Rome

Bruno Cariou on August 1, 2019 by Elements of Racial Education

BOOK ONE

From the beginnings of Rome to the abolition of the monarchy

INTRODUCTION

The Mediterranean Sea, with its many arms which deeply cut the continent, forms the largest gulf in the ocean; sometimes narrowed by islands and promontories, sometimes extending over a large area, it separates and unites at the same time the three parts of the old world. It is on the shores of this sea that once lived nations which, from an ethnographic and philological point of view, belong to different races, but which, historically, form a complete unity. This is what has been called rather incorrectly the history of the old world. It would be better to call it the history of the civilization of the Mediterranean peoples. In its successive phases, it first presents to us the Cophte or Egyptian branch, on the southern shore of the Mediterranean;then the Aramaic or Syriac nation which occupied the western shore and penetrated into Asia as far as the Euphrates and the Tigris; then, finally, the two twin peoples, the Hellenes and the Italiots, who had for their part the European shores of the Mediterranean. At its beginning, each of these stories is intimately linked to that of other nations and other civilizations; but they soon entered into their own and individual revolution. The nations of similar or foreign origin which surrounded this vast unity, the Berbers and the Negroes of Africa, the Arabs, the Persians, the East Indians, the Celts and the Germans, in Europe, had many relations with the peoples who inhabited the shores of the Mediterranean;but they neither gave them nor borrowed any of the constituent elements of their civilization; and, as far as one can exactly delimit the field of a civilization, one can consider as an isolated unit that whose culminating points are called Thebes, Carthage and Rome. The four Nations which we have named, after having traversed all the phases of a brilliant civilization, have been transmitted to one another and each developed, each for their part, the richest elements of human nature. Then their course ended, and then, new peoples who had, so to speak, beaten the frontiers of civilization, as the sea beats its shores without entering them, flooded its shores from two sides, and, cutting off , from a historical point of view, the southern continent of that of the North,brought from the Mediterranean to the ocean the center of civilization. So it is not just chance and chronology that separate the old world from the new; what we call modern history is in reality the evolution of a new sphere of development, which, in many of its elements, may well relate to the decadence and fall of the Mediterranean states, as well as those these relate to the primitive civilization of the Indo-Germans, but which was called upon to follow its own career, and to fully experience all the vicissitudes of happiness and social unhappiness. She thus went through in turn, her time of youth, manhood and old age; she knew the creative energy in religion, in politics and in art;she tasted the peaceful enjoyment of material and intellectual goods slowly amassed, then undoubtedly also the decay of the creative force exhausted by the satiety of possession. A very ephemeral possession, it is true; for if a particular civilization can successively cover all the points of the periphery, it is not the same for humanity. Humanity, when it believes it has reached the end of its course, sees opening up a vaster and more grandiose career that it will have to cover.when she believes she has reached the end of her career, sees opening up a wider and more grandiose career that she will have to cover.when she believes she has reached the end of her career, sees opening up a wider and more grandiose career that she will have to cover.

Our aim is to revive the last act of this great drama of humanity, the ancient history of the nation which occupied the peninsula between the three which break away from the continent and extend into the Mediterranean.

It is the history of Italy, and not that of the city of Rome, that we undertake to tell here.

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THE ESTABLISHMENTS OF LATIN

THE BEGINNINGS OF ROME

HEGEMONY OF ROME IN LAZIO

The middle of the peninsula was, according to the most remote traditions, inhabited by two peoples, or rather two branches of the same people, whose position in the Indo-Germanic family is easier to determine than that of the Iapygian race. We can boldly call this people the Italiotes, because it is on them that the historical importance of the peninsula rests. It is divided into two branches, the Latins on one side, on the other the Umbrians with their offspring from the South, the Marses and the Samnites, and the colonies founded, from the earliest historical times, by the Samnites.

The Lazio plain must have been, in primitive times, the scene of the greatest upheavals of nature, while the slow action of alluvium and the eruptions of powerful volcanoes raised layer by layer this soil, on which it was necessary to decide to which would belong to the empire of the world. Lazio is closed to the east by the Sabine and ineques mountains, which belong to the Apennines, to the south by the Volscian mountains which reach a height of four thousand feet and are separated from the Apennines by the former territory of the Hernics, the plateau of Sacco (Trerus, tributary of the Liris) and which, extending towards the west, ends at the promontory of Terracine; to the west, by the sea, which at this point only forms mediocre ports on the coast;in the North this region penetrates a little into the mountainous territory of Etruria. Surrounded in this way, Lazio forms a magnificent plain watered by the Tiber "the mountain torrent" which comes from Umbria and by the Anio which comes from the Sabine mountains.

The novel of the founding of Rome by Alban emigrants under the leadership of the Alban princes Romulus and Remus, is nothing but a naive attempt of ancient quasi-history, to explain the singularity of this establishment in a less healthy place. and less fertile than many others in the peninsula, and attach the origin of Rome to the metropolis of Lazio.

The primitive site on which Rome rose in the course of the centuries, at first included, according to reliable testimonies, only the Palatine or the square Rome ( Roma quadrata) as it was later called after the irregular square shape of the Palatine Hill. The towers and walls of this primitive enclosure could still be seen from the time of the Caesars. As the Latin race united under the command of Rome and extended its territory east and south, Rome, meanwhile, by the favor of the fortune and energy of its citizens, became, of important city for trade and agriculture, the powerful capital of a vast country. The reform of the military system of the Romans, and the political revolution of which it contained the germ and which is known to us under the name of the constitution of Servius, have an intimate connection with this internal change in the character of the Roman city. The merger of the quirinal community with that of the Palatine must have already been accomplished when the reform of Servius took place,as it is called; and when this reform had united and consolidated the military force of the community, the citizens no longer wanted to be satisfied with the entrenchments which surrounded the various hills, as they were covered with buildings, and to possess the island on the Tiber and perhaps the height which was on the opposite shore to control the course of the river. The Romans began to build the Servius wall. The new surrounding wall began at the river, below the Aventine, and included this hill, on which, most recently (1855), in two places, on the slope from the west towards the river and on the slope opposite, we have discovered colossal ruins of these ancient fortifications. The surrounding wall then embraced the Coelius and all the space occupied by the Esquiline, the Viminal and the Quirinal,on which a wide earthen rampart, still imposing today, made up for the lack of a natural slope; he then headed for the Capitol, whose steep slope, facing the Champ de Mars, formed part of the wall of the City, which then joined the river over the Tiber Island. This island, with the wooden bridge and the Janiculum, did not properly belong to the city, but the Janiculum was undoubtedly a fortified outpost. Until then the Palatine had been the citadel, but since then this mountain was left for the constructions of the enlarged city, and it was on the other side, on the Tarpeian hill, free on all sides and easy to defend, in because of its mediocre extent, that the new citadel was built (he then headed for the Capitol, whose steep slope, facing the Champ de Mars, formed part of the city wall, which then joined the river over the Tiber Island. 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The Palatine, like its own ancient city, was surrounded by the two heights that the surrounding wall embraced, and the two castles occupied the middle.

The names of the men under whose inspiration these great monuments of the city arose are about as completely buried in oblivion as those of the leaders who fought and won the oldest battles of Rome. In short, we must be content to learn from this tradition what is self-evident is that this second creation of Rome is in close connection with the extension of Rome's hegemony over Lazio and with the reconstitution of the army of the citizens and that, born of one and the same great conception, these two advances were not due, as to their execution, neither to a single man, nor to a single generation.

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LAW AND JUSTICE. RELIGION

All jurisdiction belonged to the community, that is to say to the king, who administered justice or the "command ( jus ), on the days fixed for the declaration ( diesfasti ), on the platform of justice ( tribunal ) located on the place of public assemblies ”; he is seated on a wagon seat ( sella currulis ), at his side are his "messengers" ( lictores ) and in front of him the accused person or the "parties" ( rei). When it comes to slaves, it is the master who immediately judges, and when it comes to the wife, it is the father, the husband or the next male relative, but the slaves and the women do not. not count as members of the community. Over sons and grandsons, who were subject to paternal authority, the father's power was exercised concurrently with royal jurisdiction. The judicial procedure took the form of a public or private trial, depending on whether the king intervened on his own initiative, or called by the injured party. The first form was only used when public peace was disturbed; thus, above all, in the event of treason, or of understanding with the public enemy ( traditio ), and of violent revolt against authority ( perdellio); but the public peace was also disturbed by parricide ( parricida), the sodomite, the violator of the chastity of a woman or a girl, the arsonist, the false witness and even the one who had made lose the harvest by bad charms, or who cut, without having the right , during the night, wheat in a field placed under the protection of the gods and the people: all these culprits were treated as criminals of high treason. The king opened and directed the trial, and handed down the sentence, after having consulted with the senators whom he had called. Preventive imprisonment is the rule, but the accused can be released on bail. Torture to compel confession was only imposed on slaves. Whoever is convinced of having disturbed the public peace is condemned to death; death sentences are of different kinds. The false witness is thrown from the top of the rock of the fortress;the thief of wheat, hanged; the incendiary, burned. The king does not have the right of pardon, which is reserved for the community: however, he can refuse or grant to the condemned the recourse for pardon (provocatio ).

In all other cases where the peace of individuals, and not that of the State, is disturbed, the State acts only on the denunciation of the offended, who cites his adversary, or, in case of necessity, l 'compels him, by doing violence to him, to appear with him before the king. When both parties have appeared and the plaintiff has verbally explained his request, and the defendant refuses to comply, the king can investigate the case himself, or appoint a deputy to do so in his place.

All property is freely transferable from hand to hand. Roman law makes no essential difference between furniture and buildings, and does not recognize any unconditional rights of children or other relatives to the property of the father or the family. However, it is not possible for the father to deprive his children of his inheritance according to his fancy, because he can neither alienate the paternal power nor make a will without the consent of the whole community, which can refuse it.

Contracts between individuals, in ordinary circumstances, did not regularly give rise to any legal redress by the State. The only recourse of the creditor is the word of the debtor which, according to the custom of commerce, is sacred, and perhaps, in the case where the oath was added, which frequently happened, the fear of the avenging gods of perjury. . The only contracts that give rise to legal action are those of engagement, as a result of which the father, if he does not give the promised bride, must pay compensation, those of sale ( mancipatio ) and loan ( nexum ). The sale is considered final when the seller has handed over the item sold to the purchaser ( mancipare) and that at the same time the buyer has paid the seller the stipulated price in the presence of witnesses. The repayment of the loan was made in the same form, at the agreed time. If the debtor did not fulfill his obligations to the state, he and everything he owned was sold without further legal action.

After the death of a man his property passed to the closest heirs. All those who were at the same degree came equally to the partition, including the women; the widow was admitted equally with the children. The dispensation from ordinary order could only be granted by the assembly of the people, and the consent of the priests had to be obtained beforehand, because of the sacred duties attached to property.

The world of the Roman gods had emerged from an idealization of terrestrial Rome into a higher and more spiritual world, in which the great and the small reproduced with scrupulous accuracy. The state and the clan, the individual phenomena of nature, as well as the individual operations of the mind, every man, every good and every object, every act performed in the sphere of Roman law, was found in the upper world. ; and as earthly things undergo a perpetual coming and going, the same fluctuation is represented in the circle of the gods. The tutelary spirit which presides over the particular act does not live longer than the act itself, the tutelary spirit of the individual lives and dies with it, and eternity belongs to the gods only in this sense that similar acts and men of the same constitution, and,consequently, spirits of the same nature succeed each other perpetually. As Roman gods ruled the Romans, particular gods ruled foreign communities; but however severe the distinction between the citizen and the foreigner, between the Roman god and the foreign god, man, like the foreign god, could be admitted, by a resolution of the community, to the right of Roman liberty, and when the 60 citizens of a conquered city were transported to Rome, the gods of that city were also invited to come and create a new home there.between the Roman god and the foreign god, man, like the foreign god, could be admitted, by a resolution of the community, to the right of Roman liberty, and when the 60 citizens of a conquered city were transported to Rome, the gods of this city were also invited to come and create a new home there.between the Roman god and the foreign god, man, like the foreign god, could be admitted, by a resolution of the community, to the right of Roman liberty, and when the 60 citizens of a conquered city were transported to Rome, the gods of this city were also invited to come and create a new home there.

The national theogony of the Romans sought, above all, to form clear notions of important phenomena and their properties, to give them a terminology and to classify them systematically, taking into account first of all the division of people and things, which was also the basis of private law, so that the citizen could invoke the gods individually and in classes, and to teach the multitude to invoke them in the same way ( indigitare ). It was such notions, the product of positive abstraction, of a character sometimes respectable, sometimes ridiculous, that the Roman theogony was essentially composed. Designs such as seed ( sœturnus ), field work ( ops ), flowering ( flora), war ( bellona ), limit ( terminus ), youth ( juventus ), health ( salus ), good faith ( fides ), harmony ( concordia), belong to the oldest and most revered deities of the Romans. Perhaps the most peculiar of the religious forms in Rome, and probably the only one for which a completely Italic image had been invented, was the two-headed Janus; and yet this god only recalled an idea very characteristic of the intensity of the religious feeling of the Romans, namely that at the beginning of any act one had to invoke "the spirit of openness". This conception testified above all to the deep conviction in which it was essential to classify the Roman gods, and to relegate the more personal gods of the Hellenes separately and on their side. Of all the cults of Rome, the most revered is that of the spirits who govern the house and the room: they were, for public worship, Vesta and the Penates,and for family worship, the gods of the forests and fields, the Sylvans, and above all the gods of the house proper, the Lases or Lares, to whom a portion of the family meal was regularly assigned, and in front of whom he It was the duty of the father of the family, even in Cato the Elder's time, to kneel down when entering the house. In the order of the gods, however, these geniuses of the house and of the fields held the last rank rather than the first; it was, as one cannot fail to arrive in a religion so rebellious to the ideal, not the broadest and the most general abstraction, but the simplest and the most individual, which best nourished the hearts pious.to whom one regularly assigned a part of the family meal, and in front of whom it was the duty of the father of the family, even in the time of Cato the Elder, to kneel, when entering the house. In the order of the gods, however, these geniuses of the house and of the fields held the last rank rather than the first; it was, as one cannot fail to arrive in a religion so rebellious to the ideal, not the broadest and the most general abstraction, but the simplest and the most individual, which best nourished the hearts pious.to whom one regularly assigned a part of the family meal, and in front of whom it was the duty of the father of the family, even in the time of Cato the Elder, to kneel, when entering the house. In the order of the gods, however, these geniuses of the house and of the fields held the last rank rather than the first; it was, as one cannot fail to arrive in a religion so rebellious to the ideal, not the broadest and the most general abstraction, but the simplest and the most individual, which best nourished the hearts pious.as it cannot fail to arrive in a religion so rebellious to the ideal, not the broadest and the most general abstraction, but the simplest and the most individual, which best nourished pious hearts.as it cannot fail to arrive in a religion so rebellious to the ideal, not the broadest and the most general abstraction, but the simplest and the most individual, which best nourished pious hearts.

To this indifference to the ideal element was joined in Roman religion the practical and utilitarian tendency. After the gods of the house and of the forests, the most revered deity, not only among the Latins, but among all the Sabellian races, was Herculus or Hercules, the god of the closed enclosure (from hercere) and hence, in general, the god of property and territorial acquisitions. Nothing was more usual in Roman life than to swear to devote to this god the tenth part of the produce at the altar placed in the cattle market, to obtain the diversion of a destructive plague or the security of gain. longed for. It was customary to go to the same altar to conclude contracts, and to confirm them by oath, which soon made Hercules merge with the god of good faith ( deus fidius). It was not by chance that this tutelary god of speculation, to use the words of an ancient writer, was revered in all corners of Italy, and that altars were erected to him in the streets of cities as on the highways, and it was not by accident either that the cult of the goddess of chance and fortune ( Fors Fortuna ) and the god of commerce ( Mercurius ) soon spread . Strict frugality and mercantile speculation were too deeply imprinted in Roman mores not to find their corresponding abstraction in the world of the gods.

The center not only of Roman worship but of Italic religion, at that time when the Italic race still inhabited the Peninsula alone, was the god Maurs or Mars, the killer god, regarded as the champion of citizens, armed with the spear, who protects herds and overthrows enemies. It is to his cult that the oldest priestly corporations are consecrated, and above all, the priest of the god of the community, named for life "the igniter of Mars ( flamen Martialis ), as he was called because of the offerings. burnt ones that were dedicated to him, and the twelve "dancers" ( salii ), a group of young men who, in March, performed the war dance, accompanied by songs, in honor of Mars.

Other public cults still existed: some probably had an earlier origin than that of Rome and the celebration was entrusted to special colleges of priests or to families who exercised it in the name of the people. Such was the college of the twelve "brothers of the fields" ( fratres arvales ), who invoked the creative goddess ( dea dia ) in the month of May, to ask for the growth of the wheat, and who, after the two corporations of dancers, were the first college of priests of the city. To these was attached the Titian brotherhood, which was established to preserve and celebrate the particular cult of this Roman tribe; the same was true of the thirty "curial lighters" ( flamines curiales) instituted for the altars of the thirty curies.

At the same time began the cult of the new unique altar of the city - of Vesta - and the parent cult of the Penates of the community. Six pure virgins, daughters, so to speak, of the hearth of the Roman people, fulfilled this pious office and had to maintain the beneficent fire of the common hearth, always ardent, to serve as an example and a sign for the citizens. This cult, half domestic, half public, was the most revered of the Romans, and consequently remained the last of the pagan rites which disappeared before Christianity.

Latin worship is based essentially on the attachment of man to earthly goods, and to a degree well subordinated to the fear of the blind forces of nature; it consisted above all of expressions of joy, songs and songs, games, dances and above all banquets. As everywhere, among the agricultural populations whose ordinary food consists of vegetables, the immolation of the cattle was both a family celebration and an act of worship; a pig was the most pleasing offering to the gods, precisely because it was the main roast of the festivals. We find among the Romans only very slight indications of the belief in ghosts, of the fear of the magical arts, and of mysterious practices. Oracles and prophecy never gained in Italy the importance they acquired in Greece,and could never exert a really serious influence on public or private life. But, on the other hand, the Latin religion fell into a singular state of drought and inertia, and early on, it was embarrassed by a painful and unspiritual mass of ceremonies [rites]. The god of the Italians was, as we have already said, above all an instrument of help to obtain very solid earthly goods. The tendency imparted to the beliefs of the Italiots by their taste for the palpable and the real is still distinctly recognized in the worship of the saints of modern Italy. The gods are faced with man like a creditor before his debtor; each of them had a duly recognized right to certain ceremonies [rites] and to certain offerings;and as the number of gods was as great as that of the circumstances of human life, and negligence or incomplete execution in the worship of each god was avenged under a similar circumstance, it was a laborious task to know fully his religious obligations. The priests, who were experts in these divine laws and who taught their application, thepontifices could not fail to acquire a powerful influence.

Latin religion, reduced to the level of ordinary perception, was completely intelligible to all, and equally accessible to all; this is what enabled the community to preserve the equality of its citizens while Greece, where religion rose to the level of the highest thought, had to endure from the first times good and bad chances of an intellectual aristocracy. The Latin religion had, like any other, for its root an effort to penetrate the abyss of thought; there is only a superficial view which ignores the depth of the river, because of the clarity of its waves, and to which the transparent world of spirits may appear hollow. This deep faith disappeared in the course of time, like the morning mist before the rising sun;but the Latins retained the simplicity of their faith longer than many peoples and especially the Greeks. Just as colors are due to the light which their effects disturb at the same time, art and science are not only creatures but also destroyers of faith, and just as necessity governs this movement of creation and of destruction, a similar necessity reserves certain results for the epochs of simplicity, results which the following epochs try in vain to achieve. The powerful intellectual development of the Hellenes, which created their still incomplete religious and literary unity, was what made it impossible for them to achieve real political unity; they thus sacrificed simplicity, gentleness, dedication,the spirit of association which are the first conditions of any such union. It is therefore time to abandon this puerile view of history which believes it can only elevate the Greeks at the expense of the Romans, and the Romans only at the expense of the Greeks. We find that the rose has its value, even with oak; why should we refrain from praising or blaming the two richest national bodies that antiquity has produced, and from understanding this truth, that their imperfections are naturally linked to their perfections? The deeper, the most essential reason for the diversity of the two nations is undoubtedly the fact that Lazio did not come into contact with the East at the time of its growth, like Greece.No people in this world were large enough to create by their own efforts the wonders of Greek civilization, and later of Christian civilization: history has only cast this splendid ray where the ideas of the Aramaic religion germinated on Indo-Germanic soil. But if, because of this, Greece is the prototype of human progress, Lazio is no less the prototype of national progress; and it is our duty, as their successors, to admire and learn from both.it is up to us, their successors, to admire each other and to learn from both.it is up to us, their successors, to admire each other and to learn from both.

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AGRICULTURE AND TRADE. ART

We have already noticed that the passage from pastoral life to agricultural life predates the immigration of the Italiots to the peninsula. Agriculture continues to be the main livelihood of all communities in Italy, Sabellians and Etruscans as well as Latins. There have never been purely pastoral tribes in Italy in historical times, although the various races undoubtedly join in some degree the pastoral economy to agricultural life, according to the nature of the localities. The fine custom of beginning the foundation of a city by tracing a furrow with the plow, to determine the future enclosure wall, proves how deeply the feeling of the necessity of agricultural life for the existence of cities was deeply imprinted in the spirits.In Rome in particular (and it is only in this case that we speak of agriculture with some certainty), the reform of Servius shows quite clearly, not only that the agricultural class was once the cornerstone of the state, but also that a constant attempt was made to maintain the body of landowners as the nucleus of the community. When, in the course of time, a large part of the land property of the Romans had passed into the hands of non-citizens, and the rights and duties of the citizen were no longer attached to property, the reformed constitution obviated this bad organization and the dangers it foresaw, not only temporarily, but definitively, by dividing the members of the community once and for all, regardless of their political situation, into "owners" (as "owners" (as "owners" (as "owners" (as "owners" (Servius's reform makes it very clear not only that the agricultural class was once the cornerstone of the state, but also that a constant attempt was made to maintain the body of landowners as the nucleus of the community. 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This last measure could not fail to be followed by the concession of public rights. The whole policy of war and of the Roman conquest rested, moreover, like the constitution itself, on the basis of property; since the owner alone had a position in the state, the aim of state wars was to increase the number of owners. The conquered community was obliged to blend in entirely with the agricultural population of Rome, or, if it was not to be reduced to this extremity, it had to pay not a war contribution or a fixed tribute, but cede a portion (usually a third) of his domain, which was then regularly occupied by Roman farms. Many peoples lived and conquered like the Romans;but none equaled the Romans in this manner of appropriating the conquered ground by spreading the sweat of his brow there, and by ensuring by the furrow of the plow what he had gained by the lance. What is conquered by war can be taken back by war; but it is not so with the conquests made by the plow. The Romans lost many battles, but they hardly ever ceded an inch of Roman ground, making peace; they owe this result to the tenacity with which the farmers attached themselves to their fields and their dwellings. The strength of man and of the State lies in its domination over the soil; the greatness of Rome was built on the most extensive and direct ownership of the soil by the inhabitants, and on the compact unity of a body so firmly established.

We have already indicated that, in the early days, arable land was cultivated in common, probably by the different clans: each of them cultivated its own land, and then distributed the product among the different households that were part of it. There is in fact an intimate relationship between the system of communal cultivation and the form of clan society; still later in Rome, common residence and common culture, when there were co-owners, was very common. The very traditions of Roman law show us that wealth originally consisted of cattle and the right to use the land, and that the land was only later divided into particular properties. The best proof is the old designation of the property by the term "possession of cattle" or "slaves and cattle" (pecunia , familia pecuniaque ) and of the particular possessions of the children of the house and of the slaves by the term of "small cattle" ( peculium ). Another proof of this is found in the ancient form of territorial acquisition by "manual seizure" ( mancipatio ), which can only be applied to movable objects; one last proof, last but not least, is the ancient measure of the property ( heredium de herus , Herr) of two will judge(about an acre and a quarter) which can only apply to gardens and not to fields. We can no longer know when and how this division of the arable land took place. What is historically certain is that the oldest form of the constitution was based not on personal property, but on the collective property which replaced it, while the constitution of Servius presupposes the distribution of land. The same constitution shows that the great mass of landed property consisted of medium-sized farms, which gave work and subsistence to a family and were sufficient for the maintenance of cattle and for cultivation by the plow. The ordinary extent of such a Roman heritage cannot be fixed with precision, as we have already said, but can hardly be estimated at less than twentywill judge .

The distribution of land did not extend to pastures. The State, and not the canton, was regarded as the owner of the common pastures; he made use of it, either for herds and for animals intended for sacrifices or for other objects, and for the supply of which he was abundantly provided by fines, or by giving the owners of cattle the privilege of leading their cattle for a moderate fee ( scriptura ). The right of pasture on the public domains undoubtedly had, in the beginning, some resemblance with the real possession of the ground; but no legal connection must have subsisted, in Rome, between particular inheritances and a definite use of the common pasture; because the property could be acquired even by the metoikos, but the right to use the common pasture always remained a privilege of the citizen and was granted to the metoikos only exceptionally by royal favor.

Agriculture was without doubt the main and most popular occupation of the Romans; other branches of industry were however honored there, as one can infer from the rapid development of urban life in this warehouse in Lazio. In fact, there were under the institutions of Numa, that is to say from time immemorial, eight corporations of workers. They were the flute players, the goldsmiths, the copper makers, the carpenters, the fullers, the dyers, the potters, the shoemakers. This list would essentially exhaust the class of industrialists working for others and for sale in those ancient times, when the baking of bread and the particular art of medicine were not known, and where clothes were woven. with the wool spun by the women in the house itself.

The commerce of the Italiots was at first limited, it is understandable, to the mutual exchanges of their products. Fairs ( mercatus), which must be distinguished from weekly markets (nundinæ), were established since ancient times in Lazio. In Rome, they were perhaps not attached, as they were later, to the public games, but to the feasts which were celebrated at the federal temple of the Aventine; the Latins who came to Rome for this purpose every year, on August 13, no doubt took advantage of the circumstance to do their business in Rome and buy their provisions there. A similar and perhaps even greater importance attached, in Etruria, to the annual general assembly which was held at the temple of Voltumna (perhaps near Montefiascone) in the territory of Volsinii. This assembly served at the same time as a fair, and was frequented by the Romans as well as by native traders.But the most important of all the Latin fairs was that which was held at Soracte, on the meadow of Feronia, in a situation such that one could not find more favorable for the exchange of useful objects between the three great nations. . This isolated high mountain, which seems to have been established by nature to serve as a point of reference for the traveler in the middle of the plain of the Tiber, is on the border which separated the Etruscan and Sabine lands (it seems rather to have belonged to the latter territory), and it was also accessible from Lazio and Umbria: the Roman merchants appeared there regularly and the deceits they complained about caused more than one quarrel with the Sabines.in a situation such that one could not find more favorable for the exchange of useful objects between the three great nations. This isolated high mountain, which seems to have been established by nature to serve as a point of reference for the traveler in the middle of the plain of the Tiber, lies on the border which separated the Etruscan and Sabine lands (it seems rather to have belonged to the latter territory), and it was also accessible from Lazio and Umbria: the Roman merchants appeared there regularly and the deceit they complained of caused more than one quarrel with the Sabines.in a situation such that one could not find more favorable for the exchange of useful objects between the three great nations. This isolated high mountain, which seems to have been established by nature to serve as a point of reference for the traveler in the middle of the plain of the Tiber, lies on the border which separated the Etruscan and Sabine lands (it seems rather to have belonged to the latter territory), and it was also accessible from Lazio and Umbria: the Roman merchants appeared there regularly and the deceit they complained of caused more than one quarrel with the Sabines.is located on the border which separated the Etruscan and Sabine lands (it seems rather to have belonged to the latter territory), and it was also accessible from Lazio and Umbria: the Roman merchants appeared there regularly and the deceit of which they complained caused more than one quarrel with the Sabines.is located on the border which separated the Etruscan and Sabine lands (it seems rather to have belonged to the latter territory), and it was also accessible from Lazio and Umbria: the Roman merchants appeared there regularly and the deceit of which they complained caused more than one quarrel with the Sabines.

No doubt, people traded and traded at these fairs long before the first Greek or Phoenician ship had appeared in the Western Sea. It was there that, in the event of a bad harvest, the surrounding countries supplied each other with grain; it was there that cattle, slaves, metals and all the articles which could appear useful or desirable in these primitive times were still exchanged. The means of exchange consisted originally of oxen and sheep, ten sheep equivalent to one ox. The recognition of these objects as legal representation of value, in a word as currency, as well as the scale of proportion between large and small cattle, goes back (as the widespread usage among the Germans proves) not only to the Greco-Italic period, but beyond, at a time of purely pastoral economy. In Italy,where metal was needed everywhere in considerable quantities, especially for agricultural objects and for armament, while few countries produced it, copper (aes ) appeared early to cattle as a medium of exchange: the Latins, who were poor in copper, referred to the evaluation itself by the name of "copper" ( aestimatio ). In this establishment of copper as an equivalent valid throughout the entire extent of the peninsula, as in the invention of elementary numerical signs of which we will speak later, finally in the duodecimal system of the Italiotes, we find traces of these international relations of peoples italics from the time when they still alone owned the peninsula.

The elements of architecture were, as we have already indicated, the common heritage of the Latin races. The dwelling is always the element of all architecture: it was thus with the Greeks and the Italiots. Built of wood and covered with a thatched or pebble roof, the house formed a square living room, which let smoke out and light through an opening in the roof ( cavum aedium ), which corresponded to another opening. soil for rain runoff. "Under this blackened roof" ( atrium), we prepared and ate food; it is there that the gods of the house were adored and the nuptial bed was raised like the beer of the dead; it is there that the man receives the guests and that the woman spins the wool among her maids. The house does not have a porch, unless we count as such the space discovered between the door of the house and the street, which borrowed its name ( vestibulum place for dressing), from this circumstance that the Romans walked in their house with their tunics, and did not roll their gowns around them until they went outside. There was no division of apartments, except that sleeping rooms or storerooms could be arranged around the bedroom; there were even fewer stairs or stacked floors.

It is difficult to determine if and to what extent a national Italic architecture could have emerged from these elements, because, on this ground, the Greek influence, even in the first times, was felt powerfully, and buried the national attempts. who could have preceded it.

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SECOND BOOK

From the abolition of the monarchy in Rome to the union of Italy

CHANGE OF THE CONSTITUTION

LIMITATION OF THE POWERS OF THE JUDICIARY

The political movement within the body of privileged citizens, the war between the excluded and the excluded, and the social conflicts between the owners and the non-owners, however intertwined they appear to us in their variety, and however singular alliances that they produced, were none the less essentially and fundamentally distinct from one another.

The reform of Servius, by putting the inhabitant and the citizen on the same footing from the military point of view, seems to have arisen more from reasons of administrative convenience than from a political tendency of party: it was thus, we can affirm it , the movement which sought to accomplish the limitation of the power of the magistrate who was the first of those who started the internal crises and the constitutional changes. The first consequence of this ancient opposition to Rome consisted in the abolition of life power in the state, that is to say in the abolition of royalty. A proof that this change was the result of the natural development of things is that the same change of constitution manifested itself in an analogous manner throughout the whole circle of the Italo-Greek world. Not only in Rome,but among the other Latins and among the Sabellians, the Etruscans and the Apulians, in fact in all the Italic States, as in the Greek States we see the life chiefs of the primitive epoch replaced by annual magistrates. As regards the Lucanian canton, we can prove that it had a democratic government in times of peace, and that in the event of war only the magistrates appointed a king, that is to say a leader similar to the Roman dictator. . The Sabellian States, including Capua and Pompeii, were likewise governed, in later times, by a "guardian of the State" (one can prove that he had a democratic government in times of peace, and that in the event of war only the magistrates appointed a king, that is to say a leader similar to the Roman dictator. The Sabellian States, including Capua and Pompeii, were likewise governed, in later times, by a "guardian of the State" (one can prove that he had a democratic government in times of peace, and that in the event of war only the magistrates appointed a king, that is to say a leader similar to the Roman dictator. The Sabellian States, including Capua and Pompeii, were likewise governed, in later times, by a "guardian of the State" (medix tuticus ) which was renewed every year, and we can imagine that similar institutions existed in other states and cities of Italy. There is therefore no need to look for other explanations for the substitution of consuls for kings in the Roman state. The organism of the ancient Greek and Italic politics produced of itself, and by some sort of natural necessity, the limitation of life power to a shorter duration, usually one year.

While the historical connection to this important event escapes us, we fortunately see more clearly the nature of the constitutional change that followed. Royal power was in no way abolished: what proves it is that when there was a vacancy in the consulate, an "inter-king" was appointed as before. The single king appointed for life was replaced by two annual kings, who were called: generals ( praetores ) or judges ( judices ) or simply colleagues ( consul). The principle of collegiality, from which came this name, so widespread since, of the annual kings, took on this occasion a very particular form. The supreme power was not entrusted to the two united officials, but each of the two consuls acted and behaved in isolation with a freedom equal to that enjoyed by kings; although, from the outset no doubt, they shared the attributions, one of the consuls taking command of the army and the other the administration of justice, this division was in no way obligatory, and each of the two consuls remained perfectly free to enter into the attributions of his colleague. So when the supreme power collided with the supreme power, when one of the consuls defended what the other ordered, the commands neutralized each other.This properly Roman, or rather Italic, institution of competing supreme authorities, which ultimately ended up becoming practicable in the Roman republic, but to which one would hardly find an analogy in any other great State, was evidently born from the efforts made to retain power. royal in its fullness. But in a legal form, and not to share the royalty or transfer it from one individual to many, but simply to double it, and annihilate it by itself, if necessary, by this means, the king's position in the Roman state was subject to the laws, and not superior to them; but as, according to Roman law, the sovereign judge could not be prosecuted at his own bar, if the king was guilty of a crime, there was neither tribunal nor punishment for him. The consul, too,if he committed murder or treason, was protected by his dignity, as long as he possessed it, but when it ceased, he was subject to the same criminal jurisdiction as any other citizen.

The right to designate his successor, which the king had exercised without limit, was by no means taken from the new head of state, but he was obliged to appoint the citizen whom the community designated to him. Finally, the appointment of priests, which had been a royal prerogative, was not transferred to the consuls.

However, these limitations of the fullness and attributes of omnipotence actually applied only to ordinary state government. In the extraordinary circumstances, there was, as we have said, instead of the two chiefs elected by the community, a single master of the people ( magister populi ) or "ordonnateur" ( dictator). The community took no part in the appointment of the dictator, this appointment absolutely depended on one of the two consuls who were then in office. There was no other appeal against him than provocation, as for the king, unless he consented. When he was appointed, the powers of all the other magistrates fell instantly and passed into his hands. A master of the cavalry was added to him, as well as to the king, and as the appointment of a dictator took place only on occasions when internal disturbances or the danger of the fatherland necessitated the appeal of military force , the appointment of a master of the cavalry was a circumstance of constitutional necessity like that of the dictator. The intention was, in all probability,to distinguish the authority of the dictator from that of the king only by the term assigned to the duration of his functions, which could not be more than six months, and by the circumstance that, being an extraordinary magistrate, he did not appoint a successor.

An extension of the community was inevitable, and it was accomplished in a comprehensive manner, by the admission into the curies of the entire plebeian, that is to say all the non-citizens who were not slaves. , nor citizens of foreign communities living in Rome under the right of hospitality (which, on this point, put the Head of State at the level of former citizens). At the same time, the assembly of curies, which until then had been legally and effectively the first authority of the state, saw its constitutional privileges almost completely taken away.

All the political privileges of the public assembly, as well as the decision on appeals in criminal cases, mainly political cases, the appointment of magistrates and the adoption or rejection of laws, all were transferred or newly acquired by the assembly of men called up for military service; so that the centuries then received the rights of the citizen, after having borne the charges for a long time. This measure made the first advance achieved by the constitution of Servius, such as that which had given the Army the right to consent to an aggressive declaration of war, make a step so decisive that the curies were then completely and forever rejected in shadow by the assembly of the centuries, and that they were accustomed to consider these as the sovereign people.

Direct constitutional reform went no further, it seems. The position of the senate in particular did not undergo any change: there remained an assembly of notable citizens appointed for life, without any official competence of their own: the senators were advisers to the annual kings, as they had been to the king for life. Appointment to the Senate was made by consuls, as in the past by kings.

