one chicken for every two eggs they receive (and do so) and yet find it profitable. It is true one third of human infants are said to die before they are five years old, but even this is a far less mortality than that of the acorns. The oak is a scarce bearer, yet it lasts a good while.

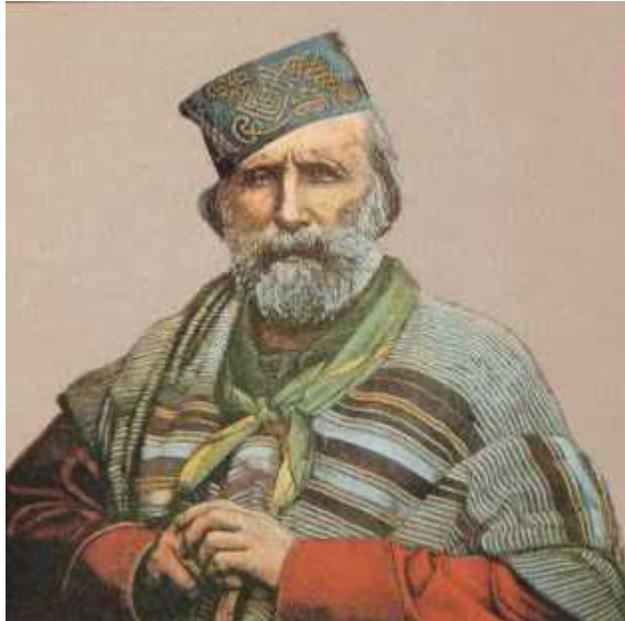
More or less rain to-day and yesterday.



ROME

ROMA

November 9, Saturday: [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#) and two close friends left [Naples](#) for his home in Caprera and intended obscurity. In spite of many successes he was bitter over the fact that he had failed to include [Rome](#) in the Kingdom of [Italy](#).



November 9: [Vide also November 16.] 12 M.—To Inches' Woods in Boxboro.

This wood is some one and three quarters miles from West Acton, whither we went by railroad. It is in the east part of Boxboro, on both sides of the Harvard turnpike. We walked mostly across lots from West Acton to a part of the wood about half a mile north of the turnpike,—and the woods appeared to reach as much further north. We then walked in the midst of the wood in a southwesterly by west direction, about three quarters of a mile, crossing the turnpike west of the maple swamp and the brook, and thence south by east nearly as much [QUERIED IN PENCIL] more,—all the way in the woods, and chiefly old oak wood. The old oak wood, as we saw from the bare hill at the south end, extends a great deal further west and northwest, as well as north, than we went, and must be at least a mile and a half [QUERIED IN PENCIL] from north to south by a mile to a mile and a quarter [QUERIED IN PENCIL] possibly from east to west. Or there may be a thousand [four or five hundred] acres [vide (PAGE 227)] of old oak wood. The large wood is chiefly oak, and that white oak, though black, red, and scarlet oak are also common. White pine is in considerable quantity, and large pitch pine is scattered here and there, and saw some chestnut at the south end. Saw no hemlock or birch to speak of.

Beginning at the north end of our walk, the trees which I measured were (all at three feet from ground except when otherwise stated): a black oak, ten feet [IN] circumference, trunk tall and of regular form; scarlet oak, seven feet three inches, by Guggins Brook; white oak, eight feet; white oak, ten feet, forks at ten feet; white oak, fifteen feet (at two and a half feet, bulging very much near ground; trunk of a pyramidal form; first branch at sixteen feet; this just north of turnpike and near Guggins Brook); white oak, nine feet four inches (divides to two at five feet); white oak, nine feet six inches (divides to two at five feet); red oak, eight feet (south of road); white pine, nine feet; a scarlet or red oak stump cut, twenty and a half inches [IN] diameter, one hundred and sixty rings.

I was pleased to find that the largest of the white oaks, growing thus in a dense wood, often with a pine or other tree within two or three feet, were of pasture oak size and even form, the largest commonly branching low. Very many divide to two trunks at four or five feet only from the ground. You see some white oaks and even some others in the midst of the wood nearly as spreading as in open land.

Looking from the high bare hill at the south end, the limits of the old oak wood (so far as we could overlook it) were very distinct, its tops being a mass of gray brush,—contorted and intertwined twigs and boughs,—while the younger oak wood around it, or bounding it, though still of respectable size, was still densely clothed with the



**ROMA**

**ROME**

reddish-brown leaves.

This famous oak lot—like Blood’s and Wetherbee’s—is a place of resort for those who hunt the gray squirrel. They have their leafy nests in the oak-tops.

It is an endless maze of gray oak trunks and boughs stretching far around. The great mass of individual trunks which you stand near is very impressive.

Many sturdy trunks (they commonly stand a little aslant) are remarkably straight and round, and have so much regularity in their roughness as to suggest smoothness. The older or largest white oaks were of a rougher and darker bark than Wetherbee’s and Blood’s, though often betraying the same tendency to smoothness, as if a rough layer had been stripped off near the ground.

I noticed that a great many trunks (the bark) had been gnawed near the ground,—different kinds of oak and chestnut,—perhaps by squirrels.



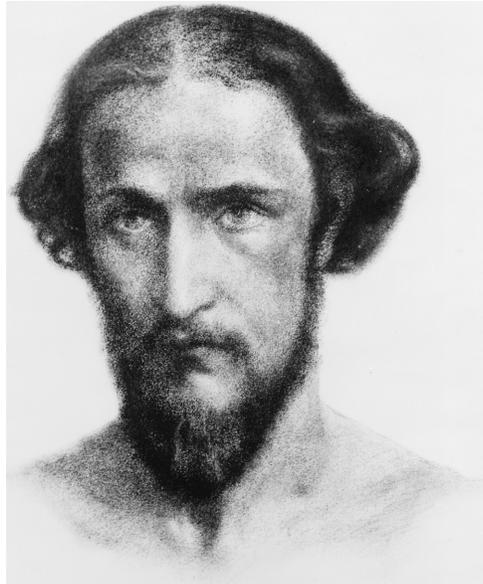
ROME

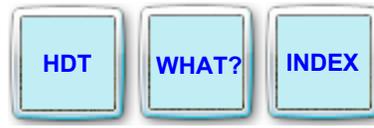
ROMA

1861

Italy was united —except for Venice and Rome— but as a kingdom rather than a republic — which was, for the likes of Giuseppe Mazzini, a final disappointment.

The artist William James Stillman, who happened to be in Paris when the American civil war broke out, was appointed US consul at Rome.





**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1862**

August 29, Friday: After the Italian government secretly urged [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#) to raise an army and march on [Rome](#), the Royal Italian Army discovered the Garibaldists on Aspromonte in Calabria and fired on them. Twelve people were killed and Garibaldi was wounded twice.

