

Lecture 11th

Lecture 11th

From the beginning of the civil commo-
tions under the Gracchi, to the fall
of the Republic 134-30.

The former period was little more than
the history of foreign wars; in this,
on the contrary, Rome appears in a
continual state of internal convul-
sions. The almost absolute power of
the senate gave rise to a most odious
family aristocracy, which was resisted
by the tribunes of the people; the aris-
tocratic & democratic parties soon
became factions. The present aristocra-
tic party consisted of the ruling families
and their rallying point was the senate.
The contest with the opposite party was
the more violent from the great a-
buses which had crept into the civil
administration, and which secured
to the ruling families alone, the fruits
of all victories & conquests. The demo-
cratic party had become powerful by
the great increase of the populace,

(without a livelihood yet with a voice in the comitia) especially of the numerous freedmen, who, altho' foreigners, generally without fortune or ability now constituted the greater part of the Roman people, so called.

In 133 the disturbances began, during the tribuneship of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus, who was the man of the people. His aim was to relieve the condition of the lower classes; and for this object he wished a better distribution of the public lands, which were almost exclusively in the hands of the aristocrats. The first agrarian law of Gracchus, sanctioned by the people was properly a renewal of an ancient law passed by the tribune Licinius, just after the invasion of the Gauls, that no individual should possess more than 500 acres of land; but at this period of Rome, when it was an attack on the amassed property of all great families it was of infinitely greater importance

than in the earlier ages. Tiberius then proposed that the treasures bequeathed by Attalus of Pergamum should be divided equitably. Then ensued a great riot, and Tiberius was murdered by the aristocratic party, under Scipio Nasica (not the same Scipio Nasica) on the day of the election of the new tribunes of the people. But he had succeeded in establishing the agrarian law, and the new party itself was any thing but annihilated with the fall of its head. So far from there being any prospect of a repeal of the law, the senate was even obliged to permit the office left vacant in the commission by the death of Gracchus, to be supplied; and even Scipio Nasica himself had to be removed to Asia, under the pretence of an embassy. In 132 Scipio Aemilianus returned from Spain, and in him the senate obtained a firm support. Great insurrection of the slaves in Sicily.

by under Eunus, a slave. 134 - 131.

Evident attempts of the tribunes of the people to increase their power, which Gracchus had led them to feel.

In 120. Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, first founded the power of Rome in Gallia Transalpina, on occasion of sending aid to Massilia.

In 122 the Allobroges and Proverni were conquered by Quintus Fabius, and the South of Gaul became a Roman province.

In 123 Metellus conquered the Balearian islands. From 120 - 125 Caius Gracchus the brother of Tiberius was quaestor in Sicily.

Still these palliative measures were of no benefit; Caius returned from Sicily with the resolution to tread in the footsteps of his brother. His first tribuneship was in 123. He renewed the agrarian law, and obtained the tribuneship again the following year 122.

He made several propositions to des-

troy the power the senate, but was finally murdered in a tumult at Rome 121. The Gracchi were sons of Cornelia the daughter of Scipio Africanus, the conqueror of Hannibal.

After the death of Caius, the agrarian law was at first eluded, & then repealed.

The spirit of faction recoiled most visibly on morals, which now began to decline the more rapidly from the concurrent influence of foreign relations. We must seek for the causes of this corruption, not only in the avarice of the higher orders, but also in the licentiousness of the populace at large. Roman luxury was at first public luxury, arising from the excessive accumulation of wealth in the aerarium (treasury). The principal means of satisfying the avarice of the great, were derived from the extortions of the governors of the provinces; but perhaps a still more abundant source, was the attempts of the allied princes & kings