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THE PEOPLE'S TRIBUNATE AND THE DECEMVIRATE

Under the new organization of the republic, the body of former citizens had achieved, by legal means, full possession of political power. Governing by the magistracy which had been reduced to serve as its instrument, preponderant in the senate, possessing exclusively all the offices and the priesthood, armed with the exclusive knowledge of divine and human things, and familiar with the routine of political practice, voting at the head of the electoral assembly and influencing the mass through the multitude of devoted members attached to the various families, finally authorized to examine and reject any decree of the community, the patricians could have retained their effective power for a long time, because they had in due course abandoned their claims to the exclusive possession of legal authority. Plebeians,it is true, could not be insensitive to their political capacity: nevertheless, the nobility did not have to worry first about a purely political opposition, if it understood the art of keeping the political struggle away from the political struggle. multitude who wanted nothing more than an equitable administration and the protection of their material interests. In fact, in the early days following the expulsion of the kings, we encounter various measures the aim of which was or seems to have been to reconcile the favor of the multitude with the government of the nobility, especially from the economic point of view. Port dues were reduced; when wheat rose, large quantities of grain were bought on behalf of the state; the salt trade was made a state monopoly, to provide citizens with wheat and salt at reasonable prices,finally the national festival was extended by one day.

The government of the kings had doubtless refrained on principle from containing the power of capital, and had encouraged, as much as it was in its power, the increase in the number of farms. The new aristocratic government, on the contrary, seems to have tended from the outset to the distinction of the middle classes, particularly that of the middle and small landowners, and to the development, on the one hand, of landowner and capitalist lords, and on the other, the agricultural proletariat.

The ruthless practice of the debtors' law, the story goes, excited the indignation of the entire farming class. When, in the year 250, the levy was called for a dangerous war, the men obliged to serve refused to obey this command, so that the consul Publius Servius suspended for a time the application of the debtors' law, and gave orders to release those already imprisoned for debt, and to prevent further imprisonment. Farmers took their place in the army and helped secure victory. Returning from the field of battle, they found, with the peace that their efforts had brought, their prison and their chains; with ruthless rigor, the second consul, Appius Claudius, applied the law of debtors and his colleague, whom the former soldiers implored,did not dare to oppose it. But, when in the following year, the war was renewed, the word of the consul was no longer heeded. It was not until Manius Valerius was appointed dictator that the farmers yielded, either out of fear of authority or out of confidence in his sentiments favorable to the popular cause; because the Valerii were one of those ancientgentes, in whose eyes government was a privilege and an honor, not a source of gain. The victory returned under the Roman standards; but when the triumphs returned and the dictator proposed the reform projects to the senate, he failed in the face of the stubborn opposition he encountered. The army was still in arms, according to custom, at the gates of the city. When the news arrived, the long-suspended storm broke; the esprit de corps and the solidity of the military organization drew the timid and indifferent into the movement. The army abandoned its leader and its tents, and led by the commanders of the legions, the military tribunes who were, at least in large part, plebeians, it marched in military order towards the district of Crustumeria between the Tiber and Anio,where she occupied a mountain and threatened to found in this place, the most fertile of the Roman territory, a new plebeian city. Secession showed in a palpable way, even to the most stubborn of the oppressors, that a civil war of this sort would end in their own ruin and the Senate gave in. The dictator negotiated a compromise. The farmers returned to the city walls and unity was restored within. The consequences were felt for many centuries: this was the origin of the tribuneship of the people.The farmers returned to the city walls and unity was restored within. The consequences were felt for many centuries: this was the origin of the tribuneship of the people.The farmers returned to the city walls and unity was restored within. The consequences were felt for many centuries: this was the origin of the tribuneship of the people.

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The restriction of the consular power and the extension of the tribunitian power were the object of the war on the one hand, the annihilation of the tribunate was the goal of the other party.

The best-known incident of these conflicts is the story of Gaius Marcius, a valiant aristocrat who received the nickname Coriolanus after the capture of Corioli. Indignant to see the centuries refusing him the consulate, the year of Rome 263 (491) he proposed, if one is to believe one version, the suspension of sales of wheat from the granaries of the State, until the starving people would have abandoned the tribunate; according to another version, he directly proposed the abolition of the tribunate. Indicted by the tribunes, and fearing for his life and his liberty, he left, it is said, the city, but to return to the head of a robber army; he was about to conquer the city of his fathers for the public enemy, when his mother's prayers touched his conscience: he thus atoned for his first betrayal by a second and both by death.We cannot say precisely what is true in this story; but the story on which the naive glory of the Roman annalists has founded a title to glory for the fatherland, opens a glimpse into the immoral and pitiless character of these struggles between the orders. The same can be said of the surprise of the Capitol by a band of political refugees, under the leadership of a Sabine leader, Appius Herdonius, in the year 294 (460); they called their slaves to arms and it was only after an ardent struggle and with the help of the Tusculans, who had flown to their aid, that the Roman army overcame this catilinary band.opens a glimpse into the immoral and ruthless character of these struggles between the orders. The same can be said of the surprise of the Capitol by a band of political refugees, under the leadership of a Sabine leader, Appius Herdonius, in the year 294 (460); they called their slaves to arms and it was only after an ardent struggle and with the help of the Tusculans, who had flown to their aid, that the Roman army overcame this catilinary band.opens a glimpse into the immoral and ruthless character of these struggles between the orders. The same can be said of the surprise of the Capitol by a band of political refugees, under the leadership of a Sabine leader, Appius Herdonius, in the year 294 (460); they called their slaves to arms and it was only after a fiery struggle and with the help of the Tusculans, who had flown to their aid, that the Roman army came to the end of this catilinary band.

A new attempt was made to get rid of the tribunitian power by assuring the people of equal rights in a more regular and effective manner. The tribune of the people Gaius Terentilius Arsa proposed to appoint a commission of five members to prepare a code of public laws, by which the consuls would henceforth be bound in the exercise of their judicial powers.

The Decemvirs of the year 303 (451) submitted their law to the people and it was confirmed by them, engraved on ten copper tables, and placed in the Forum, on the tribune for harangues, in front of the senate. But, as a supplement seemed necessary, decemvirs were again appointed in the year 304 (450) and added two more tables. Thus was born the first and only code of laws of Rome, the law of the Twelve Tables.

The moderate part of the aristocracy, the Valerii and the Horatii at their head, tried, it is said, in the senate to bring about the abdication of the Decemvirs, but the leader of the Decemvirs Appius Claudius, the passionate champion of the violent aristocratic party, won most of the senators, and the people submitted.

In the end, when civil war was imminent and the street riots were about to begin, the Decemvirs relinquished their usurped and dishonored power; Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius made a second compromise, by which the Tribunate of the People was re-established.

The new compromise was naturally very favorable to the plebeians, and imposed appreciable restrictions on the power of the nobility. The code of laws torn from the aristocracy, and of which the last two tables were published as a supplement, was adopted and confirmed, and the consuls were obliged to conform their judgments to it. Thus the conflict which had begun for the abolition of the power of the tribunes, ended with the confirmation of their right to annul not only particular acts of administration, on the appeal of the injured person, but also any resolution of the constituent powers. of State.

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THE EQUALIZATION OF ORDERS AND THE NEW ARISTOCRACY

The abolition of privileges, social reform, civil equality: these were three great ideas which thus came to light. It was in vain that the patricians exhausted their means of resistance against these legal proposals: the dictatorship itself and the old hero Camillus only delayed and not prevented their adoption.

However, in view of this important republican equality, we must not forget that it was, in many respects, only for the form, and that it gave birth to a clearly pronounced aristocracy, which, to put it better, was contained there from the beginning. Either way, new blood entered the ruling class of Rome, but the government remained, afterwards as before, aristocratic. In this very respect, the Roman state was a true farmer's republic, in which the owner of an entire inheritance has little to distinguish him outwardly from the poor, and deals with him on an equal footing, but where the aristocracy nevertheless exercises an all-powerful domination, to the point that a man without property has more chance of becoming head of the citizens in the city than mayor in his own village.It was a very great and very precious conquest that that which allowed, under the new legislation, the poorest citizen to fulfill the first office of the State: it was nonetheless a rare exception to see a man s 'raising lower ranks of the population to such a position.

Finally, with regard to administration, war, peace, and alliances, the founding of colonies, land assignments, the construction of buildings, in general, finally, any object of permanent and general importance, and especially all system of finances, absolutely depended on the senate. It was the Senate which, every year, sent general instructions to the magistrates, to determine their provinces of attribution and to fix the troops and the money which were to be placed at the disposal of each of them; one should have recourse to his advice in all important circumstances. With the exception of the consul, the directors of the public treasury could not make any payment to an official or to an individual without being authorized to do so by a prior decree of the Senate. Called to power, not by the vain coincidence of birth,but in substance by the free choice of the nation, confirmed every five years by the judgment full of moral gravity of the most worthy men, appointed for life, and thus independent of the expiration of an office, or of the variable favor judges, having their ranks tight and united since the equalization of orders, embracing in themselves all that the nation possessed of political intelligence and practical ability, having absolutely all financial questions and the control of foreign policy, having complete power over the executive by virtue of the short term of office, and the tribunitian intercession which served the senate, since the quarrels between the orders were over, the Roman senate was the noblest expression of the nation, and as consistency and as political sagacity, as unanimity and patriotism,as fullness of power and energetic courage, it was the first political corporation of all time, "an assembly of kings" which knew how to marvelously combine despotic energy with republican disinterestedness. Never has a State been represented in its foreign relations with more firmness and nobility than Rome was, in its good days, by the Senate. In matters of internal administration, it cannot be concealed that the financial and proprietor aristocracy, which was specially represented in the Senate, acted with partiality in matters which touched upon its particular interests, and that the sagacity and energy of the assembly were often employed in such cases without advantage to the State. Nevertheless, the great principle established in the midst of violent struggles,that all citizens were equal before the law, as regards rights and duties, and for entry into the political career (or, in other words, admission to the Senate) contributed with the brilliance of military and political success in preserving the harmony of state and nation, spared class distinction that bitterness and hostility which had signaled the struggle of patricians and plebeians. And as the fortunate turn in foreign policy had the effect of giving the rich, for more than a century, an ample career on their behalf, and spared them the need to oppress the middle class, the Roman people were in good shape. , by means of the Senate, to lead, longer than any people, this enterprise, the greatest of human enterprises, that of awith regard to rights and duties, and for entry into the political career (or, in other words, admission to the senate) contributed with the brilliance of military and political successes, to maintaining harmony state and nation, spared class distinction that bitterness and hostility which had signaled the struggle of patricians and plebeians. 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FALL OF ETRUSCAN POWER

Assailed by these simultaneous and, so to speak, concerted attacks from very different peoples, the Syracusans, the Latins, the Samnites and above all the Celts, the Etruscan nation, which had conquered such a vast and sudden ascendancy in Lazio and Campania and on the two italic seas, undergoes a rapid decline. At the end of the year 346 (408) the Romans, for their part, resolved to undertake a war of conquest against Etruria, and this time the war was continued, not only to defeat Veii, but to annihilate it. . The fight was fierce, the result was little doubtful. The Romans were supported by the Latins and the Hernics, for whom the destruction of their dreaded neighbor was of no less benefit than for the Romans themselves: Veii, on the contrary, was abandoned by the nation itself.The Celts' attacks, which took place at the same time, are sufficient to explain the non-intervention of the cities of the North. Veies succumbed, 358 (396), after a valiant resistance.

It was only when the Gauls had crossed the Tiber, and were at the Allia stream, less than sixteen kilometers above Rome, that a Roman army sought to bar their passage, on July 18, 364 (390) . Even then they marched into battle with arrogance and presumption, as though they were attacking not an army, but brigands, under inexperienced leaders. Camille had retired from business, as a result of dissensions between the orders. Those against whom they had to fight were only savages: what good is a camp and the security of the retreat? But these savages were men whose courage scorned death, and their way of fighting was as new as it was terrible for the Italiots. Drawing their swords, the Celts rushed with furious anger on the Roman phalanx,and scattered it at the first shock. The defeat was not only complete, but the disorderly flight of the Romans, who hastened to put the river between them and the barbarians, dragged the greater part of the defeated army on the right bank of the Tiber and on the Veii side. The capital was thus left at the mercy of the Gauls. The few troops which remained behind or took refuge there were not sufficient to guard the walls, and three days after the battle the victors found the gates of Rome open. If they had acted as best they could first of all, that was the end of not only the city, but the state; a moment of respite gave time to carry and bury the sacred objects, and, what was more important, to occupy the citadel and to introduce some provisions there.Anyone who was unable to bear arms was not allowed into the citadel; there was no bread for everyone. The mass of the defenseless inhabitants took refuge in the neighboring towns; but many, especially a number of distinguished old men, did not want to survive the fall of the city, and waited in their homes for the death of the barbarians. They came, slaughtered and pillaged what they found of men and goods, and set fire to all corners of the city, under the eyes of the defenders of the Capitol. But they did not know the art of sieges, and the blockade of the citadel was tiring and difficult, since the subsistence of the army could only be done by parties beating the countryside, and the citizens of the neighboring Latin towns , the Ardeates in particular,frequently attacked the marauders with courage and success. Nevertheless, the Celts persisted with exemplary energy in such circumstances, seven months, under the rock of the Capitol, and the garrison which had escaped a surprise in the middle of a dark night only by the cry of the sacred geese and the accidental awakening of the brave Marcus Manlius, began to see his provisions running out, when the Celts learned that the Venetes had invaded the territory of the Senones on the newly conquered Po, which decided them to accept the ransom offered to them. By throwing his sword into the balance with contempt, so that the weight was balanced by Roman gold, the Gallic chief indicated the true situation of things. The barbarian iron had won; but they were selling their victory, and thereby losing it.

The barbarians had hardly left when the arm of Lazio was already weighing heavily on the Etruscans. After many defeats, they had to abandon all of southern Etruria to the Romans, as far as the Ciminian mountains. The Romans formed four new tribes from the territories of Veii, Capene and Falerii, 367 (387) and ensured the northern border by the foundation of the fortresses of Sutrium, 371 (383) and Napète, 381 (373). It was with rapid steps that this fertile country covered with Roman colonists became completely Romanized. In northern Italy, the peoples who fought among themselves finally calmed down, and organized themselves in a more lasting way and within better delimited borders.

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THE ITALIOTS AGAINST ROME

Since the fall of Etruscan power, since the weakening of the Greek republics, the Samnite confederation was, after Rome, the most considerable power in Italy, and, at the same time, the one which was most immediately threatened by the pervasive spirit of Rome. It was to her, therefore, that fell, in the struggle which the Italiots had to sustain against Rome for their freedom and their nationality, the first place and the heaviest burden.

It was in the year 428 (326) that the struggle began on the Samnite territory itself; some border towns of Campania, Rufræ (between Venafrum and Teanum) and Allifæ, were occupied by the Romans.

In the following years, the Roman armies entered Samnium, fighting and plundering on their way, to the territory of the Vestini and even to Apulia, where they were received with open arms.

After the Samnites fought to rescue the city and were defeated, Luceria surrendered to the Romans. Then the war passed in Apulia, where the Romans stormed Saticula, a border town against Samnium, 438 (316). The Samnite army in front of Capua was beaten, and obliged to withdraw from Campania; the Romans, walking on the heels of the enemy, crossed the Mates, and encamped in the winter of 440 (314), in front of Bovianum, capital of Samnium. Frégelles, which was in the hands of the anti-Roman party, and which was the citadel in the region of Liris, finally fell after being occupied for eight years by the Samnites, 441 (313). Two hundred citizens, the most eminent of the national party, were taken to Rome, and there beheaded in the Forum, to serve as an example and a warning to the patriots, who were everywhere agitated.

By there, Apulia and Campania were in the hands of the Romans. To ensure and command in perpetuity the conquered territory, the Romans founded there, from 440 (314) to 442 (312) a certain number of new fortresses.

The designs of the Romans developed more and more; they tended to nothing less than the subjugation of Italy, which they surrounded, year after year, with a network of fortresses and roads. The Samnites were already encircled on both sides in the mesh of this net; the line from Rome to Luceria already separated the north and the south of Italy from one another, just as the fortresses of Cora and Norba had already separated the Volscians from the Eques.

The final decision was reserved for the campaign of 449 (308). The two consular armies penetrated, one under the command of Tiberius Minicius, and after the death of Minicius under that of Marcus Fulvius, from Campania through the mountain passes, the other under Lucius Posthumius, from the Adriatic , by Boferno, in the Samnium; these two armies joined hands in front of Bovianum, the capital of the country: a decisive battle was fought; Samnite general Statius Gellius was taken prisoner and Bovianum taken by storm.

The fall of the country's military capital put an end to this twenty-two year war. The Samnites withdrew their garrisons from Sora and Arpinum, and sent ambassadors to Rome to ask for peace; their example was followed by the Sabellian peoples, the Marses, the Marrucins, the Peligniens, the Frentani, the Vestins, the Picentins.

Probably around the same time, and as a result of peace with the Samnites, Rome also made peace with Taranto.

All of central Italy was still in ferment, and at certain points in declared uprising: the fortresses were still under construction, and the road between Etruria and Samnium was not yet completely closed. Perhaps there was still time to conquer freedom; but it was not necessary to wait.

The war therefore recommenced, 298 (456).

It was a hot day that the Battle of Sentinum was fought. On the right wing of the Romans, where Rullianus himself fought with his two legions against the Samnite army, the battle remained undecided for a long time. On the left wing, commanded by Publius Decius, the Roman cavalry was put in disorder by the war chariots of the Gauls, and the legions soon began to weaken. Then the consul called the priest Marcus Livius, and ordered him to dedicate at the same time to the infernal gods the head of the Roman general and the hostile army; then he threw himself into the midst of the Gallic hordes and found death there. This heroic despair of a superior man and a beloved general was not wasted. The fugitives turned around; the bravest rushed in the footsteps of their general, in the midst of the hostile army, to save him or to die with him;at the opportune moment appeared, sent by Rullianus, the consular Lucius Scipio, with his Roman reserve, on the left wing which was in peril. The precious Campanian cavalry, which took the Gauls in flank and tail, routed them; the Gauls fled; in the end the Samnites also bowed, and their general Egnatius fell at the gate of the camp. Nine thousand Romans covered the battlefield; but the triumph bought so dear was worthy of such a sacrifice. The coalition army disbanded, and consequently the coalition itself; Umbria remained in the power of the Romans; the Gauls withdrew; what remained of the Samnite army left in good order, through Abruzzo, and returned to its homeland. Campania, which the Samnites had invaded during the Etruscan War, was occupied by the Romans with little effort,when that war was over.

Etruria asked for peace the following year, 460 (294).

The Samnites acted otherwise; they prepared themselves for a desperate resistance, with that energy of free men, which cannot rule fortune, but which can challenge it. However, the Roman triumphed and stormed the fortresses in which the Samnites had taken refuge with their property. Thus, when the Samnite war ended, the exclusively Roman territory extended north to the Cominian forest, east to Abruzzo, south to Capua, while the outposts, Luceria and Venusia, founded against east and south, on the junction line of the enemies, isolated them on all sides from each other. Rome was no longer merely the first power, but the preponderant power of the peninsula, where, towards the end of the V thcentury of Rome, the nations which the favor of the gods and their own genius had placed at the head of their continent began to draw near to each other in politics and on the battlefield; as in the Olympics, the winners of the previous struggles are preparing for a second and more decisive competition, Carthage, Macedonia and Rome are preparing for a last and decisive fight.

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KING PYRRHUS AGAINST ROME

Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, was nothing more than an adventurous general: he was nonetheless a knight errant, because his genealogy went back to Eacus and Achilles, and because, if he had had a peaceful character, he would have reigned over a small mountainous people, under Macedonian supremacy; at most he could have lived and died in isolated freedom. He has often been compared to Alexander of Macedon; and, in some respects, the foundation of a Western Greek kingdom, the nucleus of which would have been Epirus, Magna Graecia and Sicily, which would have commanded the two Italic seas and placed Rome and Carthage among the frontier peoples barbarians of the Hellenic system, which would have dominated, in a word, from the land of the Celts to that of the Indians,it was a great and skilful thought, like that which had taken the King of Macedonia across the Hellespont. But there is more than a difference in results between the two expeditions. Alexander could, with his Macedonian army, which he led at the baton, dispute the preeminence with the king of Persia; but the king of Epirus, who was more or less, in comparison with Macedonia, what Hesse is today compared to Prussia, had only a nominal army, composed of mercenaries and allies , whose support depended on hazardous political combinations. Alexander entered Persia as a conqueror; Pyrrhus arrived in Italy as a general of a coalition of secondary states;Alexander left his peaceful states behind him, owing to the absolute submission of Greece and thanks to the powerful army which remained there under the orders of Antipater; Pyrrhus could count for the integrity of his states only on the word of an insecure neighbor. For the two conquerors, their country must necessarily, if their plans succeed, cease to be the center of a new empire; but it was more practical to transport the seat of Macedonian power to Babylon than to found a military dynasty at Taranto or Syracuse. The democracy of the Greek republics, although it was a perpetual agony, could not fit within the narrow frameworks of a military state; Philippe knew well why he had not incorporated the Greek republics into his kingdom.There was no fear of national resistance in the East; there were dominant nations there and long enslaved nations, and the change of despots was indifferent to the masses and often even desired. In the West, we could defeat the Romans, the Samnites and the Carthaginians; but it was not in the power of any conqueror to change the Italiots into Egyptian fellahs, or to make the Roman peasants into tributary Greek barons. When we consider personal power, the allies, the strength of the adversaries, the Macedonian's plan seems really practicable, that of the Épirote an impossible enterprise; the one seems the accomplishment of a great historical task, the other a brilliant error; one the foundation of a new system of states and a new phase of civilization,the other a remarkable historical episode. Alexander's work survived him, although the creator died prematurely. Pyrrhus could see with his own eyes the ruin of all his plans, before death prevailed.

They were two tall and intelligent natures; but Pyrrhus was only the first general of his time, Alexander was its greatest statesman, and if it is the discernment between the possible and the impossible that distinguishes the hero from the adventurer, Pyrrhus also few rights to be compared to his illustrious relative, than the Constable of Bourbon to Louis XI.

However, he attached a certain prestige to the name of Epirote; a particular interest, which comes in part from his chivalrous and endearing personality, in part and above all from the fact that he was the first Greek who met the Romans on a battlefield. With him began those relations between Rome and Greece, on which all the subsequent development of ancient civilization and a considerable part of modern civilization are based. The struggle between the phalanges and the cohorts, the mercenaries and the national army, between military royalty and the senatorial government, between individual talents and national energy; this struggle between Rome and Hellenism was first engaged in the battles of Pyrrhus against the Roman generals;and although the vanquished party has since often made a new call to arms, all subsequent battles have only confirmed the first stop. Although Greece succumbed on the battlefields as in the public square, its victory was no less decisive in any competition foreign to politics, and these struggles already gave the impression that the triumph of Rome over the Hellenes would be quite different. that the defeat of the Gauls and the Phoenicians; the charms of Venus did not begin to work until the lance was broken and the helmet and shield were put aside.its victory was no less decisive in any competition foreign to politics, and these struggles already gave the impression that the triumph of Rome over the Hellenes would be quite different from the defeat of the Gauls and the Phoenicians; the charms of Venus did not begin to work until the lance was broken and the helmet and shield were put aside.his victory was no less decisive in any competition foreign to politics, and these struggles already gave the impression that the triumph of Rome over the Hellenes would be quite different from the defeat of the Gauls and the Phoenicians; the charms of Venus did not begin to work until the lance was broken and the helmet and shield were put aside.

The war truce which peace with the Samnites in 464 (290) had given to Italy, was short-lived.

Indeed, the Etruscan league rose up and called in many Gallic mercenaries; the Roman army, which the praetor Lucius Cæcilius led to the aid of the Aretines who remained faithful, was annihilated under the walls of this city by the Senones mercenaries, and the general himself succumbed with thirteen thousand soldiers, 470 (284). All the north of Italy, Etruscans, Umbrians, Gauls, was in arms against Rome; serious consequences could result if the southern countries seized the opportunity and declared themselves against Rome. But while among their adversaries we formed leagues, we dealt for subsidies, we raised mercenaries, the Romans acted.

The consul Publius Cornelius Dolabella returned with a powerful army to Senonais; all that was not passed to the edge of the sword was driven out of the country, and this tribe was struck out from the number of Italic nations, 471 (283). A considerable Etruscan-Gallic army marched on Rome, to avenge on the capital the annihilation of the Senon nation, and to wipe the name of Rome from the face of the earth more completely than had once done even a king of the Senones. . But, as it crossed the Tiber, in the vicinity of Lake Vadimon, the united army was completely defeated by the Romans, 471 (283).

Coalition affairs were not at their best when the king arrived. The result already proved the peace party right, and negotiations had already started with Rome, or were going to be. Pyrrhus, prepared for such resistance, treated the city like a conquered city; the soldiers were quartered in the houses, the assemblies of the people and many circles were suspended, the theaters closed, the walks closed, the doors guarded by Epirot sentries. A number of distinguished figures were sent as hostages beyond the seas; others escaped such a fate by fleeing Rome.

Pyrrhus, to protect the Tarentine colony of Heraclea, located between this city and Pandosia, had set out with his troops and those of Taranto, 474 (280). The Romans, under the protection of their cavalry, forced the passage of the Liris, and engaged in the struggle with a vigorous and happy cavalry combat; the king, who himself led his troops, retreated and the Greek horsemen, put in disorder by the failure of their general, abandoned the field of battle to the enemy squadrons. During this time, Pyrrhus put himself at the head of his infantry, and began the fight again. Seven times the legions and the phalanx collided, and the victory was not decided. It was then that Megacles, one of the king's best officers, fell, and as he had worn the armor of Pyrrhus on that hot day, the army believed,for the second time, that its leader had perished; the ranks began to weaken, Lævinus believed that the victory was his and he threw his cavalry on the flank of the Greek army, but Pyrrhus, rushing with his head uncovered in the midst of the ranks of his infantry, raised the faltering courage of his people. . The elephants, previously held in reserve, were brought in line. The horses retreated in front of them, the soldiers could not resist the shock of these powerful animals and took to flight; the troops of horsemen, disbanded by the arrival of the elephants, threw themselves on the still intact ranks of the infantry, and the elephants, helped by the excellent Thessalian cavalry, carried out a terrible massacre of the fugitives. The Romans themselves estimated their loss, including the wounded they had carried off from the battlefield,to more than fifteen thousand men. But the army of Pyrrhus had suffered scarcely less; nearly four thousand of its bravest soldiers covered the battlefield, and several of its best generals had succumbed. Taking into account that the loss mainly concerned old soldiers, who were much more difficult to replace than thelandwehrRoman, and that the victory was due only to the unexpected irruption of the elephants, which could not be repeated often, the king could be right, in true critic of strategy that he was, to count this victory almost for a defeat, although he was not mad enough, as the Roman poets later imagined, to record this criticism of himself in the inscription of the booty he sent to Taranto. From the political point of view, the success was worth about what it had cost; victory in the first battle against the Romans had invaluable consequences for Pyrrhus. His talent as a general had brilliantly shown itself on this new battlefield, and Heraclea's victory was to contribute more than anything else to strengthening the energy and unity of the faltering league of Italiots. But, in addition,the direct benefits of victory were brilliant and immediate. Lucania was lost to the Romans: Lævinus recalled the troops there, and went to Apulia. The Bruttians, the Lucanians, the Samnites assembled at Pyrrhus; With the exception of Rhegium, who groaned under the yoke of the Campanian insurgents, the Greek cities joined the king en masse. Pyrrhus offered peace to the Romans. The king was told this proud word, which was then used for the first time and which has since become a state maxim, is that Rome did not deal as long as the foreign troops were in the territory of Italy, and for to support this word, the ambassadors were escorted out of the city.Lævinus recalled the troops there, and went to Apulia. 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The maintenance of the Romans was so firm that apart from the Greeks of Lower Italy no considerable state of the league dared to separate from the Romans. Pyrrhus remained motionless for some time in Campania, facing the armies of the two united consuls; but there was no occasion for a great battle.

In the spring of 475 (276), Pyrrhus resumed the offensive and entered Apulia, where he encountered the Roman army. The two armies met near Asculum (Ascoli di Puglia). Under the banner of Pyrrhus fought, in addition to the Epirots and Macedonian troops, the Italian mercenaries, the militias of the towns, the white shields of Taranto, and the Lucanians, Bruttians and Samnites united, in all seventy thousand infantry, including sixteen thousand Greeks and Epirots, more than eight thousand horsemen and nineteen elephants. On that day the Romans had with them the Latins, Campanians, Volscians, Sabines, Umbrians, Marruchins, Peligians, Frantani and Arpani; they numbered more than seventy thousand infantry, including twenty thousand Roman citizens and eight thousand cavalry. The Romans,to protect themselves against the elephants, a sort of war chariots were arranged, which ended in iron points, and to which we had adapted a kind of mobile masts, which were carried forward and ended in a point. The Romans were wrong to claim that the battle remained undecided. The two accounts agree in establishing that the Roman army crossed the river again and that Pyrrhus remained master of the battlefield. But the Roman and allied army remaining intact, and the Greek army, which was nothing without its leader, condemned by his wound to inaction for a long time, the campaign was lost for Pyrrhus, and he had to withdraw into his winter quarters that he established in Taranto, while the Romans took them this time in Apulia.which terminated in iron points, and to which we had adapted kinds of movable masts, which were carried forward and terminated in a point. The Romans were wrong to claim that the battle remained undecided. The two accounts agree in establishing that the Roman army crossed the river again and that Pyrrhus remained master of the battlefield. But the Roman and allied army remaining intact, and the Greek army, which was nothing without its leader, condemned by his wound to inaction for a long time, the campaign was lost for Pyrrhus, and he had to withdraw in his winter quarters that he established in Taranto, while the Romans took them this time in Apulia.which ended in iron points, and to which we had adapted a sort of movable mast, which went forward and ended in a point. The Romans were wrong to claim that the battle remained undecided. The two accounts agree in establishing that the Roman army crossed the river again and that Pyrrhus remained master of the battlefield. But the Roman and allied army remaining intact, and the Greek army, which was nothing without its leader, condemned by his wound to inaction for a long time, the campaign was lost for Pyrrhus, and he had to withdraw in his winter quarters that he established in Taranto, while the Romans took them this time in Apulia.The Romans were wrong to claim that the battle remained undecided. The two accounts agree in establishing that the Roman army crossed the river again and that Pyrrhus remained master of the battlefield. But the Roman and allied army remaining intact, and the Greek army, which was nothing without its leader, condemned by his wound to inaction for a long time, the campaign was lost for Pyrrhus, and he had to withdraw in his winter quarters that he established in Taranto, while the Romans took them this time in Apulia.The Romans were wrong to claim that the battle remained undecided. The two accounts agree in establishing that the Roman army crossed the river again and that Pyrrhus remained master of the battlefield. But the Roman and allied army remaining intact, and the Greek army, which was nothing without its leader, condemned by his wound to inaction for a long time, the campaign was lost for Pyrrhus, and he had to withdraw in his winter quarters that he established in Taranto, while the Romans took them this time in Apulia.and he had to retire to his winter quarters which he established at Taranto, while the Romans took them this time in Apulia.and he had to retire to his winter quarters which he established at Taranto, while the Romans took them this time in Apulia.

The city of Syracuse, which formerly with its armies and fleets disputed the possession of the island with Carthage, had fallen so low owing to its internal dissensions and the weakness of its government, that it was reduced to to take refuge behind its walls, and to implore foreign aid: no one was able to give it more than King Pyrrhus.

The first consequence of this alliance of the Greeks of Italy and Sicily was, it is true, to unite their adversaries closely. Carthage and Rome changed their old commercial treaties into an offensive and defensive league against Pyrrhus, 475 (279).

Pyrrhus set sail with the main army corps at Taranto in the spring of 476 (278) to go to Syracuse.

He immediately occupied Syracuse, gathered under his hand in a short time all the free Greek cities, and, as head of the Sicilian confederation, took from the Romans all their Sicilian possessions. Never was Pyrrhus so near the goal as in the summer of 478 (276), when he saw Carthage discouraged before him, commanded in Sicily, and retained a foothold in Italy by the possession of Taranto, and when the new fleet which was to link, secure and extend these findings, was at anchor and ready to go, in the port of Syracuse.

But the Greeks only put up with the impatience of a nation unaccustomed to any compression in the long agony of its freedom, the introduction into Syracuse of the regime of the Greek generals; soon the very yoke of Carthage appeared more bearable to this foolish people than this new military regime. The most important cities dealt with Carthage and even with the Mamertines; a powerful Carthaginian army marched again towards Sicily, and, aided everywhere by the Greeks, it made rapid progress.

To this grave fault, Pyrrhus added a second: instead of going to Lilybée with his fleet, he went to Taranto.

The embarkation full of consequences took place towards the end of the year 478 (276). On the way, the new Syracusan fleet had to fight at sea with the Carthaginians, and this fight cost them a great number of ships. The removal of the king and the news of this first misfortune were enough to overthrow the Sicilian royalty: all the cities withheld the money and the troops they were to give to the king, and this brilliant state collapsed even faster than it did. had not risen.

Desperate of his enterprise against Rome, Pyrrhus left a garrison in Taranto, and returned the same year 479 (278), to Greece. He won more battles, but no lasting success, and was killed in a miserable street fight in Argos, Peloponnese, 482 (272).

When, after the death of Pyrrhus, a Carthaginian fleet entered the port and Milo saw the citizens willing to hand over the city to the Carthaginians, he preferred to hand over the citadel to the Roman consuls, 482 (272) and buy at this price the freedom of withdraw with his own. This was an unexpected success for the Romans.

In the same year that Taranto became Roman, the Samnites finally submitted, as did the Lucanians and Bruttians. Thus, in 484 (270) all of Italy was subject to Rome.

Above all, the immediate circle of Roman rule was as broad as could be done without completely decentralizing the Roman Republic, which, in the end, was and was to remain a municipal republic. When the system of incorporation had been extended to its natural frontiers and soon beyond, the communities which were added thereto since, naturally had to undergo a relationship of subjection; for simple hegemony cannot constitute a lasting relationship. Thus, not by a voluntary monopoly of domination, but by the inevitable pressure of circumstances, we saw the rise, among the class of master citizens, that of subjects. Among the means of domination, were naturally in the first line the division of the subjects by the suppression of the Italic confederations,as well as the application of various nuances in the sovereign pressure, according to the various categories of subjects. Cato, in the interior regime of his house, saw that his slaves could not gang up among themselves, and deliberately aroused quarrels and enmities among them; the Roman republic acted in the same way on a large scale: the means were not moral, but they were effective.

However, the Roman Senate was too wise not to see that the only way to ensure the duration of the domination is the moderation of the domineering. Also, instead of their independence, the dependent municipalities were granted full citizenship, they were left with a certain autonomy, which contained in itself a shadow of independence, a personal share in the military and political success of Rome, and above all an independent municipal constitution: in all that was part of the Italiot confederation, there were no Ilots. Rome forever renounced, with a clarity and magnanimity exemplary in history, the most dangerous of the rights of domination, the right to impose its subjects.

The new Italy had therefore become a political unit, and it was on the way to becoming a national unit. Already the dominant Latin nationality had assimilated the Sabines and the Volsci, and had sown several Latin cities throughout Italy; it was only the development of this germ that later led all men who wore the Roman garment to use Latin as their mother tongue. What proves that the Romans were already aware of this future is the usual extension of the Latin name to all members of the Italic confederation. What we can recognize from this grandiose political edifice reveals the high political intelligence of its anonymous architect; and the uncommon solidity that this confederation, created of pieces and pieces, showed against terrible blows,gave to this great work the seal of duration. Since the meshes of this thin and so solid net, thrown over all Italy, had placed it entirely in the hands of the Roman Republic, it was a great power, and took the place of Taranto in the system of Mediterranean states. , Lucania and other states of second or third order, which the last war had made disappear from the number of the political powers. The official recognition of his new position was attested in Rome by these two solemn embassies which were sent from Alexandria to Rome in 481, and from Rome to Alexandria, and which, although they only had to deal with a commercial alliance, were, however, preparing a political alliance for the future. As Carthage fought with Egypt for the possession of Cyrene,and soon afterwards with the Romans for that of Sicily, Macedonia had to fight with Rome for the preponderance in Greece and with Carthage for the domination of the Adriatic coasts. It could not happen that the new struggles which were brewing on all sides did not clash with one another, and that Rome, as mistress of Italy, was not enveloped in the vast circle which the triumph of Alexander the Grand and his projects had assigned his successors as a meeting place.was not enveloped in the vast circle that the triumph of Alexander the Great and his projects had assigned to his successors as a meeting place.was not enveloped in the vast circle that the triumph of Alexander the Great and his projects had assigned to his successors as a meeting place.