Confederates destroyed Federal supply lines at Manassas, on the same battlefield as in 1861. That is to say, people began to kill each other rather than waving good-bye, at Bull Run Creek near Sudley Springs and Manassas Junction, Virginia. They wouldn't have enough of this there on this day — but would continue on the following day to kill each other there rather than waving good-bye.



**ROME**

**ROMA**

**1867**

October 22, Tuesday: [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#) marched on [Rome](#) in an attempt to attach the Papal States to [Italy](#).

October 28: French troops arrived at Civitavecchia to protect the Papal States from [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#).

November 3: At Mentana, 20 kilometers northeast of [Rome](#), French and Papal forces defeated Garibaldist irregulars seeking to join the Papal States to [Italy](#). [Giuseppe Garibaldi](#) was captured and sent to Caprera.



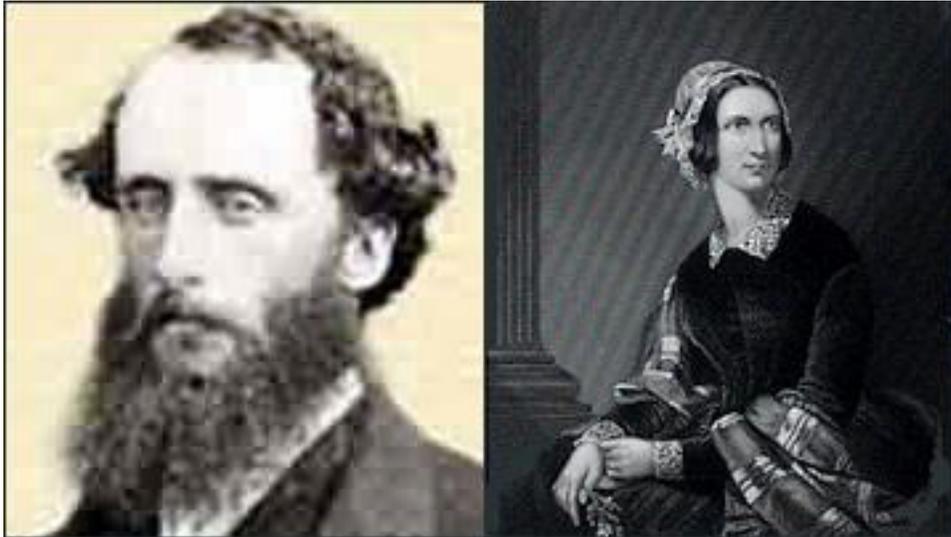
**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1870**

October 2, Sunday: [Rome](#) and its provinces were formally made part of the kingdom of [Italy](#), and Rome was declared to be the capital city.

At about this point, [William Howitt](#) and his family established themselves in [Rome](#). Having begun in [Quakerism](#) and converted to [Spiritualism](#), [Mary Howitt](#) eventually would convert from [Spiritualism](#) to [Roman Catholicism](#).



In the course of this decade [Margaret Fox](#) and [Kate Fox](#) would journey from America to England, where their sort of [Spiritualism](#) was still attracting considerable attention.



ROME

ROMA

1871

February 1, Wednesday: The French eastern army crossed into Switzerland and was disarmed.

The [Italian](#) Chamber of Deputies voted to move the capital of the country from Florence to [Rome](#).

February 7, Tuesday: Accepting changes by the Senate, the [Italian](#) Chamber of Deputies passed for the final time the movement of the capital from Florence to [Rome](#).

Shawl-Polka francaise op.343 by Johann Strauss was performed for the initial time, in the *Sophiensaal* of Vienna.

July 1, Saturday: The government of [Italy](#) relocated from Florence to [Rome](#).

For most of June, the bedridden Reverend Samuel Joseph May had been attended by his daughter. At the father's request the daughter had repositioned a copy of a portrait of Friend [Prudence Crandall](#) where he was able to see it. On July 1st he was visited by Andrew Dickson White, and late that night he had a final stroke.



July 2, Sunday: King Vittorio Emanuele II entered the new capital city of [Italy](#), [Rome](#).

November 27, Monday: The [Italian](#) Parliament met for the initial time in the new capital, [Rome](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

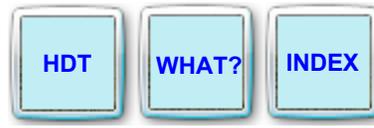
**1873**

November 8, Saturday: A grand jubilee of three days begins in Budapest to honor the 50th anniversary of Franz Liszt's career as a performer and composer. The honoree has come from [Rome](#) for the events.

HMS Niobe arrives in Santiago de Cuba and threatens to bombard the town if executions of the Virginius crew are not halted. The executions stop.

Barcarole op.44/3 for unaccompanied chorus by [Johannes Brahms](#) to traditional [Italian](#) words translated by Witte was performed for the initial time, in Hamburg.

Incidental music to Barbier's play Jeanne d'Arc by Charles Gounod was performed for the initial time, at the Theatre de la Gaité, Paris. The critical response was somewhat tepid.

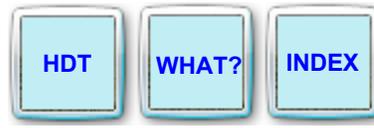


**ROME**

**ROMA**

**1874**

November 15, Sunday: Giuseppe Verdi became a member of the [Italian](#) Senate (he would not go to [Rome](#) to be sworn in because he did not wish to be involved in the production of Aida currently at the Teatro Apollo in [Rome](#)).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1875**

November 14, Sunday: The National Hungarian Royal Academy of Music opened its doors under President Franz Liszt, who was currently residing in [Rome](#).

November 15, Monday: Giuseppe Verdi took the oath of office as an [Italian](#) Senator in [Rome](#) — a year to the day after he was supposed to have been sworn in.



ROME

ROMA

1878

January 9, Wednesday: After four days of confused fighting and bad weather, Turkish forces south of the Shipka Pass surrendered at Sheinovo to the Russians.

King Vittorio Emanuele II of [Italy](#) died in [Rome](#) and was succeeded by his son Umberto I.

When 150 Cheyenne broke out of a military stockade at Fort Robinson, Nebraska, 47 were immediately killed and 23 wounded during the attempt, but 38 managed to get away (of those who had made it away from the stockade, the US soldiers would soon track down and kill another 23, leaving only 15 actual escapees, or a mere 10% of the original group).

February 7, Thursday: Giovanni Maria Giambattista Pietro Pellegrino Isidoro, conte Mastai-Ferretti, Pope Pius IX, died in [Rome](#).

November 25, Monday: A Comite d'Etudes du Haut-Congo was formed for a Belgian advance into the Congo.

La corona d'Italia for band by Gioachino Rossini was performed for the initial time, in [Rome](#). This had been written in 1868 when King Vittorio Emanuele II nominated Rossini for the Grand Knight of the Order of the Crown of [Italy](#), but had never been performed. The production on this day was by seven massed bands, plus 30 drummers.

