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

Table of Contents

- **ii.** Cinna’s Coup d'état
- **iii.** Return of Gaius Marius & Siege of Rome
- **iv.** The Cinnan-Marius Regime

k. Sullanum Regnum 83–82 BC

- **i.** Sulla Redux and the Fall of the Cinnans
- **ii.** The Dictatorship of Sulla and its Consequences

03. Chronology of Events Until Sulla’s Dictatorship

04. More Thorough Examination of the Quadripartite of Factions

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

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

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

d. Italian Separatists, led by Gaius Papius Mutilus

1. 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.

2. Historical Background & Events of the Late Republic
    a. Tiberius Gracchus & Attempts at Reform
        i. Roman Land in the Second Century

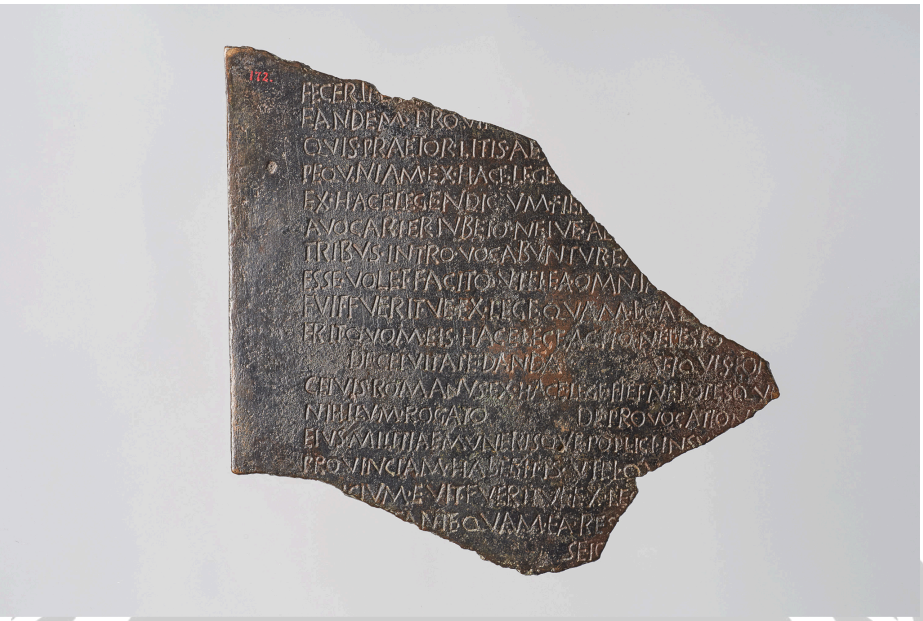
The Romans, as they subdued the Italian people successively in war, used to seize a part of their lands and build towns there, or enrol colonists of their own to occupy those already existing, and their idea was to use these as outposts; but of the land acquired by war they assigned the cultivated part directly to the colonists, or sold or leased it. Since they had no leisure as yet to allot the part which then lay desolated by war (this was generally the greater part), they made proclamation that in the meantime those who were willing to work it might do so for a toll of the yearly crops, a tenth of the grain and a fifth of the fruit. From those who kept flocks was required a toll of the animals, both oxen and small cattle. They did these things in order to multiply the Italian race, which they considered the most laborious of people, so that they might have plenty of allies at home. But the very opposite thing happened; for the rich, getting possession of the greater part of the undistributed lands, and being emboldened by the lapse of time to believe that they would never be dispossessed, absorbing any adjacent strips and their poor neighbours' allotments, partly by purchase under persuasion and partly by force, came to cultivate vast tracts instead of single estates, using

slaves as labourers and herdsmen, for fear that the free labourers would be drawn from agriculture into the army. At the same time the ownership of slaves brought them great gain from the multitude of their lineage, which increased because they were freed from the responsibility of military service. Thus certain powerful men became extremely rich and the race of slaves multiplied throughout the country, while the Italian people dwindled in numbers and strength, being oppressed by destitution, taxes, and military service. If they had any breather from these evils they passed their time in idleness, because the land was held by the rich, who employed slaves instead of freemen as cultivators.

For these reasons the people became troubled for fear that they should no longer have sufficient allies of the Italian stock, and for fear that the government itself should be endangered by such a vast number of slaves. As they did not perceive any remedy, for it was not easy, nor in any way just, to deprive men of so many possessions they had held so long, including their own trees, buildings, and fixtures, a law was at last passed with difficulty at the instance of the tribunes, that nobody should hold more than 500 jugera(approximately 1.26 km²) of this land(ager publicus), or pasture on it more than 100 cattle or 500 sheep. To ensure the observance of this law it was provided also that there should be a certain number of freemen employed on the farms, whose business it should be to watch and report what was going on.

ii. The Land-bill of Tiberius Gracchus, Lex Agraria

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.

iii. Aftermath of Tiberius' Death

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.

b. Constitutional System of the Late Republic

i. The Roman Senate during the 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.

ii. Citizens' Assemblies of the Roman Republic

The Roman Republic had three main assemblies: the Comitia Centuriata (Centuriate Assembly), the Comitia Tributa (Tribal Assembly), and the Concilium Plebis (Plebeian Council). Each played a unique role in governance and represented different segments of Roman society. While they were intended to ensure citizen participation, these assemblies were far from egalitarian. Wealth and social class often dictated the degree of influence a citizen could exert.

1. Comitia Centuriata

The Centuriate Assembly (comitia centuriata) of the Roman Republic was one of three voting assemblies in the Roman constitution. It originally divided Roman citizens into groups of 100 men based on military status and later wealth. The Assembly had legislative, electoral, and judicial functions, with each century receiving one vote, and decisions were made by majority rule within centuries. It could declare war, elect consuls, praetors, and censors, serve as the highest court of appeal in cases like perduellio, and ratify census results.

The Assembly was presided over by a Roman magistrate with near-absolute power, subject only to vetoes from other magistrates. It functioned through direct democracy, with citizen-electors voting directly. The Centuriate Assembly was classified as a Committee (comitia), where acts applied universally, unlike Conventions (conventio), which were unofficial forums.

Voting procedures required prior notice, debates in Conventions, and then formal voting in centuries. Magistrates resolved disputes and interpreted omens, often used to influence proceedings. Votes were cast via pebbles or written ballots, and the process could restart if unresolved by nightfall. The Assembly often convened outside the city on the Campus Martius due to its large size.

The Servian organization, attributed to King Servius Tullius, structured the Assembly to mirror the Roman army, grouping citizens by property and military roles into centuries. Wealthier classes held greater influence due to disproportionate representation. The Assembly had 193 centuries, including officers, enlisted classes (divided by property into five classes), and unarmed citizens.

The Assembly was reorganized between 241 and 216 BC, increasing to 373 centuries by dividing the 35 tribes into 10 centuries each, with representation based on property

classes. Aristocratic control diminished slightly, but lower classes still rarely voted. Under Sulla (82–80 BC), the Assembly reverted to the Servian organization to reinforce aristocratic dominance, though this was repealed in 70 BC under Pompey and Crassus.

2. Comitia Tributa

The Tribal Assembly (Comitia Tributa) was an assembly consisting of all Roman citizens convened by tribes (tribus).

In the Roman Republic, citizens did not elect legislative representatives. Instead, they voted themselves on legislative matters in the popular assemblies (the Comitia Centuriata, the Comitia Tributa, and the plebeian council). Bills were proposed by magistrates and the citizens only exercised their right to vote.

In the Tribal Assembly, citizens were organized on the basis of thirty-five tribes: four urban tribes of the citizens in the city of Rome, and thirty-one rural tribes of citizens outside the city. Each tribe voted separately and one after the other. In each tribe, decisions were made by majority vote, and its decision counted as one vote regardless of how many electors each tribe held. Once a majority of tribes had voted in the same way on a given measure, the voting ended, and the matter was decided.

The Tribal Assembly was chaired by a magistrate, usually a consul or praetor. The presiding magistrate made all decisions on matters of procedure and legality. His power over the assembly could be nearly absolute. One check on his power came in the form of vetoes by other magistrates. Also, any decision made by a presiding magistrate could be vetoed by the plebeian tribunes.

The Tribal Assembly elected the quaestors, and the curule aediles. It conducted trials for non-capital crimes. However, the dictator Lucius Cornelius Sulla gave this responsibility to special jury courts (quaestiones perpetuae) in 82 BC. There are disagreements among modern historians regarding the number and nature of the tribal assembly.

The convening of the assembly was announced three market-days (nundinae) in advance. The viatores (messengers) were sent "to inform those in country districts" about the convening of the assembly. Later, for elections it was established that there should be a trinundinum, an interval of at least three market-days between the announcement of the election and the vote of the assembly, during which no legislation was permitted. The lex Caecilia Didia of 98 BC required a trinundinum interval between the announcement of a law and the vote. In the case of prosecutions before an assembly, the presiding magistrate was required to give notice (diem dicere) to the accused of the first day of the investigation (inquisitio), then at the end of each hearing he announced the adjournment to the next (diem prodicere). After this, there was a trinundinum interval before the assembly voted the verdict.

