STUDY GUIDE

ŞEHREMİNİMUN 25

SEHREMINIMUN.ORG

Letter from the Secretary-General

The most esteemed participants,

It is but an utmost pleasure and privilege to serve as the secretary general of ŞehreminiMUN'25 and it is most certainly an honor to extend you the welcome to our conference. Our academic and organization teams have been working for countless months and hours, perfecting every detail and pouring their hearts out into shaping this enriching experience that is yet to come for you, proving that impossible is, in fact, nothing. Throughout the conference days, you will step into the roles of diplomats and policymakers, tackling real-world problems and seeking real solutions. We wish to create an environment that encourages you to think critically, engage respectfully with diverse viewpoints, and expand your comprehension of our interconnected world. Embrace this vision, for it is through such an approach that we create positive change. Acting is one of the greater strengths of people, born from duty and instinct, and we cannot be prouder to address ourselves as the organizing team of a conference which aims to bring that strength forth. We hope this conference will be a fruitful and enjoyable experience, providing you with a fresh outlook on global issues and empowering you to become bringers of change. Once again, welcome to the second edition of ŞehreminiMUN.

Zeyal Türkoğlu

Letter from the Head of Crisis

Dear Participants and Shareholders of Our Common Allure in Crisis,

It is a pleasure for me to welcome you to another edition of the celebrated tradition of ŞehreminiMUN. I had received the honor of being asked to serve the conference in this position, which I gladly accepted. Woefully, however, due to unforeseen circumstances, the official date for this conference was postponed all the way into my senior year in high school. Thus, I was rendered unable to invest myself, in person, into the deluge of experimental ideas I had envisioned for this conference. Instead, I have resolved to leave behind one lasting contribution for the community—to utilize my role to pass down my knowledge and experience, thereby creating a concrete opportunity for those who will introduce themselves to you as your 'Curator,' 'CTMs,' 'USGs,' and 'Chairs.'

Ceren was one of the talents I noticed last year, and I deemed it more than suitable to entrust her with this committee while passing down the lessons I have learned. Along the way, I have imparted to her the wisdom I accrued through my experiences as a seasoned participant, a research enthusiast, and a perfectionist. I firmly believe that this QJCC will serve as an exceptional opportunity for both you, the delegates, and the academy team to further establish the glaring reality that we have now mastered the art and technique of orchestrating Poly-Cabinet-Crises. For this occasion, we have decided to appoint the rising stars and promising Crisis delegates into the Academy of this Committee. They, along with you, will become the future bastions of the tradition of Crisis. I would like to thank them in advance for their precious time and efforts in fulfilling their roles at the conference, trusting that they will achieve excellence and ensure you leave with an everlasting MUN memory of this committee.

If you want to reach out to me:

Efe Mehmet Gıcır

Letter from the Curator

Valuable Participants and Distinguished Delegates,

It is my honor to serve you and the perennial tradition of ŞehreminiMUN as the Curator and the deviser of this unique Committee. My team of diligent Crisis Team Members and Academic Assistants have worked tirelessly under time constraints and within the pages of innumerable academic resources to give you a guide that is both worthy of the most inquisitive delegates and equally worthy of the hectic setting in which you will be released.

In this Committee, my colleagues and I will give each delegate the opportunity to create their own version of the late Roman Republic. In order for you to establish your factions and become the undisputed ruler of Rome..

We pledge to push ourselves to entertain and be entertained all while you turn the wheel of Rome's fate.

Ceren Güneyman

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01. Introduction to the Committee

The late Roman Republic stands on the precipice of destruction-a world gripped by ceaseless war, political strife, and profound societal upheaval. This committee transports you to one of history's most hectic eras, where ambition and ideology clash amidst the unraveling of Rome's once-stable foundation.

Spanning from the Bellum Sociale to the Mithridatic Wars, from the incendiary reforms of Tiberius Gracchus to the deadly machinations of rival factions within the Senate, the crises of this era are as varied as they are dire. Rome's allies demand citizenship and equality while internal power struggles escalate into bloodshed. Factions vie for control of the Republic's destiny-the Senate, the Italian separatists, the supporters of Sulla's constitutional reforms, and the restless legions marching to the beat of personal ambition.

Amidst the chaos, external threats loom large. Mithridates VI of Pontus leads a formidable eastern challenge to Rome's dominance, while rebellious provinces erupt with discontent. Delegates must grapple with the fracturing unity of the Republic, mediating between demands for reform, calls for order, and the specter of autocracy.

This committee asks not merely for political maneuvers but for mastery over the currents of change. Will you defend the traditions of the Republic, forge a new vision of Rome, or surrender to the forces tearing it apart? The choices made in the Senate halls and on the battlefield will shape an empire-and the world itself.

Step into the chaos of the Late Republic now. History waits for no one.

02. Historical Background & Events of the Late Republic

a. Roman Agriculture & Social Structure

In the time of Tiberius Gracchus, Roman agriculture and its social fabric were inextricably bound, rooted in the twin pillars of warfare and cultivation. The military of the Roman Republic had not yet evolved into the professionalized force of later centuries but remained a citizen militia. Ordinary Roman citizens, summoned by the state during crises, bore the cost of their own equipment and took up arms with profound pride. Martial prowess lay at the heart of Roman identity, woven deeply into the societal ethos.

Equally central to the Roman conception of self was the image of the citizen as a farmer. While the city of Rome served as the nucleus of political and social life, the vast majority of Romans dwelt in the countryside, laboring on small, family-owned plots of land. This agrarian existence was not merely a means of sustenance but an ideological cornerstone of Roman virtue. Farming symbolized industrious labor and self-sufficiency, ideals championed by figures such as Cato the Elder, who lauded agriculture as the most honorable of pursuits. These values permeated political rhetoric, while those engaged in commerce or

trade were often regarded with distrust. Reflecting this disdain, senators were explicitly forbidden from participating in mercantile ventures.

The tale of Cincinnatus epitomized the harmonious blending of martial and agrarian virtues in Roman society. Cincinnatus, the model statesman, alternated between tilling his modest farm and answering Rome's call to arms. In stark contrast, his adversary Melius is portrayed as a scheming merchant, whose ambition to seize power relied on wealth rather than honor. Melius's act of purchasing grain from the Etruscans to curry popular favor stood in direct opposition to Cincinnatus's honest toil. This narrative reinforced the Roman ideal of the hard-working farmer as morally superior to the dubious merchant, embodying the principles of self-reliance and civic virtue.

In the early Republic, Rome prided itself on a community of austere warrior-farmers who balanced the cultivation of their fields with military service. However, this image was likely idealized by later generations, a romanticized contrast to the decadence perceived in their own era. It also served to distinguish Rome from its rivals, especially Carthage. Carthage, a city of merchants, relied heavily on mercenary forces to wage it's wars. To the Romans, this dependence on wealth and external support embodied values antithetical to their own.

By the late 2nd century BCE, Rome's territorial expansion had profoundly reshaped its socio-economic structure. Once a small city-state, Rome had grown into a Mediterranean empire. This expansion brought immense wealth, yet its benefits accrued disproportionately to the elite, exacerbating economic disparities. Several structural transformations contributed to these inequalities.

One significant shift was the evolution of military service. In earlier times, campaigns were brief and fought close to home, allowing citizen-soldiers to return to their farms without undue disruption. By the 2nd century BCE, however, campaigns spanned years and extended as far afield as Spain, Greece, and North Africa. Prolonged absences left farms neglected, forcing families into economic ruin and many soldiers into poverty upon their return. Compounding this hardship, Roman inheritance laws, which divided land among heirs, led to the progressive fragmentation of farms over generations. Furthermore, the devastation wrought by Hannibal Barca during the Second Punic War had left vast swathes of Italian farmland in ruins, with recovery proving elusive even decades later.

Against this backdrop, the Roman aristocracy capitalized on the plight of struggling farmers, acquiring their lands at diminished prices and amalgamating them into expansive estates known as *latifundia*. These estates, worked primarily by slaves, offered a cheaper and more efficient labor force unencumbered by the rights of free citizens. This shift marginalized small-scale farmers, with broader repercussions for Roman society. The reliance on slave labor reduced employment opportunities for free citizens, driving many to urban centers in search of livelihood. Rome's cities, particularly the capital, swelled with impoverished inhabitants, creating overcrowded conditions and intensifying competition for scarce work in a labor market flooded with slaves.

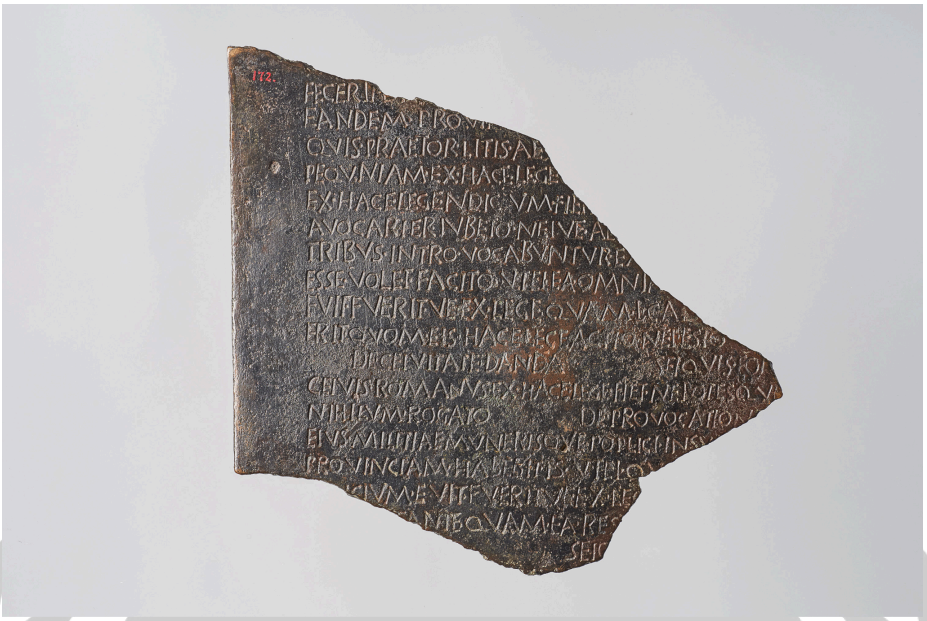
The decline of the traditional farmer-soldier class had grave implications for Rome's military and social stability. Economic hardship left many citizens unable to meet the property requirements necessary for legionary service, threatening Rome's military capacity at a time when it was vital for maintaining an expansive empire. Simultaneously, the concentration of wealth among the elite exacerbated political tensions. Many lamented the erosion of the agrarian ideal, perceiving it as a cornerstone of Roman greatness, now undermined by inequality and societal change.

The figure of the self-sufficient farmer-soldier persisted in political rhetoric, invoked by leaders seeking to align themselves with Rome's foundational virtues. However, such appeals increasingly rang hollow, as the realities of the 2nd century BCE diverged sharply from this venerable ideal.

These mounting challenges set the stage for the reforms of Tiberius Gracchus, who sought to address the plight of dispossessed farmers and restore the agrarian virtues that underpinned Roman identity. His proposals for land redistribution directly threatened the entrenched power of the Senate, igniting fierce opposition and heralding a period of profound social and political upheaval in the late Republic.

b. Tiberius Gracchus & Attempts at Reform

Having thus comprehended all this in a law, they took an oath over and above the law, and fixed penalties for violating it, and it was supposed that the remaining land would soon be divided among the poor in small parcels. But there was not the smallest consideration shown for the law or the oaths. The few who seemed to pay some respect to them conveyed their lands to their relations fraudulently, but the greater part disregarded it altogether, till at last Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, an distinguished man, eager for glory, a most powerful speaker, and for these reasons well known to all, delivered an articulate discourse, while serving as tribune, concerning the Italian race, sobbing that a people so valiant in war, and related in blood to the Romans, were declining little by little into utter poverty and dearth of numbers without any hope of remedy. He denounced against the multitude of slaves as useless in war and never faithful to their masters, and showed forth the recent catastrophe brought upon the masters by their slaves in Sicily, where the demands of agriculture had greatly increased the number of the latter; recalling also the war waged against them by the Romans, which was neither easy nor short, but long-protracted and full of dangers. After speaking thus he again brought forward the law, providing that nobody should hold more than the 500 jugera of the public domain. But he added a provision to the former law, that the sons of the occupiers might each hold one-half of that amount, and that the remainder should be divided among the poor by three elected commissioners, who should be changed annually.



This was extremely disturbing to the rich because, on account of the triumvirs, they could no longer disregard the law as they had done before; nor could they buy the allotments of others, because Gracchus had provided against this by forbidding sales. They collected together in groups, and made complaints, and accused the poor of appropriating the results of their tillage, their vineyards, and their dwellings. Some said that they had paid the price of the land to their neighbours. Were they to lose the money with their land? Others said that the graves of their ancestors were in the ground, which had been allotted to them in the division of their fathers' estates. Others said that their wives' dowers had been expended on the estates, or that the land had been given to their own daughters as dower. Money-lenders could show loans made on this security. All kinds of wailing and expressions of exasperation were heard at once. On the other side were heard the cries of the poor — that they were being reduced from competence to extreme poverty, and from that to childlessness, because they were unable to rear their offspring. They recounted the military services they had done, by which this very land had been acquired, and were angry that they should be robbed of their share of the common property. They reproached the rich for employing slaves, who were always faithless and ill-disposed and for that reason unserviceable in war, instead of freemen, citizens, and soldiers. While these classes were thus indulging in mutual accusations, a great number of others, composed of colonists, or inhabitants of the free towns, or people otherwise interested in the lands and who were under like apprehensions, flocked in and took sides with their respective factions. Emboldened by numbers and aggravated against each other they caused considerable disturbances, and waited eagerly for the voting on the new law, some intending to prevent its enactment by all means, and others to enact it at all costs. In addition to personal interest the spirit of rivalry spurred both sides in the preparations they were making against each other for the appointed day.

What Gracchus had in his mind in proposing the measure was not money, but men. Inspired greatly by the usefulness of the work, and believing that nothing more advantageous

or admirable could ever happen to Italy, he took no account of the difficulties surrounding it. When the time for voting came he advanced many other arguments at considerable length and also asked them whether it was not just to let the commons divide the common property; whether a citizen was not worthy of more consideration at all times than a slave; whether a man who served in the army was not more useful than one who did not; and whether one who had a share in the country was not more likely to be devoted to the public interests. He did not dwell long on this comparison between freemen and slaves, which he considered degrading, but proceeded at once to a review of their hopes and fears for the country, saying that the Romans possessed most of their territory by conquest, and that they had hopes of occupying the rest of the habitable world; but now the question of greatest hazard was, whether they should gain the rest by having plenty of brave men, or whether, through their weakness and mutual jealousy, their enemies should take away what they already possessed. After exaggerating the glory and riches on the one side and the danger and fear on the other, he berated the rich to take heed, and said that for the realization of these hopes they ought to grant this very land as a free gift, if necessary, on men who would rear children, and not, by contending about small things, overlook larger ones; especially since for any labour they had spent they were receiving generous compensation in the undisputed title to 500 jugera each of free land, in a high state of cultivation, without cost, and half as much more for each son in the case of those who had sons. After saying much more to the same purport and exciting the poor, as well as others who were moved by reason rather than by the desire for gain, he ordered the clerk to read the proposed law.

Marcus Octavius, however, another tribune, who had been persuaded by those in possession of the lands to interpose his veto (for among the Romans the negative veto always defeats an affirmative proposal), ordered the clerk to keep silent. Thereupon Gracchus reproached him severely and adjourned the comitia to the following day. Then he stationed near himself a sufficient guard, as if to force Octavius against his will, and ordered the clerk with threats to read the proposed law to the multitude. He began to read, but when Octavius again forbade, he stopped. Then the tribunes fell to wrangling with each other, and a considerable tumult arose among the people. The leading citizens sought the tribunes to submit their controversy to the Senate for decision. Gracchus seized on the suggestion, believing that the law was acceptable to all well-disposed persons, and hastened to the senate-house. But, as he had only a few followers there and was reprimanded by the rich, he ran back to the forum and said that he would take the vote at the comitia of the following day, both on the law and on the official rights of Octavius, to determine whether a tribune who was acting contrary to the people's interest could continue to hold office. And this Gracchus did; for when Octavius, nothing daunted, again interposed, Gracchus proposed to take the vote on him first.

When the first tribe voted to abrogate the magistracy of Octavius, Gracchus turned to him and begged him to desist from his veto. As he would not yield, he took the votes of the other tribes. There were thirty-five tribes at that time. The seventeen that voted first passionately supported the motion. If the eighteenth should do the same it would make a majority. Again did Gracchus, in the sight of the people, urgently insisted that Octavius in his

present extreme danger not to prevent a work which was most righteous and useful to all Italy, and not to frustrate the wishes so earnestly entertained by the people, whose desires he ought rather to share in his character of tribune, and not to risk the loss of his office by public condemnation. After speaking thus he called the gods to witness that he did not willingly do any despite his colleague. As Octavius was still unyielding he went on taking the vote. Octavius was immediately reduced to the rank of a private citizen and slunk away unobserved. Quintus Mummius was chosen as tribune in his place, and the agrarian law was enacted.

The first triumvirs(special commission of three men) appointed to divide the land were Gracchus himself, the proposer of the law, his brother of the same name, Gaius Gracchus and his father-in-law, Appius Claudius, since the people still feared that the law might fail of execution unless Gracchus should take the lead with his whole family. Gracchus became immensely popular by reason of the law and was escorted home by the multitude as though he were the founder, not of a single city or race, but of all the nations of Italy. After this the victorious party returned to the fields from which they had come to attend to this business. The defeated ones remained in the city and talked the matter over, feeling aggrieved, and saying that as soon as Gracchus should become a private citizen he would be sorry that he had done despite to the sacred and sacrosanct office of tribune, and had sown in Italy so many seeds of future strife.

It was now summer, and the election of tribunes was forthcoming. As the day for voting approached it was very evident that the rich had earnestly promoted the election of those most opposed to Gracchus. The latter, fearing that evil would befall if he should not be re-elected for the following year, summoned his friends from the fields to attend the election, but as they were occupied with harvest he was obliged, when the day fixed for the voting drew near, to have recourse to the plebeians of the city. So he went around asking each one separately to elect him tribune for the ensuing year, on account of the danger he was bringing upon himself for them. When the voting took place the first two tribes voted for Gracchus. The rich objected that it was not lawful for the same man to hold the office twice in succession. The tribune Rubrius, who had been chosen by lot to oversee over the comitia, was in doubt about it, and Mummius, who had been chosen in place of Octavius, urged him to hand over the comitia to his charge. This he did, but the remaining tribunes contended that the presidency should be decided by lot, saying that when Rubrius, who had been chosen in that way, resigned, the casting of lots ought to be done over again by all. As there was much strife over this question, Gracchus, who was getting the worst of it, adjourned the voting to the following day. In utter despair he went about in black, though still in office, and led his son around the forum and introduced him to each man and committed him to their charge, as if he himself felt that death, at the hands of his enemies, were at hand.

The poor when they had time to think were moved with deep sorrow, both on their own account (for they believed that they were no longer to live in a free estate under equal laws, but would be reduced to enslavement by the rich), and on account of Gracchus himself, who was in such fear and torment in their behalf. So they all accompanied him with tears to

his house in the evening, and bade him of good courage for the morning. Gracchus cheered up, assembled his partisans before daybreak, and communicated to them a signal to be displayed if there were need for fighting. He then took possession of the temple on the Capitoline Hill, where the voting was to take place, and occupied the middle of the assembly. As he was obstructed by the other tribunes and by the rich, who would not allow the votes to be taken on this question, he gave the signal. There was a sudden shout from those who knew of it, and violence followed. Some of the partisans of Gracchus took position around him like body-guards. Others, having girded up their clothes, seized the fasces(bound bundle of wooden rods) and staves in the hands of the lictors(bodyguards attending to a magistrate who held imperium) and broke them in pieces. They drove the rich out of the assembly with such disorder and wounds that the tribunes fled from their places in terror, and the priests closed the doors of the temple. Many ran away hurriedly and scattered wild rumours. Some said that Gracchus had deposed all the other tribunes, and this was believed because none of them could be seen. Others said that he had declared himself tribune for the ensuing year without an election.

In these circumstances the Senate assembled at the Temple of Fides. It is rather astonishing to some that they never thought of appointing a dictator in this emergency, although they had often been protected by the government of a single ruler in such times of peril; but a resource which had been found most useful in former times was never even recollected by the people, either then or later. After reaching such decision as they did reach, they marched up to the Capitol, Cornelius Scipio Nasica, the pontifex maximus, leading the way and calling out with a loud voice, "Let those who would save our country follow me." He wound the border of his toga(a distinctive garment of Ancient Rome) about his head either to induce a greater number to go with him by the singularity of his appearance, or to make for himself, as it were, a helmet as a sign of battle for those who saw it, or in order to conceal himself from the gods on account of what he was about to do. When he arrived at the temple and advanced against the partisans of Gracchus they yielded out of regard for so excellent a citizen, and because they observed the Senators following with him. The latter wresting their clubs out of the hands of the Gracchans themselves, or breaking up benches and other furniture that had been brought for the use of the assembly, began beating them, and pursued them, and drove them over the cliff. In the tumult many of the Gracchans perished, and Gracchus himself, vainly circling round the temple, was slain at the door close by the statues of the kings. All the bodies were thrown by night into the Tiber River.

So perished on the Capitol, and while still tribune, Gracchus, the son of that Gracchus who was twice consul, and of Cornelia, daughter of that Scipio who robbed Carthage of her supremacy. He lost his life in consequence of a most excellent design too violently pursued; and this abominable crime, the first that was perpetrated in the public assembly, was seldom without parallels thereafter from time to time. On the subject of the murder of Gracchus the city was divided between sorrow and joy. Some mourned for themselves and for him, and deplored the present condition of things, believing that the commonwealth no longer existed, but had been supplanted by force and violence. Others considered that their dearest wishes were accomplished.

These things took place at the time with Aristonicus was contending with the Romans for the government of Asia; but after Gracchus was slain and Appius Claudius died, Fulvius Flaccus and Papirius Carbo were appointed, in conjunction with the younger Gracchus, to divide the land. As the people in possession neglected to hand in lists of their holdings, a proclamation was issued that informers should furnish testimony against them. Immediately a great number of embarrassing lawsuits sprang up. Wherever a new field adjoining an old one had been bought, or divided among the allies, the whole district had to be carefully inquired into on account of the measurement of this one field, to discover how it had been sold and how divided. Not all owners had preserved their contracts, or their allotment titles, and even those that were found were often ambiguous. When the land was resurveyed some owners were obliged to give up their fruit-trees and farm-buildings in exchange for naked ground. Others were transferred from cultivated to uncultivated lands, or to swamps, or pools. In fact, the land having originally been so much loot, the survey had never been carefully done. As the original proclamation authorized anybody to work the undistributed land who wished to do so, many had been prompted to cultivate the parts immediately adjoining their own, till the line of demarcation between public and private had faded from view. The progress of time also made many changes. Thus the injustice done by the rich, although great, was not easy to ascertain. So there was nothing but a general turn-about, all parties being moved out of their own places and settling down in other people's.