On this day or the following one, in his 70th year, after long illness, [Samuel H. Hammond](#) would die at his residence in Watertown, [New York](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1879**

[William Howitt](#) had been instrumental in having Australian gum trees planted in the Campagna near [Rome](#), where in this year he was buried.



ROME

ROMA

1881

October 22, Saturday: A gala concert celebrating the 70th birthday of Franz Liszt took place in the [German](#) embassy in [Rome](#), where Liszt was living. Among the attenders was Pyotr Illyich Tchaikovsky. He felt affection for Liszt, but not for his music.

The [Boston](#) Symphony Orchestra presented its inaugural concert at the Music Hall.

December: [Aunt Maria Thoreau](#) died at the age of 84 in Bangor, Maine. She left most of her property to the Thatcher family with which she had been living, and her in-law relative [George A. Thatcher](#) was the executor of the will.

**HENRY'S  
RELATIVES**

[Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) began to write, in [Rome](#), on international law.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1882**

January 6, Friday: [Richard Henry Dana, Jr.](#) died of pneumonia in [Rome](#), and the body would be buried there in the Protestant Cemetery.



**ROME**

***ROMA***

**1888**

January 30, Monday: [Mary Howitt](#) died of bronchitis in [Rome](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1904**

An ecclesiastical court of the Roman [Catholic](#) church spent a year examining the life and conduct of [Father Jean de Brébeuf](#), and the cause of his death, forwarding the results of their inquiry to the Vatican in [Rome](#).

[CANADA](#)



ROME

ROMA

1922

October 27, Friday: As the fascists began their *Marcia su Roma* (March on [Rome](#)), [Italian](#) Prime Minister Facta handed the resignations of his government to King Vittorio Emanuele. They would stay on in a caretaker capacity. Thus [Benito Mussolini](#) established his Fascist dictatorship.

PROTO-NAZISM

October 28, Saturday: At about midnight, fearful of the arrival of pugnacious fascist street fighters and assassins in the city for their planned *Marcia su Roma* (March on [Rome](#)), Minister of the Interior Paolino Taddei persuaded General Emanuele Pugliese to assume military control in Rome (the general had insisted on having this as a direct order, requiring that the order be both written and signed).

At dawn, the [Italian](#) cabinet agreed on the strong repressive measures that were to be used against the fascists. Written orders were sent out, and martial law declared.

At 9AM, Prime Minister Facta asked King Vittorio Emanuele III to declare a state of siege and in direct violation of the constitution, the monarch refused to comply.

The swordsman [Benito Mussolini](#) would be invited by the monarch to form a new government.

Skilled Swordsmen	
Saint Ignatius Loyola	President Harry S Truman
Michel Angelo	General George Patton
Sir Walter Raleigh	Heinrich Himmler
René Descartes	Hermann Göring
John Milton	Juan Péron
George Frederick Handel	Francisco Franco
Johann Wolfgang von Goethe	Benito Mussolini
Karl Marx	Oswald Mosley
Sir Richard Burton	Reinhard Heydrich
Aleksandr Pushkin	



**ROMA**

**ROME**

October 30, Monday: [Benito Mussolini](#) arrived in [Rome](#) from Milan. About 25,000 fascist thugs arrived by train, this constituting their infamous *Marcia su Roma* — which would be endlessly idealized (endlessly, that is, until toward the wrap-up of WWII).



ROME

ROMA

1924

Fall: The skilled swordsman Heinrich Himmler perused Tacitus's *DE ORIGINE ET SITU GERMANORUM* while killing some time aboard a train, and decided that he could safely wax enthusiastic about the purity and nobility of the ancient [Germanic](#) tribes: "Thus shall we be again, or at least some among us."

Die  
**Germania des Tacitus.**

Deutsche Uebersetzung

VON

Dr. Anton Baumhark,  
ordentlichem Professor der Universität zu Freiburg.

Freiburg im Breisgau.

Herber'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung.

1876.

Zweigniederlassungen in Straßburg, München und St. Louis, Mo.

His racist reading was, of necessity, a shallow reading of the ancient text, for that classic author had merely been describing secondhand (he not ever having set foot in these northern forests) the great danger posed to the civilized [Romans](#) by the fierce untutored tribes of the northeast, while also deploying them as a literary screen against which he might project and contrast the more closely understood decadence of the [Latins](#). Which is to say, Herr Himmler would attempt to construe an antique treatise written in the hope that Romans might return to political simplicity and purity and safety as a treatise that might persuade Hitler's Aryans to insist that their gene-pool be purged of all racial and ethnic and sexual and internationalistic contaminations.<sup>43</sup>

## Skilled Swordsmen

<a href="#">Saint Ignatius Loyola</a>	<a href="#">President Harry S Truman</a>
<a href="#">Michel Angelo</a>	<a href="#">General George Patton</a>
<a href="#">Sir Walter Raleigh</a>	<a href="#">Heinrich Himmler</a>
<a href="#">René Descartes</a>	<a href="#">Hermann Göring</a>



**ROMA**

**ROME**

<b>Skilled Swordsmen</b>	
<b>John Milton</b>	<b>Juan Péron</b>
<b>George Frederick Handel</b>	<b>Francisco Franco</b>
<b>Johann Wolfgang von Goethe</b>	<b>Benito Mussolini</b>
<b>Karl Marx</b>	<b>Oswald Mosley</b>
<b>Sir Richard Burton</b>	<b>Reinhard Heydrich</b>
<b>Aleksandr Pushkin</b>	

A close reader Heinrich was not.

43. This Roman treatise had survived in only one copy, found in Hersfeld Abbey in Germany and brought to Italy in 1455. On the basis of the Aryan misreadings of the treatise, in 1956 Arnaldo Momigliano would describe it as “among the most dangerous books ever written” (although he might better have described it as “among the most dangerous books ever misread”).



ROME

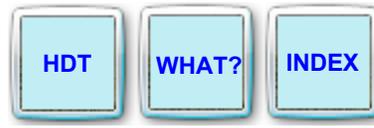
ROMA

1933

July 20, Thursday: A *Reichskonkordat* was signed between [Germany](#) (Chancellor [Adolf Hitler](#) of the [Nazi](#) Party in Berlin being himself of the [Catholic](#) faith) and the Vatican Holy See of the [Catholic Church](#) in [Rome](#). Pope Pius XI considered the treaty as protecting Catholic rights in [Germany](#). However, by this action the Vatican would legitimize the Third Reich in the eyes of the German Catholic hierarchy and laymen as well as of the international community and pave the way for the Nazi totalitarianization of German society and later German attacks on the European state system.

July 31, Monday: By this point approximately 30,000 people were in [Nazi](#) concentration camps.

October 28, Saturday: *Duce* [Benito Mussolini](#) and King Victor Emmanuel III led a parade, down the new Via dei Trionfi, that began at [Rome's Colosseum](#).