to gain a party in the Senate, which in a short time could only be obtained by purchase, and afforded nourishment at once to avarice & intrigue. This corruption appears most strikingly in the next great war, which Rome had to carry on in Africa, against Jugurtha of Numidia, the adopted grandson of Masinissa, and soon against his ally, Bocchus of Mauritania. Micipsa & Manastabal, were the sons of Masinissa; Jugurtha was the son of Manastabal; Micipsa inherited his father's kingdom, and educated his nephew with his two sons, Adherbal, and Hiempsal; but as he was of an aspiring disposition, he sent him to the assistance of Sappio, who was besieging Numantia; when Micipsa died he appointed him successor to his kingdom with his two sons. Jugurtha quarrelled with his cousins, and murdered Hiempsal 118. Adherbal fled to Rome for ^{appeal} redress; Jugurtha besieges him in Cirta, he was obliged to surrender, & was

put to death in 112. The tribune C. Memmius compels the Senate to a war against Jugurtha, but he purchases peace from Caius Calpurnius Piso 111. The consul, Memmius prevents the ratification of the peace, and Jugurtha is ordered to Rome to answer in his defence. He would still probably have purchased an acquittal, had he not murdered his cousin Mastiba, by the aid of Bomilcar 110; the war was renewed with the worst success in 110. till Metellus obtained the command in 109; in 108 Jugurtha made an alliance with Bocchus, King of Mauritania; Metellus would have put an end to the war, had he not been supplanted by Marcius, who, by his popularity stole into the consulship 107. But Marcius was obliged to make a traitor of Bocchus, and induce him to deliver up Jugurtha, 106 - who was carried to Rome, and starved to death in a dungeon. Numidia was divided between Bocchus & Hiempsal and Hiarbas, two grandsons of Masinissa.

The elevation of Marius to the consul-
-ship, broke the power of the aristocra-
-cy, by showing that a new man, with-
-out birth, (homo novus) might ob-
-tain the highest offices; the manner
in which, contrary to Roman usage,
he had formed his army out of
the populace made him doubly for-
-midable. This man was the glory
& the scourge of Rome. He was born
of poor parents, and nursed from
infancy to manhood. Still, power-
ful as he became, he would hardly
have overthrown the constitution, had
not this been rendered inevitable, by
a new & highly dangerous war, when
the most powerful nations of the north,
the Cimbri & Teutones, threatened to
overwhelm Italy, whilst another formi-
-dable war was kindled at the same
time by the Slaves in Sicily. But af-
-ter the defeat of several Roman ar-
-mies, the people believed that they

could find the preserver of Italy, in no
one but the conqueror of Jugurtha;
& Marius knew how to improve this so
well, that he remained consul by suc-
-cessive years.

The Cimbri or Cimmerii, a nation pro-
-bably of Germanic origin, from the
countries above the Black Sea, mi-
-grated from thence as far as Spain.
Their removal was probably caused
by the Scythian war of Mithridates;
they proceeded, as Romans generally
did from the East to the West, along
the Danube; in 113, they defeated
Cneius Papirius Cæso, at Norcia
in Liguria. On their further march to
the West, they were joined by German
Celtic & Helvetic nations, (Teutones,
Ambrones, & Tigurini.) In 109 they at-
-tacked Roman Gaul, and demanded
a residence in it, and defeat the Rom-
-an army. In 107 the Romans again de-
-feated. The principal defeat of the

Romans in Gaul 105, was caused by the distensions between the leaders Caius Cneius Manlius, and Servilius Caepio. Marius then obtained the command, and continued consul from 104 to 101; a part of the Cimbri crossed the Pyrenees, but were driven back by the Celtae, 103: this gave Marius time to form his army. In 102 they attempted for the first time in separate bodies to penetrate into Italy; the Teutones through Provence; the Cimbri themselves through the Pyrenees. Marius defeated & destroyed them ^{at Aix} ~~at Aix~~ 102. On the other hand the Cimbri actually invaded & made great progress, till Marius goes to the assistance of Catulus. Great battle & defeat of the Cimbri on the 10, 30th July 101.