The Italian allies who complained of these disturbances, and especially of the lawsuits hastily brought against them, chose Cornelius Scipio, the destroyer of Carthage, to defend them against these grievances. As he had availed himself of their very zealous support in war he was reluctant to disregard their request. So he came into the Senate, and although, out of regard for the plebeians, he did not openly find fault with the law of Gracchus, he expatiated on its difficulties and urged that these causes should not be decided by the triumvirs, because they did not possess the confidence of the litigants, but should be assigned to other courts. As his view seemed reasonable, they yielded to his persuasion, and the consul Tuditanus was appointed to give judgment in these cases. But when he took up the work he saw the difficulties of it, and marched against the Illyrians as a pretext for not acting as judge, and since nobody brought cases for trial before the triumvirs they remained idle. From this cause hatred and indignation arose among the people against Scipio because they saw a man, in whose favour they had often opposed the aristocracy and incurred their enmity, electing him consul twice contrary to law, now taking the side of the Italian allies against themselves. When Scipio's enemies observed this, they cried out that he was determined to abolish the law of Gracchus utterly and for that end was about to inaugurate armed strife and bloodshed.

When the people heard these charges they were in a state of alarm until Scipio, after placing near his couch at home one evening a tablet on which to write during the night the speech he intended to deliver before the people, was found dead in his bed without a wound. Whether this was done by Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi (aided by her daughter, Sempronia, who though married to Scipio was both unloved and unloving because she was deformed and childless), for fear that the law of Gracchus should be abolished, or whether, as some think, he committed suicide because he saw plainly that he could not accomplish what

he had promised, is not known. Some say that slaves under torture testified that unknown people were introduced through the rear of the house by night who suffocated him, and that those who knew about it hesitated to tell because the people were angry with him still and rejoiced at his death.

So died Scipio, and although he had been of extreme service to the Roman power he was not even honoured with a public funeral; so much does the anger of the present moment outweigh the gratitude for the past. And this event, sufficiently important in itself, took place as a mere incident of the sedition of Gracchus.

c. Constitutional System of the Late Republic

The Roman Senate, often compared to modern legislatures, operated under a markedly different structure and ethos, shaped by its unique traditions and principles. Membership in the Senate was for life, a distinction that began not at the culmination but at the outset of a politician's career. This arrangement created a body composed of individuals spanning a wide age range, from men in their early thirties to elders in their twilight years. Indeed, the etymology of the word "senator" derives from *senex*, meaning "old man," reflecting the Senate's association with experience and longevity.

The image of the Senate as a council of wise elders advising the Republic's magistrates resonates with the public imagination. However, the reality was more complex. While the Senate wielded significant collective authority, individual senators often lacked independent influence, particularly those in the lower ranks. Lifetime membership conferred prestige but did not inherently translate to political clout, as the Senate's rigid hierarchy ensured that younger or less experienced senators seldom shaped debates.

Within this hierarchy, the speaking order began with the Consuls in office, followed by ex-Consuls in descending order of seniority. This pattern extended to Praetors and ex-Praetors and continued downward. The system left little opportunity for lower-ranking senators to speak, relegating them to a largely passive role. Such senators were known as *Pedarii*, meaning "walkers," a reference to their participation in votes through physical movement rather than verbal contributions. Unlike modern voting practices involving raised hands or vocal affirmations, Roman senators expressed their support by physically walking to the individual they endorsed. This term aptly encapsulated their limited role, though their literal position at the back of the Senate chamber might tempt modern observers to liken them to "backbenchers."

At the apex of the Senate stood the *Princeps Senatus*, or "first senator." This prestigious title was typically reserved for a distinguished ex-Consul and elder statesman. The *Princeps Senatus* enjoyed notable privileges, such as the authority to convene and dismiss the Senate, propose legislation, and mediate disputes over speaking order. This position's influence extended to being the first to comment on legislation, an advantage that allowed the *Princeps Senatus* to shape debates before they commenced. A persuasive

Princeps Senatus could sway opinions and influence the Senate's course of action significantly.

The legislative process in the Republic was meticulous. Meetings of the Senate could only be convened by specific magistrates, including the Consuls, Praetors, Tribunes of the Plebs, or the *Princeps Senatus*. Once convened, the presiding magistrate—often a Consul—would present a proposal, make introductory remarks, and open the floor for debate. Following the established hierarchical speaking order, the debate unfolded under the oversight of the *Princeps Senatus*, who acted as a mediator in the event of disputes.

Once the presiding magistrate deemed the debate complete, a vote was called, and the results tallied. If the Senate approved the measure, it was presented to the popular assembly, but not immediately. Roman law required at least three market days between Senate approval and the assembly's vote, ensuring citizens had sufficient time to consider the proposal. At the assembly, the same Consul would read the proposal, provide an introduction, and invite select individuals to speak in its favor. Debate was not a feature of these assemblies; citizens could only vote for or against the measure.

The official overseeing the assembly wielded substantial influence, controlling the narrative by determining who could speak and what arguments were presented. This control often resulted in assemblies acting as rubber stamps for Senate proposals. Evidence suggests that these assemblies were sometimes strategically manipulated, with allies of the Senate or presiding magistrate stacking the assembly to ensure favorable outcomes.

This interplay between Senate deliberation and popular approval highlights the Republic's complex system of checks and balances, where power was distributed yet concentrated within specific roles. The Senate's enduring influence reflected both its

institutional traditions and the strategic acumen of its members, who navigated its hierarchy to shape the fate of the Roman state.

The conventional magistracies forming the *cursus honorum* in 88 BCE included twelve quaestors, six praetors, and two consuls. These offices conferred varying degrees of authority, with consuls and praetors vested with *imperium*, enabling them to act as representatives of the Roman state, enforce commands, and lead armies. Such authority was symbolized by the *fasces* carried by their lictors—bundles of rods, adorned with axes when outside the *pomerium*, which denoted their power over life and death. In addition to these magistracies, several non-conventional offices existed outside the traditional *cursus honorum*. These included the censors, tribunes of the plebs, plebeian aediles, and curule aediles. Though not prerequisites for higher office, these roles held significant responsibilities and influence within Roman governance.

The consulship, held annually by two magistrates, was Rome's highest office, symbolizing both power and collegiality. The consuls, elected by the *comitia centuriata*, assumed office on January 1 and were required by law, after 367 BCE, to include at least one plebeian—though this rule was not always adhered to in practice. The minimum age for election was 42. Armed with *imperium*, consuls were accompanied by twelve lictors and bore the *fasces* as a visible reminder of their supreme authority. Their duties extended beyond military command, as they convened the Senate and assemblies for legislative purposes. The consulship embodied the pinnacle of Roman political life, both in its dignity and in the weight of its responsibilities.

The praetorship, second only to the consulship, required a minimum age of 39 at election. Like the consuls, praetors were elected by the *comitia centuriata* and took office on January 1. While they held the same *imperium* as consuls, their functions were more judicial in nature, presiding over Rome's courts and issuing *edicta* that shaped private law. Accompanied by six lictors, praetors also carried the *fasces* and retained the authority to summon assemblies and propose legislation. They presided over the Ludi Apollinares and contributed significantly to Rome's legal and cultural life, exemplifying the multifaceted nature of Roman magistracy.

The non-conventional office of the censor, while not part of the *cursus honorum*, held unique importance. Two censors were elected every five years by the *comitia centuriata* to conduct the census, which assessed the wealth and status of Roman citizens. This office, though limited to an 18-month tenure, wielded considerable influence by reviewing the equestrian order, revising the senatorial roll, and managing public contracts. Lacking *imperium*, censors relied on their moral authority to enforce Rome's social and political hierarchy, embodying the Republic's emphasis on discipline and order.

The tribunes of the plebs, numbering ten by the late Republic, were elected annually in the *concilium plebis*. This plebeian assembly, exclusive to non-patricians, ensured that the tribunes served as defenders of the common people. Tribune sacrosanctity prohibited any harm against them, enabling them to veto decisions by other magistrates, even those holding

imperium. Restricted to remain within Rome, they exercised powers crucial to the balance of Roman governance, such as summoning assemblies and proposing laws that championed plebeian rights.

The aedileship, divided into plebeian and curule offices, was another non-conventional but indispensable role. Aediles managed the infrastructure of Rome, overseeing temples, markets, roads, and the corn supply. Elected respectively by the *concilium plebis* and the *comitia tributa*, both types of aediles assumed office on January 1. They curated public games, with plebeian aediles presiding over the Ludi Plebeii and curule aediles managing the Ludi Romani. The right to issue *edicta* further enhanced their capacity to administer Rome's daily life.

The quaestorship, often the first step in the *cursus honorum*, opened political careers to young men who had reached the minimum age of 30. Quaestors were elected by the *comitia tributa* and assigned to duties ranging from financial administration in Rome to supporting provincial governors abroad. Their service provided valuable experience and a foothold for advancing toward higher offices within the Republic.

d. Roman Army of the Late Republic & Marian Reforms

The armed forces of Rome during the era of transition from around 107 BCE to the founding of the Roman Empire in 27 BCE are referred to as the Roman Army of the Late Republic. Significant political and social development occurred during this time, and the army was redesigned to meet the demands of Rome's transformation from a republic to an empire. Gaius Marius, a Roman general and statesman, played a crucial role in this change. His reforms, known as the Marian Reforms, altered the composition and operations of the Roman military. In addition to resolving pressing problems, these reforms established the framework for the professional standing army that would rule during the imperial era.

The early Republic's social and economic framework served as the foundation for the Roman military's militia system prior to the Marian Reforms. Because service was viewed as both a civic obligation and a luxury, soldiers were mostly selected from the propertied classes. Because these citizen-soldiers had to supply their own gear, only those who could afford the proper armor and weaponry were able to serve in the military. During the early Republic, when conflicts were confined and seasonal, this arrangement functioned well. But as Rome flourished, so were the demands placed on its armed forces. The conventional recruiting technique was severely strained by protracted wars, such those fought against Carthage during the Punic Wars, and the requirement to garrison distant areas. Long service wrecked the finances of many small farmers, who were the backbone of the Roman military. The pool of qualified candidates decreased as a result, necessitating urgent change.

Rome had many crises in the latter part of the second century BCE, which revealed the shortcomings of the established order. Corruption and incompetence within the Roman military leadership were brought to light during the Jugurthine War in North Africa. At the

same time, the necessity for a bigger and more dependable army was highlighted by the threat presented by Germanic tribes called the Cimbri and Teutones who were moving into Roman territory. In light of this, Gaius Marius was appointed consul and tasked with reforming the armed forces.

Marius made a number of radical adjustments to the Roman army in order to solve its structural problems. The choice to enlist soldiers from the capite censi, or propertyless class of Roman citizens, was one of the most important changes. These individuals, who had previously been denied military duty because they could not afford the necessary gear, were suddenly recruited and given state-funded weapons and armor. This change made the Roman army a professional standing force rather than a militia of landowners who served on a part-time basis. Rome's personnel needs were addressed by bringing in the landless poor, who provided a sizable and enthusiastic pool of recruits. Due to their newfound reliance on the government and their generals, soldiers developed a new sense of loyalty inside the army.

Marius also ensured consistency and cut expenses by standardizing the armor, weaponry, and other gear worn by Roman soldiers. The gladius was a short sword used for close combat; the scutum was a wide rectangular shield that provided considerable protection; and the pilum was a hefty throwing spear that bent upon contact, making it useless to the opponent. Roman legions were able to function as a cohesive and disciplined force because of this uniformity, which improved their cohesiveness and efficacy.

Under Marius, the Roman legion's organizational structure was changed from the old manipular system to the cohort system. There were now ten cohorts in each legion, with around 480–600 soldiers in each cohort. On the battlefield, this new organization provided more tactical diversity and flexibility. Cohorts could work as a cohesive unit within the greater legion, but they were also big enough to act independently when necessary.

Marius put laws into place to guarantee that veterans received compensation for their service. Soldiers were given land after serving their time, either in Italy or in recently acquired areas. In addition to encouraging recruitment, this practice strengthened the relationship between soldiers and their commanders, who frequently pushed for these benefits on behalf of their troops. But this dynamic also helped individual generals gain more authority. The Marian army placed a strong emphasis on constant and demanding training. A wide range of abilities, including marching, fighting tactics, and fortress construction, were taught to the soldiers. Soldiers were taught a strong sense of responsibility and professionalism, and discipline was rigidly enforced. This level of preparation ensured that Roman legions were among the most formidable military forces of their time.

The Marian Reforms had far-reaching consequences for Rome, both positive and negative. The professionalization of the army made it more adaptable to the diverse challenges of Rome’s expanding empire. The standardized equipment, rigorous training, and flexible cohort structure enhanced the legions' battlefield performance, allowing them to conquer and defend vast territories. By creating an army that was loyal to its generals rather

than to the state, the Marian Reforms inadvertently undermined the authority of the Senate. Commanders like Marius, Lucius Cornelius Sulla, Pompey the Great, and Julius Caesar used their armies to pursue personal political ambitions. This dynamic contributed to the internal conflicts and civil wars that ultimately led to the fall of the Republic. The reforms enabled Rome to conduct prolonged and large-scale military campaigns, resulting in the expansion of its territorial holdings. Victories in conflicts such as the Jugurthine War and the defeat of the Cimbri and Teutones showcased the effectiveness of the reformed army. The settlement of veterans in conquered lands facilitated the Romanization of these territories, spreading Roman culture and institutions. However, the increasing dependence on military commanders for land grants and rewards deepened the economic divide within Roman society.

Several major conflicts during the Late Republic demonstrated the impact of the Marian Reforms. The Jugurthine War showcased Marius's leadership and the professionalism of his reformed legions, bringing a decisive end to the war in Numidia. In the Cimbrian War, the reformed army defeated the Germanic tribes of the Cimbri and Teutones, who posed an existential threat to Italy. Later, power struggles between rival generals, such as Marius and Sulla, and later Caesar and Pompey, highlighted the political consequences of a professional army loyal to its commanders.

The Marian Reforms fundamentally transformed the Roman army, addressing the immediate challenges of manpower shortages and inefficiency. By professionalizing the military and opening it to the landless poor, Marius created a force that was more effective and adaptable than ever before. However, these reforms also set the stage for the eventual collapse of the Roman Republic, as the personal loyalty of soldiers to their generals undermined the traditional republican institutions. Despite these political consequences, the Marian Reforms were a crucial step in the evolution of the Roman military, paving the way for the successes of the Roman Empire.

e. Rise of Lucius Cornelius Sulla & Jugurthine War

A pivotal time in Roman history, the ascent of Lucius Cornelius Sulla and the Jugurthine War were marked by military innovation, political intrigue, and the changing balance of power within the Roman Republic. Sulla's rise to power and his involvement in the Jugurthine War predicted the ultimate shift from Republic to Empire and prepared the way for his eventual domination in Roman politics.

The Jugurthine War, fought between Rome and Jugurtha, the King of Numidia, from 112 to 105 BCE, was a conflict rooted in corruption, betrayal, and Rome's ambition to consolidate its influence in North Africa. Numidia had long been an ally of Rome, but internal disputes following the death of King Micipsa created a power struggle. One of Micipsa's descendants, Jugurtha, used bribery, murder, and military force to assert his claim to exclusive authority over Numidia. Rome stepped in after the Senate became enraged by his acts, which included the killing of Roman citizens and pro-Roman nobility.

At first, the Roman reaction was beset by ineptitude and corruption. Due to Jugurtha's payments, many Roman authorities chose to ignore his wrongdoings. Ineffective attempts to conquer Jugurtha and poor leadership characterized the early battles against him. Rome was greatly humiliated by this situation, which further increased public indignation. When Jugurtha supposedly made fun of Roman corruption by saying that Rome was "a city for sale" and would perish if it ever found a buyer, the controversy reached its peak. Though perhaps legendary, these remarks struck a deep chord with a Roman public that was becoming more conscious of the shortcomings of its political system.

Against this backdrop, new leaders emerged to take charge of the war effort. Gaius Marius, a rising military commander and political figure, sought to rejuvenate the Roman campaign in Numidia. As a novus homo, or "new man," Marius' ascent to power was remarkable in a society dominated by aristocratic elites. He was elected consul in 107 BCE, promising to end the war and restore Rome's honor. Marius implemented significant changes in the Roman military, including recruiting soldiers from the capite censi, the landless poor, and emphasizing rigorous discipline and training. These reforms not only strengthened Rome's forces in the immediate context of the Jugurthine War but also had far-reaching consequences for the Roman military system as a whole. By broadening the recruitment base, Marius ensured a steady supply of motivated soldiers, whose livelihoods now depended directly on military service and their commanders.

Lucius Cornelius Sulla, a subordinate of Marius during the campaign, played a pivotal role in the eventual Roman victory. Sulla, a patrician by birth but initially lacking wealth and political influence, demonstrated exceptional skill as a military tactician and negotiator. His most notable contribution came in 105 BCE when he orchestrated the capture of Jugurtha through diplomatic cunning. Sulla persuaded Bocchus I, the King of Mauretania and Jugurtha's father-in-law, to betray Jugurtha to the Romans. This act brought the war to a decisive end and earned Sulla significant acclaim, planting the seeds of rivalry between him and Marius. The capture of Jugurtha was celebrated in Rome as a triumph of Roman resolve and ingenuity, though it also highlighted the increasing importance of individual ambition within the Republic's military and political spheres.

The conclusion of the Jugurthine War marked a turning point in Roman history. On the surface, it reaffirmed Rome's dominance in North Africa and restored its tarnished reputation. However, the war also exposed deep flaws within the Republic's political and military systems. Corruption and inefficiency within the Senate and the military hierarchy had hindered Rome's efforts, highlighting the need for reform. The personal ambitions of commanders like Marius and Sulla began to overshadow the collective authority of the Senate, setting a precedent for future conflicts. The Jugurthine War became a symbol of the Republic's vulnerability to internal decay, even as it continued to expand its external power.

Sulla's rise to prominence during the Jugurthine War was the first step in his eventual ascent to power as a dictator. His rivalry with Marius intensified in the years following the war, culminating in a series of civil wars that further destabilized the Republic. Sulla's

increasing power stemmed from both his military prowess and his aptitude for negotiating the intricate web of Roman politics. In the meanwhile, Marius's military reforms, which were first put into place to deal with the pressing issues of the Jugurthine War, drastically changed the Roman army's composition and made it a professionalized force that was more devoted to its generals than to the government. The old republican norms that had previously served as the cornerstone of Roman rule were undermined by this change of allegiance, which had far-reaching effects.

In the late Roman Republic, the Jugurthine War and the careers of Marius and Sulla highlight the connection between political aspirations, military triumph, and structural change. This historical era serves as an example of how internal and foreign tensions may converge to produce profound shifts that alter a state's course. The conflict showed Rome's ability to adjust to new military and political obstacles, but it also exposed the republican institutions' vulnerability to the aspirations of influential people.

Both Marius' and Sulla's legacies, which were forged in the furnace of the Jugurthine War, would have a lasting impact on Rome for many centuries, helping to create the Roman Empire and pave the path for the ultimate ascent of leaders such as Julius Caesar. The battle was a microcosm of the Republic's larger problems, which included internal corruption, external dangers, and the aspirations of its leaders. Rome celebrated the end of the Jugurthine War, but it also signaled the start of a period in which the fate of Roman history would be more and more determined by the actions of individual military commanders.

f. Bellum Sociale, “War of the Allies” 91–87 BC

The demand for Roman citizenship by the Italian allies (socii), being one of the most pivotal struggles in the history of ancient Rome, formed a critical aspect of the political structure of the Roman republic, culminating in the Social War. The roots of these demands lay in the long-standing social, economic, and political exclusion of Italians who were often denied the full rights of Roman citizens, despite their crucial role in Rome’s military and economic expansion.The Senate’s failure to grant citizenship to the Italians ultimately broke out the Social War.

The origins of the issue of Roman citizenship can be traced back to decades before the Social War; with various Italian communities, particularly in the south and central regions who were playing a crucial role in supporting Roman military campaigns, attempting to address their grievances.

In return for their military service, the Italians were granted varying degrees of political autonomy and limited privileges. However, despite their loyalty and sacrifices, they were systematically denied the full rights of Roman citizenship. Italian allies were second-class citizens; not protected from arbitrary arrests or punishments and lack of voting

rights which separated them from the upper class. Italian communities were also less able to protect themselves against bland confistications by Roman authorities. Giving a full citizenship or more limited Latin rights had been attempted before however again and again blocked by the conservatives in Rome.

The Roman Senate refused to contemplate full Italian citizenship yet they were not entirely above compromising. Back in the 1020s The Senate started to allow some Italians to apply which had some catches. Italians who hoped to have citizenship must hold Latin rights, be wealthy and have served as a local magistrate. This scheme known as *Civitas per Magistratum* was designed to prevent wealthy Italians from joining the growing discontent with Rome. Briefly this worked, but soon it would backfire. Wealthy Italians began to falsely claim they had served as local magistrates to gain citizenship. Eventually, the Romans sensed something was wrong and expelled all the Italians from the city. Many Italians sent into regions already rife with discontent, where they would play significant roles in the conflict to come.

Rome also applied a system of *Clientela and Patronage* where strong Roman elites granted favors to Italian leaders in return for military service or political loyalty. While this system was designed to maintain Rome's dominance over its allies, it only deepened the inequality.

When the Roman Senate passed a law, Lex Julia, brought up by Lucius Julia Caesar, granting certain Italian communities, loyal service in the Roman army, the right of citizenship. For many, however, this was considered an insufficient law since it only extended the right of citizenship to just a few towns and cities. This settled very few of the many injustices that the greater Italian people had against their own lack of inclusion in the political process.

The Italian tribes began to unite in response with leaders such as the Samnite general Gaius Papius Mutilus and the Marsian leader Gnaeus Pompeius, the Italians took up arms to force Rome to grant them full citizenship. They fought not to destroy Rome but to join the Roman system of government.

g. First Mithridatic War 89–85 BC

i. Mithridates, King of Pontus

The Toxic King, the scourge of Romans, the greatest ruler of the Kingdom of Pontus…Here salute him and beg for mercy: Mithridates VI 'Eupator', also known as Mithridates the Great.

