

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

learned that the consul Valerius Flaccus was crossing the Adriatic with an army to rob him of the honor of terminating this war, and to execute the decree of proscription issued against him at Rome. At the same time Dorylaos, a general of Mithridates, arrived from Asia with 80,000 men. Thus placed between two perils Sulla chose the more glorious. He marched against Dorylaos whom he met in Boeotia near Orchomenus. This time the engagement was fierce; Sulla was wounded but the Asiatic hordes were again dispersed. Thebes and three other cities of Boeotia met the fate of Athens.

While he was winning this second victory, Flaccus had preceded him into Asia. Mithridates, threatened by two armies, secretly sued for peace from Sulla, intimating that he could obtain very mild terms from Fimbria, who had killed Flaccus and was making war on his own account. Mithridates vainly hoped to profit by the rivalry of the two chiefs. Finally the king humbly asked for an interview. It took place at Dardanus in the Troad. Mithridates made full submission, restored his conquests, delivered up the captives and deserters with 2000 talents and seventy galleys. Fimbria was then in Lydia. Sulla marched upon him, won over his army and reduced him to suicide (84). With the soldiers trained in this war he returned to Italy to overthrow the party of Marius.

War against Mithridates under Lucullus and Pompey (74-63).—When six years later the king of Pontus heard of the dictator's death (78), he secretly incited the king of Armenia, Tigranes, to invade Cappadocia, and he himself prepared to enter the arena. All the barbaric tribes from the Caucasus to the Balkans furnished auxiliaries. Roman exiles drilled his troops and Sertorius sent him officers from Spain (74).

Lucullus, proconsul of Cilicia, having received orders to oppose him, was marching on Pontus, when he learned that his colleague Cotta had been twice defeated and blocked in Macedon (74). Hastening to his help, he drove Mithridates into Cyzicus, where that prince would have been captured had not a subordinate officer been negligent. Then he penetrated into Pontus and took the stronghold of Amisus (72). In the following year he surrounded the enemy again. The king escaped by scattering his treasures along the road so as to delay pursuit. He found refuge with Tigranes, who

was then the most powerful monarch of the East, being master of Armenia and Syria, conqueror of the Parthians, and bearing the title of King of kings. Mithridates in his former prosperity had refused to recognize his supremacy. Therefore he was coldly received, but when Lucullus demanded that he should be surrendered, Tigranes in anger dismissed the envoy of the Roman general. The latter immediately began hostilities against his new enemy. He crossed the Tigris and with 11,000 foot and a few horse marched to encounter 250,000 Armenians. He dispersed the immense army of Tigranes and captured his capital, Tigranocerta.

Lucullus wintered in Gordyene, where he invited the king of the Parthians to join him. As that prince hesitated, he resolved to attack him, for he held in profound contempt those mobs which their princes mistook for armies. But his officers and soldiers, content with the immense booty they had already captured, refused, like those of Alexander, to follow him further. In 67 Pompey came to replace him. Mithridates had collected another army, which was destroyed at the first encounter, and Tigranes, threatened by a treacherous and rebellious son who fled to the Romans, was forced to humble himself. Reassured in this direction, Pompey pursued Mithridates to the Caucasus and conquered the Albanians and the Iberians. As the king still fled before him, he abandoned this fruitless pursuit. In the spring of 64, after having organized the Roman administration in Pontus, he descended into Syria, reduced that country and Phœnicia to provinces and captured Jerusalem, where he reestablished Hyrcanus who promised an annual tribute.

During these operations, Mithridates, who was reputed dead, reappeared with an army on the Bosphorus and forced his son Machares to kill himself. Then, despite his sixty years, this indomitable enemy wished to penetrate Thrace, attach the barbarians to his cause and descend upon Italy at the head of their innumerable hordes. His soldiers, alarmed at the magnitude of his plans, revolted at the instigation of his son Pharnaces. In order to escape being delivered alive to the Romans, he had himself killed by a Gaul (63). Pompey had only to finish in Asia "the splendid work of the Roman empire," distributing principalities and kingdoms to the friends of the senate.