On the day of the vote, the tribes convened at dawn. The meeting started with a prayer, unaccompanied by sacrifice. For legislative meetings, the presiding magistrate was the one who proposed the bill (rogatio legis) to be voted on, and after the prayer he laid his bill before the people. For electoral meetings, he announced the names of the candidates. If the meeting was for a trial, he acquainted the people with the nature of the offence on which the people had to pass a verdict. He concluded the announcement with the words velitis, jubeatis Quirites (command your wish, citizens). A rogatio was read out by the praeco (the crier or herald). Then the contio begun. The voters were not sorted into their tribes. For legislative matters there was a debate on the rogatio in which private citizens had to ask the presiding magistrate for permission to speak. This debate took place before the bill was vetoed or put to the vote. If the vote was for an election, the candidates used the contio for canvassing, and there were no speeches by private citizens.

After the above, the voters were told to break up the contio and to arrange themselves by the tribes with the formula discedite, quirites (depart to your separate groups, citizens). The tribes voted one by one. The voters assembled in enclosures called saepta and voted by placing a pebble or written ballot into an appropriate jar. The baskets (cistae) that held the votes were watched by officers (the custodes) who then counted the ballots and reported the results to the presiding magistrate. The majority of votes in each tribe decided how that tribe voted. The presiding magistrate (either a consul or a praetor) ensured that each tribe had at least five members voting; if a tribe did not, then individuals from other tribes were reassigned to the vacant places in that tribe. The order in which the tribes voted was determined by lot. An urn into which lots were cast was brought in. From this point, the plebeian tribunes were not allowed to exercise their right to veto. The first tribe to vote was called praerogativa or principium and the result of its vote was announced immediately. The tribes which voted next were called jure vocatae. When a majority of tribes had voted the same way, voting ended. The results of votes of each tribe was announced in an order also determined by lot before the announcement of the final result. This announcement was called renuntiatio. The praerogativa or principium was usually the most important tribe, because it often decided the matter through a bandwagon effect. It was believed that the order of the lot was chosen by the gods, and thus, that the position held by the tribes which voted earlier was the position of the gods. If the voting process was not complete by nightfall, the electors were dismissed, and the voting had to begin again the next day. Laws passed by the comitia took effect as soon as the results were announced.

The location of the meetings of the Tribal Assembly varied. Up to 145 BC, they were centred on the comitium, a templum (open-air space) built for public meetings at the north end of the Roman Forum. The rostra, a speaking platform on the southern side of the comitium, was used for speeches. It was also used as a tribunal; that is, as a platform to deliver the votes. Once this place became too crowded, the steps of the Temple of Castor and Pollux at the forum's south-east end were used as the tribunal. Elevated gangways (pontes) which provided access to the tribunal were built by the second century BC. Meetings were also sometimes held in the area Capitolina, an open space in front and around the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus, on the southern summit of the Capitoline Hill. In the late

Republic, the meetings were held outside the city walls, at the Campus Martius (the Field of Mars), a large flat area that could accommodate the simultaneous voting of all the tribes, thus speeding up the process.

3. Concilium Plebis

The Concilium Plebis (translated variously as the Plebeian Council, Plebeian Assembly, People's Assembly, or Council of the Plebs) served as the principal legislative and judicial assembly of the common citizenry within the ancient Roman Republic. Through this august body, the plebeians—Rome's vast population of commoners—possessed the means to enact legislation (known as plebiscites), elect plebeian officials such as tribunes and aediles, and adjudicate judicial matters. Initially organized along the lines of the Curiae, this assembly underwent a pivotal transformation in 471 BC, when it adopted an organizational structure predicated on residential districts, or tribes. Customarily, its meetings convened within the well of the Comitium and could only be summoned by the tribune of the plebs. Notably, membership in the Plebeian Council excluded the patrician class.

Upon the establishment of the Roman Republic in 509 BC, Roman society was structured into thirty curiae. According to Plutarch and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, these curiae originated as subdivisions of the three Romulean Tribes, reflecting the familial and ethnic framework of early Roman society. Each curia possessed its own unique festivals, deities, and religious rites, and these units collectively formed the Comitia Curiata (or Curiate Assembly), a legislative body tasked with formally electing Roman kings. During this era, the plebeians—lacking political rights—remained subservient to the patrician class, upon whom they depended for patronage. Although plebeian families were nominally included within the curiae, the power to vote in the Curiate Assembly was restricted solely to patricians.

The Concilium Plebis emerged in conjunction with the creation of the plebeian tribunate in 494 BC. While plebeians likely convened informally prior to this development, such gatherings held no recognized political authority. The institution of the tribunate arose in response to the first secessio plebis, during which plebeians organized themselves to address grievances such as indebtedness, land rights, and military obligations. Following the formal acknowledgment of the tribunate by the patrician class in 492 BC, the plebeians were granted a legitimate assembly. Presided over by the tribune of the plebs, this nascent council—the Plebeian Curiate Assembly—elected plebeian magistrates and enacted plebiscites applicable exclusively to the plebeian populace.

In the waning years of the Roman Kingdom, the constitutional reforms of King Servius Tullius introduced the tribe as a novel organizational unit, intended to streamline military administration. Unlike the ethnically based curiae, these tribes were defined by geographic boundaries. Initially numbering four, the tribes expanded over the centuries to encompass thirty-five. By 471 BC, the plebeians, recognizing the independence afforded by tribal organization, enacted legislation enabling their assembly to reorganize along tribal

lines. Consequently, the Plebeian Curiate Assembly evolved into the Plebeian Tribal Assembly.

The distinction between the Plebeian Tribal Assembly and the broader Tribal Assembly was primarily legal rather than demographic, as the former excluded patricians. Through this institution, plebeians gradually accrued significant power. Milestones in their ascent included the Lex Publilia of 339 BC, which established the binding legal authority of plebiscites, and the Lex Hortensia of 287 BC, which extended their applicability to all Roman citizens, including patricians. During this period, plebeian tribunes and aediles, elected within the Plebeian Council, emerged as critical advocates for plebeian interests.

However, this ascendancy was not without interruption. In 88 BC, the reforms of Sulla transferred legislative authority from the tribal assemblies to the Comitia Centuriata, effectively neutralizing the Plebeian Council's influence.

Following the establishment of the Principate in 27 BC, the Plebeian Council persisted nominally, though its legislative, judicial, and electoral functions were largely subsumed by the Senate. Augustus, along with his predecessor Julius Caesar, wielded absolute authority over the council through their perpetual status as tribunes of the plebs. By the reign of Tiberius, the Plebeian Council had effectively faded from prominence.

iii. Executive Magistrates of the Roman Republic

The *cursus honorum* represents the structured progression of political offices within the Roman Republic, shaped over time through various reforms. By 88 BCE, this framework had not yet been altered by the significant changes introduced later by Sulla. In 197 BCE, reforms established six praetors annually and mandated that all consuls be former praetors, thereby formalizing the prerequisites for advancing through the political hierarchy. For the Roman elite, where public achievement was both a duty and a mark of distinction, the *cursus honorum* offered the only legitimate path for ambitious young men to attain power and influence.

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.

c. 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.

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

i. Causes of Italian Desires for the Roman Citizenship

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.

ii. The Ignition of Hostilities

In 91 BC, the so-called Social War, in which many Italian peoples were engaged, broke out. It began unexpectedly, grew rapidly to great proportions and extinguished the Roman sedition for a long time by a new terror. When it was ended it also gave rise to new seditions under more powerful leaders, who did not work by introducing new laws, or by the tricks of the demagogue, but by matching whole armies against each other.

Fulvius Flaccus in his consulship first and foremost openly excited among the Italians the desire for Roman citizenship, so as to be partners in the empire instead of subjects. When he introduced this idea and strenuously persisted in it, the Senate, for that reason, sent him away to take command in a war, in the course of which his consulship expired; but he obtained the tribuneship after that and contrived to have the younger Gracchus for a colleague, with whose co-operation he brought forward other measures in favour of the Italians. When they were both killed, the Italians were still more excited. They could not bear to be considered subjects instead of equals, or to think that Flaccus and Gracchus should have suffered such calamities while working for their political advantage.

After them the tribune Livius Drusus, a man of most illustrious birth, promised the Italians, at their urgent request, that he would bring forward a new law to give them citizenship. They especially desired this because by that one step they would become rulers instead of subjects. In order to conciliate the plebeians to this measure he led out to Italy and Sicily several colonies which had been voted some time before, but not yet planted. He endeavoured to bring together by an agreement the Senate and the equestrian order, who were then in sharp antagonism to each other, in reference to the law courts. As he was not able to restore the courts to the Senate openly, he tried the following artifice to reconcile them. As the senators had been reduced by the seditions to scarcely 300 in number, he brought forward a law that an equal number, chosen according to merit, should be added to their enrolment from the knights, and that the courts of justice should be made up thereafter from the whole number. He added a clause in the law that they should make investigations about bribery, as accusations of that kind were almost unknown, since the custom of bribe-taking prevailed without restraint.

This was the plan that he contrived for both of them, but it turned out contrary to his expectations, for the senators were indignant that so large a number should be added to their enrolment at one time and be transferred from knighthood to the highest rank. They thought it

not unlikely that they would form a faction in the Senate by themselves and contend against the old senators more powerfully than ever. The knights, on the other hand, suspected that, by this doctoring, the courts of justice would be transferred from their order to the Senate exclusively. Having acquired a relish for the great gains and power of the judicial office, this suspicion disturbed them. Most of them, too, fell into doubt and distrust toward each other, discussing which of them seemed more worthy than others to be enrolled among the 300; and envy against their betters filled the breasts of the remainder. Above all the knights were angry at the revival of the charge of bribery, which they thought had been entirely suppressed, so far as they were concerned.

