FROM SLAVE TO EMPEROR

Famous Historians on the Racial Reasons for the Decline of the Roman Empire

Including the work of professors Tenney Frank, A.M.Duff, Charles Merivale, George La Piana, Theodor Mommsen, and the multiple authors of the Cambridge Ancient History and the Encyclopedia Britannica's Historians' History of the World. Introduction by Arthur Kemp, BA (Pub.Ad., Pol., Sci., Int. Pol.)

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All civilizations fall if the people who made those civilizations vanish. This is a truth which applies to all races, nations, and people: as long as the people who created a particular civilization survive, and are present in significant numbers, the civilization that they created will continue.

Once those people vanish, then their civilization vanishes with them. There is no escaping this iron law of nature.

Classical Rome, one of the mightiest nations of the ancient world, was no exception to this rule. Although historians tend to focus on economic, moral, or military reasons for the fall of Rome, the real reason why this mighty civilization fell was because the very people who established the Roman civilization ceased making up the majority population in and around Rome.

Although many historians have either ignored the racial factor in the cause of the fall of the Roman Empire—and some have never even thought about it—there have been many who recognized race as the critical element in Rome's history.

The essay in this book summarizes all the points made by these authors and provides a critically-needed antidote to modern liberal historical interpretations which pretend that race does not exist.

Finally, the lessons which can be learned from the racial decline of Rome—and Italy's resurgence after it was repopulated by European invaders after the fall of the Roman Empire—are important for the future of Europe and the European people.

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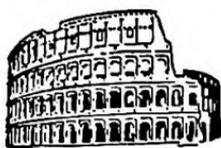
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INTRODUCTION

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Although many historians have either ignored the racial factor in the cause of the fall of the Roman Empire—and some have never even thought about it—there have been many who recognized race as the critical element in Rome's history.

Among the more famous of these was Professor Tenney Frank, from the Johns Hopkins University. Professor Frank, a recognized authority on the history of ancient Rome, is most famous for his work *An Economic History of Rome* (New York, Cooper Square Publishers, 1927, reprinted 1962), but his other works include the important "Race Mixture in the Roman Empire" (*American Historical Review,* volume 21, pages 689–708). Along with Frank, many other well known and respected historians dealt with the issue of how the Roman population changed. Among these were professors A.M. Duff, Charles Merivale, George La Piana, Theodor Mommsen, and the multiple authors of both the *Cambridge Ancient History* and the Encyclopedia Britannica's *Historians' History of the World.*

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Finally, the lessons which can be learned from the racial decline of Rome—and Italy's resurgence after it was repopulated by European invaders after the fall of the Roman Empire—are important for the future of Europe and the European people.

Current Third World immigration rates into Europe, the US, Canada, Australia, and New Zealand will, unless halted and reversed, see these nations follow the path of destruction which Rome took—and that would be the greatest tragedy of all.

Arthur Kemp, Chester, UK, February 2012.

Via Appia: The Appian Way.

FROM SLAVE TO EMPEROR: FAMOUS HISTORIANS ON THE RACIAL REASONS FOR THE DECLINE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Professor Tenney Frank's "Race mixture in the Roman Empire," published in the *American Historical Review,* volume 21, outlined how he first realized that race mixture was the cause of the change in Roman society.

By studying the names of graves on Rome's most famous road, the Appian Way, he found that huge numbers of late Roman Republic inhabitants had names which originated in the Levant, or Middle East, in strong contrast to the early inhabitants of Rome, who had Latin names.

Frank describes it so:

There is one surprise that the historian usually experiences upon his first visit to Rome. It may be the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican or at the Lateran Museum, but, if not elsewhere, it can hardly escape him upon his first walk up the Appian Way. As he stops to decipher the names upon the old tombs that line the road, hoping to chance upon one familiar to him from his Cicero or Livy, he finds prenomen and nomen promising enough, but the cognomina all seem awry. L. Lucretius Pamphilus, A. Aemilius Alexa, M. Clodius Philostosgas do not smack of freshman Latin. And he will not readily find in the Roman writers now extant an answer to the questions that these inscriptions invariably raise. Do these names imply that the Roman stock was completely changed after Cicero's day, and was the satirist (Juvenal) recording a fact when he wailed that the Tiber had captured the waters of the Syrian Orontes? If so, are these foreigners ordinary immigrants, or did Rome become a nation of ex-slaves and their offspring?[1]

Unfortunately, most of the sociological and political data of the empire are provided by satirists. When Tacitus informs us that in Nero's day a great many of Rome's senators and knights were descendants of slaves and that the native stock

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had dwindled to surprisingly small proportions, we are not sure whether we are not to take it as an exaggerated thrust by an indignant Roman of the old stock.[2]

To discover some new light upon these fundamental questions of Roman history, I have tried to gather such fragmentary data as the corpus of inscriptions might afford. This evidence is never decisive in its purport, and it is always, by the very nature of the material, partial in its scope, but at any rate it may help us to interpret our literary sources to some extent. It has at least convinced me that Juvenal and Tacitus were not exaggerating. It is probable that when these men wrote, a very small percentage of the free plebians on the streets of Rome could prove unmixed Italian descent.[3]

PATTERN REPEATED ELSEWHERE

Frank then went on to make a determined study of the tombs and monuments in Rome and surrounds, drawing up a database of over 13,900 different names, from which he concluded that about 75 percent were not Latin in origin.

Frank wrote:

For reasons which will presently appear I have accepted the Greek cognomen as a true indication of recent foreign extraction, and, since citizens of native stock did not as a rule unite in marriage with liberti, a Greek cognomen in a child or one parent is sufficient of status (i.e., was foreign).[4]

On the other hand, the question has been raised whether a man with a Greek cognomen must invariably be of foreign stock. Could it not be that Greek names became so popular that, like biblical and classical names today, they were accepted by the Romans of native stock? In the last days of the empire this may have been the case; but the inscriptions prove that the Greek cognomen was not in good repute. I have tested this matter by classifying all the instances in the 13,900 inscriptions where the names of both father and son appear. From this it appears that fathers with Greek names are very prone to give Latin names to their children, whereas the reverse is not true.[5]

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Clearly the Greek name was considered as a sign of dubious origin among the Roman plebians, and the freedman family that rose to any social ambitions made short shift of it. For these reasons, therefore, I consider that the presence of a Greek name in the immediate family is good evidence that the subject of the inscription is of servile or foreign stock. The conclusion of our pro's and con's must be that nearly ninety per cent of the Roman-born folk represented in the above mentioned sepulchral inscriptions are of foreign extraction.[6]

NOT GREEKS, BUT MIDDLE EASTERNERS

These "Greek" names were for the greatest part not Greeks at all, and were Middle Easterners who had adopted Greek names, particularly after the conquest of that region by Alexander the Great.

The writer Juvenal, speaking of the Roman population, actually points out the Levantine origin of many of these people in his writings, referring to the Syrian River, the Orontes:

These dregs call themselves Greeks but how small a portion is from Greece; the River Orontes has long flowed into the Tiber.[7]

Frank went on to describe where these people with Greek names had come from:

Therefore, when the urban inscriptions show that seventy per cent of the city slaves and freedmen bear Greek names and that a larger portion of the children who have Latin names have parents of Greek names, this at once implies that the East was the source of most of them, and with that inference Bang's conclusions (Dr. Bang of Germany) entirely agree. In his list of slaves that specify their origin as being outside Italy (during the empire), by far the larger portion came from the Orient, especially from Syria and the provinces of Asia Minor, with some from Egypt and Africa (which for racial classification may be taken with the Orient). Some are from Spain and Gaul, but a considerable portion of these came originally from the East. Very few slaves are recorded from the Alpine and Danube

An AD 79 portrait of an obviously mixed racial type, found in the house of Terentius Neo in Pompeii, is often incorrectly described as that of "Paquius Proculus and his wife." Currently in the National Archaeological Museum of Naples.

provinces, while Germans rarely appear, except among the imperial bodyguard. Bang remarks that Europeans were of greater service to the empire as soldiers than servants. This is largely true, but, as Strach has commented, the more robust European war-captives were apt to be chosen for the grueling work in the mines and in industry, and largely they have vanished from the records. Such slaves were probably also the least productive of the class; and this, in turn, helps to explain the strikingly Oriental aspect of the new population.[8]

FRANK DETAILS RACIAL CHANGE IN ROME

Frank went on to explain the push and pull effect that led to the racial makeup change in Rome: of how native Romans were drawn away from Rome by colonization and military service, and of how their places were taken up by slaves, in serfdom and as freedmen:

There are other questions that enter into the problem of change of race at Rome, for the solution of which it is even more difficult to obtain statistics. For instance, one asks, without hope of a sufficient answer, why the native stock did not better hold its own. Yet there are at hand not a few reasons. We know for instance that when Italy had been devastated by Hannibal and a large part of its population put to the sword, immense bodies of slaves were brought up in the East to fill the void; and that during the second century B.C., when the plantation system with its slave service was coming into vogue, the natives were pushed out of the small farms and many disappeared to the provinces of the ever-expanding empire.[9]

Thus, during the thirty years before Tiberius Gracchus, the census statistics show no increase. During the first century B. C., the importation of captives and slaves continued, while the free-born citizens were being wasted in the social, Sullan, and civil wars. Augustus affirms that he had had half a million citizens under arms, one eighth of Rome's citizens, and that the most vigorous part.[10]

During the early empire, twenty to thirty legions, drawn of course from the best free stock, spent their twenty years of

vigor in garrison duty while the slaves, exempt from such services, lived at home and increased in numbers. In other words, the native stock was supported by less than a normal birthrate, whereas the stock of foreign extraction had not only a fairly normal birthrate but a liberal quota of manumissions to its advantage.[11]

HOW MANY SLAVES IN ROME?

It is estimated that the slave population of Rome and its immediate surrounding area at the time of Augustus (circa 30 BC) was some 300,000–350,000 out of a population of about 900,000–950,000.[12]

For all of Italy, the figure is approximately the same. A figure of around two million slaves out of a population of about six million at the time of Augustus is accurate—and this means that at this early stage one in every three persons in Rome and Italy was a slave.[13]

NATIVE ROMAN DEPOPULATION SPEEDED UP BY COLONIZATION

The historian George La Piana (*Foreign Groups in Rome During the First Centuries of the Empire*) has the following to add about how native Romans were drawn away from Rome by colonization and of how "new races" took their place in Rome:

To this increase in the population the native stock seems not to have contributed much. Decimated by long wars, fought by citizen crimes, which secured to Rome a Mediterranean empire, its ranks were thinned still further by the withdrawal of colonies of citizens to the provinces beyond the sea and by a heavy decline in the birthrate even among the poorer classes. The native Roman and Italian population steadily dwindled and the gaps were filled by new races.[14]

LAWS TO ENCOURAGE NATIVE ROMAN BIRTHRATE FAIL

Far thinking Roman leaders saw the decline in native Roman numbers and the threat it posed: Professor A.M Duff (*Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire*) remarks:

One of the most serious evils with which the imperial government was called upon to contend was the decline in population. Not only had the Italian stock almost disappeared from the towns, but the descendants of freedmen had not been born in sufficient numbers to take its place. Accordingly, while the Lex Papia Poppaea offered privileges to freeborn citizens for the possession of three children, it used the whole question of inheritances of freedmen and freedwomen for the encouragement of procreation.[15]

Charles Merivale, another renowned expert on Roman history, continues the story in his *The Romans Under the Empire:*

The centre of the empire had been more exhausted by the civil wars than any of the provinces. The rapid disappearance of the free population had been remarked with astonishment and dismay, at least from the time of the Gracchi. If the numbers actually maintained on the soil of the Peninsula had not diminished, it was abundantly certain that the independent native races had given way almost throughout its extent to a constant importation of slaves.[16]

The remedies to which Caesar resorted would appear as frivolous as they were arbitrary . . . . . He prohibited all citizens between the age of twenty and forty from remaining abroad more than three years together, while, as a matter of state policy, he placed more special restrictions upon the movements of the youths of senatorial families.[17]

CAESAR TRIES TO RESTRICT SLAVE INFLUX INTO ROME

Merivale also points out how Julius Caesar himself saw the danger of slave labor flooding Rome, and actually passed a law forbidding certain types of labor-intensive work from using only slaves:

He (Caesar) required also that the owners of herds and flocks, to the maintenance of which large tracts of Italy were

exclusively devoted, should employ free labour to the extent of at least one-third of the whole. Such laws could only be executed constantly under the vigilant superintendance of a sovereign ruler. They fell in fact into immediate disuse, or rather were never acted upon at all. They served no other purpose at the time but to evince Caesar's perception of one of the fatal tendencies of the age (i.e. race deterioration in Italy), to which the eyes of most statesmen of the day were already open.[18]

ROMAN FATE SEALED

Duff pointed out that even by the time of Octavian Augustus, there were significant numbers of "Orientals" in Rome:

Even in Augustus' day the process of Orientalization had gone too far. The great emperor saw the clouds, but he did not know they had actually burst. His legislation would have been a prudent and not a whit excessive a century earlier; but in his time Rome was a cosmopolitan city, and the doom of the Empire was already sealed.[19]

"THE RACE WENT UNDER"

Frank's study of the Roman family lines revealed exactly how native Romans vanished. He writes:

The race went under. The legislation of Augustus and his successors, while aiming at preserving the native stock, was of the myopic kind so usual in social lawmaking, and failing to reckon with the real nature of the problem involved; it utterly missed the mark.[20]

By combining epigraphical and literary references, a fairly full history of the noble families can be procured, and this reveals a startling inability of such families to perpetuate themselves.[21]

We know, for instance, in Caesar's day of forty-five patricians, only one of whom is represented by posterity when Hadrian came to power. The Aemilsi, Fabii, Claudii. Manlii,
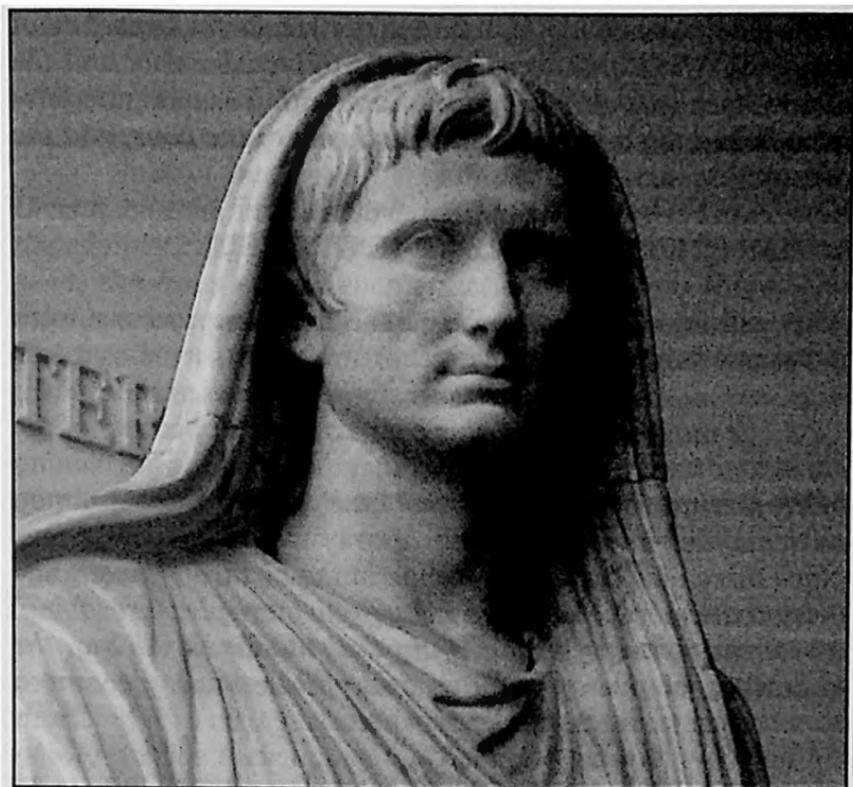
Octavian Augustus: Tried to reverse the Roman brithrate decline.