During these wars the power of the popular party had visibly increased; after their conclusion the storm actually broke out, when Marius pur-

chased his sixth consulship. There was now a conspiracy in Rome, aimed chiefly against Lucius Metellus, the head of the senatorial party, and since the events in Africa, the mortal enemy of Marius. After he had been expelled by a new agrarian law, which he opposed, the faction now usurped the rights of the people. Marius, the tribune Saturninus, and the praetor Glancias, were already an actual triumvirate; after Metellus was removed they would have been the ruin of the republic, had not the shameless licentiousness of their party, compelled Marius to leave them, that he might not lose all popularity. At a new consular election there was a great rising of all the well disposed citizens, now favored by Marius himself; Saturninus & Glancias were besieged in the Capitol, obliged to surrender & were executed. In consequence of these events, Metellus was recalled from

cile, 99, contrary to the will of Hannibal, who withdrew to Asia.

The few years of quiet that Rome now enjoyed, brought to maturity much good and evil, the seeds of which had been before disseminated. Eloquence now began to flourish, & high-minded individuals exerted themselves against the oppressors of the provinces, and endeavoured to heal the wounds of Sicily, Asia and other provinces, by a better administration. But the power of the equestrian order at this time became a new & abundant source of abuses. The Roman people were divided into 4 classes, the Senate or Patrician order, the Equestrian order, or knights. The plebeians or mass of the people, & the slaves. The knights were not originally a separate order, but consisted of such citizens as could maintain a horse for the wars. They now had become the farmers of the public revenues, and consequently collected

the public revenues in the provinces, and they were thus able not only easily to oppose every provincial reform, but even at Rome to keep the Senate in dependence.

In 97 they acquired Cyprus, by the will of Ptolemy Apion, an illegitimate son of Ptolemy Physcon; it however preserved its independence, altho' by the payment of a tribute.

Insurrection of the nations in Italy, in order to obtain the privilege of Roman citizenship. The bloody war with the allies ensued, called the Social war. from 91 to 88. Since the commotions of the Gracchi, great numbers of the allies in the pay of the demagogues, had always been pouring into Rome; and a law in 95 which removed these from the city was the occasion of the revolt. Since this time, conspiracies had commenced amongst these nations, and increased without interruption to such maturity, that the negligence of Rome

is to be explained by the rage, of party, which had been yet more inflamed by a law of the tribune Varius, which ordained that all such as had assisted the confederates in their war against Rome, should be publicly tried. The murder of the tribune Livius Drusus, by a man of very doubtful character, brought the matter to a rupture. In the alliance were the Marsi, Picentes, Veligni, Marrucini, Frentani, Samnites (who then played a leading part) the Hirpini, Iapygi, Lucani. In this war, which was the more bloody, as the single battles & sieges, especially of the Roman colonies, were more frequent, we find on the side of Rome the illustrious names of Cneius Pompeius, the father, Lucius Cato, and Sylla; it was soon seen that the allies themselves were not without leaders, capable of projecting great plans, and of executing them with energy. The Latini, Umbri, &c

had remained faithful to Rome; the Lex Julia, by Lucius Junius Caesar, granted them the privileges of citizenship; and afterwards to the others also by the Lex Plautia. Rome could only save herself by extending gradually to the allies the privileges of citizenship. The war now brought to a conclusion, produced an essential change in the constitution, since Rome no longer remained as formerly, the exclusive head of the whole state; the new citizens were enrolled into eight tribes. The long cherished hatred between Marius & Sylla had increased during this war, in proportion as the influence of Sylla had risen, and that of Marius declined. Sylla had first entered the army under Marius, whom he accompanied to Numidia, as quaestor; here, his rising fame excited the jealousy of Marius, & Sylla left him. Some time after he obtained the praetorship, and was appointed by the Roman Senate to place Ario

Barbanes on the throne of Cappadocia, against the views and interests of Mithridates king of Pontus. At his return to Rome, he distinguished himself in the Social war, and was rewarded with the consulship; & at the end of this war, we find Marius & him both in Rome; nothing was wanting but an opportunity, such as was afforded by the Pontic or Mithridatic war, to stir up a civil war, which threatened the annihilation of Roman liberty.