Thus it came to pass that both the Senate and the knights, although opposed to each other, were united in hating Drusus. Only the plebeians were gratified with the colonies. Even the Italians, in whose especial interest Drusus was devising these plans, were apprehensive about the law providing for the colonies, because they thought that the Roman public domain (which was still undivided and which they were cultivating, some by force and others clandestinely) would at once be taken away from them, and that in many cases they might even be disturbed in their private holdings. The Etruscans and the Umbrians had the same fears as the Italians, and when they were summoned to the city, as was thought, by the consuls, for the ostensible purpose of complaining against the law of Drusus, but actually to kill him, they cried down the law publicly and waited for the day of the comitia. Drusus learned of the plot against him and did not go out frequently, but transacted business from day to day in the atrium of his house, which was poorly lit. One evening as he was sending the crowd away he exclaimed suddenly that he was wounded, and fell down while uttering the words. A shoemaker's knife was found thrust into his hip.

Thus Drusus was also slain while serving as tribune. The knights, in order to make his policy a ground of vexatious accusation against their enemies, persuaded the tribune Quintus Varius to bring forward a law to prosecute those who should, either openly or secretly, aid the Italians to acquire citizenship, hoping thus to bring all the senators under an odious indictment, and themselves to sit in judgment on them, and that when they were out of the way they themselves would be more powerful than ever in the government of Rome. When the other tribunes interposed their veto the knights surrounded them with drawn daggers and enacted the measure, whereupon accusers at once brought actions against the most illustrious of the senators. Of these Bestia did not respond, but went into exile voluntarily rather than surrender himself into the hands of his enemies. After him Cotta went before the court, made an impressive defence of his administration of public affairs, and openly reviled the knights. He, too, departed from the city before the vote of the judges was taken. Mummius, the conqueror of Greece, was basely ensnared by the knights, who promised to acquit him, but condemned him to banishment. He spent the remainder of his life at Delos.

As this malice against the aristocracy grew more and more, the people were grieved because they were deprived all at once of so many distinguished men who had rendered such great services. When the Italians learned of the murder of Drusus and of the reasons alleged for banishing the others, they considered it no longer tolerable that those who were labouring

for their political advancement should suffer such outrages, and as they saw no other means of acquiring citizenship they decided to revolt from the Romans altogether, and to make war against them with might and main. They sent envoys secretly to each other, and formed a league, and exchanged hostages as a pledge of good faith.

Vettius Scaton defeated Sextus Julius, killed 200 of his men, and marched against Aesernia, which adhered to Rome. L. Scipio and L. Acilius, who were in command here, escaped in the disguise of slaves. The enemy, after a considerable time, reduced it by famine. Marius Egnatius captured Venafrum by treachery and slew two Roman cohorts there. Publius Presentaeus defeated Perpenna, who had 10,000 men under his command, killed 4000 and captured the arms of the greater part of the others, for which reason the consul Rutilius deprived Perpenna of his command and gave his division of the army to Gaius Marius. Marcus Lamponius destroyed some 800 of the forces under Licinius Crassus and drove the remainder into the town of Grumentum.

Gaius Papius captured Nola by treachery and offered to the 2000 Roman soldiers in it the privilege of serving under him if they would change their allegiance. They did so, but their officers refusing the proposal were taken prisoners and starved to death by Papius. He also captured Stabiae, Minervium and Salernum, which was a Roman colony. The prisoners and the slaves from these places were taken into military service. But when he also plundered the entire country around Nuceria, the towns in the vicinity were struck with terror and submitted to him, and when he demanded military assistance they furnished him about 10,000 foot and 1000 horse. With these Papius laid siege to Acerrae. When Sextus Caesar, with 10,000 Gallic foot and Numidian and Mauretanian horse and foot, advanced towards Acerrae, Papius took a son of Jugurtha, formerly king of Numidia, named Oxynta, who was under charge of a Roman guard at Venusia, led him out of that place, clothed him in royal purple, and showed him frequently to the Numidians who were in Caesar's army. Many of them deserted, as if to their own king, so that Caesar was obliged to send the rest back to Africa, as they were not trustworthy. But when Papius attacked him contemptuously, and had already made a breach in his palisaded camp, Caesar debauched with his horse through the other gates and slew about 6000 of his men, after which Caesar withdrew from Acerrae. Canusia and Venusia and many other towns in Apulia sided with Vidacilius. Some that did not submit he besieged, and he put to death the principal Roman citizens in them, but the common people and the slaves he enrolled in his army.

The consul Rutilius and Gaius Marius built bridges over the River Liris at no great distance from each other. Vettius Scaton pitched his camp opposite them, but nearer to the bridge of Marius, and placed an ambush by night in some ravines near the bridge of Rutilius, Early in the morning, after he had allowed Rutilius to cross the bridge, he started up from ambush and killed a large number of the enemy on the dry land and drove many into the river. In this fight Rutilius himself was wounded in the head by a missile and died soon afterward. Marius was on the other bridge and when he guessed, from the bodies floating down stream, what had happened, he drove back those in his front, crossed the river, and captured the camp of Scaton, which was guarded by only a small force, so that Scaton was

obliged to spend the night where he had won his victory, and to retreat in the morning for want of provisions. The body of Rutilius and those of many other patricians were brought to Rome for burial. The corpses of the consul and his numerous comrades made a piteous spectacle and the mourning lasted many days. The Senate decreed from this time on that those who were killed in war should be buried where they fell, lest others should be deterred by the spectacle from entering the army. When the enemy heard of this they made a similar decree for themselves.

There was no successor to Rutilius in the consulship for the remainder of the year, as Sextus Caesar did not have leisure to go to the city and hold the comitia. The Senate appointed C. Marius and Q. Caepio to command the forces of Rutilius in the field. The opposing general, Q. Popaedius, fled as a pretended deserter to this Caepio. He brought with him and gave as a pledge two slave babies, clad with the purple-bordered garments of free-born children, pretending that they were his own sons. As further confirmation of his good faith he brought masses of lead plated with gold and silver. He urged Caepio to follow him in all haste with his army and capture the hostile army while destitute of a leader, and Caepio was deceived and followed him. When they had arrived at a place where the ambush had been laid, Popaedius ran up to the top of a hill as though he were searching for the enemy, and gave his own men a signal. The latter sprang out of their concealment and cut Caepio and most of his force in pieces; so the Senate joined the rest of Caepio's army to that of Marius.

While Sextus Caesar was passing through a rocky defile with 30,000 foot and 5000 horse Marius Egnatius suddenly fell upon him and drove him back into it. He retired, borne on a litter, as he was ill, to a certain stream where there was only one bridge and there he lost the greater part of his force and the arms of the survivors, only escaping to Teanum with difficulty, where he armed the remainder of his men as best he could. Reinforcements were sent to him speedily and he marched to the relief of Acerrae, which was still besieged by Papius.

There, though their camps were pitched opposite each other, neither dared to attack the other, but Cornelius Sulla and Gaius Marius defeated the Marsians, who had attacked them. They pursued the enemy vigorously as far as the walls enclosing their vineyards. The Marsians scaled these walls with heavy loss, but Marius and Sulla did not deem it wise to follow them farther. Cornelius Sulla was encamped on the other side of these enclosures, and when he knew what had happened he came out to meet the Marsians, as they tried to escape, and he also killed a great number. More than 6000 Marsians were slain that day, and the arms of a still greater number were captured by the Romans.

The Marsians were rendered as furious as wild beasts by this disaster. They armed their forces again and prepared to march against the enemy, but did not dare to take the offensive or begin a battle. They are a very warlike race, and it is said that no triumph was ever awarded for a victory over them except for this single disaster. There had been up to this time a saying, "No triumph over Marsians or without Marsians."

Near Mount Falernus, Vidacilius, T. Lafrenius and P. Vettius united their forces and defeated Gnaeus Pompeius, pursuing him to the city of Firmum. Then they went their several ways, and Lafrenius besieged Pompeius, who had shut himself up in Firmum. The latter at once armed his remaining forces, but did not come to an engagement; when, however, he learned that another army was approaching, he sent Sulpicius round to take Lafrenius in the rear while he made a sally in front. Battle was joined and both sides were in much distress, when Sulpicius set fire to the enemy's camp. When the latter saw this they fled to Asculum in disorder and without a general, for Lafrenius had fallen in the battle. Pompeius then advanced and laid siege to Asculum.

