

men. They demanded the surrender of all the weapons and machines of war. Then, after receiving everything, they ordered the Carthaginians to abandon their city and settle ten miles inland. Grief and indignation inflamed the tumultuous people. Day and night they spent in making arms. Hasdrubal collected in his camp at Nopheris as many as 70,000 men. The Roman operations being unsuccessful, the consulate was given to Scipio Æmilianus, the second Africanus, though he had asked only the ædileship. He restored discipline to the army and increased the courage of the soldiers.

Carthage was built upon an isthmus. Cutting off this isthmus by a trench and wall he prevented sorties. To starve out the 700,000 inhabitants he closed the port by an immense dike. The Carthaginians cut a new passage through the rock toward the open sea. A fleet, built from the wreck of their houses, came near surprising the Roman galleys but was repulsed by Scipio. When the ravages of famine had weakened the defence, he forced a part of the walls and took the city. The citadel, Byrsa, still held out. Situated at the centre, it could be reached only through long, narrow streets, where the Carthaginians intrenched in their houses offered desperate resistance. It took six days and six nights for the army to reach the foot of the citadel. The garrison of 50,000 men surrendered on condition of saving their lives. At their head was Hasdrubal. His wife, after taunting her husband from the top of the wall for his cowardice, cut the throats of her two children and threw herself into the flames. Scipio abandoned the smoking ruins to pillage. Commissioners sent by the senate reduced the Carthaginian territory to a Roman province called Africa (146).

## IV

## FOREIGN CONQUESTS OF ROME

(229-129)

**Partial Conquest of Illyricum (229) and of Istria (221).**— Between the first and second Punic wars, Rome had obtained a foothold upon the Greek continent. The Adriatic was then infested by Illyrian pirates, and Teuta, the widow of their last king, had butchered two insolent Roman envoys. The senate despatched 200 ships and 20,000 legionaries under the two consuls, who forced Teuta to pay tribute and to cede a large part of Illyricum. On occupying Istria the Romans became masters of one of the gates of Italy and also planted themselves at the north of Macedon which they threatened from Illyricum.

**The Conquerors of Asia Minor, Macedon and Greece.**— The wars against Antiochus, Philip, Perseus and the Achæans have been already mentioned. Here we will merely make brief reference to the generals in command.

Scipio Asiaticus, the conqueror of Antiochus at Magnesia, was the brother of Scipio Africanus, who accompanied him as his lieutenant. On their return to Rome, the tribunes accused the two brothers of accepting bribes to grant peace to the king of Syria. Scipio Africanus indignantly refused to answer, and quitted Rome. Scipio Asiaticus, degraded by Cato from the equestrian order, was condemned to pay the sum he was accused of receiving. His poverty proved his innocence.

Titus Quintus Flaminius was the conqueror of Philip at Cyncephalæ and the founder of the Roman policy in Greece. He remained there a long time after his command expired, so as to organize a Roman party in all the cities and to expel the enemies of the senate. Thus he thwarted the patriotic plans of Philopœmen and brought about the rebellion of Messene which cost that great citizen his life. He also demanded from Prusias, king of Bithynia,



the head of Hannibal, who had taken refuge in his states. The hero poisoned himself rather than fall into the hands of Rome.

Paulus Æmilius, who overthrew Perseus at Pydna, had won renown in the Lusitanian and Ligurian wars. His triumph, adorned with the spoils of Macedon, was the richest thus far seen. But of his two sons, who were to ride with him in his chariot, one had just died and the other expired three days later. Paulus Æmilius in his manly grief rejoiced that he was the one chosen to expiate the public prosperity. "My triumph," said he, "placed between the two funerals of my children, will satisfy the cruel sport of Fate. At the age of sixty years I find my hearth solitary, but the prosperity of the state consoles me."

Mummius, the destroyer of Corinth and of the Achæan league, was famous for his roughness. From the pillage of that opulent city he kept nothing for himself, but he made the persons who were to transport to Rome the masterpieces of Grecian art promise to replace whatever was lost or injured on the way.