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1934**

October 28, Sunday: An opening-day parade of 15,000 athletes was led by *Duce* [Benito Mussolini](#) on horseback (I don't know whether this [Roman](#) parade originated at the [Colosseum](#) or wound up there).

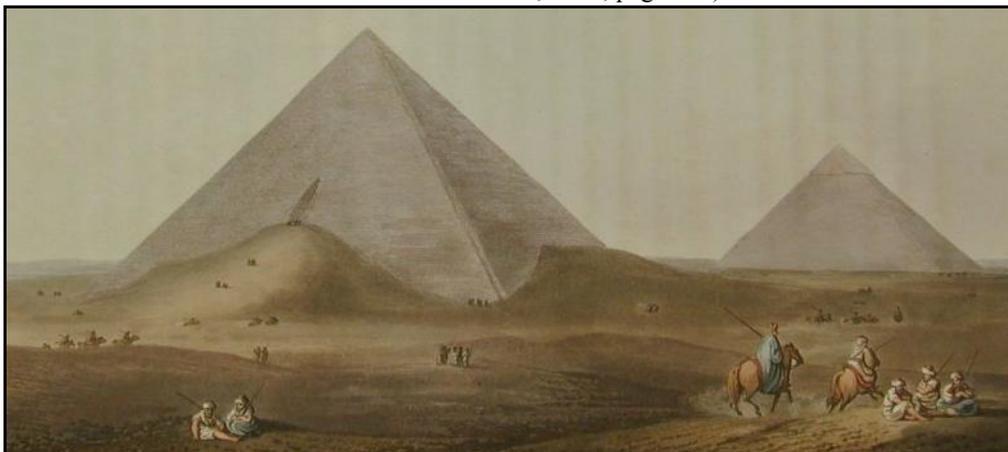
1936

The brick-faced foundation for Rome's *Colossus Solis* next to the *Colosseum* (no one knows when the enormous bronze statue itself had been destroyed, or why), once upon a time covered in marble, were at this point removed, thus enabling the completion of the ancient prophecy *Quandiu stabit coliseus, stabit et Roma; quando cadit coliseus, cadet et Roma; quando cadet Roma, cadet et mundus* "as long as the Colossus stands, so shall Rome; when the Colossus falls, Rome shall fall; when Rome falls, so falls the world."



The Reverend Herbert W. Armstrong, founder of the Worldwide Church of God, had told members of his church that *The Rapture* was to take place in 1936 and that only they would be saved. After the prophecy failed in this year, he would change the date three more times. (Shaw, Eva. *EVE OF DESTRUCTION*. Los Angeles CA: Lowell House, 1995, page 99)

This year had been forecast as the end of the world also by some pyramidologists (Randi, James. *THE MASK OF NOSTRADAMUS*. Amherst NY: Prometheus Books, 1993, page 242).



MILLENNIALISM



**ROMA**

**ROME**

**1943**

July 19, Monday: For the 1st time the Allies dropped bombs on [Rome](#). They did try to be careful.

Pius XII would protest this to [President Franklin Delano Roosevelt](#) but of course it would be beneath the dignity of the American president to make any response to the Pope.

[German](#) Submarine U-513 was sunk by naval land-based aircraft (VP-74) off Brazil, at 27 degrees 17 minutes South, 47 degrees 32 minutes West.

**WORLD WAR II**



ROME

ROMA

1944

January 1, Saturday: At Plaszow, a suburb of Krakow, a forced labor camp was converted to a death camp.

[Stalin](#) established a Polish National Council with armed forces and administration as a government-in-exile to rival the London government.

The US Treasury ended the minting of zinc-coated steel pennies and resumed the use of copper.

General Joseph Stilwell appointed Brigadier General Frank D. Merrill as commander of the 5307th Composite Unit (Provisional), code name "Galahad," popularly to be known as Merrill's Marauders.

Aircraft from carrier task group (Rear Admiral F.C. Sherman) bombed a [Japanese](#) convoy escorted by cruisers and destroyers off Kavieng, New Ireland.

Naval Air Facility, Honolulu, Oahu, Hawaiian Islands was established.

United States naval vessels damaged:

- Destroyers *Smith* (DD-378) and *Hutchings* (DD-476), by collision, eastern New Guinea area, 5 degrees 0 minutes South, 146 degrees 0 minutes East.
- LST446, by accidental explosion, Solomon Islands area, 6 degrees 15 minutes South, 155 degrees 2 minutes East

TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS



ROMA

ROME

Early in this year, long lines of American and British prisoners who had surrendered at Monte Cassino and Anzio would be being shuffled down the Via dell'Impero in [Rome](#) under guard.

As of the beginning of this year, Britain's Operation Vegetarian was ready to go. Its pellets of cattle food had been manufactured, its [anthrax](#) had been manufactured, the anthrax had been injected into the cattle food, the pellets had been loaded into cardboard boxes, a delivery scheme involving the RAF had been completed — everything was just coming up roses. All that remained was for [Winston Churchill](#) to give the order to proceed with the devastation of [Germany](#).



GERM WARFARE

Dr. Paul Fildes was urging that it was crucial to the success of the attack with [anthrax](#) spores, that it be mounted during the summer months: “The cattle must be caught in the open grazing fields when lush spring grass is on the wane.” “Trials have shown that these tablets ... are found and consumed by the cattle in a very short time.” “Cattle are concentrated in the northern half of Oldenburg and northwest Hanover. Aircraft flying to and from Berlin will fly over 60 miles of grazing land.” He calculated that a RAF bomber flying at an average ground speed of 300mph would need to dump its load within 18 minutes. “If one box of tablets is dispersed every two minutes, then each aircraft will be required to carry and disperse nine, or say 10, boxes.” A single Lancaster bomber ought to be able to scatter 4,000 anthrax-infected cakes over a 60-mile swathe in less than 20 minutes while returning from a raid on Berlin, and a dozen such aircraft would be sufficient to cover most of the north German countryside.

WORLD WAR II

March 23, Thursday (25th anniversary of the Fascist Party): The 11th Company of the 3rd Battalion of the *Schutzstaffel Polizei* Regiment “Bozen,” consisting of 156 men, were on their regular daily march through the streets of [Rome](#) to the Macao Barracks and had reached the narrow Via Rasella when a partisan bomb exploded killing 26 and wounding 60, 2 mortally. Some civilians were also killed. The [German](#) Commandant of Rome, General Kurt Malzer, while inebriated, ordered the arrest of all [Italians](#) who lived on that street. Some 200 civilians were rounded up and turned over temporarily to the Italian authorities. *Führer* [Adolf Hitler](#), on hearing of this bomb placed in a road-sweeper's cart, immediately ordered that 30 Italians be shot for each dead policeman, although later this number was reduced to 10 per dead policeman. The next day, the civilians would be loaded onto lorries and taken to some caves that had been discovered by the Germans on the Via Ardeatina in which the disbanded Italian army had stored barrels of petrol and vehicles. At 3:30PM execution would begin, with each victim ordered to kneel and shot in the back of the head. By 8PM this work



ROME

ROMA

would be completed.