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LAW - RELIGION - MILITARY ORGANIZATION - SOCIAL ECONOMY - NATIONALITY

We can see at this time, in the development of Roman legislation, a late but marked tendency towards humanity and progress. The principal provisions of the Twelve Tables, which accord with Solon's legislation, and which must therefore be regarded as material innovations, bear this imprint; for example, the right of association and the autonomy of the corporations thus constituted, the rules on the limitation of inheritances, intended to guarantee against the encroachments of plowing, the softening of the law of theft, by which the thief who does not is not caught in the act could get rid of the hands of the injured man by paying double the stolen value. Criminal law was softened in a similar sense, a century later, it is true, by the law of Pætelia. The free disposal of goods,whose owner enjoyed his life, according to old Roman law, but whose disposition returned, in the event of death, to the community, was freed from its fetters, and the law of the Twelve Tables, or the interpretation of this law, gave to private wills the same value as to those made in the curia: this was a great step towards the suppression of collective enjoyments, and towards the complete introduction of individual liberty into the right of property.this was a great step towards the suppression of collective enjoyments, and towards the complete introduction of individual liberty into the right of property.this was a great step towards the suppression of collective enjoyments, and towards the complete introduction of individual liberty into the right of property.

In lawsuits relating to property, the until then absolute right of the magistrate to decide the attribution of property was subject to legal rules, and next to possession the right of property was established, which suppressed a significant portion of the property. the power of magistrates. In the administration of criminal justice, it was the judgment of the people which also ensured the right of appeal, until then purely arbitrary. The accused, condemned by the magistrate, appealed to the people; the case was brought to three people's assemblies, in which the magistrate who had pronounced the judgment defended it and in fact performed the functions of public prosecutor. It was only in a fourth assembly that the appeal ( anquisitio ) began, in which the people confirmed the judgment or quashed it.

In short, we remained with the simple piety of the ancestors, and at an equal distance from superstition and impiety. What proves how much was still alive at that time the idea of ​​the spiritualization of earthly things, which formed the basis of Roman religion, is the institution, probably contemporary with the legal tender of money, of the god consecrated to silver, in 485 (269) (Argentinus), and which naturally was the son of the old god of copper (Æsculanus).

Military art underwent a complete revolution at this time. The old Greco-Italic order which, as in Homer's time, had as its basis the selection of the brightest and most valiant warriors still fighting on horseback and in the front rank, had been, in the latter days of the time of kings , replaced by the old Dorian phalanx of hoplites, probably ranged to a depth of eight rows, and which now had to withstand the main shock, while the cavalry was placed on the wings and fought mainly as a reserve, either on horseback, or on foot, depending on the circumstances.

The usefulness of this military organization, which was the most direct cause of the political greatness of the Roman Republic, rests essentially on the three great military principles of the reserve, of the combination of mass combat with single combat, of the offensive with the defensive. The reserve system had already been applied to the cavalry; henceforth it developed by the division of the army into three corps, and the habit of reserving that of the veterans to strike the decisive blow.

It is easy to see that this new order of battle is nothing more than a Roman development and extension, or at least Italic, of the old tactics of the Greek phalanx.

In the social economy, agriculture remained, as before, the social and political foundation of the Roman Republic, as the new Italic state. The army was composed, like the assembly of the people, of Roman peasants. What they had conquered as soldiers by the sword they secured as colonists by the plow.

There could be no room in Rome for the development of a properly urban middle class, of a body of independent traders and merchants. The cause was, in addition to the immoderate centralization of capital which took place early, the labor of slaves. It was a custom of antiquity and by the fact a necessary consequence of slavery, that the small businesses of the city were carried out by the slaves that their master established as traders or merchants, or by freedmen to whom the master did not. only provided the capital employed, but regularly demanded a portion, often even half of the profit made.

But although there was neither a prosperous middle class nor a powerful capitalist class in Rome, the importance of the great city was no less continuously increasing. We find certain proof of this in the number of slaves locked up in the capital, attested by the first serious conspiracy of slaves in 335 (419), and even more in the constantly increasing and frightening number of freedmen.

Appius Glaudius began the grandiose system of buildings of public utility, which, more than all military successes, illustrated Rome, from the point of view of public welfare, and which today, in the midst of its ruins, gives to the thousands of people who have not read a word of Roman history, an idea of ​​the greatness of Rome. It is to him that the State is indebted for the first major military road, and the city for its first aqueduct. It was by following in the footsteps of Claudius that the Senate built this network of roads and fortresses, the plan of which was already formed before and without which, as the history of all military states teaches, from the Achaemenids to 'to whoever had the Simplon road traced, no military hegemony can be founded. It was by following in the footsteps of Claudius that Manius Curius had it built,with the spoils of the war of Pyrrhus, a second aqueduct for the capital, 482 (272). The lives of the citizens themselves were changed. It was in the time of Pyrrhus that we began to see appearing on the Roman tables silver dishes, and chroniclers date the removal of thatched roofs in Rome to the year 470 (284) . The new capital of Italy lost its village aspect, and began to be adorned. When the Roman Republic became a great power, Rome also became a great city.of the year 470 (284). The new capital of Italy lost its village aspect, and began to be adorned. When the Roman Republic became a great power, Rome also became a great city.of the year 470 (284). The new capital of Italy lost its aspect of village, and began to be decorated. When the Roman Republic became a great power, Rome also became a great city.

In all branches of the Roman civilization at that time, in legislation and the monetary system, in religion, in the formation of national legends, we find traces of Greek ideas, and especially since the beginning of the V th century, that is to say, since the conquest of Campania, the Greek influence seems to make rapid and vast progress on Roman custom.

The habit of sitting down to table, not as in the past on benches, but on couches; the change of the time of the main meal, which was postponed from noon to two or three in the afternoon, depending on our way of counting; the libation masters, who, at banquets, were generally chosen by lot from among the guests, and who alone indicated to their companions at the table what to drink, and when and how to drink; table songs, which were chosen according to the rank of the guests, and which, in Rome, were not refrains, but ancestral songs: these are all innovations borrowed from the Greeks.

But as the two nations, at the height of their development, began to penetrate each other, either by their friendly relations or by their hostility, their natural contrasts were opposed to each other with more liveliness: on the one hand the complete absence of individuality in the Roman spirit, on the other the national, local and individual diversity of Hellenism.

The Rome of this time does not belong to any particular: the citizens must all be alike, so that each of them is a king. On the other hand, at that time already, individual Hellenic development was beginning to emerge, and the vigor and character of this opposition bears, like the opposing tendency, the stamp of this great epoch. Rome has become great differently than all the states of antiquity; but it paid dearly for its greatness by the sacrifice of fruitful diversities, of convenient carelessness, of the interior freedom of Greek life.

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THIRD BOOK

From the unification of Italy to the conquest of Carthage and the Greek states.

Arduum res gestas scribere

Sallust

CARTHAGE

Among the Phoenician settlements, none prospered with more consistency and rapidity than those founded by the Tyrians and Sidonians on the coasts of Spain and northern Africa. Among the numerous and flourishing cities situated on these shores, shone in the first row the “new city”, Carthada, or, as the Westerners call it, Karchédon or Carthago. This colony was so wonderfully suited to agriculture, commerce, and trade in their reciprocal products, that not only did the Tyrian settlement become the first Phoenician merchant city, but in the time of Rome, Carthage, barely rebuilt, became the third city of the empire, and that today, with unfavorable circumstances, and in a situation much less well chosen, there is still in these places a flourishing city,populated by one hundred thousand inhabitants.

But faced with the current of Hellenic immigration, which flowed more and more towards the West, the Phoenicians had to seek somewhere a foothold, if they did not want to be completely crushed. The Carthaginians undertook it; after a long and obstinate war, they stopped the progress of the Cyrenians, and Hellenism could not advance west of the Tripoli desert. With the help of the Carthaginians, the Phoenician settlers maintained themselves at the western tip of Sicily against the Greeks, and voluntarily placed themselves in the clientele of the powerful city, their parent of origin. These important results, which were achieved in the second century of Rome, and which secured the Phoenicians the southwestern part of the Mediterranean, gave the city which had conquered them a natural hegemony over their nation,and a greatly changed political situation. Carthage was no longer just a city of merchants, it tended to dominate Libya and part of the Mediterranean, the day it could.

But the rule over Libya was only half of the Carthaginian power; maritime and colonial domination had not developed at the same time with less power. In Spain, the capital of the Phoenicians was the old Tyrian colony of Gades (Cadiz); they had in addition, in the west and in the east, a network of counters, and in the interior of the territory, of the silver mines, so that they possessed in a way the current Andalusia and the kingdom of Granada, or at least the coasts of these two provinces.

The Carthaginians, at the end of the II th century Rome, were already firmly established in Sardinia, which, in the same way that Libya was fully exploited by them.

In Sicily, it is true, the Strait of Messina and the greater eastern portion of the island had fallen into the hands of the Greeks, but the Phoenicians retained the domination of part of the small neighboring islands.

By the possession of southern Spain, the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, western Sicily and Melita, and by the obstacle they posed to Greek colonization on the eastern coasts of Spain, as well as 'in Corsica and in the vicinity of Sirtes, the masters of the north African coast closed on their own account and monopolized western waters.

Carthage at the time of the Peloponnesian War, was, according to the testimony of the first historians of Greece, far superior to all the Greek states in financial resources, and its income was compared to that of the great king. Polybius calls it the richest city in the world. A testament to the intelligence with which agriculture was carried on in Carthage, where the generals and statesmen, as later in Rome, did not disdain to exercise it and learn it scientifically, is the agronomy book by the Carthaginian Magon, which was later considered by Greek and Latin farmers as the fundamental code of rational agriculture, and which was translated not only into Greek, but also into Latin by order of the Roman Senate which officially recommended it to owners.

The military resources of the Romans and those of the Carthaginians were very different, but in many ways they could sway. The population of the city still amounted, when it was taken, to 700,000 souls, including women and children; it could if necessary, in the V th century Rome, set up a national army of 40,000 hoplites. But much more than by the number of its men able to bear the arms, Rome prevailed on Carthage by the real strength of its national army.

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WAR FOR THE POSSESSION OF SICILY BETWEEN ROME AND CARTHAGE

Rome having landed its troops at Messina to extend its protection to the Mamertines, a considerable Carthaginian fleet, commanded by Hanno, Hannibal's son, appeared on par with Messina. While the fleet blocked the strait, the Carthaginian army which it had landed began the siege from the north side. Hieron, who had only waited for the attack of the Carthaginians to begin the war against Rome, brought back before Messina his army which he had just withdrawn, and undertook the siege of the south side of the city.

Meanwhile, the consul Appius Claudius Caudex had appeared with the main army corps in Rhegium and during a dark night he managed to force the passage, despite the Carthaginian fleet. Cleverness and happiness were on the side of the Romans; the allies, not being prepared for an attack of the whole Roman army, and not having, for this reason, united their forces, were beaten separately by the Roman legions which had left the city and had to raise the siege. The following year, the two consuls, with an army twice as strong, entered the island without encountering opposition. One of them, Marcus Valerius Maximus, who since this campaign was nicknamed the man of Messana (Messala), gained a great victory over the army of the Carthaginians and Syracusans united; and as, after this victory,the Phoenician army was no longer in a condition to hold the campaign against the Romans, not only were Alæsa, Kentoripa, and the small Greek towns in general declared for the Romans, but Hiero himself left the Carthaginian party, and made peace and alliance with the Romans, 491 (263).

Akragas finally fell into the hands of the Romans, and as a result the whole island was in their power, with the exception of the maritime fortresses, in which the Carthaginian general Hamilcar, successor of Hannon in the superior command, defended himself vigorously, and whence he could not be removed either by force or famine.

The Carthaginian fleet dominated the sea without rival, and not only kept the coastal towns in obedience by providing them with everything, but also threatened Italy with a descent.

It was then seen that the first thing to be done was to build a fleet and it was decided to form one of twenty triremes and one hundred quinqueremes. This fleet, as soon as the preparations were completed, set sail for Messina.

At the promontory of Mylæ, north-west of Messana, the Carthaginian fleet, which had arrived from Panormos under the command of Hannibal, encountered the Roman fleet, which then had to prove itself on a large scale. The Carthaginians, considering the evil and inconvenient vessels of the Romans to be easy prey, threw themselves upon them in an irregular order; but the newly invented flying bridges were tried with success. The Roman ships chained and took the enemy ships which assaulted them one by one; they could not approach head-on or on the sides without the terrible bridge falling over the enemy's prow. By the time the battle was over, nearly fifty Carthaginian ships, almost half of the fleet, had been sunk or captured by the Romans, and among the last,Hannibal's flagship, which had once belonged to King Pyrrhus. The success was great, and even greater was the moral impression. Rome had suddenly become a naval power, and had in hand the means of vigorously carrying out a war which seemed destined to go on indefinitely and threaten the ruin of Italian commerce.

Two roads opened up to the Romans. Carthage could be attacked in the islands of Italy, and successively wrested from it all the fortresses on the coasts of Sicily and Sardinia. Instead, you could abandon the islands and throw all your strength into Africa.

We first choose the first plan of operation. In the year which followed the battle of Mylæ, 495 (252), the consul Lucius Scipio seized the port of Aleria, in Corsica. The following year 496 (258), the attack was renewed with more success, and the open villages located near the coast were pillaged; but these expeditions did not lead to a permanent establishment of the Romans.

The Senate resolved to change the system, and to attack Carthage in Africa. In the spring of 498 (256), a fleet of three hundred and thirty ships of the line set sail for the coasts of Libya. The Romans found the Punic fleet in battle order off Eknomos to cover the homeland against invasion.

Rarely have masses greater than those who met in that battle have been seen fighting at sea. The Roman fleet, of three hundred and thirty sails, carried at least a hundred thousand crew, besides the land army, of about forty thousand soldiers; the Carthaginian fleet, of three hundred and fifty sails, had mounted at least an equal number of men, so that nearly three hundred thousand men were put in line that day to decide the struggle between two powerful peoples.

Of the Roman fleet, twenty-four ships were sunk; of the Carthaginian fleet, twenty-four were sunk and sixty-four captured. The Romans, instead of landing on the western side of the peninsula which forms the gulf, landed further east, where the bay of Clupea presented them with a wide harbor for the protection of their vessels against almost all winds. In no time, an entrenched naval camp was built, and the army was free to begin operations.

The energy of the Carthaginians was shattered. They asked for peace. But the conditions proposed by the consul were unacceptable.

Hamilcar, who had so successfully fought the guerrilla warfare in Sicily against the Romans, appeared in Libya with the elite of Sicilian troops who provided a valuable nucleus for the new levy. When the spring of 499 (255) came, things had changed so much that it was the Carthaginians who first opened the campaign, and who presented the battle to the Romans. The main mass of the Romans attacked in front by the elephants, on both sides and from behind by the cavalry, may well form a square and defend themselves heroically, in the end these compact masses had to be broken up and dispersed. Among the small number of prisoners, was the consul himself, who later died in Carthage.

A Roman fleet of three hundred and fifty sails set out immediately, and after winning at the Hermean promontory, a brilliant victory in which the Carthaginians lost one hundred and fourteen ships, this fleet arrived at Clupea just in time to draw from their critical position the remains of the defeated army, who had entrenched themselves there. But the Romans had then lost their minds so completely, that after this happy fight before Clupea, they re-embarked all their troops and set sail for Italy. Three-quarters of the fleet perished with the crews in a violent storm; only eighty vessels reached the port; July 499 (255).

After these unexpected successes, the Carthaginians were able to resume the long delayed offensive.

Rome put two hundred and twenty new vessels on site. Panormos, the most important city of Carthaginian Sicily, was taken by a successful naval attack, and the small towns of the country, Soluntum, Cephaladium and Tyndaris likewise fell into the hands of the Romans.

The consul Gaius Cælius Metellus won the following year, under the walls of Panormos, a resounding victory over the elephant army; summer of 503 (251).

The siege of Lilybée, the first great siege the Romans undertook and one of the most obstinate in history, was opened by the Romans with significant success.

But after the besiegers had repulsed a first sortie, the Carthaginians managed, in a stormy night, to burn the machines of the Romans. The Romans then abandoned their preparations for an assault and contented themselves with blockading the city by land and sea.

In this way followed six years of war without events, 506-511 (248-243), the least glorious in Roman history of this century, and inglorious also for the Carthaginians.

In the end, a number of far-sighted and magnanimous men resolved to save the state without government intervention, and to end the ruinous war in Sicily. The wealthy Roman patriots built a fleet, the core of which was made up of vessels built for privateer warfare, and which provided the trained crews that mounted them.

The well-built and well-mounted Roman fleet, commanded by the skilful praetor Publius Valerius Falto, put in disorder at the first shock the enemy's ships, heavily loaded and badly assembled; fifty were fully sunk, and the victors re-entered Lilybee harbor, with seventy captured ships. The last great effort of the Roman patriots had borne fruit; he brought victory and thereby peace.

Hamilcar therefore renounced Sicily. On the other hand, the independence and integrity of the State and of the Carthaginian territory were expressly recognized in the ordinary form, that is to say that Rome undertook not to enter into a separate alliance with the allies of Carthage. , like Garthage with those of Rome.

The West had peace, 513 (241).

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EXTENSION OF ITALY TO ITS NATURAL BORDERS

Later the Romans listened to the proposals of the rebels of Sardinia, and received from their hands the portion of Sardinia which had been in the hands of the Carthaginians, 516 (238).

Thus Rome effortlessly acquired Sardinia, to which she added Corsica, the ancient Etruscan possession in which, perhaps since the last war, some Roman garrisons had remained.

The Illyrians of Skodra became tributaries of the Romans; a known dynast dependent on Rome and his ally on the Dalmatian islands and on the coasts, Demetrius de Pharo, who had passed from the service of Teuta to that of the Romans, was established. The Greek cities of Kerkyra, Epidamnos, Apollonia and the communities of Atintani and Parthini, were attached to Rome by the gentle bonds of symmachia. Thus, like Sicily and Sardinia, the most important maritime stations of the Adriatic were subject to the Romans.

A clearly understood policy commanded the Romans to take possession of the territories which extended to the Alps as quickly and completely as possible. However, the Romans did not hurry: so that the Celts themselves started the war. The Celtic generals marched on the Apennines with fifty thousand infantry and twenty thousand cavalry or soldiers fighting on chariots, 529 (225).

The Celts found the Apennines hardly guarded and plundered without a fight the rich plains of the Tuscan territory, which, for a long time, had seen no enemies. Soon they were near Clusium, a three-day march from Rome, when the army of Ariminum, commanded by the consul Papus, appeared in their plain, while the Etruscan militia, which after the Gauls had crossed the The Apennines, had gathered in their rear, followed the march of the enemy. A terrible cavalry fight ensued, and more than one brave Roman perished there with Regulus himself; but he had not sacrificed his life in vain. Ten thousand Celts with their king Cocolitanus were taken prisoner, forty thousand remained on the battlefield. Ancerestus and his retinue had, according to Celtic custom, killed themselves.

The Boi surrendered without resistance the following year 530 (224) after the Lingons, and the following year, 531 (223), the Anari followed their example; hence the whole plain as far as the Po was in the hands of the Romans. The conquest of the northern shore cost more severe battles. But after a battle initially half won by the Celts, but ultimately decided in favor of the Romans, the consul Gnæus Spicio stormed the capital of the Insubres, Mediolanum, and this success, joined to the capture of the city de Comum, put an end to the resistance.

The border of the Alps was reached, in the sense that the entire Po plain was either subject to the Romans, or, like the Cenoman and Venetian territory, possessed by the dependent allies.

They hastened to cover the fertile newly acquired territories with Roman towns. The solid fortress of Placentia (Plaisance) had already been founded on the Po itself, to cover the passage of the river; Cremona had already been established on the left bank, and the construction of the walls of Mutina (Modena) had been much advanced, when unexpected events prevented the Romans from continuing to reap the fruits of their success.

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HAMILCAR AND HANNIBAL

The treaty concluded with Rome in 513 (241) gave peace to Carthage, but cost it dear. A more bitter regret for the Carthaginians was seeing their entire system of trade policy shattered.

There was therefore in Carthage a party of peace and a party of war, which rallied, as was natural, to the political distinctions which already existed between the conservatives and the reformers.

There was also at the head of the army the man who had proved in the wars of Sicily and Libya that fortune had destined him, above all, to be the savior of his homeland. When he left Carthage, he enjoined his nine-year-old son Hannibal to swear on the altar of the Supreme God eternal hatred to the Roman name, and took him to the camp along with his younger sons, Hasdrubal and Magon, "The race of lions" as he called them, to entrust them with the heritage of his subjects, his genius and his hatred.

We cannot follow in detail what he himself did in Spain; Cato the Elder, who, a generation after Hamilcar's death, found in Spain the still fresh trace of his work, could not help shouting, despite his hatred against the Carthaginians, that no king deserved to be named next to Hamilcar Barca. Hamilcar's command established a Carthaginian kingdom in Spain, and Hasdrubal's political skill ensured its strength. The most beautiful regions of Spain, the coasts of the south and the east, became the Phoenician provinces; cities were founded, and above all the Carthage of Spain (Carthagena), was established by Hasdrubal on the only good port of the southern coast, and contained the magnificent "royal palace" of its founder; agriculture flourishes,and even more the exploitation of the mines when one had discovered by luck the silver deposits of Cartagena which, a century later, gave an annual product of nine million (thirty-six million sesterces). Most of the cities, up to the Ebro, became dependent and tributary of Carthage.

Thus fortune smiled on Hamilcar's bold project. The means to wage war were assured, a powerful army accustomed to victory, and a treasure which was constantly being filled, but this man was no more, when it became possible to accomplish his designs. His successor Hasdrubal having been assassinated, the Carthaginian officers of the army of Spain called to succeed him the eldest son of Hamilcar, Hannibal. He was still a young man: he was born in 505 (249), and was therefore then twenty-nine years old: but he had already lived a long time. He had followed his father everywhere and shared his feelings about the peace of Catullus. Still a child, he had followed his father to the camps, he had distinguished himself there early. Nimble and vigorous, Hannibal was quick to run, skilful pugilist and fearless rider;he could do without sleep, and, if necessary, he knew how to do without food, like a soldier. Although his youth was spent in the camps, he possessed the education of the noble Phoenicians of that time. He accepted the inheritance, and proved himself worthy of it. Although its history was written by anger, envy and meanness, this noble and great image could not be obscured. There is unanimous agreement, on the contrary, to say that he knew how to unite discretion and enthusiasm, foresight and resolution to an unprecedented degree. He was especially remarkable for this cunning, which is one of the peculiar features of the Carthaginian character; he liked to take extraordinary and unexpected paths; snares and stratagems of all kinds were familiar to him, and he studied the character of his antagonists with unparalleled care.He had permanent spies even in Rome, and he was always informed of his enemy's plans; he was often seen wearing disguises and fake hair, searching for information on one point or another. Each page of the history of these times bears witness to his talent as a general, and his skill as a statesman, which he deployed after the peace with Rome, in his reform of the Carthaginian constitution and later still when, a foreigner and exiled, he exercised so much influence in the courts of the East.and of his skill as a statesman, which he displayed after the peace with Rome, in his reform of the Carthaginian constitution and still later when, as a foreigner and exiled, he exercised so much influence in the courts of the East .and his skill as a statesman, which he displayed after the peace with Rome, in his reform of the Carthaginian constitution and still later when, a foreigner and exile, he exercised so much influence in the courts of the East .

Hannibal resolved immediately after his appointment in the spring of 534 (220) to begin the war. The timing was right: the Celts were still agitated, and war seemed imminent between Rome and Macedonia; he could therefore lift the mask and carry the war wherever he wanted, before the Romans could start it according to their convenience, with a descent into Africa. His army was soon ready to enter the field; his treasury was well filled as a result of a few raids; but the Carthaginian government was far from desiring a declaration of war against Rome. Hannibal made his resolutions. He made it known, in a summary way, to Carthage, that the Sagontines worried the Torboletians, subjects of Carthage, and that he was obliged to attack them; then, without waiting for the answer, he began,in the spring of 525, the siege of a city allied with Rome, that is to say the war against Rome. Sagunto defended itself, as the Spanish cities alone know how to defend themselves, the city ends up being carried by assault. When Hannibal sent the spoils that were to be distributed to Carthage, patriotism and warlike ardor invaded hearts which until then had been completely insensitive to it, and the partition removed all chances of an accommodation with Rome.the patriotism and the warlike ardor invaded the hearts which until then had been completely insensible to it, and the partition made disappear all the chances of an accommodation with Rome.the patriotism and the warlike ardor invaded the hearts which until then had been completely insensible to it, and the partition made disappear all the chances of an accommodation with Rome.

But how to attack Italy? Only the land of the Ligurians and Celts could be for Hannibal what Poland was for Napoleon in his campaign, exactly similar, of Russia. So everything was dragging Hannibal to the north of Italy.

It is less obvious why Hannibal preferred the dirt road. Instead of exposing himself to the immense and unforeseen accidents of a maritime voyage and of a naval war, he could judge it more prudent to count on the assurances, doubtless made seriously, of the Boëns and the Insubres. In any case, the route he took was the primitive Celtic route, by which hordes larger than his army had crossed the Alps: the ally and the liberator of the Celtic nation could venture to attempt this passage.

Hannibal assembles in Cartagena, at the beginning of the favorable season, the troops intended for his great army; it was composed of ninety thousand infantry, and twelve thousand cavalry, of which about two-thirds were Africans, and one-third Spaniards. The thirty-seven elephants he was taking were no doubt intended to affect the Gauls, rather than to fight seriously. Hannibal marched with this army, in the spring of 536 (218), from Cartagena towards the Ebro.

Hannibal found vigorous resistance on the Ebro, but on the part of the natives only, of whom, as a man for whom, in these circumstances, time was even more precious than the blood of his soldiers, he got rid of in a month, at the cost of losing a quarter of its army. He finally reached the line of the Pyrenees.

Arrived in Gaul, Hannibal sent back to his country some of his troops. With an army of fifty thousand infantry and nine thousand cavalry, most of them former soldiers, he crossed the mountains without difficulty, and when he took the road to the coast through Narbonne and Nîmes, through Celtic territory, this The way was opened to his army, either by treaties previously concluded, or by Carthaginian gold, or by force of arms. It was only when the army arrived at Avignon, on the Rhône, at the end of July, that it seemed likely to meet serious resistance.

Hannibal had to bring an army with a large cavalry and elephant across the river, under the enemy's eyes and before Scipio arrived, and he did not have a pod. According to his orders, all the boats were bought from the many boatmen of the Rhône at the price they asked, and what was lacking in boats was replaced by rafts made from fallen trees, so that the whole army could cross the river. river in one day.

Scipio, warned too late, then headed by forced marches on Avignon; but when he arrived there, even the Carthaginian cavalry, left behind to protect the passage of the elephants, had already been on their way for three days. Now that Hannibal, having crossed the Rhone, had entered Celtic territory which touched Italy, there could no longer be any question of preventing him from reaching the Alps.

The Carthaginian army first went up the Rhone to the valley of Haute-Isère, a low, rich, and even then very populated region, which is closed to the north and west by the Rhone, to the south by the 'Isère and to the east by the Alps. The walk along the Rhône and through the "island" to the foot of the Alps, was accomplished in sixteen days.

The attacks, which in all favorable places were made by the Celts against the marching army, were extremely painful. When they reached the very foot of the Alps, where the road leaves the Isère and begins by a narrow and difficult defile along the torrent the Reclus to reach the top of the Saint-Bernard, all the militia of the Centrones appeared. , partly behind the army, partly on the crests of the rocks which dominate the passage to the right and to the left, in order to cut the train and the baggage, and to inflict serious losses on it, by rolling rocks on it . At the "Pierre-Blanche" place which still bears this name, a high and isolated limestone mountain which is at the foot of the Saint-Bernard, and which dominates the path, Hannibal camped with his infantry,to protect the march of the horses and the beasts of burden, which trudged through the whole night, and through incessant and bloody mingling, he finally reached, the following day, the top of the passage. There, in the plain protected from all attack, which stretches for a distance of nearly a league around a small lake where the Doria has its source, he made rest his army.

Discouragement was beginning to take hold of the soldiers. The paths which became more and more difficult, the provisions which were lacking, the march through defiles exposed to the incessant attacks of enemies which one could not reach, the decimated ranks, the desperate situation of the stragglers and the wounded, the The very object of the expedition, which seemed chimerical to all except the enthusiastic general and his immediate entourage, all this began to put off even the veterans of Africa and Spain. But the general's confidence remained unshakeable: after a short rest, they prepared with new courage for the last and most difficult undertaking, the downhill march. In this march, the army did not have to suffer materially from the enemy; but on the steep and slippery slope that runs along the Doria,and where the newly fallen snow hid the paths and damaged them, men and beasts were lost and fell over the precipices; finally, towards the end of the third day of walking, we came to a part of the road about two hundred feet long, where avalanches constantly rush from the top of the rocks of Cramont which dominate it, and where, during the summers cold, eternal snows reign.

The infantry crossed this passage, but the horses and elephants could not pass over the ice shelves, barely covered with a light layer of newly fallen snow, and the general encamped in this perilous place with the luggage, the infantry. and elephants. The next day, the riders, through hard work in the trenches, made a path for the horses and beasts of burden; but it was only after three days of work with constant help that the elephants, half-starved, were able to cross. In this way, after a delay of four days, the army was again assembled, and, after three more days of march in the valley of Doria, it arrived towards the middle of September in the plain of Ivrea, where the exhausted troops were lodged in the villages, in order to recover,by good food and a fortnight's rest, from their extraordinary fatigue.

The goal was achieved, but at the cost of hard sacrifices. Of the fifty thousand veterans of infantry and of the nine thousand cavalry that the army counted in the passage of the Pyrenees, more than half had perished in the engagements, the marches and the passage of the rivers. Such a march is a military operation of questionable value, and it is doubtful that Hannibal himself considered it a success. In any case, the prudent and energetic execution of the plan deserves our admiration, and to whatever cause the results are attributed, either to the favor of fortune or simply to the skill of the general, the great idea of ​​Hamilcar , that of continuing the conflict with Rome in Italy, was now achieved.

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THE WAR UNDER HANNIBAL TO THE BATTLE OF CANNES

The appearance of the Carthaginian army on the Italian side of the Alps suddenly changed the situation, and disconcerted the plan of the Romans. Of the two main armies of Rome, one had landed in Spain, and had soon been engaged with the enemy; it was no longer possible to recall her. The second, which was destined for Africa, under the command of the consul Tiberius Sempronius, was still, fortunately, in Sicily. Army and fleet were still at Lilybée, when the order from the Senate came to return as quickly as possible to defend the national soil.

Thus, at the decisive hour, there was not even a Roman outpost at the decisive place; Hannibal had plenty of time to rest his army, to take, after a three-day siege, the town of Taurini which had closed its doors to him, and to obtain or force the alliance on all the communities. Celts and Ligurians, before Scipio, who had taken command in the Po valley, found himself in his path.

In the plain between Ticino and Sesia, not far from Vercelli, the Roman cavalry which, with the light troops, had advanced to make a reconnaissance in force, encountered the Punic cavalry, sent for the same purpose. Despite the superiority of the enemy, Scipio accepted the battle offered to him; but its light infantry, which was placed in front of the cavalry, broke under the effort of the enemy's heavy cavalry. The loss of the Romans was very considerable; the consul himself, who behaved like a valiant soldier, received a dangerous wound. Scipio, enlightened by this defeat over the strength of the enemy, understood the mistake of placing himself with a weaker army in the plain, with his back leaning on the river, and decided to cross the river again under the eyes of the enemy.

The Roman army, now nearly forty thousand strong, had only to keep its position, to force the enemy either to try, in winter, to cross the river and attack the camp, or to to suspend his march and to experience the inconstancy of the Gauls in the midst of the rigors of winter. Hannibal left no stone unturned in attracting him to battle. Soon, in rainy weather, a general engagement, not foreseen by the Romans, was delivered to Trebia. The Roman infantry proved themselves worthy of their name; she fought at the start of the battle with decisive superiority against the enemy infantry. At this moment suddenly appeared an elite Carthaginian troop, half infantry, half cavalry, which, under the command of Hannon, the youngest of Hannibal's brothers, emerged from an ambush in the rear of the roman army,and fell on his mass already in such a hurry. The wings of the army and the last ranks of the center of the Romans were broken and dispersed by this attack. The rest of the army was almost entirely slaughtered by elephants and the enemy's light troops, trying to cross the river.

The Roman army took refuge in the fortresses of Placentia and Cremona; completely cut off from its communication with Rome, it had to obtain food by water. Hannibal bivouacked in the place where he was. He was mainly occupied with organizing the Gallic insurrection: more than sixty thousand infantry and four thousand Celtic cavalry joined, it is said, the army.

Hannibal left the Po Valley to seek a path through the narrow defiles of the Apennines. The passage of the Apennines was accomplished without much difficulty.

Hannibal encamped at Fiesole, while Gaius Flaminius was still waiting in Arezzo for the roads to become passable before going to block him.

The consul hastily followed the march of the enemy, which passed through Arezzo, and moved slowly through the rich valley of Chiana towards Perugia; he reached it in the neighborhood of Cortona, where Hannibal, exactly informed of his adversary's progress, had had plenty of time to choose his battlefield, a narrow defile between two steep mountain walls, closed at the exit by a high hill, at the entrance by Lake Trasimeno. He barred the exit with the flower of his infantry; light troops and cavalry were concealed on both sides. The Roman columns entered the unoccupied passage without hesitation: the thick morning fog hid the enemy's position from them. There was no battle; it was a simple rout. Those who remained outside the pass were thrown into the lake by the cavalry,the main body was annihilated in the parade without resistance, and the greater number, the consul himself, were killed in order. As if this were not enough, immediately after the battle of Lake Trasimeno, the cavalry of Ariminum's army, commanded by Gaius Centenius and four thousand strong, whom Gnæus Servilius had sent forward to rescue his colleague, while he himself advanced at a small march, was likewise surrounded by the Phoenician army; one part perished, the other was taken. All of Etruria was lost, and Hannibal could march on Rome without hindrance. The Romans prepared for the last extremities: they broke the bridges of the Tiber, and appointed Quintus Fabius Maximus dictator.were killed in the marching order. As if that were not enough, immediately after the battle of Lake Trasimeno, the cavalry of Ariminum's army, commanded by Gaius Centenius and four thousand strong, whom Gnæus Servilius had sent forward to rescue his colleague, while he himself advanced at a small march, was likewise surrounded by the Phoenician army; one part perished, the other was taken. All of Etruria was lost, and Hannibal could march unimpeded on Rome. The Romans prepared for the last extremities: they broke the bridges of the Tiber, and appointed Quintus Fabius Maximus dictator.were killed in the marching order. As if this were not enough, immediately after the battle of Lake Trasimeno, the cavalry of Ariminum's army, commanded by Gaius Centenius and four thousand strong, whom Gnæus Servilius had sent forward to rescue his colleague, while he himself advanced at a small march, was likewise surrounded by the Phoenician army; one part perished, the other was taken. All of Etruria was lost, and Hannibal could march unimpeded on Rome. The Romans prepared for the last extremities: they broke the bridges of the Tiber, and appointed Quintus Fabius Maximus dictator.whom Gnæus Servilius had sent forward to help his colleague, while he himself advanced at a small march, was likewise surrounded by the Phoenician army; one part perished, the other was taken. All of Etruria was lost, and Hannibal could march unimpeded on Rome. The Romans prepared for the last extremities: they broke the bridges of the Tiber, and appointed Quintus Fabius Maximus dictator.whom Gnæus Servilius had sent forward to help his colleague, while he himself advanced at a small march, was likewise surrounded by the Phoenician army; one part perished, the other was taken. All of Etruria was lost, and Hannibal could march on Rome without hindrance. The Romans prepared for the last extremities: they broke the bridges of the Tiber, and appointed Quintus Fabius Maximus dictator.

But Hannibal saw beyond King Pyrrhus. He did not march on Rome; he did not even march against Gnæus Servilius, the able general. He made another quite unexpected movement. He passed the fortress of Spoletium, which he tried in vain to surprise, crossed Umbria, devastated the Picenum, which was covered with Roman farms, and stopped at the shores of the Adriatic.

Finally, when his army was sufficiently rebuilt, and the infantry was well trained in the handling of the new weapons, he raised his camp and marched slowly along the coast to reach the south of Italy. But his hope that the confederation would begin to dissolve was not realized. This result was a decisive advantage for the Romans.

Their general followed a different tactic from that of his predecessors. He left for the camp as determined to avoid a pitched battle as his predecessor had been determined to wage it.