Valerii, and all the rest, with the exception of Comelii, have disappeared. Augustus and Claudius raised twenty-five families to the patricate, and all but six disappear before Nerva's reign. Of the families of nearly four hundred senators recorded in 65 AD under Nero, all trace of a half is lost by Nerva's day, a generation later. And the records are so full that these statistics may be assumed to represent with a fair degree of accuracy the disappearance of the male stock of the families in question.[22]

    Of course members of the aristocracy were the chief sufferers from the tyranny of the first century, but this havoc was not all wrought by delatores and assassins. The voluntary choice of childlessness accounts largely for the unparalleled condition. This is as far as the records help in this problem, which, despite the silences is probably the most important phase

of the whole question of the change of race. Be the causes what they may, the rapid decrease of the old aristocracy and the native stock was clearly concomitant with a twofold increase from below; by a more normal birthrate of the poor, and the constant manumission of slaves.[23]

ROMAN SOCIETY BECAME "ORIENTALIZED"

Duff goes on to describe the social change process at work in Roman society:

It may be asked in this connexion what became of the Latin and Italian stock. Reasons may be given for the coming of the foreigners, but at the same time some explanation may be demanded for the disappearance of the native. In the first place there was a marked decline in the birthrate among the aristocratic families. . . . As society grew more pleasure loving, as convention raised artificially the standard of living, the voluntary choice of celibacy and childlessness became a common feature among the upper classes.[24]

But what of the lower-class Romans of the old stock? They were practically untouched by revolution and tyranny, and the growth of luxury cannot have affected them to the same extent as it did the nobility. Yet even here the native stock declined. The decay of agriculture. . . drove numbers of farmers into the towns, where, unwilling to engage in trade, they sank into unemployment and poverty, and where, in their endeavours to maintain a high standard of living, they were not able to support the cost of rearing children. Many of these free-born Latins were so poor that they often complained that the foreign slaves were much better off than they—and so they were.[25]

At the same time many were tempted to emigrate to the colonies across the sea which Julius Caesar and Augustus founded. Many went away to Romanize the provinces, while society was becoming Orientalized at home. Because slave labour had taken over almost all jobs, the free born could not compete with them. They had to sell their small farms or businesses and move to the cities. Here they were placed on the doles because of unemployment. They were, at first, encouraged

to emigrate to the more prosperous areas of the empire—to Gaul, North Africa and Spain. Hundreds of thousands left Italy and settled in the newly-acquired lands.[25]

Such a vast number left Italy—leaving it to the Orientals—that finally restrictions had to be passed to prevent the complete depopulation of the Latin stock, but as we have seen, the laws were never effectively put into force. The migrations increased and Italy was being left to another race. The free-born Italian, anxious for land to till and live upon, displayed the keenest colonization activity.[26]

The desire of Romans to emigrate to other areas of the empire is mentioned by the Roman writer Seneca, who stated that Romans looked for every opportunity to leave their native country:

This people (the Romans), how many colonies has it sent to every province! Wherever the Roman conquers, there he dwells. With a view to this change of country, volunteers would gladly ascribe their name, and even the old man, leaving his home would follow the colonists overseas.[27]
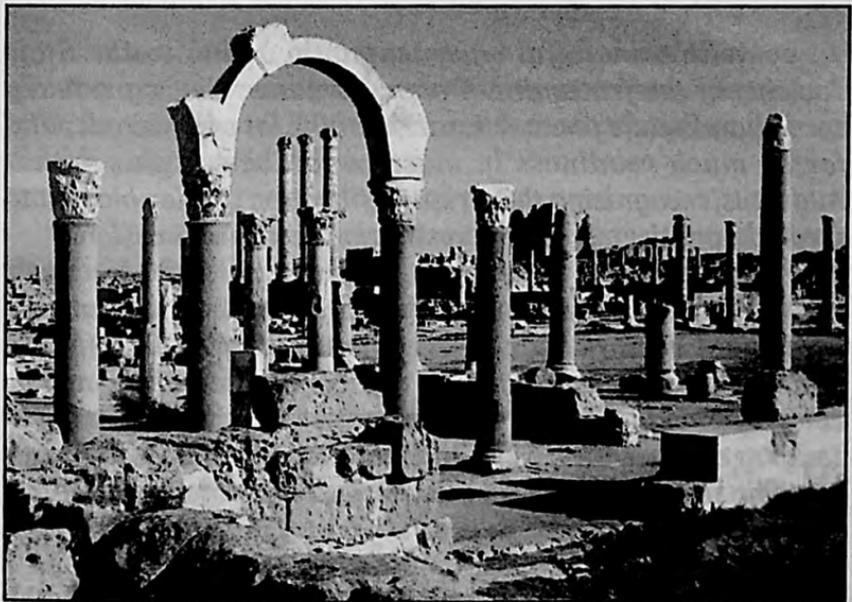
Roman ruins at Sabratha, Libya.

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Theodor Mommsen, in his *The History of Rome,* explains:

The Latin stock of Italy underwent an alarming diminution, and its fair provinces were overspread partly by parasitic immigrants, partly by sheer desolation. A considerable portion of the population of Italy flocked to foreign lands. Already the aggregate amount of talent and of working power, which the supply of Italian magistrates and Italian garrisons for the whole domain of the Mediterranean demanded, transcended the resources of the peninsula, especially as the elements thus sent abroad were in great part lost forever to the nation.[28]

Duff adds:

The Roman thus gave away to the Easterner in Italy, while he made a place for himself in the provinces.[29]

"THE SCANTY NUMBER OF FREE BORN" ROMANS— TACITUS

The *Cambridge Ancient History* adds:

With thoughtful citizens, partly owing to the Stoic doctrine of the fraternity of man, humaner views gradually spread and made for amelioration in the lot of servitude, and for so much readiness in masters to liberate slaves that Augustus, recognizing the serious infiltration of alien blood into the body politic, introduced restrictions on manumission.[30]

Yet this proved but a slight check, and Tacitus records a significant remark that 'if freedmen were marked off as a separate grade, then the scanty number of free-born would be evident.' This shows how very few native free-born were left in Italy by our era. This freemen were now freedmen—ex-slaves or their descendants. They were taking over the complete population. The rise of successful freedmen to riches made a social change of the utmost moment, and the wealth amassed by a Narcissus or a Pallas gives point to Martial's use of 'wealthy freedmen' as something proverbial.[31]

"SLAVES FROM THE EASTERN PROVINCES NUMERICALLY PREPONDERANT IN ROME"

Freed slaves, mostly of Syrian or Eastern extraction, soon became numerically strong in Rome itself. The Emperor Philip was in fact born in Syria, and became known as "Philip the Arabian" as a result. La Piana explains it this way:

It seems unquestionable that the slaves from the eastern provinces were numerically preponderant in Rome, and—what is still more important— that they played a more important part in Roman life. . . . The large population of slaves gave rise to a numerous class of foreign origin, the liberti or freedmen, which came to play an important part in the life of the city. Rome's policy of manumitting slaves was very liberal and the grant of freedom and citizenship made it possible for them to become merged in the citizen body of Rome. Former slaves and sons of slaves spread into trades and crafts that required civil standing, and in Cicero's day it was these people who already constituted the larger element of the plebian classes.[32]

The *Cambridge Ancient History* discusses it this way:

One thing which must, most of all, have shocked the aristocracy, even though of recent date, was the large number of Orientals, especially freedmen, who had been given some of the highest posts in the empire.[33]

The Roman historian Tacitus complains that in Nero's day most of the senators and members of the aristocracy were now men of ex-slave status—and most of these were of Eastern origin, as Duff explains:

The reign of Nero saw no abatement in the power of the imperial freedmen (ex-slaves). When Agrippina was accused of treason, freedmen were present to hear her defense. One of Nero's freedmen, Polyclitus, was actually employed as an arbitrator between a senator and a knight; for when Suetonius Paullinus, the legate of Britain, had disputes with his procurator, Polycritus was sent to settle their differences. He

proceeded to the island (of Britain) with the gorgeous train of an Oriental potentate, but the barbarians failed to comprehend why their conqueror should bow the knee to a slave. When Nero went on his theatrical tour to Greece he left the freedman, Helius, in charge of Rome. Twelve years before this menial had been employed by Nero to murder Silanus; and was now absolute master of the imperial city.[34]

By the third century AD, many of the emperors were actually descendants of the slaves of earlier centuries. La Piana states it this way:

The denationalized capital of the great empire, came to be ruled by the offspring of races which originally had come to the city only to serve.[35]

"90 PERCENT" OF ROME'S POPULATION OF "SERVILE EXTRACTION"

Based on his research, Frank goes on to estimate that as much as 90 percent of the population of the city of Rome was of "servile extraction." While this 90 percent would not all have been of foreign race, the majority most certainly were. Frank states:

But however numerous the offspring of the servile classes, unless the Romans had been liberal in the practice of manumission, these people would not have merged with the civil population. Now, literary and legal records present abundant evidence of an unusual liberality in this practice at Rome, and the facts need not be repeated after the full discussion of Wallon, Buckland, Freulander, Dill, Lemonnier, and Cicotti. If there were any doubt that the laws passed in the early empire for the partial restriction of manumission did not seriously check the practice, the statistics given at the beginning of the paper should allay it. When from eighty to ninety per cent of the urban population proves to have been of servile extraction, we can only conclude that manumissions were not seriously restricted.[36]

Referring to the makeup of the population of Rome by the time of the late empire, Frank remarks:

By far the larger part—perhaps ninety per cent—had Oriental blood in their veins.[37]

CHANGE OF RACE EXPLAINS CHANGE IN CIVILIZATION

The dramatic effect on the civilization of Rome caused by this significant shift in the racial makeup of the population is discussed by Frank as follows:

This Orientalization of Rome's populace has a more important bearing than is usually accorded it upon the larger question of why the spirit and acts of imperial Rome are totally different from those of the republic. There was a complete change in the temperament![38]

There is today a healthy activity in the study of the economic factors that contributed to Rome's decline. But what lay behind and constantly reacted upon all such causes of Rome's disintegration was, after all, to a considerable extent, the fact that the people who had built Rome had given way to a different race.[39]

The lack of energy and enterprise, the failure of foresight and common sense, the weakening of moral and political stamina, all were concomitant with the gradual diminution of the stock which, during the earlier days, had displayed these qualities.[40]

The *Cambridge Ancient History* put it this way:

What of the enormous change in intellectual outlook and spiritual atmosphere between Augustus and Constantine? Is not the result something more Oriental than Greek or Roman in type and temper?[41]

Frank adds:

The cumulative effect of these Oriental religions helped to break the old Roman character. Another more powerful solvent was also inherited from slavery and manumissions. The profuse intermixture of race, containing without interruption

from 200 B.C. far into the history of the Empire, produced a type utterly different from that which characterized the heroes of the early republic. Instead of the hardy and patriotic Roman with his proud indifference to pecuniary gain, we find too often under the Empire an idle pleasure-loving cosmopolitan whose patriotism goes no further than applying for the dole and swelling the crowds in the amphitheatre.[42]

SLAVERY THE KEY TO POPULATION CHANGE

The Historians' History of the World, edited by H.S. Williams, and published by the Encyclopedia Britannica underlines the importance of slavery in this change in Roman society:

Slavery was the most determined enemy of that spirit of conservatism and tradition which had been the strength of the Roman race. The slaves did not spring from the soil of Rome, their recollections and affections were elsewhere, and when they became citizens they did not hesitate to welcome foreign customs and to introduce them into the city. Whilst the statesmen and leading men wore themselves out in trying to preserve what remained of the ancient spirit and old customs, down below, amongst those classes of the populace which were constantly being recruited from slavery, there was a continual working to destroy it. It was thus that, thanks to this secret and powerful influence, new religions easily spread throughout the empire.[43]

THE DISAPPEARANCE OF NATIVE BORN ROMAN EMPERORS

The replacement of the original Roman people by immigrants was marked first at the lowest levels or society, but then gradually made its way up through all levels.

Septimus Severus was the first Roman emperor who was not of Roman extraction, born as he was a Phoenician from North Africa. His wife was Julia Domna, a Syrian. Severus was succeeded by his two sons. The throne later came to two of his grandsons. In all, the Syro-Phoenicians dominated the Roman Empire from 193 AD to 235 AD.

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THE SYRIAN EMPERORS

The *Historian's History of the World* describes this period so:

The Syrian emperors, as far as political traditions are concerned, inasmuch as they were not Romans and had none of the Roman prejudices, often give proof of an openness of mind which would have been impossible to the great emperors of the second century, all of whom were intensely conservative. They flung the doors of the empire wide open.[44]

ROMAN WRITERS DESCRIBE RACIAL MIXING

The Roman satirist Juvenal reported on the increasing use of blond-haired wigs by Romans to cover their dark hair. The hair was purchased from Germans north of the Alps and transported south to Rome.

A Roman coin with the head of Emperor Philip the Arab.

The following extract from Juvenal's *Satire VI* tells of how the emperor's wife, Messalina, put on a blond wig to disguise herself to visit houses of ill repute:

> *Do you care about a private citizen's house, about Eppia's doings? Turn your eyes to the gods' rivals. Hear what the Emperor Claudius had to put up with. As soon as his wife thought that he was asleep, this imperial whore put on the hood she wore at night, determined to prefer a cheap pad to the royal bed, and left the house with one female slave only. No, hiding her black hair in a yellow wig she entered the brothel, warm with its old patchwork quilts and her empty cell, her very own.*[45]

The 1911 *Encyclopedia Britannica* adds the following:

> *The fashionable ladies of Rome were much addicted to false hair, and we learn from Ovid, Amores, i. 14. 45) and Martial (v. 68), that the golden hair imported from Germany was most favored. Juvenal (vi. 120) shows us Messalina assuming a yellow wig for her visits to places of ill-fame, and the scholiast on the passage says that the yellow wig was characteristic of courtesans.*[46]

In his *Satire VI*, Juvenal, while discussing the advisability or otherwise of abortions, warns husbands that their wives may bear mulatto children:

> *Grieve not at this, poor wretch, and with thine own hand give thy wife the potion whatever is to be for did she choose to bear her leaping children in her womb thou wouldst, perchance, become the sire of an Ethiop, a blackamoor would soon be your sole heir.*[47]

The Roman writer Martial, writing about the misconduct of Roman wives, mentions a Roman woman who bore her husband seven children, none of whom was of his race. Marital says:

> *One of them, with wooly hair, like a Moor, seems to be the son of Santra, the cook. The second, with a flat nose and thick lips, is the image of Pannicus, the wrestler . . . of the two*

daughters, one is black . . . and belongs to Crotus, the flute player.[48]

The Roman orator Calpurnius Flaccus (circa second century AD), discussed the issue of "maternal impression" as an explanation for mulatto children. In his work *De Natus Aethiops (Of Ethiopian Birth,)* he makes the white wife of a mulatto child say:

Tell me then, did I love a Negro?" she says. She did not, and asserts that "the element of chance may effect a great deal within the womb." Of the child's color, she says: "You see there the skin scorched by an imperfection of the blood.[49]

Plutarch (*De sera numinis vindicta*) tells the story of a woman who gave birth to a black child and was accused of adultery, but subsequent investigation revealed that her great grandfather was an Ethiopian.[50]

The Roman scholar Pliny (*Naturalis Historia*) mentioned yet another example of mulatto children:

One certain example is that of the renowned boxer Nicaeus, born at Byzantium, whose mother was the daughter of adultery with a Negro. Her complexion was no different from that of the others [other white women], but her son Nicaeus appeared like his Negro grandfather.[51]

THE "HIDEOUS HYBRID"—CLAUDIAN

The emperor Claudian (365–408 AD) objected to the racial mixing taking place in North Africa under the "Moor" ("Maur") Gildo, who had been appointed ruler of the colony of "Africa" by the emperor Valentian. Claudian wrote:

When tired of each noblest matron, [Gildo] hands her over to the Moors. These Sidonian mothers, married in Carthage City, must needs be mate with barbarians. He thrusts upon me an Ethiopian son-in-law. This hideous hybrid affects the cradle.[52]

CONCLUSION—RACIAL CHANGE CAUSED DECLINE OF ROMAN EMPIRE

The unanimous conclusion of the many famous historians who studied the classical Roman era in depth was that a change in race was the primary cause of the fall of that civilization.

These historians concluded:

1. The original Roman people were dissipated by war, foreign service in the military, and emigration to their colonies;

2. Their place in Rome and surrounds was taken by the wholesale importation of slaves, the majority of whom had come from the mixed-race southeastern reaches of the empire;

3. Eventually even the emperors were not of Roman extraction; and

4. As a result of the first two factors mentioned above, the remaining Roman population became increasingly of mixed-racial origin.

The importance of this racial change was not lost on many famous historians, but the modern era's censorship of the issue of race as a determining factor has led to the deliberate suppression of the work of Frank (and others).

Nonetheless, the accuracy and validity of their observations remain as true as ever, and provide the real answer for the fall of the classical Roman civilization.

Notes

[1-6] Frank, Tenney, "Race mixture in the Roman Empire," *American Historical Review,* Volume 21, 1916, pp. 689–708.

[7] Juvenal, *Satire III: There is no Room in Rome for a Roman,* 62.

[8-11] Frank, *ibid.*

[12] Hopkins, K., *Conquerors and Slaves: Sociological Studies in Roman History,* Volume 1, Cambridge, 1978.