**This is a German Army action figure, complete with its tiny Luger, which you can purchase for your son to play with.**

*Schutzstaffel Obersturmbannführer* Herbert Kappler, who had been in charge of the executions, would in 1947 be sentenced to life imprisonment — in 1972 he was allowed to marry his German nurse, Anneliese Wenger — in 1976, with her help, he would be able to escape from the prison hospital — seven months later in her home at Soltau in northern [Germany](#), he would die of cancer of the stomach. General Malzer would die in prison. Today, the Ardeatina Caves are a memorial, and nearby is a mausoleum containing stone sarcophagi for 335 victims.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

Near [Naples](#), Vesuvio blew its top:



**MOUNT VESUVIUS**

Destroyers bombarded enemy installations on Mussau Islands in the St. Matthias group of the Bismarck Archipelago.

United States Naval Air Facility, Dunkeswell, England was established.

A [Japanese](#) submarine was sunk: Submarine I-42, by submarine *Tunny* (SS-282), off Palau Islands, 6 degrees



ROME

ROMA

40 minutes North, 134 degrees 3 minutes East

WORLD WAR II

March 24, Friday: At *Stalag Luft III* at Sagan in Silesia, hundreds of Royal Air Force officer prisoners of war had had a hand in the building of a tunnel, starting beneath one of the huts in the British north compound of the camp. The tunnel ran for 360 feet and passed under the perimeter wire at a depth of 20 feet. On this date 79 men managed to make their way through the tunnel before it was discovered. The last three out gave themselves up, hoping in that manner to delay the search for the rest. *Führer Adolf Hitler* issued a personal order that 50 of the escapees were to be shot on recapture. Within weeks all would have been recaptured, except for three who eventually would reach England. After their capture, the officers would be confined in various jails near the places of their arrest. Early in the morning they would be taken out of their cells and in groups of two or three bundled into cars and driven out into the country. On the autobahn, near a wood, the car would stop and the *German* guards would allow the prisoners to get out to relieve themselves. While they were urinating, their guards would shoot them in the neck.



**This is a German Army action figure, complete with its tiny Luger, which you can purchase for your son to play with.**

Their bodies would then be taken to the nearby crematoria. When urns containing the ashes of these officers began arriving at *Stalag Luft III*, the urns had the officer's name and date of cremation and place-names such as Gorkitz, Brux, Breslau, Liegnitz, Kiel, München, Saarbrücken, and Danzig. Most urns would be dated March 29, 30, and 31, 1944. The official *Gestapo* record would be that an officer had been "shot while attempting to escape." After the war, the RAF Special Investigation Branch would begin a 3-year search for culprits. Of the 72 individuals traced, 21 would be executed, 17 would be imprisoned, 11 would commit suicide, and the remainder would die, disappear, or be acquitted.



ROMA

ROME



"The pachinko ball doesn't want to plonk into the plastic tub before it has accomplished some sort of trajectory."



- *no credit*



A [Japanese](#) submarine was sunk: Submarine I-32, by destroyer escort *Manlove* (DE-36), and submarine chaser PC-1135, Marshall Islands area, 8 degrees 30 minutes North, 170 degrees 10 minutes East.

The last organized [Japanese](#) resistance on Bougainville ended.

Soviet forces captured Voznesensk, north of Odessa, and Zaleschik, southeast of Lvov.

In reprisal for the blowing up of 33 [German](#) soldiers in [Rome](#) on the previous day, 335 [Italian](#) men and boys were gunned down at the Fosse Ardeatine.

When 811 British planes attacked Berlin, 472 died, a few of them soldiers.

Cantata for Wartime for female chorus and orchestra by Ernst Krenek to words of Melville was performed for the initial time, in Northrop Memorial Auditorium, Minneapolis.

WORLD WAR II



## ROME

## ROMA

May 22, Monday: Destroyers bombarded [Japanese](#) installations at the Wotje Atoll in the Marshall Islands.

Allied forces recaptured Wake Island from the [Japanese](#).

French troops captured Pico, southeast of [Rome](#).

[Japanese](#) naval vessels sunk:

- Destroyer *Asanagi*, by submarine *Pollack* (SS-180), southeast of Japan, 28 degrees 20 minutes North, 138 degrees 57 minutes East
- Submarine RO-106, by destroyer escort *England* (DE-635), north of Bismarck Archipelago, 1 degree 40 minutes North, 150 degrees 31 minutes East

WORLD WAR II

May 30, Tuesday: American forces penetrated the last [German](#) defense line before [Rome](#).

WORLD WAR II

Less than a year after the previous election, voting in [Ireland](#) produced a majority for the ruling *Fianna Fáil* Party.

June 4/5: [Rome](#) was captured by the advancing Allied armies.

WORLD WAR II

June 6, Tuesday: Dawn of D-Day, Operation Neptune/Overlord — the Allied invasion of Normandy from England. The Allied Expeditionary Force under the supreme command of General Dwight David Eisenhower, USA, invaded Western Europe. Landings were made on beaches of northern France, following pre-invasion minesweeping and bombardment by Allied warships, and under the cover of Allied aircraft and naval gunfire. The invasion fleet of thousands of naval vessels, merchant ships, and landing craft under the command of Admiral Sir Bertram H. Ramsay, RN, was divided into a Western (American) Task Force and an Eastern (British) Task Force. The Western Task Force, commanded by Rear Admiral A.G. Kirk, USN, and composed of two assault forces, “O” under the command of Rear Admiral J.L. Hall, USN, and “U” under the command of Rear Admiral D.P. Moon, USN, landed the First United States Army commanded by Lieutenant General O.N. Bradley, USA on “Omaha” and “Utah” beaches. Naval gunfire support groups commanded by Rear Admiral M.L. Deyo, USN, and Rear Admiral C.F. Bryant, USN effectively prevented the [German](#) army from moving up reinforcements and covered the troops advancing inland. After beachheads were established, their primary naval responsibility was the landing of men and supplies.

Members of a panzer division in Magdeburg, who had formed a secret Antimilitarist Club, including Hans Werner Henze, drank a toast to the invasion of Europe.

United States naval vessels sunk, Normandy invasion:

- Destroyer *Corry* (DD-463) by mine, 49 degrees 31 minutes North, 1 degree 12 minutes West
- Submarine chaser PC-1261, by mine, 49 degrees 30 minutes North, 1 degree 10 minutes West



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United States naval vessel damaged, Normandy invasion: LST375, by collision, 42 degrees 31 minutes North, 0 degrees 50 minutes West

[NOTE: These official lists of United States naval vessels sunk or damaged in the Normandy invasion neglect to include any of the amphibious types less important than the LST.]