Asculum was the native town of Vidacilius, and as he feared for its safety he hastened to its relief with eight cohorts. He sent word beforehand to the inhabitants that when they should see him advancing at a distance they should make a sally against the besiegers, so that the enemy should be attacked on both sides at once. The inhabitants were afraid to do so; nevertheless Vidacilius forced his way into the city through the midst of the enemy with what followers he could get, and upbraided the citizens for their cowardice and disobedience. As he despaired of saving the city he first put to death all of his enemies who had been at variance with him before and who, out of jealousy, had prevented the people from obeying his recent orders. Then he erected a funeral pile in the temple and placed a couch upon it, and held a feast with his friends, and while the drinking-bout was at its height he swallowed poison, threw himself on the pile, and ordered his friends to set fire to it. Thus perished Vidacilius, a man who considered it glorious to die for his country, Sextus Caesar was invested with the consular power by the Senate after his term of office had expired. He attacked 20,000 of the enemy while they were changing camping-places, killed about 8000 of them, and captured the arms of a much larger number. He died of disease while pushing the long siege of Asculum; the Senate appointed Gaius Baebius his successor.

iii. War in Earnest, 90 BCE

While these events were transpiring on the Adriatic side of Italy, the inhabitants of Etruria and Umbria and other neighbouring peoples on the other side of Rome heard of them and all were excited to revolt. The Senate, fearing lest they should be surrounded by war, and unable to protect themselves, garrisoned the sea-coast from Cumae to the city with freedmen, who were then for the first time enrolled in the army on account of the scarcity of soldiers. The Senate also voted that those Italians who had adhered to their alliance should be admitted to citizenship, which was the one thing they all desired most. They sent this decree around among the Etruscans, who gladly accepted the citizenship. By this favour the Senate made the faithful more faithful, confirmed the wavering, and mollified their enemies by the hope of similar treatment. The Romans did not enroll the new citizens in the thirty-five existing tribes, lest they should outvote the old ones in the elections, but incorporated them in ten new tribes, which voted last. So it often happened that their vote was useless, since a majority was obtained from the thirty-five tribes that voted first. This fact was either not noticed by the Italians at the time or they were satisfied with what they had gained, but it was observed later and became the source of a new conflict.

The insurgents along the Adriatic coast, before they learned of the change of sentiment among the Etruscans, sent 15,000 men to their assistance by a long and difficult road. Gnaeus Pompeius, who was now consul, fell upon them and killed 5000 of them. The rest made their way homeward through a trackless region, in a severe winter; and half of them after subsisting on acorns perished. The same winter Porcius Cato, the colleague of Pompeius, was killed while fighting with the Marsians. While Sulla was encamped near the Pompaean hills Lucius Cluentius pitched his camp in a contemptuous manner at a distance of only three stades from him. Sulla did not tolerate this insolence, but attacked Cluentius without waiting for his own foragers to come in. He was worsted and put to flight, but when he was reinforced by his foragers he turned and defeated Cluentius. The latter then moved his camp to a greater distance. Having received certain Gallic reinforcements he again drew near to Sulla and just as the two armies were coming to an engagement a Gaul of enormous size advanced and challenged any Roman to single combat. A Maurusian soldier of short stature accepted the challenge and killed him, whereupon the Gauls became panic-stricken and fled. Cluentius' line of battle was thus broken and the remainder of his troops did not stand their ground, but fled in disorder to Nola. Sulla followed them and killed 3000 in the pursuit, and as the inhabitants of Nola received them by only one gate, lest the enemy should rush in with them, he killed about 20,000 more outside the walls and among them Cluentius himself, who fell fighting bravely.

Then Sulla moved against another tribe, the Hirpini, and attacked the town of Aeculanum. The inhabitants, who expected aid from the Lucanians that very day, asked Sulla to give them time for consideration. He understood the trick and gave them one hour, and meanwhile piled fagots around their walls, which were made of wood, and at the expiration of the hour set them on fire. They were terrified and surrendered the town. Sulla plundered it because it had not been delivered up voluntarily but under necessity. He spared the other towns that gave themselves up, and in this way the entire population of the Hirpini was brought under subjection. Then Sulla moved against the Samnites, not where Mutilus, the Samnite general, guarded the roads, but by another circuitous route where his coming was not expected. He fell upon them suddenly, killed many, and scattered the rest in disorderly flight. Mutilus was wounded and took refuge with a few followers in Aesernia. Sulla destroyed his camp and moved against Bovanum, where the common council of the rebels was held. The city had three citadels.

While the inhabitants were intently watching Sulla from one of these citadels, he ordered a detachment to capture whichever of the other two they could, and then to make a signal by means of smoke. When the smoke was seen he made an attack in front and, after a severe fight of three hours, took the city.

iv. Imperfect Defeat and Incomplete Victory, 89–88

These were the successes of Sulla during that summer. When winter came he returned to Rome to stand for the consulship, but Gnaeus Pompeius brought the Marsians, the Marrucini, and the Vestini under subjection. Gaius Cosconius, another Roman par, advanced against Salapia and burned it. He received the surrender of Cannae and laid siege to

Canusium; then he had a severe fight with the Samnites, who came to its relief, and after great slaughter on both sides Cosconius was beaten and retreated to Cannae. A river separated the two armies, and Trebatius sent word to Cosconius either to come over to his side and fight him, or to withdraw and let him cross. Cosconius withdrew, and while Trebatius was crossing attacked him and got the better of him, and, while he was escaping toward the stream, killed 15,000 of his men. The remainder took refuge with Trebatius in Canusium. Cosconius overran the territory of Larinum, Venusia, and Asculum, and invaded that of the Poediculi, and within two days received their surrender.

Caecilius Metellus, his successor in the praetorship, attacked the Apulians and overcame them in battle. Popaedius, one of the rebel generals, here lost his life, and the survivors joined Metellus in detachments. Such was the course of events throughout Italy as regards the Social War, which had raged with violence thus far, until the whole of Italy came into the Roman state except, for the present, the Lucanians and the Samnites, who also seem to have obtained what they desired somewhat later. Each body of allies was enrolled in tribes of its own, like those who had been admitted to citizenship before, so that they might not, by being mingled with the old citizens, vote them down in the elections by force of numbers.

About the same time dissensions arose in the city between debtors and creditors, since the latter exacted the money due to them with interest, although an old law distinctly forbade lending on interest and imposed a penalty upon anyone doing so. It seems that the ancient Romans, like the Greeks, abhorred the taking of interest on loans as something knavish, and hard on the poor, and leading to contention and enmity; and by the same kind of reasoning the Persians considered lending as having itself a tendency to deceit and lying. But, since time had sanctioned the practice of taking interest, the creditors demanded it according to custom. The debtors, on the other hand, put off their payments on the plea of war and civil commotion. Some indeed threatened to exact the legal penalty from the interest-takers.

The praetor Asellio, who had charge of these matters, as he was not able to compose their differences by persuasion, allowed them to proceed against each other in the courts, thus bringing the deadlock due to the conflict of law and custom before the judges.

The lenders, exasperated that the now obsolete law was being revived, killed the praetor in the following manner. He was offering sacrifice to Castor and Pollux in the forum, with a crowd standing around as was usual at such a ceremony. In the first place somebody threw a stone at him, on which he dropped the libation-bowl and ran toward the temple of Vesta. They then got ahead of him and prevented him from reaching the temple, and after he had fled into a tavern they cut his throat. Many of his pursuers, thinking that he had taken refuge with the Vestal virgins, ran in there, where it was not lawful for men to go. Thus was Asellio, while serving as praetor, and pouring out libation, and wearing the sacred gilded vestments customary in such ceremonies, slain at the second hour of the day in the centre of the forum, in the midst of the sacrifice. The Senate offered a reward of money to any free citizen, freedom to any slave, impunity to any accomplice, who should give testimony leading to the conviction of the murders of Asellio, but nobody gave any information. The money-lenders covered up everything.

g. First Mithridatic War 89–85 BC

i. Mithridates, King of Pontus

Mithridates the Sixth "Eupator," also known as Mithridates the Great, was born in 135 BC in Sinope, the capital of Pontus. His name, meaning "gift of the god Mithra," was common among Anatolian rulers. Upon the assassination of his father, Mithridates V, in 120 BC, he became king at 15, sharing power with his mother, Laodice VI, before eventually taking sole control.

Trained as a ruler and destined for greatness, Mithridates adopted an expansionist policy. He added Crimea and parts of the northern Black Sea coast to Pontus, inherited and briefly shared Paphlagonia with Nicomedes III of Bithynia, and later annexed Colchis and parts of western Armenia. Despite Roman disapproval, he continued his conquests, leading to tensions with Rome. The conflict escalated when Rome restored rival kings in Cappadocia and Bithynia, and Mithridates retaliated, starting the First Mithridatic War in 89 BC.

Initially successful, Mithridates swiftly conquered Rome's Asian territories but faced setbacks as Rome recovered and deployed more troops. The Second Mithridatic War followed, bringing both victories and defeats for Mithridates. By the Third Mithridatic War, Pompey the Great led a massive Roman force against the exhausted and fragmented Pontic army. Mithridates suffered a final defeat in 65 BC and, unable to recover, committed suicide to preserve his honour. His body was later buried in Sinope, the capital of the kingdom he once ruled, ending the legacy of a ruler who sought to rival Alexander the Great.

ii. Eupator on the Coast of the Black Sea

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.

When his father died in 120 BC, Pontus was a small, unstable kingdom, and his mother, Laodice VI, took power as regent. Favoring his younger brother, she plotted against Mithridates, forcing him to go into hiding. In 115 BC, he returned, removed his mother and brother from power, and became the sole ruler of Pontus. Laodice VI died in prison. 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.

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, situated between Bithynia to the west and Pontus to the east and divided it amongst themselves.

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.

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 were getting more and more involved in their ex Asian-Minor lands and an escalation was inevitable.

iii. Early History of Cappadocia

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.

Cappadocia was the home base for the Hittite Empire with its capital at Hattusa. After the fall 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, but none of these rulers were strong enough to dominate the whole nation and 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,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.

iv. Occupation of Cappadocia: A Habsburgs-like Plan

Mithridates VI, along with his alliance Nicomedes III of Bithynia, wanted to expand their kingdom and build their reputations further. 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 planned to seize Cappadocia with the help of his sister, Laodice, who had a beauty and charm that mesmerizes everyone. He married his sister to the king of Cappadocia and waited until his nephew was born, which wouldn't happen for years.