[13] Madden, John, *Slavery in the Roman Empire—Numbers and Origins,* University College, Galway, Classics Ireland, 1996 Volume 3, University College, Dublin, Ireland.

[14] La Piana, George, *Foreign Groups in Rome During the First Centuries of the Empire,* The Harvard Theological Review, vol. XX, pp. 188, 189.

[15] A. M. Duff, *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire,* Oxford University Press 1928, p. 191.

[16-18] Merivale, Charles, *The Romans Under the Empire,* vol. 2. pp. 395–397.

[19] Duff, A.M., *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire,* pp. 207–208.

[20-23] Frank, *ibid.*

[24-26] Duff, A.M., *Freedmen in the Early Roman Empire,* Cambridge, Engl: W. Heffer and Sons, Ltd., 1958 (1928), p. 178–201.

[27] Seneca, *Helvia on Consolation,* VII, 7.

[28] Mommsen, Theodor, *The History of Rome,* vol. V, p. 393.

[29] Duff, *ibid.*

[30-31] *Cambridge Ancient History,* vol. VI, pp. 755, 756.

[32] La Piana, *Foreign Groups in Rome,* pp. 190, 191.

[33] *Cambridge Ancient History,* vol. X, p. 727

[34] Duff, *ibid.*

[35] La Piana, *Foreign Groups in Rome,* p. 223.

[36-40] Frank, *ibid.*

[41] *Cambridge Ancient History,* vol. XII, p. 448.

[42] Frank, *ibid.*

[43] *The Historians' History of the World, A Comprehensive Narrative of the Rise and Development of Nations from the Earliest Times as recorded by over Two Thousand of the Great Writers of All Ages.* Edited with the assistance of a Distinguished Board of Advisers and Contributors by Henry Smith Williams, LL.D. London & New York: Encyclopædia Britannica, 1904 [5th ed., 1926].

[44] *Ibid,* vol. 6, p. 404.

[45] Juvenal, *Satire VI,* Book 4, De Rerum Natura, vi. 120.

[46] *The Encyclopaedia Britannica: A Dictionary of Arts, Sciences, Literature and General Information:* 29 Volumes: 11th Edition 1911, Masters and Scholars of the University of Cambridge, Volume 28, entry under "Wig."

[47] Juvenal, *Satire VI,* lines 596–600.

[48] Martial, *Epigrams Book VI,* 39.

[49] Calpurnius Flaccus, Calpurnius, *De Natus Aethiops, Biblioteca Latina,* Vol. 80.

[50] Plutarch, *Moralia, De sera numinis vindicta,* VII, 44.

[51] Pliny, *Naturalis Historia VII,*12.51.

[52] Claudian, *De Bello Gildonico I,* 189.

APPENDIX:

RACE MIXTURE IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

By Professor Tenney Frank, as published in the *American Historical Review,* volume 21, July 1916.

RACE MIXTURE IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

THERE is one surprise that the historian usually experiences upon his first visit to Rome. It may be at the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican or at the Lateran Museum, but, if not elsewhere, it can hardly escape him upon his first walk up the Appian Way. As he stops to decipher the names upon the old tombs that line the road, hoping to chance upon one familiar to him from his Cicero or Livy, he finds praenomen and nomen promising enough, but the cognomina all seem awry. L. Lucretius *Pamphilus*, A. Aemilius *Alexa*, M. Clodius *Philostorgus* do not smack of freshman Latin. And he will not readily find in the Roman writers now extant an answer to the questions that these inscriptions invariably raise. Do these names imply that the Roman stock was completely changed after Cicero's day, and was the satirist recording a fact when he wailed that the Tiber had captured the waters of the Syrian Orontes? If so, are these foreigners ordinary immigrants, or did Rome become a nation of ex-slaves and their offspring? Or does the abundance of Greek cognomina mean that, to a certain extent, a foreign nomenclature has gained respect, so that a Roman dignitary might, so to speak, sign a name like C. Julius Abascantus on the hotel register without any misgivings about the accommodations?

Unfortunately, most of the sociological and political data of the empire are provided by satirists. When Tacitus informs us that in Nero's day a great many of Rome's senators and knights were descendants of slaves and that the native stock had dwindled to surprisingly small proportions, we are not sure whether we are not to take it as an exaggerated thrust by an indignant Roman of the old stock. At any rate, this, like similar remarks equally indirect, receives totally different evaluation in the discussion of those who have treated of Rome's society, like Friedländer, Dill, Mommsen, Wallon,

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and Marquardt. To discover some new light upon these fundamental questions of Roman history, I have tried to gather such fragmentary data as the corpus of inscriptions might afford. This evidence is never decisive in its purport, and it is always, by the very nature of the material, partial in its scope, but at any rate it may help us to interpret our literary sources to some extent. It has at least convinced me that Juvenal and Tacitus were not exaggerating. It is probable that when these men wrote a very small percentage of the free plebeians on the streets of Rome could prove unmixed Italian descent. By far the larger part—perhaps ninety per cent.—had Oriental blood in their veins.

My first quest was for information about the stock of the ordinary citizen of Rome during the empire. In the *Corpus of Latin Inscriptions*[1] the editors, after publishing the honorary and sepulchral inscriptions of the nobles and military classes, followed by those of the slaves and humble classes which occur in the *columbaria,* gave the rest of the city's sepulchral inscriptions (19,260) in alphabetical order.[2] Of these I read the 13,900 contained in volume VI., parts 2 and 3, which, despite the occurrence of some slaves as well as of some persons of wealth, represent on the whole the ordinary type of urban plebeians. A mere classification of all these names into lists of natives on the one hand and slaves and foreigners on the other would be of little service, since, obviously, transient foreigners are of little importance in estimating the stock of the permanent population of Rome, and we must face the question at once whether or not the slave and freedman stock permanently merged into the civil population. Furthermore, such lists will be at everyone's hand as soon as the index of the sixth volume of *CIL.* is published. In reckoning up the foreign stock, therefore, I have counted only those who, according to the inscriptions, were presumably born at Rome. A somewhat arbitrary definition of limits was necessary since we are seldom given definite information about the place of birth, but as I have used the same classification for the free-born as for the slave-born the results are valid for our purposes. For instance, in getting statistics of birth, I have included all children under ten years of age, assuming that slave children under that age would rarely be brought in from abroad; and if slaves of this class are counted, the free-born of the same class must also be reckoned with. I have also included slave and free-born children who appear to be with father, mother, brother, or sister at Rome, since presumably they would have been sundered from their family if they had

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[1] *CIL.*, vol. VI., parts 2, 3, 4.
[2] Vol. VI., part 4[2], published in 1902, contains 2572 additional inscriptions of this class.

been brought in from the foreign market; and again, in order to reach fair results, the corresponding persons of free birth are counted. For reasons which will presently appear I have accepted the Greek cognomen as a true indication of recent foreign extraction, and, since citizens of native stock did not as a rule unite in marriage with *liberti,* a Greek cognomen in a child or one parent is sufficient evidence of status. As is well known, certain Latin cognomina, *e.g.*, Salvius, Hilarus, Fortunatus, were so frequently borne by slaves and freedmen that they were apt to be avoided by the better classes. Nevertheless, since no definite rule is attainable in the matter, I have credited the bearers of all Latin names to the native stock in all cases of doubt.[3]

Classifying in this way the names of the aforesaid 13,900 inscriptions of volume VI., parts 2 and 3, we find that of the 4485 persons apparently born at Rome, 3723 (eighty-three per cent.) fall into the list which by our criteria represents foreign extraction. This figure is probably not far from correct, but I think it would be raised somewhat if it were possible to decide what proportion of Latin cognomina conceals slaves and *liberti.* For instance, a name like Q. Manlius Restitutus (VI. 22015) would usually pass with little suspicion. But the inscription also names his father, mother, wife, and two sons, all of whom have Greek cognomina. Because of his parentage I have classed him as of foreign stock, but there are scores of brief inscriptions in which the necessary facts are not provided. In these the subject had to be classed, however erroneously, as Latin.

In order to reckon if possible the margin of error in cases like

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[3] In epigraphical discussions one constantly meets with the statement that freedmen were compelled to indicate their status by the designation *lib.* or *l.* and that therefore the occurrence of the *tria nomina* without such designation is proof of free birth. Unfortunately, this rule, if indeed it was one, was so frequently broken, that it must be employed with caution. There are hundreds of obvious exceptions where *tria nomina* of respectable appearance impose upon the reader until at the end of the inscription the dedicant's designation of *patronus* or *contubernalis* or *conlibertus* betrays the real status, *e. g.*, VI. 7849, 14550, 16203, 17562, 20675, 20682, 22299, 22606, 23927, 23989. Again, numerous bearers of faultless *tria nomina* fall under strong *presumption* of being freedmen because of some official title like *sevir* or because their sons prove to belong to one of the city tribes; *cf.* X. 690, 4620, 6677; VI. 12431, 14045, 20079. Finally, there are many instances like 14018. Here a man gives the name of a large family (all with *tria nomina*) including children and a grandchild, but only the youngest, Caesonia M. F. Prima, a child of seven months, bears the *F* which definitely indicates free birth. Apparently the other members of the family were not entitled to the designation. Compare also 20123, 20339, 23813. Since in cases of doubt I have been compelled to credit bearers of Latin *tria nomina* to the native stock, it will appear that this group has more than received full credit in the accompanying lists.

this, I have attempted to test the respectability of Latin cognomina, but with rather unsatisfactory results. I counted all the names of slaves and freedmen in the indexes of volumes V., IX., XIV., and over a thousand in volume VI., in order to get a group of five thousand bearing the prevalent slave-names. More than half (2874) have Greek names, the most popular of these being Eros (58 times), Pamphilus (36), Antiochus (34), Hermes (30), Alexander (28), Philomusus (26), Onesimus (22), Philargyrus (21), names, most of which were also very popular among free Greeks and Asiatics. Two thousand one hundred and twenty-six have Latin names, some of which occur with remarkable frequency, *e.g.*, Felix (97), Hilarus -a (64–53), Faustus -a (58–33), Salvius -a (38–18), Fortunatus -a (29–15), Primus -a (51–47), Secundus -a (25–34), Tertius -a (18–18), Auctus -a (24–15), Vitalis (36), Januarius -a (22–6). Now, if we compare these Latin names with those borne by better-class Roman plebeians, by the pretorian guards, for instance (though many descendants of slaves served even in the pretorian guards), we find, despite a certain overlapping, quite a striking difference. Apparently some names had acquired such sordid associations that they were in general avoided by ordinary plebeians. The favorite names on the pretorian lists are Maximus, Proculus, Severus, Verus, Capito, Justus, Celer, Marcellus, Clemens, Victor, and the like. We may not say that any Latin name was confined wholly to slaves, nor would it be possible to give any usable list of relative percentages, but we may at least say that the Romans recognized such names as Salvius, Hilarus, Fortunatus, Optatus, Auctus, Vitalis, Januarius, as being peculiarly appropriate to slaves; and Felix, Faustus, Primus, Primitivus, and a few others must have cast some suspicion upon the bearer. After reviewing in this light the seventeen per cent. of possible claimants of Latin origin in the alphabetical list of inscriptions in volume VI., parts 2 and 3, I have little doubt that a third of these would, with fuller evidence, be shifted into the class of non-Latins.

On the other hand, the question has been raised whether a man with a Greek cognomen must invariably be of foreign stock. Could it not be that Greek names became so popular that, like Biblical and classical names to-day, they were accepted by Romans of native stock? In the last days of the empire this may have been the case ;[4]

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[4] There are not enough datable inscriptions available to show whether the Greek cognomen gained or lost respectability with time. Obviously it may in general be assumed that most of the freedmen who bore the gentile name of Aelius and Aurelius belong to a later date than the general group of those named Julius and Claudius. If we may use this fact as a criterion we may decide that there was little difference between the first and the second century in this matter, since the proportion of Greek cognomina is about the same in the two groups.

but the inscriptions prove that the Greek cognomen was not in good repute. I have tested this matter by classifying all the instances in the 13,900 inscriptions (there are 1347) where the names of both father and son appear.[5] From this it appears that fathers with Greek names are very prone to give Latin names to their children, whereas the reverse is not true. The statistics are as follows:

	Greek cognomen		Latin cognomen	
Father	859		488	
	Greek	Latin	Greek	Latin
Son	460	399	53	435

This means that in one generation Greek names diminish from sixty-four per cent. to thirty-eight per cent., or that forty-six per cent. of the fathers with Greek names give their sons Latin names, while only eleven per cent. of the Latin fathers give their sons Greek names. And this eleven per cent. dwindles upon examination into a negligible quantity. For instance, in seventeen of the fifty-three cases the mother's name is Greek, which betrays the true status of the family; and in ten other instances the son's gentile name differs from that of the " father ", who is, therefore, probably a stepfather. In almost all of the other twenty-six instances, the inscription is too brief to furnish a fair criterion for judging. Clearly the Greek name was considered as a sign of dubious origin among the Roman plebeians, and the freedman family that rose to any social ambitions made short shrift of it. For these reasons, therefore, I consider that the presence of a Greek name in the immediate family is good evidence that the subject of the inscription is of servile or foreign stock. The conclusion of our pros and cons must be that nearly ninety per cent. of the Roman-born folk represented in the above-mentioned sepulchral inscriptions of *CIL.*, volume VI., parts 2 and 3, are of foreign extraction.

Who are these Romans of the new type and whence do they come? How many are immigrants, and how many are of servile extraction? Of what race are they? Seneca happens to make a remark which is often quoted as proof of extensive immigration to Rome. He writes to his mother in derision of Rome:

Of this crowd the greater part have no country; from their own free towns and colonies, in a word, from the whole globe, they are congregated. Some are brought by ambition, some by the call of public duty,

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[5] It is difficult to secure usable statistics in the case of women, since their cognomina may come from almost any relative or near friend. However, an examination of the indexes of names will show that the Greek cognomen was relatively no more popular among the women than among the men.

or by reason of some mission, others by luxury which seeks a harbor rich and commodious for vices, others by the eager pursuit of liberal studies, others by shows, etc.[6]

Seneca apparently refers in large part to visitors, but also to immigrants. In so far as he has transients in mind we are not concerned with the passage, for such people did little to affect the permanent racial complexion of Rome's civil population. A passage in Juvenal's third satire is perhaps more to the point, for he seems to imply that the Oriental has come to stay.

> While every land . . .
>   daily pours
> Its starving myriads forth. Hither they come
> To batten on the genial soil of Rome,
> Minions, then lords of every princely dome,
> Grammarian, painter, augur, rhetorician,
> Rope-dancer, conjurer, fiddler, and physician.

This passage clearly suggests that foreigners of their own free will have drifted to Rome in great numbers to make it their place of livelihood and their permanent abode. I cannot here treat the whole problem, but, while agreeing that the implication of this passage is true to a certain degree, I would question whether the generalities in it are not too sweeping. It may well be that many of the ex-slave rabble who spoke the languages of the East imposed upon the uncritical by passing as free-born immigrants. Even freedmen were not beyond pretending[7] that they had voluntarily chosen slavery as a means of attaining to Roman citizenship by way of the *vindicta*. At any rate, the Roman inscriptions have very few records of free-born foreigners. Such men, unless they attained to citizenship,[8] ought to bear names like that in no. 17171, *Dis man. Epaeneti, Epaeneti F. Ephesio*, but there are not a dozen names of this sort to be found among the inscriptions of volume VI., parts 2 and 3. Nor need we assume that many persons of this kind are concealed among the inscriptions that bear the *tria nomina*, for immigrants of this class did not often perform the services for which the state granted citizenship. There could hardly have been an influx of foreign free-born laborers at Rome, for Rome was not an industrial city and was more than well provided with poor citizens who could not compete with slaves and had to live upon the state's bounty. Indeed, an examination of the laborious article by Kühn[9] fails to reveal any free-

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[6] *Ad Helviam*, 6.

[7] Petronius, 57.

[8] This criterion fails of course after citizenship was given to the provincials in the third century, but when Rome's population was decreasing there probably was not a heavy immigration.