[Japanese](#) naval vessels sunk:

- Destroyer *Minazuki*, by submarine *Harder* (SS-257), Celebes Sea, 4 degrees 5 minutes North, 119 degrees 30 minutes East
- Coastal defense vessel #15, by submarine *Raton* (SS-270), South China Sea, 8 degrees 58 minutes North, 109 degrees 30 minutes East

General [George Smith Patton, Jr.](#) sent the following to his 20-year-old son, George Jr., a cadet at West Point:

APO 403, N.Y.

"D-Day"

Dear George:

At 0700 this morning the BBC announced that the German Radio had just come out with an announcement of the landing of Allied Paratroops and of large numbers of assault craft near shore. So that is it.

This group of unconquerable heroes whom I command are not in yet but we will be soon – I wish I was there now as it is a lovely sunny day for a battle and I am fed up with just sitting.

I have no immediate idea of being killed but one can never tell and none of us can live forever, so if I should go don't worry but set yourself to do better than I have.

All men are timid on entering any fight; whether it is the first fight or the last fight all of us are timid. Cowards are those who let their timidity get the better of their manhood. You will never do that because of your blood lines on both sides. I think I have told you the story of Marshall Touraine who fought under Louis XIV. On the morning of one of his last battles – he had been fighting for forty years – he was mounting his horse when a young ADC [aide-de-camp] who had just come from the court and had never missed a meal or heard a hostile shot said: "M. de Touraine it amazes me that a man of your supposed courage should permit his knees to tremble as he walks out to mount." Touraine replied "My lord duke I admit that my knees do tremble but should they know where I shall this day take them they would shake even more." That is it. Your knees may shake but they will always take you towards the enemy. Well so much for that.

There are apparently two types of successful soldiers. Those who get on by being unobtrusive and those who get on by being obtrusive. I am of the latter type and seem to be rare and unpopular: but it is my method. One has to choose a system and





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stick to it; people who are not themselves are nobody.

To be a successful soldier you must know history. Read it objectively – dates and even the minute details of tactics are useless. What you must know is how man reacts. Weapons change but man who uses them changes not at all. To win battles you do not beat weapons – you beat the soul of man of the enemy man. To do that you have to destroy his weapons, but that is only incidental. You must read biography and especially autobiography. If you will do it you will find that war is simple. Decide what will hurt the enemy most within the limits of your capabilities to harm him and then do it. TAKE CALCULATED RISKS. That is quite different from being rash. My personal belief is that if you have a 50% chance take it because the superior fighting qualities of American soldiers lead by me will surely give you the extra 1% necessary.

In Sicily I decided as a result of my information, observations and a sixth sense that I have that the enemy did not have another large scale attack in his system. I bet my shirt on that and I was right. You cannot make war safely but no dead general has ever been criticised so you have that way out always.

I am sure that if every leader who goes into battle will promise himself that he will come out either a conqueror or a corpse he is sure to win. There is no doubt of that. Defeat is not due to losses but to the destruction of the soul of the leaders. The "Live to fight another day" doctrine.

The most vital quality a soldier can possess is SELF CONFIDENCE – utter, complete and bumpitious. You can have doubts about your good looks, about your intelligence, about your self control but to win in war you must have NO doubts about your ability as a soldier.

What success I have had results from the fact that I have always been certain that my military reactions were correct. Many people do not agree with me; they are wrong. The unerring jury of history written long after both of us are dead will prove me correct.

Note that I speak of "Military reactions" – no one is borne with them any more than anyone is borne with muscles. You can be born with the soul capable of correct military reactions or the body capable of having big muscles, but both qualities must be developed by hard work.

The intensity of your desire to acquire any special ability depends on character, on ambition. I think that your decision to study this summer instead of enjoying yourself shows that you have character and ambition – they are wonderful possessions.

Soldiers, all men in fact, are natural hero worshipers. Officers with a flare for command realise this and emphasize in their conduct, dress and deportment the qualities they seek to produce in their men. When I was a second lieutenant I had a captain who was very sloppy and usually late yet he got after the men for



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just those faults; he was a failure.

The troops I have commanded have always been well dressed, been smart saluters, been prompt and bold in action because I have personally set the example in these qualities. The influence one man can have on thousands is a never-ending source of wonder to me. You are always on parade. Officers who through laziness or a foolish desire to be popular fail to enforce discipline and the proper wearing of uniforms and equipment not in the presence of the enemy will also fail in battle, and if they fail in battle they are potential murderers. There is no such thing as: "A good field soldier:" you are either a good soldier or a bad soldier.

Well this has been quite a sermon but don't get the idea that it is my swan song because it is not – I have not finished my job yet.

Your affectionate father.

**WORLD WAR II**

British forces won back Kohima, [India](#) from the [Japanese](#) after 64 days of fierce fighting.

[Germans](#) on Crete put 400 Greek hostages, 300 [Italian](#) POWs and 260 Jews on a boat, took it 1,500 kilometers out to sea, and scuttled it. There would be no survivors.

**ANTISEMITISM**

French troops captured Tivoli, east of [Rome](#).

June 18, Sunday: American forces on Saipan split the [Japanese](#) defenders in two.

[Japanese](#) forces captured Changsha in Hunan province, south of Wuhan.

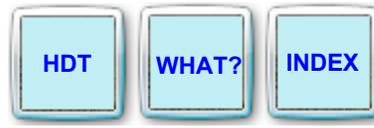
The Red Army broke through the Mannerheim Line and advanced toward Viipuri (Vyborg).

Allied forces captured Perugia.

The doors of the Jewish synagogue in [Rome](#) were reopened.

**ANTISEMITISM**

When a V-1 struck Guards Chapel, Wellington Barracks during Sunday service, 121 were killed. Elsewhere in



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England on this day 47 were killed .

Paul Lansky was born in New York.

Sonatina no.1 for 16 wind instruments by Richard Strauss was performed for the initial time, in Dresden as part of celebrations surrounding Strauss's 80th birthday.

United States naval vessels sunk: PT-63 and PT-107, fire, off New Ireland, 1 degrees 45 minutes South, 150 degrees 1 minute East

United States naval vessels damaged, Marianas Islands area:

- Destroyer *Phelps* (DD-360), by coastal defense gun, 14 degrees 58 minutes North, 146 degrees 21 minutes East
- Oilers *Neshanic* (AO-71), and *Saranac* (AO-74), by [Japanese](#) horizontal bomber, 14 degrees 45 minutes North, 146 degrees 10 minutes East

WORLD WAR II

September 18, Monday: An American attempt to extend their perimeter on Peleliu was thrown back by the [Japanese](#) with heavy losses.

American forces captured Eindhoven. British forces moving up from the south linked with the Americans at Eindhoven and Veghel.

While on trial in [Rome](#), former prison director Donato Carretta was attacked by a mob of about 7,000 and thrown into the Tiber where he drowned. His body was then hung from a prison window. An investigation would exonerate Carretta in November, revealing that he had placed himself at risk to shield anti-fascist prisoners.