**Conquest of Spain (197-133). Viriathus. Numantia.**—In Spain the war was longer and more difficult. The Spaniards, through hatred of Carthage, had supported the Romans during the second Punic War, but Rome did not grant them liberty. They revolted and Rome had to begin a reconquest of the whole country. Sixty-four years were required for the task. They slew 9000 men in the army of the Roman Galba. He pretended to treat, offered them fertile lands and then massacred 30,000 of them. Such perfidy bore its natural fruit. A herdsman, Viriathus, escaped from the massacre and carried on a guerilla war in which the Romans lost their best soldiers. During five years he defeated all the generals sent against him. One day he surrounded the Consul Fabius in a narrow pass and forced him to sign a treaty, that declared "There shall be peace between the Roman people and Viriathus." Cepio, the brother of Fabius, avenged him by fraud. He hired two officers of Viriathus to assassinate their chief. Thereupon his followers surrendered and were removed by Cepio to the shores of the Mediterranean where they built Valencia.

The Spanish war in the north toward Numantia was tedious and obstinate. Consul after consul was baffled or

defeated until the general arrived who had conquered Carthage. Gradually Scipio forced the Numantines back into their city, and surrounded it by four lines of intrenchments. Hard pressed by horrible famine, the inhabitants demanded battle but Scipio refused. Then they slew each other. Only fifty Numantines followed his triumphal chariot in Rome. Even then the northern mountaineers were not subdued. Spain was completely pacified only under Augustus. In 124 Metellus took possession of the Balearic Islands after nearly exterminating their inhabitants, and in 133 Attalus ceded his kingdom of Pergamus to the Romans.

Thus thirty years before Christ, the city which we have seen rise upon the Palatine Hill ruled from the Spanish coast on the Western Ocean to the centre of Asia Minor. She possessed the three peninsulas of southern Europe, Spain, Italy and Greece. Between Italy and Greece, through the subjection of the Illyrians, she had secured herself a road around the Adriatic, and Marseilles lent her its vessels and its pilots from the Var to the Ebro. Thus her conquest of the ancient world was far advanced. Her success was due to three forces which in politics generate other forces also. These were an astute senate, where the traditions of government were long preserved, a sagacious people, amenable to the laws which they had made for themselves, and that organized discipline in the legions which formed the most perfect military engine the world had yet known.



## V

## FIRST CIVIL WARS. THE GRACCHI. MARIUS. SULLA

(133-79)

**Results of Roman Conquests on Roman Manners and Constitution.** — Yet the conquest of so many wealthy provinces had upon the manners and likewise upon the constitution of the Romans disastrous effects, which were already felt, and which on development were to destroy both the republic and liberty. Ancient simplicity was gradually abandoned. The descendants of Fabricius, Curius Dentatus and Regulus displayed a ruinous luxury. To replace the sums squandered in debauch or in empty display, they robbed their allies and the public treasury. The censors, guardians of the public manners, had already been forced to expel certain high-born personages from the senate. If the great became greedy, the people became venal. The middle class had disappeared, decimated by continuous wars, ruined by the decay of agriculture and by the competition of the slaves and free laborers.

In place of that robust, proud, energetic population which had founded liberty and conquered Italy, there began to be seen in Rome only an idle, hungry crowd of beggars, continually recruited by the emancipation of slaves, inheriting neither the ideas nor the blood of the ancient plebeians. "There are not two thousand property-holders," said one of the tribunes. Such then was the situation. Two or three hundred families possessed millions, and below, very far below, were 300,000 beggars. Nothing between these two extremes of an arrogant aristocracy and a feeble and servile mob. The Gracchi undertook two things: to restore respect for the laws among those nobles who no longer respected anything; and to reawaken the sentiments of citizenship among men who were still called the sovereign people, but whom Scipio Æmilianus knowing their origin dubbed counterfeit sons of Italy.

**The Gracchi (133-121).** — Tiberius Gracchus, elected tribune in 133, began with the people. To regain their former virtues, they must resume their former habits. He wished to convert the poor into landowners, and to regenerate them by means of work. The republic owned immense territory, which had been encroached upon by the nobles. His project was to reclaim these appropriated lands and distribute them among the poor in small, inalienable lots. The reaffirmed Licinian law forbade any person to possess more than 500 jugera of public lands. However, he promised an indemnity for any outlay which occupants had made upon the property restored by them. The nobles resisted stubbornly. Tiberius, to break the veto of one of his colleagues, Octavius, caused him to be deposed. By thus trampling under foot the inviolable tribuneship, he provided a dangerous example, of which advantage was taken against himself. The nobles armed their slaves, attacked his partisans and slew him on the steps of the Capitol (133).