[9] *De Opificum Romanorum Condicione* (1910).

born foreigners among the skilled laborers of the city. In regard to shop-keepers, merchants, and traders we may refer to a careful discussion by Pârvan.[10] He has convincingly shown that the retail trade was carried on at Rome, not by foreigners but by Romans of the lower classes, mostly slaves and freedmen, and that while the provincials of Asia and Egypt continued throughout the empire to carry most of the imports of the East to Rome, the Roman houses had charge of the wholesale trade in the city. The free-born foreigner did not make any inroad upon this field. However, in various arts and crafts, such as those mentioned by Juvenal, the free immigrant could gain a livelihood at Rome. Some of the teachers of rhetoric, philosophy, and mathematics, some of the doctors, sculptors, architects, painters, and the like, were citizens of the provincial cities who went to Rome for greater remuneration. But even most of these professions were in the hands of slaves and freedmen who had been given a specialized education by their masters. In volume VI., part 2, which contains the sepulchral inscriptions classified according to arts and crafts, there is very little trace of the free-born foreigner. Among the fifty inscriptions of *medici,* for instance, only two, 9563, 9597, contain sure instances of such foreigners. Among the *grammatici, rhetores, argentarii, structores,* and *pictores,* where they might well be expected, I find no clear case. It is evident then that the sweeping statements of men like Juvenal and Seneca should not be made the basis for assuming a considerable free-born immigration that permanently altered the citizen-body of Rome. These writers apparently did not attempt to discriminate between the various classes that were speaking foreign jargons on the streets of Rome. As a matter of fact, this foreign-speaking population had, for the most part, it seems, learned the languages they used within the city itself from slaves and freedman parents of foreign birth.

If now this great crowd of the city was not of immigrant stock, but rather of servile extraction, the family life of the slaves must have been far more conducive to the propagation of that stock than is usually assumed, and, furthermore, manumission must have been practised so liberally that the slave-stock could readily merge into the citizen-body. On the latter question our sources are satisfactory; on the former, they have little to say. From Varro (II. i. 26 and x. 6) and Columella (I. 8, 19) it has been well known that slaves on farms and pasture-lands were expected to marry and have offspring. The Romans considered this good economy, both because the stock of slaves increased thereby and because the slaves

themselves remained better satisfied with their condition. However, partly because there exists no corresponding statement regarding slaves in the city, partly because of a reckless remark made by Plutarch that Cato restricted the cohabitation of his slaves, partly, too, because service in the city household is supposed to have been very exacting, the prevalent opinion seems to be that the marriage of slaves in the urban *familia* was unusual. Hence the statement is frequently made that slavery died perforce when the *pax Romana* of the empire put an end to capture by warfare.

Fortunately the *columbaria* of several Roman households provide a fairly reliable record regarding the prevalence of marriage among city slaves. In *CIL.*, VI. 2, some 4500 brief inscriptions are given, mainly from the rude funeral urns of slaves and poor freedmen of the first century of the empire. About one-third of these are from the *columbaria* of the Livii, Drusi, Marcelli, Statilii, and Volusii, aristocratic households where, presumably, service would be as exacting as anywhere, discipline as strict, and concern for profits from the birth of *vernae* as inconsiderable as anywhere. Furthermore, these inscriptions date from a time when slaves were plentiful and the dearth of captives generally assumed for a later day cannot be posited. Nevertheless, I believe that anyone who will studiously compare the record of offspring in this group of inscriptions with that in ordinary plebeian inscriptions will reach the conclusion that even in these households the slave doorkeepers and cooks and hairdressers and scullery-maids customarily married and had children. The volume is full of interesting instances: Livia's *sarcinatrix* married her *mensor* (VI. 3988), Octavia's *ornatrix* was the wife of her keeper of the plate (5539), Statilius's courier courted the spinning-maid of the household (6342). In the lists of husbands and wives one finds a chef (7458), a *vestiarius* (9963), a *vestifica* (5206), an *unctor* (6381), a slave-maid serving as secretary (*a manu*, 9540), the keeper of my lady's mirrors (7297), of her hand-bag (7368), of her wardrobe (4043), of her jewels (7296), and what not. Now, these inscriptions are all extremely brief. There are a great many like 4478, *Domitia Sex. l. Artemisia, Tertius, Viator.*, where the word *coniunx* or *contubernalis* is probably, though not necessarily, understood. Furthermore, the record of children is not as complete as it would be in inscriptions of the better classes. A slave-child is, of course, not always honored with a record of its brief existence. Moreover, slave families, not being recognized in formal law, were sometimes broken up, so that some of the names fail to appear with the rest of the family. Nevertheless, the proportion of marriages and of offspring recorded by these very inscriptions, brief and in-

complete as they are, is remarkably large. In the thousand inscriptions of the *columbaria* of the Livii, Drusi, Marcelli, and the first eighty of the Volusii (to make the even 1000) I find,

> 151 inscriptions recording offspring.
> 99 additional inscriptions recording marriage.
> 152 additional inscriptions (like 4478 quoted above) probably recording marriage.
> ———
> 402

Now this is not, of course, as large a proportion as is found in the main body of normal inscriptions. For comparison I give the proportions of 14,000 of volume VI., parts 2 and 3, reduced to the ratio of 1000:

Per 1000	Total	
280	3923	inscriptions recording offspring.
184	2577	additional inscriptions recording marriage.
39	548	additional inscriptions probably recording marriage.
503		

Here, as we should expect, the proportion of children is larger, and the long list of inscriptions bearing names of a man and a woman whose relationship is not defined yields in favor of a record of *conjuges*. But, as has been said, the slave inscriptions are far briefer and less complete than the others.

To discover whether the lower proportion in the first list might be due to the brevity of the inscriptions, I compared it with the list of 460 inscriptions of greater length, edited in volume VI., part 2, 8639 ff., as being *ex familia Augusta*. These inscriptions are longer, to be sure, because the persons designated had reached some degree of prosperity and could afford a few feet of sod with a separate stone. But even these slaves and freedmen were generally required to furnish close and persistent attention to their service. I have again given the numbers in the proportion of 1000 for the sake of comparison.

Per 1000	Total	
290	133	inscriptions recording offspring.
220	101	additional inscriptions recording marriages.
78	36	additional inscriptions probably recording marriages.
588		

From this list, if we may draw any conclusions from such small numbers, it would appear that the imperial slaves and freedmen were more productive than the ordinary citizens of Rome. And I see no reason for doubting that the proportions in the households of the Livii, Drusi, etc., would be nearly as large if the inscriptions were

full lapidary ones, instead of the short notices that were painted or cut upon the small space of an urn.

Finally, for the sake of getting a fuller record regarding the poorer classes, I read 3000 inscriptions of the miscellaneous *columbaria* that follow those of the aristocratic households. These are nos. 4881–7881 of volume VI., part 2. A very few of these inscriptions contain names of poor free-born citizens who associated with—in fact were probably related to—slaves and ex-slaves, but the proportion is so small that we may safely use this group for our present purpose. Three thousand inscriptions from miscellaneous *columbaria:*

Per 1000	Total	
154	462	inscriptions recording offspring.
111	332	additional inscriptions recording marriage.
73	220	additional inscriptions probably recording marriage.
338		

This group, consisting of the very briefest inscriptions, set up by the poorest of Rome's menial slaves, shows, as we might expect, the smallest birth and marriage rate. But when we compare it with that of the corresponding class engaged in the aristocratic and imperial households, the ratios fall only in proportion to the brevity and inadequacy of the record.

To sum up, then, it would seem that not only were the slaves of the *familia rustica* permitted and encouraged to marry, as Varro and Columella indicate, but—what the literary sources fail to tell—that slaves and freedmen in the *familia urbana* did not differ from country slaves in this respect. And, considering the poverty of those who raised these humble memorials, the brevity of the records, and the ease with which members of such families were separated, the ratio of offspring is strikingly large. We cannot be far from wrong if we infer that the slaves and freedmen[11] of the city were nearly as prolific as the free-born population.

But however numerous the offspring of the servile classes, unless the Romans had been liberal in the practice of manumission, these people would not have merged with the civil population. Now, literary and legal records present abundant evidence of an unusual liberality in this practice at Rome, and the facts need not be repeated after the full discussions of Wallon, Buckland, Friedländer, Dill,

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[11] We cannot suppose that most of the children belong to the period subsequent to the liberation of the parents. Very many of the *liberti* recorded were emancipated in old age, and throughout the empire manumission of slaves under 30 years of age was discouraged (Buckland, *Roman Law of Slavery.* p. 542). In a large number of instances the form and contents of the inscriptions show that slave-fathers after emancipation paid the price for children and wife.

Lemonnier, and Cicotti. If there were any doubt that the laws passed in the early empire for the partial restriction of manumission did not seriously check the practice, the statistics given at the beginning of the paper would allay it. When from eighty to ninety per cent. of the urban-born population proves to have been of servile extraction, we can only conclude that manumission was not seriously restricted. I may add that a count of all the slaves and freedmen in the *familiae* of the aristocratic households mentioned above showed that almost a half were *liberti*. It is difficult to believe that this proportion represents the usual practice, however, and, in fact, the figures must be used with caution. On the one hand, they may be too high, for many who served as slaves all their lives were manumitted only in old age, and it must also be recognized that slaves were less apt to be recorded than *liberti*. On the other hand, the figures may in some respects be too low, since there can be little doubt that the designation *liberti* was at times omitted on the simple urns, even though the subject had won his freedom. However, as far as the inscriptions furnish definite evidence, they tell the same tale as the writers of Rome, namely, that slaves were at all times emancipated in great numbers.

When we consider whence these slaves came and of what stock they actually were, we may derive some aid from an essay by Bang, *Die Herkunft der Römischen Sklaven.* Bang has collected all the inscriptions like *Damas, natione Syrus,* and *C. Ducenius C. lib. natus in Syria,* which reveal the provenance of slaves. Of course, the number of inscriptions giving such information is relatively small, a few hundred in all. It should also be noticed that when a slave gives his nationality he shows a certain pride in it, which, in some cases at least, implies that he is not a normal slave of the mart, born in servitude, but rather a man of free birth who may have come into the trade by capture, abduction, or some other special way. However, with this word of caution we may use Bang's statistics for what they are worth.

A very large proportion in his list (seven-eighths of those dating in our era) came from within the boundaries of the empire. From this we may possibly infer that war-captives were comparatively rare during the empire, and that, though abduction and kidnapping supplied some of the trade, the large bulk of the slaves were actually reared from slave-parents. Doubtless slaves were reared with a view to profit in Greece and the Orient, as well as in Italy, and I see no reason for supposing that the situation there differed much from that of our Southern States where—for obvious economic reasons— the birth-rate of slaves was higher between 1800 and 1860 than the

birth-rate of their free descendants has been since then. An examination of the names in Bang's list with reference to the provenance of the bearer will do something toward giving a criterion for judging the source of Italian slaves not otherwise specified. In a very few cases a name appears which is not Greek or Latin but Semitic, Celtic, etc., according to the birthplace of the slave, as, for instance, Malchio, Zizas, Belatusa. Such names are rare and never cause any difficulty. Somewhat more numerous, and equally clear of interpretation, are the generic names that explicitly give the race of the bearer, like Syrus, Cappadox, Gallus, etc. In general, however, slaves have Greek or Latin names, and here difficulties arise, for it has by no means been certain whether or not these names had so distinctively servile a connotation that they might be applied indiscriminately to captives from the North and West, as well as to the slaves of Italy and the East. Nevertheless, there seems to be a fairly uniform practice which differentiated between Greek and Latin names during the empire. Slaves from Greece, from Syria, from Asia Minor, including the province of Asia, Phrygia, Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Cappadocia, Bithynia, Paphlagonia, Galatia—that is, from regions where Greek was the language of commerce, regularly bore Greek, rather than Latin, names. Slaves from the North— from Germany to Dacia—as a rule bore Latin names. Presumably their own barbaric names were difficult to pronounce and Greek ones seemed inappropriate. Slaves from Spain and Gaul bore Latin and Greek names in about equal numbers. But here we must apparently discriminate. These provinces were old and commerce had brought into them many Oriental slaves from the market. It may be that the Greek names were applied mostly to slaves of Eastern extraction. This I should judge to be the case at least with the following: Ephesia (Bang, p. 239), Corinthus, Hyginus, Phoebus (his father's name is Greek), Eros (a *Sevir Aug.*), and Philocyrius (p. 240, Hübner reads Philo, Cyprius). In general we may apply these criteria in trying in some measure to decide the provenance of slaves in Italy whose nativity is not specified: bearers of Greek names are in general from the East or descendants of Eastern slaves who have been in the West; bearers of Latin names are partly captives of the North and West, partly, as we have seen from our Roman lists, Easterners and descendants of Easterners who have received Latin names from their masters.

Therefore, when the urban inscriptions show that seventy per cent. of the city slaves and freedmen bear Greek names and that a large proportion of the children who have Latin names have parents of Greek names, this at once implies that the East was the source of

most of them, and with that inference Bang's conclusions entirely agree. In his list of slaves that specify their origin as being outside of Italy (during the empire), by far the larger portion came from the Orient, especially from Syria and the provinces of Asia Minor, with some from Egypt and Africa (which for racial classification may be taken with the Orient). Some are from Spain and Gaul, but a considerable proportion of these came originally from the East. Very few slaves are recorded from the Alpine and Danube provinces, while Germans rarely appear, except among the imperial bodyguard. Bang remarks that Europeans were of greater service to the empire as soldiers than as servants. This is largely true, but, as Strack has commented,[12] the more robust European war-captives were apt to be chosen for the gruelling work in the mines and in industry, and consequently they have largely vanished from the records. Such slaves were probably also the least productive of the class; and this, in turn, helps to explain the strikingly Oriental aspect of the new population.

Up to this point we have dealt mainly with the inscriptions of the city. But they, of course, do not represent the state of affairs in the empire at large. Unfortunately, it is difficult to secure large enough groups of sepulchral inscriptions for other cities and districts to yield reliable average on the points just discussed. However, since the urban inscriptions have presented a general point of view regarding the prolificness of slaves and the significance of the Greek cognomen, it will suffice to record the proportion of servile and Oriental names found in some typical district outside of the city. The proportion of Greek names to Latin among the slaves and *liberti* of the city was, in the inscriptions I recorded, seventy per cent. versus thirty per cent. This is of course very high. In *CIL.*, volume XIV. (Latium outside of Rome), the index of cognomina gives 571 to 315, that is, about sixty-four per cent. to thirty-six per cent.; volume IX. (Calabria to Picenum), 810 to 714, *i.e.*, fifty-three to forty-seven per cent.; volume V. (Cisalpine Gaul), 701 to 831, *i.e.*, forty-six to fifty-four per cent. This, in fact, is the only part of Italy where the majority of slaves and freedmen recorded did not bear Greek names. As is to be expected, northern slaves, who generally received Latin names, were probably found in larger numbers here; but again it should not be forgotten that a great many of the Latin-named slaves were of Eastern extraction.

In order to get more specific evidence regarding the nature of the population in the West, free as well as servile, we may read the sepulchral inscriptions of some typical towns[13] and districts. I have

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[12] *Historische Zeitschrift*, CXII. 9.

[13] In this list I have omitted imperial officials and soldiers, since they are not likely to be natives of the place.

listed them in four groups: (1) slaves and freedmen bearing Latin names; (2) slaves and freedmen bearing Greek names; (3) free-born citizens with Latin cognomen; (4) free-born citizens with Greek cognomen.   Under 3 and 4, I have, except when explicit evidence proved the contrary, credited the *tria nomina* as indication of free birth, but wish again to call attention to the caution contained in note 3.   In cases of doubt the absence of the gentile name has been taken as an indication of servile station if the name given is Greek or Latin and not Barbarian.

	1	2	3	4	Sum
Marsi and Vestini, Italy	201	119	234	58	612
Beneventum, Italy	141	129	297	57	624
Milan and Patavium, North Italy..	182	135	400	93	810
Narbo, Gaul	257	160	332	95	844
Gades, Corduba ⎫ Spain Hispalis, Emerita ⎭	129	101	305	90	625
	910	644	1568	393	3515

When the indexes of *CIL.* are nearer completion such details will be more readily available and the tedious work of getting full statistics may be undertaken with the hope of reaching some degree of finality.   However, the trend is evident in what we have given, and the figures are, I think, fairly representative of the whole.   In these towns, as at Rome, the proportion of non-Latin folk is strikingly large.   Slaves, freedmen, and citizens of Greek name make up more than half the population, despite the fact that in the nature of the case these are presumably the people least likely to be adequately represented in inscriptions.   Furthermore, if the Latin names of freedmen in half the instances conceal persons of Oriental parentage, as they do in the city, the Easterner would be represented by classes 2 and 4, half of class 1, and a part of class 3.   How strikingly un-Latin these places must have appeared to those who saw the great crowd of humble slaves, who were buried without ceremony or record in nameless trenches!   Yet here are the Marsi, proverbially the hardiest native stock of the Italian mountains; Beneventum, one of Rome's old frontier colonies; Milan and Padua, that drew Latins and Romanized Celts from the richest agricultural districts of the Po valley; the old colony of Narbo, the home of Caesar's famous Tenth Legion—the city that Cicero called *specula populi Romani*; and four cities at the western end of the empire. If we may, as I think fair, infer for these towns what we found to be true at Rome, namely, that slaves were quite as prolific as the civil population, that they merged into the latter, and that Greek names betokened Oriental stock, it is evident that the whole empire

was a melting-pot and that the Oriental was always and everywhere a very large part of the ore.