When his nephew was almost 8 years old, 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. He was now the illegitimate king of Cappadocia. At the time, Nicomedes III of Bithy.ia, secretly married Mithridates' sister behind the king's back. Now he was the boy king. It did not take long for Mithridates to learn about this marriage, he wasn't worried about it at all. 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 Mithridates.

Mithridates had to go back into Cappadocia again; he put his son on the throne instead. Soon after, This new boy-King had gathered an army that very almost rivaled Mithridates' in size. The battle he had been running away from throughout the very beginning of his plan, was now inevitable.

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. Everyone was searched to make sure that they didn't have any hidden weapons but when the attendant. Mithridates pulled the Boy-King aside and killed him with a knife hidden in his underwear. Without a leader, the Boy-King's army stood down and Mithridates could bring out his other 8-year-old son and proclaim him the king of Cappadocia.

Not too long, they revolted and Mithridates had to go back to Cappadocia for a third time to put down the rebellion. It didn't take long for him to successfully subdue the rebellion. By the time the rebellion was put out, the word already got to Rome about a rising power in Anatolia.

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

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, 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, to drive out Mithridates's adherents and the Armenians. After initial difficulties Sulla succeeded and Ariobarzanes was restored to his throne.

Nicomedes III died. Nichomedes IV was dethroned by his half-brother Socrates Chrestus who was supported by Mithridates. Nicomedes IV 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.

Nicomedes IV of Bithynia was a figurehead manipulated by the Romans. Mithridates plotted to overthrow him, but his attempts failed. 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. Nicomedes IV was eventually convinced to attack Pontus to repay the debts. Thus, Nicomedes IV, instigated by Manuis Aquillius, declared war on Pontus.

Rome, embroiled in the Social War, a civil war with its Italian allies, had only two legions stationed in Roman Asia, with reinforcements gathered from Bithynia, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, and Galatia. The Roman forces, led by generals Lucius Cassius, Manius, and Oppius, were divided strategically across key regions, with a fleet stationed at Byzantium under Minucius Rufus and Gaius Popillius to guard the Black Sea. King Nicomedes IV of Bithynia commanded 50,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry, while Mithridates VI of Pontus amassed a far larger force: 250,000 infantry, 40,000 cavalry, 400 ships, and chariots, with generals Neoptolemus, Archelaus, and Arcathias leading key divisions.

The two sides first clashed on the plains of the Amnias River. Nicomedes' army, significantly outnumbering the Mithridatean vanguard of light infantry and cavalry under Neoptolemus and Archelaus, initially gained the upper hand. A critical struggle over a rocky hill further pushed Neoptolemus to call for reinforcements from Arcathias. Though Nicomedes continued to press his advantage, the tide shifted when Archelaus executed a counterattack, buying time for Neoptolemus to rally his troops.

Mithridates' forces unleashed scythe-bearing chariots, which devastated the Bithynian ranks. The gruesome sight of soldiers being dismembered by the chariots sowed fear and confusion among Nicomedes' troops. Seizing the opportunity, Archelaus attacked from the front while Neoptolemus and Arcathias struck from the rear, forcing Nicomedes' army into a desperate fight on both fronts. Eventually, the Bithynian forces were overwhelmed, with Nicomedes retreating to Paphlagonia after suffering heavy losses.

Mithridates captured Nicomedes' camp, including a large sum of money and numerous prisoners. Displaying clemency, he treated the captives kindly and sent them home with supplies, earning him a reputation for generosity even among his enemies.

This subsequent phase of the First Mithridatic War intensified concerns among the Roman generals, who realized they had underestimated Mithridates VI of Pontus. The swift and decisive victories of his smaller forces exposed the strategic missteps of their hasty engagement.

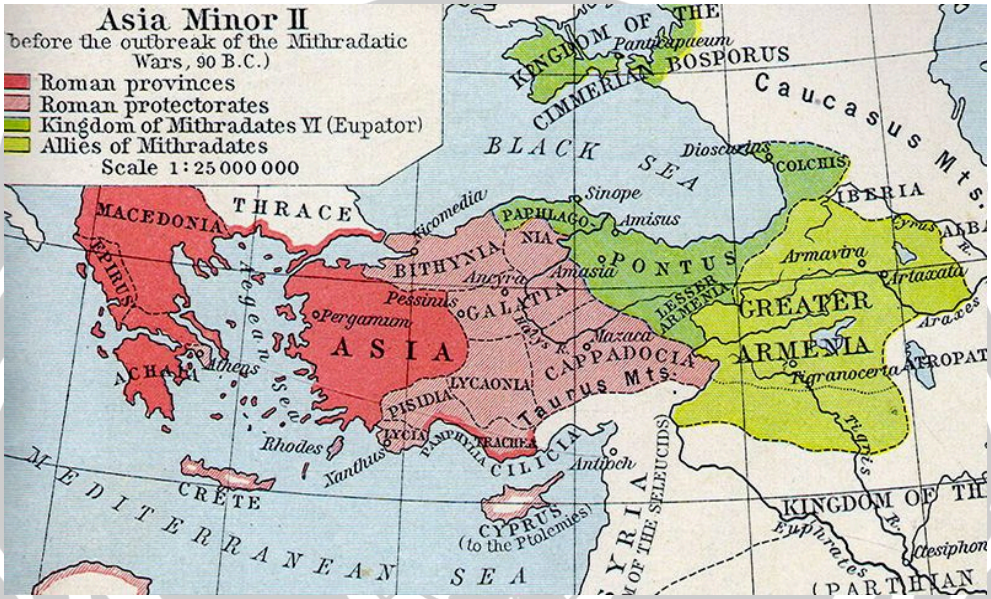
Following his initial triumph, Mithridates ascended Mount Scoroba near the Bithynia-Pontus border. His advance guard of 100 Sarmatian cavalry defeated 800 Nicomedean horsemen, capturing several prisoners. In a repeated display of clemency, Mithridates released the captives with provisions, further cultivating goodwill among his enemies.

Neoptolemus and Nemanes the Armenian soon confronted Manius on his retreat near the castle of Protophachium. Despite Manius' force of 44,000 soldiers, Mithridates' generals killed 10,000 and captured 300. These prisoners were also released by Mithridates, reinforcing his reputation for magnanimity. The camp of Manius was captured, and he narrowly escaped to Pergamon after crossing the Sangarius River under the cover of night.

Meanwhile, Roman leaders Cassius, Nicomedes, and their allies regrouped at a stronghold in Phrygia, known as Lion's Head, with a disorganized mix of artisans, rustics, and raw recruits. Recognizing the futility of relying on such inexperienced troops, they abandoned the effort, retreating to safer locations—Cassius to Apamea, Nicomedes to Pergamon, and Manius to Rhodes. The Roman fleet guarding the Black Sea also disbanded, surrendering control of the straits and their ships to Mithridates.

With Nicomedes' kingdom effectively dismantled, Mithridates seized control of its territory and organized the cities. He then advanced into Phrygia, lodging symbolically at an inn once occupied by Alexander the Great, hoping for similar fortune. Mithridates continued his conquests, taking Mysia, Lycia, Pamphylia, and other Roman-controlled parts of Asia, extending as far as Ionia.

At Laodicea on the Lycus, where Roman general Quintus Oppius and his mercenaries were resisting within the city, Mithridates issued a proclamation: "King Mithridates promises that the Laodiceans shall suffer no injury if they will deliver Oppius to him." This marked Mithridates' methodical advance across Asia Minor, leveraging a mix of military might, diplomacy, and psychological tactics to assert his dominance.



The Laodiceans surrendered Quintus Oppius to Mithridates, who paraded him unbound as a captive symbol of Roman defeat. Soon after, Mithridates captured Manius Aquilius, the war's instigator, humiliating him by parading him bound on an ass and forcing him to introduce himself as "maniac." In Pergamon, Mithridates executed Aquilius by pouring molten gold down his throat, a symbolic rebuke of Roman greed. This infamous execution later inspired similar acts, including the Parthians' killing of Marcus Licinius Crassus.

vi. Massacre of the Romans and Italians in Asia

Mithridates appointed satraps over his territories and was warmly welcomed in cities like Magnesia, Ephesus, and Mitylene, where residents resented Roman taxation. In Stratonicea, he fined the city, placed a garrison, and married Monima, a local virgin of noble birth. Meanwhile, he ordered his generals to subdue opposing regions like Magnesia, Paphlagonia, and Lycia.

Rome, despite being embroiled in civil strife and the Social War, declared war on Mithridates. The command fell to Lucius Cornelius Sulla, but due to financial strain, Rome

had to sell sacred treasures for funds, raising 90,000 pounds of gold. Sulla's deployment was delayed by internal conflicts.

In preparation, Mithridates built a fleet and issued a secret order to his satraps to massacre all Romans and Italians on a set date. He decreed their bodies remain unburied, rewarded informers, freed slaves who betrayed their masters, and offered debt relief to those who killed creditors, unleashing terror across Asia Minor.

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.

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

The Rhodians prepared for Mithridates' attack by fortifying their city and receiving help from Telmessus and Lycia. Italians fleeing Asia, including Lucius Cassius, joined them. Rhodes, known for its successful defense against Demetrius I 200 years earlier, now faced Mithridates' fleet and his new siege tower, the sambuca. Mithridates' forces, including land troops in Caunus, advanced on Rhodes. The Rhodians destroyed their suburbs to hinder the enemy and engaged Mithridates in naval battles. Despite Mithridates' numerical advantage, the Rhodians skillfully outmaneuvered and defeated several of his ships, capturing or sinking them.