Revival of the Popular Party at Rome. The Gladiators (71).—After the death of Sulla and during the recent war against Mithridates, events of considerable importance had been taking place in Italy. The consul Lepidus had aroused a tempest by merely uttering the words: "Re-establishment of the authority of the tribuneship." The whole party, which Sulla thought he had drowned in blood, had at once raised its head. The governor of Cisalpine Gaul joined Lepidus. The senate and the patricians trembled when Pompey, still at the head of the army which he had himself raised against the followers of Marius, offered to fight the new chiefs of the people. He vanquished one at the Milvian Bridge close to the gates of Rome and the other in Cisalpine Gaul. We have seen his success in pacifying Spain.

Seventy-eight gladiators escaped from Capua, where they were being trained in great numbers, and seized upon a natural stronghold under the guidance of a Thracian slave Spartacus. There they repulsed troops sent against them. This success attracted to their ranks many herdsmen of the neighborhood. A second general was beaten. Spartacus wished to lead his army toward the Alps, cross those mountains and restore each slave to his native country. His men, greedy for booty and vengeance, refused to follow and dispersed all over Italy for pillage. Then two consuls were defeated. Crassus finally succeeded in shutting up the gladiators in the extreme end of Brutium, whither their chief had conducted them with the intention of leading them across into Sicily. Before the investment was complete Spartacus took advantage of a snowy night to escape. Dissension arose among his men and several detached corps were destroyed. Spartacus alone seemed invincible. The confidence which his successes inspired among the gladiators ended in his ruin. They forced him to fight a decisive battle, in which he succumbed after having displayed heroic courage (71). Shortly afterward Pompey arrived from Spain. He met several bands of these unfortunate men and cut them in pieces. From this paltry victory he attributed to himself the honor of having terminated this war.

Pompey turns toward the People. War with the Pirates (67).—The nobles began to think that the vainglorious general had held commands enough and received him coldly. The people on the contrary to win him to their side greeted

him with applause, so Pompey inclined toward the popular party. He proposed a law which restored to the tribunate its ancient prerogatives. This was the overthrow of Sulla's constitution. The grateful populace committed to him the charge of an easy but brilliant expedition against the pirates who infested the seas (67), and the command of the war against Mithridates whom Lucullus had already reduced. While accomplishing these enterprises, a memorable conspiracy was on the point of overturning the republic itself.