Mithridates the sixth-and last- was born in Sinope, the capital of Pontus, located in the eastern Black Sea region, in 135 BC. Mithridates name, meaning gift of the god *Mithra*, was a common name among Anatolian rulers of the age. He was surnamed Eupator and *Dionysus* to distinguish him from his father, Mithridates V Euergetes, who had been king of Pontus

between 152-151 and 120 BC. His father, Mithridates V, was a prince and the son of the former Pontic monarchs Pharnaces I of Pontus and his mother, Laodice VI, was a Seleucid princess and the daughter of the Seleucid monarchs Antiochus IV Epiphanes. When his father, Mithridates V, was assassinated in 120 BC, he was at the only age of 15. Since he was the first son among the children born, he succeeded his father upon his unexpected death. However, he was still young for such a great responsibility therefore the kingdom was left to joint rule of him and his widow mother, Laodice VI. Yet, in 115 BC, Mithridates Eupator was able to remove his mother from the throne, and not much later, his younger brother disappeared from the scene unexpectedly(!).

Throughout this five-years period, he was raised and trained to be the successor of his father and the greatest ruler of the Kingdom of Pontus as he was destined. His father, Mithridates V, was allies with the Roman Empire dating back to the Third Punic War, which had been started by his predecessors and even more, he was rewarded by the Roman consul Manius Aquillius with the province of Phrygia for his services on occasion. Unlike his father, was characterized by his hostile attitude towards the Roman Empire.

Regardless of his poor father's attitude towards Rome, the young king continued his father's expansionist policy. In 115-114 BC, he crossed the Black Sea and intervened in a conflict between the hellenistic kingdom at the Crimea, the Bosporan Kingdom, and its northern neighbor, the Scythians. The result of this intervention was that the Crimea was added to Pontus and a large part of the northern shore of the Black Sea became Mithridates' protectorate.

New successes were to come. Paphlagonia was finally inherited and shared with the king of Bithynia, Nicomedes III Euergetes. In 104-103 BC, Colchis, modern Georgia, was added and not much later, parts of western Armenia were conquered as well. Until now, the Roman Senate had not been really interested: after all, Anatolia was far away and besides, Rome was involved in wars against the Numidian king Jugurtha and against the Germanic tribes of the Cimbri and Teutones. However, the conquest of Paphlagonia was not acceptable to the Senate, and the two kings had to evacuate the country they had seized.

Mithridates was not deterred. Almost immediately, in 101BC, he intervened in Cappadocia and Galatia, in central Anatolia, but again, the Romans were not happy with this state of affairs, and their praetor Lucius Cornelius Sulla put a new king on the Cappadocian throne, Ariobarzanes I Philoromaeus. Both men were to play a role in the next quarter of a century: Sulla became Mithridates' nemesis, and Ariobarzanes was to lose and regain his throne at least six times.

The conflict with Rome that was to last for the rest of Mithridates' life became inevitable in 94 BC, when Nicomedes III of Bithynia died and was succeeded by Nicomedes IV Philopator. The king of Pontus wanted to install Philopator's brother Socrates Chrestus in Bithynia, which was unacceptable to Rome: the Romans feared that Mithridates, whose empire consisted now of all countries surrounding the Black Sea, would become too powerful

if a puppet would be king in Bithynia. The immediate cause, however, was Mithridates' attempt to replace Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia with his son Ariarathes Eusebes.

In 90 BC, the Senate sent Manius Aquilius to the east, and he restored Nicomedes to Bithynia and Ariobarzanes to Cappadocia. The Roman leader also urged Nicomedes to raid Pontus, thinking that Mithridates would understand the lesson. However, the king of Pontus, learning that the Romans were now also involved in a civil war against their Italian allies, decided to retaliate, and in 89 BC, The First Mithridatic War broke out, as it was expected.

Rome was surely unprepared. There were not enough Roman troops in Asia to protect this province; the fact that Aquilius had left the retaliatory raid against Pontus to Nicomedes IV of Bithynia suggests as much. As a consequence, Mithridates started the war spectacularly successful. Within weeks, he conquered all of Rome's Asian possessions, hardly encountering any resistance. He also brought such destruction wherever he occupied.

However, his luck was slowly running out. At that time, the Romans and their allies had finally ended their civil war conflict, and eventually were able to re-arm their Asian territories with a considerable amount of troops. A new confrontation was imminent, and it is what the Second Mithridatic war is called. He faced numerous Roman generals in that period and he managed to defeat some of them, but he also suffered severe defeats.

Eventually, the time has come: The Third Mithridatic War. This time Romans decided to send their best commander to overcome Mithridates VI and finish the war because they no longer wanted to deal with eastern conflicts anymore. In 67 BC, Pompey the Great was appointed as general of the Roman army to put an end to this conflict with a huge amount of troops under his command. At the same time, Mithridates' army was exhausted, seperated and moreover, he was not able to restore and reunite his army during the period of wars one after another. The expected has happened. Two armies were confronted in 65 BC, in the northern part of Anatolia and Mithridates suffered his last defeat.

After this heavy defeat, Mithridates committed suicide and ended his life out of his honor and idealism. Ironically, his body was later buried in Sinope, the capital of the kingdom he had lost. For someone who sees himself as the successor of Alexander the Great, his life might not have been as successful as Alexander the Great, but his death might have been as tragic compared to Alexander the Great's.

ii. Eupator on the Coast of the Black Sea

Anatolian Tiger. Mithridates VI, called the Anatolian Tiger by some, was oblivious that he would reign the land of his birthplace when he was born in Sinope, in 135 BC. His fate was sealed once, as told, there's no turning back.

Before Mithridates was born, northern Anatolian lands on the Black Sea coastline was an ancient region, kingdom and Roman province named 'Bithynia' which was under the Roman control until 182 BC, when his predecessor, Pharnaces I of Pontus, took Sinope,

Cotyora, Pharnacia, and Trapezius which were the major coastal cities of Black Sea at that time. These major cities, which were then in the hands of Pontus Kingdom, still belonged to the Pontus when Mithridates was born.

Yet, in 120 BC, when his father passed away, the kingdom of Pontus was one of the smallest kingdoms in Anatolia, plagued by internal turmoil. Under these circumstances, it was nearly impossible for Mithridates, who was only 15 years old back then, to take the throne. Therefore, his mother, Laodice VI, ascended the throne to suppress the civil unrest and restore order in the country. Neither Mithridates VI nor his younger brother were of age, and their mother retained all power as regent for the time being. Laodice VI's regency over Pontus was from 120 BC to 115 BC and favored Mithridates Chrestus over Mithridates. Because of that, throughout his mother's regency, Mithridates escaped from his mother's plots against him and went into hiding.

Mithridates emerged from hiding and returned to Pontus in 115 BC. There, he was hailed as king. By this time, he had grown to become a man of considerable stature and physical strength. He could combine extraordinary energy and determination with a considerable talent for politics, organization and strategy. Mithridates removed his mother and brother from the throne, imprisoning them both. In this way, he became the sole ruler of Pontus. Laodice VI died in prison, ostensibly of natural causes and his brother, Mithridates Chrestus, may have died in prison also, or may have been tried for treason and executed. Afterwards, Mithridates took his younger sister Laodice, who was of Persian and Greek ancestry, aged 16, as his first wife. His goals in doing so were to preserve the purity of their bloodline, to solidify his claim to the throne, to co-rule over Pontus, and to ensure the succession to his legitimate children. His family-wide businesses were now completed, he was the only king. He had to set his sights on being a great and remarkable ruler, and that's exactly what he did.

Mithridates began his expansion by inheriting Lesser Armenia from King Antipater and by conquering the Kingdom of Colchis. Colchis was an important region in Black Sea trade – rich with gold, wax, hemp, and honey. The cities of the Tauric Chersonesus, outside

modern Sevastopol, now appealed for his aid against the Scythians in the north. Mithridates sent 6,000 men under General Diophantus. After various campaigns in the north of the Crimea he controlled all the cities of Chersonesus. Mithridates also developed trade links with cities on the western Black Sea coast.

While expanding his territories, Mithridates maintained friendly relations with most of the barbarian tribes, the Scythians, the Armenian king Tigranes, and the Franks. All of these alliances were aimed at opposing and gathering anti-alliances against Rome. He even made a compromise with the Armenians based on a marriage.

At the time, Rome was fighting the Jugurthine and Cimbric wars. Mithridates and Nicomedes III of Bithynia both invaded Paphlagonia, an ancient region on the Black Sea coast of north-central Anatolia, situated between Bithynia to the west and Pontus to the east, and divided it amongst themselves.

At that very moment, in 108 BC, Mithridates Eupator, with his ally, Nicomedes III of Bithynia, was the undisputed owners(mostly Mithridates VI) of the Black Sea. These rulers were getting wealthier day by day, benefiting from the blessings of the Black Sea. Mithridates Eupator reached unprecedented heights. The legends speak of the king's favorite talisman - a full-length horse statue made of pure gold. On all trips, Mithridates took him with him to show the level of his wealth and power. As time passed, his greed grew. Gradually, this undisputed dominance of Nicomedes and Mithridates in the Black Sea began to bother the Romans. A Roman embassy was sent, but it accomplished nothing. The Romans are getting more and more involved in their ex Asian-Minor lands and an escalation was inevitable.

iii. Early History of Cappadocia

The story is to be continued but, just for a moment, let's have a pause, leave all these aside and talk about the wondrous history of Cappadocia and its significance back then.

Firstly, we need to comprehend where the name Cappadocia comes from. The word Cappadocia is essentially Persian. It's derived from two words 'Katpa Tuka', meaning 'the land of beautiful horses'. Since the Byzantine and Roman Empire used the Latin Alphabet, the name changed to Cappadocia over many years.

The legendary Cappadocia was referred to as Hatti in the late Bronze Age and served as the home base for the Hittite Empire with its capital at Hattusa. Following the demise of the Hittite Empire, the Cappadocia kingdom was governed by a kind of feudal elite who resided in fortified castles and kept the peasants in a subservient state that rendered them susceptible to foreign slavery. It was a part of Darius III's Persian satrapy but retained its own rulers, none of whom appeared to be supreme over the entire nation and all of whom were more or fewer tributaries of the Great King.

Alexander the Great attempted to establish control over the region after overthrowing the Persian Empire through one of his military leaders. Ariarathes, however, crowned himself ruler of the Cappadocians. Up to Alexander's passing, the Kingdom of Cappadocia was at peace. After the former empire was split up into numerous sections, Eumenes conquered Cappadocia. The regent Perdiccas made good on his claims by having Ariarathes executed in 322 BC, but amid the disputes that led to Eumenes' demise, Ariarathes II, the adopted son of Ariarathes I, reclaimed his inheritance and passed it to a line of successors who mostly bore the name of the dynasty's founder.

Cappadocia had contacts with Rome under Ariathes IV, first as a rival supporting Antiochus the Great and subsequently as an ally against Perseus of Macedon. From that point on, the kings aligned themselves with the Republic rather than the Seleucids, to whom they had occasionally paid tribute. Ariarathes V led the Romans in a march against Aristonicus, a contender for the throne of Pergamon, and their forces were completely destroyed. After his death, there was a commotion that eventually sparked Pontus's rise to power, which resulted in intrigues, conflicts, and the fall of the dynasty and also leads the way for Mithridates VI to seize the power around the region.

Moreover, Cappadocia and its surroundings were an invaluable region for Mithridates. Besides his admiration of Alexander the Great, who was the incontestable ruler of Cappadocia once upon a time, the riches of the region were worthy. It was an unmissable opportunity to strengthen his reign and multiply his fame. And he himself knew it, and never backed down from that point on.

iv. Occupation of Cappadocia: A Habsburgs-like Plan

Back to our story, Mithridates VI, along with his alliance Nicomedes III of Bithynia, wanted to expand their kingdom and build their reputations and they picked their timing well. Rome in her arrogance wouldn't allow either monarch to build powerful empires that might one day threaten their own. Luckily, at the time, the Romans were in no position to stop either of the kings. They were bogged down in a pretty horrific war in North Africa with the Numidian King Jagera and migrating tribes were threatening Italy itself. The legions were too busy to worry themselves with the politics of far-off-Anatolia.

Mithridates devised a cunning plan to overthrow the king and take Cappadocia. He planned to seize Cappadocia with the help of his sister, Laodice, who had a beauty and charm that mesmerizes everyone. He was aware of his sister’s unprecedented charm and took advantage of her. Without wasting time, he married his sister to the king of Cappadocia and waited until his nephew was born. Although it would be years before his nephew was born, he had to wait for his plan to succeed.

Finally, the time has come. His nephew was born, almost 8 years old. Everything was set. With a little bit of encouragement from her brother, Laodice, murdered her husband and put her son, Mithridates’ nephew, on the throne which was perfect for Mithridates because his

nephew was only a child and therefore an easily controllable puppet for all intents and purposes. He was now the illegitimate king of Cappadocia, but something was fishy. It wouldn't be so simple.

His suspicions turned out to be true. At the time, Nicomedes III of Bithynia, secretly married Mithridates' sister behind the king's back. Now he was the boy king's, Mithridates' nephew, puppet master. It did not take long for Mithridates to learn about this marriage. And when he did, he wasn't worried about it at all. For all of his scheming, Nicomedes didn't have an army powerful enough to stand up to Mithridates as a massive military so the Pontic King simply swept into Cappadocia, deposed his nephew and put a different nephew in charge. Shortly after, this new nephew turned out to be not such a great puppet. Back then he was only a child but, somehow, being made the king of Cappadocia, put ideas in his head. He was under the impression that he would get to rule as king and he refused to listen to his kind, old Uncle, Mithridates.

Mithridates had to go back into Cappadocia again, but this time he was not going to put a nephew on the throne, he got a son of his that he was going to put on the throne instead. Everything was on track, for a short time. Soon after, This new boy-King had gathered an army that very almost rivaled Mithridates' as in size. The battle he had been running away from throughout the very beginning of his plan, was now inevitable.

As it is said, two armies lined up for a fight but neither side was confident that they would win so when Mithridates suggested that they negotiate, a meeting was organized. The boy king of Cappadocia and Mithridates, king of Pontus, along with their companions, met in the no man's land between the two armies. As was probably customary, everyone was searched to make sure that they didn't have any hidden weapons but when the attendant, who patted down Mithridates, got a little bit too handsy with it. The king chuckled and said "Careful, you'll find a very different weapon if you search me there." The attendant backed off quickly and everyone laughed a little bit nervously and the meeting was underway. At some point, Mithridates turned to his nephew and said "You know, what I'm about to tell you is only appropriate for the ears of kings. It's not right that these attendants and these guys here should hear what we have to say. We need to talk in private." The two kings walked a few paces away. Then, fast as lightning, Mithridates, whipped out a knife that he'd concealed in his underwear, and slit his nephew's throat. Dumbfounded and completely leaderless, the boy king's army stood down and Mithridates could bring out his other 8-year-old son and proclaimed him the king of Cappadocia. Mithridates had won the war with only a single casualty, and this was utter cruelty and meanness for Cappadocians.

Before not too long, they revolted and Mithridates had to go all the way back to Cappadocia for a third time to put down the rebellion. It didn't take long for him to successfully subdue the rebellion. His empire grew yet further but it hadn't gone as smoothly as he'd hoped. What was meant to be a brief and basically bloodless coup supported by his ally, Nicomedes III of Bithynia, had turned into this protracted and confusing drama in which

all of Anatolia had gotten involved. He had failed to fly under the Roman radar. The confrontation was inevitable, again.

v. The Roman Initiative to Anatolia: Manius Aquilius, A Terrible Choice

This confrontation, of course, did not go as expected. Again the Romans did not hesitate to show off their cunning skills. They brainwashed Nicomedes III of Bithynia into consulting Rome for the fate of Cappadocia and sending an embassy. Nicomedes appealed to the Roman Senate, which decreed that Mithridates be removed from Cappadocia and Nicomedes be removed from Paphlagonia and the Senate appointed Ariobarzanes I of Cappadocia as King of Cappadocia. Mithridates prompted his son-in-law Tigranes the Great of Armenia, who was married to his other daughter, Laodice, to invade Cappadocia and remove Ariobarzanes. The Senate sent special orders to Lucius Cornelius Sulla, the pro-praetor who was in charge of reducing the pirates infesting Cilicia, south of Cappadocia and who at the time was becoming increasingly famous for his achievements, charged him with driving out Mithridates's adherents and the Armenians. After initial difficulties Sulla succeeded and Ariobarzanes was restored to his throne.

At the time, in Bithynia, Nicomedes III had died. He was succeeded by his son Nicomedes IV. Unfortunately for Nicomedes IV, his bastard half-brother, Socrates Chrestus, supported by Mithridates drove him from his kingdom. Nicomedes fled to Rome and got the support of the Romans who promised to restore him to his throne. Mithridates' main ally, his son-in-law Tigranes, had once again invaded Cappadocia and driven Ariobarzanes from his throne.

The next ruler of Bithynia, Nicomedes IV of Bithynia, was a figurehead manipulated by the Romans. Mithridates plotted to overthrow him, but his attempts failed. On top of all that, A Roman army under Manius Aquillius arrived in Asia Minor in 90 BC, prompting Mithridates and Tigranes to withdraw. Cappadocia and Bithynia were restored to their respective monarchs, but then faced large debts to Rome due to their bribes for the Roman senators, and Nicomedes IV was eventually convinced by Aquillius to attack Pontus in order to repay the debts. Thus, Nicomedes IV, instigated by Manius Aquillius, declared war on Pontus.

At that time, Rome itself was at the time involved in the Social War, a civil war with its Italian allies; as a result, there were only two legions present in all of Roman Asia, both in Macedonia, but soon began to collect forces from Bithynia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and the Galatians of Asia. As soon as Lucius Cassius, the proconsul of Asia, had his own army in readiness all the allied forces were assembled.

Then they were put in separate divisions and sent into camp, Cassius on the boundary of Bithynia and Galatia, Manius on Mithridates' line of march to Bithynia, and Oppius, the third general, among the mountains of Cappadocia. Each of these had about 40,000 men, horse and foot together. They had also a fleet under command of Minucius Rufus and Gaius

Popillius at Byzantium, guarding the mouth of the Euxine. Nicomedes was present with 50,000 feet and 6,000 horses under his command. Such was the total strength of the forces brought together.

Mithridates had in his own army 250,000 foot and 40,000 horses, 300 ships with decks, 100 with two banks of oars each, and other apparatus in proportion. He had generals Neoptolemus and Archelaus, two brothers. The king took charge of the greater number in person. Of the allied forces Arcathias, the son of Mithridates, led 10,000 horses from Armenia Minor, and Doryalus commanded the phalanx, heavy infantry armed with spears. Chretus had charge of 130 war chariots. So great were the preparations on either side when the Romans and Mithridates first came in conflict with each other.

When Nicomedes and the generals of Mithridates came in sight of each other in a wide plain bordered by the River Amnias, they drew up their forces for battle. Nicomedes had his entire army in hand; Neoptolemus and Archelaus had only their light infantry and the cavalry of Arcathias and a few chariots; for the phalanx had not yet come up. They sent forward a small force to seize a rocky hill in the plain lest they should be surrounded by the Bithynians, who were much more numerous. When Neoptolemus saw his men driven from the hill he was still more in fear of being surrounded. He advanced with haste to their assistance, at the same time calling on Arcathias for help.

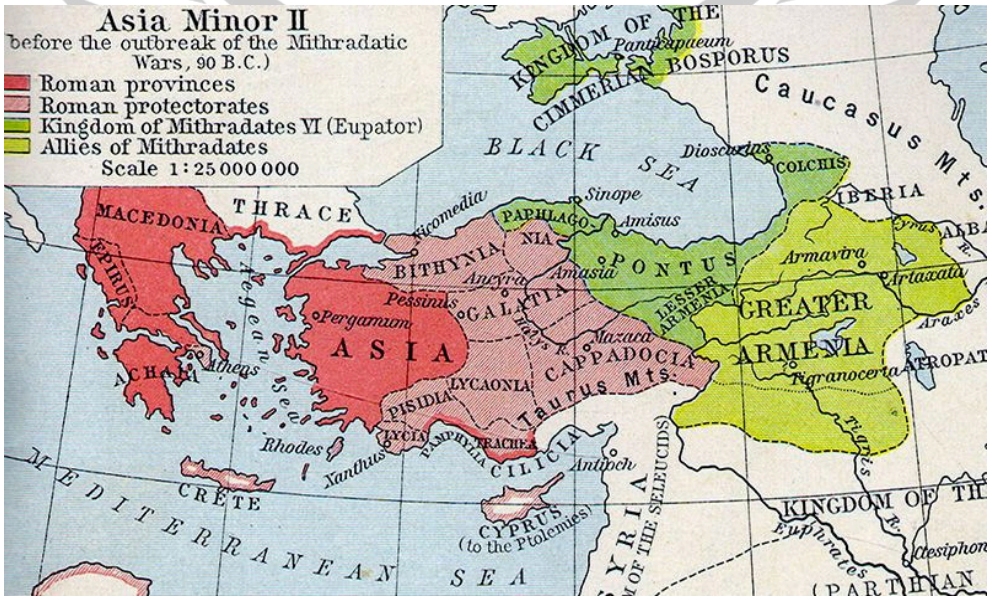
When Nicomedes perceived the movement, he sought to meet it by a similar one. Thereupon a severe and bloody struggle ensued. Nicomedes prevailed and put the Mithridateans to flight until Archelaus, advancing from the right flank, fell upon the pursuers, who were compelled to turn their attention to him. He yielded little by little in order that the forces of Neoptolemus might have a chance to rally. When he judged that they had done so sufficiently, he advanced again. At the same time the scythe-bearing chariots made a charge on the Bithynians, cutting some of them in two, and tearing others to pieces. The army of

Nicomedes was terrified at seeing men cut in halves and still breathing, or mangled in fragments and their parts hanging on the scythes. Overcome rather by the hideousness of the spectacle than by loss of the fight, fear took possession of their ranks. While they were thus thrown into confusion, Archelaus attacked them in front, and Neoptolemus and Arcathias, who had turned about, assailed them in the rear. They fought a long time facing both ways. After the greater part of his men had fallen, Nicomedes fled with the remainder into Paphlagonia, although the Mithridatean phalanx had not come into the engagement at all. His camp was captured, together with a large sum of money and many prisoners. All these were treated kindly by Mithridates and sent to their homes with supplies for the journey, thus gaining a reputation for clemency among his enemies.

This first engagement of the Mithridatic War alarmed the Roman generals, because they had kindled such great strife precipitously, without good judgment, and without any public decree. A small number of soldiers had overcome a much larger one, not by having a better position, or through any blunder of the enemy, but by the valor of the generals and the fighting quality of the army. Nicomedes now encamped alongside of Manius.