There are other questions that enter into the problem of change of race at Rome, for the solution of which it is even more difficult to obtain statistics. For instance, one asks, without hope of a sufficient answer, why the native stock did not better hold its own. Yet there are at hand not a few reasons. We know for instance that when Italy had been devastated by Hannibal and a large part of its population put to the sword, immense bodies of slaves were bought up in the East to fill the void; and that during the second century, when the plantation system with its slave service was coming into vogue, the natives were pushed out of the small farms and many disappeared to the provinces of the ever-expanding empire. Thus, during the thirty years before Tiberius Gracchus, the census statistics show no increase. During the first century B.C., the importation of captives and slaves continued, while the free-born citizens were being wasted in the social, Sullan, and civil wars. Augustus affirms that he had had half a million citizens under arms, one-eighth of Rome's citizens, and that the most vigorous part. During the early empire, twenty to thirty legions, drawn of course from the best free stock, spent their twenty years of vigor in garrison duty, while the slaves, exempt from such services, lived at home and increased in number. In other words, the native stock was supported by less than a normal birth-rate, whereas the stock of foreign extraction had not only a fairly normal birth-rate but a liberal quota of manumissions to its advantage. Various other factors, more difficult to estimate, enter into the problem of the gradual attrition of the native stock. It seems clear, for instance, that the old Indo-Germanic custom of "exposing" children never quite disappeared from Rome. Law early restrained the practice and in the empire it was not permitted to expose normal males, and at least the first female must be reared. It is impossible, however, to form any clear judgment from the literary sources as to the extent of this practice during the empire. I thought that a count of the offspring in a large number of inscriptions might throw light upon the question, and found that of the 5063 children noted in the 19,000 inscriptions read, 3155, or about 62.3 per cent., were males. Perhaps this reflects the operation of the law in question, and shows that the *expositio* of females was actually practised to some extent. But here too we must remember that the evidence is, by its very nature, of little worth. Boys naturally had a better chance than girls to gain some little distinction and were therefore more apt to leave a sepulchral record. At any rate, if *expositio* was practised, the inscriptions show little difference in

this respect between the children of slaves and freedmen and the children of the ordinary city populace.[14]

But the existence of other forms of " race suicide ", so freely gossipped about by writers of the empire, also enters into this question, and here the inscriptions quite fail us. The importance of this consideration must, nevertheless, be kept in mind. Doubtless, as Fustel de Coulanges (*La Cité Antique*) has remarked, it could have been of little importance in the society of the republic so long as the old orthodox faith in ancestral spirits survived, for the happiness of the *manes* depended upon the survival of the family, and this religious incentive probably played the same rôle in the propagation of the race as the Mosaic injunctions among the Hebrews, which so impressed Tacitus in a more degenerate day of Rome. But religious considerations and customs—which in this matter emanate from the fundamental instincts that continue the race—were questioned as all else was questioned before Augustus's day. Then the process of diminution began. The significance of this whole question lies in the fact that "race suicide" then, as now, curtailed the stock of the more sophisticated, that is, of the aristocracy and the rich, who were, to a large extent, the native stock. Juvenal, satirist though he is, may be giving a fact of some social importance when he writes that the poor bore all the burdens of family life, while the rich remained childless:

> jacet aurato vix ulla puerpera lecto;
> Tantum artes hujus, tantum medicamina possunt,
> Quae steriles facit.[15]

There may lie here—rare phenomenon—an historic parallel of some meaning. The race of the human animal survives by means of instincts that shaped themselves for that purpose long before rational control came into play. Before our day it has only been at Greece and Rome that these impulses have had to face the obstacle of sophistication. There at least the instinct was beaten, and the race went under. The legislation of Augustus and his successors, while aimed at preserving the native stock, was of the myopic kind so usual in social law-making, and, failing to reckon with the real nature of the problem involved, it utterly missed the mark. By combining epigraphical and literary references, a fairly full history of the noble families can be procured, and this reveals a startling inability of such families to perpetuate themselves. We know, for

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[14] I have compared the respective ratios of the girls and boys of the Julii and the Claudii with those of the Aelii and the Aurelii (who would in general date about a century later) but found no appreciable difference in the percentage. A chronological test seems to be unattainable.

[15] VI. 594–596.

instance, in Caesar's day of forty-five patricians, only one of whom is represented by posterity when Hadrian came to power.[16] The Aemilii, Fabii, Claudii, Manlii, Valerii, and all the rest, with the exception of the Cornelii, have disappeared. Augustus and Claudius raised twenty-five families to the patriciate, and all but six of them disappear before Nerva's reign. Of the families of nearly four hundred senators recorded in 65 A.D. under Nero, all trace of a half is lost by Nerva's day, a generation later. And the records are so full that these statistics may be assumed to represent with a fair degree of accuracy the disappearance of the male stock of the families in question. Of course members of the aristocracy were the chief sufferers from the tyranny of the first century, but this havoc was not all wrought by *delatores* and assassins. The voluntary choice of childlessness accounts largely for the unparalleled condition. This is as far as the records help upon this problem, which, despite the silence, is probably the most important phase of the whole question of the change of race. Be the causes what they may, the rapid decrease of the old aristocracy and the native stock was clearly concomitant with a twofold increase from below: by a more normal birth-rate of the poor, and the constant manumission of slaves.

This Orientalizing of Rome's populace has a more important bearing than is usually accorded it upon the larger question of why the spirit and acts of imperial Rome are totally different from those of the republic, if indeed racial characteristics are not wholly a myth. There is to-day a healthy activity in the study of the economic factors—unscientific finance, fiscal agriculture, inadequate support of industry and commerce, etc.—that contributed to Rome's decline. But what lay behind and constantly reacted upon all such causes of Rome's disintegration was, after all, to a considerable extent, the fact that the people who built Rome had given way to a different race. The lack of energy and enterprise, the failure of foresight and common sense, the weakening of moral and political stamina, all were concomitant with the gradual diminution of the stock which, during the earlier days, had displayed these qualities. It would be wholly unfair to pass judgment upon the native qualities of the Orientals without a further study, or to accept the self-complacent slurs of the Romans, who, ignoring certain imaginative and artistic qualities, chose only to see in them unprincipled and servile egoists. We may even admit that had the new races had time to amalgamate and attain a political consciousness, a more brilliant and versatile civilization might have come to birth. That,

[16] Stech, in *Klio*, Beiheft X.

however, is not the question. It is apparent that at least the political and moral qualities which counted most in the building of the Italian federation, the army organization, the provincial administrative system of the republic, were the qualities most needed in holding the empire together. And however brilliant the endowment of the new citizens, these qualities they lacked. The Trimalchios of the empire were often shrewd and daring business men, but their first and obvious task apparently was to climb by the ladder of quick profits to a social position in which their children with Romanized names could comfortably proceed to forget their forebears. The possession of wealth did not, as in the republic, suggest certain duties toward the commonwealth. Narcissus and Pallas might be sagacious politicians, but they were not expected to be statesmen concerned with the continuity of the *mos majorum*. And when, on reading Tacitus, we are amazed at the new servility of Scipios and Messalas, we must recall that these scattered inheritors of the old aristocratic ideals had at their back only an alien rabble of ex-slaves, to whom they would have appealed in vain for a return to ancestral ideas of law and order. They had little choice between servility and suicide, and not a few chose the latter.

It would be illuminating by way of illustration of this change to study the spread of the mystery religions. Cumont seems to think that these cults won many converts among all classes in the West. Toutain, skeptical on this point, assigns not a little of the new religious activity to the rather formal influence of the court at Rome. Dobschütz, a more orthodox churchman, seems to see in the spread of these cults the pervasion of a new and deeper religious spirit, which, in some mystical way, was preparing the old world for Christianity. But is not the success of the cults in great measure an expression of the religious feelings of the new people themselves? And if it is, may it not be that Occidentals who are actually of Oriental extraction, men of more emotional nature, are simply finding in these cults the satisfaction that, after long deprivation, their temperaments naturally required? When a senator, dignified by the name of M. Aurelius Victor, is found among the votaries of Mithras in the later empire, it may well be that he is the great-grandson of some child kidnapped in Parthia and sold on the block at Rome. Toutain has proved, I think, that in the northern and western provinces the only Oriental cult that took root at all among the real natives was that of Magna Mater, and this goddess, whose cult was directed by the urban priestly board, had had the advantage of centuries of a rather accidental recognition by the Roman state. In the western provinces, the Syrian and Egyptian gods were wor-

shipped chiefly by people who seem not to be native to the soil. The Mithraic worshippers in these provinces were, for the most part, soldiers recruited or formerly stationed in the East, and Orientals who, by way of commerce or the slave-market, had come to live in the West. From the centres where such people lived the cult spread but very slowly.

It would hardly be worth while to attempt any conclusion for the city of Rome, since, as we have seen, the whole stock there had so changed that fair comparisons would be well-nigh unattainable; but the Po valley, that is Cisalpine Gaul, which preserved its Occidental aspect better than any other part of Italy, might yield usable data. For this region nearly one hundred devotees of Oriental gods are recorded in the fifth volume of *CIL.*, and, as soldiers and Roman officers are not numerous there, the worshippers may be assumed to represent a normal average for the community. Among them I find only twelve who are actually recorded as slaves or freedmen, but upon examination of the names, more than four-fifths seem, after all, to belong to foreign stock. Nearly half have Greek names. Several are *seviri Augustales,* and, therefore, probably *liberti*; and names like Publicius, Verna, Veronius (at Verona), tell the same tale. Finally, there are several imperial gentile names—Claudius, Flavius, Ulpius, Aelius, etc.—which, when found among such people, suggest that the Roman nomenclature is a recent acquisition. There is a residue of only some twelve names the antecedents of which remain undefined. This seems to me to be a fairly typical situation, and not without significance. In short, the mystery cults permeated the city, Italy, and the western provinces only to such an extent as the city and Italy and the provinces were permeated by the stock that had created those religions.

At Rome, Magna Mater was introduced for political reasons during the Punic War, when the city was still Italian. The rites proved to be shocking to the unemotional westerner, who worshipped the staid patrician called Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and were locked in behind a wall. As the urban populace began to change, however, new rites clamored for admittance, for, as a senator in Nero's days says.[17] "Nationes in familiis habemus, quibus diversi ritus, externa sacra." And as the populace enforced their demands upon the emperor for *panem et circenses,* so they also secured recognition for their *externa sacra.* One after another of the emperors gained popularity with the rabble by erecting a shrine to some foreign Baal, or a statue to Isis in his chapel, in much the same way that our cities are lining their park drives with tributes to Garibaldi, Pulaski, and

[17] Tacitus, *Annales,* XIV. 44.

who knows what -vitch. Finally, in the third and fourth centuries, when even the aristocracy at Rome was almost completely foreign, these Eastern cults, rather than those of old Rome, became the centres of "patrician" opposition to Christianity. In other words, the western invasion of the mystery cults is hardly a miraculous conversion of the even-tempered, practical-minded Indo-European to an orgiastic emotionalism, foreign to his nature. These religions came with their peoples, and in so far as they gained new converts, they attracted for the most part people of Oriental extraction who had temporarily fallen away from native ways in the western world. Christianity, which contained enough Oriental mysticism to appeal to the vast herd of Easterners in the West, and enough Hellenic sanity to captivate the rationalistic Westerner, found, even if one reckons only with social forces, the most congenial soil for growth in the conglomeration of Europeans, Asiatics, and Africans that filled the western Roman Empire in the second century.

This is but one illustration. But it is offered in the hope that a more thorough study of the race question may be made in conjunction with economic and political questions before any attempt is made finally to estimate the factors at work in the change of temper of imperial Rome.

<div align="right">Tenney Frank.</div>

RACE CONSCIOUSNESS IN ANCIENT ROME
Extracted from the writings of *Gneisenau*.

Race Consciousness in Ancient Rome (1) :
The Emperor Augustus

Writing around 120 A.D. the historian Suetonius records the efforts of the first Roman emperor, Augustus, to combat racial degeneration:

Augustus thought it most important not to let the native Roman stock be tainted with foreign or servile blood, and was therefore very unwilling to create new Roman citizens, or to permit the manumission of more than a limited number of slaves. Once, when Tiberius requested that a Greek dependant of his should be granted the citizenship, Augustus wrote back that he could not assent unless the man put in a personal appearance and convinced him that he was worthy of the honour. When Livia made the same request for a Gaul from a tributary province, Augustus turned it down, saying that he would do no more than exempt the fellow from tribute - 'I would far rather forfeit whatever he may owe the Privy Purse than cheapen the value of the Roman citizenship.'

Not only did he make it extremely difficult for slaves to be freed, and still more difficult for them to attain full independence, by strictly regulating the number, condition, and status of freedmen; but he ruled that no slave who had ever been in irons or subjected to torture could become a citizen, even after the most honourable form of manumission.—Augustus (section 40) - *The Twelve Caesars*, Suetonius, translated by Robert Graves.

Note: The children of manumitted slaves would qualify as Roman citizens.

Compare Suetonius with the *Rome* article of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica 2002*, which treats de-Romanization as a natural and inevitable course - ignoring the staunch opposition it aroused during the Republic as well as the explicit racial preservationist policies of the founder of what is commonly misrepresented as the cosmopolitan Roman Empire:

Unlike Greek city-states, which excluded foreigners and subjected peoples from political participation, Rome from its

beginning incorporated conquered peoples into its social and political system. Allies and subjects who adopted Roman ways were eventually granted Roman citizenship. During the principate, the seats in the Senate and even the imperial throne were occupied by persons from the Mediterranean realm outside Italy.

Race-Consciousness in the Roman Empire (2) – Death by Multiculturism

From the 14th Edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* 'Rome' Vol 19 pp.504-5 (1964):

During the last two centuries of the republic Rome, by introducing slaves and captives to perform the hard labour of Italy while the free population spent itself in war or lost itself in the provinces, had thoroughly changed the Italian stock. Had the change come gradually and had Rome received the newcomers into schools that might have trained them into a consistent tradition this introduction of a varied stock might perhaps have enriched the spirit of Rome. But this was not to be. Such an amalgam requires time to eliminate the products of incongruous physical mixture, (2) to unify the peoples of a dozen languages until they can comprehend each other and effectually shape common ideals, to distil and throw off the hatred, servility and unsocial hostility to the community bred by years of suffering in slavery, and in a word to create a new people homogeneous enough to act together. The invasion was so rapid and the time so short that such a process of unification never completed itself at Rome. And when Rome, which was the heart of the empire, lost its rhythm and balance, when Rome no longer had a definite culture, *a certain inspiration to impart to the provinces, when Rome's religion succumbed to the several mystical cults brought in by her slaves,* when her moral standards yielded before a dozen incongruous traditions, *and her literature lost itself in blind gropings after a bygone tradition of a freer day, the provincials in despair abandoned her guidance.*

Race-Consciousness in the Roman Empire (3) Retributive "Anti-Semitism"

"Why are Jews so often caricatured and maligned by Greco-Roman writers?" asks Professor Lester L. Grabbe (University of Hull, England) in his 1992 work, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian* (1). Remarkably for a contemporary academic, Grabbe is bold enough to seek the cause of "anti-Semitism" within Jewry itself:

"The general reason for anti-Semitism was that the Jews were themselves seen as intolerant and misanthropic...To the Greeks and Romans, the Jews demanded religious tolerance, then denied it to others." —Lester L. Grabbe. *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian Vol.2*, 1992, pp.410-411

Such objectivity on the Jewish Question has been all but banished from Western academia. Greco-Roman counter-Semitism is a particular embarrassment to Jewry, as it stands apart from Christian anti-Jewish prejudice. In an article entitled "Anti-Semitism", former printings of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* discussed an "Anti-Jewish feeling" in classical antiquity:

"This theme [the unique distinctiveness of the Jews] was taken up by a chorus of anti-Jewish writers in the Greco-Roman world, including the rhetorician Apollonius Molon, the rabble rouser (2), Apion of Alexandria, and even such outstanding Roman intellectuals as Cicero, Seneca and Tacitus...Juvenal actually attributed to Jews an unwavering hostility to the whole outside world."— Encyclopaedia Britannica, *Anti-Semitism*, 14th Edition, 1965 printing.