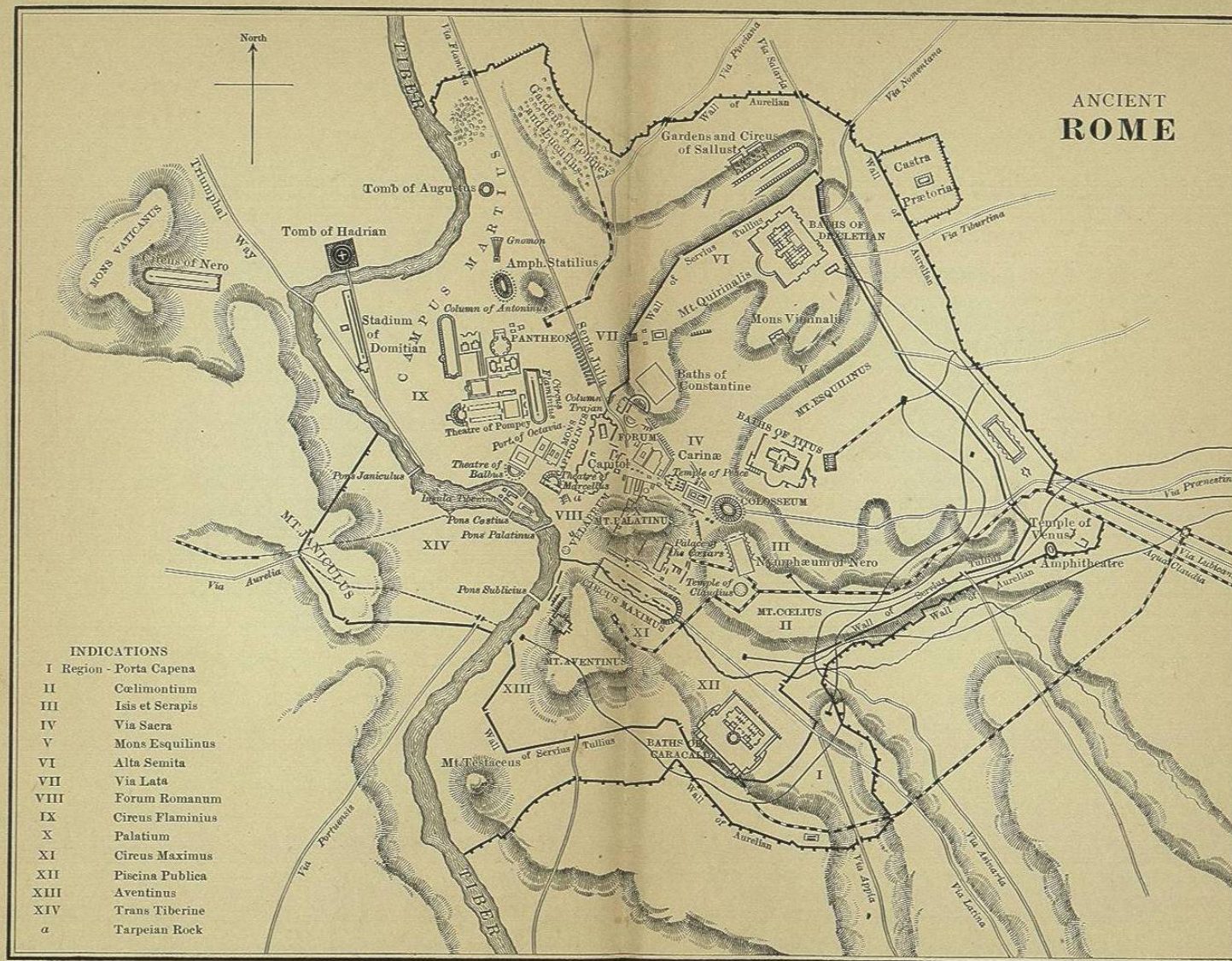
Cicero. Conspiracy of Catiline (63).—Cicero, like Marius, came from Arpinum. His fluent and flowery speech early revealed in him the ready orator. After a few successes at the bar he had the wisdom to continue his studies in Greece. He began his public career as a quæstor, and in the name of the Sicilians arraigned Verres, their former governor, the most shameless and greedy plunderer that Rome had ever seen. This trial, which had immense celebrity, raised to the highest pitch the renown of the prosecutor, whose speeches against Verres we still admire at the present day. Cicero being a new man needed support. He sought that of Pompey and helped to confer extraordinary powers upon him. Eventually recognizing the goal whither that ambitious general was tending, he labored to form a party of honest men who assumed the mission of defending the republic. His consulship appears to have been the realization of this plan.

The government was then menaced by a vast conspiracy. Catiline during the proscriptions had signalized himself among the most bloodthirsty. He had killed his brother-in-law, and murdered his wife and son to secure another woman in marriage. While proprætor in Africa he had committed terrible extortions. On his return he solicited the consulship, but a deputation from his province brought accusations against him, and the senate struck his name from the list of candidates. He had long been in league with the criminal classes at Rome. His plot to kill the consuls twice failed, and the enterprise was postponed to the year 63. Cicero was then consul, and realized how imminent was the danger. Catiline had collected forces in several places. The veterans of Umbria, Etruria and Samnium were arming in his cause. The fleet at Ostia was apparently won over: Sittius in Africa promised to stir up that province and perhaps Spain also to rebellion. In Rome

itself, Catiline believed he could count upon the consul Antonius. One of the conspirators was a tribune elect, another a prætor. In a full senate Catiline had dared to say, "The Roman people is a robust body without a head: I will be that head." It soon became known that troops were mustering in Picenum and Apulia, and that Manlius, one of Sulla's former officers, was threatening Fæsulæ with an army. The consuls were invested by the senate with discretionary power, but Catiline remained in Rome. Cicero drove him out by a vehement oration, in which he disclosed the conspirator's plans. Having thus expelled the leader, who joined Manlius and thereby proclaimed himself a public enemy, he seized his accomplices, caused their condemnation by the senate and had them executed at once. This energy disheartened the rest of the conspirators. Antonius himself marched against Catiline, who was slain near Pistoia, after having fought valiantly.