Hannibal crossed the Apennines in the heart of Italy to Benevent, took the open city of Telesia, on the border of Samnium and Campania, and headed for Capua. There he had formed alliances which might give hope that Capua would break away from the Roman league; but this hope was not realized. Turning back then, he took the road to Apulia.

An entrenched camp was built at Gerunium, about nine leagues north of Luceria.

Far from being discouraged by its latest defeats, the Roman army was indignant at the inglorious task which its general "Hannibal's lackey" imposed on it, and loudly demanded to be led to the enemy. Together with the disgruntled soldiers and the possessors of the ravaged lands, his political opponents passed an absurd and unconstitutional resolution, conferring dictatorship, which was intended to ward off the inconveniences of the division of command in times of danger, on Marcus Minucius, who had until then been Fabius' lieutenant, and consequently giving him powers equal to those of the latter. Marcus Minucius, obliged to justify his title of dictator on the battlefield, made a hasty attack with unequal forces, and was allegedly annihilated,if his colleague had not spared a greater catastrophe, arriving in good time with new troops.

It was resolved to repair these faults, and to equip an army such as Rome had never put on the campaign: eight legions, the strength of which was one-fifth over the ordinary number, and a corresponding number of allies. , enough, in short, to crush an enemy who did not have half of these forces. As no one could think of appointing a dictator, the Senate tried to ensure the election of capable consuls.

The Senate had difficulty in passing one of its candidates, Lucius Emilius Paulus, who had prudently led the war in Illyria in 535 (219); the immense majority of the citizens gave him for colleague Marcus Terentius Varro, an incapable man, who was known only for his violent opposition to the Senate.

Hannibal left Gerunium for the direction of the south; and, passing Luceria, crossed the Aufidus and took the citadel of Cannes (between Canossa and Barletta). After receiving positive orders on this subject from the Senate, the two new general-in-chief, Paulus and Varro, arrived in Apulia at the beginning of the summer of 538 (216). With the four new legions and a corresponding contingent of Italiots, the Roman army numbered eighty thousand infantry, half citizens and half allies, and six thousand cavalry, of which one third were citizens and two thirds were allies; Hannibal's army, on the contrary, numbered ten thousand cavalry, but only forty thousand infantry.

The main body of the Roman army, at daybreak of August 2, crossed the river, which at this time of the year was dry, and which did not materially hamper the movement of the troops; it took up position near the smallest of the Roman camps, in the vast plain which stretches west of Cannes, on the left bank of the river. The Carthaginian army followed, and also crossed the river, on which leaned the Roman right wing and the Carthaginian left wing. The Roman cavalry was placed on the wings: the weakest portion consisted of citizens commanded by Paulus, on the right near the river; the strongest was formed by the allies, commanded by Varro, and occupied the left towards the plain. In the center the infantry were ranged in exceptionally deep lines, under the command of the proconsul Gnæus Servilius.In front of this center, Hannibal ranged his infantry in a crescent shape, so that the Celtic and Iberian troops, with their national armor, formed the protruding part of the center, and the Libyans, armed in the Roman style, with fleeing wings on the two sides. All the heavy cavalry were placed on the side, under the command of Hasdrubal, and the Numidian light cavalry on the side of the plain. After a skirmish of outposts between the light troops, the whole line was soon engaged. Where the light cavalry of the Carthaginians fought against the heavy cavalry of Varro, the conflict continued without decisive result, amid the continual charges of the Numidians. In the center, on the other hand, the legions completely overthrown the Spanish and Celtic troops which they found before them;the victors pressed on the enemy and pursued their advantage. But, meanwhile, on the left wing, fortunes had turned against the Romans. Hannibal had simply tried to occupy the left wing of the enemy cavalry, so that he could throw Hasdrubal with all the regular cavalry on the weaker right wing and topple it first. After a courageous resistance, the Roman cavalry retreated, and those which were not overthrown were thrown back on the river and dispersed in the plain; Paulus, wounded, ran to the center, to conjure or at least to share the fortune of the legions. The latter, the better to pursue the victory over the advanced infantry of the enemy, had changed their order from front to column of attack, and penetrated like a wedge into the center of the enemy.In this position they were vigorously charged on both sides by the Libyan infantry, and a portion was forced to stop to defend against the flank attack. This maneuver stopped their progress, and the mass of the infantry, already too tight, did not have enough space to develop. Meanwhile, Hasdrubal, having completed the defeat of the wing of Paulus, had assembled and ranged the cavalry in a new order, and he led them, from behind the center of the enemy, to the wing of Varro. The latter's Italic cavalry, already sufficiently occupied with the Numidians, was quickly dispersed by this double attack, and Hasdrubal, leaving the Numidians in pursuit of the fugitives, rallied his squadrons for the third time, to throw them on the rear of the Roman infantry.This last charge was decisive. Flight was impossible and no quarter was made. Never, perhaps, has such a large army been so completely wiped out on the battlefield, and with so little loss to the adversary. Hannibal had lost six thousand men, mostly Celts; of the seventy-six thousand Romans who had appeared online, seventy thousand covered the field of battle, and, among them, the consul Lucius Paulus, the proconsul Gnæus Servilius, two thirds of the officers of the staff, four- twenty senatorial figures. The consul Marcus Varro, alone saved by his audacity and the speed of his horse, won Venusia, and was not ashamed to survive this disaster. The garrison of the Roman camp, ten thousand strong, was made prisoners of war for the most part:a few thousand men only, belonging partly to these troops, partly to those of the line, fled to Canusium. And as if the loss of Rome was sworn, before this year was over, the legion sent to Gaul was ambushed and was completely wiped out by the Gauls, along with their General Lucius Postumus, consul appointed for the following year.

After the passage of the Rhone by Hannibal, Scipio had set sail for Emporiæ and had first of all taken control of the coasts between the Pyrenees and the Ebro, then, after having defeated Hanno, he had seized the continent, 536 (218). The following year, 537 (217), he had completely defeated the Carthaginian fleet at the mouth of the Ebro, and after his brother Publius, the courageous defender of the Po Valley, joined him with a reinforcement of eight thousand men, he had even crossed the Ebro, and advanced as far as Sagunto. Hannibal could therefore, less than ever, count on help from Spain.

Carthage, for her part, had done all that could be expected of her for her general. Phoenician squadrons threatened the coasts of Italy and the Roman islands, and defended Africa against a Roman invasion. That was all. However, the news of Cannes' victory even silenced the factious opposition. The Carthaginian Senate resolved to place at the general's disposal considerable reinforcements in money and soldiers. Macedonia undertook to land an invading army on the eastern coast of Italy, in return for which it was assured that the Roman possessions in Epirus would be returned to it.

In Sicily, King Hieron entered into an alliance with Carthage, and ordered the Syracusan fleet to unite with the Carthaginians, who had come to threaten Syracuse.

An even more decisive fact is that at last the edifice of the Roman confederation began to disintegrate, after having survived, without being shaken, the shocks of two years of war.

The duty fell on the Senate to take charge of the government of business. If the deliverance and restoration of the state were still possible, the work was to begin with the establishment of unity and confidence in Rome. To have seen this, and, what is more important, to have done it while abstaining from all recriminations, however just they may be, this is what was the imperishable glory and honor of the Roman senate.

The most vigorous efforts were made to organize an army suitable for combat. The Latins were called upon to provide aid in the common danger. Rome itself gave the example and called under arms all the male population above childhood; it armed debt slaves and criminals, and even incorporated into the army eight thousand state-bought slaves. As there was a lack of weapons, the ancient spoils of the vanquished were taken from the temples, and all the shops and all the workers were put to work. Not only should the allies not think that Rome was prepared to enter into negotiations; but the humblest citizen himself had to understand that, for himself as for the others, there was no possible peace, and that salvation was only in victory.

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ANNIBAL'S WAR FROM CANNES TO ZAMA

Hannibal immediately went to Capua, before the Romans could throw a garrison there, and by this march he had decided the second city of Italy to join him, after a long hesitation. He could hope from Capua to make himself master of one of the ports of Campania where he could land the reinforcements that his great victories had wrested from the opposition in his homeland. The Campanian war was brought to a halt, until winter arrived, and Hannibal took up his winter quarters at Capua, and, in the midst of the delights of this city, his troops who had never not camped under a roof for three years, made no progress. As for the reinforcements, the party of fear in Carthage refused to give in to the pleas of the general who asked for more decided support, answering half by simplicity, half by cunning,that victorious as he was, he did not need help; this party thus contributed no less to saving Rome than the Roman senate.

Publius Scipio . - For a long time, they say, no one presented himself as a candidate for this perilous and complicated charge; but in the end, a young officer of twenty-seven, Publius Scipio, son of a general of the same name, killed in Spain, and who had fulfilled the functions of military tribune and aedile, presented himself as a candidate for the command. military in Spain. Soon his name was on everyone's lips, and it was in him that they looked for the star that seemed destined to bring victory and peace.

Publius Scipio went to Spain in 544-545 (210-209). Before the enemy armies had set in motion, Scipio marched towards Cartagena, which from the mouth of the Ebro he could reach in a few days by the coastal road, with all his army, about thirty thousand strong. men and his fleet, and surprised the Phoenician garrison, which numbered no more than a thousand men, by a combined attack by land and sea. With the Carthaginian capital, eighteen dismantled ships fell into the hands of the Romans. sixty-three war transports, all the military equipment, important supplies of wheat, the military case, containing 6,000 talents (more than 3,750,000 gold francs) the hostages of all the Spanish allies of Carthage, and ten thousand prisoners .

In the year 546 (208), he marched to Andalusia.

The Phoenicians seemed defeated, but they were still in a position, the following year, to put together a powerful army, thirty-two elephants, four thousand cavalry, seventy thousand infantry. The victory was fiercely contested, but the Romans finally triumphed.

After a struggle of thirty years, Spain became from the Carthaginian province a Roman province, in which the struggle with the Romans was still continued for centuries, by means of an insurrection always repressed and yet never subdued.

While the war was thus ended by Marcellus in Sicily, by Publius Sulpicius in Greece, by Scipio in Spain, a powerful struggle continued without interruption on the Italian peninsula. At the beginning of 540 (214), the fifth year of the war, the Phoenicians and the Romans found themselves in the following situation: Northern Italy had been occupied again by the Romans, after the departure of Hannibal and was protected by three legions, two of which were stationed in Celtic territory, and the third as a reserve in Piedmont. Lower Italy, with the exception of the fortresses and many ports, was in Hannibal's hands. He and his main army were in Arpi, while Tiberius Gracchus, with four legions, stood up in Apulia, leaning on the fortresses of Luceria and Beneventum.In the region of the Bruttians, there was a second Carthaginian army, under Hanno, and this army had no adversary at this time. The main Roman army of four legions, under the two consuls Quintus Fabius and Marcus Marcellus, was on the point of trying to retake Capua; to this was added the reserve of two legions in the capital, the garrisons placed in all the seaports, and finally the considerable fleet which occupied the sea, without rival. Hannibal might well still hope for victory; but he could no longer count on triumphs like those of Lake Trasimeno and Aufidus; the time of general citizens had passed.under the two consuls Quintus Fabius and Marcus Marcellus, was on the point of trying to retake Capua; to this was added the reserve of two legions in the capital, the garrisons placed in all the seaports, and finally the considerable fleet which occupied the sea, without rival. Hannibal might well still hope for victory; but he could no longer count on triumphs like those of Lake Trasimeno and Aufidus; the time of general citizens had passed.under the two consuls Quintus Fabius and Marcus Marcellus, was on the point of trying to retake Capua; to this was added the reserve of two legions in the capital, the garrisons placed in all the seaports, and finally the considerable fleet which occupied the sea, without rival. Hannibal might well still hope for victory; but he could no longer count on triumphs like those of Lake Trasimeno and Aufidus; the time of general citizens had passed.but he could no longer count on triumphs like those of Lake Trasimeno and Aufidus; the time of general citizens had passed.but he could no longer count on triumphs like those of Lake Trasimeno and Aufidus; the time of general citizens had passed.

The year 542 was unfavorable to the Romans. Taranto was occupied by the Carthaginians. Hannibal moved away from Taranto to reach Campania by forced marches, seized the Roman garrison of Calatia, and encamped on Mount Tifata, very close to Capua, having the firm confidence that the Roman generals would lift the siege, as they had done the previous year. But the Romans who had had time to entrench the camp and their lines like a fortress, did not budge. Hannibal then had recourse to the last expedient that his inventive genius could imagine, to save this important city. He left with the relief army, after having informed the Campanians of his intentions, and marched on Rome. The two legions of Rome who left the city prevented the investment of the walls. In addition,Hannibal had never expected to surprise Rome with a helping hand. He therefore moved away, after remaining in these places for some time. In fact, Hannibal stepped back, because it was in accordance with his plans, and he walked towards Capua. But the legions remained motionless in their lines. The fall was now inevitable. Twenty-eight senators voluntarily committed suicide; the rest delivered the city to the discretion of a relentless and exasperated enemy. Of course a bloody revenge was to follow. Fifty-three officers and magistrates of Capua were whipped and beheaded in the market place; the rest of the senators were imprisoned, a large number of citizens were sold as slaves, and the wealthiest properties were confiscated. The impression produced by the fall of Capua was profound,and the attempts made by cities which were not too compromised to be admitted on proper terms into Roman symmachia, affected Hannibal much more noticeably than direct damage.

The danger which had threatened the existence of the State a few years earlier seemed to have been dissipated, but the more and more overwhelming weight of this interminable war was felt all the better. State finances were incredibly depleted.

In the midst of these difficult and perilous circumstances, suddenly came the news that Hasdrubal, in the autumn of the year 546 (208), had crossed the Pyrenees, and that the Romans were to prepare for having, the following year, the war in Italy with the two sons of Hamilcar. As in the time of the greatest danger, Rome again raised twenty-three legions. At a time not foreseen by his friends and enemies, Hasdrubal appeared on the Italian side of the Alps 546 (207); the Gauls, already accustomed to these marches on their territory, opened their processions for money. We learned at the same time that Hasdrubal was encamped near the Po, that he called the Gauls to arms with as much success as his brother, that Placentia had been invested. Consul Marcus Livius hastened to the army of the North, and it was high time he got there.Hasdrubal's dispatch, which was anxiously awaited at Hannibal's camp, was intercepted by Nero's outposts. Convinced that Hannibal did not know his brother's intention, and would continue to wait for him in Apulia, Nero ventured to head north with forced marches. Nero found his colleague, Marcus Livius, near Sena Gallica, waiting for the enemy; the two consuls marched towards Hasdrubal; the Carthaginian army, which had no route of retreat, was annihilated, the camp carried away. Hasdrubal, seeing thus lost the battle which he had so admirably conducted, sought and found, like his father, a heroic death. Nero resumed his march, and, after an absence of barely fourteen days, he found himself again in Apulia, in front of Hannibal, who had received no message and who had not stirred.The consul brought the message with him: it was the head of Hasdrubal, which the Romans threw into the enemy outposts.

Hannibal saw that his hopes were dashed, and that all was lost. He abandoned Apulia and Lucania, and even Metapontum, and withdrew with his army into Bruttium. The joy was immense in Rome; business was resumed as in peacetime, everyone felt that the danger of war had passed. As if finally his projects were to receive a brilliant justification from the very part of the Carthaginian authorities who had rendered them useless, the latter, in their apprehension of a descent from the Romans, took up his plans on their own, 548-549 (206- 205), and sent to Hannibal in Italy, to Magon in Spain, reinforcements and subsidies.

No one, probably, in the senate of Rome doubted that the war of Carthage against Rome was coming to an end, nor that the war of Rome against Carthage would soon begin. The Senate could not fail to see that the African expedition was necessary, and that it was unwise to postpone it indefinitely; that Scipio was a very skilful officer, that he was, in that capacity, the man needed as leader of this war. Thus, Scipio set sail for Africa, in the spring of 550 (204), with two strong legions of veterans (about thirty thousand men), forty warships and four hundred transports, and landed happily, and without encountering any resistance, at Cape Beau, in the vicinity of Utique. We resolved to try once again the fate of a battle in the plain, in the "great fields",five days' walk from Utica. Scipio hastened to accept it; its veterans and volunteers had little difficulty in dispersing the hastily assembled army of Carthaginians, Numidians and Celtiberians, who could not expect any quarter of Scipio, and were defeated after stubborn resistance. After this double defeat, the Carthaginians could no longer hold the campaign.

After such defeats, the peace party in Carthage, which had been forced to keep silent for sixteen years, was finally able to raise its head and openly revolt against the government of the Barca and the patriots. But the latter had the upper hand with the citizens; it was resolved to let the opposition negotiate for peace, and to prepare, during this time, for a last effort. Orders were sent to Hannibal and Magon to return to Africa in haste. Hannibal, without being protected by an armistice, no doubt, but only by the rapidity of his movements and the luck of fortune, reached Leptis without hindrance. The armistice was broken by the looting of a Roman transport fleet. In his legitimate indignation, Scipio left his camp near Tunis, 552 (202), and crossed the rich valley of Bagrada (Medscherda),no longer granting capitulation, but seizing and selling the populations en masse. The Carthaginian general sought, in a personal interview with the Roman general, to obtain better conditions, but the conference brought no result and the decisive battle was fought near Zama. Scipio's cavalry had little difficulty in dispersing Hannibal's, and were soon engaged in pursuing it. The struggle between the two infantry was more serious. Hannibal's old soldiers did not budge, despite the superior strength of the enemies, until the cavalry of the Romans and that of Massinissa, returning from the pursuit of the enemy cavalry, enveloped them on all sides. Not only this movement decided the combat, but it annihilated the Punic army; the same soldiers who, fourteen years earlier, had fled to Cannes,had just taken their revenge on their victors in Zama. Hannibal flew to Hadrumetum with a handful of men.

After that day, madness alone could advise Carthage to continue the war. An annual contribution of two hundred talents (1,220,000 gold francs) was imposed for fifty years on the Carthaginians, and they had to undertake never to make war against Rome and its allies. Carthage became tributary and lost its political independence.

Thus ended the Second Punic War, or as the Romans called it, the Hannibal War, after having ravaged the countries and the islands, for seventeen years, from the Hellespont to the Columns of Hercules. The Romans obtained the sovereignty of Italy, because they fought to obtain it; when hegemony, and hence sovereignty over the Mediterranean States came to them, it was, so to speak, thrown into the arms of the Romans by circumstances, and without any preconceived idea on their part.

What proves how many voids war and famine had left all over Italy is the fact that Rome's population shrank by a quarter during the war. A large number of flourishing towns (four hundred were counted) were destroyed and ruined; the laboriously accumulated capital was consumed; the population was demoralized by the life of the camps. Nevertheless, the Romans, whom the gods had allowed to survive at the conclusion of this gigantic struggle, could look to the past with pride and the future with confidence.

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THE EASTERN STATES AND THE SECOND WAR OF MACEDONIA

Philip, King of Macedon, was a real king, in the best and purest sense of the word. A fierce passion to rule alone and without help was a fundamental trait of his character: he was proud of his purple, but he was no less proud of other gifts, and he was right to be. Not only did he show the bravery of the soldier and the glance of the general, but he had greatness in the conduct of affairs, whenever his Macedonian sense of honor was offended. Full of intelligence and wit, he won the hearts of all whom he wished to attract, and more particularly of the most able and distinguished, such as Flamininus and Scipio; he was a pleasant companion, and, not owing to his rank alone, dangerous to women.But at the same time it was the most arrogant and the most immoral nature that this shameless age had produced. He used to say that he feared no one but the gods, but it almost seemed that his gods were those to whom his admiral Dicearque regularly offered sacrifices - Impiety (Asebeia) and Illegality (Paranomia). The lives of his advisers and those who designed his plans were by no means sacred to him, and he did not disdain to appease his resentment against the Athenians and against Attalus by the destruction of venerable monuments and famous works of art; this state maxim is quoted from him: "Whoever kills the father must also kill the sons." It may be that cruelty was not precisely a pleasure for him, but the lives and sufferings of others were indifferent to him, and the mercy which alonemakes men bearable, found no place in his hard and stubborn soul. It was his principle that, for the absolute king, there is neither a promise nor a binding moral law, and thereby he often raised the most serious obstacle to the success of his plans. No one can deny him penetration and resolution; but he joined to it to a singular degree hesitation and procrastination, which is perhaps explained by the fact that he was called in his eighteenth year to absolute monarchy, and that his implacable fury against all those who could thwart his will by an argument or an opposing opinion, removed from him any independent adviser. We cannot say what various causes contributed to produce the soft and contemptible attitude which he displayed in the First Macedonian War;perhaps it must be attributed to that arrogant indolence which only awakens in the face of imminent danger, or perhaps to his indifference to a plan he had not imagined and to his jealousy of the greatness of Hannibal, who shamed him. It is certain that his subsequent conduct left nothing to be seen of this Philippe, whose negligence thwarted Hannibal's plan. He had turned his gaze to a whole new direction.

Macedonia and Asia having attacked Egypt, the Romans who, in 553-554 (201-200), had finally concluded peace with Carthage on the terms which suited them, began to be deeply concerned about these complications in the East. The Macedonian War was very unpopular in Rome, but it became inevitable. Could Rome remain a quiet spectator, while Italy's trade with the East became dependent on the two great continental powers? In fact, all political, commercial and moral motives united to decide Rome to undertake a second war against Philip, one of the most just that the Republic has ever supported. The owner Marcus Valerius Lævinus, as early as 553 (201), appeared with the Sicilian fleet in eastern waters.

In the autumn of 554 (200) the consul Publius Sulpicius Galba landed at Apollonia with his two legions, and a thousand Numidian horsemen, even accompanied by elephants from the remains of Carthage.

More importance was attached to the enterprises of the Roman fleet, which numbered one hundred decked vessels and eighty light vessels. While the rest of the ships were wintering at Corcyra, a division under the command of Caius Claudius Cento marched towards Piraeus, to help the threatened Athenians, then Cento set sail and suddenly appeared before Chalcis of Euboea, the main fortress of Philippe in Greece. The defenseless walls were scaled, the garrison put to death, prisoners released, and provisions burned.

In the spring of 555 (198), the proconsul Publius Sulpicius left his winter camp, determined to lead his legions from Apollonia, by the shortest route, into Macedonia proper. Philip's army numbered about twenty thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, the Roman army was about as strong. The consul offered battle several times, but the king persisted in declining it. He led the retreat with such skill that Galba, who adopted the bold resolution to follow him, lost his trace, and that Philip, by a flank march, succeeded in reaching and occupying the narrow passage which separates the provinces of Lyncestis. and Eordæa, with the intention of awaiting the Romans and of receiving them warmly. A battle was fought on the ground he had chosen,but the long Macedonian spears could not be handled on this wooded and uneven ground. The Macedonians were partly turned, partly broken, and lost many people. But the Romans themselves were terrified to encounter new unknown dangers in an impassable and hostile land, and returned to Apollonia.

Philippe could, in short, congratulate himself on the results of the campaign. The Roman troops, after an extremely painful expedition, were in the autumn precisely at the point from which they had started in the spring. It took the following spring, 556 (198), the offensive, and advanced on the territory of Atintani, with the intention of forming a camp well entrenched in this narrow pass. In front of him was encamped the Roman army, reinforced with new arrivals of troops, and commanded first by the consul of the previous year, Titus Quinctius Flamininus.

Flamininus, the new general-in-chief, immediately had a conference with the king. Philippe made proposals for peace; he offered to make all his own conquests, and to submit to fair arbitration for the damage inflicted on the Greek cities; but the negotiations failed. The Romans led a body of four thousand Roman infantry and three hundred cavalry through mountain trails to the heights above the Macedonian camp. Philip lost his camp, his entrenchments and nearly two thousand men, and withdrew hastily towards the defile of Tempe, the gate of Macedonia proper. At the first rumor of the victory of the Romans, the Athamans and Etolians immediately invaded Thessaly, and the Romans soon followed them. The open countryside was easily invaded,With the exception of a few Thessalian fortresses and the territory of the faithful Acarnanians, all of northern Greece thus fell into the hands of the coalition. The fleet went from there to Cenchreæ, eastern point of Corinth, to threaten this solid fortress. On the other hand, Flamininus advanced into Phocis and occupied the country. The Achaean troops immediately united with the Roman fleet and hastened to invade Corinth by land. However, the Macedonian garrison, which was thirteen hundred strong and consisted mainly of Italian deserters, resolutely defended a city that was almost impregnable.to threaten this solid fortress. On the other hand, Flamininus advanced into Phocis and occupied the country. The Achaean troops immediately united with the Roman fleet and hastened to invade Corinth by land. However, the Macedonian garrison, which was thirteen hundred strong and consisted mainly of Italian deserters, resolutely defended a city that was almost impregnable.to threaten this solid fortress. On the other hand, Flamininus advanced into Phocis and occupied the country. The Achaean troops immediately united with the Roman fleet and hastened to invade Corinth by land. However, the Macedonian garrison, which was thirteen hundred strong and consisted mainly of Italian deserters, resolutely defended a pretty much impregnable city.

Winter arrived in the meantime, and Philippe took the opportunity once again to try to obtain a fair peace. When Philip's ambassadors appeared in Rome, they were simply asked if they had full powers to renounce all of Greece, and in particular Corinth, Chalcis and Demetrias, and when they said they did not have them, the negotiators were dismissed, and it was resolved that the war be vigorously pursued. Thus began the fourth campaign, that of 557 (197). Flamininus sent part of the fleet against the Acarnanians, who were besieged at Leucas; in Greece proper, he became, by stratagem, master of Thebes, the capital of Boeotia, then he marched north, where a decisive blow could only be struck.

Battle of Cynocephali. - The Roman and Macedonian armies had an approximately equal number of combatants, approximately twenty-six thousand men. The Romans however had the superiority for the cavalry. In front of Scotussa, on the Karadagh plateau, during a sad day of rain, the Roman vanguard unexpectedly encountered that of the enemy, which occupied a high and steep mountain, named Cynocephali. The Romans, who had ventured recklessly, were pursued with great losses even near their camp. Philippe ordered the right phalanx to lay down its spears and charge the legions at the bottom of the mountain, and the light infantry, put in order, to turn them and take them in flank. The attack of the phalanx, irresistible on such favorable ground, dispersed the Roman infantry,and the left wing of the Romans was completely defeated. Nicanor, on the other wing, when he saw the king attacking, hastily advanced the rest of the phalanx; by this movement it fell into confusion, and while the first ranks quickly followed the victorious right wing down the mountain and were thrown into an even more complete mess by the unevenness of the ground, the last ranks arrived precisely on the top of the mountain. The right wing of the Romans, in these circumstances, quickly got the better of the Macedonian left; the elephants, alone, placed at this point, made considerable gaps in the disorderly ranks of the Macedonians. Philippe fled to Larissa, and after burning his papers, so that no one was compromised, he evacuated Thessaly, and returned to his country.At the same time as this great defeat, the Macedonians suffered other losses on all the points which they still occupied.

It was completely in the power of the Romans to dictate peace; they used it, but did not abuse it. Philippe obtained conditions similar to those which had been granted to Carthage. He lost all his foreign possessions in Asia Minor, Thrace, Greece, and the Aegean islands, but he kept Macedonia proper. The Romans did not keep any of their spoils, thus forcing their allies to moderation. They resolved to declare free all the states of Greece which had previously been under the domination of Philip, and Flamininus was ordered to read the decree of emancipation to the Greeks assembled at the Isthmian games, 558 (196).

THE WAR WITH ANTIOCHUS IN ASIA

Faced with the attitude of Antiochus, they resolved to war in Rome. In that same summer of 562 (192) a Roman fleet of thirty sails, with three thousand soldiers on board, under Aulus Atilius Serranus, appeared at the height of Gythium. Antiochus assembled the ships and troops he had on hand; he had only forty ships and ten thousand infantry with five hundred cavalry and six elephants; he left Chersonese of Thrace for Greece, where he landed in the autumn of 562 (192) at Pteleum, on the Gulf of Pegasus, and immediately occupied the neighboring town of Demetrias. Around the same time, a Roman army of nearly twenty-five thousand men, under the orders of the praetor Marcus Bæbius, landed at Apollonia. The war had thus begun on both sides. The Rhodians and the Byzantines joined their old allies.Egypt also sided with Rome. Philip put all his strength, with cordial zeal, at the disposal of the Romans. The second power of Greece, the Achaean league, adhered no less completely than the first to the alliance with Rome.

At the beginning of the spring of 563 (191), the Roman general staff arrived at Apollonia. The commander-in-chief was Manius Acilius Glabrio, a man of humble origin, but a skilful general, feared by his soldiers and the enemy; the admiral was Gaius Livius. They brought with them reinforcements of men and ships, Libyan cavalry and elephants, so that the total contingent of the Roman army amounted to about forty thousand men. Roman troops had already started operations in Thessaly.

Battle at Thermopylae. - Antiochus resolved to take refuge in Thermopylae, which he had occupied, and to await the arrival of the great army from Asia. He himself took position in the main pass, and ordered the Aetolians to occupy the heights by which Xerxes had once succeeded in turning the Spartans. But only half of the Aetolian contingent deemed it advisable to obey the general's order: their post of Callidromus was surprised by Cato, and the Asiatic phalanx, which the consul had during that time attacked head-on, dispersed, when the Romans, in haste to descend from the mountain, fell on its flanks. As Antiochus had by no means foreseen the reverses and had not thought of his retirement, he embarked in haste for Ephesus: Europe was lost to him, except for his possessions in Thrace.

Antiochus was determined, if possible, to prevent the Romans from landing in Asia, and he made preparations for sea war to this end.

While the Romans, having landed on the shore of Asia, stopped for a few days, ambassadors of the great king arrived in their camp to negotiate peace. But Antiochus, irritated by the probably intentional arrogance of his antagonist, and too indolent to persevere and wage a sustained war, hastened to go and expose to the shock of the Roman legions the little mobile, uneven and unruly mass of his army.

In the valley of Hermus, near Magnesia, at the foot of Mount Sipylus, not far from Smyrna, the Roman troops encountered the enemy at the end of autumn 564 (190); the victory, which gave them a third continent, cost the Romans only eighty-four horsemen and three hundred infantry. Asia Minor submitted, including even Ephesus, from which the admiral quickly withdrew his fleet, and Sardis the residence of the court.

Thus the protectorate of the Roman republic now embraced all states, from the eastern end to the western end of the Mediterranean. There was no state there that the Romans thought they had nothing to fear. But a man still lived to whom Rome did this honor: the Carthaginian without asylum, who had raised against Rome the whole West. The latter had taken refuge first in Crete, then in Bithynia, and he lived at the court of Prusias, king of this country, helping the latter in his wars with Eumenes. Flamininus undertook on his own authority to deliver Rome from Hannibal, as he had delivered the Greeks from their chains, and, if not to put the dagger to the throat of the greatest man of that time, at least to sharpen him and 'sharpen. Prusias, the most pitiful of the pitiful princes of Asia,was delighted to grant the little favor that the Roman envoy asked in ambiguous terms, and Hannibal, seeing his house surrounded by assassins, took poison. He had lived long enough to see the West completely subdued, and to fight his last battle with the Romans against the ships of his own city, which had itself become Roman, and he was in the end forced to remain a mere spectator.

Around the same time, and probably the same year, also died the man whom the Romans called his conqueror, Publius Scipio. Fortune had lavished on him all the happiness that it had refused to its antagonist, happiness some of which belonged to him, and others of which were fortuitous. He had added to the empire of Rome, Spain, Africa, Asia; and Rome, which he had found simply the first republic of Italy, had become, at his death, the mistress of the civilized world.

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THE THIRD MACEDONIA WAR

Philip died in 575 (179), in Demetrias, in his fifty-ninth year, leaving behind a shattered kingdom and a divided family.

Perseus ascended the throne at the age of thirty-one, and as he had, as a child, participated in the unhappy war with Rome, he inherited, along with his father's kingdom, his troubles, his resentments, his hopes. In fact, he devoted himself, with unyielding determination, to the continuation of his father's work and prepared more ardently than ever for war against Rome. But he wasn't what he seemed to be. He had neither Philippe's genius nor his flexibility, those two truly royal qualities, and he was not prepared for the conduct of an enterprise which was hopeless from the outset, if an extraordinary man did not become the soul. movement. The real motive for the war was that Macedonia sought to convert its nominal sovereignty into real domination,and to supplant Rome in the protectorate of the Hellenes.

The consul left a strong division in Illyria, to invade Macedonia from the west, while with the main force he surrendered, according to custom, from Apollonia to Thessaly; not far from Larissa fought the first conflict between cavalry and light troops on both sides. The Romans were completely defeated.

But Perseus, although a good soldier, was not a general like his father; he had made his preparations for a defensive war, and when things took a different turn he found himself, in a way, paralyzed. He took advantage of an important success which the Romans obtained in a second cavalry combat, near Phalanna, to return, as is the habit of narrow and obstinate men, to his foreground, and to evacuate Thessaly.

The main Roman army made two attempts to enter Macedonia, first through the Cambunian mountains, then through the passes of Thessaly; but these attempts were badly combined, and both were repulsed by Perseus.

Finally, the Romans resolved to send to Greece the man who suited the situation. It was Lucius Æmilius Paulus, son of the consul of the same name, who had fallen in Cannes. He was in every respect the right man: an excellent general of the old school, rigid for himself and for his troops, and despite his sixty years, still alert and vigorous; incorruptible magistrate. As soon as the new general arrived at Heracleum's camp, he gave orders to have Publius Nasica surprise the badly guarded defile of Pythium; the enemy was thus turned and forced to retreat on Pydna. The disaster was enormous: twenty thousand Macedonians remained on the battlefield, eleven thousand were taken prisoner. The war was over two weeks after Paul-Émile took command.All of Macedonia submitted in two days. Perseus then clearly saw his destiny, and surrendered to the Romans at discretion with his children and his treasures, pusillanimous and weeping to the point of inspiring disgust even in his conquerors.

Thus ended the empire of Alexander the Great, who had subjugated and Hellenized the East, one hundred and forty-four years after the hero's death.

In a conference held at Amphipolis on the Strymon, the Roman Commission ordered that this compact, deeply monarchical and united state be divided into four federative republics modeled on those of the Greeks. The whole country was disarmed forever, and the fortress of Demetrias razed to the ground.

The Romans had achieved their goal.

Illyria was treated in the same way. The kingdom of Genthius was divided into three small states. Thus the affairs of the North were ended, and Macedonia was at last relieved of the monarchical yoke; Greece was, in fact, freer than ever; it no longer contained a single king.

Egypt voluntarily submitted to the Roman protectorate, and at the same time the kings of Babylon put an end to their last effort to maintain their independence from Rome.

All the Hellenic States had thus voluntarily submitted to the protectorate of Rome, and the whole Empire of Alexander the Great had fallen to the Roman Republic, as if the city had received it from its heirs. From all sides, kings and ambassadors arrived in Rome to congratulate her; and they clearly showed that sycophancy is never more abject than when it is the kings who are in the anteroom.

Polybius dates from the battle of Pydna the complete establishment of the universal supremacy of Rome. All subsequent struggles were rebellions or wars with peoples placed outside the sphere of Roman-Greek civilization: the Barbarians, as they were called.

If, in conclusion, we take a look back at the history of Rome, from the union of Italy to the dismemberment of Macedonia, the universal empire of Rome, far from appearing as a gigantic plan, realized by an insatiable thirst for territorial enlargements, seems to have been a result which imposed itself on the Roman government without and even against its will. The Romans always asserted that they did not pursue a policy of conquest, and that they were always provoked rather than aggressors; it was there, it must be admitted, something more than a simple sentence. They were, in reality, driven to all their great wars, with the exception of the one that concerned Sicily, those with Hannibal and Antiochus, no less than those with Philip and Perseus, either by direct aggression,or by the disturbance which was brought in the existing political relations. The policy of Rome was from beginning to end the policy of a deliberative assembly which had too much the instinctive desire to preserve the Republic, to imagine designs like those of a Caesar or a Napoleon. .

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GOVERNMENT AND GOVERNMENTS

At the beginning of this period, there was hardly anything left of the Roman senate considered to be the body of Councilors placed by free election to the highest offices of the republic. The citizens were still too independent, and the nobility too intelligent to exclude absolutely from the Senate those who were not noble, or even to wish to do so; but the essentially aristocratic constitution of the senate, the deep distinction which separated, on the one hand, the former Curule magistrates in their three ranks of consular, praetorian and aedilian, senators who had not entered through the curule offices and who were found thereby excluded from the debates, caused the non-nobles, although they sat in respectable numbers in the senate, were reduced to an insignificant position, and relatively without influence,and that the Senate was, in fact, the support of the nobility.