Opposition by Alexandrian Greeks to the Jews of that city is particularly well-attested historically, and is explained in the article as primarily reflecting a rivalry for dominance between urban élites:

"Particularly in Alexandria, the commercial and cultural metropolis of the eastern Mediterranean, the ruling classes contested the claim of the local Jewish community, probably the largest in the world, to Alexandrian citizenship." —Encyclopaedia Britannica, *Anti-Semitism*, 14th Edition, 1965 printing.

In contrast, Professor Grabbe's account of Alexandrian "anti-Semitism" tells another story:

"When Egypt was taken over by the Romans, however, the Jews favored the winning side...Therefore, the Jews were seen - rightly or wrongly - by the Greek citizens of Alexandria and elsewhere in Egypt to be on the side of the Romans and, conversely, the enemies of the Greek community. Then, when Jews began to agitate for Alexandrian citizenship or similar rights, smoldering resentment and hatred burst into full flame..."—Lester L. Grabbe. *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian Vol.2*, 1992, p.411.

NOTES

(1) Lester L. Grabbe. *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian Vol.2*, 1992, pp.410-411

(2) The article *Apion*, by a different author, gives a more objective account of this eminent Alexandrian : "Greek grammarian and commentator on Homer...is the original source for the story of Androcles and the lion. He was head of the school at Alexandria and led a deputation sent to Caligula (in A.D. 38) by Alexandrians to complain of the Jews."—Encyclopaedia Britannica, *Apion*, 14th Edition, 1965 printing

Race-Consciousness in the Roman Empire (4) – Ancient Italy as a Nation State

Whereas the ancient Greeks never achieved [even avoided achieving] an effective and enduring political unity, Rome succeeded in forging a single state incorporating all the cities and communities of Italy. In this and in forthcoming posts, I will trace the development of, challenges and alternatives to, and the ultimate failure of the Romano-Italian proto-nation state.

Italy and Greece both form mountainous peninsular and island extensions of Europe projecting into the Mediterranean Sea. Into these lands, during the second millennium B.C., came speakers of Indo-European languages ancestral respectively to Ancient Greek and the Italic languages of ancient Italy.

With the major exceptions of Etruscan and Greek, the peoples of Italy during early Roman times spoke languages, such as Oscan, Umbrian and Latin which shared a common descent within the *Italic* branch of the Indo-European language family.

Cultural similarities reinforced a sense of a common Italic kinship, which made a unitary Italian state possible. Yet Rome's unification of Italy would prove a bloody and protracted process, completed well after Rome, with the aid of her Italian allies, had already achieved an overseas empire.

In Greece, as in Italy, speakers of an Indo-European derived language had, as noted above, established themselves in the second millennium B.C. By classical times, Greek dialects were universal or almost universal throughout Greece (1). These dialects had diverged much less among themselves than had the Italic languages of Italy. Greeks shared a strong sense of kinship vis-à-vis the outside world, yet, as among the Italic peoples, intra-racial antagonism did exist and ran counter to attempts to promote Hellenic unity (2).

Leading *poleis* (city-states), such as Athens, Sparta and Thebes, contended with one another for primacy, and sought hegemony over smaller cities and less urbanized communities. These conflicts gave rise to alliances and confederations of *poleis*, which also formed in response to external threats such as that of the Persian Empire. Yet, in general, the citizen rolls of Greek cities never grew, as they did in Rome, by the inclusion of allied and defeated peoples. No one state achieved hegemony in Greece, nor, despite notable experiments, did a pan-Hellenic federal government emerge. Ultimately, the *poleis* of Greece exhausted themselves and came to be dominated by the kingdom of Macedonia, which in turn became subject to the power of Rome.

Unlike the overseas colonizing activity of the Greeks, which created independent cities, Rome favoured founding colonies within Italy itself which, together with her network of roads, consolidated her military hold on the peninsular and accelerated the process of Romanization.

Rome reinforced her military dominance over neighbouring peoples by treaties of alliance which, while granting a range of Roman political rights, restricted the relations which these communities might maintain among themselves – thus lessening any effective resistance to Rome's growing hegemony in Italy. The allies were obliged to assist Rome in her military campaigns. Even the spectacular successes of the Carthaginian general Hannibal, who had led his army over the Alps into Italy (218 B.C.), were unable to sufficiently disrupt Rome's Italian

confederacy. Hannibal's fifteen-year campaign in Italy ended in failure.

The same Roman/Italian military machine which won an empire in Sicily, Sardinia and Spain from the Carthaginians, went on to conquer Greece and Carthage herself (146 B.C.). Rome's consolidation of Italy's military strength had been spectacularly successful, political consolidation would prove much more difficult to achieve.

Fulvius Flaccus, consul in 125 B.C., proposed granting Roman citizenship to all the Italian allies who desired it, but the measure failed to gain sufficient support within Rome. Some were jealous of sharing the political and economic privileges of Roman citizenship, others may have felt that the peoples of Italy were still too culturally diverse to be incorporated into one state – after all, even the use of the Latin language was by no means universal throughout Italy.

A generation later similar proposals would succeed, but Rome's hand would be forced by urgent necessity. The highlanders of central Italy had risen in revolt and were gaining support elsewhere in Italy.

A new Italian confederacy was formed as an alternative to Roman Italy. Rome's offer of citizenship to those communities who had not yet taken up arms forestalled the spread of the rebellion, but by the end of the conflict, known as the Social War (*socius* = ally), all in Italy, even those who had continued the struggle and had been ruthlessly suppressed, were granted Roman citizenship:

"The war was over, but at a terrible cost in human lives and suffering...Nevertheless the political unification of Italy was an immense step forward: Romans and Italians could now grow into a nation, and men learn to reconcile their local loyalties with a wider national citizenship. A man could now remain a loyal son of the town in which he was born and lived and yet enjoy the benefits of membership of a large sovereign state. Without destroying the extraordinarily varied individual pattern of life in the different parts of Italy, Rome now made it possible for all to belong to a single society, membership of which was guaranteed by the *civitas Romana* ['Roman citizenship'].

Within a few years all the city-states and tribal areas were organized as *municipia* with *quattuorviri* as magistrates: semi-

Celtic settlements in the north, old and proud Etruscan cities, cities of Latium, the Greek cities of the South, and the wilder Bruttian tribesmen, all now found in Rome their *communis patria* ['common fatherland'].

As Cicero said (*de legibus*, 2.2.5): 'ominibus municipalibus duas esse censeo patrias, unam naturae, alteram civitatis' ['I think all the communities (of Italy) have two homelands, one by birth and one by virtue of their Roman citizenship.'']."— Scullard H. H., *From the Gracchi to Nero — A History of Rome 133 B.C. to A.D. 68*, 1959, p.70

Rome had successfully combined force with flexibility. Italy was now a unitary state which governed and drew tribute from the provinces. Grants of Roman citizenship to non-Italians were as yet an unusual and conspicuous anomaly. Yet, from its conception, the proto-nation state of Roman Italy was fatally compromised by its imperial legacy. The Italians had achieved an empire before putting their own nationhood on firm political foundations. Italy was already flooded with foreign slaves and foreign grain. Attempts to prevent racial (3), economic and cultural decline were ultimately defeated by the forces of cosmopolitanism.

In language chillingly reminiscent of modern multiculturalists (4), the Emperor Claudius (A.D. 41–54) argued for the admittance of Gauls into the senate. By 193 Rome was ruled by a North African, Septimius Severus, who had learned Latin as a foreign language and was overtly hostile to Romans and Italians. In the fourth century Christianity, imported from Asia, would become the official religion of the Roman Empire.

Christianity, a proxy religion of Jewry, inverted the exclusivistic values of Judaism and was partly a symptom and partly a cause of the erosion of Roman and Greek national consciousness. The national cause in ancient Italy was lost. When Rome finally fell, it was the Jews, not Romans or Greeks, who would survive with a viable race-political programme.

Endnotes

(1) A pre-Greek non-Indo-European language may have survived in the Balkans area into classical times in the form of the Pelasgians. Ancient Greek writers used the name "Pelasgian" to refer to groups of people who preceded the Hellenes and dwelt in several locations in Anatolia, the Aegean and mainland Greece,

as neighbors of the Hellenes. Pelasgians spoke a language different from the
Greeks...Herodotus, like Homer, has a denotative as well as a connotative use. He describes actual Pelasgians surviving and speaking mutually intelligible dialects at Placie and Scylace on the Asiatic shore of the Hellespont; and near Creston on the Strymon; in this area they have "Tyrrhenian" neighbors (*Persian Wars* 1.57).

(2) On intra-racial antagonism among the Greeks:

"There was also a strong race antipathy between Dorian and Ionian, manifested particularly in the Peloponnesian War, in which Athens and Sparta were the protagonists. Each was inclined to regard the other as not fully Hellenic. The Ionians claimed that the Dorians were descendants of non-Greek population of the Peloponnese. The Dorians asserted that the Ionians were pre-Greek or Pelasgian, standing much in the same relationship to true Greeks as do the Welsh and other Britons to the Anglo-Saxons."—Encylopaedia Britannica, *Ionians*, 14th edition, 1964

(3) Cf. my post Race-Consciousness in the Roman Empire (1) - The Emperor Augustus

(4) "During his censorship (47-8) Claudius outlined his policy in a speech to the Senate which is partly preserved in an inscription (the so-called Lyons Tablet found at Lugdunum) and also in the version given by Tacitus in the *Annals*. Drawing on his knowledge of Rome's history Claudius emphasized that the Republic had flourished because it had welcomed foreign elements into the citizen body and because it had adjusted the constitution to meet each fresh need. Thus he persuaded a reluctant Senate to proclaim the right of all Roman citizens in Gallia Comata to stand for office in Rome."—Scullard H. H., *op.cit.* p.309.

**APPENDIX: THE RACE PROBLEM OF
THE ROMAN EMPIRE**

by MARTIN P. NILSSON

THE RACE PROBLEM OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

BY *MARTIN P. NILSSON*

LUND

T HE fall of the Roman Empire is the greatest tragedy of history. States have been wiped out and peoples crushed before· and since, but the fall of the Roman Empire implied also the fall of the only great and world-wide culture that existed before that to which we belong. Humanity returned to much more primitive conditions of social and economic life, not to speak of education and culture.

Different causes of the rapid disappearance of the glory.that was Rome have been sought for. They need not be discussed here. There is more than one cause, and it will be difficult and misleading to reduce them to a single and common formula. That there is also a problem of the biological order was first pointed out by Professor SEECK [1]. His views are an outcome of the typical popular Darwinism of the time in which he wrote. The cruelty and suspiciousness of the emperors removed and killed all persons who, by their mental qualities, capacity, and energy, raised themselves above the average. Through an artificial, inverted selection independence and originality were stamped out and a servile people bred. The possibility of such a process cannot be denied but to attain to any result it would have to be carried out on a large scale and over a protracted period, since the population of the Empire is considered to have amounted to about 100 millions [2]. Proportionally to this, the number of the victims of the emperors' cruelty was very small, and their extinction cannot have had any considerable effect on the stock of the population of the Empire. In reality the thesis .of Professor SEECK cannot be maintained. But the problem is there, and I think that it can be approached more safely in the light of modern research.

There are great innate differences between the races of humanity: some have more natural ability than others. Sometimes it has been the fashion to deny this, and to contend that a people with all its peculiarities is the result of ils environments, the *milieu,* and the

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country. Facts show that this is manifestly erroneous. What was the American continent before its discovery, and what has it become since its occupation by the European peoples? The country around the Hebrus is much the same as that around the Axius, yet the Macedonians created a great empire, while the Thracians were hardly able to form a state at all, although HERODOTUS says that the Thracians and the Indians were the greatest peoples of his time. The natural features of Southern Italy and Sicily are very similar to those of Greece, but the original inhabitants of these countries created no culture; the Greeks brought it to them. The Greek people, not the Greek country, created the culture which is and ever will be the basis of Western civilization [3].

The hereditary dispositions of different races are very different, although we cannot yet grasp these distinctions in detail. There are hereditary dispositions of greater and lesser value. There are dispositions which enable a people to organize a state and create a culture. In ancient times the Greeks and the Romans did this, and only they on a large scale. They were the peoples that created ancient civilization and the Roman Empire; the fate of these depended on them.

I have not here to speak of civic problems or problems of culture. It is well known that the different rights of the inhabitants of the Empire were levelled down, and that the Greco-Roman culture spread throughout all the provinces. The question was whether the Romans were to raise the provincials to their level and assimilate them with themselves or to be assimilated by the provincials, which would include a levelling down of the culture. In the first two centuries the process was in general the former, in the later centuries it was inverted. With this we must not confound the superficial diffusion of the Latin language, which at last embraced the whole of western Europe. For a discussion of this question I refer to my forthcoming book on the Roman Empire [4], and turn now to the biological problem which lies at the basis of the problem of cultures.

If the Romans were to assimilate the provincials with themselves, the foremost condition was a sufficient multiplying of their numbers, i. e. a sufficiently high birth-rate. The Romans had once before carried through a similar task on a smaller scale — the Romanising of Italy. Roman colonies were spread throughout the whole country, the Roman people multiplied in numbers, the almost unlimited supply of soldiers from the colonies gave Rome the victory over the superior genius and strategy of HANNIBAL. After the Social war the kindred

Oscan-Umbrian tribes, and soon afterwards the Celts of the Po valley, were merged in the Roman nation and enlarged and invigorated it. The new task, the Romanising not of a single country but of the Empire, of a world, was gigantic and needed a proportionately increasing birth-rate.

But this scheme failed. We see in our own days how the fall of the birth-rate commences in the upper classes and soon spreads down to the lower. This decline seems to be common to all high culture, at least the same phenomenon appeared among the civilized populations of the Empire, the Greeks and the Romans. As to Greece the statements of POLYBIUS and PLUTARCH are well-known. POLYBIUS says, in the middle of the second century B. C., that childless marriages were common and that the population was diminishing, although neither pestilence nor war had checked the increase. PLUTARCH, at the end of the first century A. D., states that the whole of Greece would not be able to raise the 3,000 soldiers that the little town of Megara had sent to the battle of Salamis.

For Rome and Italy the testimony is abundant that the birth-rate declined during the earlier years of the Empire. In the country the decline reached back into the Republican age, and was connected with agrarian problems. The class of small farmers, from which Rome had once drawn her irresistible armies, was expelled by the formation of great estates cultivated by slaves. This is once of the best known features of that age.

The bonds of matrimony were slackened, the birth and education of children were felt to be burdensome. In ancient times the parents had a right to expose children whom they did not desire to educate. Where the supply of food is scarce among primitive peoples this may be excused. Among a civilized people, when economic egotism has obliterated the natural feelings of the parents, it is nothing but legalized infanticide. This stain on ancient culture, however, did not have any considerable influence on the number of the population. Most of the exposed babies were picked up by slave-hunters; they lived, though in the debased condition of slaves. A more important feature was that the educated classes were decimated in this manner. The ancients also knew other less revolting means of checking the birth-rate, the effect of which may safely be supposed to have been much greater. These expedients are often mentioned in the medical literature of the period, and many seem to have looked on them as some extreme feminists do to-day [5].

A curious circumstance shows how common childlessness was among the upper classes. This was the competition for inheritances, which the moralists satirized and thundered against in vain. It was not only a literary commonplace but a very real evil. The philosopher SENECA writes, to a mother who had lost her only son that in these times childlessness contributes to the importance of a person rather than deprives him of it. Even the legislation was put in action against the annoyance [6].

Much more important are the legal means used to raise the birth-rate. The first emperor, AUGUSTUS, in spite of an embittered resistance, enacted the famous laws which enforced every Roman of noble birth between 25 and 60 years to be married, or at least engaged [7]. The irony of fate willed that both the consuls who gave the law their names were unmarried. Parents of three and more children had valuable prerogatives, especially in regard to the higher offices in the state. Unmarried persons were deprived of the privilege of visiting the circus and the theatres and could not receive legacies, childless legatees were deprived of half their inheritance. These means were more drastic than any that have been imagined in our times, but they were of no avail.

The decline of the birth-rate begins in the upper classes, and AUGUSTUS had perhaps thought that if it could be checked there the example would influence the lower classes. But he also tried to support poor families with a flourishing crowd of children. He used to present them with 1,000 sesterces for every child. An inscription of the small town of Atina in Latium recounts that a certain BASILA has given to the town a fund of 400,000 sesterces in order that the children of the inhabitants may receive corn for their food and at the age of puberty a sum of 1,000 sesterces each to set them up in life. This is the first example of the means by which the emperors later on tried to raise the birth-rate of the people in Italy. In reality it is liberating the parents from the cost of feeding the children and transferring this to public funds. The emperors NERVA and TRAJAN in particular carried out this scheme on a large scale, and patriotic private persons helped them with great gifts. PLINY the younger, for example, gave half a million sesterces to his native town of Comum for this purpose. The later emperors of the second century vigorously carried out the work and created a staff of supervising officers [8]. It must be acknowledged that those in authority recognized the evil and did their utmost to check it. In proportion to the finances of the

time, the use of these funds which were destined to raise the birth-rate of the Roman population is the greatest social measure that history records. It failed, however. In the hardships of the third century the funds diminished and finally disappeared.