In 123 Caius Gracchus was elected tribune, and openly resumed his brother's plans. He caused the agrarian law to be confirmed, established distributions of corn to the people, founded colonies for the poor citizens and dealt a fatal blow to the authority of the senate by taking from it the administration of justice and giving it to the knights. During two years he was all-powerful in the city. But the senate to ruin his credit caused, for every measure he proposed, some more popular measure to be brought forward by one of their creatures, and Caius was unable to obtain reelection for a third term. This check was a signal for which the Consul Opimius had been waiting. Caius suffered the fate of his brother, and 3000 of his partisans perished with him (121). The tribunes were dumb with terror during the next twelve years, and only recovered their voice at the scandals of the Numidian war, which brought into prominence Marius, the avenger of the Gracchi.

**Marius. Conquest of Numidia (118-104).** — He was a rough, illiterate citizen of Arpinum, an intrepid soldier and good general. Scipio had noticed him at the siege of Numantia. The support of Metellus, who had always protected his family, gave him the tribuneship in 119. At once he introduced a decree against intrigue. All the nobility denounced this audacity on the part of an unknown young man; but in the senate Marius threatened the consul with



prison and summoned his viator to arrest Metellus. The populace applauded. A few days later, the tribune forbade a gratuitous distribution of grain. This assumption of the right to read a lesson to both parties turned every one against him. His zeal diminished with difficulty of promotion. He served obscurely as a prætor in Rome and a proprætor in Spain. On his return, the peasant of Arpinum sealed his peace with the nobles by a great marriage. He wedded the patrician Julia, great-aunt of Cæsar; and Metellus, forgetting his conduct as tribune in consideration of his military talents, took him to Numidia.

Micipsa, son of Massinissa and king of Numidia, had at his death (118) divided his states between his two sons and his nephew Jugurtha. The latter rid himself of one rival by assassination. Unable to surprise the other, he attacked him with open force in spite of Roman protection, and put him to death with torture, when famine had compelled his victim to open the gates of Cirtha, his last refuge (112). The senate had in vain sent two embassies to save him. Such audacity called for chastisement, but the first general sent against Jugurtha accepted bribes (111). A tribune summoned the king to Rome. Jugurtha had the hardihood to appear, but when one tribune ordered him to answer, another, whom he had bought, prohibited his replying.

A competitor for the Numidian throne was in the city. He had him killed (110). The senate ordered him to leave Rome at once. "City for sale!" he cried, as he passed through the gates; "thou only lackest a purchaser!" A consul followed him to Africa. The legions, cut off by the Numidians, repeated the disgrace endured before Numantia and passed under the yoke.

This war, which they had played with at first, soon became alarming, for the Cimbrians were threatening Italy with one more terrible. The honest but severe Metellus was sent to Numidia. He restored discipline and pursued his tireless enemy without truce or relaxation. He defeated him near Muthul (109), and took from him Vacca, his capital, Sicca, Cirtha and all the coast cities. When about to destroy the usurper, his lieutenant was appointed consul (107), and robbed him of the honor of finishing this war. The new general came near killing Jugurtha in battle with his own hand and made him fall back upon Mauritania. Jugurtha fled as a suppliant to his father-in-law Bocchus,

who delivered him to the Romans. The captive monarch in chains (106) traversed his whole kingdom, followed Marius to Rome, and after the triumph was thrown into the Tullianum, a prison excavated in the Capitoline mount. "By the gods," he exclaimed with a laugh, "how cold your baths are." He died there six days after from hunger (104). Part of Numidia was added to the province of Africa.