The institution of knights also soon became for the nobility a less important instrument, it is true, but not indifferent. Finally, the censorship surrounded itself with external honors which did not belong to it at all, and with a very particular aristocratic-republican apparatus, and became the culmination and the crowning of a well-filled career.

Thanks to this political situation which rested mainly on the senate, the knights and the censorship, the nobility not only attracted to itself all the authority, but molded the constitution in a direction favorable to its pretensions. A provision of this kind was that for which, in order to leave all their value to the public charges, the number of them was increased as little as possible and not at all in proportion to the enlargement of the frontiers and the increase of business.

In general, access to the senate was open to people who belonged to ruling families without distinction of ability, while not only the humble and poor orders of the population were completely excluded from the magistracies, but all Roman citizens who did not not belonging to the hereditary aristocracy were in practice excluded, not precisely from the senate, but from the two higher magistracies, the consulate and the censor. After the case of Manius Curius, we could not cite any circumstance where the consul did not belong to the social aristocracy.

The government bore the mark of this gradual change in the minds of the ruling class. It is true that the nobility justified themselves by the certainly not very brilliant, but sure and energetic leadership which they gave to the state ship during the storm of Hannibal and the complications which followed it.

The financial system of the Roman republic also backslid rather than advanced at this time. The sum of the revenues, it is true, rose notably. Indirect taxes, because there was no direct tax in Rome, increased as a result of the expansion of Roman territory.

But this increase in income was largely offset by the increase in spending.

Real security for good administration lay in strict and uniform supervision by the sovereign administrative authority; and the Senate provided no provision for it. It is in this respect that the sluggishness and ineffectiveness of collective government is most fully manifested. Legally, the governors should have been subjected to a much stricter and more special surveillance than that which had sufficed for the municipal administration of the Italiots; and now that the Empire embraced vast lands beyond the seas, the arrangements by which the government kept watch over the whole to itself should have been given a corresponding extension. It was precisely the opposite that happened.

On the other hand, in all matters which went beyond mere municipal matters, the popular assemblies of Rome played a childish and even ridiculous role. In general, the people adopted whatever was offered to them, and when, in exceptional circumstances, they refused the sanction of their own movement, as one day for the Macedonian war, the policy of the Forum was certainly in miserable opposition, and with miserable result, to state policy. Moreover, when the aristocracy converted into a special ruling class, concentrating in its hands not only power but wealth, the customers became parasites and beggars and these new supporters of the rich internally and externally undermined the class of the rich. citizens.

Popular amusements increased to an alarming rate. The expenses of these new popular entertainments were supported by the magistrates, charged with the exhibition of the various festivals. The splendor of the games soon became the measure by which the electorate judged the ability of candidates for the consulate. The nobility, in reality, paid dearly for these honors. A well-organized gladiatorial fight cost about 720,000 sesterces, (180,000 Gold Frs), but they were readily paid, because, by this means, they positively closed the public career to men who were not rich.

Corruption, however, was not confined to the Forum; it was widespread even in the camps. The new generals, and at their head Scipio the African, poured out with full hands among the soldiers Roman money as the product of booty.

Discipline and the military spirit suffered greatly from this change of war into booty trafficking: we see it in the Perseus war, and the progress of cowardice manifested itself in a scandalous manner.

The reform party appears, so to speak, embodied in the person of Marcus Porcius Cato, 520-605 (234-149). Cato, the last eminent representative of the old policy strictly Italic and opposed to universal domination, passed for this reason, later, for the type of the honest Roman of the old stock: it would be better to consider him as the representative of the opposition. of the middle class of Rome against the Hellenic-cosmopolitan nobility. Entering the civic army at the age of seventeen, he had made the entire Hannibal campaign, from the battle of Lake Trasimeno to that of Zama, served under Marcellus and Fabius, under Nero and Scipio, in Taranto and Sena, in Africa, Sardinia, Spain and Macedonia. He had distinguished himself as a soldier, as an officer, as a general.He was the same in the Forum as he was on the battlefield. His bold and prompt speech, his rustic but pungent verve, his knowledge of Roman laws and Roman affairs, his incredible activity and his iron body first made him noticed in the neighboring towns, and when he finally appeared in the The Forum's larger arena, he was soon the most influential lawyer and the first orator of his time. He followed the tone of Manius Gurius, who was his ideal among Roman statesmen; his long existence was devoted to attacking with honesty, and in the persuasion of his conscience, the imminent decadence, and he still fought, at eighty-five, battles against new ideas. He never tried to stop the evil at its source, and waged war all his life only against symptoms and people.His passionate attacks made him many enemies, and he lived in declared and irreconcilable hostility with the most powerful aristocratic coteries of the time, particularly with the Flamininus and the Scipios: forty-four times he was accused in public, but the Farmers, which proves how powerful the spirit which had enabled them to survive the disaster at Cannes to survive the disaster at Cannes still had in the middle class of Rome, never refused the indefatigable champion of reform the support of their votes. And the nobles were forced to submit when the great reformation took place.he was accused in public, but the farmers, which proves what power still had in the middle class of Rome in the spirit which had enabled him to survive the disaster at Cannes, never refused the indefatigable champion of reform support of their votes. And the nobles were forced to submit when the great reformation took place.he was accused in public, but the farmers, which proves what power still had in the middle class of Rome in the spirit which had enabled him to survive the disaster at Cannes, never refused the indefatigable champion of reform support of their votes. And the nobles were forced to submit when the great reformation took place.

The reform party at this time succeeded to a certain extent in arresting the progress of decadence (especially the decline of the farming class and the abandonment of old habits of austerity and frugality) and the preponderant influence of the new nobility. But too little was done in these efforts, which were moreover so respectable, and the purely defensive attitude of the adversaries rendered all the results almost in vain. But just as this period saw the birth of a multitude alongside the bourgeoisie, so too did a demagogy which flattered the crowd, alongside the useful and respectable opposition party. From there were born these citizen-general, accustomed to making plans of battle on the tables of the cabarets, and who, by virtue of their innate military genius, took pity on the regular service.From thence came those officers of the staff, who owed their command to electoral intrigues, and who, when affairs became serious, received en masse leave; thence came the battles of Lake Trasimeno and Cannes, and the shameful conduct of the war against Perseus. But as the evil could not be stopped at its source, it did little for the best disposed to hear with anxiety the roar of the rising tide, and to work on dikes and canals. As they were satisfied with palliatives and adopted, even too late and ill-timed, the most important, such as the improvement of justice and the division of public lands, they only succeeded in hastening the bad days for their descendants. Wherever he looks, he discovers crevices and cracks in the old building;we see workers sometimes busy butchering them, sometimes enlarging them; but nowhere do we see any preparations to seriously repair it or to rebuild it again, and it is no longer a question of whether the building will collapse, but simply: when?

BOOK FOURTH

The revolution

THE AREAS SUBJECTED UNTIL THE TIME OF THE GRACQUES

A senatorial commission was sent to Spain to organize, in agreement with Scipio, the newly conquered province, on the Roman model, and Scipio did all he could to do away with the consequences of the improvident and senseless policies of his predecessors. Spain is finally seeing better times. The suppression of piracy, which found dangerous haunts in the Balearic Islands, by the occupation of these islands operated by Quintus Cæcilius Metellus, in 691 (123), served a lot to increase the prosperity of Spanish trade. Despite serious disorders on its borders, Spain was the most flourishing and best organized region of the Roman possessions; the system of tithes was unknown there; its population was large, and the country was rich in corn and cattle.

Old Marcus Cato, with surprise and jealousy, saw with his own eyes the flourishing state of the distant enemy of Rome, the prosperous country and the congested streets, immense stores of weapons in the arsenals and the rich materials of the fleets: he already saw in his mind a second Hannibal directing all these resources against Rome. By his honest and manly, but deeply narrow, proceeding he came to the conclusion that Rome could not be quiet until Carthage disappeared from the face of the earth, and immediately after his return he set forth this view in the Senate. His policy, it seems, found adherents especially among the great Roman capitalists who would naturally inherit the rich city after its destruction.

The desired opportunity soon found itself: the provocative violations of the law of Massinissa. Massinissa put his troops in motion, and the Patriote Party of Carthage also prepared for the struggle. The Carthaginians and the Numidians fought a great battle, in which the Carthaginians, despite the help of 6,000 Numidian horsemen, which had been brought to them by officers unhappy with Massinissa, and their numerical superiority, were completely defeated.

The Romans, who had carefully refrained from preventing war by timely intervention, finally had what they wanted, a specious pretext for war, for the Carthaginians had certainly violated the stipulations of the treaty, by which it was forbidden to them. to wage war against the allies of Rome, or beyond their own borders. The Carthaginians made all their efforts to avert this catastrophe, by complete submission. But the consul Lucius Marcius Censorinus declared that, as a result of the instructions given by the Senate, the city would be destroyed, but that the inhabitants were free to settle where they wanted in their territory, provided that it was at least ten miles away. of the sea.

This terrible commandment excited among the Phoenicians that enthusiasm, shall we say magnanimous or foolish, which the Tyrians had formerly shown against Alexander, and which the Jews later displayed against Vespasian. A message was sent to the consuls asking for a truce of thirty days. The precious interval was used to make catapults and armor; night and day were devoted by the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, to building machines and forging weapons; the public buildings were demolished to obtain framework and iron, the women cut their hair to replace the essential ropes for the catapults; in an incredibly short time, the walls and the men were armed. When at last the consuls, tired of waiting, left their camp in Utica,they found the walls, with surprise and terror, equipped with new catapults, and saw the populous city, which they intended to occupy as an open village, capable of defending itself and ready to do so until death.

The Romans attempted the assault; but they found the breach, part of the wall, and the neighboring houses so heavily occupied, and they marched with such recklessness that they were driven back with serious losses. The diseases, the departure of Censorinus, the inaction of Massinissa completely stopped the offensive operations of the Romans.

To change the face of African affairs, recourse was had in Rome to the extraordinary measure of entrusting the conduct of the war to the only man who would have brought some honor from the plains of Libya, and whom his very name designated for this war. ; instead of calling Scipio to the council for which he was a candidate, he was given the consulate before the legal time.

The siege therefore began again and with greater success. In a night attack on the suburb, the Romans managed to pass, from a tower placed in front of the walls and which was equal to them in height, into the buildings and opened a small gate through which the whole army passed. The Carthaginians abandoned the suburb and the camp before the gates, and gave Hasdrubal the command-in-chief of the army of the city, which amounted to thirty thousand men. Scipio, meanwhile, after having tightened the besieged in the city itself, sought to cut off all their communications with the interior. He himself placed his headquarters on the spit of land which united the peninsula to the mainland, and despite the many attempts of the Carthaginians to disturb his operations,he built a large camp across the isthmus, thereby intercepting the city's communications from the land side. Nevertheless, vessels loaded with provisions managed to enter the port. Scipio then built a stone mole ninety-six feet wide, extending from the tongue of land between the gulf and the lake to the latter, so as to close the entrance to the port. But this surprise was balanced by another. Suddenly, just as the Romans had just completed the barrage of the entrance to the port, fifty Carthaginian triremes and a proportionate number of boats and skiffs came out of this port into the gulf: while the enemy was closing the former opening of the port to the south, the Carthaginians had, by means of a channel directed to the east, created a new outlet, which,due to the depth of the sea there, could not be closed. Scipio set up the machines again, and set fire to the enemy's wooden towers; he thus took possession of the quay and the outer port. A rampart as high as the city wall was built there, and the city was finally completely blocked by land and sea. Winter had come, and Scipio suspended his operations, leaving famine and plague to take care of it. complete what he had started.leaving famine and pestilence to complete what he had started.leaving famine and pestilence to complete what he had started.

In the spring of 608 (146), Lælius succeeded in scaling the wall, barely defended by a starving garrison, and thus entered the inner harbor. The city was taken; but the struggle was by no means over. The assailants occupied the market square adjacent to the small port, and advanced through the three narrow streets which led to the citadel; their march was slow, for the six-story houses had to be taken one after the other. Six days passed thus, terrible for the inhabitants of the city, and terrible also for the assailants; they finally arrived in front of the steep rock of the citadel, where Hasdrubal had taken refuge and what remained of his soldiers. Finally the rest of the population, taking refuge in the citadel, asked to capitulate. Life was granted to them with great difficulty,and 30,000 men and 25,000 women were seen to appear before the victor, less than a tenth of the former population. The Roman deserters, numbering 900, as well as General Hasdrubal with his wife and two children, had thrown themselves into the temple of the god of health; there could be no surrender for those who had left their posts. But when the most resolute among them set fire to the temple, giving in to famine, Hasdrubal dared not look death in the face; he rushed alone to the victor and asked for life on his knees. It was granted to him; but when his wife who, with her children, had taken refuge on the roof of the temple, saw him at the feet of Scipio, his proud heart could not bear this ignominy inflicted on his beloved family, and after having insulted by bitter words to his love of life,she threw herself into the flames with her children. The fight was over. The joy in the camp and in Rome was immense; the most virtuous among the Romans were alone ashamed of this last success of Rome.

But much of the larger part of town was intact. Scipio would have liked to keep it; at least he sent a special report on the subject to the Senate. Scipio Nasica tried once again to make the voice of honor and reason heard, but to no avail. The senate ordered the general to have the city of Carthage and the suburb of Magalia razed to the ground, and to do the same for all the cities which had remained faithful to Carthage until the end; one also had to pass the plow on the place where Carthage had existed, so as to legally end the existence of the city, and to always curse the ground and the place, so that neither house nor field could ever reappear there. The command was punctually executed. The ruins burned for seventeen days;and where the industrious Phoenicians had trafficked and traded for five centuries, Roman slaves were now seen grazing the herds of their former masters. Scipio, whom nature had destined for a more noble role than that of executioner, blushed for his work, and instead of the joy of triumph, the victor himself was pursued with the idea that such a crime would one day. expiated.

The supreme administration of the new province was entrusted to a governor residing in Utica. Those who really gained from this destruction of the first commercial city of the West were the Roman merchants who, as soon as Carthage was reduced to ashes, rushed in crowds to Utica, and from that point began to exploit not only the province. Roman, but also the regions of Numidia and Gétulie, which had until then been closed to them.

At the same time as Carthage, Macedonia disappeared from the rank of nations.

The kingdom of Alexander was, by order of the senate, reduced by Metellus into a Roman province. It was clearly seen that the Roman government had modified its system, and had resolved to change the relations of clientele into those of subjection.

Henceforth it was the Romans who undertook the defense of the borders of northern and eastern Macedonia, or, in other words, of the borders of Hellenic civilization against the barbarians.

At the beginning of 608 (146), the Achaeans entered Greece, Thessaly, to bring into obedience Heracleia on the ta, which, in accordance with the decree of the senate, had separated from the Achaean confederation. Consul Lucius Mummius, whom the Senate had ordered to send to Greece, had not yet arrived: Metellus took it upon himself to protect Heracleia with Macedonian legions.

The Romans were not long in accepting the battle. From the outset, the Achaean cavalry broke en masse before the Roman cavalry, six times more numerous; the hoplites stood up to the enemy until a flank attack by an elite Roman corps confused their ranks. This ended the resistance. Diæsos fled, put his wife to death and also poisoned himself: the cities submitted en masse, and as for the impregnable Corinth, in which Mummius hesitated three days to enter because he feared some trap, it was occupied. by the Romans without striking a blow.

The absolutely unnecessary destruction of the flourishing Corinth, Greece's first commercial city, remains a stigma for Rome. By express orders of the Senate, the citizens of Corinth were seized, and those who were not killed were sold into slavery: the city itself was not only deprived of its walls and citadel, but also razed to the ground. . Most of the territory was declared public land of Rome. Thus was extinguished "the eye of Greece", the last precious jewel of the Greek land, once so rich in cities.

While in the peninsula of Asia Minor, Rome transformed the kingdom of Pergamon into a Roman province, the lands beyond the Taurus and the upper Euphrates to the valley of the Nile continued to be virtually surrendered to them. same.

This is not yet the place to describe the rejuvenated empire of Cyrus: it suffices to mention this fact in general, that, however powerful the influence of Hellenism, the empire of the Parthians, compared to that of the Seleucids, was based on a religious and national reaction, and the old language of Iran, the order of the Magi and the cult of Mithras, the feudal constitution of the East, the desert cavalry, army of the bow and arrow, were found in these countries in triumphant opposition against Hellenism.

The result was inevitable. The eastern provinces of Syria, under their unprotected or insurgent satraps, fell under the domination of the Parthians; Persia, Babylonia, Media were forever separated from the kingdom of Syria; the new Parthian Empire reached on both sides the great desert, from the Oxus and the Indo Coosh to the Tigris and the Arabian desert.

This revolution in the relations of the peoples of the interior of Asia is the pivot of the history of antiquity. Instead of that national flood, which until then had flowed from the West to the East, and which had found in Alexander the Great its last and its highest expression, the tide rose again. Since Alexander, the world had obeyed the Westerners exclusively, and the Orient had the same effect on it as America and Australia later on Europeans. With Mithridates I st , the East entered the sphere of the political movement. The world had two masters again.

It was a great and difficult problem that Rome set out to rule this Romano-Hellenic world: she understood it, but she did not solve it. The government itself degenerated more and more into a stupid and improvident egoism; we were content to govern from day to day, and to conduct current affairs according to circumstances.

The fleet was neglected; the continental military system fell into the most incredible decline. The burden of defending the borders of Asia and Africa was left to the subjects. Everywhere we look we see the inner energy of Rome as well as the outer power rapidly declining. The ground conquered in gigantic struggles does not extend, does not even remain in this period of peace. The government of the world, difficult to acquire, was even more difficult to maintain. The Roman Senate had accomplished the first task, it succumbed in the second.

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THE REFORM MOVEMENT AND TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

For a whole generation, after the battle of Pydna, the Roman state enjoyed a deep calm hardly disturbed here and there on its surface. The territory extended over the three regions of the known world; the splendor of the Roman power and the glory of the Roman name increased daily; all eyes were fixed on Italy, all talents, all wealth flowed there; it seemed that the golden age of peaceful prosperity and intellectual enjoyment had begun there.

Thus things appeared from a distance; but, up close, they had another aspect. The aristocratic government was destroying its own work. When a limited number of old families of established wealth and hereditary political importance lead the government, these families show in the time of danger an incomparable tenacity of purpose and heroic abnegation; just as in times of tranquility, they become reckless, selfish and neglectful.

Such was the internal and external situation of Rome when the state entered the seventh century of its existence. Wherever the eye turned he encountered abuse and decadence: every shrewd and well-meaning man would have to ask himself whether such a state of affairs could not be corrected or changed. There was no lack of such men in Rome; but none seemed more suited to the great work of political and social reform than Publius Cornelius Scipio Emilianus Africanus, 570 (625), the favorite son of Paul-Émile and the adopted grandson of the great Scipio, whose name he bore. glorious Africanus.

But he took an intermediate position between the aristocrats, who never forgave him his defense of the Cassia law, and the Democrats whom he did not satisfy and that he did not try to satisfy: lonely during his life, abandoned after his death. died by both parties sometimes as the champion of the aristocracy, sometimes as the promoter of reform.

It was then that a young man without titles had the boldness to present himself as the savior of Italy. His name was Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus 591-621 (163-133).

His views were known to a wide circle, and there was no shortage of voices to approve it, and more than one public placard called on the African's grandson to think of the poor people and deliverance from Italy. .

On December 10, 620 (134) Gracchus was invested with the Tribunate of the People. As soon as he took charge, he proposed the presentation of an agrarian law, which, in certain respects, was nothing other than the renewal of the Licinio-Sextian law of 387. By this law, the state lands which were occupied without royalty by the owners who enjoyed it, had to be taken back on behalf of the State; but, with the restriction that each occupant would judge himself 500 will judge , and for each son 250 (up to 1000 will judge in all).

A colleague of Gracchus, Marcus Octavius, a resolute man and seriously convinced of the pernicious character of the proposed state law, interposed his veto when it was put to the vote: thereby, constitutionally, the proposal was rejected. Gracchus seemed to have come to the point where he had to either give up his plan altogether, or start a revolution: he chose the latter course. Gracchus severed all relation with his colleague and appeared before the assembled multitude asking them if a tribune who opposed the will of the people should not be removed from office. The People's Assembly, accustomed to acceding to all the proposals presented to it, and composed for the most part of the agricultural proletariat which had emigrated from the countryside, and which was personally interested in passing the law,gave an almost unanimously favorable answer.

The aristocracy did not hide that if it did not perhaps oppose the law, because it could not do otherwise, it would one day make the intruding legislator pay for this illegality. What is certain is that Gracchus saw his only way of salvation in his re-election to the tribunate which protected him and that to obtain this unconstitutional re-election, he still meditated new reforms.

The senate assembled in the temple of Fidelity, near the temple of Jupiter, the most violent opponents of Gracchus spoke in the session; when Tiberius raised his hand to his forehead to indicate to the people that his head was threatened, he was said to ask the people to crown him with the diadem. Consul Scævola was begged to allow the traitor to be put to death.

The consular Publius Scipion Nasica, a violent and angry aristocrat, summoned those who shared his views to arm themselves as best they could and to follow him. Gracchus tried to escape with some of his adherents. But in his flight, he fell on the door of the Capitol, and was killed with a blow to the temple by one of those pursuing him. About three hundred people were killed with him.

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THE REVOLUTION AND CAÏUS GRACCHUS RESTORATION OF SENATORIAL

POWER

The partition commission, composed of the warmest partisans of the Gracchi, and absolute judge in its own cause, accomplishes its work hastily and without proceeding. However violent and for the most part well-founded the claims, the Senate allowed the distribution of land to take its course.

But the claims of allied or subject communities could not be disdained like those of Roman individuals, injured by the acts of the commissioners. It was especially by the influence of Scipio Emilien that in 625 (129) a decree of the people removed the jurisdiction from the commission, and gave the consuls the decision on the question of what was domanial possession or particular possession. It was nothing more than the suspension in a softened form of the distribution of land.

Scipio had announced, for one of the following days, an address relating to the claims of the Latins: on the morning of that day, he was found dead in his bed. There is no doubt that he was the victim of a political assassination. It is evident that the instigator of this murder must have belonged to the party of the Gracchi; the assassination of Scipio was the response of democracy to the aristocratic massacres of the Temple of Fidelity.

The history of Rome presents many men of greater genius than Scipio Emilien, but none who has equaled him in moral purity, in the complete absence of political selfishness, in generous love for his country, and none possibly. being only received a more tragic role from destiny. With the best of intentions and offline talent, he was doomed to see his country's ruin consumed before his eyes. He could say, however, that he had not lived in vain. It was to him, at least as much as to the author of the Sempronia law, that the body of Roman citizens owed an increase of nearly eighty thousand new territorial attributions: it was he too who put an end to the distribution of domains, when this measure had produced all the good that could be expected.

Caius Gracchus, 601-633 (159-121), was very different from his nine-year-old older brother. Like him, he had no taste for pleasures and vulgar things. But in talent, in character, and above all in passion, he was far superior to Tiberius.

What Caius brought in, in the midst of a series of diverse projects, was nothing less than an entirely new constitution, the cornerstone of which was the previously introduced innovation, by which a tribune could solicit his re-election.

Gracchus had it decreed that any citizen who presented himself in the capital would receive each month a determined quantity, probably five modii , from the public store, the modius being given at 6 as 1/3 (30 centimes, gold), that is, less than half the average price.

Caius Gracchus also found an improvement in the lot of the proletariat in the transmarine colonies of the republic. He sent far away, in front of Carthage, six thousand settlers chosen, not exclusively from among the Roman citizens, but also from among the Italian allies, and gave the new city of Junonia the right of colony of Roman citizens.

While Gracchus leaned on the multitude, who meanwhile received from him a material improvement in their situation, he worked with equal energy for the ruin of the aristocracy.

Despite their agreement to fight a common enemy, like Tiberius Gracchus, there was a deep rift between the aristocracy of the nobility and the silver aristocracy; and Caius, more skilful than his brother, still enlarged him until their alliance was broken, and the class of silver men declared themselves for him.

With his arms thus prepared, the proletariat and the merchant order, Gracchus set about his main work: the overthrow of the governing aristocracy. The new master of the State disposed of the State treasury without consulting the Senate, by loading the public finances with a lasting and overwhelming weight by the institution of public distributions; domains, by having colonies decreed, not by the Senate as in the past, but by the people; of the government of the provinces, by modifying, by decree of the people, the financial organization given by the senate to the province of Asia, and substituting for it something completely different. Finally, he accustomed the people to see one man dominating all things, and threw into the shade the weak and powerless administration of the senate,by the vigor and dexterity of his own government. Gracchus attacked the jurisdiction of the Senate with even more energy than his administration.

He removed, as we have already said, the senators from their ordinary judicial functions; it was the same for the jurisdiction that the Senate attributed to itself in exceptional cases, as the Supreme Court. Such was the constitution that Caius Gracchus wanted to give to Rome, and it was, for the most part, implemented during the two years of his tribunate 631-632 (123-122), without meeting, it seems, any real resistance.

Towards the end of his second tribunate, 632 (122), Gracchus, probably pushed forward by the obligations he had contracted with regard to the allies, proposed to give the Latins the direct right of the city, and, to the other Italiots , the right until then reserved for the Latins. But the proposal failed in the face of combined opposition from the Senate and the dominant populace.

It was probably this success that emboldened the Senate to attempt to overthrow the victorious demagogue. The aristocracy devised a plan to wage battle on their own land against the author of the bounties of grain and the assignments of land.

Naturally, the senate offered the proletariat not only the same advantages which Gracchus had already assured it in wheat or otherwise, but even greater advantages. The people, therefore, ratified the Livia law with as much ease as the Sempronia law. He paid his last benefactor, according to custom, by striking the first, by refusing to rename him when he presented himself for the third time to the tribunate in 633 (121). The foundation of his despotism was thus crumbling upon him.

The first attack, as one would expect, was directed against the most useful, but the most unpopular measure of Gracchus: the restoration of Carthage. The Senate was thereby obliged in conscience to have a law proposed which would defend the foundation of the colony of Junonia. Gracchus appeared on the day of the Capitol vote.

Quintus Antullius haughtily ordered the evil citizens to leave the porch, and seemed to want to lay hands on Caius himself: a supporter of Gracchus drew his sword and killed him. There arose a terrible tumult.

Gracchus therefore had to try to escape to the other side of the Tiber, accompanied by a slave. There, in the sacred wood of Furrina, the two corpses were found; it seems that the slave first hit his master, then himself. The memory of the Gracchi remained officially proscribed. But the multitude, despite all the persecutions of the police, continued to maintain a passionate attachment to their memory and to the places where they were deposited.

Gracchus having died without heirs, the government of the Senate spontaneously resumed its domination.

The reaction was directed exclusively against people; Publius Popillius was recalled from exile, after the decree had been overturned, 633 (121), and a war of pursuit was waged against the supporters of Gracchus. But the reaction did not immediately attack the distribution of grain, the taxation in the provinces of Asia, or the arrangements made by Gracchus for jurors and courts: on the contrary, it not only spared the mercantile class and the proletariat. of the capital, but it continued to pay homage, as it had done for the introduction of the Livia law, to these powers, and particularly to the proletariat, in a more positive way than the Gracchi had done.

On the other hand, nothing was attacked more quickly and happily than the greatest of his designs, that of introducing legal equality between Roman citizens and Italy, and later between Italy and the provinces. The plan to relieve Carthage was put aside without difficulty by the government party, although the allocations of lands already distributed were left to those who had received them.

The whole nation was in a complete state of intellectual and moral decay, but especially the upper classes.

If the state of religion did not present a true picture of the appalling dissolution of this era, and if the external history of the period did not show the baseness of the Roman nobles as one of its hallmarks, the horrible crimes that came in the light, in rapid succession, in the highest circles of Rome, would have been enough to indicate their character.

The social ruin of Italy was spreading with alarming rapidity; since the aristocracy had given itself legal permission to expropriate, by paying them, the small landowners, and, in its new arrogance, frequently allowed itself to evict them, the farms disappeared like drops of rain in the sea.

The provinces suffered even more in comparison. To the official and semi-official brigands were joined the buccaneers and pirates, who plundered all the regions of the Mediterranean.

But nowhere was the impotence and perversity of the provincial administration of the Romans shown in such complete nullity as in the insurrections of the provincial proletariat, which seemed to have regained all their vigor at the same time as the restoration of the aristocracy.

The war against Jugurtha and the submission of Numidia brought to light the vices of government; it was not only notorious, but, so to speak, historically established, that for the masters of Rome everything was venal, the peace treaties like the right of intercession, the rampart of the camp and the life of the soldier: the African n 'had said the exact truth, when he declared, on leaving Rome, that if he had had enough gold, he would have made a point of buying the city itself. The aristocracy ruled as exclusively in 650 (104) as in 620 (134), but the signs of impending catastrophe had multiplied, and on the political horizon, the sword came to stand next to the crown. .

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THE PEOPLES OF THE NORTH

It is now necessary to point out what means Rome employed to ensure and enlarge her domination on this side, and to say how the great masses of peoples who constantly appeared on one side and on the other beyond this curtain of mountains, began to rudely remind the Roman and Greek world that it was wrong to count on exclusive domination of the earth.

At the southern border of the canton of Allobroges, at the confluence of the Rhône and Isère, which the Arvernes army crossed over a bridge of boats, was fought, on August 8, 633 (121), the battle which decided the domination on the South of Gaul.

The result of these military operations was the establishment of a new Roman province between the Maritime Alps and the Pyrenees. In the region located between the Rhône and the Pyrenees, the Arvernes retained their freedom and were not subjected to pay tribute to the Romans. But they had to cede to Rome the southernmost portion of their direct or indirect territory, the district south of the Cévennes to the Mediterranean and the upper course of the Garonne to Tolosa (Toulouse).

As usual, the construction of roads was added to the foundation of new fortresses. The Romans settled in Narbo, an old Celtic city on the navigable river of Atax (Aude), not far from the sea.

In the regions of the sources of the Rhine and the course of the Danube, the most powerful nation of the time was the great Celtic people.

Marcus Livius was the first Roman general, 642-643 (112-111) to reach the Danube, and Marcus Minucius, 644 (110) so completely defeated the Scordisks, that since that time they were reduced to an insignificant situation.

In order to preserve the border of the Rhine, and the directly threatened territory of the Allobroges, a Roman army, commanded by Junius Silanus, appeared in 645 (109) in southern Gaul. The consul was completely defeated and the Roman camp was taken. But the Cimbri, instead of continuing their victory over the Romans, undoubtedly occupied themselves with subduing the surrounding Celtic cantons.

They returned in 649 (105), under their king Boiorix, seriously thinking, this time, of an expedition to Italy.

The proconsul, Cæpion, was completely annihilated, so that his very camp fell into the power of the enemy; and this disaster brought about the no less complete defeat of the second Roman army. It is said that 80,000 Roman soldiers and half as many of the useless people who followed the camp perished, and only ten men escaped. Gallic terror spread in Italy: throughout the West it seemed convinced that Roman domination was coming to an end.

Marius still presented himself in spite of the law which forbade filling the consultate twice in a row, and not only was he appointed consul and in charge of the supreme command of the Gallic Wars, while he was still in Africa at the head of the army, but he was again invested with the consulate for five successive years.

The Cimbri resolved to deal seriously with the Italian expedition. Their mass was divided into two hordes, one of which composed of Cimbres and Tigorini, was to cross the Rhine again and invade Italy through the eastern passages already recognized in 641 (113), the other, composed newly arrived Teutons, were to invade Italy through Roman Gaul and the western passages.

Marius waited for the Teutons in a well-chosen and well-supplied camp at the confluence of the Isère with the Rhône. For three consecutive days the Barbarians threw themselves on the Roman entrenchments, but their untamed courage was broken against this fortress and against the prudence of the general. After having suffered considerable losses, the allied hordes resolved to give up the attack, and to march on Italy without occupying themselves with the camp. For six consecutive days they continued to march, which proves the congestion of their luggage rather than the immensity of the number. The general let them advance without attacking them.

When the march was over, he broke his camp and set out in pursuit of the enemy. A first collision, fortunate for the Romans, overexcited the general and the soldiers: on the third day which followed, Marius put himself in a position to deliver a decisive battle on a mountain, at the top of which was the Roman camp (near Aquæ Sextiæ - Aix). The Teutons, long impatient to face off against their antagonists, immediately climbed the mountain and began the struggle. It was rough and disputed; until the middle of the day the Germans remained solid as a wall; but the ardor of the Provençal sun destroyed their energy, and a false alarm at the rear decided to break the already shaken ranks. The whole horde was dispersed, and, as might be expected in a foreign land,they were all put to death or taken prisoner.

Gaul was delivered from the Germans, and it was high time, because their brothers in arms were already on the back of the Alps. When the Cimbri emerged in thick masses from the mountains, panic gripped the Roman army, and legionaries and knights fled. Catulus was obliged to retire towards the right bank of the Po, and to leave the whole plain between the Po and the Alps in the power of the Cimbri. But, on this occasion, the Cimbri remained faithful to their custom of wintering. The Romans therefore gained the time to meet them with their forces gathered in Italy. From the battlefield of Aix, the victorious army was led towards the Po. In the spring of 653 (101), it crossed the Po again, counting 50,000 men, under the consul Marius and the proconsul Catulus, and marched against the Cimbri.

The two armies met below Vercellæ. Complete victory was bought at the cost of small losses, and the Cimbri were exterminated. The human avalanche, which for thirteen years had alarmed the peoples from the Danube to the Ebro, from the Seine to the Po, is buried in these plains, or is subjected to the yoke of slavery.

The political parties of Rome continued their miserable quarrels over these corpses, without worrying about this great chapter in the history of the world, the first page of which had just opened.

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ATTEMPT OF REVOLUTION BY MARIUS AND REFORM BY DRUSUS

Caius Marius, the son of a poor day laborer, was born in 599. He was brought up with a plow, with such a constrained existence that it even seemed to close his path to the magistracies of Arpinum. As soon as his age permitted, he entered the army, and at the severe school of the wars in Spain, he quickly obtained the rank of officer. But in the state of affairs, even a man of the highest merit could not achieve the political office which alone led to great military posts, if he did not have riches and alliances. The young officer acquired both by happy commercial speculations, and by his union with a young girl of the ancient patrician gens of the Julii. Thus, with the help of great efforts, and after having been repulsed several times, he arrives in 639 (115) at the praetorium. We have already seen how,in spite of the aristocracy, he arrived at the consulate in 647 (107), and how, called after the disastrous day of Arausio to direct the war against the Germans, he obtained the renewal of his consulate for four consecutive years, from 650 to 653 and defeated and annihilated the Cimbri. He administered justice impartially, distributed the booty with rare fairness and disinterestedness, and was believed to be immune from corruption.distributed the booty with rare fairness and uncommon disinterestedness, and was considered to be free from all corruption.distributed the booty with rare fairness and uncommon disinterestedness, and was considered to be free from all corruption.

In the eyes of his admirers, Marius' work in no way seemed finished. The bad government oppressed the country more heavily than the barbarians: upon it, the first man of Rome, the favorite of the people, the leader of the opposition, rested the task of delivering Rome once again.

He had in hand, by the reorganization of the army, a formidable weapon.

As in the civil constitution, there were in the military constitution all the pillars of a future monarchy; all that was missing was the monarch. When the twelve eagles flew around the Capitol, they announced the kings: the new eagle that Caius Marius gave to the legions proclaimed the advent of the emperors.

The Senate appeared so powerless and discredited, so hated and so despised, that Marius did not believe that he needed any other support to resist it than that of his immense popularity.

He therefore dismissed the army after its triumph, according to the established regulations and entered the career where Caius Gracchus had preceded him, by being given the constitutional magistracies. In this enterprise he had to resort to the support of what was called the popular party.

Saturninus and Glaucia were the two leaders of this party which then made common cause with the victorious general.

The Apuleian wheat and colonial laws met, as might be expected, the strongest resistance from the government. But the brave soldiers of Marius, who had flocked in crowds to Rome on this occasion, quickly rallied and dispersed the bands of the city, and, on the grounds of the vote thus reconquered, the vote on the Apuleian laws was obtained.

The ruin of the enterprise arose above all from the dissension which the more than double conduct of Marius produced among his partisans. The hesitant attitude of Marius became evident in the question of the oath. First, it seemed that he was going to refuse the oath required by the Apuleian laws because of the formal defects which had signaled its adoption; but he lent it with the addition of the reservation: "as far as the laws were really valid," a reservation which annulled the oath itself, and which all the senators adopted by taking it, so that by this manner of swearing, the validity of laws was not assured.

A violent rupture ensued, which lost both parties.