Mithridates ascended Mount Scoroba, which lies on the boundary between Bithynia and Pontus. A hundred Sarmatian horses of his advance-guard came upon 800 of the Nicomedean cavalry and took some of them prisoners. Mithridates dismissed these also to their homes and furnished them supplies. Neoptolemus, and Nemanes the Armenian, overtook Manius on his retreat at the castle of Protophachium about the seventh hour, while Nicomedes was moving away to join Cassius, and compelled him to fight. He had 4,000 horses and ten times that number of feet. They killed 10,000 of his men and took 300 prisoners. When they were brought to Mithridates he released them in like manner, thus winning the good opinion of his enemies. The camp of Manius was also captured.

He fled to the River Sangarius, modern province of Sakarya, crossed it by night, and escaped to Pergamon. Cassius and Nicomedes and all the Roman ambassadors who were with the army decamped to a place called the Lion's Head, a very powerful stronghold in Phrygia,



where they began to drill their newly collected mob of artisans, rustics, and other raw recruits, and made new levies among the Phrygians. Finding them worthless, they abandoned the idea of fighting with such unwarlike men, dismissed them and retreated; Cassius with his own army to Apamea, Nicomedes to Pergamon, and Manius toward Rhodes. When those who were guarding the mouth of the Euxine, modern Black Sea, learned these facts they scattered also and delivered the straits and all the ships they had to Mithridates.

Having subverted the whole dominion of Nicomedes at one blow, Mithridates took possession of it and put the cities in order. Then he invaded Phrygia and lodged at an inn which had been occupied by Alexander the Great, thinking that it would bring him luck to halt where Alexander had once stopped. He overran the rest of Phrygia, together with Mysia and those parts of Asia which had been lately acquired by the Romans. Then he sent his officers to the adjoining provinces and subjugated Lycia, Pamphylia, and the rest as far as Ionia. To the Laodiceans on the River Lycus, who were still resisting, for the Roman general, Quintus Oppius, who had arrived with his cavalry and certain mercenaries at their town and was defending it, he made this proclamation by herald before the walls, "King Mithridates promises that the Laodiceans shall suffer no injury if they will deliver Oppius to him."

Upon this announcement they dismissed the mercenaries unharmed, but led Oppius himself to Mithridates with his lictors marching in front of him by way of ridicule. Mithridates did him no harm, but took him around with him unbound, exhibiting a Roman general as his prisoner. Not long afterward, he captured Manius Aquilius, one of the ambassadors and the one who was most to blame for this war. Mithridates led him around, bound on an ass, and compelled him to introduce himself to the public as "maniac". Finally, at Pergamon, Mithridates poured molten gold down his throat, thus rebuking the Romans for their bribe-taking. The method of execution became famous and, according to some unreliable accounts, was repeated by Parthian contemporaries to kill Marcus Licinius Crassus who was at the time the richest man in Rome in later periods.

vi. Massacre of the Romans and Italians in Asia

After appointing satraps over the various nations, he proceeded to Magnesia, Ephesus, and Mitylene, modern Aegean cities, all of which received him gladly, since the residents chafed under Roman tax farming. The Ephesians overthrew the Roman statues which had been erected in their cities, for which they paid the penalty not long afterward.

On his return from Ionia, Mithridates took the city of Stratonicea, imposed a pecuniary fine on it, and placed a garrison in it. Seeing a handsome virgin there, he added her to his list of wives. Her name, if anybody wishes to know it, was Monima, the daughter of Philopoemen. Against those Magnesians, Paphlagonians, and Lycians who still opposed him he directed his generals to make war.

Such was the state of affairs with Mithridates. As soon as his outbreak and invasion of Asia were known at Rome, the Romans declared war against him, although they were

occupied with grievous dissensions in the city and a formidable Social war, almost all parts of Italy having revolted one after another. When the consuls cast lots, the government of Asia and the Mithridatic war fell to Lucius Cornelius Sulla. As they had no money to defray his expenses they voted to sell the treasures that king Numa Pompilius, Rome's legendary second king, had set apart for sacrifices to the gods; so great was their want of means at that time and so great their ambition for the commonwealth. A part of these treasures, sold hastily, brought 90,000 pounds' weight of gold and this was all they had to spend on such a great war. Moreover Sulla was detained for a long time by the civil wars.

In the meantime, Mithridates built a large number of ships for an attack on Rhodes, and he wrote secretly to all his satraps and magistrates that on the thirtieth day thereafter, they should set upon all Romans and Italians in their towns, and upon their wives and children and their domestics of Italian birth, kill them and throw their bodies out unburied, and share their goods with himself. He threatened to punish any who should bury the dead or conceal the living, and offered rewards to informers and to those who should kill persons in hiding, and freedom to slaves for betraying their masters. To debtors for killing money-lenders he offered release from one half of their obligations.

These secret orders were sent to all the cities at the same time. When the appointed day came calamities of various kinds befell the province of Asia, among which were the following:

- The Ephesians tore fugitives, who had taken refuge in the temple of Artemis, from the very images of the goddess and slew them.
- The Pergameans shot with arrows those who had fled to the temple of Aesculapius, while they were still clinging to his statues.
- The Adramytteans followed those who sought to escape by swimming, into the sea, and killed them and drowned their children.
- The Caunii, who had been made subject to Rhodes after the war against Antiochus and had been lately liberated by the Romans, pursued the Italians who had taken refuge about the Vesta statue of the senate house, tore them from the shrine, killed children before their mothers' eyes, and then killed the mothers themselves and their husbands after them.
- The citizens of Tralles, in order to avoid the appearance of blood-guiltiness, hired a savage monster named Theophilus, of Paphlagonia, to do the work. He conducted the victims to the temple of Concord, and there murdered them, chopping off the hands of some who were embracing the sacred images.

Such was the awful fate that befell the Romans and Italians throughout the province of Asia, men, women, and children, their freedmen and slaves, all who were of Italian blood; by which it was made very plain that it was quite as much hatred of the Romans as fear of Mithridates that impelled the Asiatics to commit these atrocities. But they paid a double penalty for their crime - one at the hands of Mithridates himself, who ill-treated them perfidiously not long afterward, and the other at the hands of Cornelius Sulla.

In the meantime Mithridates crossed over to the island of Kos, a small island near Rhodes, where he was welcomed by the inhabitants and where he received, and afterward brought up in a royal way, a son of Alexander, the reigning sovereign of Egypt, who had been left there by his grandmother, Cleopatra, together with a large sum of money. From the treasures of Cleopatra he sent vast wealth, works of art, precious stones, women's ornaments, and a great deal of money to Pontus.

vii. Siege of Rhodes

While these things were going on, the Rhodians strengthened their walls and their harbor and erected engines of war everywhere, receiving some assistance from Telmessus, modern district of Fethiye, and Lycia. All the Italians who managed to escape from Asia collected at Rhodes, among them Lucius Cassius, the proconsul of the province.

During the famous Siege of Rhodes 200 years prior, Rhodes had successfully defended itself from Demetrius I of Macedon, commonly known as "Poliorcetes",The Besieger. Demetrius' engineers had created a large mechanized siege tower called the Helepolis, but despite this taunting technology, Rhodes came out with a win. Demetrius' abandoned siege equipment was then used to make the well known Colossus of Rhodes.

Mithridates was all quite aware of this, and he wanted to outdo Demetrius, just like he wished to outdo Alexander the Great. Mithridates had his engineers construct the sambuca, a large tower mounted on ships with bridges equipped to safely pass over city walls from sea. Meanwhile, Mithridates sailed in a quinquereme, ships rowed by oarsmen arranged in groups of five, and his land forces awaited orders in Caunus, modern province of Muğla.

When Mithridates approached with his fleet, the inhabitants destroyed the suburbs in order that they might not be of service to the enemy. Then they put to sea for a naval engagement with some of their ships ranged for an attack in front and some on the flank.

Mithridates, who was sailing around in a quinquereme, ordered his ships to extend their wing out to sea and to quicken the rowing in order to surround the enemy, for they were fewer in number. The Rhodians were apprehensive of this maneuver and retired slowly. Finally they turned around and took refuge in the harbor, closed the gates, and fought Mithridates from the walls. He encamped near the city and continually tried to gain entrance to the harbor, but failing to do so he waited for the arrival of his infantry from Asia. In the meantime there was continual skirmishing going on among the soldiers in ambush around the walls. As the Rhodians had the best of it in these affairs, they gradually plucked up courage and kept their ships well in hand in order to dart upon the enemy whenever they should discover an opportunity.

As one of the king's merchantmen was moving near them under sail, a Rhodian two-bank ship advanced against it. Many on both sides hastened to the rescue and a severe naval engagement took place. Mithridates outweighed his antagonists both in fury and in the multitude of his fleet, but the Rhodians circled around and rammed his ships with such skill that they took one of his triremes in tow with its crew and tackle and much spoil, and brought it into the harbor.

Another time, when one of their quinqueremes had been taken by the enemy, the Rhodians, not knowing this fact, sent out six of their swiftest ships to look for it, under command of their admiral, Demagoras. Mithridates dispatched twenty-five of his against them. Demagoras retired before them until sunset. When it began to grow dark and the king's ships turned around to sail back, Demagoras fell upon them, sank two, drove two others into Lycia, and returned home on the open sea by night. This was the result of the naval engagement, as unexpected to the Rhodians on account of the smallness of their force as to Mithridates on account of the largeness of his.

In this engagement, while the king was sailing about in his ship and urging on his men, an allied ship from Chios ran against him in the confusion with a severe shock. The king pretended not to mind it at the time, but later he punished the pilot and the lookout man, and conceived a hatred for all Chians.

About the same time, in 88 BCE, the land forces of Mithridates set sail in merchant vessels and triremes, huge warships, and a storm, blowing from Caunus, drove them toward Rhodes. The Rhodians promptly sailed out to meet them, fell upon them while they were still scattered and suffering from the effects of the tempest, captured some, rammed others, and burned others, and took about 400 prisoners.

Thereupon Mithridates prepared for another naval engagement and siege at the same time. He built a sambuca, an immense machine for scaling walls, and mounted it on two ships. Some deserters showed him a hill that was easy to climb, where the temple of Zeus Atabyrius was situated, surrounded by a low wall. He placed a part of his army in ships by night, distributed scaling ladders to others, and commanded both parties to move silently until they should see a fire signal given from Mount Atabyrius; and then to make the greatest possible uproar, and some to attack the harbor and others the wall. Accordingly they approached in profound silence. The Rhodian sentries knew what was going on and lit a fire. The army of Mithridates, thinking that this was the fire signal from Atabyrius, broke the silence with a loud shout, the scaling party and the naval contingent shouting all together. The Rhodians, not at all dismayed, answered the shout and rushed to the walls in crowds. The king's forces accomplished nothing that night, and the next day they were beaten off.

The Rhodians were most dismayed by the sambuca, which was moved against the wall where the temple of Isis stands. It was operating with weapons of various kinds, both rams and projectiles. Soldiers in numerous small boats circled around it with ladders, ready to mount the wall by means of it. Nevertheless the Rhodians awaited its attack with firmness. Finally the sambuca collapsed of its own weight, and an apparition of Isis was seen hurling a great mass of fire down upon it. Mithridates despaired of his undertaking and retired from Rhodes.

He then laid siege to Patara, modern district of Kaş, Antalya, and began to cut down a grove dedicated to Latona, to get material for his machines, until he was warned in a dream to spare the sacred trees. Leaving Pelopidas to continue the war against the Lycians, he sent Archelaus to Greece to gain allies by persuasion or force as he could.

After this, Mithridates committed most of his tasks to his generals, and applied himself to raising troops, making arms, and enjoying himself with his Stratonicean wife. He also held court to try those who were accused of conspiring against him, or of inciting revolution, or of favoring the Romans in any way.

viii. Sulla's Siege of Athens and Piraeus, summer 87 – early 86 BC

While Mithridates was thus occupied, the following events took place in Greece: Archelaus, sailing thither with abundant supplies and a large fleet, possessed himself by force and violence of Delos and other strongholds which had revolted from the Athenians. He slew 20,000 men in these places, most of whom were Italians, and turned the strongholds over to the Athenians. In this way, and by boasting about Mithridates and extravagantly praising him, he brought the Athenians into alliance with him. Archelaus sent them the sacred treasure of Delos by the hands of Aristion, an Athenian citizen, attended by 2,000 soldiers to guard the money. These soldiers Aristion made use of to make himself master of the country, putting to death immediately some of those who favored the Romans and sending others to Mithridates. And these things he did although he professed to be a philosopher of the school of Epicurus.

Nor was it only in Athens, that men played the part of tyrants as did he and before him Critias and his fellow philosophers. But in Italy, too, some of the Pythagoreans and those known as the Seven Wise Men in other parts of the Grecian world, who undertook to manage public affairs, governed more cruelly, and made themselves greater tyrants than ordinary despots; whence arose doubt and suspicion concerning other philosophers, whether their discourses about wisdom proceeded from a love of virtue or as a comfort in their poverty and idleness. We see many of these now, obscure and poverty stricken, wearing the garb of philosophy as a matter of necessity, and railing bitterly at the rich and powerful, not because they have any real contempt for riches and power, but from envy of the possessors of the same. Those whom they speak ill of have much better reasons for despising them. These things the reader should consider as spoken against the philosopher Aristion, who is the cause of this digression-

Archelaus brought over to the side of Mithridates the Achaeans, the Lacedaemonians, and all of Boeotia except Thespiae, to which he laid a close siege. At the same time Metrophanes, who had been sent by Mithridates with another army, ravaged Euboea and the territory of Demetrias and Magnesia, which states refused to espouse his cause.

Bruttius, *proquaestore* of the governor of Macedonia, advanced against him with a small force from Macedonia, had a naval fight with him, sunk one large ship and one hemiolia, and killed all who were in them while Metrophanes was looking on. The latter fled in terror and, as he had a favorable wind, Bruttius could not overtake him, but stormed Sciathos, which was a storehouse of plunder for barbarians, and crucified some of them who were slaves and cut off the hands of the freedmen. Then he turned against Boeotia, having received reinforcements of 1,000 horses and feet from Macedonia. Near Chaeronea he was engaged in a fight of three days' duration with Archelaus and Aristion, which had an

indecisive result. When the Lacedaemonians and Achaeans came to the aid of Archelaus and Aristion, Bruttius thought that he was not a match for all of them together and withdrew to Piraeus until Archelaus came up with his fleet and seized that place also.

Sulla, who had been appointed general of the Mithridatic War by the Romans, now for the first time passed over to Greece with five legions and a few cohorts and troops of horse and straightway called for money, reinforcements and provisions from Aetolia and Thessaly. As soon as he considered himself strong enough, he crossed over to attack Archelaus. As he was passing through the country, all Boeotia joined him except a few, and among others the great city of Thebes which had rather lightly taken sides with the Mithridateans against the Romans, but now even more nimbly changed from Archelaus to Sulla before coming to a trial of strength.

When Sulla reached Attica he detached part of his army to lay siege to Aristion in Athens, and himself went down to attack Piraeus, where Archelaus had taken shelter behind the wall with his forces. The height of the wall was about twenty meters and it was built of large square stones. It was the work of Pericles in the time of the Peloponnesian War, and as he rested his hope of victory on Piraeus he made it as strong as possible. Notwithstanding the height of the walls, Sulla planted his ladders against them at once. After inflicting and receiving much damage (for the Cappadocians bravely repelled his attack), he retired exhausted to Eleusis and Megara, where he built engines for a new attack upon Piraeus and formed a plan for besieging it with mounds. Artifices and apparatus of all kinds, iron, catapults, and everything of that sort were supplied by Thebes. Sulla chopped down the grove of the Academy and constructed his largest engines there. He demolished the Long walls, and used the stones, timber, and earth for building mounds.

Two Athenian slaves in Piraeus - either because they favored the Romans or were looking out for their own safety in an emergency - wrote down everything that took place there, enclosed their writing in leaden balls, and threw them over to the Romans with slings. As this was done continually it came to the knowledge of Sulla, who gave his attention to the missives and found one which said, "Tomorrow the infantry will make a sally in front upon your workers, and the cavalry will attack the Roman army on both flanks." Sulla placed an adequate force in ambush and when the enemy dashed out with the thought that their movement would completely surprise him, he gave them a greater surprise with his concealed force, killing many and driving the rest into the sea. This was the end of that enterprise.

When the mounds began to rise Archelaus erected opposing towers and placed the greatest quantity of missiles on them. He sent for reinforcements from Chalcis and the other islands and armed his oarsmen, for he considered himself in extreme danger. As his army was superior in number to that of Sulla before, it now became much more so by these reinforcements. He then darted out in the middle of the night with torches and burned one of the tortoises and the machines alongside of it; but Sulla made new ones in ten days' time and put them in the places of the former ones. Against these Archelaus established a tower on that part of the wall.

Having received a new army under command of Dromichaetes from Mithridates by sea, Archelaus led all his troops out to battle. He distributed archers and slingers among them and ranged them close under the walls so that the guards above could reach the enemy with their missiles. Others were stationed around the gates with torches to watch their opportunity to make a sally. The battle remained doubtful for a long time; each side yielding by turns. First the barbarians gave way until Archelaus rallied them and led them back. The Romans were so dismayed by this that they were put to flight next, until Lucius Licinius Murena, ran up and rallied them. Just then another legion, which had returned from gathering wood, together with some soldiers who had been disgraced, finding a hot fight in progress, made a powerful charge on the Mithridateans killed about 2,000 of them and drove the rest inside the walls. Archelaus tried to rally them again and stood his ground so long that he was shut out and had to be pulled up by ropes. In consideration of their splendid behavior Sulla removed the stigma from those who had been disgraced and gave large rewards to the others.

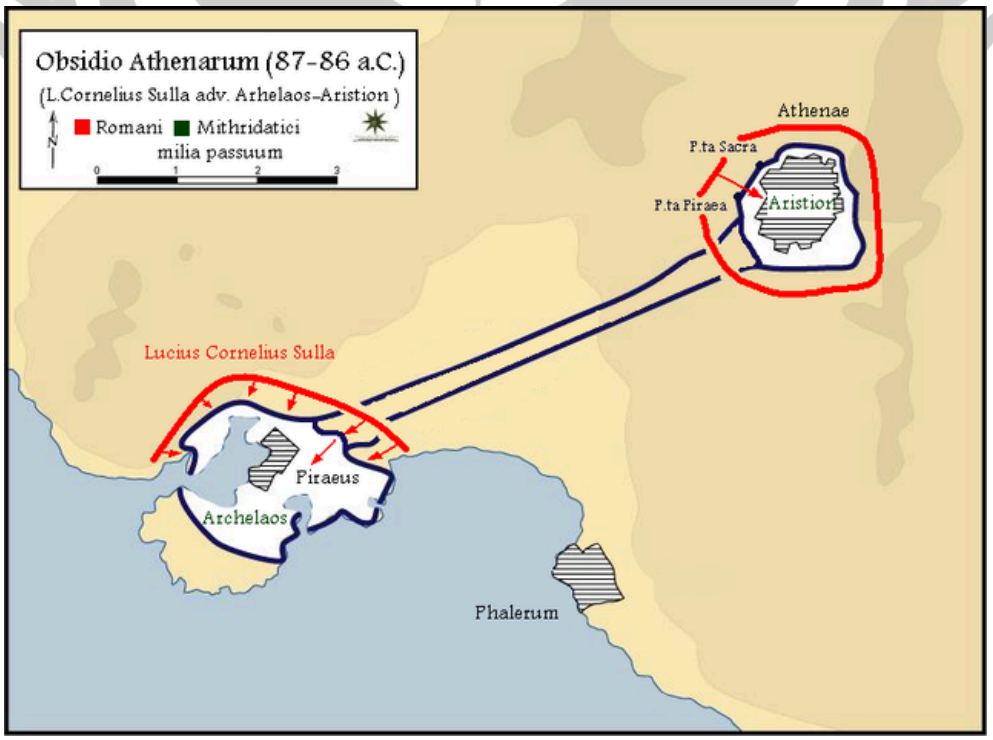
Now winter came-87 BCE- on and Sulla established his camp at Eleusis and protected it by a deep ditch, extending from the high ground to the sea so that the enemy's horse could not readily reach him. While he was prosecuting this work, fighting took place daily, now at the ditch, now at the walls of the enemy, who frequently came out and assailed the Romans with stones, javelins, and leaden balls. Sulla, being in need of ships, sent to Rhodes to obtain them, but the Rhodians were not able to send them because Mithridates controlled the sea. He then ordered Lucullus, a distinguished Roman who later succeeded Sulla as commander in this war, to proceed secretly to Alexandria and Syria, and procure a fleet from those kings and cities that were skilled in nautical affairs, and to bring with it the Rhodian naval contingent also. Lucullus had no fear of the hostile fleet. He embarked in a fast sailing vessel and, by changing from one ship to another in order to conceal his movements, arrived at Alexandria.

Meanwhile the traitors in Piraeus threw another message over the walls saying that Archelaus would on that very night send a convoy of soldiers with provisions to the city of Athens, which was suffering from hunger. Sulla laid a trap for them and captured both the provisions and the soldiers. On the same day, near Chalcis, Minucius wounded Neoptolemus, Mithridates' other general, killed 1,500 of his men, and took a still larger number of prisoners. Not long after, by night, while the guards on the walls of Piraeus were asleep, the Romans took some ladders from the engines nearby, mounted the walls, and killed the guards at that place. Thereupon some of the barbarians abandoned their posts and fled to the harbor, thinking that all the walls had been captured. Others, recovering their courage, slew the leader of the assailing party and hurled the remainder over the wall. Still others darted out through the gates and almost burned one of the two Roman towers, and would have burned it had not Sulla ridden up from the camp and saved it by a hard fight lasting all that night and the next day. Then the barbarians retired. Archelaus planted another great tower on the wall opposite the Roman tower and these two assailed each other, discharging all kinds of missiles constantly until Sulla, by means of his catapults, each of which discharged twenty of the heaviest leaden balls at one volley, had killed a large number of the enemy, and had so shaken

the tower of Archelaus that it was rendered untenable, and the latter was compelled, by fear of its destruction, to draw it back with all speed.

Meanwhile famine pressed more and more on the city of Athens, and the ball throwers in Piraeus gave information that provisions would be sent thither by night. Archelaus suspected that some traitor was giving information to the enemy about his convoys. Accordingly, at the same time that he sent it, he stationed a force at the gates with torches to make an assault on the Roman works if Sulla should attack the provision train. So it turned out that Sulla captured the train and Archelaus burned some of the Roman works. At the same time Arcathias, the son of Mithridates, with another army invaded Macedonia and without difficulty overcame the small Roman force there, subjugated the whole country, appointed satraps to govern it, and advanced against Sulla, but was taken sick and died near Tisaeus. In the meantime the famine in Athens became very severe. Sulla built stockades around it to prevent anybody from going out so that, by reason of their numbers, the hunger should be more severe upon those who were shut in.