On quitting office, when Cicero wished to harangue the people, a factious tribune ordered that he should confine himself to the customary oath of having done nothing contrary to the laws. "I swear," exclaimed Cicero, "I swear that I have saved the republic!" To this eloquent outburst Cato and the senators responded by saluting him with the title, "Father of his country," which the whole people confirmed by their applause.

ANCIENT ROME



VII

CÆSAR

(60-44)

Cæsar, Leader of the Popular Party. His Consulship (60).

— Cæsar, of the illustrious Julian family which claimed descent from Venus through Iulus, the son of Anchises, had braved Sulla when only seventeen years old. Nominated curule ædile in 65, he had won the people by magnificent games, and in spite of the senate had restored to the Capitol the trophies of his great-uncle Marius. The grateful people had nominated him sovereign pontiff. In 62 he already was in debt 850 talents. The wealthy Crassus, who owned a whole quarter in Rome, had to become his bondsman. Otherwise his debtors would not allow him to depart and take possession of his province of Farther Spain.

When he returned in 60, he found Pompey and Crassus at variance with the senate; the first because it did not ratify his acts in Asia, the second because it left him no influence in the state. Cæsar brought them together, and induced them to form a secret union which has been designated as the triumvirate. All three swore to unite their resources and influence, and in every matter to act only in accordance with their common interest. Cæsar reaped the first and the surest profits from the alliance. His two colleagues agreed to support him for the consulship. In office he secured popularity by proposing and carrying an agrarian law in spite of the senate and of his colleague Bibulus. He won over the equestrian order by diminishing by a third the rents which the knights paid the state. He caused the acts of Pompey in Asia to be confirmed, and obtained for himself the government of Cisalpine Gaul and of Illyricum with three legions for a term of five years. In vain did Cato cry with prophetic voice: "You are arming tyranny and setting it in a fortress above your heads!" The trembling senate added as an earnest of reconciliation a fourth

legion and a third province, Transalpine Gaul, where war was imminent (59). Before his departure Cæsar took great care to have Clodius, one of his creatures, appointed tribune. Thus he could hold both the senate and Pompey in check during his absence. Clodius soon delivered him from two obnoxious persons, Cato and Cicero, accusing the great orator of illegally putting to death Catiline's accomplices. Clodius secured against him a sentence of exile to a distance of 400 miles from Rome. Cato was ordered to reduce Cyprus to a province.

The Gallic War. Victories over the Helvetii, Ariovistus, and the Belgæ (58-57). — Since 125 the Romans had held Narbonensis, a province in Gaul, and were on friendly terms with the Ædui, a tribe in central Gaul. Their neighbors, the Sequani, were attacked by Ariovistus, a German chief. He had crossed the Rhine with 120,000 Suevi, overthrown the Sequani and Ædui, and harshly oppressed eastern Gaul. This was the beginning of the Germanic invasion. Another fact directed Cæsar's attention to this quarter. The Helvetii, constantly attacked by the Suevi, wished to abandon their mountains and seek on the shores of the ocean a milder climate and an easier existence. Cæsar resolved to oppose these changes as unfavorable to Roman supremacy. The Helvetii having crossed the Jura in spite of his prohibition, he exterminated many of them on the banks of the Saône, and forced the rest to return to their mountains. Then in a sanguinary encounter he drove Ariovistus back beyond the Rhine (58). Gaul was delivered. As the legions established their camps at the very frontiers of Belgium, the Belgic tribes grew alarmed at seeing the Romans so near them. They formed a vast league, which was broken by the treachery of the Remi, and the tribes, attacked separately, were forced to submit.

Submission of Armorica and Aquitaine. Expeditions to Britain and beyond the Rhine (56-53). — The third campaign subdued Armorica and the Aquitani. In the fourth and fifth, two expeditions beyond the Rhine deprived the barbarians of all desire of crossing that river or of aiding the Gauls in their resistance. Two descents upon Britain cut off Gaul from that island, the centre of the druidic religion. The whole of Gaul was apparently resigned to the yoke.