In one encounter, Mithridates' quinquereme narrowly escaped being rammed by an allied Chian ship, leading him to punish the crew and harbor resentment toward the Chians. A storm scattered Mithridates' land forces at sea, giving the Rhodians another opportunity to strike. They captured and destroyed many of his ships and took 400 prisoners.

Mithridates attempted another assault, using the sambuca against Rhodes' walls near the temple of Isis. He also planned a surprise attack using fire signals, but the Rhodians, aware of his strategy, thwarted it. Despite the sambuca's impressive weaponry, it collapsed under its weight, and a vision of Isis allegedly throwing fire down upon it demoralized Mithridates' forces. Defeated, Mithridates abandoned the siege and retreated.

He then turned to Patara, where he began cutting sacred trees for siege equipment but stopped after a dream warning him against it. Leaving Pelopidas to continue the war in Lycia, Mithridates sent Archelaus to Greece to secure allies. He delegated military tasks to his generals while focusing on raising troops, producing arms, and holding court to suppress dissent and eliminate pro-Roman factions.

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

Archelaus arrived in Greece with a large fleet, seizing Delos and other strongholds, killing 20,000 people, mainly Italians, and turning control over to the Athenians. Praising Mithridates, he secured Athens' alliance and sent Delos' sacred treasures under Aristion, an

Athenian philosopher. Aristion used soldiers to seize power, executing Roman sympathizers and displaying tyrannical behavior despite his Epicurean claims.

This hypocrisy echoed earlier instances of philosophers abusing power, raising doubts about their pursuit of virtue versus ambition. Aristion became a symbol of such duplicity, masking cruelty behind a philosophical facade.

Archelaus expanded Mithridates' influence, securing alliances with the Achaeans, Lacedaemonians, and most of Boeotia, except Thespiae, which he besieged. Simultaneously, Metrophanes led campaigns against Euboea, Demetrias, and Magnesia, devastating these regions for opposing Mithridates' rule, further consolidating his dominance in Greece.

Bruttius, serving as proquaestore for the governor of Macedonia, encountered Metrophanes' forces from Macedonia with a small army. They fought at sea, leading to the sinking of two ships and the deaths of their crews while Metrophanes watched in fear and fled. Unable to catch him due to favorable winds, Bruttius attacked Sciathos, a hub for plunder, where he crucified some enslaved individuals and mutilated freedmen. After receiving reinforcements, he headed to Boeotia. In a protracted three-day battle near Chaeronea against Archelaus and Aristion, the result was inconclusive. When Lacedaemonians and Achaeans supported Archelaus, Bruttius retreated to Piraeus, which Archelaus later seized.

Sulla, appointed by the Romans to lead the Mithridatic War, arrived in Greece with five legions. He called for money and supplies and, after gaining strength, planned to attack Archelaus. As he traveled, many in Boeotia, including Thebes, shifted allegiance to Sulla. Upon reaching Attica, he laid siege to Aristion in Athens and targeted Piraeus, defended by a tall wall built during the Peloponnesian War. Despite heavy fighting and damage, Sulla

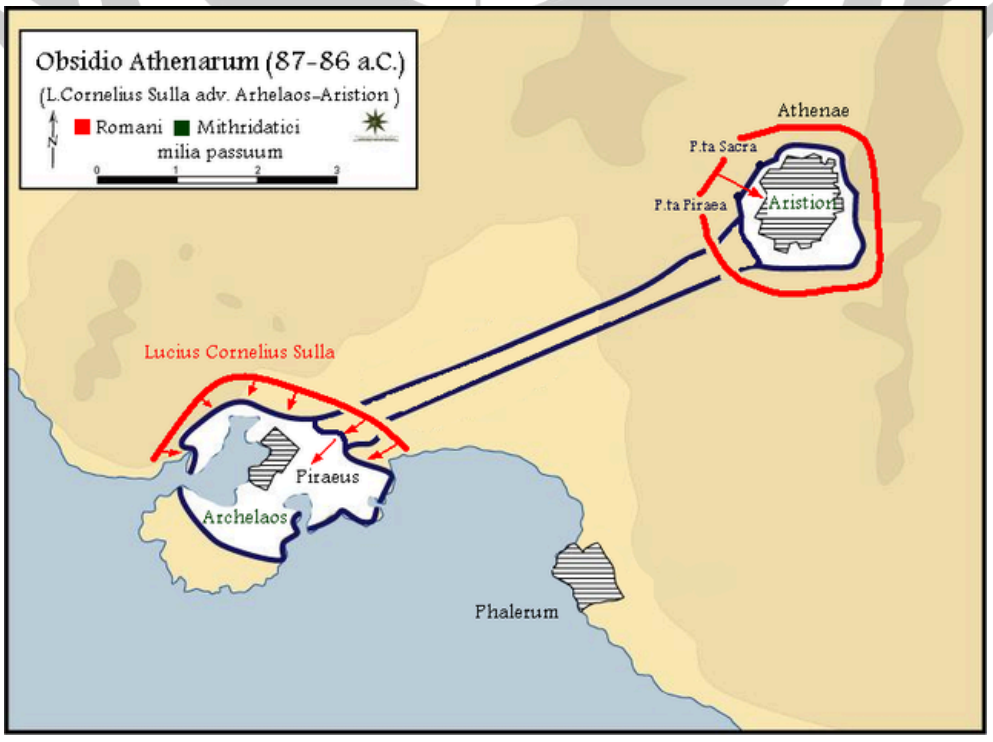
regrouped and prepared for a renewed assault using various siege engines constructed from materials supplied by Thebes.

Athenian slaves in Piraeus communicated with the Romans, providing crucial information about enemy movements. Sulla strategically ambushed and defeated part of Archelaus' forces when they attempted a surprise attack. As Sulla constructed mounds for his siege, Archelaus bolstered his defenses and launched counterattacks. In a fierce battle, the tide turned back and forth, with significant casualties on both sides. Ultimately, Sulla rewarded his troops for their bravery and lifted penalties from those who had previously faltered.

In 87 BCE, as winter approached, Sulla set up his camp at Eleusis, creating a deep ditch for protection against enemy cavalry. Daily battles occurred at the ditch and enemy walls, with the enemy attacking the Romans with stones and javelins. Sulla needed ships and sent to Rhodes for help, but they couldn't send any because Mithridates controlled the sea. He then ordered Lucullus to secretly go to Alexandria and Syria to get a fleet and bring back Rhodian ships. Lucullus managed to arrive in Alexandria without fear of the hostile fleet.

Meanwhile, traitors in Piraeus warned that Archelaus would send a convoy with food to Athens, which was starving. Sulla set a trap and captured the soldiers and provisions. In another engagement near Chalcis, Minucius wounded Neoptolemus, killing 1,500 of his men and taking many prisoners. That night, the Romans climbed the walls of Piraeus and killed the guards. Some enemies fled, while others rallied to fend off the Romans, which led to a fierce battle. Sulla intervened and prevented the burning of a Roman tower after a hard fight.

As famine worsened in Athens, Archelaus took precautions against Sulla's possible attack on his supply train. Sulla captured the provisions, but Archelaus set fire to some



Roman works. Arcathias, Mithridates' son, invaded Macedonia and quickly took control but died soon after. To further tighten his grip, Sulla built stockades around Athens to worsen the hunger for those inside. Sulla raised a mound at Piraeus to attack but Archelaus undermined it. After a series of underground battles and assaults, Sulla's forces managed to breach the city walls, causing fear and chaos among the defenders.

Sulla constantly fought against demoralized forces, regularly rotating his troops and encouraging them with cheers and threats, promising imminent victory. Similarly, Archelaus replaced his discouraged men with new ones, maintaining their morale by urging them on and assuring them of success. This renewed zeal led to intense fighting with significant casualties on both sides. Eventually, Sulla, exhausted from the attack, retreated, praising his soldiers' bravery. Archelaus then repaired his wall, but Sulla, thinking it weak, attempted a swift attack, only to be met with resistance and forced to abandon the assault, establishing a siege instead.

Realizing the Athenians were starving, Sulla ordered a ditch to encircle the city to prevent escapes. He began breaking through the wall, and the weak defenders could not hold. The Romans seized the city in March 86 BCE, resulting in a brutal massacre of the inhabitants, who were too weak from hunger to escape. Sulla was furious that the Athenians had allied with enemies and did not spare anyone during the slaughter. Many Athenians chose death over capture, while a few fled to the Acropolis. Sulla did not allow the city to burn but permitted plunder, discovering human flesh in homes. The next day, he auctioned off slaves, while promising freedom to some survivors but stripping them of voting rights for their past actions.