In some cases it is possible to show whence the men came who took the places of the Roman elements of the population. The old Roman nobility had been severely dealt with in the proscriptions at the end of the Republic. Augustus tried earnestly to save what was left, but without success. The old families died out in the first century A. D. [9]. The correspondents of Pliny the younger do not bear the old famous names. In their stead provincials enter the senate, at first from the most Romanised provinces, Southern Spain (Baetica), South-East France (Gallia Narbonensis), later on from Africa (Tunis), and Asia Minor. The first consuls who originated from Spain appear in the last years of the Republic and were followed by several others during the first century A. D., the first consul from Gallia Narbonensis is found in the reign of Tiberius, the first from Africa and Syria in the reigns of Vespasian and Domitian respectively. From Trajan onwards even the emperors were provincials. Trajan and his successor Hadrian were Spaniards, Antoninus Pius belonged to a Gallic and Marcus Aurelius to a-Spanish family, Septimius Severus was a native of Africa, his successors were Syrians. It was difficult for a man belonging to the Greek portion of the Empire to attain a high position, because a knowledge of Latin and Roman law was needed for this, and such a knowledge was not common in the East, which prided itself on its own ancient culture. Nevertheless after the reign of Hadrian numbers of Orientals appear in high places; the western world seems almost to be worn out.

The army was not great in proportion to the population of the Empire — in the first two centuries about 300,000 men, while the inhabitants of the Empire are considered to have amounted to 70—100 millions — but it played a very important part in the shifting of the population. In the order created by Augustus half the army, the legions, was to be recruited among the Roman citizens, the other half, the so-called auxiliary troops, among the provincials, who after their discharge received the citizenship. In this manner many provincials and their descendants became Roman citizens. Augustus determined that the legions were to be recruited from Italy and the oldest colonies of Roman citizens in the provinces, and the *élite* troops — the praetorians — from certain districts of middle Italy, which had pre-

served the purest Roman blood. This principle, however, could not be maintained. In the first century more and more citizens from the provinces penetrated into the legions, and recruits from all parts of Italy were found among the praetorians. The old recruiting districts became more and more deficient. HADRIAN inverted the principle as to the recruiting of the legions: from his time they were recruited from the districts where they camped, i. e. the borders of the Empire, where civilization, except for what was brought by the army, was at its lowest. SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS dissolved the old Italian body of praetorians and created a new one recruited from the legions. In this manner the army was barbarized and in the third century the way to any leading post was through the army [10]. From the time of MAXIMINUS THRAX the emperors were barbarians, many of them Illyrians; in all probability they belonged to the refractory people that we know in our time as Albanians. They turned the Empire upside-down in the third century, but the vigour of these emperors did at last create order. The lack of recruits, however, was not due entirely to the diminishing number of the civilized population: here the deep-rooted pacificism of the age also made itself felt; but it vigorously contributed to the immixture of barbarians and provincials in the governing classes. From the time of DIOCLETIAN the best bodies of troops were recruited from the Germans within and without the borders of the Empire.

The mixed character of the population of the capital is attested by many ancient authors. We can hardly imagine the extent of the admixture; only Constantinople, the most cosmopolitan city of the world, can give us an idea of it. CICERO calls Rome a city created by the confluence of the nations, four centuries later the emperor CONSTANTIUS wondered at the haste with which all the peoples flowed together to Rome. LUCAN, the poet and friend of NERO, says that Rome was populated not by its own citizens but by the scum of the world. The Oriental element seems to have been very conspicuous. A famous passage in JUVENAL states that the poet cannot like this Graecised Rome, but that the least part of the scum is composed of Greeks: the Syrian Orontes has flowed into the Tiber, with foreign languages and foreign manners.

The Jewish population was considerable. In the year 4 B. C. it is said that 8,000 Jews accompanied a deputation to the Emperor. TIBERIUS turned them out and deported 4,000 to Sardinia, but when CLAUDIUS some years later wished to do the same, they had become

so numerous that the plan could not be carried out. In the eastern provinces the Jews were very numerous, in Egypt they are considered to have amounted to the eighth or seventh part of the population, in Cyrenaica and Cyprus they were killed by hundreds of thousands in the pogroms, in Asia Minor and Southern Italy they were numerous, in Africa, Spain, and Southern France not few. But after the fall of Jerusalem and the great rebellion in the reign of HADRIAN the Jews separated themselves from the rest of the population; hence their importance in the mixture of the races was not so great.

In ancient times the Jews were not merchants and bankers as now. This position was occupied by the Syrians. In the last two centuries B. C. we find many Italian merchants in the East. They were especially bankers and slave- and corn-merchants, and their trade depended on the power of Rome. But when the abuses in the provinces were repressed by the emperors, the Italians disappeared and their places were taken by the provincials. The real merchants were the Syrians, who had important factories in Italy and who appear in every province. They were numerous e. g. in Gaul, where even in the sixth century they were organized into separate Christian churches, at least in Paris and Orleans. SALVIAN mentions the hosts of Syrian merchants who have inundated all the towns and think only of lies and falsehood. The merchants of Italy were not Romans by birth. They were enfranchised slaves, who in this manner had obtained the citizenship [11].

The enfranchisement of slaves is a very important cause of the alteration of the population; it took place on a large scale. It was a point of honour for a noble or wealthy Roman to enfranchise his slaves, at least when he made his will. AUGUSTUS regulated the enfranchisement. The number of slaves which it was permitted to enfranchise was regulated according to the number of slaves which a man possessed, but was in no case permitted to exceed one hundred. The freedmen were in a socially inferior position, but their descendants attained the full citizenship and their grandsons might even become senators. A discussion that took place in the senate in the reign of NERO is very illuminating. It was said that the enfranchised slaves were numerous, they crowded the tribuses and the inferior positions in the state, most of the knights and many of the senators were descendants of freedmen. If the freedmen were turned out, there would be a lack of free citizens.

The freedmen formed a very important part of the population in the earlier centuries of the Empire. It is a burning question whence they originated. A preliminary matter is, which slaves were enfranchised? Those, naturally, who personally attended on their masters and had charge of his business. The slaves of the farms were not valued much more than the beasts of burden and had little better prospect of being enfranchised. For attending on the master and managing his business no mere barbarians were fit; some civilization, such as was found among the able Orientals, was required.

An examination of the statements of the inscriptions concerning the nationalities of the slaves shows that this is true. They corroborate the old saying that the Syrians were a people of born slaves. Most numerous after the Syrians are the Graecised inhabitants of Asia Minor and the Jews. More than half the workers of the Italian potteries have Greek or Oriental names [12], and the names of the artisans of other crafts convey the same impression. Next in numerical importance come the Egyptians and Ethiopians, but in the case of these peoples the external differences were so great that they never became so perilous as the other races mentioned. In Europe no people was predestined to slavery, although some, but not many, slaves originated from European countries. The barbarians of Europe went into the army instead. For instance only two Pannonians are mentioned as slaves, but men of this race crowded into the army [13]. The importation of slaves and the enfranchisement brought in Orientals more especially, and to this fact is largely due the orientalism which is a prominent feature of the later Empire.

There is yet another source for the alteration of the folk-stock, which did not have such an immediate effect as the enfranchisement of slaves but which must in the end have been of considerable importance, viz. the transplantation of whole tribes from beyond the northern frontiers into the Empire. AUGUSTUS' general, AGRIPPA, had already transplanted the German Ubii from the right to the left bank of the Rhine. Some years later 40,000 Sugambrians and Swebians were settled in Gaul, and 50,000 Dacians were brought from the districts north of the Danube into Thracia. In the reign of NERO great hosts with chiefs, wives, and children — it is said to the number of 100,000 — were brought over the frontier from the same districts. When MARCUS AURELIUS had conquered the Marcomannians and the Quades he settled those peoples in great masses in the Empire — in Dacia, Pannonia, Mysia, the Roman Germany, and even in Italy.

These settlers did not attain to the citizenship; they became something like serfs and in a later age contributed considerably to the army.

Professor SEECK contends that this invasion of Germans caused an important change [14]. The western part of the Empire was Germanised and the birth-rate commenced to increase, he says. In the wars of the third century there is never any mention of a deficiency of recruits, as in former times. He refers to the description of the Gauls by AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS in the fourth century to show that they were Germanised; they were well able to fight, had blue eyes, fair hair and complexion, and were of high stature. But our ideas of the Celts are contrary to the ancient testimonies [15]. As long as the government desired to recruit the army from the civilized population, there was a lack of recruits; that the recruiting should be difficult in the great wars of MARCUS AURELIUS is comprehensible, since pestilence ravaged the Empire. As soon as the emperors determined to recruit the army from the provincials (Pannonians, Illyrians, Africans etc.) there was no lack of recruits. In older times a very small minimum height is given for the recruits, 1,48 m.; in 367 A. D. on the contrary a very high one, 1,63 m., and this is believed to demonstrate a change in the supply of recruits. But the former figure refers to voluntary recruits, of which there was no surplus in these times, the latter to such recruits as landed proprietors had to deliver from their serfs. They were no less anxious to furnish as bad men as possible than the government to get the best men. There is no evidence for a swift change of blood, but the importance of the Germans that were transplanted into the Empire is not to be underestimated. They formed a strong addition to the barbarian population and paved the way for the German occupation at the end of the Empire.

What has been set forth as to this point may convey the impression that an inverted selection took place, and in reality there was something like it. The peoples that had created the ancient culture and the Roman Empire diminished in number, and the gaps were filled up by provincials. This process led to a sinking of the culture, in proportion as the less civilized provincials ousted the old citizens, and lessened the coherence of the Empire, which depended on the people that had created it. But this problem we have not to consider here. The process concerns us directly in so far as the old races were ousted by races of lesser value. This fact may have been of importance, but in view of their later history it is risky to contend that the Semites and the Germans were less able races, and

from these two peoples came the main streams which changed the stock of the population.

The crucial problem is another and is one that is contained within the Empire itself to a far greater extent than may have appeared up to this point. The Roman Empire was a motley of different peoples, races, and languages. This fact has been somewhat obscured because in the West the old languages were ousted by the Latin and died without leaving traces (except the Basque). But this is a superficial matter. The races themselves persisted and took part in the mixing of the peoples, although they changed their languages. It is of the first importance to form a concrete idea of how manifold and deep and great the differences were [10].

At the commencement of the Empire the population of Italy seemed to be rather homogeneously Roman. It had been Romanised during the last centuries of the Republic, but the old races had not died out, they added their contribution to the population. The Oscan-Umbrian tribes were very closely akin to the Romans and they spoke dialects of the same language, but there were once many other peoples in Italy of different races, in the north Celts, in the north-east and south-east Illyrian tribes, in the south Greeks, besides many native tribes, Oenotrians, Sicanians, Siculians, etc., about whose race we know nothing. The Etruscans played an important part but they are yet an unsolved riddle. The art shows that they had a very marked and peculiar physical type. We can read their language but cannot understand it, all attempts to connect it with any other language having failed; the language died out at the commencement of the Empire. In N. W. Italy and S. E. Gaul we find the great people of the Ligurians, which up to the imperial age preserved in some parts its liberty and its very primitive mode of living. The Ligurian language is lost, the connexions of this people with other races, if it had any, are unknown [11]. The most probable view is that the Ligurians were the original inhabitants of these districts, and were supplanted by the Celts who invaded the Po valley about 400 B. C. Certain students have tried to show that the type of the people and the language of the once Ligurian districts preserve some peculiarities which are supposed to be the last traces of this extinguished race.

Gaul, i. e. France and the Po valley, was so called after the ruling race, the Gauls, who are also called Celts. During ancient times Celtic was the common language of the inhabitants and was spoken even by the noble families. IRENAEUS had to preach in Celtic in

Lyons, about 200 A. D.; it was permitted to use Celtic in writing wills. The language survived at least into the fifth century. The Gauls had to learn Latin with toil and labour.

In France too the Celts were conquering immigrants, who had settled more especially north of the central mountainous region. In the south-eastern parts lived the Ligurians, in the south-western the Iberians. This is another non-Aryan people whose riddle is unsolved, but it seems as though the Iberians were the original inhabitants of these parts of France and Spain. Small Celtic hosts had penetrated into Spain, mixed up with the Iberians, and formed the Celtiberian tribes. In north-western Spain there still survives the Basque language, the only remnant of the pre-Aryan languages of Europe. Its grammatical structure and vocabulary differ totally from those of other languages. It is tempting to connect it with the Iberian language, but the Iberian inscriptions, although not interpreted, do not seem to corroborate this supposition. Hence some students have referred the Basques to the Ligurians, who perhaps also inhabited parts of Spain, others have tried to connect Basque with the Berber language, but the Ligurians are, as to the language, an unknown quantity and the connexion with the Berbers is not warranted by evident facts.

In the British Isles the Celts are immigrants. Consequently we may expect to find here considerable remnants of the older aboriginal inhabitants. Such were e. g. the wild Picts of Scotland, whom the Romans never subjugated. There is a great difference between the two peoples that still speak Celtic languages — the Irish, who often have fair complexions, and the usually small and swarthy Welsh. The supposition at once arises that the Welsh are Celts in language only, and not in race. This theory has been advanced by English scholars, who have tried to find further connexions, e. g. with the Iberians and the native races of North Africa, but without any very certain evidence [19]. The theory is of course opposed to the common idea that the Celts were a swarthy people of small stature, but this is an inference from the modern Frenchman, who is held to be the real descendant of the ancient Celts. It conflicts with all testimonies of ancient literature and art. If we desire to know the physical type of the ancient Celts we must needs follow these indications, and they show unanimously that the Celtic type was much more akin to the Teutonic — blue eyes, fair complexion and hair, high stature, and a ferocious mind. If facts are to speak it must be admitted that the Celtic type in France generally was merged in the original inhabitants, and this is only

natural. It is the usual fate of an invading, conquering people, even if they are able to impose their language on the conquered.

Celtic tribes had also penetrated into Pannonia and the Balkan peninsula, but were too few to acquire very much importance. The inhabitants of Pannonia seem to have been chiefly Illyrians. In Dacia and the eastern Balkan peninsula lived the Getans or Dacians, who belonged to the Aryan race, although they never had any considerable historical importance. Our information here is more than usually scanty and does nôt admit of any suppositions as to the older inhabitants who may have lived in these countries.

The remaining province of the western part, Africa, is better known. The Punic language survived during the imperial age. Most of the hearers of St. AUGUSTINE understood Punic: it was spoken by the peasants. The church had its difficulties with their language; no one was readily made a bishop who did not know Punic. In the interior lived the Berber tribes, who still retain their peculiar language and racial type.

In the East the position is simple and clear, except in the case of Asia Minor. In Egypt and the Semitic Orient the Greek culture and language had never been more than a thin varnish that was soon worn off. The ethnology of Asia Minor was extremely mixed. No land had been exposed to invaders to such a degree as this [19]. The Empire of the Hittites had been crushed in the twelfth century B. C. by invading Aryan tribes, the Phrygians, but the race survived. It is supposed that it was merged into the Armenians and perhaps partly into the Jews. Lydians, Carians, and Lycians have left inscriptions. An attempt has been made to connect the language of the last-named with the Aryan languages, but with doubtful success. The Lydian language seems to be distinct from others [20]. Later on other Aryan tribes had invaded the land, Thracians in the commencement of the first millennium B. C., and Celts in the middle of the third century B. C. The interior of the country was called Galatia after them. The Hellenising was wide-spread; but in spite of this the old languages survived more vigorously than is generally surmised, and this is also an evidence for the subsisting of the old races. The Mysians, who seem to have been a mixture of Thracians and Lydians, still spoke their own language in the beginning of the fifth century A. D. So also did the famous Isaurian robber tribes at the end of the sixth. The same was the case in Lycaonia; the Phrygian language survived at least into the fifth century [21]. The surface seems to be

Greek, but underneath great racial differences survived, which found an expression in the Christian sects of Asia Minor; their stronghold was the native population of the country.