When Sulla had raised his mound to the proper height at Piraeus, he planted his engines on it. But Archelaus undermined the mound and carried away the earth, the Romans for a long time suspecting nothing. Suddenly the mound sank down. Quickly understanding the state of things, the Romans withdrew their engines and filled up the mound, and, following the enemy's example, began in like manner to undermine the walls. The diggers met each other underground, and fought there with swords and spears as well as they could in the darkness.



While this was going on, Sulla pounded the wall with rams erected on the tops of mounds until part of it fell down. Then he hastened to burn the neighboring tower, and discharged a large number of fire-bearing missiles against it, and ordered his bravest soldiers to mount the ladders. Both sides fought bravely, but the tower was burned. Another small part of the wall was thrown down also, over against which Sulla at once stationed a guard. Having now undermined a section of the wall, so that it was only sustained by wooden beams, he placed a great quantity of sulfur, hemp, and pitch under it, and set fire to the whole at once. The walls fell -now here, now there- carrying the defenders down with them. This great and unexpected crash demoralized the forces guarding the walls everywhere, as each one expected that the ground would sink under him next. Fear and loss of confidence kept them turning this way and that way, so that they offered only a feeble resistance to the enemy.

Against the forces thus demoralized, Sulla kept up an unceasing fight, continually changing the active part of his own army, bringing up fresh soldiers with ladders, one division after another, with shout and cheer, urging them forward with threats and encouragement at the same time, and telling them that victory would shortly be theirs. Archelaus, on the other hand, brought up new forces in place of his discouraged ones. He, too, changed their labor continually, cheering and urging them on, and telling them that their salvation would soon be secured.

A high degree of zeal and courage was excited in both armies again and the fight became very severe, the slaughter being substantially equal on both sides. Finally Sulla, being the attacking party and therefore soon exhausted, sounded a retreat and led his forces back, praising many of his men for their bravery. Archelaus forthwith repaired the damage to his wall by night, protecting a large part of it with a lunette curving inward. Sulla attacked this newly built wall at once with his whole army, thinking that as it was still moist and weak he could easily demolish it, but as he had to work in a narrow space and was exposed to missiles from above, both in front and flank, as is usual with crescent-shaped fortifications, he was again worn out. Then he abandoned all idea of taking Piraeus by assault and established a siege around it in order to reduce it by famine.

Knowing that the defenders of Athens were severely pressed by hunger, that they had devoured all their cattle, boiled the hides and skins, and licked what they could get therefrom, and that some had even partaken of human flesh, Sulla directed his soldiers to encircle the city with a ditch so that the inhabitants might not escape secretly, even one by one. This done, he brought up his ladders and at the same time began to break through the wall. The feeble defenders were soon put to flight, and the Romans rushed into the city, in March, 86 BCE.

A great and pitiless slaughter ensued in Athens, the inhabitants, for want of nourishment, being too weak to fly. Sulla ordered an indiscriminate massacre, not sparing women or children. He was angry that they had so suddenly joined the barbarians without cause, and had displayed such violent animosity toward himself. Most of the Athenians, when they heard the order given, rushed upon the swords of the slayers voluntarily. A few had

taken their feeble course to the Acropolis, a settlement of an upper part of Athens, among them Aristion, who had burned the Odeum, so that Sulla might not have the timber in it at hand for storming the Acropolis.

Sulla forbade the burning of the city, but allowed the soldiers to plunder it. In many houses they found human flesh prepared for food. The next day Sulla sold the slaves at auction. To the freedmen who had escaped the slaughter of the previous night, a very small number, he promised their liberty but took away their right as voters and electors because they had made war upon him. The same terms were extended to their offspring.

In this way did Athens have her full of horrors. Sulla stationed a guard around the Acropolis, to whom Aristion and his company were soon compelled by hunger and thirst to surrender. Sulla inflicted the penalty of death on Aristion and his bodyguard, and upon all who exercised any authority or who had done anything contrary to the rules laid down for them after the first capture of Greece by the Romans. Sulla pardoned the rest and gave to all of them substantially the same laws that had been previously established for them by the Romans. About forty pounds of gold and 600 pounds of silver was obtained from the Acropolis - but these events at the Acropolis took place somewhat later.

As soon as Athens was taken, Sulla, impatient at the long siege of Piraeus, brought up rams, and projectiles of all kinds, and a large force of men, who battered the walls under the shelter of tortoises, and numerous cohorts who hurled javelins and shot arrows in vast numbers at the defenders on the walls in order to drive them back. He knocked down a part of the newly built lunette, which was still moist and weak. Archelaus had anticipated this from the first and had built several others like it inside, so that Sulla came upon one wall after another, and found his task endless. But he pushed on with tireless energy, he relieved his men often, he was ubiquitous among them, urging them on and showing them that their entire hope of reward for their labors depended on accomplishing this small remainder. The soldiers, too, believing that this would in fact be the end of their toils, and spurred to their work by the love of glory and the thought that it would be a splendid achievement to conquer such walls as these, pressed forward vigorously. Finally, Archelaus was dumbfounded by their senseless and mad persistence, and abandoned the walls to them and betook himself to that part of the Piraeus which was most strongly fortified and enclosed on all sides by the sea. As Sulla had no ships he could not attack it.

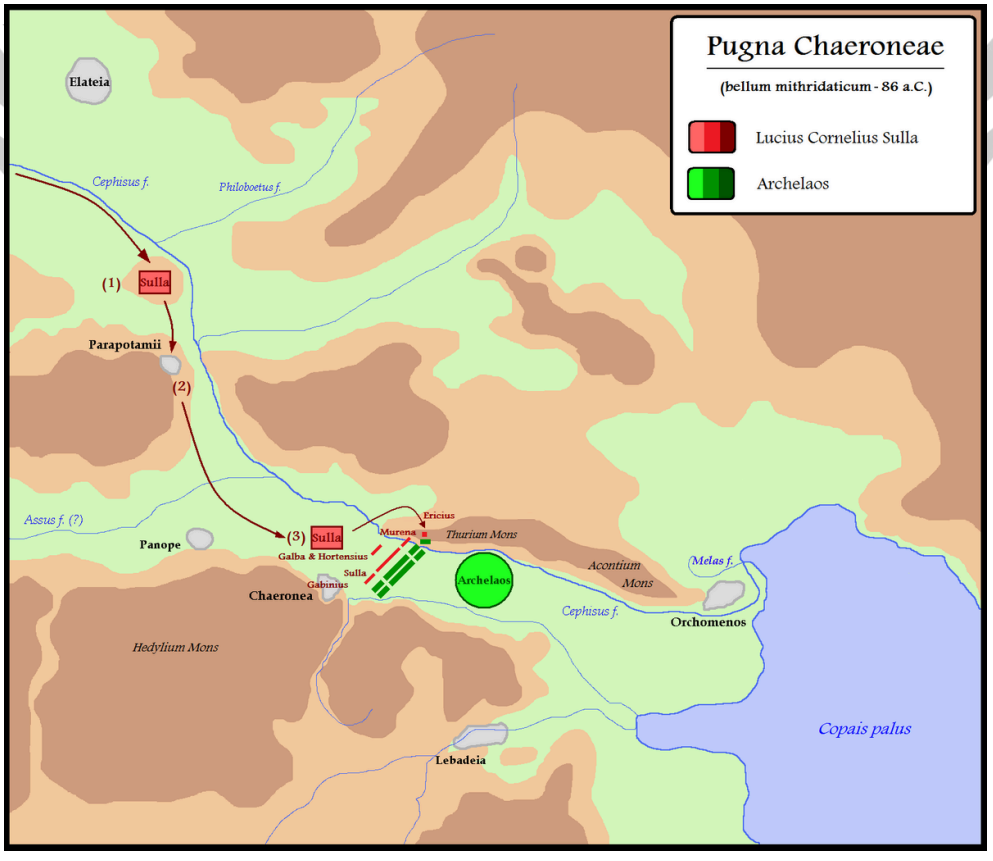
Thence Archelaus withdrew to Thessaly by way of Boeotia and drew what was left of his entire forces together at Thermopylae, both his own and those brought by Dromichiaetes. He also united with his command the army that had invaded Macedonia under Arcathias, the son of king Mithridates, which was fresh and at nearly its full strength, and had lately received recruits from Mithridates; for he never ceased sending forward reinforcements.

While Archelaus was hastily gathering these forces, Sulla burned Piraeus, which had given him more trouble than the city of Athens, not sparing the arsenal, or the navy yard, or

any other of its famous belongings. Then he marched against Archelaus, proceeding also by way of Boeotia. As they neared each other, the forces of Archelaus just from Thermopylae advanced into Phocis, consisting of Thracian, Pontic, Scythian, Cappadocian, Bithynian, Galatian, and Phrygian troops, and others from Mithridates' newly acquired territory, in all 120,000 men. Each nationality had its own general, but Archelaus had supreme command over all. Sulla's forces were Italians and some Greeks and Macedonians, who had lately deserted Archelaus and come over to him, and a few others from the surrounding country, but they were not one third the number of the enemy.

ix. Battle of Chaeronea 86 BC

When they had taken position opposite each other Archelaus repeatedly led out his forces and offered battle. Sulla hesitated on account of the nature of the ground and the numbers of the enemy. When Archelaus moved toward Chalcis, Sulla followed him closely, watching for a favorable time and place. When he saw the enemy encamped in a rocky region near Chaeronea, where there was no chance of escape for the vanquished, he took possession of a broad plain nearby and drew up his forces in such a way that he could compel Archelaus to fight whether he wanted to or not, and where the slope of the plain favored the Romans either in advancing or retreating. Archelaus was hedged in by rocks which, in a battle, would not allow his whole army to act in concert, as he could not bring them together by reason of the unevenness of the ground; and if they were routed their flight would be impeded by the rocks. Relying for these reasons on his advantage of position, Sulla, moved forward in such a way that the enemy's superiority of numbers should not be of any service to him.



Archelaus did not dream of coming to an engagement at that time, for which reason he had been careless in choosing the place for his camp. Now that the Romans were advancing he perceived sorrowfully and too late the badness of his position, and he sent forward a detachment of horses to prevent the movement. The detachment was put to flight and shattered among the rocks. He next charged with sixty chariots, hoping to sever and break in pieces the formation of the legions by the shock. The Romans opened their ranks and the chariots were carried through by their own momentum to the rear, and before they could turn back they were surrounded and destroyed by the javelins of the rear guard.

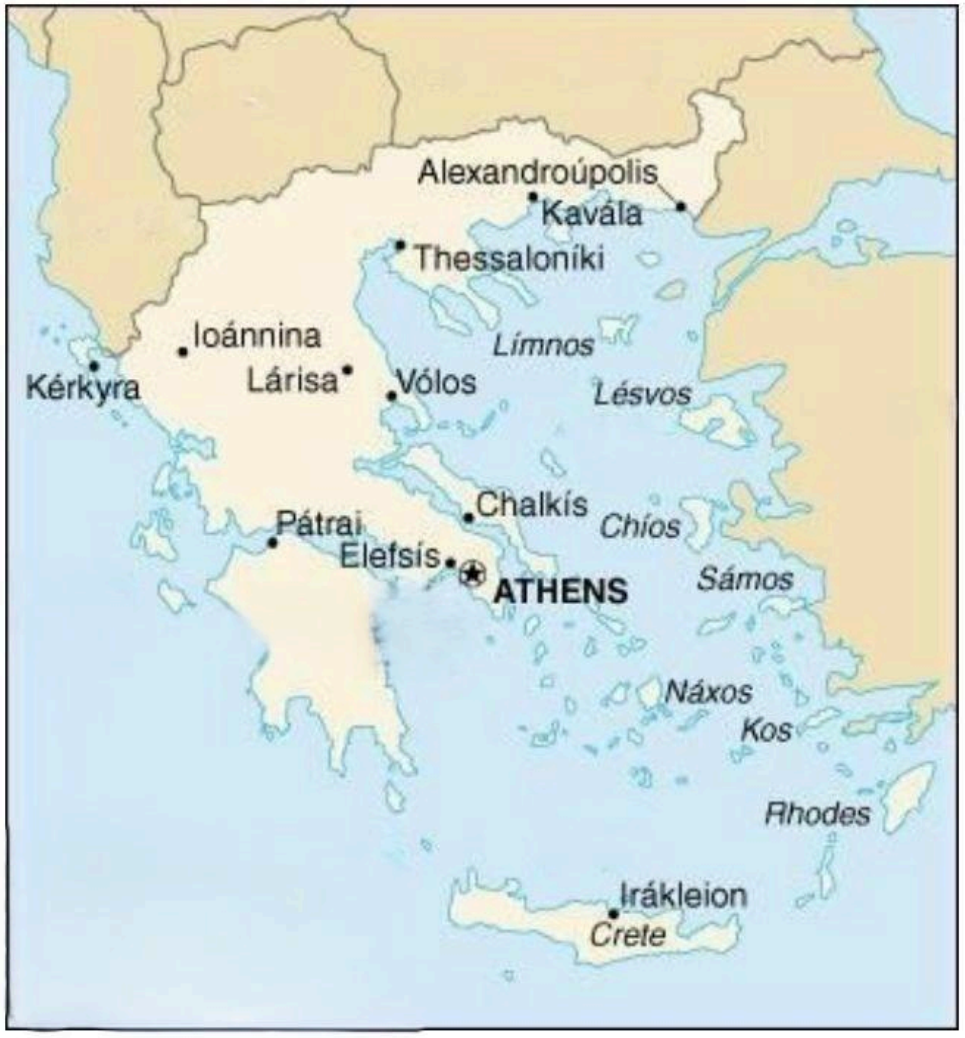
Although Archelaus might have fought safely from his fortified camp, where the crags would perhaps have defended him, he hastily led out his vast multitude of men who had not expected to fight here, and drew them up, in a place that had proved much too narrow, because Sulla was already approaching. He first made a powerful charge with his horse, cut the Roman formation in two, and, by reason of the smallness of their numbers, completely surrounded both parts. The Romans turned their faces to the enemy on all sides and fought bravely. The divisions of Galba and Hortensius suffered most since Archelaus led the battle against them in person, and the barbarians fighting under the eye of the commander were spurred by emulation to the highest pitch of valor. But Sulla moved to their aid with a large body of horse and Archelaus, feeling sure that it was Sulla who was approaching, for he saw the standards of the commander-in-chief, and a greater cloud of dust arising, released his grasp and began to resume his first position. Sulla, leading the best part of his horse and picking up two new cohorts that had been placed in reserve, struck the enemy before they had executed their maneuver and formed a solid front. He threw them into confusion, put them to flight, and pursued them. While victory was dawning on that side, Lucius Licinius Murena, who commanded the left wing, was not idle. Chiding his soldiers for their remissness he, too, dashed upon the enemy valiantly and put them to flight.

When Archelaus' two wings gave way, the center no longer held its ground, but took to promiscuous flight. Then everything that Sulla had foreseen befell the enemy. Not having room to turn around, or an open country for flight, they were driven by their pursuers among the rocks. Some of them rushed into the hands of the Romans. Others with more wisdom fled toward their own camp. Archelaus placed himself in front of them and barred the entrance, and ordered them to turn and face the enemy, thus betraying the greatest inexperience of the exigencies of war. They obeyed him with alacrity, but as they no longer had either generals to lead, or officers to align them, or standards to show where they belonged, but were scattered in disorderly rout, and had no room either to fly or to fight, the pursuit having brought them into their very narrowest place, they were killed without resistance, some by the enemy, upon whom they could not retaliate, and others by their own friends in the jam and confusion.

Again they fled toward the gates of the camp, around which they became congested. They upbraided the gate-keepers. They appealed to them in the name of their country's gods

and their common relationship, and reproached them that they were slaughtered not so much by the swords of the enemy as by the indifference of their friends. Finally Archelaus, after more delay than was necessary, opened the gates and received the disorganized runaways. When the Romans observed this they gave a great cheer, burst into the camp with the fugitives, and made their victory complete.

Archelaus and the rest, who made their escape singly, came together at Chalcis. Not more than 10,000 of the 120,000 remained. The Roman loss was only fifteen, and two of these turned up afterward. Such was the result of the battle of Chaeronea between Sulla and Archelaus, the general of Mithridates, to which the sagacity of Sulla and the blundering of Archelaus contributed in equal measure. Sulla captured a large number of prisoners and a great quantity of arms and spoils, the useless part of which he put in a heap. Then he girded himself according to the Roman custom and burned it as a sacrifice to the gods of war.



After giving his army a short rest he hastened with his best troops after Archelaus, but as the Romans had no ships the latter sailed securely among the islands and ravaged the coasts. He landed at Zacynthus and laid siege to it, but being attacked in the night by a party of Romans who were sojourning there, he reembarked in a hurry and returned to Chalcis more like a robber than a warrior.

When Mithridates heard of this great disaster he was astonished and terror-stricken, as was natural. Nevertheless, he proceeded with all haste to collect a new army from all his subject nations. Thinking that certain persons would be likely to turn against him on account of his defeat, either now or later, if they should find a good chance, he arrested all suspects before the war should become sharper.

First, he put to death the tetrarchs of Galatia with their wives and children, not only those who were united with him as friends, but those who were not his subjects - all except three who escaped. Some of these he took by stratagem, the others he slew one night at a banquet. He believed that none of them would be faithful to him if Sulla should come near. He confiscated their property, established garrisons in their towns, and appointed Eumachus satrap of the nation. But the tetrarchs who had escaped raised an army from the country people forthwith, expelled him and his garrisons, and drove them out of Galatia, so that Mithridates had nothing left of that country except the money he had seized.

Being angry with the inhabitants of Chios, one of whose vessels had accidentally run against the royal ship in the naval battle near Rhodes, he first confiscated the goods of all Chians who had fled to Sulla, and then sent persons to inquire what property in Chios belonged to Romans. For a third move, his general, Zenobius, who was conducting an army to Greece, seized the walls of Chios and all the fortified places by night, stationed guards at the gates, and made proclamation that all strangers should remain quiet, and that the Chians should repair to the assembly so that he might give them a message from the king. When they had come together he said that the king was suspicious of the city on account of the Roman faction in it, but that he would be satisfied if they would deliver up their arms and give the children of their principal families as hostages. Seeing that their city was already in his hands they gave both. Zenobius sent them to Erythrae and told the Chians that the king would write to them directly.

A letter came from Mithridates of the following tenor: "You favor the Romans even now, and many of your citizens are still sojourning with them. You are reaping the fruits of Roman property of which you do not make returns to us. Your trireme ran against and shook my ship in the battle before Rhodes. I willingly imputed that fault to the pilots alone, hoping that you would observe the rules of safety and remain my submissive subjects. Now you have secretly sent your chief men to Sulla, and you have never proved or declared that this was done without public authority, as was the duty of those who were not cooperating with them. Although my friends consider that those who conspire against my government, and who

intend to conspire against my person, ought to suffer death, I will let you off with a fine of 2,000 talents."

Such was the purport of the letter. The Chians wanted to send legates to the king, but Zenobius would not allow it. As they were disarmed and had given up the children of their principal families, and a large barbarian army was in possession of the city, they groaned aloud, but they collected the temple ornaments and the women's jewelry to the full amount of 2,000 talents.

When this sum had been made up, Zenobius accused them of giving him short weight and summoned them to the theater. Then he stationed his army with drawn swords around the theater itself and along the streets leading from it to the sea. Then he led the Chians one by one out of the theater and put them in ships, the men separated from the women and children, and all treated with indignity by their barbarian captors. In this way they were dragged to Mithridates, who packed them off to Pontus on the Euxine. Such was the calamity that befell the citizens of Chios.

When Zenobius approached Ephesus with his army, the citizens ordered him to leave his arms at the gates and come in with only a few attendants. He obeyed the order and made a visit to Philopoemen, the favorite wife of Mithridates, whom the latter had appointed overseer of Ephesus, and summoned the Ephesians to the assembly. They expected nothing good from him, and adjourned the meeting till the next day. During the night, however, they met for mutual consultation and encouragement, after which they cast Zenobius into prison and put him to death. They then manned the walls, put the citizens in training, brought in supplies from the country, and put the city in a state of complete defense.

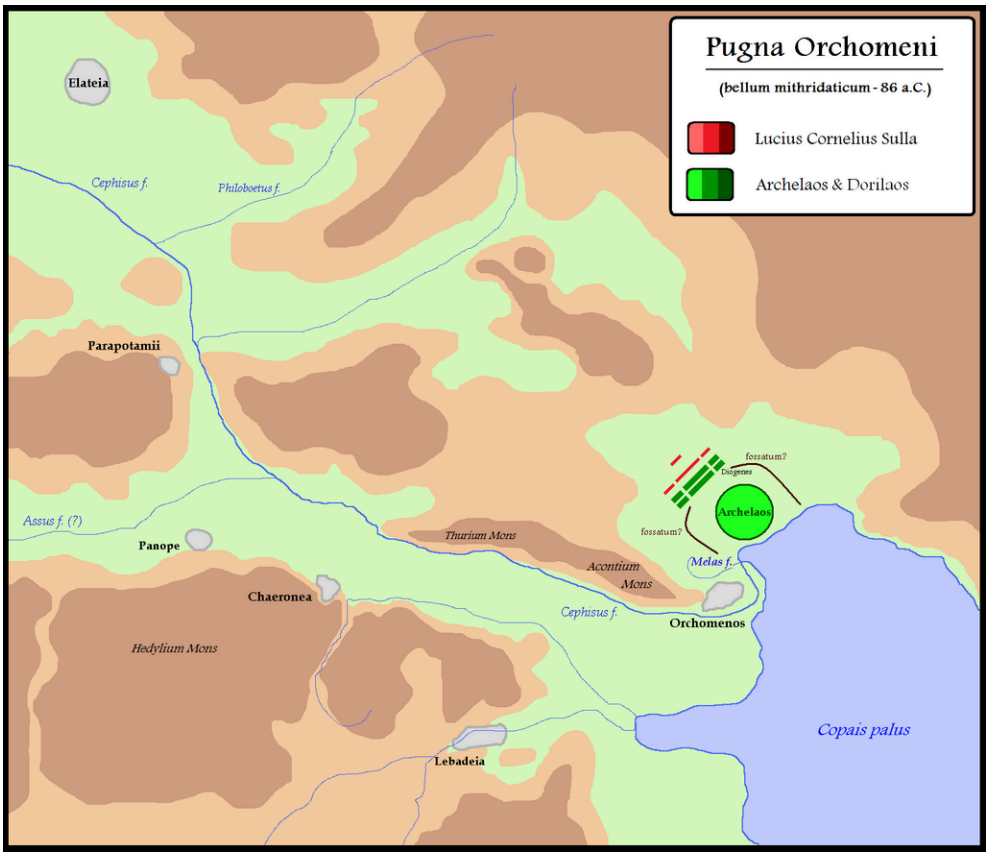
When the people of Tralles, Hypaepa, Metropolis, and several other towns heard of this they feared lest they should meet the fate of Chios, and followed the example of Ephesus. Mithridates sent an army against the revolters and inflicted terrible punishments on those whom he captured, but as he feared other defections, he gave freedom to the Greek cities, proclaimed the canceling of debts, gave the right of citizenship to all sojourners therein, and freed the slaves. He did this hoping (as indeed it turned out) that the debtors, sojourners, and slaves would consider their new privileges secure only under the rule of Mithridates, and would therefore be well disposed toward him.