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The 5,065-ton [Japanese](#) cargo ship *Junyo Maru*, which had been built in Glasgow by Robert Duncan & Company but had at this point become a rust bucket, was en route from Java to Sumatra when hit by a couple of tin fish from Lieutenant-Commander S. Maydon's Triton-class submarine HMS *Tradewind*.



On board the *Junyo Maru*, unfortunately, were 1,377 Dutch and 64 British and Australian POWs, a few dozen American merchant seamen, and 4,200 Javanese, intended for slave labor on a 220-kilometer railway line being built on the island of Sumatra between Pakan Baru and Muaro. It was “standing room only” in the prisoner holds. A total of 723 floaters would be retrieved by Japanese ships to do slave labor on this Sumatran railway, and many of these men would not be able to last out the war. (For instance, of the approximately a hundred Dutch nationals who survived the sinking, 10 would die doing slave labor.) However, 5,620 would not be needing to perform any slave labor on any damned tropical railroad, as they had drowned.



WORLD WAR II



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November 10, Friday: President Wang Ching-wei of [Japanese](#)-occupied [China](#) died as [Japanese](#) troops occupied Kweilin and Liuchow.

Sex carmina Alcaei for soprano and 11 instruments by Luigi Dallapiccola was performed for the initial time, over the airwaves of [Italian](#) Radio originating in [Rome](#). The work was dedicated to Anton Webern on his 60th birthday (which had been, actually, the previous December 3d).

A district court in Salt Lake City, Utah sentenced 20 men and 11 women to a year of no-nookie incarceration, for the crime of polygamy.

The USS *Mount Hood* (AE-11), commissioned on August 6, 1944, had come through the Panama Canal. It was fully loaded with ammunition and explosives when it came to anchor in Seadler harbor at Manus in the Admiralty Islands. There, only 4 months into its period of active duty, at 08:55 hours while ammo was being offloaded to other vessels in preparation for the invasion of the Philippines, it blew up sending a smoke cloud 7,000 feet into the sky. The largest piece of this ship that would be found would measure 16 feet by 10 feet (no statistic is available as to the largest fragment of human being that was found). Where the ship had been there was a new trench on the harbor floor that was 300 feet long, 50 feet wide, and 35 feet deep. Its 295 crewmembers had disappeared. The blast also killed 49 and injured 371 on other ships in the harbor. There were 18 survivors from the *Mount Hood* — these were of course men who had for one reason or another been ashore at the time. Some suggest that this would have been caused not by our careless handling of ammunition — but perhaps by some Japanese *kaiten* midget [suicide](#) sub that we just hadn't noticed? Go figure.



TIMELINE OF ACCIDENTS

United States naval vessel sunk: PT-321, by grounding, Leyte area, Philippine Islands 11 degrees 25 minutes

[Japanese](#) naval vessels sunk:

- Coast defense vessel #11, by Army aircraft, Ormoc Bay area of the Philippine Islands
- Patrol boat #46, by submarine *Greenling* (SS-213), off Honshu, Japan, 34 degrees 30 minutes North, 138 degrees 34 minutes East

WORLD WAR II



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**1949**

January 13, Thursday: After two days of truce and failed surrender negotiations, [Chinese](#) communists resumed their attack on [Tientsin](#).

Rioting broke out in Durban, South Africa between Zulus and Indians (this would persist for four days and produce 85 deaths and 549 injuries).

Communists shelled [Beijing](#) for the initial time.

V. Kukharsky, writing in Izvestia, commented on Sergei Prokofiev's opera The Story of a Real Man: "a striking example of this detachment of the artist from real life, composing his work in the shelter of his ivory tower."

Armistice talks directed by United Nations negotiator Dr. Ralph Bunche began on the island of Rhodes, between [Egypt](#) and Israel.

The first complete performance of Liriche greche for solo voice and instruments by Luigi Dallapiccola took place in [Rome](#).



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1950

At this point tourists were still being allowed to park their cars inside the oval of the [Colosseum](#) (many of the structure's ancient stones had been repurposed as steps at St Peter's Basilica and in innumerable churches of the Baroque era's building boom in [Rome](#)).

During this decade the crowd-pleasing "Pilgrims" who were staffing the 1st "[Pilgrim House](#)" exhibit at the "Plimoth Plantation, Inc." [tourist trap](#) would be beginning to attire themselves regularly in the costumes which they had fashioned for their "Pilgrims' Progress" *tableau vivant*. Pastism, anyone?

PLYMOUTH



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**ROME**

**1954**

April 14, Wednesday: The US Army filed a statement with the Senate Investigations Subcommittee charging that for a total of at least 29 times, Senator [Joseph R. McCarthy](#) and committee counsel Roy Marcus Cohn had been attempting to get preferential treatment for their associate, Private David Schine.

An Air from Act 3 of Rapunzel, a chamber opera by Lou Harrison to words of Morris, was performed for the initial time, in [Rome](#) as part of a composition competition. This would win a 20th Century Masterpiece Award, that would be conferred on Harrison by Igor Stravinsky.

Twenty-five Pages for 1-25 pianos by Earle Brown was performed for the initial time, in Carl Fischer Hall, New York. On the same program was the New York premiere of John Cage's 4'33" (during the intermission Cage's mother asked Brown: "Now Earle, don't you think that John has gone too far this time?").

Sicilian Limes, an opera by Dominick Argento to words of Olon-Scrymgeour after Pirandello, was performed for the initial time, at Peabody Conservatory, Baltimore, conducted by Hugo Weisgall. The accompaniment was two pianos, one of which was being played by the composer.



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1959

June 10, Wednesday: Minister of State for the [United Arab Republics](#) Ali Sabry declared that regardless of flag of registration, no vessel was going to enter the [Suez Canal](#) with goods either originating in Israel or destined for Israel — these [Egyptian](#) antisemites had the ultimate case of cootie-avoidance syndrome, so for them anything a Jew may have touched has got the cooties, plus, anything a Jew may eventually touch already has got the cooties.

Alain Resnais's film *Hiroshima mon amour* was released in France.

Improvisations sur Mallarmé III for soprano and orchestra by Pierre Boulez was performed for the initial time, in Donaueschingen.

Prolation for orchestra by Peter Maxwell Davies was performed for the initial time, in the Auditorium del Foro Italico of [Rome](#).

Aria antigua for flute and piano by Joaquín Rodrigo was performed for the initial time, in Circulo Cultural Medina, Madrid.

Fanfare for St. Edmundsbury for three trumpets by Benjamin Britten was performed for the initial time, in the Cathedral of Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk.



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**ROME**

**1961**

December 25, Monday: Pope John XXIII announced that the 21st Ecumenical Council of the Roman Catholic Church, “Vatican II,” would be held in [Rome](#) during the following year.



ROME

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1962

February 22, Thursday: A new cabinet formed by Prime Minister Amintore Fanfani was sworn in in [Rome](#).