General Insurrection. Vercingetorix. — Nevertheless a

general insurrection was preparing from the Garonne to the Seine. A young chieftain of the Arverni, Vercingetorix, directed the movement (52). The legions were dispersed but Cæsar acted with great celerity and skill. With his lieutenant, Labienus, who had won a battle near Paris, Cæsar attacked 200,000 Gauls, who were trying to cut him off from the Alps. He gained a decisive victory, crowded his enemy into Alesia, and surrounded it with formidable earthworks. Vercingetorix was forced to surrender.

Defeat of Crassus by the Parthians. — While Cæsar was conquering Gaul by his activity and genius, one of the triumvirs, Crassus, undertook an expedition against the Parthians. After pillaging the temples of Syria and Jerusalem, he crossed the Euphrates with seven legions, plunged into the immense plains of Mesopotamia and soon encountered the innumerable cavalry of the Parthians. When these horsemen hurled themselves upon the legions, the Roman arms and courage proved of no avail against the tactics of the enemy. When they advanced, the Parthians fled; when they halted, the squadrons hovered around the stationary host and slew them with arrows from a distance. Disheartened, the legions retreated to Carrhæ, leaving 4000 wounded. The very next day the Roman army was overtaken by the Parthians, and the terrified soldiers forced Crassus to accept an interview with the surena, or Parthian general-in-chief. The interview was an ambushade. Crassus and his escort were killed. Only a few feeble remnants recrossed the Euphrates (53).

Civil War between Cæsar and Pompey (49-48). — Between the two surviving triumvirs peace could not long endure. While Crassus was fighting in Syria and Cæsar in Gaul, Pompey had remained in Rome. Daily insulted by Clodius, he soon recalled Cicero, the personal enemy of that demagogue, and then stirred up the tribune Milo, who opposed Clodius with a band of gladiators and finally killed him. The senate won Pompey to its side by causing his election as sole consul with absolute power (52). This was monarchy in disguise; but the senate desired a general and an army to oppose Cæsar, whose glory daily became more menacing. Cato approved these concessions. Though Pompey was a usurper, his usurpation was acquired by legal means; but how was he to defend himself against his

former associate in the triumvirate? Then began attacks upon Cæsar, for the purpose of taking away his command. In vain did the tribune Curio declare that Pompey must abdicate to save liberty, if Cæsar were dispossessed. On January 1, 49, a decree of the senate declared Cæsar a public enemy if by a certain day he did not abandon his troops and his provinces. Two tribunes who opposed were threatened by the followers of Pompey and fled to Cæsar's camp. He no longer hesitated, crossed the Rubicon, the boundary of his government, and in sixty days drove from Italy Pompey and the senators who wished to follow him (49). Then he attacked the Pompeian party in Spain and forced it to lay down its arms. On his way back he captured Marseilles and returned to Rome where the people had conferred upon him the title of dictator.

Pompey had retired toward Dyrrachium in Epirus and thence called to him all the forces of the East. In January, 48, Cæsar crossed the Adriatic, and although his army was greatly inferior in numbers tried to surround his adversary. Being repulsed in an attack against positions which were too strong, and in need of food, he marched to Thessaly whither Pompey imprudently followed. The battle of Pharsalia, the defeat and flight of Pompey to Egypt, where he was treacherously murdered at the moment of his disembarkation in a supposed friendly land, left Cæsar without a rival.

War of Alexandria. Cæsar Dictator (48-44). — With his usual activity, he had followed on the heels of Pompey and had arrived in Egypt a few days after him. The ministers of the young Ptolemy expected a reward for their treachery. He showed only horror. Fascinated by the charms of Cleopatra, the sister of the king, he wished her to reign jointly with her brother. Then the ministers stirred up the immense population of Alexandria, and the victor of Pharsalia beheld himself with 7000 legionaries besieged for seven months in the palace of the Lagidæ. Reinforcements came to him from Asia. He assumed the offensive and defeated the royal army. The fleeing king was drowned in the Nile, and Cleopatra remained sole mistress of Egypt (48). Cæsar returned to Rome by way of Asia, where he routed Pharnaces. *Veni, vidi, vici*, he wrote to the senate (47). Another war awaited him. The survivors of Pharsalia, who had taken refuge in Africa, now formed a formidable

army supported by Juba, king of the Numidians. He conquered it at Thapsus and captured Utica, where Cato had just committed suicide rather than survive liberty (46).