In the meantime Mynnio and Philotimus of Smyrna, Clisthenes and Asclepiodotus of Lesbos, all of them the king's intimates, Asclepiodotus had once entertained him as a guest, joined in a conspiracy against Mithridates. Of this conspiracy, Asclepiodotus himself became the informer, and in order to confirm his story he arranged that the king should conceal himself under a couch and hear what Mynnio said. The plot being thus revealed the conspirators were put to death with torture, and many others suffered from suspicion of similar designs. Thus eighty citizens of Pergamon were caught taking counsel together to like purpose, and others in other cities.

The king sent spies everywhere who denounced their own enemies, and in this way about 1,500 men lost their lives. Some of these accusers were captured by Sulla a little later and put to death, others committed suicide, and still others took refuge with Mithridates himself in Pontus.

x. Battle of Orchomenus 85 BC

While these events were taking place in Asia, Mithridates assembled an army of 80,000 men, which Dorylaus led to Archelaus in Greece, who still had 10,000 of his former force remaining. Sulla had taken a position against Archelaus near Orchomenus. When he saw the great number of the enemy's horses coming up, he dug a number of ditches through the plain ten feet wide, and drew up his army to meet Archelaus when the latter advanced. The Romans fought badly because they were in terror of the enemy's cavalry. Sulla rode hither and thither for a long time, encouraging and threatening his men. Failing to bring them up to their duty in this way, he leaped from his horse, seized a standard, ran out between the two armies with his shield-bearers, exclaiming, "If you are ever asked, Romans, where you abandoned Sulla, your general, say that it was at the battle of Orchomenus."



When the officers saw his peril they darted from their own ranks to his aid, and the troops, moved by the sense of shame, followed and drove the enemy back in their turn. This was the beginning of the victory. Sulla again leaped upon his horse and rode among his troops praising and encouraging them until the end of the battle. The enemy lost 15,000 men,

about 10,000 of whom were cavalry, and among them Diogenes, the son of Archelaus. The infantry fled to their camps.

Sulla feared lest Archelaus should escape him again, because he had no ships, and take refuge in Chalcis as before. Accordingly, he stationed night watchmen at intervals over the whole plain, and the next day he enclosed Archelaus with a ditch at a distance of less than 600 feet from his camp, to prevent his escape. Then he appealed to his army to finish the small remainder of the war, since the enemy were no longer even making a show of resistance; and so he led them against the camp of Archelaus.

Like scenes transpired among the enemy, with a change of feeling necessarily, the officers hurrying hither and thither, representing the imminent danger, and upbraiding the men if they should not be able to defend the camp against assailants inferior in numbers. There was a rush and a shout on each side, followed by many valiant deeds on the part of both. The Romans, protected by their shields, were demolishing a certain angle of the camp when the barbarians leaped down from the parapet inside and took their stand around this corner with drawn swords to ward off the invaders. No one dared to enter until the military tribune, Basillus, first leaped over and killed the man in front of him. Then the whole army dashed after him. The flight and slaughter of the barbarians followed. Some were captured and others driven into the neighboring lake, and, not knowing how to swim, perished while begging for mercy in barbarian speech, not understood by their slayers. Archelaus hid in a marsh, where he found a small boat by which he reached Chalcis. Whatever remained of the Mithridatean forces in separate detachments he summoned thither with all speed.

xi. The Flaccus (Fimbrias) Mission

The next day, Sulla decorated the tribune, Basillus, and gave rewards for valor to others. He ravaged Boeotia, which was continually changing from one side to the other, and then moved to Thessaly and went into winter quarters, and waited for Lucius Licinius Lucullus and his fleet. As he had no tidings of Lucullus, he began to build ships for himself. At this juncture, Cornelius Cinna and Gaius Marius, his rivals at home, caused him to be declared an enemy of the Roman people, destroyed his houses in the city and the country, and murdered his friends. This, however, did not weaken him in the least, since he had a zealous and devoted army.

Cinna sent Flaccus, whom he had caused to be chosen as his colleague in the consulship, to Asia with two legions to take charge of that province and of the Mithridatic war in place of Sulla, who was now declared a public enemy. As Flaccus was inexperienced in the art of war, a man of senatorial rank named Fimbria, Gaius Flavius Fimbria, who was skilled in military affairs, accompanied him as a volunteer.

As they were sailing from Brundusium, many of their ships were destroyed by a tempest, and some that had gone in advance were burned by a new army that had been sent

forward by Mithridates. Moreover, Flaccus was a rascal, and, being severe in punishments and greedy of gain, was hated by the whole army. Accordingly, a part of them who had been sent ahead into Thessaly went over to Sulla, but Fimbria kept the rest of them from deserting, because they considered him more humane and a better general than Flaccus.

Once while he was at an inn, he had a dispute with the quaestor about their lodgings. Flaccus, who acted as arbiter between them, showed little consideration for Fimbria, and the latter was vexed and threatened to go back to Rome. Accordingly, Flaccus appointed a successor to perform the duties which he then had charge of. Fimbria watched his opportunity, and when Flaccus had sailed for Chalcedon, Fimbria first took the *fasces*, set of rods bound in the form of a bundle which contained an axe, away from Thermus, whom Flaccus had left as his praetor, as though the army had conferred the command upon himself, and when Flaccus returned soon afterward and was angry with him, Fimbria compelled him to fly.

Flaccus took refuge in a certain house and in the night time, climbed over the wall and fled first to Chalcedon and afterward to Nicomedia, and closed the gates of the city. Fimbria overcame the place, found him concealed in a well, and killed him, although he was a Roman consul and the commanding officer of this war, and Fimbria himself was only a private citizen who had gone with him as an invited friend. Fimbria cut off his head and flung it into the sea, and left the remainder of his body unburied. Then, he appointed himself as the commander of the army and fought several successful battles with the son of Mithridates. He drove the king himself into Pergamon. The latter escaped from Pergamon to Pitane. Fimbria followed him and began to enclose the place with a ditch. Then, the king fled to Mitylene on a ship.

Fimbria traversed the province of Asia, punished the Cappadocian faction, and devastated the territory of the towns that did not open their gates to him. The inhabitants of Ilium, also known as Troy, who were besieged by Fimbria, appealed to Sulla for aid. The latter said that he would come, and told them to say to Fimbria meanwhile that they had entrusted themselves to Sulla. Fimbria, when he heard this, congratulated them on being already friends of the Roman people, and ordered them to admit him within their walls because he also was a Roman. He spoke in an ironical way also of the relationship existing between Ilium and Rome. When he was admitted, he made an indiscriminate slaughter and burned the whole town. Those who had been in communication with Sulla he tortured in various ways. He spared neither the sacred objects nor the persons who had fled to the temple of Athena, but burned them with the temple itself. He demolished the walls, and the next day made a search to see whether anything of the place was left standing.

So much worse was the city now treated by one of its relations than it had been by Agamemnon, that not a house, not a temple, not a statue was left. Some say that the image of Athena, called the Palladium, which was supposed to have fallen from heaven, was then found unbroken, the falling walls having formed an arch over it; and this may be true unless Diomedes and Ulysses carried it away from Ilium during the Trojan War. Thus Ilium was destroyed by Fimbria at the close of the 173d Olympiad.

xii. Treaty of Dardanos: The Final Showdown

When Mithridates heard of his defeat at Orchomenus, he reflected on the immense number of men he had sent into Greece from the beginning, and the continual and swift disaster that had overtaken them. Accordingly, he sent word to Archelaus to make peace on the best terms possible. The latter had an interview with Sulla in which he said, "King Mithridates was your father's friend, o Sulla. He became involved in this war through the rapacity of other Roman generals. He will avail himself of your virtuous character to make peace, if you will grant him fair terms."

As Sulla had no ships; as his enemies at Rome had sent him no money, nor anything else, but had declared him an outlaw; as he had already spent the money which he had taken from the Pythian, Olympian, and Epidauric temples, in return for which he had assigned to them half of the territory of Thebes on account of its frequent defections; and because he was in a hurry to lead his army fresh and unimpaired against the hostile faction at home, he assented to the proposal, and said," If injustice was done to Mithridates, or Archelaus, he ought to have sent an embassy to show how he was wronged, instead of which he put himself in the wrong by overrunning such a vast territory belonging to others, killing such a vast number of people, seizing the public and sacred funds of cities, and confiscating the private property of those whom he destroyed. He has been just as perfidious to his own friends as to us, many of whom he has put to death, including the tetrarchs whom he had brought together

at a banquet, and their wives and children, although they had committed no hostile act. Toward us he was moved by an inborn enmity rather than by any necessity for war, visiting every possible calamity upon the Italians throughout Asia, torturing and murdering all of our race, together with their wives, children, and servants. Such hatred did this man bear toward Italy, who now pretends friendship for my father! - a friendship which you did not call to mind until I had destroyed 160,000 of your troops.

"Instead of treating for peace we ought to be absolutely implacable toward him, but for your sake I will undertake to obtain his pardon from Rome if he actually repents. But if he is playing the hypocrite again, I advise you, Archelaus, to look out for yourself. Consider how matters stand at present between you and him. Bear in mind how he has treated his other friends and how we treated Eumenes and Massinissa." While he was yet speaking, Archelaus rejected the offer with indignation, saying that he would never betray one who had put an army under his command. "I hope," he said, "to come to an agreement with you if you offer moderate terms." After a short interval, Sulla said, "If Mithridates will deliver to us the entire fleet in your possession; if he will surrender our generals and ambassadors and all prisoners, deserters, and runaway slaves, and send back to their homes the people of Chios and all others whom he has dragged off to Pontus; if he will remove his garrison from all places except those that he held before the outbreak of hostilities; if he will pay the cost of the war incurred on his account, and remain content with his ancestral dominions - I shall hope to persuade the Romans not to remember the injuries he has done them."

Such were the terms which he offered. Archelaus at once withdrew his garrison from all the places he held and referred the other conditions to the king. In order to make use of his leisure in the meantime, Sulla marched against the Eneti, the Dardani, and the Sinti, tribes on the border of Macedonia, who were continually invading that country, and devastated their territory. In this way he exercised his soldiers and enriched them at the same time.

The ambassadors of Mithridates returned with ratifications of all the terms except those relating to Paphlagonia, and they added that Mithridates could obtain better conditions, "if he should negotiate with your other general, Flaccus."-not Lucius Valerius Fimbria- Sulla was indignant that he should be brought into such comparison and said that he would bring Fimbria to punishment, and would go himself to Asia and see whether Mithridates wanted peace or war. Having spoken thus, he marched through Thrace to Cypsella after having sent [Lucius Licinius] Lucullus forward to Abydus, for Lucullus had arrived at last, having run the risk of capture by pirates several times. He had collected a sort of a fleet composed of ships from Cyprus, Phoenicia, Rhodes, and Pamphylia, and had ravaged much of the enemy's coast, and had skirmished with the ships of Mithridates on the way.

Then, in August 85 BCE, Sulla advanced from Cypsella and Mithridates from Pergamon, and they met in a conference. Each went with a small force to a plain in sight of the two armies. Mithridates began by discoursing of his own and his father's friendship and alliance with the Romans. Then, he accused the Roman ambassadors, committeemen, and

generals of doing him injuries by putting Ariobarzanes on the throne of Cappadocia, depriving him of Phrygia, and allowing Nicomedes to wrong him. "And all this," he said, "they did for money, taking it from me and from them by turns; for there is nothing of which most of you are so liable to accusation, o Romans, as the love of lucre. When war had broken out through the acts of your generals, all that I did was in self-defense, and was the result of necessity rather than of intention."

When Mithridates had ceased speaking Sulla replied: "Although you called us here," he said, "for a different purpose, namely, to accept our terms of peace, I shall not refuse to speak briefly of those matters. I restored Ariobarzanes to the throne of Cappadocia by decree of the Senate when I was governor in Cilicia, and you obeyed the decree. You ought to have opposed it and given your reasons then, or forever after held your peace. Manius Aqullius gave Phrygia to you for a bribe, which was a crime on the part of both of you. By the very fact of your getting it by bribery, you confess that you had no right to it. Manius was tried at Rome for other acts that he had done for money and the Senate annulled them all. For this reason they decided, not that Phrygia, which had been given to you wrongfully, should be made tributary to Rome, but should be free. If we who had taken it by war did not think best to govern it, by what right could you hold it?

Nicomedes charges that you sent against him an assassin named Alexander, and then Socrates Chrestus, a rival claimant of the kingdom, and that it was to avenge these wrongs that he invaded your territory. However, if he wronged you, you ought to have sent an embassy to Rome and waited for an answer. But although you took swift vengeance on Nicomedes, why did you attack Ariobarzanes, who had not harmed you? When you drove him out of his kingdom you imposed upon the Romans, who were there, the necessity of putting him back. By preventing them from doing so you brought on the war. You had meditated war a long time, because you hoped to rule the whole world if you could conquer the Romans, and the reasons you tell of were mere pretexts to cover your real intent. The proof of this is that you, although not yet at war with any nation, sought the alliance of the Thracians, Sarmatians, and Scythians, sought aid from the neighboring kings, built a navy, and enlisted pilots and helmsmen.

The time you chose convicts you of treachery most of all. When you heard that Italy had revolted from us, you seized the occasion when we were occupied to fall upon Ariobarzanes, Nicomedes, Galatia, and Paphlagonia, and finally upon our Asiatic province. When you had taken them, you committed all sorts of outrages on the cities, appointing slaves and debtors to rule over some of them, and freeing slaves and canceling debts in others. In the Greek cities you destroyed 1,600 men on one false accusation. You brought the tetrarchs of Galatia together at a banquet and slew them. You butchered or drowned all residents of Italian blood in one day, including mothers and babes, not sparing even those who had fled to the temples. What cruelty, what impiety, what boundless hate did you exhibit toward us! After you had confiscated the property of all your victims, you crossed over to Europe with great armies, although we had forbidden the invasion of Europe to all the kings

of Asia. You overran our province of Macedonia and deprived the Greeks of their freedom. Nor did you begin to repent and tell Archelaus to intercede for you, until I had recovered Macedonia and delivered Greece from your grasp, and destroyed 160,000 of your soldiers, and taken your camps with all their belongings. I am astonished that you should now seek to justify the acts for which you asked pardon through Archelaus. If you feared me at a distance, do you think that I have come into your neighborhood to have a debate with you? The time for that passed by when you took up arms against us, and we vigorously repelled your assaults and repelled them to the end."

While Sulla was still speaking with vehemence, the king yielded to his fears and consented to the terms that had been offered through Archelaus. He delivered up the ships and everything else that had been required, and went back to his paternal kingdom of Pontus as his sole possession. And thus, the first war between Mithridates and the Romans came to an end.

xiii. Aftermath

Having settled the affairs of Asia, Sulla bestowed freedom on the inhabitants of Ilium, Chios, Lycia, Rhodes, Magnesia, and some others, either as a reward for their cooperation, or a recompense for what they had bravely suffered on his account, and inscribed them as friends of the Roman people. Then**,** he distributed his army among the remaining towns and issued a proclamation that the slaves who had been freed by Mithridates should at once return to their masters. As many disobeyed and some of the cities revolted, several massacres ensued, of both free men and slaves, on various pretexts. The walls of many towns were demolished. Many others were plundered and their inhabitants sold into slavery. The Cappadocian faction, both men and cities, were severely punished, and especially the Ephesians, who, with servile adulation of the king, had treated the Roman offerings in their temples with indignity. After this a proclamation was sent around commanding the principal citizens to come to Ephesus on a certain day to meet Sulla. When they had assembled, Sulla addressed them from the tribune as follows:

"We first came to Asia with an army when Antiochus, king of Seleucid Syria, was despoiling you. We drove him out and fixed the boundaries of his dominions beyond the River Halys and Mount Taurus. We did not retain possession of you when we had delivered you from him, but set you free, except that we awarded a few places to Eumenes and the Rhodians, our allies in the war, not as tributaries, but as clients. The proof of this is that when the Lycians complained of the Rhodians we deprived them of their authority. Such was our conduct toward you. You, on the other hand, when Attalus Philometor had left his kingdom to us in his will, gave aid to Aristonicus Mithridates against us for four years. When he was captured, most of you, under the impulse of necessity and fear, returned to your duty. Notwithstanding all this, after a period of twenty-four years, during which you had attained to great prosperity and embellishment, public and private, you again became puffed up by ease

and luxury and took the opportunity, while we were preoccupied in Italy, some of you to call in and others to join him when he came.

Most infamous of all, you obeyed the order he gave to kill all the Italians in your communities, including women and children, in one day. You did not even spare those who fled to the temples dedicated to your own gods. You have received some punishment for this crime from Mithridates himself, who broke faith with you and gave you your fill of rapine and slaughter, redistributed your lands, canceled debts, freed your slaves, appointed tyrants over some of you, and committed robberies everywhere by land and sea; so that you learned immediately by experiment and comparison what kind of defender you chose instead of your former ones. The instigators of these crimes paid some penalty to us also. It is necessary, too, that some penalty should be inflicted upon you in common, as you have been guilty in common, and something corresponding to your deserts. But may the Romans never even conceive of impious slaughter, indiscriminate confiscation, servile insurrections, or other acts of barbarism. I shall spare even now the Greek race and name so celebrated throughout Asia, and for the sake of that fair repute that is ever dear to the Romans. I shall only impose upon you the taxes of five years, to be paid at once, together with the cost of the war expended by me, and whatever else may be spent in settling the affairs of the province. I will apportion these charges to each of you according to cities, and will fix the time of payment. Upon the disobedient I shall visit punishment as upon enemies."

After he had thus spoken, Sulla apportioned the fine to the delegates and sent men to collect the money.The cities, oppressed by poverty, borrowed it at high rates of interest and mortgaged their theaters, their gymnasiums, their walls, their harbors, and every other scrap of public property, being urged on by the soldiers with contumely. Thus, was the money collected and brought to Sulla.

The province of Asia had her fill of misery. She was assailed openly by a vast number of pirates, resembling regular fleets rather than robber bands. Mithridates had first fitted them out at the time when he was ravaging all the coasts, thinking he could not long hold these regions. Their numbers had then greatly increased, and they did not confine them-selves to ships alone, but openly attacked harbors, castles, and cities. They captured Iassus, Samos, and Clazomenae, also Samothrace, where Sulla was staying at the time, and it was said that they robbed the temple at that place of ornaments valued at 1,000 talents. Having achieved something that was essentially nothing but an armistice, Sulla, willing perhaps that those who had offended him should be maltreated, or because he was in haste to put down the hostile faction in Rome, left them and sailed for Greece, andthence passed on to Italy with the greater part of his army.

At the time, Mithridates, who had survived after the Treaty of Dardanos and managed to return to his fatherland Pontus safely, eliminated the lack of authority in the country caused by his absence. Later on, went to war with the Colchians and the tribes around the Cimmerian Bosphorus who had revolted from him, meanwhile Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia

and Nicomedes of Bithynia were restored by Sulla. Thus, Mithridates lost two of his alliances. As Mithridates tried to regain power in Anatolia, encountered Murena, who had been left by Sulla with Fimbria's two legions to settle affairs of the rest of Asia, sought trifling pretexts for war, being ambitious of a triumph against Mithridates. Tensions escalated with offensive behaviors on both sides, thus, the Second Mithridatic War began in this way as a brief intermezzo of the Peace of Dardanus.

h. Sulla's First Consulship and Embroiled Clash with Sulpicius

Sulla's election to the consulship was not uncontested. At the time, Rome's relations with the Pontic king, Mithridates VI Eupator, were deteriorating and that the consuls of 88 would be assigned an extremely lucrative and glorious command against Pontus. The question as to whom to send against Mithridates was therefore one of the sources of the domestic crisis. Moreover, new Italian citizenship problem had also erupted. It was under these circumstances that Sulla was elected consul. Thus, opposed by Populares, notably Gaius Marius, was entrusted the command of the Mithridatic War by the Senate, as he was widely considered the most experienced general for the task.

However, Marius, who had long been seeking another opportunity for military glory, was deeply upset at being passed over for the command. Furthermore, Marius had growing support among the Populares, particularly through tribunes like Gaius Sulpicius Longus. Coincidentally(!), Sulla had also become embroiled in a political fight against Publius Sulpicius Rufus, on the matter of how the new Italian citizens were to be distributed into the Roman tribes for purposes of voting. Sulpicius wanted to pass a law in favour of the Italians who had received the citizenship in 90 BC but had not yet been registered in the Roman tribes. His bill distributed the Italians, as well as freedmen, evenly among the Roman tribes, a move which would have considerably altered the Roman electorate. A powerful orator and ambitious politician, Sulpicius was initially a friend of the other consul, Pompeius Rufus, and had decisively prevented Caesar Strabo from running against Sulla, maybe to attract the latter's goodwill so he would not challenge his Italian bill. Sulpicius was however wrong; both consuls opposed his bill distributing the new Italian citizens in the old Roman tribes (Sulla and the conservatives would have rather gathered the Italians into a few tribes, so that old citizens would have kept a majority of the tribes), which Sulpicius took as a betrayal; Sulpicius, without the support of the consuls, looked elsewhere for political allies. Not willing to give up his plan, Sulpicius then turned to Marius for support. Like the other main politicians of the period, the old general, six times consul and very influential among the *equites* and Italian gentry, wanted the command against Mithridates, and also to settle some old grudges against Sulla. In exchange for supporting the Italian bill, Marius requested Sulpicius to pass a law transferring the Eastern command from Sulla to him.Thus, Marius and Sulpicius were a perfect match against Sulla.