In 88 the Senate conferred the Supreme command on Sylla, who was now consul; Marius formed a coalition with the tribune Sulpitius, in order to gain by means of this faction the Supreme command. Sulpitius proposed a proportionate distribution of the new citizens and freedmen, through all the tribes, in order to form of them a faction of his own, which transferred the Supreme command to Marius, by a popular resolve obtained by force; Sylla

marches upon Rome, and expels Marius, who escapes to Africa, after having met with adventures almost incredible, & is proscribed with his son & 18 of his adherents. The power of the Senate was restored, & its vacancies filled by 300 knights. Sylla, after having permitted his friend Caius Octavius, & his enemy, L. Cinna, to be elected consuls, hastened to Greece.

The war with Mithridates began, even before the end of that with the allies, 89 by his making himself master of Cappadocia & Paphlagonia. He became formidable by his alliances with the Nations along the Danube, & by his naval & land forces. The exasperation of the Asiatics against Rome, facilitated his undertakings; He gained a victory over Nicomedes king of Bithynia, and also over the Roman general Aquilius. He then conquered all Asia Minor, the island of Rhodes excen-

Ted. All the Roman citizens in Asia Minor were murdered. The royal army crossed over to Greece under the command of Archelaus, where Athens became the principal scene of arms, O.O. Sylla besieged L conquered Athens 1st of March O5. The army of Mithridates repeatedly defeated at Phalaris, under Archelaus, and afterwards at Archomennus, by Sylla O6, whose plans usually aimed at the total annihilation of his enemies. Negotiations of peace were begun by Archelaus, but not terminated till a personal interview between Sylla & Mithridates, who, (the former) landed into Asia O5. But the opposite party in Rome had already sent forward a new army, to Asia Minor, both against Sylla & Mithridates, with Valerius Flaccus as general, who was assassinated by his lieutenant Timbria. Timbria obtained advantages over Mithridates, but was afterwards blocked up by Sylla, & took his own life.

By the licentiousness of the army, which Sylla dared not restrain, by the immense contributions which he exacted in Asia Minor after the peace for carrying on the Italian war, & by the piracies which arose from the fleets of Mithridates, that had been let loose, these unhappy countries, & especially the wealthy cities, were almost ruined. But during this war a revolution was taking place in Rome, which not only subverted the order restored by Sylla but also by the victory of the democratic faction under Cinna & Marius, generated a wild anarchy of the mob, which was rendered yet worse by the death of Marius, since even their own leaders were no longer able to restrain the riotous partisans. Fearful as was the prospect of the return of the proscribed Sylla, yet he was the only remaining hope of all those, who belonged neither to the populace, nor to the party of its leaders.

Insurrection of Cinna, at the impulse of Marius & his son^{Le} in exile, soon after the departure of Sulla; he attempts to form a party, by the distribution of the new citizens through all the tribes. But he was expelled from Rome by C. Octavius at the head of the Senate & the old citizens, and deposed from the consulship 87. He soon however collected a powerful army in Campania, and recalled Marius from exile. Rome, subdued by famine, is captured & pillaged, and a horrible massacre ensues, after which Marius & Cinna appoint themselves consuls, & proscribe Sulla. Marius died 13th Jan, 86 and M. Porcius Cato succeeded to the consulship. Cinna was murdered by his own soldiers in 84; thus the ruling faction was deprived of a common head, Cato remains sole consul, but he was of a timid disposition, Horbanus who became afterwards consul, was unskilful, and the son of