On the day when the new tribunes of the people were to take charge, December 10, 654 (100), a battle was fought on the main market square, the first ever to be fought within the walls of the capital. The outcome was not for a moment in doubt. The popular were beaten and dragged to the Capitol, where they lacked water and where they were forced to go. Saturninus declared to the multitude that everything he had proposed had been done in agreement with the consul: a man other than Marius would have blushed at the conduct he held on that day. But he had long since ceased to be master of affairs. Without orders, the young nobles scaled the roof of the Forum Palace, where the prisoners were temporarily held, tore off the tiles and stoned the prisoners. This is how Saturninus perished.

Never had the government party won a more complete victory, nor the opposition suffered a more severe defeat than on that day of December 10.

Nobody in the aristocratic or democratic party thought more of the victorious general, when it comes to filling the magistracies: the hero of six consulates did not even venture to present himself as candidate for censorship in 656 (98). He went to the East, apparently to fulfill a wish there.

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THE REVOLUTION OF ITALIOT SUBJECTS AND THE SULPICIAN REVOLUTION

As soon as the revolution broke out, the Italiots entered into the movement and agitation of the Roman parties with the aim of obtaining equal rights.

However, instead of the expected changes, in 659 (95), a consular law was enacted which absolutely forbade non-citizens to claim frankness, and threatened transgressors with judgment and punishment.

The Italiots had no other resource but to submit patiently or to renew once more, and if possible, with combined forces, the attempt which had been crushed in the cradle thirty-five years before by the destruction of Fregelles.

The insurrection broke out in Asculum and all of central and southern Italy was soon in arms against Rome.

The Etruscans and Umbrians remained attached to Rome.

In Rome, all business ceased, and all that was done was to raise soldiers and manufacture arms.

The southern army, commanded by Caesar, tried to take the offensive and come to the aid of the small divisions which had been sent forward into the Samnium. But Caesar was repulsed by the Samnites and the Marses commanded by Publius Vettius Scato, with significant losses.

All Campania up to Vesuvius was lost to the Romans; Salermo, Stabiae, Pompeii, Herculaneum, declared themselves for the insurgents.

However, Marius gradually entered the interior of Marseille territory. He refused the battle for a long time; when he finally gave it, he defeated his impetuous adversary. In a second engagement, the army of Marius and the corps of Sylla which belonged to the army of the south, together contributed to inflict on the Marshals an even more considerable defeat, which cost them six thousand men.

In the Picenum, the Italiots found themselves confined to Asculum and the war was again turned into a siege.

Finally, it became necessary to send against the Umbrians Aulus Plotius, and against the Etruscans Lucius Porcius Caton.

The public spirit was singularly weakened.

As a result, the gates of the Roman city, which had been closed for so long to all supplications, suddenly opened. A law introduced by the consul Lucius Caesar conferred citizenship rights on the citizens of all the communities of the Italian allies, who had not declared themselves openly against Rome.

Strengthened by these concessions granted to the hesitant cities, the Romans resumed with new energy the war against the insurgent districts.

Particularly in Etruria and Umbria, where it had just started, it was repressed with singular rapidity.

The gates of Asculum were opened, and the Roman executions followed those of the Italiots. The Romans advanced again to Venusia and Rubi, and became masters of all Apulia: the Marses were defeated by the lieutenants of Strabo.

The southern Roman army, which was now commanded by Lucius Sylla, had at the same time taken the offensive and had penetrated into southern Campania, which it subdued as far as Nola.

The insurrection came out of it deeply humiliated, beaten everywhere, and without hope.

Rome was in terrible turmoil.

It only takes one accident to trigger the revolution.

It was then that the tribune of the people Publius Sulpicius Rufus in 666 (88), proposed to the citizens to declare that any senator who owed more than 2,000 denarii (2,050 gold francs) would lose his seat in the senate; to grant liberty to citizens convicted by courts other than that of jurors; to distribute the new citizens in all the tribes, and to grant the freedmen the right to vote in all the tribes.

These proposals met with the most decided resistance in the majority of the Senate. Sulpicius replied with a violent tumult. The senate was forced to yield, and Sulpicius' proposals passed without opposition.

Sulpicius, in order to ward off the blow he foresaw, decided to deprive Sylla of the supreme command. On his proposal, Caius Marins was, by decree of the people, invested with supreme extraordinary power or, as it was called, proconsular, and obtained the command of the army of Campania and the direction of the war against Mithridates.

Sylla was not the man to attend to this summons.

He gathered his soldiers, six legions forming about 35,000 men, informed them of the summons which had arrived from Rome. From all sides arose the cry asking the general to lead the army to Rome. The consul left without delay. The army corps, quickly assembled by Marius and Sulpicius, was waiting for him and repulsed with superior forces the march of the first columns. But reinforcements came through the gates: another division of Sylla prepared to turn the defenders through the rue de Subura: they were therefore forced to withdraw. Marius again tried to resist, and adjured the senate and the knights and all the citizens to advance in front of the legions; it was in vain. A few hours later, Sylla was absolute master of Rome.

Of course, the laws of Sulpicius were considered legally void.

Sulpicius was put to death and Marius fled.

Sylla dared to overthrow an electoral organization which had existed for more than a century and a half, and to restore the electoral census which had long been out of use. He dared to withdraw in practice the right of legislation from his two usual instruments, the magistrates and the comitia, and transfer it to a council which had hitherto enjoyed no other privilege than to be consulted. Never had a Democrat delivered justice in such tyrannical form, or overturned and reestablished the foundations of the constitution with such audacity as that of this conservative reformer.

However, in the consular meetings, the choice did not fall on the candidates nominated by Sylla; but we saw Lucius Cornelius Cinna, belonging to the most decided opposition, associated with Gnæus Octavius, who belonged to the aristocratic party. Soon after, his own consulate expired, and his successor Cinna, on the one hand, urged him to leave for Asia, where his presence was certainly much needed. Sylla entrusted the conduct of the siege of Nola to the owner Appius Claudius, and embarked with his legions at the beginning of 667 (87) for the Hellenic East.

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THE ORIENT AND KING MITHRIDATE

The king of Pont was at that time Mithridates VII, nicknamed Eupator, born around 624 (died in 691) (130-63), which had its origin, on the paternal side in the sixteenth generation, from king Darius. The armor which covered the gigantic body of King Mithridates excited the astonishment of Asians, and especially of Italiots. As a runner, he passed the most agile beast. As a rider, he tamed a wild horse, and made, changing horses, up to nearly fifty leagues a day. As a chariot driver he led with sixteen horses and won more than one prize in the arena. When hunting, he galloped the beast from his horse, and never missed his shot; but at table he had never found a rival. He no less indulged in the pleasures of his harem. He satisfied his intellectual needs by the most absurd superstitions.He added to it a crude imitation of Greek civilization.

He killed or locked up in perpetual prison for more or less real betrayals, his mother, his brother, his sister whom he had married, three of his sons and as many of his daughters. The experimental study of poisons and counterpoisons was for him one of the most important branches of the art of reign. He had expected early betrayal and murder from everyone and especially from his own parents, and had learned to act the same against everyone and especially against his relatives. Not only was he a skilled orator, he ruled twenty-one nations, dispensing justice to them in their own language, without the need for an interpreter. The wars of Mithridatc are the last effort of Greek opposition to Rome, and the beginning of an uprising against Roman supremacy,which rested on varied and deeper grounds of antagonism, the national reaction of Asians against Westerners. After a long truce, it was a new pass in this duel of the West and the East, duel transmitted from the battle of Marathon to the present generation and which will count the future which is reserved for it, like its past, by thousands of years.

More powerful than any monarch in the land had ever been, Mithridates ruled the northern and southern shores of the Black Sea and the interior of Asia Minor. The king's resources on land and sea seemed immeasurable. It was recruited from the mouth of the Danube to the Caucasus and the Caspian Sea.

The Roman Senate remained a patient observer. He said nothing, while one of the states dependent on Rome became a great military power with an army of over one hundred thousand men, while the head of that state entered into close alliance with the new great king of Italy. Orient which was placed, in part by his help, at the head of the states of interior Asia, while he annexed the neighboring kingdoms of Asia and the principalities under pretexts which seemed of a bravado to towards the distant and ill-informed Protecting Power, as he finally established himself in Europe and reigned over the Bullfighting Peninsula. The measure was finally filled by the effective reunion of the kingdom of Cappadocia. The Senate resolved that Mithridates would return to the Scythian provinces.

The Roman government, invoked by kings Ariobarzane and Nicomedes in person, sent to Asia Minor, to help Lucius Cassius who was governor there, the consular Manius Aquillius, an officer experienced in the wars of Cimbri and Sicily, not however as general in the head of an army, but as an ambassador.

Although neither the Roman senate, nor King Mithridates, nor King Nicomedes wanted a rupture, Aquillius sought it, and war took place at the end of 665 (89).

We had not seen forces comparable to those of Mithridates since the Persian wars. It is said that, besides the auxiliary Armenian army, he entered the campaign with 250,000 infantry and 40,000 cavalry, and that 300 decked vessels and 100 open boats held the sea.

At the moment there were no troops in Asia other than a weak Roman division commanded by Lucius Cassius and the West Asian militia.

In the early spring of 666, Mithridates took the offensive. The beaten Bithynian cavalry dispersed. A Roman division was defeated in Cappadocia. Hellenics and Asians joined together in welcoming the liberator.

From Ephesus, the king sent to all the governors and all the cities placed under his domination the order to put to death, on the same day, all the Italians who were in their walls, free or slaves, without distinction of sex. , nor age. This horrible crime even harmed the interests of the king, for it forced the Roman senate to vigorously pursue the war.

Mithridates again led an attack on Europe. His son Ariarathe penetrated from Thrace into weakly defended Macedonia, subduing the country as he advanced, and dividing it into satrapies of the kingdom of Pontus. Euboea suffers a similar fate. In Greece proper, Mithridates continued his operations, not only by arms, but at the same time by national propaganda. As soon as Mithridates' troops gained a foothold on the Greek mainland, most of the small free states, the Achaeans, Laconians, Boeotians and even Thessaly joined them.

The position of the Roman government was beginning to be critical.

The government would have needed three armies to suppress the revolution in Rome, to completely crush the insurrection in Italy, and to continue the war in Asia: it only had one, that of Sylla. The latter, in spite of the dangers which his estrangement caused his constitution and his party to run, landed in the spring of 667 (87) on the coast of Epirus. He left, immediately after disembarking, the ports of Epirus to go to Boeotia, there defeated the enemy generals Archelaus and Aristion, on Mount Tilphosien, and after this victory seized almost without resistance of the whole Greek continent. Sylla continued the siege of the city and port of Athens.

The city was taken by assault, I st March 668 (86).

But Sylla's situation remained extremely difficult and even desperate. Asia was completely on its own and the conquest of Macedonia by Mithridates' lieutenants had just been completed by the capture of Amphipolis. But there was something more serious than these military and financial embarrassments. The revolution was mistress of the government of the capital; Sylla had been deposed, his command in Asia had been entrusted to the democratic consul Marcus Valerius Flaccus, who was expected every day in Greece.

Mithridates' son had left Macedonia to attack Sylla in Greece proper; the sudden death of this prince, while he was on the march, alone had brought about the abandonment of the expedition. His successor Taxile then appeared (668), pushing before him the Roman corps stationed in Thessaly, with a strong army, it is said, of 100,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry.

In the plain of Cephise, not far from Chéronée, the armies met in March 668 (86).

The retreating Asian infantry confused the masses of cavalry. A general attack by the Roman infantry, who had time to breathe owing to the weakness of the enemies, decided the victory.

Lucius Flaccus had just landed with two legions in Epirus. But Flaccus, after having had the opportunity to convince himself that Sylla's soldiers were unwilling to betray their victorious general, avoided an unequal conflict, and proceeded north through Macedonia and into Thrace and Asia, in order to prepare new results by the submission of Mithridates.

In the spring of 669 (85), Mithridates sent an army little inferior to that which had been exterminated at Chaéronée.

The Romans and the Asians met again in the plain of Cephise. The Asiatic camp was surrounded and carried away: the greater part perished either by iron or in the marshes of Lake Copaïs. There was nothing more to prevent entry into Macedonia and Thrace.

During this time, Flaccus had gone, with his army, through Macedonia and Thrace, to Byzantium, and, passing from there the strait, he had reached Chalcedon, end of 668 (86). But Flaccus was deposed by the army. Fimbria was appointed in his place by the soldiers.

Fimbria defied the young Mithridates and, by this victory, he opened a way to Pergamon; he dislodged the king from it and forced him to flee towards the port of Pitane.

Mithridates tried to negotiate.

Sylla demanded the abandonment of all the conquests made by the king and which had not been taken from him, Cappadocia, Paphlagonia, Galatia, Bithynia, Asia Minor and the islands, the restitution of prisoners and deserters, that of the eighty warships of Archelaus.

Mithridates demanded that at least the Romans do not insist on the return of the warships and grant him Paphlagonia. So Sylla directed his legions stationed in Thrace and his fleet to the Hellespont. Archelaus finally succeeded with great difficulty in wresting his consent to this treaty from his master. Sylla learned of the ratification of the peace by Mithridates, but he continued his march towards Asia.

After meeting Mithridates on the Asiatic shore at Dardanes and concluding the treaty orally, he continued the march of his army, until he reached the camp of Fimbria.

When Fimbria ordered the attack, the soldiers refused to fight against their fellow citizens. He then went to Pergamon and killed himself in the temple of Aesculapius.

The goal was thus achieved. After four years of war, the King of Pontus had once again become a client of the Romans, and a single government was reestablished in Greece, Macedonia and Asia Minor. Sylla's arrival in Italy was preceded by a report addressed to the Senate on the campaigns in Greece and Asia: whoever had written it did not seem to know that it had been tabled by the people: it was the signal. mute of a future restoration.

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CINNA AND SYLLA

The name of the man whom the malcontents had called head of state, Lucius Cornelius Cinna, was until then almost unknown: we only knew that he had distinguished himself as an officer in the social war.

When Sylla, yielding not to the solicitations of Consul Cinna, but to the urgency of the situation, had embarked, Cinna, supported by the majority of the college of tribunes, immediately proposed the bills which had been combined for the purpose of a partial reaction against the restoration imagined by Sylla in 666 (88). These proposals included the political equalization of new citizens and freedmen, as Sulpicius had proposed, and the restoration of those who had been reduced, as a result of the Sulpician revolution, to their first estate.

The tribunes of the senatorial party interposed their veto; when the swords were drawn against them in front of the tribune for harangues, Octavius ​​opposed force to force. The Forum was flooded with blood, in this "Octavian day" as it had not yet been: ten thousand corpses were counted. In accordance not with the constitution, but with the oracle of the gods, the consul Cinna was, by decree of the senate, deposed; Lucius Cornelius Merula was chosen in his stead, and banishment was pronounced against the chiefs who had fled.

But the army of Campania recognized Cinna as consul and took the oath of loyalty man by man. Marius soon had 6,000 men under his banner, and was able to equip forty vessels, which stationed at the mouth of the Tiber, and which gave chase to the vessels laden with grain which were sailing for Rome. He placed himself, with his reinforcements, at the disposal of Consul Cinna.

Cinna, with his body and that of Carbon, took up position on the left bank of the Tiber opposite the Janiculum; Sertorius on the left bank, opposite Pompey, against the wall of Servius. Marius with his band, which now composed three legions, successively seized several leagues on the coast.

When the heralds of Cinna had proclaimed freedom in favor of the slaves who deserted, they went in droves from the capital to the enemy's camp.

The Senate unconditionally submitted to the proscribed consul, asking him only not to spill blood. Cinna promised, but refused to back it up with an oath.

The gates of the capital were opened, the consul entered with his legions. It was decided that all the prominent men of the aristocratic party would be killed en masse, and that their property would be confiscated. The doors were closed: for five days and five nights, the massacre continued without interruption. Bloody persecution swept through all of Italy. The consul Gnaeus Octavius ​​was the first victim. Among the others were Lucius Caesar, consul in 664 (90), Marcus Antonius, Lucius Crassus, Publias Crassus. The richest were the first to be chosen with the dagger of the murderers. A particularly regrettable death was that of Lucius Merula, who had succeeded Cinna.

The author of this violence was Caius Marius. This angry old man couldn't be stopped, and Cinna didn't have the courage; on the contrary, he chose Marius as his colleague at the consulate the following year.

The gods had granted Marius what he wanted, but, as in the days of legends, they sealed his triumph with his death as with an implacable irony. He was taken away by inflammatory fever, after languishing for seven days.

With terror reigned tyranny. Not only did Cinna remain four years as consul in charge of affairs, but he regularly appointed himself and his colleagues without consulting the people. The law proposed by Sulpicius, and later by Cinna himself, which promised new citizens and freed people equality of suffrage with old citizens, was naturally restored. The restrictions on grain distributions established a few years previously were undoubtedly removed: the colony project at Capua, imagined by Caius Gracchus, was carried out in the spring of 671 (83). Lucius Valerius Flaccus the Younger passed a law on debts, which reduced all private claims to a quarter of the nominal capital and returned three quarters to debtors.

A letter from Sylla then reached the Senate; he declared that he would respect the rights conferred on new citizens, and that, although measures of severity were inevitable, they would not affect the masses, but the perpetrators of the crimes.

But Cinna, immediately after the Senate sittings had closed, surrendered to the army and hastened his embarkation.

The need to embark on this unfavorable season provoked, among the troops already dissatisfied with the Ancona headquarters, a revolt of which Cinna was a victim, beginning of 670 (84). But Sylla's offers were not better received for this; the Senate rejected his proposals.

In the spring of 671 (83), Sylla landed with his legions at the port of Brundisium. The Senate, on receiving the news, declared the country in danger, and gave the consuls unlimited powers; but these incapable leaders were not on their guard, and were surprised by a landing.

The army of the consul Caius Norbanus was already at Capua, where the new colony had just been established with all democratic pomp; the second consular army also arrived by the Appian route. But, before she arrived, Sylla was in Norbanus' presence.

Sylla's troops rushed on the enemy and their charge from Mount Tifata crushed him with the rest of his forces. Sylla then marched by the Appian way against Teanum, where Scipio had placed himself.

But Scipio's soldiers passed en masse into the ranks of the enemy. The scene ends with a universal embrace.

The results of the first campaign, favorable to Sylla, were the submission of Apulia, Picenum and Campania, the dissolution of one consular army and the defeat of the other blocked in a city.

But desperation seemed to give the revolution new energy. The consulate entrusted to two of its most determined leaders, to Carbon for the third time and to Marius the younger. The veterans of Marius lined up in large numbers under his son's banner. But nowhere were preparations made against Sylla with so much ardor as in the insurgent Samnium.

Marius sought to meet the enemy's main army in Lazio: walking by Via Latia, Sylla reached the enemy not far from Signia. The troops soon gave way: the defection of a division during the battle accelerated the defeat. The capital, which we had forgotten to supply, was irrevocably lost.

Sylla himself marched, from different sides, on the capital, which he found, like all the surrounding district, abandoned by the enemy and which he occupied without resistance. He immediately passed into Etruria, in order, with Metellus, to dislodge his antagonists from northern Italy.

Etruria was occupied by the partisans of Sylla.

The leaders of the revolution then decided to take revenge. Pontius Lamponius, Carrinas, Damasippus marched on Rome. Sylla, on receiving the news, had marched in all haste to the aid of the capital.

Sylla appeared in person with the main army, and immediately put himself in order of battle at the temple of Venus Erycine, in front of the Hill gate. The battle continued through the night. The insurgent army, which could not retreat, was completely exterminated.

This battle ended the war. The victorious army was distributed throughout Italy, and all the insecure places were strongly occupied: under the iron hand of the officers of Sylla, the last murmurs of the revolutionary and national opposition soon died down.

The state once again had unity of government and peace at home and abroad. This remarkable man, who had succeeded in the difficult task of defeating the public enemy and in the even more difficult one of defeating the revolution, would he be able to accomplish the most arduous of all, the restoration of social and political order? shaken to its foundations?

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THE SYLLA CONSTITUTION

In a letter to the Senate, Sylla announced that it seemed essential to him to place the government of the state in the hands of one man endowed with the unlimited plenitude of power, and that he believed himself in a position to fulfill this task. difficult. This proposal was adopted without opposition. Sylla, then, made his entry into the walls of the capital. This new office, with its absolute power based on a decree of the people, and which was not restricted by any law or by any colleague, was nothing other than the old monarchy.

The constitution of the Gracchi, still spared in the first reform of Sylla in 666 (88), was then completely abolished. The regular distributions of wheat to citizens who were domiciled were suppressed. Sylla abolished the equestrian corps and restored the senatorial courts.

In accordance with Sylla's orders, the senate was completed by the addition of approximately 300 senators, whom the assembly had to appoint from among men who paid the equestrian tax.

The senate, which until then had been based only on an indirect election, was henceforth elected by direct popular election, and thus took place an assimilation to the representative regime, as exact as the oligarchy and the general ideas of the government allowed. 'antiquity. The extravagant prerogative given to censors to revise the senate list and delete or add new names at their pleasure was in reality incompatible with an organized oligarchic constitution.

On the subject of legislation, Sylla contented himself with reviving the regulations decreed in 666 (88) and which guaranteed the Senate legislative initiative, which had hitherto belonged to it in practice, at least against the tribunes. The body of citizens remained sovereign for the form; but as far as general assemblies were concerned, although it seemed useful to the dictator to preserve their name with great care, he was still more careful to withdraw their activity from them. The legislative functions of the comitia were not, however, directly restricted, and there was no need to do so.

As regards the election to the magistracies, the mode followed until then was generally retained, except as regards the new regulations of the military command. The census was restored and partially increased. Finally, two years were to elapse between the exercise of two magistracies, and ten years between the renewed exercise of the same office.

The prerogatives of the tribunate were diminished.

In the future, the consul and the praetor were to deal with the senate and the citizens, and the proconsul and the propretor were to command the army; but all military power was legally removed from the first and all political action from the second.

Finally, we have already pointed out that the highest of the magistracies, censorship, although it was not finally abolished, was set aside, much as before the praetorship.

Finally, the development of an independent Roman municipal system was the work, if not of Sylla, at least of the time of Sylla.

Such was the constitution which Lucius Cornelius Sylla gave to the Roman republic. The senate and the equestrian order, the citizens and the proletariat, the Italians and the provincials, accepted it as imposed by the dictator, if not without murmur, at least without revolt.

Sylla let the elections of 635 (79) take place, declared re-election to the consulate incompatible with the new laws; and at the beginning of 635 (79) he resigned the dictatorship.

The most hardened hearts were struck, when the man who had disposed according to his good pleasure of the life and the property of millions of men, who had seen, at a simple sign from him, so many heads fall, voluntarily renounced to his sovereign power, dismissed his retinue and his lictors, and invited every citizen to speak, if he had any account to ask of him. Everyone fell silent: Sylla came down from the rostrum and returned home, on foot, surrounded by his only friends.

Posterity did not appreciate with justice neither Sylla nor his work of reorganization, as is usual for men who oppose the current of things. In fact, Sylla is one of the most wonderful characters in history, we can even say a unique phenomenon. Raised with that refined education which was customary at that time in the less wealthy senatorial families of Rome, he soon indulged in the training of the sensual and intellectual pleasures which the combination of Greek politeness and Roman wealth assured him. He was very fond of the cup of wine and even more the women. He liked to choose his companions from among the actors, and enjoyed drinking not only with Quintus Roscius, the Roman Talma, but also with much inferior actors;he sang quite well himself and composed pranks to play with his friends. In the midst of these joyous bacchanalia, however, he lost neither his bodily vigor nor his mental vigor; in the leisure of retirement he devoted himself ardently to hunting, and he brought Aristotle's writings from conquered Athens to Rome, which at least proves his interest in serious reading. He prided himself on the idea that he was a chosen favorite of the gods, and in an even more special way of the goddess to whom he had always assigned preeminence, of Venus.which at least proves his interest in serious reading. He prided himself on the idea that he was a chosen favorite of the gods, and in an even more special way of the goddess to whom he had always assigned preeminence, of Venus.which at least proves his interest in serious reading. He prided himself on the idea that he was a chosen favorite of the gods, and in an even more special way of the goddess to whom he had always assigned preeminence, of Venus.

Almost unwillingly, Sylla had become the most famous general of his time, and the shield of the oligarchy. New and more formidable crises followed the war of Mithridates and the revolution of Cinna: the star of Sylla continued to rise. As soon as he was done with the enemy, in Asia, he crushed the reign of anarchy and saved the capital from the despair of the Samnites and revolutionaries. Absolute autocrat, as never was a king, and yet always seeking to remain in legality from the point of view of forms, he subdued the ultra-reactionary party, annihilated the constitution of the Gracchi which, for forty years, had dominated the oligarchy. , he caused the power of the capitalists, of the proletariat of the city which had entered into rivalry with the oligarchy, to cede to the law restored in all its force,and in linen the arrogance of the saber which had taken hold of its own staff. Finally, when the work was finished, the creator let it go.

It is true that the constitution of Sylla did not last longer than that of Cromwell, and it was not difficult to see that the structure was not solid; but it is a real thoughtlessness not to understand that without Sylla the very location of this empire would have disappeared. Death surprised him just over a year after his retirement, in the sixtieth year of his life, while he was still in full force of body and mind.

Italy has never witnessed a greater funeral solemnity. The dictator's ashes were laid in the Champ de Mars, near the tombs of ancient kings, and Roman women mourned for him for a year.

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THE REPUBLIC AND ITS ORGANIZATION

As the ancient civilization concentrated more and more in the Roman state and was formulated more precisely in it, the nations which were excluded from it simultaneously began, beyond the Alps and the Euphrates, to pass from defense to aggression. On the battlefields of Aquæ Sextiæ and Vercelli, of Chéronie and Orchomene, we heard the first rumbles of this hurricane which was to bring on the Greek-Italic world the Germanic tribes and the Asiatic hordes, and whose last murmurs have lasted until our time. For inner development, this epoch carries the same character. The old organization collapses without return. The Roman republic was founded as a city which, through its own free citizens, gave itself masters and laws,which was ruled by these well-advised masters with royal freedom, within the limits of legality. The holder of Roman power was then either an isolated man or an oligarchy sometimes made up of the nobles, sometimes of the rich. The citizens had lost all real participation in government. Magistrates were nothing more than inert instruments in the hands of power. The urban republic of Rome had broken up by expanding against nature. The Italic confederation had been drowned in the city. The extra-Italic confederates were in the process of being transformed into subjects. The entire organic classification of the Roman republic had perished, and there remained only a gross mass of more or less disparate elements.The holder of Roman power was then either an isolated man or an oligarchy sometimes made up of the nobles, sometimes of the rich. The citizens had lost all real participation in government. Magistrates were nothing more than inert instruments in the hands of power. The urban republic of Rome had broken up by expanding against nature. The Italic confederation had been drowned in the city. The extra-Italic confederates were in the process of turning themselves into subjects. The whole organic classification of the Roman republic had perished, and there remained only a gross mass of more or less disparate elements.The holder of Roman power was then either an isolated man or an oligarchy sometimes composed of the nobles, sometimes of the rich. The citizens had lost all real participation in government. Magistrates were nothing more than inert instruments in the hands of power. The urban republic of Rome had broken up by expanding against nature. The Italic confederation had been drowned in the city. The extra-Italic confederates were in the process of turning themselves into subjects. The entire organic classification of the Roman republic had perished, and there remained only a gross mass of more or less disparate elements.The urban republic of Rome had broken up by expanding against nature. The Italic confederation had been drowned in the city. The extra-Italic confederates were in the process of being transformed into subjects. The whole organic classification of the Roman republic had perished, and there remained only a gross mass of more or less disparate elements.The urban republic of Rome had broken up by expanding against nature. The Italic confederation had been drowned in the city. The extra-Italic confederates were in the process of turning themselves into subjects. The whole organic classification of the Roman republic had perished, and there remained only a gross mass of more or less disparate elements.

The situation threatened to end in complete anarchy, in the external and internal dissolution of the state. The political movement was inclined to despotism: the only point still in doubt was whether it would be the narrow circle of noble families, the Senate of the capitalists or a monarch who would be the despot.

The financial condition of Rome naturally took on a more alarming aspect when the revolution broke out. The new and, from a purely financial point of view, very heavy taxes imposed on the State by the obligation to which Gracchus had submitted him, to supply wheat to the citizens at a normal price, were compensated by the new sources. of income opened in the province of Asia. Nevertheless, the public buildings seem to have been stopped at this time. The storm, serious though it was, passed; Sylla, at the cost of enormous sacrifices imposed on his subjects and on the Italian revolutionaries in particular, restored order in the finances and, by abolishing the distributions of wheat and by restoring in a reduced form the incomes of Asia, assured the community a satisfactory economic condition.

In Agriculture, we have already seen that the growing power of Roman capital gradually absorbed intermediate properties and small estates in Italy and the provinces, as the Sun absorbs raindrops. The government not only saw, without preventing it, but even aided this dangerous division of the ground by particular measures, especially by the prohibition to produce wine and oil beyond the Alps, in order to favor the large landowners. and Roman traders.

There is nothing to say of industry and manufacture, except that the Italic nation remained in this respect in a state of inactivity which bordered on barbarism.

The brightest, or rather the only, bright side of the Romans' private economy was the exchange of money and commerce.

The exports and imports from Italy were very considerable. The first often consisted of wine and oil, which Italy, after Greece, supplied exclusively to the Mediterranean countries: for wine production must have been scarce in the Massaliote and Mediterranean territories; Italian wine went in considerable quantities to the Balearic Islands, Celtiberia, Africa, which was a land of wheat and pasture, to Narbo and the interior of Gaul. The import into Italy was even more considerable: all luxury was concentrated there and the greatest number of luxury articles, food, drinks, fabrics, ornaments, books, furniture, works of art , were imported by sea. The slave trade took, as a result of the ever increasing demand from Roman merchants,considerable development.

By bringing all these phenomena together, we find as a distinguishing feature of the private economy of that time the financial oligarchy of the Roman capitalists giving the hand to the political oligarchy. It is in their hands that the territorial income of almost all of Italy and also of the best parts of the provincial territory is gathered: the usurious income of the capital monopolized by them, the products of the commerce of the whole empire and, finally, a very considerable part of state income. It was not extraordinary that this order of capitalists exercised a preponderant influence on foreign policy, that it had destroyed, by commercial rivalry, Corinth and Carthage.

As for popular festivals, the importation of beasts of prey from overseas, which was prohibited in Cato's time, was, apparently around the middle of this century, formally permitted by a decree of the citizens. Several lions appeared for the first time in the Roman arena around 651 (103); the first elephants around 655 (99). The luxury also increased with regard to the houses and the gardens: the splendid town house of the orator Crassus, was estimated with the trees at 6,000,000 sesterces (1,455,000 gold francs). The villas and the luxurious life of the sea baths made Baia, and in general the land which formed the Bay of Naples, the El Dorado of elegant leisure.

Chiffon veils, which showed the body more than they hid it, and silk clothing began to replace the old woolen dresses for women and even for men. The sumptuary edicts defended the abuse of foreign perfumery in vain. They paid extravagant prices, up to 100,000 sesterces (26,250 gold francs), a superior cook. A dinner party where the guests had to eat all the dishes instead of just tasting them was regarded as poor. At table especially, the Romans exhibited an army of luxury slaves, bands of musicians, dancers, elegant furnishings, carpets embellished with gold and paint, purple curtains, antique bronzes and rich silverware. .

Divorce, which was almost unknown in Rome before, had now become a very ordinary thing.

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LITERATURE AND ART

We find much more important results in the field of comedy than of tragedy. Terence, 558-595 (196-159), is one of the most interesting phenomena, from a historical point of view, in Latin literature. Plautus chooses his plays from the extended circle of the new Attic comedy. Terence confined himself exclusively to Menander, the most delicate, the finest and the most punished of all the poets of the new comedy. Plautus' dialogue is far removed from that of his models: Terence boasts on the contrary of the perfect resemblance of his imitations with the originals. Plautus knots and unties his action lightly and carelessly, but his fable is comical and often very apparent: Terence, much less striking, takes into account the probability everywhere, even at the risk of lengths,and declares a resolute war on the rather flat and insipid expedients of his predecessors, for example, on allegorical dreams. Plautus paints his characters in broad strokes, as on a model, always with a view to a more distant and more general effect: Terence treats psychological development with the care and delicacy of a miniature, as inthe Adelphes or the Two Old Men . The sources of Plautus' action and language are taken from the tavern: those of Terence at the Citizen's House.

Plautus enjoys vigorous, often noisy dialogue, and his pieces require lively acting on the part of the actors: Térence confines himself to quiet conversation. Plautus' language abounds in burlesque terms and in witticisms on words, in alliterations, in comically turned terms, in aristophanesque combinations of words, slang expressions pleasantly borrowed from the Greeks: Terence knows no such whims, his dialogue moves on a united plane, and the points are delicately epigrammatic and sententious turns.

Plautus' style of composition had taken root in the Roman bourgeoisie; the comedies of Terence encountered the most violent opposition from the public, who found their flat language and the "weakness of their style" intolerable.

Terence succeeded: in literature itself, the oligarchy was all-powerful, and the artistic comedy of the privileged supplanted the comedy of the people; we see that around the year 620 (134) Plautus' pieces disappeared from the repertoire.

Art offers unsatisfactory results. In architecture, sculpture and painting, the extension of dilettantism was visible, but the development of national art receded.

The works carried out in Rome were carried out by foreigners.

Finally music and dance migrated from Greece to Rome to be applied only to the progress of decorative luxury. But what was new was to see Greek dances and musical performances become the obligatory accompaniment of the table of adults.

On the whole, the more elevated genres of literature, such as epic, tragedy, history, have ended or have stopped in their development. The subordinate genres, the translation and imitation of the plot piece, farce, poetic and prose pamphlet alone flourished. In the plastic arts and those of drawing, production, which is still low, is now completely zero. The Latins had to admit that the youth of the nation had passed, and nourished in the depths of their hearts the secret desire to return to the lost and delicious paths of youth.

BOOK FIFTH

Foundation of the military monarchy

MARCUS LEPIDUS AND QUINTUS SERTORIUS

Former liberal minority of the senate, democracy, freed, capitalists, proletarians of the capital, expropriated, proscribed, ruined people, ambitious, such was the opposition with which the oligarchic government had to struggle, after it had been left to itself. even by the death of the dictator, and sooner than Sylla had thought.

Among the men who were neither determined supporters nor open opponents of the constitution of Sylla, none more attracted the eyes of the multitude than Cneius Pompey, who, at the time of Sylla's death, had reached the age twenty-eight, born September 29, 648 (106). With a body and a soul full of health, Pompey was a skilful gymnast: having become a superior officer, he still disputed with soldiers the price of the struggle in running, jumping and fist fight; powerful and skilful horseman and wrestler, daring leader of free bands, this young man, at an age which closed to him the magistracy and the senate, had obtained the imperial and the triumph, held, at the death of Sylla, the first place in public opinion, and had obtained from the dictator himself, half seriously, half ironically, the nickname "great".Unfortunately his intellectual gifts in no way responded to these incredible successes. He was neither wicked nor incapable, but he was a vulgar creature whose destiny would have made an excellent housekeeper and whose circumstances made a general and a statesman. He was a far-sighted, brave and experienced soldier, in a word excellent, but he lacked all the superior gifts of a man of genius. He did not disdain to make money, like all senators, but he was too cold and too rich to risk much and to expose himself to a blatant scandal. He showed affection for his wife and for his children; we owe him the honor of having been the first to renounce the barbarous custom of executing kings and generals prisoners after having made them figure in his triumph.He was not cruel, as he is accused of, but what was worse, perhaps, he was indifferent to good and evil. In the tumult of battle, he looked his enemy in the eye: in civilian life, he was one of those timid men whose blood rises to their heads for the smallest things. He was nothing less than made to be a statesman. Not knowing what he wanted, unskilled in the choice of means, improvident in the whole as in the detail, he was obliged to hide his indecision and his uncertainty under the cloak of a pompous silence, and when wanted to deceive, he was only deceiving himself. He was an officer of Sylla and a supporter of the established constitution, and yet in opposition to Sylla personally and against the entire Senate regime.The preponderant position that Pompey acquired under the government of Sylla separated him as much for the substance of things from the aristocracy as it brought him closer to the exterior. Weak of mind as he was, it was not long before he was overcome by vertigo in these heights which he had so quickly and so easily reached. Even in his time he could have made himself a clear and superior position if he had wanted to be content with being the general of the senate. This was his real lot. He was not satisfied with that, and he preferred, in a position full of peril, to be something other than what he could be. He seriously aimed at an exceptional situation in the State, and when it presented itself, he could not make up his mind to take it.