An army uprising by about 8,000 Turkish soldiers was crushed in Ankara.

With renovation work complete, the lovely quiet Quaker residence for retired spinster teachers on Turkey Hill near Hingham MA, which is now the [New England Friends Home](#), opened for occupancy, and its first guests arrived in a snowstorm. There would be a potential of 13 residents, but at this early point, the first six guests were transferees from the Huntington home in Amesbury which was being closed. They were Perry Hadley, Melvin Bailley, Alice Gifford, Marion Kelsey, Eunice Meader, and Alice Stearns. The matron was Miss Edna Derbyshire. The chairman of the home's committee was Finley Perry of the Wellesley Monthly Meeting. Henry Stokes and Helen Perry worked to put the home in readiness. (This brick building had been erected after the shingle building previously on the site had burned in 1929. The blue tiles used in the building had been imported from Japan, the marble in the fireplaces from Italy, the carved woodwork in the library fireplace from England. Statues of camels and peacocks and pheasants had been added in 1935. The home had been donated by Polly Thayer Starr.)

RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

May 11, Friday: Antonio Segni replaced Giovanni Gronchi as president of [Italy](#).

French authorities arrested 500 people in Oran suspected of OAS sympathies. Among them was Jules Camouze, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Oran.

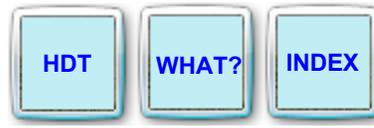
Volumina for organ by György Ligeti was performed for the first time, in the Westerkerk, Amsterdam.

Concert for double bass alone by Charles Wuorinen was performed for the first time, in Southport, Connecticut.

String Quartet no.1 by Krzysztof Penderecki was performed for the first time, in Cincinnati.

Triple Rondo for flute and harp by Henry Cowell was performed for the initial time, at the New School, New York.

August 14, Tuesday: French and [Italian](#) workers met midway under Mont Blanc, thus creating an 11.6-kilometer tunnel connecting Chamonix with Courmayeur.



**ROMA**

**ROME**

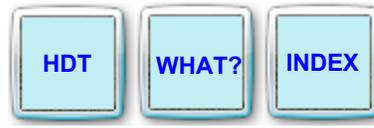
October 11, Thursday: Nikita Khrushchev received Igor Stravinsky and his party at the Kremlin for 40 minutes. A few hours later they boarded a plane for Paris, little the worse for the experience.

2,500 participants celebrated the opening of the Second Vatican Council in [Rome](#).

December 8: Rebellion broke out in Brunei, Sarawak and Sabah against incorporation into Malaysia. Rebels attacked the Sultan's palace and the Brunei Shell Petroleum Company, unsuccessfully. They managed to capture the Shell International Oil Company fields to the southwest, and some small towns in Sarawak and North Borneo. The rebels were being given covert aid by Indonesia. British troops were transferred from Singapore.

Pope John XXIII ended the first session of the Second Vatican Council.

Make Ye Merry for Him that is to Come for women's chorus and children's chorus by Thea Musgrave to a 15th century text, was performed for the first time, in St. Bartholemew's the Great, Smithfield.



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**1963**

June 21, Friday: Giovanni Battista Enrico Antonio Maria Montini, archbishop of Milan, was elected to become Pope Paul VI, in [Rome](#). Giovanni Leone replaced Amintore Fanfani as prime minister of Italy.

The British government announced that it was unable to reach agreement with the USSR on a peace plan for the three-way civil war in Laos. Prime Minister Harold MacMillan of Great Britain announced in Parliament that there would be a judicial inquiry into the Profumo affair. Opposition leader Harold Wilson Termed this a cover-up.



**ROME**

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**1966**

January 8, Saturday: Just as Stefan Cardinal Wyszynski was scheduled to leave Warsaw for [Rome](#) to celebrate 1,000 years of Christianity in Poland, his passport was revoked by the government.

Hyperion for flute, piccolo and orchestra by Bruno Maderna, consisting of the already performed Dimensioni III and Aria, was performed for the first time, in [Rome](#).

January 21, Friday: The body of Prime Minister Abubakar Tafawa Balewa of Nigeria was found near Abeokuta, north of Lagos. He had been abducted January 15th during the coup that had overthrown his government.

Prime Minister Aldo Moro of [Italy](#) tendered his resignation because his government had been defeated in the Chamber of Deputies.

[HDT](#)[WHAT?](#)[INDEX](#)**ROME****ROMA****1986**

The brick-faced foundation for [Rome's Colossus Solis](#) next to the [Colosseum](#) (no one knows when the enormous bronze statue itself had been destroyed, or why), once upon a time covered in marble, were at this point restored.



[Lord Byron](#) took his seat at the House of Lords, which, as you can see, is now lit by electricity.





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2006

[Kenneth L. Carroll](#)'s "American [Quakerism](#)'s 350th Birthday: a Look at its [Maryland](#) Birth Pangs" ([The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society](#), 61:1, pages 32-44). [Irish](#) National Television (RTE) prepared a documentary about a citizen of County Cork who had become a prisoner of the [Inquisition](#) while attempting to present the Quaker message to the Pope in [Rome](#), basing this largely on Professor [Carroll](#)'s 1971 publication [JOHN PERROT: EARLY QUAKER SCHISMATIC](#).

**"MAGISTERIAL HISTORY" IS FANTASIZING: HISTORY IS CHRONOLOGY**



ROME

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"It's all now you see. Yesterday won't be over until tomorrow and tomorrow began ten thousand years ago."

- Remark by character "Garin Stevens"  
in William Faulkner's INTRUDER IN THE DUST



Prepared: June 10, 2015



ROME

ROMA

# *ARRGH AUTOMATED RESEARCH REPORT*

## *GENERATION HOTLINE*



This stuff presumably looks to you as if it were generated by a human. Such is not the case. Instead, someone has requested that we pull it out of the hat of a pirate who has grown out of the shoulder of our pet parrot "Laura" (as above). What these chronological lists are: they are research reports compiled by ARRGH algorithms out of a database of modules which we term the Kouroo Contexture (this is data mining). To respond to such a request for information we merely push a button.



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Commonly, the first output of the algorithm has obvious deficiencies and we need to go back into the modules stored in the contexture and do a minor amount of tweaking, and then we need to punch that button again and recompile the chronology – but there is nothing here that remotely resembles the ordinary “writerly” process you know and love. As the contents of this originating contexture improve, and as the programming improves, and as funding becomes available (to date no funding whatever has been needed in the creation of this facility, the entire operation being run out of pocket change) we expect a diminished need to do such tweaking and recompiling, and we fully expect to achieve a simulation of a generous and untiring robotic research librarian. Onward and upward in this brave new world.

First come first serve. There is no charge.  
Place requests with <Kouroo@kouroo.info>. Arrgh.