Marius, Caius Marius; neither of these possessed sufficient personal authority to supply the place of Cinna; and Sertorius left Italy at the right time to kindle a new flame in Spain. In 83 Sulla returned to Italy; immediately after his landing, he gained a victory over Horbanus, and the army of ^{or incline} Caius Scipio was gained by bribery. Almost all men of consequence declared themselves for Sulla, and the young Pompey, led to him his self-acquired army; his cause thus gained as much in consequence, as he himself in power. He obtained a victory at Saephorum over Marius the younger, who threw himself into Præneste, & was there besieged. But the first decisive battle was that which took place before the gates of Rome, with the army of the Samnites under Telesinus, a general of the Samnites, who had joined the interest of Marius; Rome was captured, & Præneste taken. During the war those who felt its

victims, were principally the Italian nations, that had been of the party of Marius, whom Sylla slaughtered to make way for settlements for his own soldiers; and not till after the victory was Rome compelled to feel the horrors of the new revolution. Sylla's proscription was directed against his enemies only, but it was the signal for a universal massacre, because every one sought, as an opportunity was now offered, to free himself of his own enemies; in those days of horror, no one was sure of his life or property. Sylla was then appointed perpetual dictator; he confirms his power in Rome by emancipating 10,000 of the slaves of those who had been proscribed. and in Italy he supports himself by the colonies of his veterans, founded at the expense of his enemies.

Sylla, dictator from 81 to 79. Great reform in the constitution during his two years' dictatorship. The aristocracy of the Senate, which he supplied from the knights

was again restored, and the sources were to be closed from which the former democratic disorders had flowed. In 79 Sylla voluntarily abdicated his power. This was probably caused by his natural indolence which preferred a luxurious leisure to a laborious activity, so soon as his passions left him at rest. (Previous to his abdication there was a war in Africa, against Cneius Domitius, the king Hiarbas, the leaders of the democratic faction, this was triumphantly concluded by Pompey P.O. Second war with Mithridates, begun by Murena, whom Sylla had left at the head of the armies in Asia; but at Sylla's order terminated by a treaty, P.I.) The regulations of Sylla could not be permanent in Rome, because the evil lay too deep, to be eradicated by laws. A republic like Rome, containing no middle class, must from its very nature, be liable to continual convulsions; besides, the almost universal change of property, had produced

ced during the last revolution, throughout all Italy, a powerful party, which desired nothing more eagerly than a counter-revolution. And how many young men such as Lucullus, Crassus, and above all Pompey, had commenced a career, during the last commotions which they were not yet willing to terminate. It is not strange therefore that immediately after the death of Sylla B.C. a consul Remilius Lepidus, should attempt to become a second Marius, which it required the firmness and courage of as great a citizen as his colleague L. Lutatius Catulus to frustrate. In 78 Lepidus attempted to subvert the constitution of Sylla. He was repeatedly defeated before Rome, & in Etruria by Catulus & Pompey 77, soon after which he died in Sardinia.

War of Sertorius in Spain from 77 to 72. Sertorius was a Roman general, his first campaign was under Marius, against the

Leontones L. Cimbri; when Sylla proscribed him, he fled for safety into Spain; where he gained great popularity. L. was universally revered & loved particularly by the Lusitanians. The success of Sertorius in Spain, and his popularity among the natives, alarmed Rome. He had established a senate, over which he presided with consular authority; Pompey & Metellus were sent against him, but were for six years unsuccessful; they were also but weakly supported by Rome. In 75 Sertorius negotiated with Mithridates the Great, mutual embassies, unattended by any important results. In 72 he was assassinated by Perpenna one of his officers who was jealous of him. But before the fire of war had been extinguished in the west, a yet greater one had been kindled in the East by Mithridates; another war, full as formidable, of the gladiators, and slaves, had broken out in Italy itself; and

whole fleets of pirates, who not only plundered the coasts of Italy, but also threatened the city itself with famine, compelled Rome to a naval war of altogether a peculiar nature. There was no want of alliances between these enemies; and colossal as was the power of the republic at that time rich as she was in distinguished men, she might nevertheless have sunk under the storms, between 75-71, which burst upon her from all directions, could a close coalition have been effected, between Sertorius, Spartacus, L. Mithridates. But the very great difficulties of communication at that time, with one which perhaps a republic like Rome could never have been formed, were then, more than ever, of the greatest service to Rome.