**Invasion of the Cimbri and the Teutones (113-102).**— This success arrived at a fortunate time to reassure Rome, then threatened by a great peril. Three hundred thousand Cimbri and Teutones, retreating before an overflow of the Baltic, had crossed the Danube, defeated a consul (113), and for three years had been devastating Noricum, Pannonia and Illyricum. When there was nothing left to take, the horde fought its way into Gaul and crushed five Roman armies (110-105). Italy was uncovered but, instead of crossing the Alps, the barbarians turned toward Spain, and Rome had time to recall Marius from Africa. In order to harden his soldiers, he subjected them to the severest labors. When a part of the horde reappeared, he refused for a long time to fight, that his army might become accustomed to seeing the barbarians close at hand. The action took place near Aix, and the Romans made a horrible carnage among the Teutones (102).

Meanwhile the Cimbri, who had flanked the Alps, entered the peninsula through the valley of the Adige. Marius returned in all haste to the banks of the Po to the succor of his colleague Cæculus. The barbarians were awaiting the arrival of the Teutones before fighting. They even asked Marius for lands for themselves and their brethren. "Do not trouble yourselves about your brethren," the consul replied; "they have the land which we have given them, and which they will keep forever." The Cimbri allowed him to choose the day and place of battle. At Verceilæ, as at Aix, there was an immense massacre. Nevertheless more than 60,000 were made prisoners, but twice as many were massacred. The barbarian women, rather than be taken captive, slew their children and then killed themselves (101).

**Renewal of Civil Troubles. Saturninus (106-98).**— Marius had been continued four successive years in the consulship in reward of his services. His ambition was not satisfied. On reëntering Rome, he intrigued for the fasces of the



magistracy. The nobles thought that the peasant of Arpinum had been honored enough. They put up Metellus Numidicus, his personal enemy, against him and reduced him to buying votes. Marius could not pardon this insult, and had them attacked by Saturninus, a low demagogue. Saturninus aspired to the tribunate. A partisan of the nobles was elected but the demagogue slew him and seized his place. For the benefit of Marius' veterans he immediately proposed an agrarian law, opposition to which caused the exile of Metellus.

Soon afterwards Metellus was recalled. That he might not witness his triumphant return, Marius betook himself to Asia in the secret hope of bringing about a rupture between Mithridates and the republic (98). He needed a war to restore his credit in the eyes of his fellow-citizens. "They look upon me," he said, "as a sword which rusts in peace."

**Sulla. The Italian Revolt (91-88).**—The wars with Jugurtha and the Cimbri had made the fortune of the plebeian Marius. Three other wars made the fortune of the patrician Sulla, who has left a sanguinary name. Descendant of the illustrious Cornelian house, he was Marius' first quaestor in the Numidian war. Ambitious, brave, eloquent, zealous and energetic, Sulla soon became dear to the soldiers and their officers. Marius himself loved this young noble who did not rely upon his ancestors, and confided to him the dangerous mission of treating with Bocchus. It was into Sulla's hands that Jugurtha was betrayed. Marius associated him with his triumph, and employed him again in the war with the Cimbri. A misunderstanding having arisen, Sulla joined the army of Catulus. Later on, he commanded in Asia. The Social War brought his talents into prominence.

It was a period of general ferment. In the city, the people were rising against the nobles; in Sicily, the slaves were rebelling against their masters. Her allies were turning against Rome, whom they brought to the brink of the abyss. The Italians, after long sharing all the dangers of the Romans, wished to enjoy equal privileges and claimed the right of citizenship. Scipio Æmilianus, Tiberius Gracchus, Saturninus and finally the tribune Drusus encouraged them to hope for this title of citizen, which would have relieved them from the exactions and violence of the Roman

magistrates. But the knights assassinated Drusus, and the allies, wearied by their long patience, resolved to obtain justice by force of arms.