Our information is scanty and the research is difficult, but the broad outlines which have been sketched above will be sufficient to convey a concrete idea not only of how many races, peoples, and languages were contained in the Roman Empire, but also of how radically different most of them were [22]. Modern Europe is apt to give an erroneous impression. Except for a few unimportant peoples of other races (Finns, Hungarians, Turks and a few others) it seems to present the image of an Aryan population that is separated into different peoples but has sprung from the same source. This is true only as to the languages. The kindred languages cover great racial differences, although new races have developed from the ancient blend of races. The very vivid discussion on the origin and splitting up of the Aryan tongue has obscured the comprehension of the older racial status of Europe. The leading idea is (at least unconsciously) that of an ancient original unity that was differentiated and split up. In the case of the original inhabitants of Europe we must instead of a unity imagine a multiplicity of different races and languages; the latter were ousted by the language of the invading Aryan tribes and died, the races were seemingly merged in their conquerors. The victorious spreading of the Aryan languages put an end to the multiplicity of earlier languages — e. g. Etruscan, Ligurian, Iberian, etc. — and introduced Aryan languages that were kindred with one another. This process was strongly advanced during the Empire; S. W. Europe, which up to this time had spoken non-Aryan tongues, was assimilated. But the enigmatical, Basque language still survives as a reminder of what has once been.

It is in this light that the racial problem of the Roman Empire is to be viewed. As long as the peoples of western Europe lived in their old primitive and independent condition the status was rather stable. The Greek colonists were few and the peoples on whose shores they had founded their towns were often openly hostile to them. In Italy the Latin and Oscan-Umbrian tribes pushed out the original inhabitants more and more. The connexions with Greece and the Orient were few. The invading Celtic tribes brought disturbance, but these tribes settled in certain districts. In S. W. France and most of Spain the old races were not disturbed. The invasion must

however have involved a certain mixing up of the races, and this is testified by the name of the Celtiberians. But the culture was little developed, the intercourse was rare, the intruders were not able to absorb the old races, they consolidated themselves within somewhat narrower frontiers. The tribes were independent and hostile to each other. This would have prevented a mixing up of the races on a larger scale, even if the conditions for such a mixing up had existed at all.

Such were the conditions introduced by the Roman Empire. The peace of the Roman emperor, imposed by the Roman government, wiped out the old frontiers. The different tribes were subjected to the same administration and the same culture was opened to them all. The excellent Roman roads favoured the intercourse, while culture, trade, and the needs of the Empire increased it. The mixing up of the different races and peoples of the Empire was begun and increased by all the causes which make the inhabitants of a civilized state move from one part of it to another. What some of these causes were we have shown in the foregoing pages. The men who in former times had lived and died and propagated their kind within the frontiers of their own people were mixed up, as it were, in a great bowl as wide as the limits of the Empire, and peoples from beyond the frontiers were thrown into the same vessel. This is the fundamental fact the importance and consequences of which we have to consider.

It may be said that the problem was whether the less civilized peoples should be merged in the civilized — the Romans and the Greeks, to whom the culture and coherence of the Empire were due — or whether the civilized were to be absorbed by the less civilized. As we have seen, the circumstances were not favourable. The effects upon civilization were very important: the bankruptcy of the civilization and sinking of the general level of culture in the hardships and wars of the bad third century destroyed much more than all the cruelties of the emperors. But it is not our task here to investigate this point. The mixing up of the races involves not only a problem for civilization but also a biological problem, and to this we must now return. I think it may be understood in the new light of recent researches on genetics.

The species man is extremely variable, being surpassed in this respect by only a very few other species. Each race is the product of a historical development, although the history of its development belongs to a time past long ago, which has never been recorded. The

condition for the developing of a race is that a group of men, who may be counted in hundreds or in millions, shall live for a considerable time in at least relative isolation, so that foreign disturbing elements are kept out. If it be supposed that this group originally contained a motley mixture of internal and external dispositions, the natural conditions under the sway of which the group lives will be favourable for some of these dispositions and unfavourable for others. The natural conditions have the same effect as the conscious interference of a breeder trying to produce a certain race of some species of animals, although more slowly and not to the same extent. The effect will be stronger in proportion to the smallness of the group and the intensity of inbreeding. The outcome of this selection depends much more on the dispositions which originally existed and which in the development of the race attain to ascendency than on the external *milieu*. Why some races are excellently adapted to the natural conditions of life of their country and are yet unable to achieve a higher political and intellectual development, and why on the other hand other races are able to create a culture and a political organization is a riddle which is concealed in the darkest riddle of all, the human mind, the variability of intelligence and volition, for these too are properties which vary with the race. It is only that we cannot grasp them definitely.

Primitive conditions are favourable to this breeding of races. The population is thin and split up into small groups. Intercourse is rare. The tribes are hostile or at least foreign to each other and occupy each a definite district. A fact of profound importance for the development of society and races is the claim to possess the district in which the tribe lives; this seems to be founded in the nature of man, as well of some species of animals. Foreigners who penetrate into the district of the tribe will be expelled or killed. The tribe maintains its purity from foreign elements until the advance of culture introduces slavery, which is first applied to the women. In primitive conditions this occasion of the mixing of the races is of no great extent or importance. Neighbouring tribes are often kindred.

Under primitive conditions we have consequently to expect a multiplicity of characteristically different races, although the differing capacity of different races to maintain themselves in the struggle for life and the combats against other races causes a certain race to spread itself over a wider territory, while the migrations which originate in over-population and an innate desire to wander introduce a foreign

race into a country. If we take these two circumstances into account, we have the status of Europe and Africa before the Roman conquest. In Africa we find Berbers and the immigrant Punics, in western Europe Iberians, Ligurians, the immigrant Celts, and plenty of other races of whom we have no sufficient knowledge. The ethnology of Italy seems to be more varied; our information is here richer. Apart from the old inhabitants and the immigrant Aryans there were the enigmatical Etruscans, who cannot be connected with any other people. The Balkan·peninsula and the countries south of the Danube were inhabited by Aryans and perhaps by remnants of an older population. Asia Minor was from very ancient times a melting-pot for many different races. Syria was inhabited by Semitic tribes which the policy of the Assyrians had transplanted and mixed up. In Egypt the old stable race preserved itself, but the mixing up with the foreign masters of the land and immigrants here also caused a mingling of races which may possibly have been an important factor in the trouble and decline at the end of antiquity.

When under the shelter of Roman peace and Roman administration all these races — those mentioned are only the most important of the races known — were mingled with each other, the result was an unlimited bastardizing. Bastardizing conveys perils which cosmopolitanism did not acknowledge but which modern science has shown to be real. The race is a group of men with definite hereditary dispositions which through the above described natural selection have become to a certain degree firm and fixed. There are races of more and lesser value. Bastardizing between two races which differ from each other to more than a certain degree results in the deterioration of the race, at least viewed from the standpoint of the better of the two. The aversion to mixed marriages, e. g. to marriages between Europeans and negroes, is consequently just from a genetic point of view. The danger is yet more insidious if the races are on the one hand so different that the bastardizing involves the peril of a deterioration of the race, but on the other hand· do not differ so much in externals that the aversion to mixed marriages makes itself felt. This aversion is however a very feeble defence against the mixing up of races, and its strength depends on the mind of the age.

The crossing of races, through which a better race is superseded by a worse, is however neither the only peril nor the greatest. A race that is at least to a certain degree pure is physically and psychically a fixed type, which precisely through the firmness and fixedness

of its dispositions is able to create something to which its dispositions predispose it. If these dispositions are of such a kind as to enable the race to achieve a higher culture or to organize a state, as was the case among the Greeks and Romans, the result will be a certain form of culture and of state, moulded according to fixed laws and customs of life. The result of the bastardizing will be a motley blend of the different hereditary dispositions of the races which are crossed. Mere chance brings different dispositions of different races together in almost infinitely varying fashions. But this does not suffice. Dispositions which were formerly concealed, lying latent in one or the other of the crossed races, will appear on the surface and make the product of the crossing yet more motley and incalculable. The unity and harmony of the race and the individual will be destroyed, the personality loses its balance. The individuals which are born out of this crossing fail to achieve a firm and fixed type. Psychically they lack a definite direction and vacillate indecisively between conflicting and unconnected hereditary dispositions. They may often possess great intelligence, but the moral strength is wanting. This state of affairs is due to biological factors but gets still worse if — as was the case in the Roman Empire — the fixed form of the mental life at the same time breaks down and is transformed.

Bastard races have a bad reputation. If Levantines, Eurasians, Mestizes etc. are mentioned everyone feels how deep-rooted is the objection against them. People are wont to say that this bad reputation and the moral weakness of the bastards are due to the unfavourable conditions in which they are born and bred, usually as illegitimate and neglected children, disowned by the kinsfolk of both father and mother. But this is not the full explanation, it is only superficial; at the root lies the destroying effect of the bastardizing on the personality. The Roman Empire became more and more filled by bastards. The bastardizing was strongest in the ruling country, Italy, whither people from all the borders of the Empire flowed together, and was stronger in the upper civilized classes than in the lower, which did not move about with the same frequency [33]. But the army, the trade, and the general intercourse carried the bastardizing into every corner of the Empire. The swiftness of the process is not to be wondered at. Contrary to the slow development of a race, the bastardizing shows its effects even in the first generation, but is of course increased by the crossing of the bastards. Whether it is to set its stamp on the people will depend solely on the extent

of the process, and it has been shown that in the Roman Empire it was carried out on the largest, scale.

A bastardizing to this extent results in the mingling of better and worse races into a motley and indefinite mass without firm mental or moral characteristics. This is a sufficient explanation of the decline and fall of the ancient culture and the Roman Empire. But even if the bastardizing and mixing up of the races leads by its immediate effects to chaos, this is not the ultimate result. New races may emerge from the chaos and be able to reconstruct that which was destroyed. We know the conditions for such a development. They are that the bastardizing shall cease and the people shall be isolated so that the mixture gets its chance and has time to become settled and purified. In this way are given the conditions for developing a new race from the motley blend, the nature of which depends on the circumstances.

The above-mentioned conditions were realised at the commencement of ancient history. The ancient culture peoples, the Greeks and the Romans, invaded their countries from without and settled themselves among peoples of foreign races. The Greeks and the Romans of history are a product of a blending of races. Our knowledge of the Romans is very scanty. If the oldest population of Rome was a blend of Latins and Sabines, that does not matter much, because these tribes were already very closely akin. But it is certain that the Etruscans held sway over Rome some time towards the end of the period of the kings, and their culture exercised a profound influence on the city. They lived next-door, on the other bank of the Tiber, and it may be supposed with certainty that the Romans had a considerable admixture of Etruscan blood.

Greece is better known than Italy and her history enables us to follow the process more closely. Recent discoveries have revealed to us the wonderfully high culture of the early and middle second millennium B. C., which is known as the Minoan and Mycenaean culture. It is certain that the people which created this culture was not Aryan; it was perhaps akin to some peoples of Asia Minor, though others maintain that its kinsfolk are to be found in northern Egypt. The invading Aryan tribes, the Greeks, settled among the original inhabitants of Greece in the same second millennium and at last destroyed the old culture. The centuries between the decay of the Mycenaean culture and the commencement of the historical age are a blank. We know only that the culture was utterly debased. The small di-

stricts of Greece were isolated from each other. This is shown by the geometrical style of vase-painting which belongs to the ninth and eighth centuries B. C. The Mycenaean style of vase-painting is the same wherever Mycenaean vases are found, in or outside of Greece. The geometrical style, on the contrary, has very characteristic differences: it is quite easy to say in which island or province a vase or even a sherd has been made. The ancient towns were small, the district was very limited, and the inhabitants were not very numerous. Each of these towns was wholly independent and sovereign, composing a state with its own rights. The bitterest enemy was usually the neighbour. In this narrow frame the people lived and — married. Consequently inbreeding was the rule and was strongly accentuated by the smallness of the population. In Athens at a somewhat later age the law enforced it; nobody could become a citizen if both his parents were not citizens of the town. This isolation and inbreeding created the race to which ancient culture and the foundations of our own culture are due. Italy, which at last conquered the world and organized the Empire, underwent much the same process.

The process was repeated, but on a larger scale, after the decay of the ancient culture and the fall of the Roman Empire and the settling down of the foreign conquerors in its provinces. Letters and education, as far as they survived at all, were limited to very few. The decay of the material civilization changed and fettered the lives even of the poorest classes. We may compare the ages e. g. of HADRIAN and of the Merovingians in order to perceive this. Intercourse ceased. The old Roman roads, on which the peoples of the Empire had penetrated into all parts of it, fell into disuse, were broken up, treated as quarries, or became overgrown by herbs and woods. Society was split up into small independent and self-supporting unities, — this is the feudal system — the inhabitants were rooted fast in the soil. So there reappeared the primitive conditions under which every man takes his wife at his own doors. In this isolation of the small groups new races and new peoples developed out of the mixed human chaos of the Empire during the Middle Ages. These are the peoples of modern Europe, and the outcome of their racial instincts is seen in the national states of modern Europe, whose frontiers form to some degree an effective barrier against a race-blending of such a destructive character as that which was the most active cause of the decay of ancient culture and the fall of the Roman Empire. The Nemesis of history has caused the consequences of victory to be

fatal to the victors, who have been merged and lost in the broad masses of the conquered races.

NOTES.

[1] O. SEECK, *Geschichte des Unterganges der antiken Welt*, I, the chapter ›Die Ausrottung der Besten‹.

[2] K. J. BELOCH, *Die Bevölkerung der griechisch-römischen Welt.*

[3] K. J. BELOCH, *Griechische Geschichte*, I: 1², p. 66.

[4] MARTIN P:N NILSSON, *Den romerska kejsartiden*, II, ch. 4.

[5] J. ILBERG, *Zur gynäkologischen Ethik der Griechen*, Archiv für Religionswissenschaft XIII (1910) 1 sqq.

[6] L. FRIEDLÄNDER, *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms*, I⁸, pp. 419 sqq.

[7] The *lex Julia de maritandis ordinibus* and the *lex Papia Poppaea.*

[8] For references see e. g. the article Alimenta in PAULY-WISSOWA, *Realencyklopädie der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft.*

[9] M. GELZER, *Die Nobilität der Kaiserzeit*, Hermes L (1915) 395 sqq.

[10] A. v. DOMASZEWSKI, *Die Rangordnung des römischen Heeres*, Bonner Jahrbücher 117 (1918). — H. DESSAU, *Die Herkunft der Offiziere und Beamten des römischen Kaiserreiches*, Hermes XLV (1910) 1 sqq.

[11] V. PARVAN, *Die Nationalität der Kaufleute im römischen Kaiserreich*, Dissertation, Breslau, 1909.

[12] H. GUMMERUS, *Romerska krukmakarstämplar*, Eranos XVI (1916) 176.

[13] M. BANG, *Die Herkunft der römischen Sklaven*, Rheinisches Museum XXV (1910) 225 sqq.; *Nachtrag*, ibid. XXVII (1912) 189 sqq.

[14] SEECK, *loc. cit.* pp. 385 sqq.

[15] See, p. 380.

[16] The old standard work is H. D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, *Les premiers habitants de l'Europe²* (1889). For a more recent review see H. HIRTH, *Die Indogermanen* I pp. 34 sqq.

[17] Some authors, following D'ARBOIS DE JUBAINVILLE, take the view that the Ligurians were an Aryan people, but the evidence adduced is exceedingly slight.

[18] See e. g. J. BEDDOE, *The Races of Britain.*

[19] See my paper *Den stora folkvandringen i det andra årtusendet f. Kr.* in Ymer 1912, pp. 455 sqq. On the languages of Asia Minor P. KRETSCHMER, *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache*, pp. 289 sqq

[20] *Sardis*, Publications of the American Society for the Excavation of Sardis, vol. VI, *Lydian Inscriptions*, by ENNO LITTMANN.

[21] K. HOLL, *Das Fortleben der Volkssprachen in Kleinasien in nachchristlicher Zeit*, Hermes XLII (1908) 240 sqq.

[22] The anthropological school of Professor SERGI, RIPLEY and others has tried to show that there existed in Europe from very old times three races: the fair, dolichocephalic Northern race, the dark-haired, grey-eyed, and brachycephalic Alpine race, the dark-haired, dolichocephalic Mediterranean race, and that, in spite of all invasions and crossings, these races still maintain themselves in their respective districts. I cannot discuss this theory here, it would also imply a

discussion of the question as to what is to be understood by ›race›. (For my views as to this point see my above-cited paper in Ymer 1912, pp. 465 sqq). There are races with varying degrees of racial differences. I wish only to point out that the above-mentioned theory may not be inconsistent with the view that is advanced here. The signs by which these three races are recognized are purely physical. Here it is in the first place a question of psychical differences. It may be that the physical properties have persisted on the whole but that the psychical ones have changed in the formation of the new races which have developed from the blending of the races in Europe.

[22] Cp. the dates given above (pp. 384 sqq.) for the provincial origin of emperors and senators.