Sulla placed a guard around the Acropolis, leading to the surrender of Aristion and his followers, who faced execution. The captured were pardoned but subjected to Roman laws. Afterward, Sulla grew impatient with the siege of Piraeus, using various siege weapons and overwhelming numbers to assault the walls. Despite resetting defenses from Archelaus, Sulla's relentless energy motivated his men. Ultimately, Archelaus withdrew to better-fortified areas as Sulla burned Piraeus. Sulla then advanced towards Archelaus's regrouped forces, which numbered 120,000, far outnumbering Sulla's smaller army of Italians and defectors.

ix. Battle of Chaeronea 86 BC

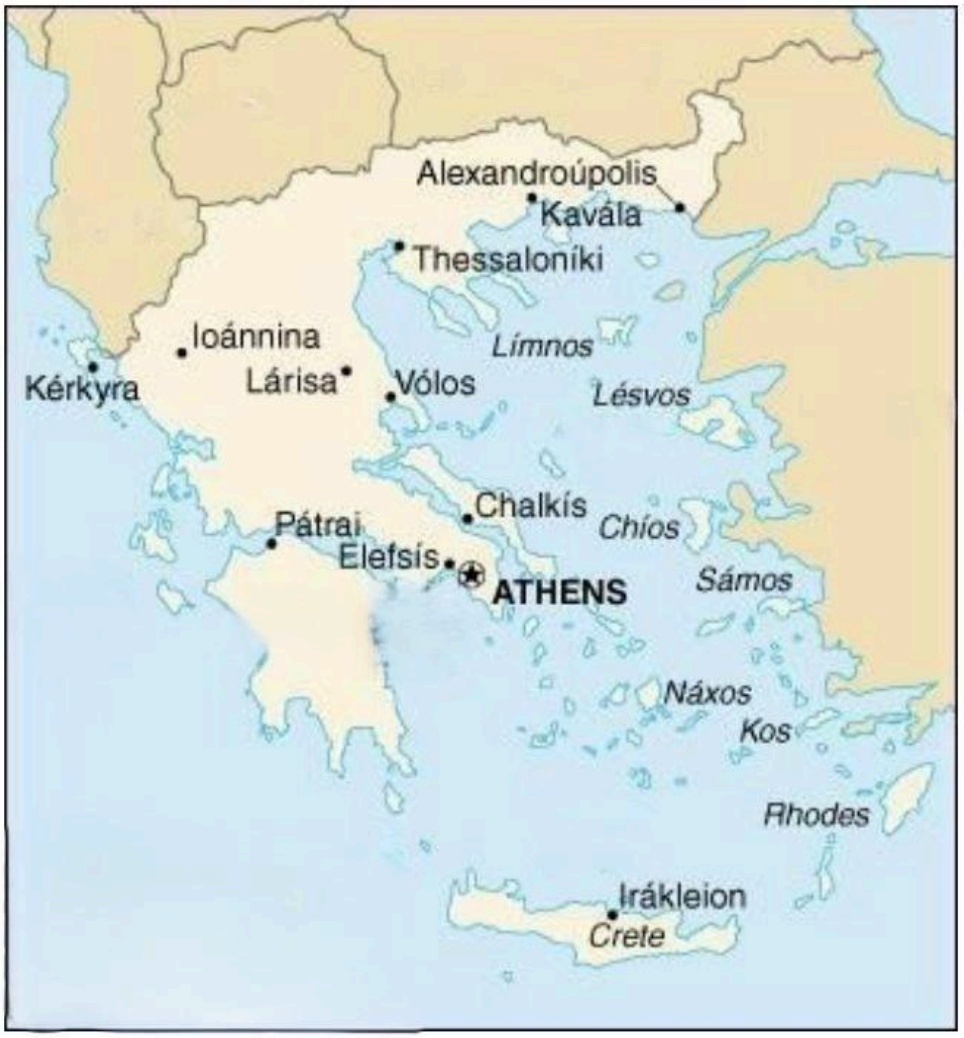
Archelaus and Sulla faced each other, with Sulla hesitating due to the terrain and enemy numbers. As Archelaus moved, Sulla seized a broad plain, forcing a battle favorable to him, blocking Archelaus's army with rocks, limiting their movement.

Archelaus did not expect to engage in battle, leading him to choose a poor location for his camp. With the Romans advancing, he realized his mistake and sent out cavalry to block their approach, but they were defeated amid the rocks. He attempted to charge with sixty

chariots to break the Roman lines, but the Romans opened their ranks, and the chariots were trapped and destroyed. Instead of fighting from his fortified camp, Archelaus hurriedly arranged his troops in a narrow space against Sulla's approaching army. He initially split the Roman forces but soon his divisions suffered greatly, especially Galba and Hortensius, as Archelaus led the attack against them.

As Sulla arrived with reinforcements, Archelaus decided to retreat to a better position. However, Sulla quickly counterattacked, causing chaos among Archelaus's troops, leading to a widespread flight. Many of Archelaus's soldiers were trapped among the rocks, and when Archelaus ordered them to face the enemy, they became disorganized and could neither fight nor flee. They were ultimately killed by both the Roman forces and their own confused comrades.

As they fled toward their camp, they overwhelmed the gates, pleading for help against the enemy. Eventually, Archelaus opened the gates, allowing the Romans to enter the camp and secure a complete victory. From 120,000 troops, only about 10,000 of Archelaus's men escaped, while Roman losses were minimal. This battle highlighted both Sulla's skill and Archelaus's mistakes. Sulla collected spoils and burned a portion as a sacrifice to the gods of war.



After giving his army a short rest, Mithridates quickly pursued Archelaus. However, without ships, Archelaus escaped among the islands and raided the coasts. He attempted to besiege Zacynthus but was forced to retreat after a nighttime attack by Romans, returning to Chalcis in disgrace.

When Mithridates learned of this defeat, he was shocked and frightened. He hurried to gather a new army and arrested suspected traitors, fearing they might betray him. He executed the tetrarchs of Galatia along with their families, sparing only three who managed to escape. He used deceit and slaughter to eliminate potential threats and took control of their property, placing garrisons in their towns and naming Eumachus as their leader. However, the surviving tetrarchs rallied the local people, managed to oust Mithridates, and regained control of Galatia, leaving Mithridates with only the money he had confiscated.

Mithridates became enraged with the people of Chios for an incident involving a vessel that collided with his ship. He confiscated the goods of Chians who had sided with Sulla and sent individuals to investigate which properties belonged to Romans. He then used his general, Zenobius, to take control of Chios by night. Zenobius proclaimed that the Chians should disarm and provide hostages to satisfy the king's suspicions. The Chians compiled out of fear, giving up their weapons and children of important families.

Mithridates sent a letter to Chios accusing them of supporting the Romans and threatening them with severe consequences. He offered a fine of 2,000 talents instead of executing them. Although the Chians wanted to negotiate, Zenobius prohibited it, and they were forced to gather the fine. When they were unable to meet the full amount, Zenobius accused them of cheating and ultimately captured them, shipping them as prisoners to Mithridates.

As Zenobius arrived in Ephesus with his forces, the citizens demanded he disarm before entering. He complied and visited Philopoemen, Mithridates' appointed supervisor. The Ephesians expected trouble, so they secretly met, imprisoned Zenobius, and executed him. They fortified the city and prepared for defense.

News of the Ephesians' actions spread to nearby towns like Tralles and Metropolis, causing them to fear similar fates. They also revolted, prompting Mithridates to retaliate with punishments against some captives. However, to prevent further revolts, he offered freedoms and debt relief to Greek cities, hoping to win their loyalty.

Meanwhile, several of Mithridates' trusted men conspired against him. One of the conspirators, Asclepiodotus, revealed the plot by having Mithridates eavesdrop on their discussion. The conspirators were caught and executed, leading to widespread suspicion and the deaths of many more who were merely suspected of plotting against him. Mithridates sent out spies, resulting in the deaths of around 1,500 people. Some accusers later faced Sulla's retribution or fled to Mithridates for refuge.

x. Battle of Orchomenus 85 BC

Mithridates gathered an army of 80,000 men, led by Dorylaus to Archelaus in Greece, who had 10,000 remaining. Sulla positioned his troops against Archelaus near Orchomenus and dug ditches for defense. The Romans were frightened by the enemy's cavalry. Despite Sulla's efforts to motivate his men, he ultimately took a stand, declaring they would forever remember where they deserted him.

When the officers saw one of their own in danger, they rushed to help him, inspiring the troops to drive the enemy back. This marked the start of their victory. Sulla encouraged his soldiers throughout the battle, leading to heavy losses for the enemy, including 15,000 men, with 10,000 being cavalry. To prevent Archelaus from escaping again, Sulla had night watchmen posted and created a ditch to block the enemy's camp. He motivated his army to finish the fight, as the enemy showed little resistance. Fierce clashes occurred, with both sides fighting bravely. The Romans advanced, overcoming the barbarians, while Archelaus escaped to Chalcis.

xi. The Flaccus (Fimbrias) Mission

The next day, Sulla honored the tribune, Basillus, and rewarded others for their bravery. He ravaged Boeotia, which kept shifting allegiances, then moved to Thessaly for winter, waiting for Lucius Licinius Lucullus and his fleet. When he heard nothing from Lucullus, Sulla began building his own ships. Meanwhile, his rivals, Cornelius Cinna and Gaius Marius, declared him an enemy of the Roman people, destroying his homes and killing his friends. Despite this, Sulla remained strong due to his loyal army.

Cinna sent Flaccus, his consul colleague, to Asia with two legions to oversee the province and the Mithridatic war instead of Sulla. Flaccus was inexperienced, so Gaius Flavius Fimbria, an experienced military man, accompanied him as a volunteer. Their journey faced challenges, with many ships lost in a storm and some burnt by Mithridates' army. Flaccus was harsh and greedy, leading part of the army to desert to Sulla, while Fimbria kept the rest loyal to him. After a dispute, Fimbria seized control and forced Flaccus to flee. Fimbria then killed Flaccus, took command of the army, and won several battles against Mithridates, eventually driving him to Pergamon and later chasing him to Mitylene.