Like Pompey, who was a little younger than himself, Crassus belonged to the ranks of the upper aristocracy; he had received the average education of that time and, like Pompey, he had served with distinction under Sylla in the Italian War. Very inferior in intellectual gifts, literary culture and military talents to many men of his time, he exceeded them by his unlimited activity and by the perseverance with which he aimed at everything and took care of everything. Above all, he threw himself into speculation. Purchases of goods during the revolution founded its heritage. He was not scrupulous in the way he made a profit. He had been the richest of the Romans, and thereby he had become a political power. Nature had not made him an orator: his speech was dry, his speech monotonous;he could hardly hear; but his perseverance, which did not allow itself to be put off by anything or attracted by any enjoyment, triumphed over all obstacles. He was always prepared and did not improvise; he became a sought-after and always ready lawyer, whose reputation did not suffer from the fact that no cause was too bad for him, and because he knew how to help not only his word, but also his connections and its customers, and the need for its money to act on the judges.and of what he knew how to use not only his word, but also his relations and his clients, and the need for his money to act on the judges.and of what he knew how to help not only his word, but also his relations and his customers, and the need of his money to act on the judges.

He had been a supporter of Sylla and the Senate for a while; but he was too financial to become irrevocably attached to a party and to pursue anything other than his own interests. Why shouldn't Crassus, the richest and most intriguing man in Rome, and who could not be an ambitious vulgar, but a big speculator, not speculate on the crown? It is indeed a sign of this time, that an officer and a mediocre speaker, a politician who took his activity for energy, his desires for ambition, and who had in short only a fortune. colossal talent and the mercantile talent of making connections, that such a man, leaning on the omnipotence of the coteries of the intrigue, believed himself the equal of the first general and statesman of his time, and dared to dispute the supreme price of political ambition.

In the democratic party, the eyes of friends and enemies were, in the younger generation, on Caius Julius Caesar, born July 12, 652 (102). His alliances with Marius and Cinna (his father's sister had married Marius, and himself Cinna's daughter); the courageous refusal that this young man, barely out of childhood, had made to the dictator to divorce his young wife Cornelia, as Pompey did in similar circumstances, the manner in which he kept the pontificate that Marius had given him and whom Sylla had not recognized; his wandering errands during exile which threatened him and which his parents had difficulty in turning away from him; his bravery in the battle of Mytilene and in Cilicia, which one would not have expected from a child brought up so delicately and in his almost feminine ways of a petty master;and lastly, the prediction that Sylla had made when he said that in this child he saw more than a Marius: all these were so many recommendations in the eyes of the democratic party. However, one could only base hopes on Caesar. Thus the command of democracy, for lack of an eminent man, called to this function, could belong to the first who would pose as protector of oppressed freedom. This man was Marcus Æmilius Lépidus, a defector from the camp of Sylla supporters, who had changed parties for more than doubtful reasons. He was a remarkable man, an ardent orator in the Forum, who had gone over to the opposition, but he was a worthless and harmless head. The opposition did not give him less welcome, and the new leader of the Democrats had the good fortune to arrange his election to the Consulate.But before the Democrats rose in the capital, the Democratic emigrants from Spain had started their movement. The soul of this insurrection was Quintus Sertorius.

We saw the reappearance of the experienced general Quintus Métellus. But Metellus failed to master the movement. In the province of Ebro, not only was Calvinus 'army wiped out by Sertorius' lieutenant, Quaestor Hirtuleius, but the general slain and the governor of Gaul completely defeated.

We were walking towards a new revolution. The overthrow of the constitution of Sylla, the re-establishment of the distribution of wheat, the reinstatement of the tribunes of the people in their previous situation, the return of those who had been exiled contrary to the laws, the restitution of confiscated properties, were put forward as the avowed aim of the efforts which Lepidus and his partisans were to attempt. In the capital, recruits on behalf of Lepidus were kept silent, in cabarets and in bad places. The Senate proved its weakness against the insurrection and its uneasiness by the re-establishment of the distribution of wheat. Lepidus armed in Etruria, not for the senate, but for the insurrection. When, finally, at the beginning of the year 677 (77), Lepidus received from the Senate the order to return without conditions, the consul refused to obey.War was therefore declared.

Lepidus appeared in the capital to conquer it for the benefit of the revolution, like Marius formerly. The decisive battle was fought on the Champ de Mars under the city walls. But Catulus won; Lepidus had to fall back on Etruria, while another division commanded by his son Scipio threw itself into the fortress of Alba. That basically put an end to the movement.

It was necessary to send a strong army and a capable general to Spain, and Pompey gave it to be understood that he wanted this mission, or rather demanded it. It was not from the people but from the senate that Pompey received the proconsular power and the supreme command in the Spanish city; he crossed the Alps forty days after receiving him, during the summer of 677 (77).

The war continued for a long time in Spain with alternate successes and defeats, but Sertorius was assassinated during a banquet by his own staff. Part of his army, especially the Lusitanians, disbanded; those who remained convinced themselves that with Sertorius their soul and fortune had perished. At the first meeting with Pompey, the badly commanded and discouraged troops of the insurrection were dispersed. These defeats, although they were more the work of perversity and misfortune than the efforts of the adversary, were none the less triumphs of the oligarchy. The curule chairs were once again consolidated.

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THE GOVERNMENT OF THE RESTORATION OF SYLLA

The rivalry that existed in Asia between Rome and the kings of Pontus and Armenia was not over, but was increasing day by day. They were as dissatisfied in Rome with the peace of Sylla in Asia as with the conditions that Scipio the African had granted to Carthage. The Macedonian Thracians reappeared at the Macedonian frontiers and corsair fleets covered the whole Mediterranean; emissaries came and went again, as in the past between Mithridates and the Italians, today between the Roman emigres of Spain and those of the court of Sinope. On the other hand, Mithridates followed the development of Roman politics with growing concern.

The King of Pontus took the decisive step and declared war on the Romans in the winter of 679-80. Mithridates' offensive ended in a complete defeat of the army of land and sea, very disreputable, at least for the supreme leader who commanded them. Lucullus himself entered in the fall of 681 (73) in the land of Pontus. The Roman army, which numbered only three legions, arrived, not without difficulty and without losses, by difficult paths in Kabeira. Lucullus attacked, and the Pontus hordes were crushed almost without resistance. Mithridates arrived with great difficulty with a few companions across the mountains to Komana. He crossed the borders of his Empire near Talaura, in Little Armenia, to seek asylum in the kingdom of the great king, which he refused (end of 682-72).All the Bridge and Little Armenia were invaded by the Romans.

But Armenia's affairs were not settled and a declaration of war by the Romans against Tigran was in itself legitimate and even necessary. Lucullus sent one of his officers, Appius Claudius, to request extradition, which was to lead to war.

In the spring of 685 (69) the formal attack began. The enemy army was completely dispersed. The winner's bulletin claimed that he had perished 100,000 Armenians and 5 Romans; Be that as it may, the victory won on October 6, 685 (69) before Tigranocerta, nonetheless remains a shining star in the military annals of Rome, and it was no less fruitful than brilliant.

All the countries taken from the Parthians and the Scythians were, from a strategic point of view, lost to the Armenians and passed, for the most part, purely and simply into the hands of the Romans.

Mithridates, who was almost like a father to the great king and still had a great influence over him, with his energy constrained this weak man and decided him not only to continue the war, but to entrust him with the political and military leadership. . Mithridates found no difficulty in passing the war off as a national war of the East against the West, for indeed it was, he could even have made it a war of religion. The Asians came running in innumerable hordes, under the banners of kings who claimed to defend the East and its gods against the impious foreigner.

The year 686 (68) found Lucullus in a difficult situation and every day more perilous. Despite his resounding success, people were not happy with him in Rome. The Senate felt the independence of its conduct; the party of the capitalists, which he had scorned, did everything possible, by intrigue and calumnies, to have him recalled.

As Lucullus was undergoing defeat on the Euphrates, news came from Rome that the people had ordered that all the soldiers whose leave had expired, that is to say those from Fimbria, be granted their leave, and that the command supreme in Bithynia and in the Bridge was given to one of the consuls of the current year.

Mithridates not only regained possession of his entire kingdom, but his horsemen traveled all over Cappadocia and as far as Bithynia. As a result of this unfortunate outcome, and especially of the indiscipline of the soldiers, all the fruits of an eight-year campaign were again lost; it was the winter of 687-688 (67-66) just at the same point as the winter of 679-680 (75-74). Let's take a look at this ten-year space filled with the restoration of Sylla. No threatening danger to the vital sources of the nation had presented itself in the internal or external movements which had agitated this epoch, nor in the insurrection of Lepidus, nor in the attempts of the emigres from Spain, nor in the wars of Thrace and Asia Minor or in the uprisings of slaves and pirates,and yet the state had fought for its existence in all battles. It was a little less than a century since Hannibal's war was over: blush must have mounted in the faces of respectable Romans at the sight of the ground the nation had lost since that great time. Formerly the slaves resisted like walls before Hannibal's veterans: today the Italian militia dispersed like straw in the wind before their rebellious servants. Formerly the least officer made a general when necessary and fought courageously if not happily; to-day it was difficult to find among the most distinguished officers a general of ordinary skill. Formerly the government took the peasant to its plow, rather than giving up conquering Greece and Spain;today people preferred to abandon these territories so painfully conquered, to defend themselves against the uprising of slaves. Spartacus could just as well as Hannibal have crossed Italy victoriously, from the Po to the Strait of Sicily, defeated the two consuls and threatened Rome with a blockade. Finally, in the war in Asia Minor and in that of the pirates, the government had gone into complete bankruptcy. The Pontiac War in Armenia and that of the pirates were the causes which overthrew the constitution of Sylla and which brought about a military and revolutionary dictatorship.in the war in Asia Minor and in that of the pirates, the government had gone into complete bankruptcy. The Pontiac War in Armenia and that of the pirates were the causes which overthrew the constitution of Sylla and which brought about a military and revolutionary dictatorship.in the war in Asia Minor and in that of the pirates, the government had gone into complete bankruptcy. The Pontiac War in Armenia and that of the pirates were the causes which overthrew the constitution of Sylla and which brought about a military and revolutionary dictatorship.

FALL OF THE OLIGARCHY. PUMPY DOMINATION

If Pompey did not find his account with the governmental aristocracy, there was nothing left for him, at a time when neither the times nor his entire personality were yet ready for a purely personal policy, but to make common cause with the democracy. His personal interest in no way attached him to the government of Sylla; he could just as well, if not better, pursue his goal in a democracy. There he found all the support he needed. The skilful and shrewd leaders of this party were ready to cede to the mediocre hero, and almost heartily, the active political leadership, and they were too few in number to be able and even to want to dispute with the triumphant general the superior military command. As long as the latter no longer fought only with declamations,but if the sword of a victorious general would support his efforts, the government was to fall, and perhaps without resistance.

But democracy and Pompey were not the only ones to make alliance. Marcus Crassus was in a situation similar to that of Pompey. Although a supporter of Sylla, like him his policy was, like that of Pompey, entirely personal, and not that of the dominant oligarchy: he was in Italy at the head of a powerful and victorious army, with which he had come from to tame the insurrection of the slaves. All that remained was to enter the coalition; he chose the latter course, which was certainly the safest. The Democrats, moreover, who did not view with pleasure an alliance with the powerful general, found in Crassus a counterweight and perhaps a future rival placed near him.

Thus was formed in the summer of 683 (71) a first coalition between democracy on the one hand, and the two generals of Sylla, Cnæsus Pompée and Marcus Crassus, on the other. Both made the democracy program their own. On the other hand, they were assured of the consulate for the following year: to Pompey, moreover, the triumph and the distribution of lands which he demanded for his soldiers, and to Crassus conqueror of Spartacus, at least the honor of a triumphal entry into the capital.

They began with ardor to repeal the legislation of Sylla. Above all, the tribunitian power resumed its original importance. With regard to jury positions, the provision of Sylla, by which the senatorial role, which at the same time served as a jury list, was repealed.

Finally, not only was the censorship re-established, but it had to last five years, as before, and the retirement of the censors was determined by law, but at their will.

We had returned in 684 (70), in the essential points, to the order of things which existed before the restoration of Sylla. The multitude of the capital was again nourished by the treasury, that is to say by the provinces. Tribunitian power once again gave demagogues the facility to overthrow the state; the silver nobility regained possession of the leases, revenues and judicial control over the rulers and raised their heads higher than ever. The Senate trembled again before the verdict of the equestrian jurors and the rule of the censors. The Sylla system, which had based the omnipotence of the nobility on the political annihilation of the financial aristocracy and demagoguery, was completely broken. Stronger by far, Pompey was evidently in control; if he wanted,he could be what the instinct of the multitude already saw in him, the irresponsible ruler of the most powerful state in the civilized world. We have represented this man struggling between his desire to remain a loyal Republican and that of becoming king, with his indecision and his uncertainties, with his softness hidden under the appearances of resolution. It was the first test he was subjected to, he had succumbed to it. The pretext under which he refused to dissolve his army was the distrust he had against Crassus, which prevented him from dismissing his soldiers first: the Democrats decided Crassus to take the first step. Pompey had no choice but to present himself as the tyrant of Rome or to retire. He yielded in the end and consented to the dismissal of his troops.Pompey, deposing the consulate after the dismissal of his soldiers in the last days of 684 (70), withdrew from public affairs.

The retreat of the man who had come to play the leading role called that situation into question. Between oligarchy and democracy we saw the party of the capitalists rise again with new brilliance.

But while the passions indulged in their traditional hatred, without reaching a real solution, the affairs of the East continued their painful course, as we have said above, and it was these affairs that precipitated the crisis. politics in the capital. Of course, the government was responsible for everything, its faults and those of others, and the murmurs of a hungry multitude only waited for an opportunity to demand account of the Senate.

It was a decisive crisis. When the man whose glorious successes still lived in everyone's memory asked to be sent to the East, he was once again invested by the citizens with political and military omnipotence. He was given the command for three years. He was surrounded by a staff such as Rome had not yet seen: twenty-five lieutenants of senatorial rank, all dressed with praetorial insignia and power, and two camp masters with the functions of quaestors, the everything chosen according to the good pleasure of the general-in-chief. He was authorized to raise 120,000 infantry, 4,000 cavalry, 500 warships, and he was able to dispose without limit of the resources of the provinces and client states: he was also given the available warships and a fairly large body of troops. .The state coffers in Rome and in the provinces, as well as in the dependent communities were to be at his orders, and despite the financial distress, he was counted on the public treasury a sum of 144,000,000 sesterces (33,250,000 Frs gold). It was a complete overthrow of the established order that such a law was preparing. Never, since the existence of Rome, had such power been concentrated in the hands of one man. But if the old struggle had expired, a new one was brewing: the struggle of the two forces united until then for the overthrow of the aristocratic constitution, the democratic opposition of the citizens, and the military force which grew every day more preponderant. Pompey's exceptional situation was irreconcilable with the republican form. It was,as his adversaries rightly said, having become not the admiral, but the regent of the empire. It is not without reason that a Greek familiar with the customs of the East calls him "the king of kings". If, again victorious and more glorious, he returned from the East with the crates full, his troops tried and devoted, and if he put his hand on the crown, who would stop his arm? Soon, Catullus said, they would have to flee again to the Capitoline Rock to save freedom. It was not the prophet's fault that the storm did not come, as he believed, from the East, and if destiny, filling his oracle to the letter beyond what he believed, caused the destructive storm to come. from the land of the Celts.It is not without reason that a Greek familiar with the customs of the East calls him "the king of kings". If, again victorious and more glorious, he returned from the East with the crates full, his troops tried and devoted, and if he put his hand on the crown, who would stop his arm? Soon, Catullus said, they would have to flee again to the Capitoline Rock to save freedom. It was not the fault of the Prophet if the storm did not come, as he believed, from the East, and if destiny, filling his oracle to the letter beyond what he believed, caused the destructive storm to come. from the land of the Celts.It is not without reason that a Greek familiar with the customs of the East calls him "the king of kings". If, again victorious and more glorious, he returned from the East with the crates full, his troops tried and devoted, and if he put his hand on the crown, who would stop his arm? Soon, Catullus said, they would have to flee again to the Capitoline Rock to save freedom. It was not the prophet's fault that the storm did not come, as he believed, from the East, and if destiny, filling his oracle to the letter beyond what he believed, caused the destructive storm to come. from the land of the Celts.and if he put his hand on the crown, who would stop his arm? Soon, Catullus said, they would have to flee again to the Capitoline Rock to save freedom. It was not the prophet's fault that the storm did not come, as he believed, from the East, and if destiny, filling his oracle to the letter beyond what he believed, caused the destructive storm to come. from the land of the Celts.and if he put his hand on the crown, who would stop his arm? Soon, Catullus said, they would have to flee again to the Capitoline Rock to save freedom. It was not the prophet's fault that the storm did not come, as he believed, from the East, and if destiny, filling his oracle to the letter beyond what he believed, caused the destructive storm to come. from the land of the Celts.

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POMPÉE AND THE ORIENT

When, forty days later, navigation was re-established in the eastern Gulf of the Mediterranean, Pompey went with his sixty best transports to the eastern sea, then to the primitive and principal lair of piracy, the waters of Lycia and Cilicia. Pompey's gentleness served more than fear to open the doors of these almost inaccessible fortresses to him. Soon the greater number gave up supporting an unnecessary war and decided to surrender. Forty-nine days after Pompey appeared in the Eastern Sea, Cilicia was subdued and the war ended. Nearly 400 ships and boats, among which were 90 special transport ships, were taken by Pompey, or delivered to him; all in all there were more than a thousand pirate sails destroyed,and besides the rich arsenals of the pirates and the docks of the filibusters were set in flames. There were more than 10,000 pirates taken prisoner, more than 20,000 fell alive at the hands of the victors.

In the spring of 688, Pompey went to Galatia to take command of the troops of Lucullus and to enter with them in the territory of Pontus, where the legions of Cilicia had to follow him. In Danala, a village of the Trocmeri, the two generals met, but the reconciliation hoped for on both sides did not succeed.

As long as the season permitted, the troops crossed the frontiers of Pontus. They found there King Mithridates with 30,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry. When the Roman general recognized that Mithridates did not want to fight a decisive battle within his territory, but to draw the enemy behind him into the unexplored regions of the East, he resolved not to lend himself to it. The two armies were very close to each other. The Roman army came during the midday rest, without being seen by the enemy, surrounded them, and seized a distant height which overlooked a narrow defile through which the enemy was to pass, instead of Nikopolis was built later. Suddenly we heard resounding on all sides, in the silence of the night,the formidable battle cry of the legions and the arrows began to rain on all sides on the attacked hordes, among which soldiers and baggage, wagons, horses and camels were piled up jumbled together, so that in this tight mass, all the blows struck . What did not fall under the iron, in this frightful confusion, was crushed under the feet of the horses or under the wheels. This was the last battle the old king fought against the Romans. He hastened, with what remained of his troops, to unite with his ally, the great King of Armenia.was crushed under the feet of the horses or under the wheels. This was the last battle the old king fought against the Romans. He hastened, with what remained of his troops, to unite with his ally, the great King of Armenia.was crushed under the feet of the horses or under the wheels. This was the last battle the old king fought against the Romans. He hastened, with what remained of his troops, to reunite with his ally, the great king of Armenia.

This very hope was in vain. During the battle that we have just told between Mithridates and Pompey, the king of the Parthians, yielding to the advice of the Romans and especially to those of the fugitive princes, had fallen by armed hand on the kingdom of Tigran, and had forced him to take refuge in inaccessible mountains. However Tigran conquered the corps of Parthians who had remained behind and the emigrants from Armenia commanded by his son, and re-established his domination throughout his empire. It is understandable that in the presence of such circumstances the king was reluctant to recommence the struggle with the victorious Roman armies, and to sacrifice himself to Mithridates. From that moment on, he saw his kingdom in the hands of the enemy, his allies ready to deliver it to him; it was no longer possible to continue the war. So he headed north.

Pompey stopped the pursuit, but instead of returning to the territory watered by the Euphrates, he headed south towards the land of the Arax, to finish off Tigran.

The great king was determined to buy peace at all costs. He threw himself, following the barbarous fashion, at the feet of the proconsul and as a sign of complete submission, he put his diadem and his tiara in his hands. Pompey, delighted with this easy triumph, raised the humiliated king of kings, restored him the insignia of his dignity and dictated peace to him. Besides a payment of (33,500,000 gold francs) and a present to the soldiers who were to each receive 50 deniers (52.50 gold francs), the king renounced all his conquests. In a single campaign, Pompey had annihilated the two powerful kings of the East, that of Pontus and that of Armenia.

However, the brave populations of the Central and Eastern Caucasus saw with displeasure the Westerners camped on their territory. Terrified by the news that the Roman general wanted, the following spring, to cross the mountains and pursue the king of Pontus beyond the Caucasus, the Albani threw themselves on the Roman army divided into three large bodies under Quintus Métellus Celer, Lucius Flaccus and Pompey himself. But Celer, who received the main shock, put on a good countenance, and Pompey, after getting rid of the troops sent against him, pushed back to Kur the barbarians beaten on all points. The Albani, the Iberians, and all the populations established on the Caucasus and below accepted for the moment the domination of Rome. Mithridates once again tried to deal with the Romans.He asked for his patrimonial kingdom and declared himself ready to recognize Roman hegemony, and to become tributary prince. But Pompey refused to give the prince a situation in which he could restart his old game, and asked him to submit in person.

Since it was necessary to die, Mithridates wanted to die at least as he had lived, and ordered all his harem to take poison: his wives, his concubines and his daughters, and among these the young bride of the king of Egypt and of Cyprus, had to suffer death before the cup of poison reached him, and as this poison did not operate quickly enough, he was killed by a Celtic soldier, Betuitus. Thus died, in 691 (63) Mithridates Eupator, at the age of sixty-eight, after having reigned sixty-seven years. Whatever judgment one passes on Mithridates' stubbornness, he is an important historical figure in the full extent of the word. He had been the outpost of the reaction of the East against the West, and thus began the struggle of the East against the West, and victors as well as vanquished understood that his death was not the end,but the beginning of this struggle.

Thus the edifice of the Roman state of Asia was completed with its tributary kings and vassals, its priests, its princes and the circle of its cities, entirely or half free, which made it resemble the Holy Germanic Empire. Pompey allowed himself to be complimented and complimented himself in such a way as to make it appear that his head was weaker than it was. Its inscriptions mentioned 12 million subjugated souls and 1,538 cities or fortresses taken by storm. Quantity seemed to outweigh quality, and the circle of his triumphs stretched from Palus Meotis to the Caspian Sea, and from there to the Red Sea. Democratic servility was not satisfied with the triumph which, on September 28 and 29, 693 (61), the forty-sixth anniversary of the birth of Pompey, traversed the streets of Rome, enhanced, not to mention a host of peculiarities,of the royal insignia of Mithridates and of the children of the three most powerful kings of Asia, Mithridates, Tigran and Phraates, she bestowed on her general who had conquered twenty-two kings, royal honors, and allowed him to wear all his life the golden crown and the insignia of the judiciary. The coins minted in his honor show the terrestrial globe between the triple laurel of the three parts of the world, and, above, the crown granted by the citizens to the triumphant of Africa, Spain and Asia. The financial benefits which Rome made were incalculable: the new tributes which, with the exception of a few cities which were freed from it, all these princes, these lords and these cities had to pay in Rome, increased the revenues of the State moreover. A half. The reorganization of Roman Asia by Pompey must,in the midst of many inevitable mistakes, to be regarded as intelligent and worthy of admiration: however painful the circumstances of their life, the Asians in so much suffering must see it as a blessing to be able to enjoy inside and without 'a peace so long desired and so dearly bought.

The conquest of Cyprus was decided in 696 (58) by the people, that is to say by the leaders of the democracy. Marcus Cato, charged by the adversaries with the execution of this measure, arrived in the island without an army; but he didn't need it. The king took poison; the inhabitants bowed without resistance to undergo an inevitable destiny and were placed under the orders of the governor of Cilicia.

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STRUGGLE OF THE PARTIES DURING THE ABSENCE OF PUMPING

Since the general chosen by the democracy held the sword in hand, his party, or what was called so, was dominant in the capital. The consulate, although the new men had been almost completely excluded from it, began to turn pale in the face of the rising star of exceptional military magistracies. The aristocracy understood it without wanting to admit it and regarded itself as lost. We worked especially to complete the democratic restoration and to put forward the main ideas of the time of the Gracchi, accommodating them at the time. The election of priests by the comitia, such as Cnæus Domitius had established and Sylla abolished, was re-established by an order of the tribune of the people.

The triumphal statues that Marius had erected in the Capitol and that Sylla had overturned reappeared one morning, unexpectedly, in their former place, in all the brilliance of gold and marble, the invalids of the wars of the Cimbri and Africa, with tears in their eyes, ran to see the cherished image of their general, and the senate did not dare, in front of the enthusiastic masses, to take away the trophies which a skilful hand had restored in spite of the laws. .

In the struggle against the aristocracy, the Democrats had remained victorious, but it was still necessary to get rid of the victor of the East and the king of the seas: how much longer would he retain power, when did he intend to view the war as finished, only he could tell; for, like anything else, the moment of his return to Italy was in his hands. The parties in Rome were waiting and resting. The nobles saw with relative indifference the return of the dreaded general; they had nothing to lose and everything to gain by the rupture between Pompey and democracy, a rupture which seemed to them imminent. On the contrary, the Democrats, tormented by a painful wait, sought, during the respite afforded them by the absence of Pompey, to establish a countermine against the threatening explosion.They met in this with Crassus, who had nothing left to oppose a necessary and hated rival but to tie himself more closely than before with democracy. While the Democrats publicly designated the absent general as the head and pride of their party, and seemed to direct all their features against the aristocracy, they were working in secret against Pompey, and the attempts of democracy to evade dictatorship. The threatening military have historically a far different importance than the noisy agitation against the nobility, which mostly served as a mask. The intention of the democrats was, following the example of Marius and Cinna, to seize the reins of the state, and to entrust to one of their leaders either the conquest of Egypt or the government of Spain or a similar judiciary,ordinary or extraordinary, in order to find in him and in his army a counterweight against Pompey and his army. For this they needed a revolution, which seemed ostensibly directed against the government, but which, in fact, had to reach Pompey as the designated monarch, and to effect this revolution the conspiracy was permanently in Rome until return of Pompey, in 688-92 (66-62). Where a gang forms, she soon finds a leader; there was no lack of men who offered themselves in this capacity. The former praetor Lucius Catilina and the quaestor Cnæus Pison stood out among their companions, not only by their birth and their high rank, but they had burned their ships and imposed on their associates by their audacity as by their talents.Catilina was one of the most daring of the daring. His deportations belong to an indictment and not to history, but his exterior, his pale face, his bewildered air, his walk sometimes indolent, sometimes hasty, betrayed the disrespectful annals of his past. He possessed to a high degree the qualities that should be sought in the leader of such gangs: the ability to enjoy everything and to endure everything, courage, military talent, knowledge of men, the energy of crime, and this appalling pedagogy of vice, which leads the weak to fault and from fault to crime.betrayed the disrespectful annals of his past. He possessed to a high degree the qualities which were to be sought after in the leader of such gangs: the capacity to enjoy everything and to endure everything, courage, military talent, knowledge of men, the energy of crime, and this appalling pedagogy of vice, which leads the weak to fault and from fault to crime.betrayed the disrespectful annals of his past. He possessed to a high degree the qualities which were to be sought after in the leader of such gangs: the capacity to enjoy everything and to endure everything, courage, military talent, knowledge of men, the energy of crime, and this appalling pedagogy of vice, which leads the weak to fault and from fault to crime.

Catilina, Pison, and their ilk resolutely entered into all plans which included proscriptions and exemption from debts. It is understandable that an insurrection which had on its flag the promise of the abolition of debts must, at such a time, see numerous recruits gathered around it from the ranks of the dissolute youth.

The party gathered all its forces for the electoral struggle. Crassus and Caesar gathered their own or borrowed money and their alliances to ensure the consulate to Catiline and Antony. The nobility cast their votes on a candidate they did not like, but who, at least, was beyond reproach: it was Marcus Cicero, who was notoriously a political lover. He had enough alliances in the capital and in the provinces to stand a chance against the candidate for democracy, and like the nobility, albeit reluctantly, and the Pompeians voted for him, he was elected with a large majority. Antonius, whose family was better known than that of his competitor, had a little more voice. This circumstance ruined the election of Catiline and saved Rome from a second Cinna. Cicero broke the tie that bound him to the conspiracy,before they had both taken office, by renouncing the consular provinces which had fallen to him by lot, and by abandoning the productive government of Macedonia to his colleague overwhelmed with debts. Thus the essential preliminaries of the conspiracy were thwarted.

The return of Pompey and the probable catastrophe approached every day.

Catilina resolved to give matters a decisive turn, and to end it once and for all. He wanted to start his preparations for civil war. Fæsula (Fiesole), a very strong city in Etruria, was designated as the headquarters of the uprising. The plan of the insurgents was, at the time of the consular elections of 692 (62) in which Catiline stood, to assassinate the consul who would supervise them, as well as those who were to succeed him, and to ensure the election of Catiline at all costs. , to bring, at the given moment, from Fesula and other rallying points, armed troops against the capital and to break down resistance by them.

Cicero had made himself a bodyguard with young people chosen especially from the merchant class, and it was these men too who, on October 28, the day on which the senate had postponed the elections, filled the Champ de Mars and dominated there. . The conspirators could neither massacre the consul who conducted the elections, nor decide the elections in their favor.

In the meantime, the civil war had started. On October 27, Caius Manlius had planted the Roman eagle near Fesula, and the army of the insurrection was to meet there (it came from the soldiers of Marius and the war of the Cimbri), and the brigands called from the mountains as well as the populations were also to rally to it. However, this outcry still failed. It was a pleasure for the government. For although the civil war had been openly announced long ago, his own indecision and the rotten machinery of government had not allowed him to make any military preparations. The reserve was finally called, and in all parts of Italy superior officers were sent to crush every insurrection in their district. Catilina, despite all her audacity,thought it prudent to fix his departure a few days later. But beforehand, on his express proposal, it was decided, in a last assembly of conspirators, which took place on the night of November 6 to 7, to kill the consul Cicero, who was above all at the head of the countermine, before the departure of the leader, and to prevent any betrayal, to perform this act immediately. Early in the morning, November 7, the chosen murderers knocked on the consul's door; but they found the sentries doubled and withdrew: this time again the government spies had left the ranks of the conspirators. The Senate declared the two generals Catilina and Manlius and all those of their companions who would not have laid down their arms on a certain day to be traitors to the country, and new militias were summoned;but at the head of the army sent against Catiline was the consul Caius Antonius, who was notoriously involved in the conspiracy, and whose character placed at the mercy of chance the question of whether he was leading his troops against Catiline or for join him. The insurrection in the capital was by no means abandoned by the conspirators, for the plan had been drawn up again by Catilina before his departure from Rome. A tribune was to give the signal by summoning an assembly of the people; the following night Cethegus was to rid them of Cicero, Gambinius and Statilius, set fire to twelve places in the city, and the junction was to be made as quickly as possible with the army of Catiline which would arrive in the meantime.who was notoriously involved in the conspiracy, and whose character placed at the mercy of chance whether he was leading his troops against Catiline or to join him. The insurrection in the capital was by no means abandoned by the conspirators, for the plan had been drawn up again by Catilina before his departure from Rome. A tribune was to give the signal by summoning an assembly of the people; the following night Cethegus was to rid them of Cicero, Gambinius and Statilius, set fire to twelve places in the city, and the junction was to be made as quickly as possible with the army of Catiline which would arrive in the meantime.who was notoriously involved in the conspiracy, and whose character placed at the mercy of chance whether he was leading his troops against Catiline or to join him. The insurrection in the capital was by no means abandoned by the conspirators, for the plan had been drawn up again by Catilina before his departure from Rome. A tribune was to give the signal by summoning an assembly of the people; the following night Cethegus was to rid them of Cicero, Gambinius and Statilius, set fire in twelve places of the city, and the junction was to be made as quickly as possible with the army of Catiline which would arrive in the meantime.The insurrection in the capital was by no means abandoned by the conspirators, for the plan had been drawn up again by Catilina before his departure from Rome. A tribune was to give the signal by summoning an assembly of the people; the following night Cethegus was to rid them of Cicero, Gambinius and Statilius, set fire to twelve places in the city, and the junction was to be made as quickly as possible with the army of Catiline which would arrive in the meantime.The insurrection in the capital was by no means abandoned by the conspirators, for the plan had been drawn up again by Catilina before his departure from Rome. A tribune was to give the signal by summoning an assembly of the people; the following night Cethegus was to rid them of Cicero, Gambinius and Statilius, set fire in twelve places of the city, and the junction was to be made as quickly as possible with the army of Catiline which would arrive in the meantime.and the junction was to be made as quickly as possible with the army of Catiline which would arrive in the meantime.and the junction was to be made as quickly as possible with the army of Catiline which would arrive in the meantime.

Then the countermine was discovered. Lentulus, with his manner of covering up his slowness and his attempts in pressing and necessary things with long-term projects, had opened up about this plan to the deputies of a Celtic canton, Les Allobroges, charge d'affaires of a a country ruined and themselves covered in debt; he had given them a share in the conspiracy, and upon their departure he had entrusted them with messages and letters for his followers. The deputies left Rome, but on the night of November 2-3 they were stopped at the gates by Roman officials and their papers were taken from them. It was discovered that the Allobroges were used as spies by the Roman government, and had taken part in the conspiracy only to furnish it with evidence against the heads of the conspiracy. The morning,the arrest orders were issued silently against the most dangerous leaders, and they were executed against. Lentulus, Cethegus, Gabinius and Statilius, while a few others escaped arrest. The existence of the conspiracy was obvious and legally proven, and the most important episodes of it had been published by Cicero in loose sheets. The anger against this anarchic conspiracy was universal. The multitude of the capital was especially excited by the plan of fire formed by the conspirators.The existence of the conspiracy was obvious and legally proven, and the most important episodes of it had been published by Cicero in loose sheets. The anger against this anarchic conspiracy was universal. The multitude of the capital was especially excited by the plan of fire formed by the conspirators.The existence of the conspiracy was obvious and legally proven, and the most important episodes of it had been published by Cicero in loose sheets. The anger against this anarchic conspiracy was universal. The multitude of the capital was especially excited by the plan of fire formed by the conspirators.

Cicero summoned the senate in his anxiety, and left it to decide on the life or death of four persons. Although all the consular officers and the great majority of the senate had already declared themselves in favor of the execution, the principal ones, Cicero at the head, inclined to stay within the constitutional limits. But Cato knew, by implicating in the plot those who were for clemency, to throw new terror into hesitant souls, and regained the majority of the senate by the execution of the criminals. The fulfillment of the resolution naturally belonged to Cicero, who had provoked it. Late in the evening of December 5, the culprits were dragged from the houses where they were locked up and led, in the midst of a large crowd gathered on the Forum, in the prison where those condemned to death were to be locked up.It was a dark dungeon, placed twelve feet below the ground, and which had once served as a reservoir for water. At the prison door they were handed over to the three men charged with the execution, and strangled with torches.

The news of the failure of this movement dismayed the insurgent army: the mass of those less compromised dispersed. What was left of the determined or desperate people made an attempt to cross into Gaul through the passes of the Apennines; but as they reached the foot of the neighboring mountain of Pistoia, they found themselves caught between two armies. They had before them the body of Quintus Metellus who had arrived from Ravenna and Ariminum to occupy the northern slope of the Apennines, and behind them the army of Antonius. Catilina who had, from the beginning of the battle, dismissed his horse and even those of all his officers, proved on this day that nature had destined him for unusual actions and that he knew both how to command in general and fight like a soldier.Petreius crushed at the end with his guard the center of the enemy and surrounded him on both sides, that decided the victory. The corpses of Catiline's soldiers - three thousand were counted - covered in exact ranks the land where they had fought; the officers and the general, at the moment when all was lost, had thrown themselves on the enemy, and had sought and found death, beginning of 692 (62).

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RETURN OF THE PUMP AND COALITION OF PROSECUTORS

When Pompey, after having fulfilled the mission entrusted to him, once again turned his gaze to his homeland, he found for the second time the diadem at his feet. The anarchic conspiracy of the capital with the associated civil war had convinced any man preoccupied with material or political interests that a government without authority and without military power, like that of the Senate, also delivered the State to tyranny. ridiculous than frightening of the knights of industry, of politics, and that a change in the constitution, which would tie military power more closely to the government was an inevitable necessity, if a solid public order was to be desired. Thus, in the East, he had raised himself a master, and in Italy he had prepared a throne; to all appearances,the year 692 (62) was to be the last of the Republic and the first of the monarchy.