In 75 Micomedes, king of Bithynia, left his kingdom to Rome, this was in part the occasion of the third Mithridatic war, and was carried on in Asia Mi-

nor, first by Lucullus 74-67, and afterwards by Pompey 66-64. In 75, an alliance had been concluded, between Mithridates & Sertorius. But in 73 Lucullus took Cysicus, and the fleets of Mithridates, one of which was sailing towards Italy, were also destroyed by the Romans; in 71 Mithridates fled to Tigranes, king of Armenia; who refused to deliver him up, but entered into no alliance with him, till 70, while Artabaces 12th (Phraates 3^d) the Parthian, joint off both parties with negotiations. Lucullus obtained a victory over the allied kings at Tigranocerta in Armenia, 69, and Artabarta 68; his troops then began to mutiny, and not only prevented his further progress, but also allowed Mithridates to rise so rapidly, that in the years 68 and 67 he reconquered almost all his own territories; at the very time when Roman commissioners arrived to take possession of them. Lucul-

-bus, who had raised up a powerful party against himself in Rome, by his financial reform in Asia Minor, votes in consequence the chief command.

The war of the gladiators and slaves, which took place at the same time, was equally dangerous to Rome by its neighborhood to the scene of contest, by the exasperated spirit, with which outraged humanity sought to avenge itself, and by the superior talents of a leader like Spartacus. Its termination was important for Rome, as it opened to M Crassus the road to an influence, which all his wealth would never have acquired.

The war was begun in Campania 73, by a number of fugitive gladiators, who were formidably strengthened by a great insurrection of the slaves. The defeat of four Roman generals 73 72, laid open to Spartacus the road to the Alps, in order to leave Italy; but the

rapacity of his hordes, who wished to plunder Rome, drew him back. Crassus obtained the command, and saved Rome 72. Spartacus then retreated to the south of Italy, in order to transfer the war to Sicily, with the aid of the pirates by whom however he was deceived 71. He was finally defeated on the Silanus 71. Pompey, now returning from Spain, found still an opportunity, to snatch a branch from the laurel wreath, which properly belonged to Crassus; and the coldnets, which then arose during their consulship 70, threatened to become dangerous to the state.

The war against the pirates of Cilicia and Isauria, was as important for Rome in its results, as it was of itself. It gave Pompey legally a power, such as no other Roman general had possessed; and after he had brought it to a quick and victorious termination, he gained

thereby an opportunity, of obtaining what was the real object of his wishes, the chief command against Mithridates in Asia.

The excessive increase of the power of the pirates resulted, partly, from the negligence of the Roman marine, partly from the wars of Mithridates, who held them in pay, partly from the oppression of the Romans in Asia Minor. A war had been waged against them from the year 75, by Servilius, pro-consul of Asia, whose victories, which procured him the surname of Isauricus, did them but little injury. They were now the most dangerous, not only on account of their piracies, but because they facilitated the communication between the other enemies of Rome, from Spain to Asia. The new attack of the praetor M. Antonius 71 was directed against Crete; it failed indeed of success, but it was the cause of the attack on Crete, hitherto inde-

pendent, by Metellus, 68, and it's change 67 into a Roman province. Then Pompey obtained the command against them, with extended power from the tribune Gabinus, who brought in a law, lex Gabinia, granting to Pompey the power of carrying on the power against the pirates, during three years, and of obliging all kings, governors, and states, to supply him with all the necessaries he wanted, over all the Mediterranean Sea, and in the maritime provinces. Pompey finished the war in 40 days - 67.