Fimbria traveled through Asia, punishing the Cappadocian faction and destroying towns that resisted him. The people of Ilium, also known as Troy, asked Sulla for help against Fimbria. Sulla promised to assist and told them to inform Fimbria that they were under his protection. Upon hearing this, Fimbria ironically welcomed their supposed friendship and forced his way into the city. Once inside, he killed many, burned the town, and torturous those who had contacted Sulla, leaving nothing intact, including sacred objects. The city's destruction surpassed even Agamemnon's, with only the unbroken Palladium remaining hidden under fallen debris. This destruction of Ilium occurred at the end of the 173rd Olympiad.

xii. Treaty of Dardanos: The Final Showdown

When Mithridates learned of his defeat at Orchomenus, he thought about the many troops he had sent to Greece and the quick disasters that befell them. He instructed Archelaus to seek peace on the best terms possible. Archelaus spoke with Sulla, reminding him that Mithridates was an ally of Sulla's father and was drawn into war by the greed of other Roman generals. He suggested that Mithridates would seek peace, given fair terms.

Sulla, having no ships and needing to lead his troops against his domestic enemies, agreed to negotiate. He expressed that Mithridates should have sent an ambassador to show his grievances, instead of committing acts of war on a vast scale, which included killing many people and stealing sacred funds. Sulla recounted how Mithridates had betrayed even his allies, killing tetrarchs and their families without cause, and had shown a deep-seated hatred for Italians. Sulla argued that instead of negotiating peace, they should be unforgiving toward Mithridates, although he would consider obtaining pardon from Rome if Mithridates truly repented. Archelaus, however, rejected Sulla’s offer, stating that he would not betray a king.

After some discussion, Sulla set forth conditions for peace: Mithridates was to surrender his entire fleet, return all captured generals and ambassadors, send home those taken to Pontus, remove his garrisons, cover the costs of the war, and remain within his original territories. Archelaus agreed to withdraw his garrison and would refer the conditions

to Mithridates. Meanwhile, Sulla attacked neighboring tribes to assert his control and bolster his troops.

Mithridates' ambassadors returned, accepting almost all terms except those related to Paphlagonia, and suggested negotiating better conditions with another Roman general, Flaccus. This angered Sulla, who vowed to punish Fimbria and planned to go to Asia himself to confront Mithridates. Sulla moved through Thrace towards Cypsella after sending Lucullus ahead, who had successfully gathered a fleet and raided Mithridates' coastline.

In August 85 BCE, Sulla and Mithridates met for talks. Mithridates spoke of his past friendship with the Romans and claimed that Roman generals had wronged him, leading to the war. He insisted that his actions were defensive responses to Roman greed. In response, Sulla pointed out that Mithridates should have objected to the Roman actions when they occurred. Sulla discussed various accusations, stating that Mithridates had gained lands through bribery and had acted treacherously against those who had not harmed him.

Sulla further accused Mithridates of planning war long before he acted, highlighting that his aggression coincided with a revolt in Italy. He recounted severe atrocities committed by Mithridates against Romans and Italians, including massacres and brutal governance. Sulla argued that Mithridates only sought peace after suffering great losses at the hands of the Romans and accused him of justifying his own cruel acts.

As Sulla spoke forcefully, Mithridates, fearing further conflict, consented to the terms previously laid out through Archelaus. He complied by yielding the required ships and returning to his ancestral kingdom of Pontus, with no additional territories. This culminated in the conclusion of the first war between Mithridates and the Romans.

Having managed the situation in Asia, Sulla granted freedom to the people of Ilium, Chios, Lycia, Rhodes, and Magnesia as a reward for their support or as compensation for their hardships. He recognized them as friends of Rome. He then ordered that slaves freed by Mithridates must return to their former masters. Many did not comply, and some cities revolted, leading to massacres of both free people and slaves under various justifications. Many towns had their walls destroyed, were plundered, and their people sold into slavery. The Cappadocian supporters faced harsh punishments, especially the Ephesians, who had shown disrespect to Roman offerings.

Sulla called the main citizens of Ephesus to meet him. He reminded them that he had come to Asia to protect them from Antiochus, the king of Seleucid Syria, and had liberated them instead of making them subjects. He recalled how they had previously supported Aristonicus against Rome and, when captured, many returned to their allegiance out of fear. Still, they later plotted against Rome. Sulla condemned their actions, especially their compliance with orders to kill all Italians in their communities. He noted that Mithridates had betrayed them and caused destruction, showing them the consequences of their choices. Sulla asserted that they deserved a penalty collectively for their shared guilt but clarified that

Romans would not engage in barbaric acts. He decided only to impose taxes for the next five years and the costs of the war.

After speaking, Sulla assigned the fines to the delegates and sent men to collect the money. The cities, already poor, had to borrow money at high interest rates, mortgaging public properties to pay Sulla. This led to widespread suffering in Asia. During this time, pirates, initially organized by Mithridates, began openly attacking the region, seizing cities and valuable items. After a temporary peace, Sulla left for Greece and then Italy with most of his army. Meanwhile, Mithridates returned to his homeland and reestablished his authority. He later began a war against neighboring tribes while Sulla restored local rulers in Cappadocia and Bithynia. As Mithridates sought to regain control, he clashed with Murena, which sparked the Second Mithridatic War after a brief peace following the Treaty of Dardanos.

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

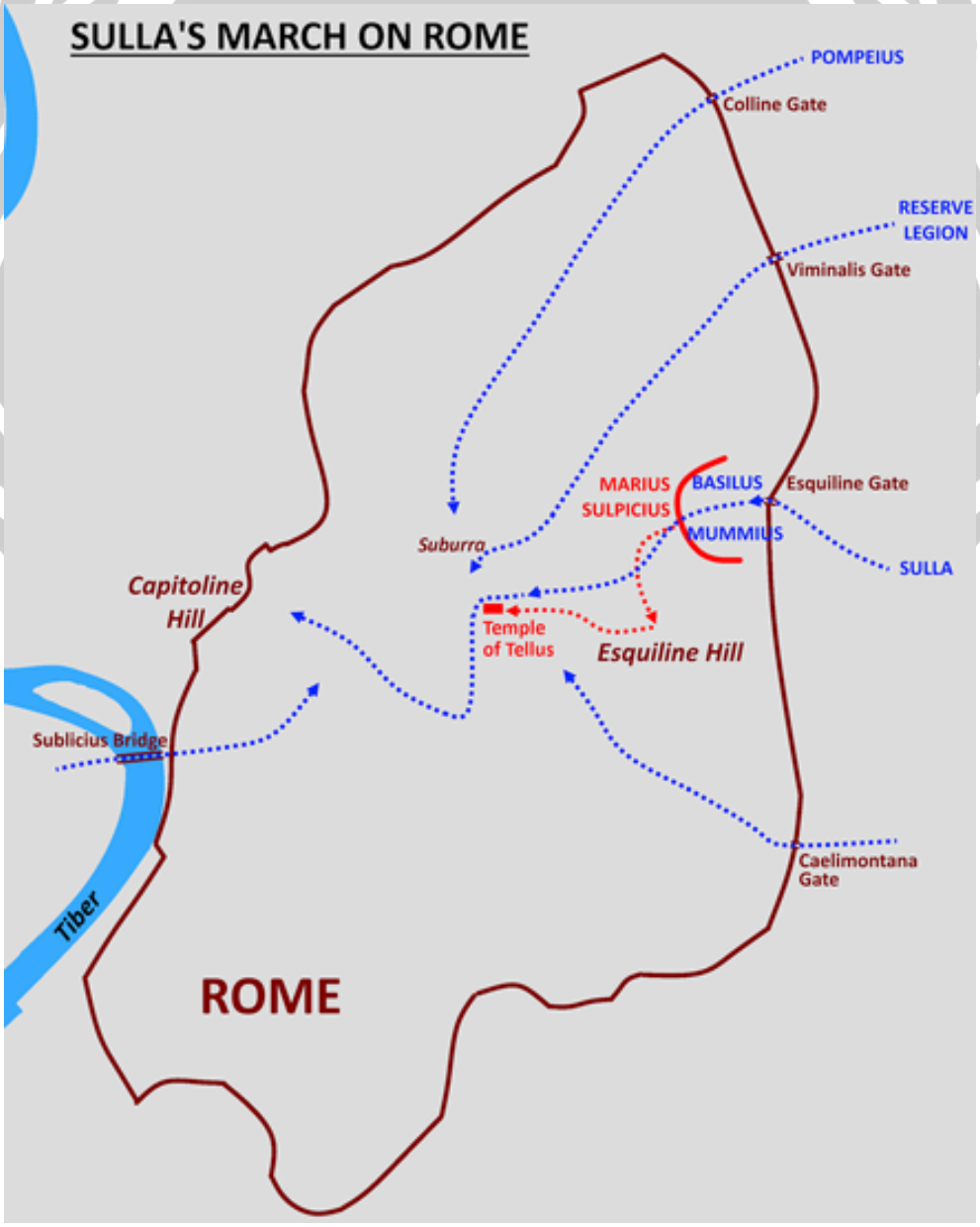
i. The Twelve Hostes

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?

3. 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

4. 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!