As a tribune, Sulpicius had the power to propose laws to the plebeian assembly, which could be passed without the approval of the Senate. Sulpicius assembled a large bodyguard of 600 *equites* and a private army of 3,000 men, to avoid the same fate as previous revolutionary

tribunes—such as Gracchi—and to intimidate voters. In 88 BC, Sulpicius introduced the *Lex Sulpicia*, a law that would strip Sulla of his command over the Mithridatic War and give it to Marius. This was a direct challenge to Sulla, who had already been appointed by the Senate to lead the Roman forces in the east. The law was backed by the Populares, who saw Marius as the hero of the lower classes and a more sympathetic figure to their cause. The law was passed by the plebeian assembly, undermining Sulla's position and inflaming tensions between the Senate and the Populists. Sulpicius then passed the bills enrolling the Italians and also deposed the second consul, Pompeius Rufus, although a minority of scholars reject this part.

Lex Sulpicia broke many constitutional practices; the most outstanding one was the transfer of the eastern command from a consul to a privatus, Gaius Marius, a citizen that did not hold any magistracy—an unprecedented occurrence.

i. Sulla's First March on Rome 88 BC

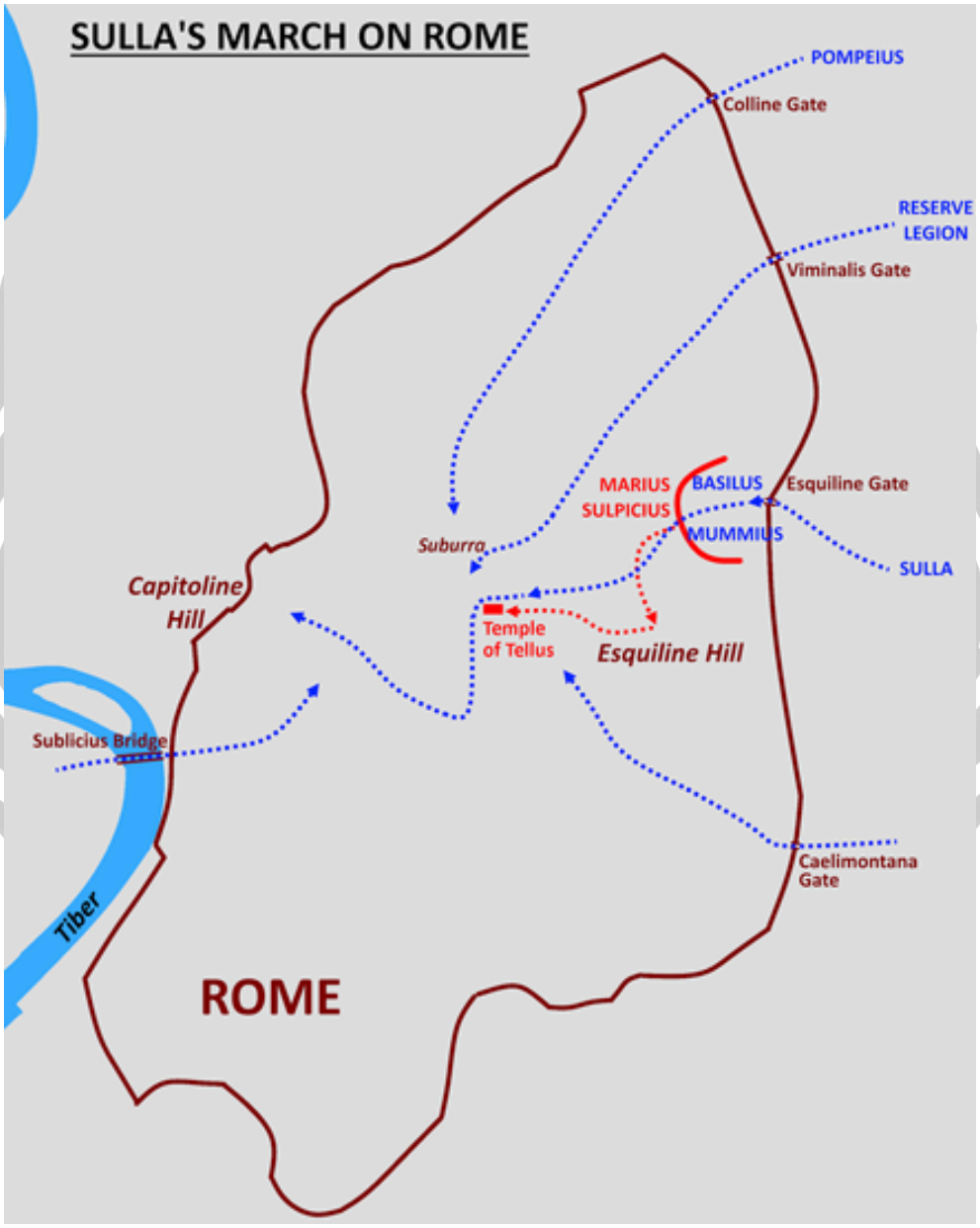
i. The Twelve Hostes

When Sulla heard of this he resolved to decide the question by war, and called the army together to a conference. They were eager for the war against Mithridates because it promised much plunder, and they feared that Marius would enlist other soldiers instead of themselves. Sulla spoke of the indignity put upon him by Sulpicius and Marius, and while he did not openly allude to anything else (for he did not dare as yet to mention this sort of war), he urged them to be ready to obey his orders. They understood what he meant, and as they feared lest they should miss the campaign they uttered boldly what Sulla had in mind, and told him to be of good courage, and to lead them to Rome. Sulla was overjoyed and led six legions thither forthwith; but all his superior officers, except one quaestor, left him and fled to the city, because they would not submit to the idea of leading an army against their country. Envoys met him on the road and asked him why he was marching with armed forces against his country. "To deliver her from tyrants," he replied.

He gave the same answer to a second and third embassy that came to him, one after another, but he announced to them finally that the Senate and Marius and Sulpicius might meet him in the Campus Martius if they liked, and that he would do whatever might be agreed upon after consultation. As he was approaching, his colleague, Pompeius, came to meet and congratulate him, and to offer his whole-hearted hope, for he was delighted with the steps he was taking. As Marius and Sulpicius needed some short interval for preparation, they sent other messengers, also in the guise of envoys from the Senate, directing him not to move his camp nearer than forty stades from the city until they could review the state of affairs. Sulla and Pompeius understood their motive perfectly and promised to comply, but as soon as the envoys withdrew they followed them.

Sulla took possession of the Esquiline gate and of the adjoining wall with one legion of soldiers, and Pompeius occupied the Colline gate with another. A third advanced to the Wooden bridge, and a fourth remained on guard in front of the walls. With the remainder

Sulla entered the city, in appearance and in fact an enemy. Those in the neighbouring houses tried to keep him off by hurling missiles from the roofs until he threatened to burn the houses; then they desisted. Marius and Sulpicius went, with some forces they had hastily armed, to meet the invaders near the Esquiline forum, and here a battle took place between the contending parties, the first regularly fought in Rome with bugle and standards in full military fashion, no longer like a mere faction fight. To such an extremity of evil had the recklessness of party strife progressed among them.



Sulla's forces were beginning to waver when Sulla seized a standard and exposed himself to danger in the foremost ranks, so that from regard for their general and fear of ignominy, should they abandon their standard, they might rally at once. Then he ordered up the fresh troops from his camp and sent others around by the Suburran road to take the enemy in the rear. The Marians fought feebly against these new-comers, and as they feared lest they

should be surrounded they called to their aid the other citizens who were still fighting from the houses, and proclaimed freedom to slaves who would share their dangers. As nobody came forward they fell into utter despair and fled at once out of the city, together with those of the nobility who had co-operated with them.

Sulla advanced to the Via Sacra, the oldest and most famous street in Rome, and there, in sight of everybody, punished at once certain soldiers for looting things they had come across. He stationed guards at intervals throughout the city, he and Pompeius keeping watch by night. Each kept moving about his own command to see that no calamity was brought about either by the frightened people or by the victorious troops. At daybreak they summoned the people to an assembly and lamented the condition of the republic, which had been so long given over to demagogues, and said that they had done what they had done as a matter of necessity. They proposed that no question should ever again be brought before the people which had not been previously considered by the Senate, an ancient practice which had been abandoned long ago; also that the voting should not be by tribes, but by centuries, as King Servius Tullius had ordained. They thought that by these two measures — namely, that no law should be brought before the people unless it had been previously before the Senate, and that the voting should be controlled by the well-to-do and sober-minded rather than by the pauper and reckless classes — there would no longer be left any starting-point for civil discord. They proposed many other measures for curtailing the power of the tribunes, which had become extremely tyrannical, and enrolled 300 of the best citizens at once in the list of the senators, who had been reduced at that time to a very small number and had fallen into contempt for that reason. They also annulled all the acts performed by Sulpicius as being illegal.

Thus the seditions proceeded from strife and contention to murder, and from murder to open war, and now the first army of her own citizens had invaded Rome as a hostile country. From this time the seditions were decided only by the arbitrament of arms. There were frequent attacks upon the city and battles before the walls and other calamities incident to war. Henceforth there was no restraint upon violence either from the sense of shame, or regard for law, institutions, or country. This time Sulpicius, who still held the office of tribune, together with Marius, who had been consul six times, and his son Marius, also Publius Cethegus, Junius Brutus, Gnaeus and Quintus Granius, Publius Albinovanus, Marcus Laetorius, and others with them, about twelve in number, had been exiled from Rome, because they had stirred up the sedition, had borne arms against the consuls, had incited slaves to insurrection, and had been voted enemies of the Roman people; and anybody meeting them had been authorized to kill them with impunity or to drag them before the consuls, while their goods had been confiscated. These 12 exiled people were branded as The twelve *hostes*.

Detectives, too, were hard on their tracks, who caught Sulpicius and killed him, but Marius escaped them and fled to Minturnae without a companion or servant. While he was resting in a darkened house the magistrates of the city, whose fears were excited by the proclamation of the Roman people, but who hesitated to be the murderers of a man who had

been six times consul and had performed so many brilliant exploits, sent a Gaul who was living there to kill him with a sword. The Gaul, it is said, was approaching the pallet of Marius in the dusk when he thought he saw the gleam and flash of fire darting from his eyes, and Marius rose from his bed and shouted to him in a thundering voice, "Do you dare to kill Gaius Marius?" He turned and fled out of doors like a madman, exclaiming, "I cannot kill Gaius Marius." The magistrates had come to their private decision with reluctance, and now a kind of religious awe came over them as they remembered the prophecy uttered while he was a boy, that he should be consul seven times. For it was said that while he was a boy, seven eaglets alighted on his breast, and that the soothsayers predicted that he would attain the highest office seven times.

Bearing these things in mind and believing that the Gaul had been inspired with fear by divine influence, the magistrates of Minturnae sent Marius out of the town forthwith, to seek safety wherever he could. As he knew that Sulla was searching for him and that horsemen were pursuing him, he moved toward the sea by unfrequented roads and came to a hut where he rested, covering himself up with leaves. Hearing a slight noise, he concealed himself more carefully with the leaves, but becoming more sure he rushed to the boat of an old fisherman, which was on the beach, overpowered him, leaped into it, and, although a storm was raging, cut the painter, spread the sail, and committed himself to chance. He was driven to an island where he found a ship navigated by his own friends, and sailed thence to Africa. He was prohibited from landing even there by the governor, Sextilius, because he was a public enemy, and he passed the winter in his ship a little beyond the province of Africa, in Numidia. While he was sailing thither, he was joined by Cethegus, Granius, Albinovanus, Laetorius, and others, and his son Marius, who had gained tidings of his approach. They had fled from Rome to Hiempsal prince of Numidia, and now they had run away from him, fearing lest they should be delivered up.

They were ready to do just as Sulla had done, that is, to master their country by force, but as they had no army they waited for some opportunity; but in Rome Sulla, who had been the first to seize the city by force of arms, and now perhaps could have wielded supreme power, having rid himself of his enemies, desisted from violence of his own accord. He sent his army forward to Capua and resumed consular authority. The supporters of the banished faction, especially the rich, and many wealthy women, who now found a respite from the terror of arms, bestirred themselves for the return of the exiles. They spared neither pain nor expense to this end, even conspiring against the persons of the consuls, since they thought they could not secure the recall of their friends while the consuls survived. For Sulla, the army, which had been voted for the Mithridatic war, furnished ample protection even after he should cease to be consul; but the people commiserated the perilous position of the other consul, Quintus Pompeius, and gave him the command of Italy and of the army appertaining to it, which was then under Gnaeus Pompeius. When the latter learned this he was greatly displeased, but received Quintus in the camp, and, when next day Quintus began to take over his duties, he gave way to him for a time as if relieved of his command; but a little later a crowd that had collected around the consul under pretence of listening to him killed him.

After the guilty ones had fled, Gnaeus came to the camp in a high state of indignation over the illegal killing of a consul, but despite his displeasure he forthwith resumed his command over them.

ii. Sulla's Constitutional Reforms

While all this was happening, Sulla began to implement his long-term master plan. All the legislation passed by Sulpicius after the Consuls' declaration of the suspension of business was annulled; Sulla was therefore given his command back and Pompeius his consulship, whereas the Italian bill of Sulpicius was also cancelled. He first established the supremacy of the senate over the legislative process, by forcing new bills to be approved by the Senate before being proposed to voters. Sulla was therefore returning to the situation before the *lex Hortensia* of 287, when the tribunes had to get the authorisation of the senate to carry a bill before the tribal assembly.

Sulla, himself a patrician, thus ineligible for election to plebeian tribunate, thoroughly disliked the office. As Sulla viewed the office, the tribunate was especially dangerous, and his intention was to not only deprive the tribunate of power, but also of prestige (Sulla himself had been officially deprived of his eastern command through the underhanded activities of a tribune). Over the previous 300 years, the tribunes had directly challenged the patrician class and attempted to deprive it of power in favour of the plebeian class. Through Sulla's reforms to the plebeian council, tribunes lost the power to initiate legislation. Sulla then prohibited ex-tribunes from ever holding any other office, so ambitious individuals would no longer seek election to the tribunate, since such an election would end their political career. He revoked the power of the tribunes to veto acts of the Senate, although he left intact the tribunes' power to protect individual Roman citizens. He also granted legislative power to the Centuriate Assembly, where citizens were distributed in classes based on wealth, thus becoming the only assembly that could vote laws.

Sulla then increased the number of magistrates elected in any given year and required that all newly elected *quaestores* gain automatic membership in the Senate. These two reforms were enacted primarily to allow Sulla to increase the size of the Senate from 300 to 600 senators.This also removed the need to draw up a list of senators, since more than enough former magistrates were always available to fill the Senate. To further solidify the prestige and authority of the Senate, Sulla transferred the control of the courts from the *equites*, who had held control since the Gracchan reforms, to the senators. This, along with the increase in the number of courts, further added to the power that was already held by the senators. Sulla also codified, and thus established definitively, the *cursus honorum*, which required an individual to reach a certain age and level of experience before running for office. Sulla wanted to reduce the risk that a general might attempt to seize power, as he had done. To this end, he reaffirmed the requirement that an individual must wait for ten years before being re-elected to an office. Sulla then established a system where all consuls and praetors served in Rome during their year in office and then commanded a provincial army as a governor for the year after they left office.

Lastly, in a demonstration of his absolute power, Sulla expanded the pomerium, the sacred boundary of Rome, unchanged since the time of the kings.

j. Bellum Octavianum

i. The “New Citizens” Question

When the murder of Pompeius was reported in the city, Sulla became apprehensive for his own safety and was surrounded by friends wherever he went, and had them with him even by night. He did not, however, remain long in the city, but went to the army at Capua and from thence to Asia, and the friends of the exiles, encouraged by Cinna, Sulla's successor in the consulship, excited the new citizens in favour of the scheme of Marius, that they should be distributed among all the old tribes, so that they should not be powerless by reason of voting last. This was preliminary to the recall of Marius and his friends. Although the old citizens resisted with all their might, Cinna co-operated with the new ones, the story being that he had been bribed with 300 talents to do this. The other consul, Octavius, sided with the old citizens. The partisans of Cinna took possession of the forum with concealed daggers, and with loud cries demanded that they should be distributed among all the tribes. The more reputable part of the plebeians adhered to Octavius, and they also carried daggers.

While Octavius was still at home awaiting the result, the news was brought to him that the majority of the tribunes had vetoed the proposed action, but that the new citizens had started a riot, drawn their daggers on the street, and assaulted the opposing tribunes on the rostra. When Octavius heard this he ran down through the Via Sacra with a very dense mass of men, burst into the forum like a torrent, pushed through the midst of the crowd, and separated them. He struck terror into them, went on to the temple of Castor and Pollux, and drove Cinna away; while his companions fell upon the new citizens without orders, killed many of them, put the rest to flight, and pursued them to the city gates.

ii. Cinna’s Coup d'état

Cinna, who had been emboldened by the numbers of the new citizens to think that he should conquer, seeing the victory won contrary to his expectation by the bravery of the few, hurried through the city calling the slaves to his assistance by an offer of freedom. As none responded he hastened to the towns nearby, which had lately been admitted to Roman citizenship, Tibur, Praeneste, and the rest as far as Nola, inciting them all to revolution and collecting money for the purposes of war. While Cinna was making these preparations and plans, certain senators of his party joined him, among them Gaius Milo, Quintus Sertorius, and Gaius Marius the younger.

The Senate decreed that since Cinna had left the city in danger while holding the office of consul, and had offered freedom to the slaves, he should no longer be consul, or even a citizen, and elected in his stead Lucius Merula, the priest of Jupiter. It is said that this priest alone wore the flamen's cap at all times, the others wearing it only during sacrifices.

Cinna proceeded to Capua, where there was another Roman army, whose officers together with the senators who were present, he tried to win over. He went to meet them as consul in an assembly, where he laid down the fasces as though he were a private citizen, and shedding tears, said, "From you, citizens, I received this authority. The people voted it to me; the Senate has taken it away from me without your consent. Although I am the sufferer by this wrong I grieve amid my own troubles equally for your sakes. What need is there that we should solicit the favour of the tribes in the elections hereafter? What need have we of you? Where will after this be your power in the assemblies, in the elections, in the choice of consuls, if you fail to confirm what you bestow, and whenever you give your decision fail to secure it."

He said this to stir them up, and after exciting much pity for himself he rented his garments, leaped down from the rostra, and threw himself on the ground before them, where he lay for a long time. Entirely overcome they raised him up; they restored him to the curule chair; they lifted up the fasces and bade him of good cheer, as he was consul still, and led them wherever he would. The tribunes, striking while the iron was hot, themselves took the military oath to support Cinna, and administered it each to the soldiers under him. Now that this was all secure, Cinna traversed the allied cities and stirred them up also, alleging that it was on their account chiefly that this misfortune had happened to him. They furnished him both money and soldiers; and many others, even of the aristocratic party in Rome, to whom the stability of the government was irksome, came and joined him.

While Cinna was thus occupied, the consuls, Octavius and Merula, fortified the city with trenches, repaired the walls, and planted engines on them. To raise an army they sent round to the towns that were still faithful and also to Nearer Gaul, and summoned Gnaeus Pompeius, the proconsul who commanded the army on the Adriatic, to hasten to the aid of his country.

iii. Return of Gaius Marius & Siege of Rome

So Pompeius came and encamped before the Colline gate. Cinna advanced against him and encamped near him. When Gaius Marius heard of all this he sailed to Etruria with his fellow-exiles and about 500 slaves who had joined their masters from Rome. Still squalid and long-haired, he marched through the towns presenting a pitiable appearance, descanting on his battles, his victories over the Cimbri, and his six consulships; and what was extremely pleasing to them, promising, with all appearance of genuineness, to be faithful to their interests in the matter of the vote. In this way he collected 6000 Etruscans and reached Cinna, who received him gladly because of their common interest in the present enterprise. After joining forces they encamped on the banks of the Tiber and divided their army into three parts: Cinna and Carbo opposite the city, Sertorius above it, and Marius toward the sea. The two latter threw bridges across the river in order to cut off the city's food-supply. Marius captured and plundered Ostia, while Cinna sent a force and captured Ariminum in order to prevent an army coming to the city from the subject Gauls.

The consuls were alarmed. They needed more troops, but they were unable to summon Sulla because he had already crossed over to Asia. They, however, ordered Caecilius Metellus, who was carrying on what was left of the Social War against the Samnites, to make peace on the best terms he could, and come to the rescue of his beleaguered country. But Metellus would not agree to the Samnites' demands, and when Marius heard of this he made an engagement with them to grant all that they asked from Metellus. In this way the Samnites also became allies of Marius. Appius Claudius, a military tribune, who had command of the defences of Rome at the Janiculum hill, had once received a favour from Marius of which the latter now reminded him, in consequence of which he admitted him into the city, opening a gate for him at about daybreak. Then Marius admitted Cinna. They were at once thrust out by Octavius and Pompeius, who attacked them together, but a severe thunder-storm broke upon the camp of Pompeius, and he was killed by lightning together with others of the nobility.

After Marius had stopped the passage of food-supplies from the sea, or by way of the river from above, he hastened to attack the neighbouring towns where grain was stored for the Romans. He fell upon their garrisons unexpectedly and captured Antium, Aricia, Lanuvium, and others. There were some also that were delivered up to him by treachery.

Having in this manner obtained command of their supplies by land, he advanced boldly against Rome, by the Appian Way, before any other supplies were brought to them by another route. He and Cinna, and their lieutenant-generals, Carbo and Sertorius, halted at a distance of 100 stades from the city and went into camp, but Octavius, Crassus, and Metellus had taken position against them at the Alban Mount, where they watched eventualities. Although they considered themselves superior in bravery and numbers, they hesitated to risk, through haste, their country's fate on the hazard of a single battle. Cinna sent heralds round the city to offer freedom to slaves who would desert to him, and forthwith a large number did desert. The Senate was alarmed, and, anticipating the most serious consequences from the people if the scarcity of cornº should be protracted, changed its mind and sent envoys to Cinna to treat for peace. He asked them whether they came to him as a consul or as a private citizen. They were at a loss for an answer and went back to the city; and now a large number of citizens flocked to Cinna, some from fear of famine, and others because they had been previously favourable to his party and had been waiting to see which way the scales would turn.