The sons of Pompey roused Spain to revolt in the following year. This last was a difficult struggle. At Munda Cæsar was obliged to fight for his life, but his enemies were crushed. All the honors which flattery could invent were bestowed upon the conqueror. He was declared almost a god. All the prerogatives of authority were surrendered to him. However no man ever made a nobler use of his power. There were no proscriptions. All injuries were forgotten. Discipline was sternly maintained in the army. The people, while surfeited with festivals and games, were firmly ruled and Italian agriculture was encouraged as the Gracchi had wished that it should be. No new names were invented for this new authority. The senate, the comitia, the magistracies, existed as in the past. Only Cæsar concentrated in himself all public action by uniting in his own hands all the offices of the republic. As dictator for life and consul for five years, he had the executive power with the right to draw upon the treasury; as imperator, the military power; as tribune, the veto on the legislative power. Chief of the senate, he directed the debates of that assembly; prefect of customs, he decided them according to his pleasure; grand pontiff, he made religion speak in accordance with his interests and watched over his ministers. The finances, the army, religion, the executive power, a part of the judicial power, and indirectly nearly all the legislative power were thus at his discretion.

Cæsar had conceived grand projects. He wished to crush the Daci and Getæ, avenge Crassus, penetrate even to the Indus, and, returning through conquered Scythia and Germany, in the Babylon of the West place on his brow the crown of Alexander. Then, master of the world, he would cut the Corinthian isthmus, drain the Pontine marshes, pierce Lake Fucinus and throw across the Apennines a great road from the Adriatic to the Tuscan sea. Then he would extend the rights of citizenship in order to cement the unity of the empire; would collect in one code the laws, the decrees of the senate, the plebiscites and the edicts; and would gather in a public library all the products of human thought.

But for many months a conspiracy had been forming.

Cassius was its head. He carried with him Brutus, nephew and son-in-law of Cato, a man of many virtues, but egotistic and a blind partisan of former institutions. On the ides of March (March 15), 44, the conspirators assassinated Cæsar in the senate house.

VIII

THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE

Octavius. — With Cæsar dead the conspirators supposed liberty would return unaided; but Antony, then consul, stirred up the people against them at the dictator's funeral and drove them from the city. Cæsar had left no son, only a nephew, Octavius, whom he had adopted. When this young man, eighteen years of age, came to Rome, Antony, expecting to inherit the power of his former chief, disdained the friendless aspirant; but the name of Cæsar rallied round Octavius all the veterans. As he agreed to discharge the legacy bequeathed by Cæsar to the people and the soldiers, he created for himself by that declaration alone a numerous faction. The senate, where Cicero tried once more to rescue liberty from the furious hands which sought to stifle it, needed an army wherewith to oppose Antony. This army Octavius alone could give. Cicero flattered the youth, whom he hoped to lead, and caused some empty honors to be conferred upon him. He was sent with two consuls to the relief of Decimus Brutus, one of Cæsar's murderers, whom Antony was besieging in Modena. The campaign was short and sanguinary (43). Antony was defeated, but the two consuls perished, and Octavius demanded for himself one of the vacant offices. The senate, which thought it needed him no longer, disdainfully rejected his demand. He immediately led eight legions to the very gates of Rome, made his entry amid the plaudits of the people, who declared him consul, had his election ratified, and distributed to his troops at the expense of the public treasury the promised rewards.

Second Triumvirate. Proscription. Battle of Philippi. — He could now treat with Antony without fear of suffering eclipse. He was consul. He had an army. He was master of Rome, and around him all those Cæsarians had rallied whom the violence of his rival had estranged. The negotiations made rapid progress. Antony, Lepidus, the