Eight peoples of central and southern Italy exchanged hostages and arranged a general rising. They were together to form but one republic, organized after the pattern of Rome, with a senate of 500 members, two consuls and twelve prætors. Their capital was to be the stronghold Corfinium, which they called by the significant name of Italica. The Latins, the Etruscans, the Umbrians and the Gauls remained faithful to their allegiance. The signal was given from Asculum, where the consul Servilius was massacred together with all the Romans who were in the town; even the women were not spared (90). At first the allies had the advantage. Campania was invaded, one consul routed, another killed. Marius, who held a command, accomplished nothing worthy of his reputation. He contented himself with acting on the defensive, and soon he even withdrew, alleging his infirmities. His former relations with the Italians did not permit him to play a more active part. Sulla, who was hampered by nothing, was on the contrary energetic and deserved all the honor of this brief and terrible war. The prudence of the senate aided the skill of the generals. The Julian and Plautia-Papirian laws, which accorded the right of citizenship to the allies who had remained loyal, led to desertions, and at the end of the second year only the Samnites and Lucanians remained under arms. From the new citizens eight tribes were formed.

In this way Sulla had gained the consulship and the command of the war against Mithridates which Marius solicited in vain. This was the beginning of their rivalry and of the civil wars which led to military rule.

**Proscriptions in Rome. Sulpicius and Cinna (88-84).**—In order to annul the last-mentioned decree Marius made an agreement with the tribune Sulpicius, and a riot forced the new consul to leave Rome (88); but he came back at the head of his troops. Marius in turn fled before a sentence which put a price on his life. Dragged from the marshes of Minturnæ, where he had taken refuge, and covered with mire, he was thrown into the city prison. A Cimbrian, sent to kill him, was terrified by his glance and words and dared not strike. The inhabitants, who cherished no anger against the friend of the Italians, employed as a pretext the reli-



gious dread which he had inspired and furnished him the means to cross over into Africa.

However in Rome Sulla had diminished by several laws the power of the tribunes of the people. Hardly had he departed for Asia, when the consul Cinna demanded that their dangerous power be restored. On being driven out of Rome he began a war against the senate. Marius hastened to return and join him. With an army of fugitive slaves and Italians they routed the troops of the senate, forced the gates of the city and put to death the friends of Sulla. For five days and five nights they slew without cessation, even on the altars of the gods. From Rome the proscription spread over Italy. They murdered in the cities and on the highways. It was forbidden under pain of death to bury the dead, who lay where they had fallen until devoured by dogs and birds of prey.

On January 1, 86, Marius and Cinna seized the consulship without election; but debauch hastened the end of the former. Twelve days afterward he expired. He had set a price on Sulla's head. Valerius Flaccus undertook to get it, but was himself killed by one of his lieutenants. Cinna, thus left alone, continued himself in the consulship during the two following years, and fell under the blows of his soldiers.

**Victory of Sulla. His Proscriptions and Dictatorship (84-79).**—At that moment Sulla was returning from Asia to avenge his friends and himself. His 40,000 veterans were so devoted to his person that they offered him their savings to fill his military chest. Unopposed he made his way into Campania (83), defeated one army, corrupted another and vanquished the son of Marius in the great battle of Sacriportus (82). This success opened the road to Rome. He arrived there too late to prevent fresh murders. The most illustrious senators had been massacred in the curia itself. Sulla rapidly passed through Rome on his way to fight the other consul, Carbo, in Etruria. One desperate battle which lasted all day had no result; but desertions decided Carbo to flee to Africa. Sertorius, another leader of the popular party, had already set out for Spain; only the young Marius, who was shut up in Præneste, remained in Italy. The Italians tried by a bold stroke to save him. A Samnite chief, Pontus Telesinus, who had not laid down his arms since the Social War, tried to surprise Rome and

destroy it. Sulla had time to arrive. The battle near the Colline Gate lasted one whole day and night. The left wing commanded by Sulla was routed; but Crassus with the right wing dispersed the enemy. The field of battle was strewn with 50,000 corpses, half of which were Roman.