Cinna now began to despise his enemies and drew near to the wall, halting out of range, and encamped. Octavius and his party were undecided and fearful, and hesitated to attack him on account of the desertions and the negotiations. The Senate was greatly perplexed and considered it a dreadful thing to depose Lucius Merula, the priest of Jupiter, who had been chosen consul in place of Cinna, and who had done nothing wrong in his office. Yet on account of the impending danger it reluctantly sent envoys to Cinna again, and this time as consul. They no longer expected favourable terms, so they only asked that Cinna should swear to them that he would abstain from bloodshed. He refused to take the oath, but he promised nevertheless that he would not willingly be the cause of anybody's death. He directed, however, that Octavius, who had gone round and entered the city by another gate,

should keep away from the forum lest anything should befall him against his own will. This answer he delivered to the envoys from a high platform in his character as consul. Marius stood in silence beside the curule chair, but showed by the asperity of his countenance the slaughter he contemplated. When the Senate had accepted these terms and had invited Cinna and Marius to enter (for it was understood that, while it was Cinna's name which appeared, the moving spirit was Marius), the latter said with a scornful smile that it was not lawful for men banished to enter. Forthwith, the tribunes voted to repeal the decree of banishment against him and all the others who were expelled under the consulship of Sulla.

iv. The Cinnan-Marius Regime

Accordingly, Cinna and Marius entered the city and everybody received them with fear. Straightway they began to plunder without hindrance all the goods of those who were supposed to be of the opposite party. Cinna and Marius had sworn to Octavius, and the augurs and soothsayers had predicted that he would suffer no harm, yet his friends advised him to fly. He replied that he would never desert the city while he was consul. So he withdrew from the forum to the Janiculum with the nobility and what was left of his army, where he occupied the curule chair and wore the robes of office, attended as consul by lictors. Here he was attacked by Censorinus with a body of horse, and again his friends and the soldiers who stood by him urged him to fly and brought him his horse, but he disdained even to arise, and awaited death. Censorinus cut off his head and carried it to Cinna, and it was suspended in the forum in front of the rostra, the first head of a consul that was so exposed. After him the heads of others who were slain were suspended there; and this shocking custom, which began with Octavius, was not discontinued, but was handed down to subsequent massacres.

Now, the victors sent out spies to search for their enemies of the senatorial and equestrian orders. When any knights were killed no further attention was paid to them, but all the heads of senators were exposed in front of the rostra. Neither reverence for the gods, nor the indignation of men, nor the fear of odium for their acts existed any longer among them. After committing savage deeds they turned to godless sights. They killed remorselessly and severed the necks of men already dead, and they paraded these horrors before the public eye, either to inspire fear and terror, or for a godless spectacle.

Burial was not permitted to any of the slain, but the bodies of men like these were torn in pieces by birds and dogs. There was, too, much private and irresponsible murder committed by the factions upon each other. There were banishments, and confiscations of property, and depositions from office, and a repeal of the laws enacted during Sulla's consulship. All Sulla's friends were put to death, his house was razed to the ground, his property confiscated, and himself voted a public enemy. Search was made for his wife and children, but they escaped. Altogether nothing was wanted to complete these wide-spread miseries.

To crown all, under the similitude of legal authority after so many had been put to death without trial, accusers were suborned to make false charges against Merula, the priest

of Jupiter, who was hated because he had been the successor of Cinna in the consulship, although he had committed no other fault. Accusation was also brought against Lutatius Catulus, who had been the colleague of Marius in the war against the Cimbri, and whose life Marius had once saved. It was alleged that he had been very ungrateful to Marius and had been very bitter against him when he was banished. These men were put under secret surveillance, and when the day for holding court arrived were summoned to trial (the proper way was to put the accused under arrest after they had been cited four times at certain fixed intervals), but Merula had opened his veins, and a tablet lying at his side showed that when he cut his veins he had removed his flamen's cap, for it was accounted a sin for the priest to wear it at his death. Catulus of free will suffocated himself with burning charcoal in a chamber newly plastered and still moist. So these two men perished. The slaves who had joined Cinna in answer to his proclamation and had thereupon been freed and were at this time enrolled in the army by Cinna himself, broke into and plundered houses, and killed persons whom they met in the street, some of them attacking their own masters particularly. After Cinna had forbidden this several times, but without avail, he surrounded them with his Gallic soldiery one night while they were taking their rest, and killed them all.

Thus did the slaves receive fit punishment for their repeated treachery to their masters. The following year Cinna was chosen consul for the second time, and Marius for the seventh; so that, notwithstanding his banishment and the price on his head, the augury of the seven eaglets proved true for him. But he died in the first month of his consulship, while forming all sorts of terrible designs against Sulla. Cinna caused Valerius Flaccus to be chosen in his place and sent him to Asia, and when Flaccus lost his life he chose Carbo as his fellow-consul.

k. Sullanum Regnum 83–82 BC

i. Sulla Redux and the Fall of the Cinnans

Sulla now hastened his return to meet his enemies, having quickly finished the war with Mithridates. Within less than three years he had killed 160,000 men, recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other countries that Mithridates had previously occupied, taken the king's fleet away from him, and from such vast possessions restricted him to his paternal kingdom alone. He returned with a large and well-disciplined army, devoted to him and elated by its exploits. He had an abundance of ships, money, and apparatus suitable for all emergencies, and was an object of terror to his enemies. Carbo and Cinna were in such fear of him that they dispatched emissaries to all parts of Italy to collect money, soldiers, and supplies. They took the leading citizens into friendly intercourse and appealed especially to the newly created citizens of the towns, pretending that it was on their account that they were threatened with the present danger. They began at once to repair the ships, recalled those that were in Sicily, guarded to the coast, and with fear and haste they, for their part, made preparations of every kind.

Sulla wrote to the Senate in a tone of superiority recounting what he had done in Africa in the war against Jugurtha the Numidian while still quaestor, as lieutenant in the

Cimbric war, as praetor in Cilicia and in the Social war, and as consul. Most of all he dwelt upon his recent victories in the Mithridatic war, enumerating to them the many nations which had been under Mithridates and which he had recovered for the Romans. Of nothing did he make more account than that those who had been banished from Rome by Cinna had fled to him, and that he had received them in their helplessness and supported them in their affliction. In return for this, he said, he had been declared a public enemy by his foes, his house had been destroyed, his friends put to death, and his wife and children had with difficulty made their escape to him. He would be there presently to take vengeance, on behalf of themselves and of the entire city, upon the guilty ones. He assured the other citizens, and the new citizens, that he would make no complaint against them.

When the letters were read fear fell upon all, and they began sending messengers to reconcile him with his enemies and to tell him in advance that, if he wanted any security, he should write to the Senate at once. They ordered Cinna and Carbo to cease recruiting soldiers until Sulla's answer should be received. They promised to do so, but as soon as the messengers had gone they proclaimed themselves consuls for the ensuing year so that they need not come back to the city earlier to hold the election. They traversed Italy, collecting soldiers whom they carried across by detachments on shipboard to Liburnia, which was to act as their base against Sulla.

The first detachment had a prosperous voyage. The next encountered a storm, and those who reached land again escaped home immediately, as they did not relish the prospect of fighting their fellow-citizens. When the rest learned this they too refused to cross to Liburnia. Cinna was indignant and called them to an assembly in order to terrify them, and they assembled, angry also and ready to defend themselves. One of the lictors, who was clearing the road for Cinna, struck somebody who was in the way and one of the soldiers struck the lictor. Cinna ordered the arrest of the offender, whereupon a clamour rose on all sides, stones were thrown at him, and those who were near him drew their dirks and stabbed him. So Cinna also perished during his consulship. Carbo recalled those who had been sent over by ship to Liburnia, and, through fear of what was taking place, did not go back to the city, although the tribunes summoned him with urgency to hold an election for the choice of a colleague. However, when they threatened to reduce him to the rank of a private citizen he came back and ordered the holding of the consular election, but as the omens were unfavourable he postponed it to another day. On that day lightning struck the temples of Luna and of Ceres; so the augurs prorogued the comitia beyond the summer solstice, and Carbo remained sole consul.

Sulla answered those who came to him from the Senate, saying that he would never be on friendly terms with the men who had committed such crimes, but would not prevent the city from extending clemency to them. As for security he said that he, with a devoted army, could better furnish lasting security to them, and to those who had fled to his camp, than they to him; whereby it was made plain in a single sentence that he would not disband his army, but was now contemplating supreme power. He demanded of them his former dignity, his property, and the priesthood, and that they should restore to him in full measure whatever

other honours he had previously held. He sent some of his own men with the Senate's messengers to confer about these matters, but they, learning at Brundusium that Cinna was dead and that Rome was in an unsettled state, went back to Sulla without transacting their business. He then started with five legions of Italian troops and 6000 horse, to whom he added some other forces from the Peloponnesus and Macedonia, in all about 40,000 men, from the Piraeus to Patrae, and then sailed from Patrae to Brundusium in 1600 ships. The Brundusians received him without a fight, for which favour he afterward gave them exemption from customs-duties, which they enjoy to this day. Then he put his army in motion and went forward.

He was met on the road by Caecilius Metellus Pius, who had been chosen some time before to finish the Social War, but did not return to the city for fear of Cinna and Marius. He had been awaiting in Libya the turn of events, and now offered himself as a volunteer ally with the force under his command, as he was still a proconsul; for those who have been chosen to this office may retain it till they come back to Rome. After Metellus came Gnaeus Pompeius, who not long afterward was surnamed the Great, son of the Pompeius who was killed by lightning and who was supposed to be unfriendly to Sulla. The son removed this suspicion by coming with a legion which he had collected from the territory of Picenum owing to the reputation of his father, who had been very influential there. A little later he recruited two more legions and became Sulla's right-hand man in these affairs. So Sulla held him in honour, though still very young; and they say he never rose at the entrance of any other than this youth. When the war was nearly finished Sulla sent him to Africa to drive out the party of Carbo and to restore Hiempsal (who had been expelled by the Numidians) to his kingdom. For this service Sulla allowed him a triumph over the Numidians, although he was under age, and was still in the equestrian order. From this beginning Pompeius achieved greatness, being sent against Sertorius in Spain and later against Mithridates in Pontus. Cethegus also joined Sulla, although with Cinna and Marius he had been violently hostile to him and had been driven out of the city with them. He now turned suppliant, and offered his services to Sulla in any capacity he might desire.

Sulla now had plenty of soldiers and plenty of friends of the higher orders, whom he used as lieutenants. He and Metellus marched in advance, being both proconsuls, for it seems that Sulla, who had been appointed proconsul against Mithridates, had at no time hitherto laid down his command, although he had been voted a public enemy at the instance of Cinna. Now Sulla moved against his enemies with a most intense yet concealed hatred. The people in the city, who formed a pretty fair judgment of the character of the man, and who remembered his former attack and capture of the city, and who took into account the decrees they had proclaimed against him, and who had witnessed the destruction of his house, the confiscation of his property, the killing of his friends, and the narrow escape of his family, were in a state of terror. Conceiving that there was no middle ground between victory and utter destruction, they united with the consuls to resist Sulla, but with trepidation. They dispatched messengers throughout Italy to collect soldiers, provisions, and money, and, as in cases of extreme peril, they omitted nothing that zeal and earnestness could suggest.

Gaius Norbanus and Lucius Scipio, who were then the consuls, and with them Carbo, who had been consul the previous year (all of them moved by equal hatred of Sulla and more alarmed than others because they knew that they were more to blame for what had been done), levied the best possible army from the city, joined with it the Italian army, and marched against Sulla in detachments. They had 200 cohorts of 500 men at first, and their forces were considerably augmented afterward. For the sympathies of the people were much in favour of the consuls, because the action of Sulla, who was marching against his country, seemed to be that of an enemy, while that of the consuls, even if they were working for themselves, was ostensibly the cause of the republic. Many persons, too, who knew that they had shared the guilt, and who believed that they could not despise the fears, of the consuls, co-operated with them. They knew very well that Sulla was not meditating merely punishment, correction, and alarm for them, but destruction, death, confiscation, and wholesale extermination. In this they were not mistaken, for the war ruined everyone. From 10,000 to 20,000 men were slain in a single battle more than once. Fifty thousand on both sides lost their lives round the city, and to the survivors Sulla was unsparing in severity, both to individuals and to communities, until, finally, he made himself the undisputed master of the whole Roman government, so far as he wished or cared to be.

It seems, too, that divine providence foretold to them the results of this war. Mysterious terrors came upon many, both in public and in private, throughout all Italy. Ancient, awe-inspiring oracles were remembered. Many monstrous things happened. A mule foaled, a woman gave birth to a viper instead of a child. There was a severe earthquake divinely sent and some of the temples in Rome were thrown down (the Romans being in any case very seriously disposed towards such things). The Capitol, that had been built by the kings 400 years before, was burned down, and nobody could discover the cause of the fire. All things seemed to point to the multitude of coming slaughters, to the conquest of Italy and of the Romans themselves, to the capture of the city, and to constitutional change.

This war began as soon as Sulla arrived at Brundusium, which was in the 174th Olympiad. Considering the magnitude of the operations, its length was not great, compared with wars of this size in general, since the combatants rushed upon each other with the fury of private enemies. For this special reason greater and more distressing calamities than usual befell those who took part in it in a short space of time, because they rushed to meet their troubles. Nevertheless, the war lasted three years in Italy alone, until Sulla had secured the supreme power, but in Spain it continued even after Sulla's death.

ii. The Dictatorship of Sulla and its Consequences

After Sulla seized power in Italy, he entered the city of Rome. He himself called the Roman people together in an assembly and made them a speech, vaunting his own exploits and making other menacing statements in order to inspire terror. He finished by saying that he would bring about a change which would be beneficial to the people if they would obey him, but of his enemies he would spare none, but would visit them with the utmost severity. He would take vengeance by strong measures on the praetors, quaestors, military tribunes, and

everybody else who had committed any hostile act after the day when the consul Scipio violated the agreement made with him. After saying this he forthwith proscribed about forty senators and 1600 knights. He seems to have been the first to make a formal list of those whom he punished, to offer prizes to assassins and rewards to informers, and to threaten with punishment those who should conceal the proscribed. Shortly afterward, he added the names of other senators to the proscription. Some of these, taken unawares, were killed wherever they were caught, in their houses, in the streets, or in the temples. Others were hurled through mid-air and thrown at Sulla's feet. Others were dragged through the city and trampled on, none of the spectators daring to utter a word of remonstrance against these horrors. Banishment was inflicted upon some and confiscation upon others. Spies were searching everywhere for those who had fled from the city, and those whom they caught they killed.

There was much massacre, banishment, and confiscation also among those Italians who had obeyed Carbo, or Marius, or Norbanus, or their lieutenants. Severe judgments of the courts were rendered against them throughout all Italy on various charges — for exercising military command, for serving in the army, for contributing money, for rendering other service, or even giving counsel against Sulla. Hospitality, private friendship, the borrowing or lending of money, were alike accounted crimes. Now and then one would be arrested for doing a kindness to a suspect, or merely for being his companion on a journey. These accusations abounded mostly against the rich. When charges against individuals failed Sulla took vengeance on whole communities. He punished some of them by demolishing their citadels, or destroying their walls, or by imposing fines and crushing them by heavy contributions. Among most of them he placed colonies of his troops in order to hold Italy under garrisons, sequestrating their lands and houses and dividing them among his soldiers, whom he thus made true to him even after his death. As they could not be secure in their own holdings unless all Sulla's system were on a firm foundation, they were his stoutest champions even after he died.

While the affairs of Italy were in this state, Pompey sent a force and captured Carbo, who had fled with many persons of distinction from Africa to Sicily and thence to the island of Cossyra. He ordered his officers to kill anyone of the others without bringing them into his presence; but Carbo, "the three times consul," he caused to be brought before his feet in chains, and after making a public harangue at him, murdered him and sent his head to Sulla.

When everything had been accomplished against his enemies as he desired, and there was no longer any hostile force except that of Sertorius, who was far distant, Sulla sent Metellus into Spain against him and seized upon everything in the city to suit himself. There was no longer any occasion for laws, or elections, or for casting lots, because everybody was shivering with fear and in hiding, or dumb. Everything that Sulla had done as consul, or as proconsul, was confirmed and ratified, and his gilded equestrian statue was erected in front of the rostra with the inscription, "Cornelius Sulla, the ever Fortunate," for so his flatterers called him on account of his unbroken success against his enemies. And this flattering title still attaches to him.

Thus Sulla became king, or tyrant, *de facto*, not elected, but holding power by force and violence.

Even after his death, the impact of the fear he instilled in people continued. Despite his dictatorship, he was remembered as a noble king. His funeral was carried to Campus Martius, where only kings were buried, and the knights and the army marched past the funeral fire. One of the most infamous aspects of Sulla's dictatorship was his use of the proscriptions, which were essentially a form of political execution. It seems he might be the first person and first king to use proscription in his reign. And among the things Sulla left behind, we cannot forget the significant and lasting reforms. What wouldn't a man do for his fatherland?

03. Chronology of Events Until Sulla's Dictatorship

133 BC: Assassination of Tiberius Gracchus
112-105 BC: Jugurthine War
107 BC: Marius Gaius' Election as a Consul
105 BC: Sulla's Rise, in Jugurthine War
104–100 BC: Marian Reforms and Rise of Marius
91-87 BC: *Bellum Sociale*, "War of the Allies"
89-85 BC: First Mithridatic War
88 BC: Sulla's First March on Rome
87 BC: Massacre of the Romans and Italians in Asia
87-86 BC: Sulla's Siege of Athens and Piraeus
87–85 BC: Marian Revenge and Civil War
86 BC: Battle of Chaeronea
85 BC: Battle of Orchomenus
85 BC: Treaty of Dardanos
83–82 BC: Sulla's Return and Second Civil War
82 BC: *Sullanum Regnum*, Dictatorship of Sulla

04. More Thorough Examination of the Quadripartite of Factions

a. The Roman Senate, under the opposing factions of the Senate

Et tu, Brute, et tu?

In this cabinet, you will experience a period of crisis, starting with the assassination of Tiberius Gracchus, full of betrayals, deceptions and backstabbing. During this period, the Roman Republic will face major political, economic and social upheavals. Demands for social reform, territorial politics, tensions between patricians and plebeians, threats from the east and civil wars will severely test the influence and authority of the Senate and you, the delegates.

As a Roman senator, you are expected to maintain the stability of the state by developing effective policies against internal and external factors that threaten the stability of the Republic, to respond to the demands of the people by preserving the aristocratic structure of Rome and to ensure reconciliation, and to control the popular movements in Italy and to evaluate reforms without undermining the authority of the Senate. You will also need to develop appropriate diplomatic and military strategies against external threats such as Mithridates and the Pontic Kingdom.

In order to succeed in this challenging period, you will need to analyze political and social dynamics well. Your knowledge of the Roman legal system, land reforms, the politics of the Gracchus brothers, the conflict between Sulla and Marius, the Mithridates Wars and the aristocratic structure of Rome will be an important asset, so we recommend that you do your research before coming to the committee.

Do not forget that the Senate is the oldest and most powerful institution of the Republic. The decisions you make will determine not only the future of Rome, but also the course of history. It is therefore of the utmost importance that you carefully consider the short and long term consequences of each of your actions. Always be on the lookout for betrayals. Rome's glory and future are in your hands!

Vivat Senatus!

b. Sulla’s Legions, led by Lucius Cornelius Sulla

In this cabinet, the internal turmoil that began with Tiberius Gracchus' attempts at reform has dragged the Roman Republic to the brink of a turbulent period. Throughout this period, Rome will face not only internal unrest but also threats from the east, such as Mithridates and the Pontic Kingdom. It is at this point that Sulla's Legion must step up to the plate as the most loyal allies of Lucius Cornelius Sulla, Rome's strongest defender and perhaps one of its most controversial figures. You, as the delegates of Sulla's Legion, will bridge the military might, political maneuvering and moral dilemmas of this historic period. Under Sulla's leadership, it will be in your hands to guide the legions' discipline on the battlefield and influence in Roman politics.

As Mithridates and the Kingdom of Pontus challenge Roman authority in the east and threaten Roman sovereignty, your strategic judgment and military genius will be essential to prevent Rome from losing territory to Mithridates and to protect the sacred borders.

You will also have to deal with the civil unrest that began with the reforms of Tiberius Gracchus. The tension between the Italian People and the Roman Senate will be a political battle for Sulla's Legion. Your loyalty to the Legion and consistency in your strategic decisions will determine your fate as Sulla moves towards dictatorship.

Aim for victory both on the battlefield and in the political arena. In the process, you will need to balance Rome's interests with your own principles. This balance will either elevate you to godhood and preserve Rome's honor, or it will lead you to hell. Be careful and keep your balance.

Ave Roma!

c. The Kingdom of Pontus, led by Mithridates VI Eupator

Rome is about to collapse from within. Turning this critical moment into an opportunity can change the fate of the Kingdom of Pontus forever, like the touch of Midas. It is up to you to take advantage of Rome's internal turmoil to protect your kingdom's interests and expand your borders.

In this cabinet, the delegates will confront the historical threat of Rome and try to use the political turmoil that has erupted in Rome since the assassination of Tiberius Gracchus to their advantage. The divisions between Sulla's legions, the Roman senate and the Italian population provide a unique platform for Pontus to defend its interests and gain power in the region. The alliances you make with the Senate, the legions or the Italian people will determine the future of the war as you take advantage of Rome's internal strife to strengthen your kingdom's political position.

You, as the delegates, are expected to counter Rome's threats of invasion or gain the upper hand on Roman territory under Mithridates' leadership. Plan the movement of armies carefully and use resources efficiently. Also look for ways to ensure the welfare and loyalty of the people inside the Kingdom of Pontus. Preventing unrest in your own territory is as important as occupying new territories.

Remember, it will not be enough just to protect your own interests, you must seize the opportunities that arise from Rome's turmoil and do everything you can to make Pontus a superpower in the Mediterranean. Whether through diplomacy or war, you will need to skillfully balance the future of the Kingdom of Pontus with the policies of the Roman Republic. Success can only be achieved with a sharp mind and strong determination.

Fortes fortuna juvat ou Audaces fortuna adiuvat!

d. Italian Separatists, led by Gaius Papius Mutilus

Independence, liberty, rights! Small, stinky Roman tights!

In this cabinet, you will try to take your share in Rome's turbulent period, which began with the assassination of Tiberius Gracchus, and seek your natural rights as a Roman citizen. You will organize independence movements in the Italian Peninsula against the

central authority of the Roman Republic, defend the rights of the local population and try to build a future that best protects your interests.

Delegates, as Italian Separatists, are expected to stand against the injustices of Rome's system of governance and the exploitation of Italy's indigenous peoples by the center. Problems such as taxes, conscription and exclusion from civil rights are the main motivations for your movement. In this context, you must remember that your struggle is not only a quest for political rights, but also a defense of your cultural identity and a revolt against economic injustices. In resisting the system, you must first organize yourself by using the power of your population, and then show the Roman Senate, using the Plebeian Assembly, and the Roman authority, using your population, what you are capable of.

Remember that freedom cannot be won only in the military arena, your real test will be within yourself.

Fortis et liber!