The next day Sulla harangued the senate in the temple of Bellona. Suddenly cries of despair were heard and the senators became uneasy. "It is nothing," said he, "except the punishment of a few seditious persons," and he continued his discourse. Meanwhile 8000 Samnite and Lucanian prisoners were being slain. When he returned from Præneste, which had surrendered and all of whose population had been massacred, the butchery began in Rome. Every day a list of the outlawed was drawn up. From the first of December, 82, to the first of June, 81, during six long months, men could murder with impunity. There were assassinations afterward also, for Sulla's intimates sold the right to place a name on the fatal list. "One man's splendid villa, or the marble baths of another, or the magnificent gardens of a third caused him to perish." The property of the proscribed was confiscated, and sold at auction. The estate of Roseius was valued at six million sesterces, and Chrysogonus got it for two thousand. What was the number of the victims? Appian mentions ninety senators, fifteen former consuls and 2600 knights. Valerius Maximus speaks of 4700 proscribed. "But who could reckon," says another, "all those who were sacrificed to private grudge?" The proscription did not stop with the victims. The sons and grandsons of the proscribed were declared forever ineligible to a public office. In Italy entire peoples were outlawed. The richest cities, Spoietum, Interamna, Præneste, Terni, Florence, were, so to speak, sold at auction. In Samnium, Beneventum alone remained standing.

After having slain men by the sword, Sulla tried to destroy the popular party by laws. To issue these laws he had himself proclaimed dictator, and took all the measures which he thought calculated to assure the power in Rome to the aristocracy. To the senate he restored the right of decision and of preliminary discussion, or in other words the legislative veto. He deprived the tribunes of the right to present a rogation to the people. Their veto was restricted to civil affairs, and the tribune could hold no other office.



Thus the people and the nobles moved backward four centuries; the former to the obscurity of the time when they withdrew to Mons Sacer, the latter to the brilliancy and power of the early days of the republic.

When Sulla had accomplished his purposes, he abdicated. This abdication (76) seemed a defiance of his enemies and an audacious confidence in his own fortunes. He lived a year longer in the retirement of his villa at Cumæ. The epitaph he had written for himself was veracious: "No one has ever done more good to his friends, or more evil to his enemies."

**The Popular Party ruined by the Defeat of Sertorius (72).**

— The popular party was crushed at Rome. Sertorius tried to revive it in Spain. Driven out at first by one of Sulla's lieutenants before he had had time to organize anything, and then recalled by the Lusitanians, he gained over the Spaniards who thought that they were fighting for their independence. Successfully he resisted for ten years the best generals of the senate (82-72). He wore out Metellus, his first adversary, by a war of skirmishes and surprises, and defeated Pompey in many encounters. Unfortunately the clever leader was badly seconded. Whenever he was absent his lieutenants were worsted. He was assassinated in his tent by Perpenna, one of his officers, who, unable to carry on the war which his victim had conducted, fell into the hands of Pompey. The conqueror boasted that he had captured 800 cities and ended the Civil Wars. The latter had in fact been averted but only for twenty years.

VI

FROM SULLA TO CÆSAR. POMPEY AND CICERO

(79-60)

**War against Mithridates under Sulla (90-84).** — The shock which the empire had undergone from the popular turmoils in the times of the Gracchi and Marius, from the revolt of the slaves in Sicily, and the Social War in Italy, had affected the provinces. The provincials, horribly oppressed by the governors, wished to escape from that Roman domination in which the Italians merely had demanded a share. The Western provincials had joined Sertorius. Those in the East followed Mithridates.

Mithridates, king of Pontus, had subdued many Scythian nations beyond the Caucasus, also the kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, and in Asia Minor, Cappadocia, Phrygia and Bithynia. The senate, alarmed at this great power which was forming in the neighborhood of its provinces, ordered the prætor of Asia to restore the Bithynian and Cappadocian kings to their thrones (90). Mithridates silently made immense preparations. When he learned that Italy was on fire, through the insurrection of the Samnite peoples, he deluged Asia with his armies. Such hatred had the greed of the Roman publicans everywhere excited, that 80,000 Italians were assassinated in Asiatic cities at the order of Mithridates. Having subdued Asia, the king of Pontus invaded Greece and captured Athens (88). At any cost this conqueror who dared approach Italy must be stopped. Fortunately the Social War was nearing its end. In the spring of 87 Sulla arrived in Greece with five legions, and began the siege of Athens which lasted ten months. The city was bathed in blood. The Pontic army encountered Sulla near Chæronea. His soldiers were appalled at the hosts of the enemy. Like Marius he exhausted them with work until they themselves demanded battle. Of the 120,000 Asiatics only 10,000 escaped.

Sulla was still at Thebes, celebrating his victory, when he