In the fall of 692 (62) Pompey set sail for Italy. While in Rome everything was preparing to receive the new monarch, it was announced that Pompey, barely arrived in Brindisium, had dissolved his legions and had headed for the capital with a weak escort.

The parties breathed. Pompey had abdicated for the second time: the defeated competitors could resume the campaign, and what was most extraordinary was that Pompey took part again. In January 693 (61) he arrived in Rome. His position was uncertain and so fluid among the parties that he was given the nickname of Cnæus Cicero. He had lost with everyone. The anarchists still saw him as an adversary, the Democrats an inconvenient friend, Marcus Crassus a rival, the wealthy classes an insecure protector, the aristocracy a declared enemy. Instead of the enthusiastic reception on which he had counted, the reception he found was more than cold, and his proposals were received with even more coldness. He wanted for himself, as he had announced by Nepos, the second consulate, and moreover,naturally, the confirmation of the ordinances which he had enacted in the East and the fulfillment of the promise which he had made to his soldiers to distribute them lands. But the Senate systematically opposed him. The second consulate was refused.

He then presented himself a new combination. The leader of the democratic party had used in his interest the political calm which had followed the return of the dominator of old. When Pompey returned from Asia, Caesar was little more than a sort of Catiline, the leader of a political party who had become a leader of conspirators and a bankrupt. His old friend and his ally Crassus, in the hope of finding Caesar's foothold against Pompey which he had lost in Pison, had decided before his departure for the province, to pay part of his debts. It had become clear in the end, to the clever of all stripes, that the party struggle would be decided, not by civil war, but by military might. We saw a way of securing the consulate and the consular province to the most important of the democratic leaders,and that in the most constitutional way, and to make himself independent of the dangerous alliance of Pompey by the creation of a democratic guard.

The second coalition was therefore formed in the summer of 694 (61). Caesar secured the consulate for the following year, and then the government of the province; Pompey was promised the ratification of his allies in the East and the assignment of lands to his soldiers; the knights received from Caesar the promise to make them give by the people what the senate had refused them. Finally Crassus, the inevitable, joined the coalition, without asking for any fixed salary for his assistance. These were the same elements and the same people who joined forces in the fall of 689 and the summer of 694.

The election of Caesar to the consulate for the year 695 (59) was assured without difficulty by the union of parties.

As consul, Caesar fulfilled the wishes of his allies, and especially the one who aimed to assign land to veterans of the Asian army. The agrarian law proposed for this purpose by Caesar rested on similar bases to those of the bill which Pompey had introduced the previous year and which had been rejected. Caesar submitted en bloc for the ratification of the Senate the bill, the acts accomplished by Pompey in the East, as well as the petition of the farmers of the income who asked that they be given a third of their rent, and declared himself ready to welcome the counter-projects and discuss them. The agrarian law was purely and simply rejected by them without discussion. The decree on the acts performed by Pompey in Asia also found no favor before their eyes. As to the proposal for income farmers,it was also rejected. Naturally the proposals were all submitted together to the citizens. Caesar added that the aristocrats had hatched a plot to have the project rejected, and that he begged the citizens and especially Pompey and his old soldiers to support him against cunning and force. The old soldiers of Pompey must have been in costume and in arms instead of the election which was to take place soon.

Despite all the chicanery and all the ruses of the nobility, the agrarian law, the ratification of the decrees of Asia and the abandonment of a third of the income to the farmers, were accepted by the people. The aristocracy had only succeeded in making stronger, by its blind and hateful opposition, the bond of the coalition, and its energy, which it was going to need for more important things, had been expended in these circumstances.

In anticipation of the election of Caesar, the senate had, in 696 (58) assigned two provinces where he could find nothing to do but road repairs. It was decided between the allies that Caesar would receive by decree of the people a determined extraordinary command. The tribune of the people Publius Vatinius took it upon himself to present the proposal to the people, who naturally obeyed without hesitation. Caesar thus received the government of Cisalpine Gaul and the command of three seasoned legions. This command was assured to him for five years, that is to say, for a longer period than any general had yet obtained. Caesar's consulate had achieved its goal.

Pompey had to watch over Italy, and at the head of the Commission of Twenty, he dealt with the enforcement of the agrarian law, and gave land to about 20,000 citizens, mostly soldiers of his army, in the territory of Capua. Caesar's legions in northern Italy served as his rear guard against the opposition. The daily and intimate trade with a man of irresistible seduction such as Caesar succeeded in changing the alliance of interests into a bond of friendship. The pledge and the basis of this friendship, and at the same time the public and indisputable testimony of this common power, was the marriage of Pompey with the only daughter of Caesar, aged twenty-three. Finally, having obtained the removal of Cato and the exile of Cicero, Caesar was able to leave Italy to devote himself to a more serious question.

THE SUBMISSION OF THE WEST

There was still to separate the Italian territory from the north and the west, and to gain for Hellenic civilization and the still entire power of the Italic race new and virgin ground. It is to this work that Caesar devoted himself. It is more than a mistake, it is a crime against the holy spirit of history to consider Gaul as a simple field of maneuvers where Caesar was exercising with his legions for the civil war which was brewing. Although the submission of the West was for Caesar a means in the sense that he had based all his hopes for the future on the transalpine war, it is nevertheless the privilege of a statesman of genius, that his means same are great results. Caesar, it is true, needed military power for his designs, but he did not conquer Gaul like a party man.It was a political necessity for Rome to seek out the Germanic invasions on the other side of the Alps, and there to build a dike which would give security to the Roman world. But this important goal was neither the highest nor the main one, for which Caesar conquered Gaul. When the homeland had become too narrow for Roman citizens and there was danger for it, the Senate's policy of conquest had saved it. Today the Italic homeland had again become too narrow; the state sought to apply the same remedy to a social crisis, but in still more important circumstances. It was a thought of genius, a magnanimous hope, which carried Caesar to the other side of the Alps, the thought and the foresight to open there to his fellow citizens a new unlimited homeland and to regenerate the State a second time,by widening its base.

It is necessary, up to a certain point, to link with the attempts made for the submission of the West the campaign which Caesar made in 693 (61) in the Spanish city. Although Spain had long obeyed the Romans, the western shore, even after Decimus Brutus' expedition against the Gallecia, was in fact independent from the Romans, and the northern coast was not defended by them. Caesar therefore directed his expedition to the west coast. He crossed the chain of mountains which border the Tagus to the north (Sierra de Estrella) and after having beaten the inhabitants and having established part of it in the plain, he subdued the region of the two banks of the Ducro and reached the point north-west of the Peninsula where he took Brigantium (La Coruna) with the help of a flotilla brought to him from Gabès. By there, the inhabitants of the Atlantic Ocean,Lusitanians and Gallecia, were obliged to recognize the Roman supremacy, while the victor, by suppressing the tribute paid to Rome, and by regulating the economic situation of the cities, passed to have made more bearable the position of the subjects.

An important role in the development of Roman civilization in the West was destined for the region which stretched between the Pyrenees and the Rhine, the Mediterranean and the Ocean, and which since the time of Augustus was called the land of the Celts and more commonly Gaul.

The region of the Mediterranean, which in the west embraced from Languedoc to the Rhône and to the east the Dauphiné and Provence, had been a Roman province for sixty years.

The beauty of the climate, analogous to that of Italy, the favorable soil conditions which offered to trade great and useful outlets with its trade routes which reached as far as Brittany, the continental and maritime traffic with its metropolis, gave to the South Celtic of great economic importance. The province of Gaul, it is said in a description dating back ten years before Caesar's campaign, is full of merchants and teeming with Roman citizens. No Gaul makes a deal without the intermediary of a Roman. The denarius which passes through Gaul from one hand to the other appears on the account book of the Roman citizen. It is credible that under such circumstances the civilization or the Romanization of the natives advanced rapidly.So if the Celtic and Ligurian population of these countries was on the way to losing their nationality and moaned under political and economic oppression, the testimony of which is visible in the desperate uprisings it provoked, the submission of the population did not work. less in keeping with the introduction of the more developed civilization that reigned in Italy. It was different when we crossed the Roman border. The great Celtic nation which, in the southern countries, was beginning to be subjected to Italic immigration, still lived in its ancient freedom. Despite the differences in language and manners which were numerous in such a vast territory, there was a reciprocal trade there, and a feeling of national community reigned from the Rhône and the Garonne to the Rhine and the Thames.Agriculture was practiced in Gaul, but it was much more esteemed among the Celts, the breeding of cattle.

There was no shortage of walled towns, whose frame walls astonished the Romans both by their skilful arrangement and by the well-understood alternative of stones and beams. The important development of urban life is directly related to the activity of commerce on land and sea. But the Celts were even more remarkable for maritime navigation. The warships of the Phoenicians, Greeks and Romans had been rowing galleys at all times. But on the west coast of Gaul, the Santons, the Pictons, especially the Veneti, used large, crudely built ships that did not oar, but with leather sails and iron capstans, not only for trade but for war. With the skill of working metals, the art of extracting them had to work,and in the iron mines of the Loire this art had such a development that the miners took an important role in the sieges.

The constitution of the Celtic nation is based on the clan, with the prince, the council of elders and the community of warriors, but what is special to it is that it never goes beyond this cantonal organization. The city has, as in the East, only a commercial and strategic importance, and not a political one. The great families united in their hands the economic, military and political omnipotence. They monopolized the renting of the great revenues of the State. They forced free men, crushed by taxes, to take refuge with them, and to renounce their freedoms naturally first as debtors, and soon by right as vassals.

Royalty, which should have put order to the encroachments of the nobility, perished among the Celts as in Lazio. In place of the king appeared the "defender of the law" or Vergobretus, who was appointed as the Roman consul for one year.

In the midst of clan rivalries and all these feudal disorders, one noticed the voice of those who said they were ready to buy the independence of the nation, at the cost of that of the clans and even that of the aristocracy.

The unity and the power of the Celtic nationality would be inexplicable if, in the face of the political division of the nation, a religious and even theological centralization had not reigned for a long time.

The corporation of the Druids certainly embraced the British Isles and all of Gaul, perhaps other Celtic lands, in a vast religious and national union. It was governed by a chief chosen by the priests themselves. It is probable that such a priestly corporation sought to attract temporal government to itself, and succeeded in part. She knew how to attract to her the most important civil matters, among others, the lawsuits of borders and inheritance; it claimed to be the decision of questions of peace and war.

The cavalry was the dominant weapon, and among the Belgians and especially in the British Isles national battle tanks were employed on a vast scale. The great shield was still the main defense; among the weapons, the great lance still played the leading role. Instead of the fortified camp that the Romans raised every evening, the Celts needed a citadel of wagons. In general, the Celtic infantry of this period appear to have been an unsuitable and unwieldy militia, whose bravery was rendered useless by inability. To all appearance, the Celtic nation, when Caesar conquered it, had reached its maximum of individual civilization, it was already in decline, and we must remember here that it was not only the superiority of Roman arms that triumphed over the Celts,but especially that of the Roman civilization which came to fertilize the first elements of Greek civilization in the lands of the Celts. But there it was as much commerce and trafficking as conquest that opened the way. Soon the wine trade with the Celts became a gold mine for the merchants of Italy: it was not uncommon for a jug of wine to be exchanged for a slave. Just as American traders used brandy to conquer America, so Roman wine merchants and landowners cleared the way for the future conqueror of Gaul.Soon the wine trade with the Celts became a gold mine for merchants in Italy: it was not uncommon for a jug of wine to be traded for a slave. Just as American traders used brandy to conquer America, so Roman wine merchants and landowners cleared the way for the future conqueror of Gaul.Soon the wine trade with the Celts became a gold mine for the merchants of Italy: it was not uncommon for a jug of wine to be exchanged for a slave. Just as American traders used brandy to conquer America, so Roman wine merchants and landowners cleared the way for the future conqueror of Gaul.

The year which preceded the entry of Caesar in Gaul, the territory of the eastern clan of Celts, that of the valiant and numerous Helvetian ones was worried by the Germans. It was under these circumstances that the new governor Caius Caesar entered Narbonne Gaul in the spring of 696 (58). The army which he received in the two provinces included in line troops four legions trained and accustomed to combat, the seventh, the eighth, the ninth and the tenth, in all 24,000 men. The Helvetii who had invaded Gaul tried at several points to reach the other bank of the Rhône on boats or rafts; but the Romans, entrenched in their lines, prevented them from doing so, and the Helvetii were obliged to give up crossing the river.

For a fortnight the Roman army marched at a distance from the enemy a league and a half behind, waiting for a favorable moment to attack it under conditions which would enable it to overcome and annihilate it. But that moment did not come. The armies had arrived at the capital of the Aedui, Bibracte (Autun), at a reasonable distance: Caesar resolved to seize this important city by armed hand, before continuing the pursuit of the Helvetians, but the Helvetians believed that the Romans were doing retrograde movement and attacked from their side. The main body of the Helvetian army had to bend and was obliged to abandon the southern route followed until then, to take the northern one. The Romans had won. The Helvetii had to make their submission to Caesar.

On the central Rhine, which the Romans had crossed for many years and where they were becoming more numerous every day, the Romans had sufficient motive to want to crush the power of Arioviste, which rivaled theirs in Gaul, and it was easy to find a pretext.

Panic terror seized Arioviste's troops, and especially his officers, when they had to measure themselves against the elite of these Germans who for fourteen years had not rested under a roof. But Caesar went by forced marches and fortunately got ahead of Ariovistus to seize the capital of the Sequans. The two armies remained in presence at a short distance from each other in Lower Alsace, around Belfort, until the moment when Arioviste tried by a flank march, to fall, with his superior forces, on behind the Roman camp, and cut off the Romans from their base of operations and supplies. The right wing of the Romans threw itself violently on the enemy, led by Caesar himself, and pushed him in front of it: the right wing of the Germans did the same on its side. The balance was even;but the tactics of the reserve decided the fate of the day in favor of the Romans, as it had done so many times against the barbarians: the third line which Crassus advanced in due course reestablished the fight on the left wing and decided to victory. The pursuit was pushed as far as the Rhine: few men, among whom was the king, succeeded in reaching the other bank, 696 (58).

The consequences of this single campaign were incalculable. The last events had decided that Gaul would undergo not in part, but in all its extent, the Roman domination, and that the northern border indicated by the powerful river was intended to be the political border.

The foundations of the future edifice were standing; but to continue it and to make the Gauls recognize the Roman domination, the Germans the border of the Rhine, there was still much to do. The northern regions, as well as the Armorican districts of Brittany and Normandy and the powerful confederation of Belgians had been completely outside the defeats which those of the center had suffered, and were not disposed to submit to the victor of Ariovist. As a result of these circumstances, Caesar left with his army, increased to eight legions, in the spring of 697, to attack the Belgian districts which sent their first levy of 300,000 armed men, to the southern border, under the leadership of the king of the Suessions, Galba. Caesar did not try to fight an enemy six times stronger; north of the Aisne,not far from Pont-à-Vère, between Reims and Laon, he camped on a plateau made almost unassailable, both by the river and the marshes and by the bridges and redoubts which defended him, and contented himself with preventing, by defensive measures, the Belgians to cross the Aisne and thereby cut off its communications. King Galba was a universally respected man, but he was not strong enough to lead an army of 300,000 men in enemy territory. Insubordination and discord began to spread throughout the Confederate camp. The leaders of the levy had to give in and let return to their country men who would have returned there of their own accord. The defeat was all the more crushing because it took place without a battle.both by the river and the marshes and by the bridges and redoubts which defended it, and contented itself with preventing, by defensive measures, the Belgians from crossing the Aisne and thereby cutting off its communications. King Galba was a universally respected man, but he was not strong enough to lead an army of 300,000 men in enemy territory. Insubordination and discord began to spread throughout the Confederate camp. The leaders of the levy had to give in and allow men to return to their country who would have returned there on their own. The defeat was all the more crushing because it took place without a battle.both by the river and the marshes and by the bridges and redoubts which defended it, and contented itself with preventing, by defensive measures, the Belgians from crossing the Aisne and thereby cutting off its communications. King Galba was a universally respected man, but he was not strong enough to lead an army of 300,000 men in enemy territory. Insubordination and discord began to spread throughout the Confederate camp. The leaders of the levy had to give in and let return to their country men who would have returned there of their own accord. The defeat was all the more crushing because it took place without a battle.King Galba was a universally respected man, but he was not strong enough to lead an army of 300,000 men in enemy territory. Insubordination and discord began to spread throughout the Confederate camp. The leaders of the levy had to give in and allow men to return to their country who would have returned there on their own. The defeat was all the more crushing because it took place without a battle.King Galba was a universally respected man, but he was not strong enough to lead an army of 300,000 men in enemy territory. Insubordination and discord began to spread throughout the Confederate camp. The leaders of the levy had to give in and allow men to return to their country who would have returned there on their own. The defeat was all the more crushing because it took place without a battle.

But in the eastern cantons, Caesar encountered a strong national feeling. The legions were surprised by the coalition army and thrown back on the Sambre. Instead of a battle, there was a hand-to-hand struggle. Labienus with the left wing pushed back the Atrebates and pursued them beyond the river. The center of the Romans also pushed back the Viromanduans. But on the left wing, the Romans were literally surrounded by the Nervians, much more numerous, who seized the hills and the unfinished camp of the Romans. Everything was called into question. The Roman general then took a sword and a shield and fought in the front ranks: his example, his even warmer appeals kept the ranks shaken. We had already made a little day, and we had at least reestablished communication between two legions of this wing,when they were finally rescued. The Nervians, separated from their confederates and attacked from all sides at the same time, displayed as much heroism as if they had believed themselves conquerors and fought behind heaps of corpses to the last man.

After this crushing defeat, the Nervians, Atrebates and Viromanduans recognized Roman supremacy.

It was the turn of the Armorican cantons. The whole coast from the mouth of the Loire to the Rhine rose up against Rome. The Celts, convinced of their superiority at sea, sent their fleet to meet that commanded by Brutus. Neither the projectiles nor the harpoons of the Romans could reach the high edge of the enemy boats and against the oak planks of these buildings, the iron spurs had no grip. But the Roman sailors cut the cables which attached the yards to the masts, by means of scythes attached to long poles: sails and yards fell on the deck and as the damage could not be repaired quickly, the vessels were disabled, as they are today. hui when the mast falls; it was then easy for the Roman longboats to seize, by a simultaneous attack,enemy ships put out of action.

The consequences of the triumph won by Brutus were the submission of the Veneti and all of Brittany. Sabinus employed with regard to the levy of the maritime States assembled on the Channel the tactics by means of which Caesar had triumphed over the Belgian reserve on the Aisne, which led to the disbandment of the militias and the subjugation of the country until the Seine. Publius Crassus was sent the following year to Aquitaine and the populations from the Garonne to the Pyrenees recognized Roman supremacy.

There were still the Celts of the Islands. Caesar immediately equipped (winter 699-700) (55-54) a transport fleet of 800 sails, and in the spring of 700 (54) with five legions and 2000 cavalry, he set sail for the coast of England.

The Thames was apparently passed by the Romans between Kingston and Brentford; we advanced, but in reality we gained little ground; the general won no victory, the soldier made no booty. The capture of a large Breton camp, in which the Romans found plenty of cattle, provides a passable conclusion to a futile enterprise, and a plausible pretext for turning back. After receiving the hostages, Caesar went to his ship camp, and from there to Gaul again. If he had aspired, as it seems, to conquer Brittany, this design had completely failed, both because of the skillful system of defense of Cassivellaunus and because of the insufficiency of the Roman rowing fleet in the waters. from the North Sea.

The work of repelling the Germanic invasions and the subjugation of the continent was accomplished. But it is often easier to subdue a nation than to keep it in subjection. Everything that had been attempted, failed and accomplished, excited the patriots to renew an attempt at deliverance with more unity and success.

A first insurrection failed, but nothing exalted the nation more than the outcry of the Arvernes. The leader of the Arvern patriots, Vercingetorix, one of these nobles, as we meet among the Celts, had an almost royal position in his canton and abroad, and moreover, he was a prudent, brave and skillful man. He abandoned the capital and called on the populations of the countryside, as enemies of the oligarchy as of the Romans, to re-establish the Arverne royalty and to declare war on Rome. The multitude listened to him quickly; the reestablishment of the kingship of Lucterius and Betuitus was at the same time the declaration of war against Rome. The unity that had hitherto failed in all attempts at deliverance from the foreign yoke was finally found in the new king of Arvernes who took power on his own.Vercingetorix was to the Celts on the continent what Cassivellaunus had been to the island Celts: the masses were filled with the feeling that if ever a man could raise the nation, it was he. The insurrection had quickly spread from the West towards the mouths of the Garonne to those of the Seine, and Vercingétorix had been recognized there as general by all the cantons. While the insurgents were working to decide the accession of the still hesitant cantons and in particular that of the Aedui, and to seize Narbo, the Roman general appeared in the southern province. He made quickly, not only the necessary preparations to cover it, but also he sent an army corps on the territory of Arvernes by making him cross the Cévennes covered with snow.He proceeded by a silent march to Vienna and from there, accompanied only by a few horsemen, through the territory of the Aedui, to his troops.

Vercingetorix therefore gave up attacking the Romans. He adopted a system of warfare similar to that by which Cassivellaunus had saved the island Celts. One could not defeat the Roman infantry; but Caesar's cavalry was almost exclusively formed of the contingents of the Celtic nobility, and was in fact dissolved by universal defection. Vercingetorix therefore directed all his efforts towards increasing its cavalry and the army corps which operated with it according to the military system of the time. Vercingetorix understood that it was not necessary, as one had done until then, to try to defend all the cities, which made that one could not keep any; it was necessary to come to an understanding in order to annihilate, before they were attacked, the towns which were impossible to defend and to unite their forces for the defense of the fortified towns.By order of Vercingétorix, more than twenty towns of Bituriges were delivered to the flames: the same destiny was reserved by the general for the neighboring cantons, as far as the Roman detachments could reach. The war concentrated around Avaricum (Bourges). Vercingetorix established his infantry near the marshes near the city, in such an unassailable situation that he could defend it against the Roman legions without being covered by cavalry. Avaricum held out for a long time, but one fine day the Romans stormed and, irritated by this stubborn resistance, spared neither sex nor age.The war concentrated around Avaricum (Bourges). Vercingetorix established his infantry near the marshes near the city, in such an unassailable situation that he could defend it against the Roman legions without being covered by cavalry. Avaricum held out for a long time, but one fine day the Romans stormed and, irritated by this stubborn resistance, spared neither sex nor age.The war concentrated around Avaricum (Bourges). Vercingetorix established his infantry near the marshes near the city, in such an unassailable situation that he could defend it against the Roman legions without being covered by cavalry. Avaricum held out for a long time, but one fine day the Romans stormed and, irritated by this stubborn resistance, spared neither sex nor age.

Labiénus descended from Agedincum by the left bank of the Seine, to seize the city of Parisiensis Lutetia (Paris) located on an island in the Seine, and from this position assured and placed in the middle of the insurgent country, to work at submit it. But he found the path blocked in front of Melodunum (Melun) by the whole army of insurgents who, under the command of old Camulogene, had gone into inaccessible marshes. Labiénus retired a little behind, crossed the Seine at Melun, and reached Lutetia without obstacle. So Camulogenes burned down this city and broke the bridges which led to the left bank, and Labienus took a position opposite Camulogenes which made him incapable of attracting him to battle and crossing the river under the eyes of the enemy army.

The main army of the Romans arrived on its side in Allier and in the cantons of Arvernes. Vercingetorix tried to block the passage of the river on the left bank, but Caesar thwarted his stratagem, and camped a few days later in front of the capital of Arvernes, Gergovia. However, Vercingetorix, when he was looking for Caesar on the Allier, had Gergovia supplied, and had an entrenched camp established with a stone rampart on the top of a hill overlooking the city; and as he was ahead of Caesar, he waited for him before Gergovia, in the fortified camp and under its walls. Caesar, with a relatively weak army, could neither regularly besiege the place nor block it in an effective manner; he encamped behind the height occupied by Vercingetorix, and imitated the inactivity of his adversary.

While the mass of Gergovia's garrison was busy entrenching that side to which the next assault was expected, the Roman general attempted to rush to a less well-guarded spot. In fact the assault columns crossed the wall, and occupied the parts closest to the camp; but the whole garrison had already received the alarm and Caesar did not consider it prudent to renew the assault. He gave the signal for retreat, but the most advanced legions, drawn by success, did not hear or did not want to hear, and rushed to the walls, a few soldiers even into the city. But thicker masses threw themselves before them; the first fell, the columns stopped: besides, the centurions and legionaries fought with incredible heroism;the besiegers were repulsed with considerable losses of the city and the mountain; Caesar's troops, massed across the plain, received them and prevented a greater disaster. Gergovia's expected take had turned into a defeat and a considerable loss in dead and wounded. It was counted that 700 soldiers had perished, plus 43 centurions: again this was the least important part of the disaster. The predominant position of Caesar in Gaul was mainly due to his victorious prestige, and his prestige began to wane. This defeat, the first that Caesar had suffered from the Celts, crowned success and gave the signal for a second resumption of the insurrection. The Aedui broke openly with Caesar and formed an alliance with Vercingetorix.Caesar's troops, massed across the plain, received them and prevented a greater disaster. Gergovia's expected take had turned into a defeat and a considerable loss in dead and wounded. It was counted that 700 soldiers had perished, plus 43 centurions: again this was the least important part of the disaster. The predominant position of Caesar in Gaul was mainly due to his victorious prestige, and his prestige began to wane. This defeat, the first that Caesar had suffered from the Celts, crowned success and gave the signal for a second resumption of the insurrection. The Aedui broke openly with Caesar and allied themselves with Vercingetorix.Caesar's troops, massed across the plain, received them and prevented a greater disaster. Gergovia's expected take had turned into a defeat and a considerable loss in dead and wounded. It was counted that 700 soldiers had perished, plus 43 centurions: again this was the least important part of the disaster. The predominant position of Caesar in Gaul was mainly due to his victorious prestige, and his prestige began to wane. This defeat, the first that Caesar had suffered from the Celts, crowned success and gave the signal for a second resumption of the insurrection. The Aedui broke openly with Caesar and allied themselves with Vercingetorix.Gergovia's expected take had turned into a defeat and a considerable loss in dead and wounded. It was counted that 700 soldiers had perished, plus 43 centurions: again this was the least important part of the disaster. The predominant position of Caesar in Gaul was mainly due to his victorious prestige, and his prestige began to wane. This defeat, the first that Caesar had suffered from the Celts, crowned success and gave the signal for a second resumption of the insurrection. The Aedui broke openly with Caesar and formed an alliance with Vercingetorix.Gergovia's expected take had turned into a defeat and a considerable loss in dead and wounded. It was counted that 700 soldiers had perished, plus 43 centurions: again this was the least important part of the disaster. The predominant position of Caesar in Gaul was mainly due to his victorious prestige, and his prestige began to wane. This defeat, the first that Caesar had suffered from the Celts, crowned success and gave the signal for a second resumption of the insurrection. The Aedui broke openly with Caesar and formed an alliance with Vercingetorix.This defeat, the first that Caesar had suffered from the Celts, crowned success and gave the signal for a second resumption of the insurrection. The Aedui broke openly with Caesar and allied themselves with Vercingetorix.This defeat, the first that Caesar had suffered from the Celts, crowned success and gave the signal for a second resumption of the insurrection. The Aedui broke openly with Caesar and formed an alliance with Vercingetorix.

But the most serious consequence was that at this news the Belgians, who had hitherto kept away from the movement, began to be agitated. The powerful canton of Bellovaques prepared to attack from behind the body of Labiénus at the moment when it encountered in Lutetia the levee of the cantons of central Gaul. Caesar, meanwhile, moved on the opposite side and arrived by forced marches at Agedincum, commanding Labienus to retreat as far as possible. The deputies confirmed Vercingetorix in his command, and adopted his war plan without alteration. It was, in short, the same according to which he had operated in Avaricum and Gergovia. The cornerstone of the new position was the Mandubian fortress, Alésia (Alise Sainte-Reine) near Semur, Côte-d'Or, and an entrenched camp was to be established there.Huge supplies had been piled there and Gergovia's troops had been ordered to go there. Not far from Alesia, Caesar encountered the army of insurgents commanded by Vercingetorix and in a fight, which the German squadrons of Caesar, supported by the Roman infantry, placed in their rear, delivered to the Celtic cavalry, which was much more numerous, this one had the bottom to the great astonishment of all. Vercingetorix only hastened to shut himself up in Alesia; Caesar, walking on his heels, followed him there. The lines of circumvallation of the besiegers were more than four leagues in extent, and surrounded the city and the entrenched camp. Vercingetorix was determined to fight under the walls, but not to be besieged in Alésia. When the Roman lines were finished,the town still had provisions for a month and a few days; at the last moment, when the way was still free for the cavalry, Vercingetorix sent back all of his and at the same time transmitted to the heads of the nation the advice to call the whole population to arms, and to lead them to the deliverance of Alesia. It was then that appeared at the last hour, behind the lines of Caesar, the innumerable troops of the Celto-Belgian army, 250,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry. From the Canal to the Cevennes, the insurgent cantons had made supreme efforts to save the flower of the patriots and the general of their choice.Vercingetorix returned all of his and at the same time transmitted to the heads of the nation the advice to call all the population to arms, and to lead them to the deliverance of Alesia. It was then that appeared at the last hour, behind the lines of Caesar, the innumerable troops of the Celto-Belgian army, 250,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry. From the Canal to the Cevennes, the insurgent cantons had made supreme efforts to save the flower of the patriots and the general of their choice.Vercingetorix returned all his and at the same time transmitted to the heads of the nation the advice to call the entire population to arms, and to lead them to the deliverance of Alesia. It was then that at the last hour, behind the lines of Caesar, the innumerable troops of the Celto-Belgian army appeared, 250,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry. From the Canal to the Cevennes, the insurgent cantons had made supreme efforts to save the flower of the patriots and the general of their choice.

The first assault that the besieged Alesia and the army of deliverance gave to the double lines of the Romans was repulsed; but when, after a day's respite, it was renewed, they came to a place where the entrenchment passed over the buttress of a mountain and could be attacked from a height; they succeeded in filling the ditches, and in pushing back the besieged from the wall. Labienus, sent by Caesar to this place, took the closest cohorts and threw himself on the enemy, under the eyes of the general, who himself intervened at the most critical moment; the aggressors were repelled in a desperate struggle, and the cavalry falling to the other side and taking them in line, completed the defeat. It was more than a great victory: it was over with Alesia, and even the Celtic nation. The Celtic army, completely discouraged,left the battlefield to return to his homes. Vercingetorix might have been able to escape, or have recourse to the last resource of the free man: he did not do it; but declared in the council of war that since he had not succeeded in breaking the foreign domination, he was ready to sacrifice himself and to turn on his head, as much as possible, the ruin of the Celtic nation. This is what he did. The Celtic officers delivered the elected leader of the whole nation to the enemy of the fatherland who was to punish him individually. On horseback and in full armor, the king of Arvernes appeared before the Roman proconsul, and made the tour of the tribunal; then he put back his arms and his horse, and bowed silently at the feet of the conqueror. Five years later he was led to triumph through the streets of the capital, and,declared a traitor to the Roman nation, he was beheaded at the foot of the Capitol at the very moment when his conqueror lit the sacrifice of thanksgiving on the summit. As in rainy days the sun appears at the end of the day, fate wanted to give still great honor to this nation which was disappearing. As Hannibal appeared in the decline of the history of the Phoenicians, Vercingetorix appears at the end of the history of the Celts. Neither one nor the other could deliver his country from the foreign yoke; but they spared him at least the last of the evils, that of perishing shamefully. Vercingetorix, like the Carthaginian, had had to fight not only against the enemy of his homeland, but above all against the anti-national opposition, and the indolence which regularly accompanies a decrepit civilization: which ensures him a place in history,these are not its battles and its sieges, but rather to have been able to give a nation divided and given over to particularism a point of support and a center in its person. And yet one cannot imagine a more striking contrast than that which exists between the obstinate citizen of Carthage following for fifteen years great designs with indomitable energy and the able prince of the Celts, whose great deeds and generous sacrifice are accomplished in the space of an incomplete summer. All antiquity does not present a man more chivalrous in both feelings and exterior. It was the knight, it was not the hero who refused to flee from Alesia, when the nation cared more for him than for hundreds of a thousand ordinary citizens. It was the knight and not the hero who surrendered voluntarily,when this offer could no longer serve any purpose but to publicly dishonor the nation which, with as much cowardice as absurdity, allowed the name of rebellion against its masters to be adorned with the struggle to the death which it sustained for its freedom. How different Hannibal had been in such a situation! It is not possible to judge without a deep historical and human sympathy the noble king of Arvernes; but all is said about the Celtic nation, when it is said that its greatest man was only a knight.It is not possible to judge without a deep historical and human sympathy the noble king of Arvernes; but all is said about the Celtic nation, when it is said that its greatest man was only a knight.It is not possible to judge without a deep historical and human sympathy the noble king of Arvernes; but all is said about the Celtic nation, when it is said that its greatest man was only a knight.

The loss of Vercingetorix was irreparable. The unity of the nation was born with him. We do not see that the insurrection made a new attempt at common defense and appointed another general-in-chief: the league of patriots fell of its own accord, and each state remained free to continue the war on its own account with the Romans or to evade it. Of course, we saw a thirst for rest. But Caesar had better get it over with as soon as possible. Of the ten years of his government, seven had passed, and the last was disputed with him by his political opponents in the capital; he could not count with certainty for more than two summers, and if his interest as well as his honor demanded that he give to his successor the newly acquired lands conquered and pacified,the time was closely measured for him to achieve it. Like the Aedui and Arverni, most of the Gallic cantons resigned themselves to their destiny and without further opposition, they suffered the inevitable punishment without murmuring. The Romans found more resistance among the Bellovaci. But after Corréus was killed in a skirmish with the Roman infantry, the resistance was broken; the victor offered bearable conditions which the Bellovacians accepted as well as their allies. The Treveri were brought back to obedience by Labienus, and at the same time, the territory of the Eburones was once again crossed and ravaged. Thus the last resistance of the Belgian conspiracy was broken. The skilful Drappès and the faithful companion in arms of Vercingetorix, Luctérius,gathered the most resolute of the dispersed Loire army and threw themselves with these debris into the fortified town of Uxellodunum (perhaps Capdenac, not far from Figeac, on the Lot) which they managed to supply after a series of painful and fierce battles. It was only when Caesar appeared in person, and on his order, the sources which gave water to the city were diverted by underground works, that the fortress fell, the last boulevard of the Celtic nation. To recognize the last freedom fighters, Caesar cut off the hands of all the men in the garrison and sent them each back to this state in their homeland.on the Lot) which they managed to supply after a series of painful and fierce battles. It was only when Caesar appeared in person, and on his order, the sources which gave water to the city were diverted by underground works, that the fortress fell, the last boulevard of the Celtic nation. To recognize the last freedom fighters, Caesar had the hand of all the men in the garrison cut off and each returned to this state in their homeland.on the Lot) which they managed to supply after a series of painful and fierce battles. It was only when Caesar appeared in person, and on his order, the sources which gave water to the city were diverted by underground works, that the fortress fell, the last boulevard of the Celtic nation. To recognize the last freedom fighters, Caesar cut off the hands of all the men in the garrison and sent them each back to this state in their homeland.Caesar had all the men in the garrison cut off their hands and sent them back to their homeland.Caesar had all the men in the garrison cut off their hands and sent them back to their homeland.

Gaul was therefore subject to the Romans from the Rhine to the Pyrenees, and after a war that had lasted only eight years. Scarcely a year after the complete pacification of the country, at the beginning of 705 (49) the Roman troops were to retake the Alps as a result of the civil war which had finally broken out in Italy, and it only remained in Celtic only a few divisions of recruits. However, the Celts did not take up arms again against foreign domination and while they fought against Caesar in all the former provinces of the republic, the newly conquered country remained in the submission of its conqueror.

If Caesar had all kinds of consideration for the vanquished nation, and respected its national, political and religious institutions, as far as this respect was compatible with Roman domination, he by no means renounced the fundamental thought of his conquest, Romanization. of Gaul, but above all he wanted to carry it out under the best possible circumstances. He was not satisfied with giving free rein in the North to the order of things which had brought the extension of Roman civilization to the South; but like a true statesman, he followed the natural development, and he was thereby able to shorten the duration of a painful transition.

It took centuries for it to be understood that Alexander not only had conquered an ephemeral kingdom in the East, but had brought Hellenism to Asia. It also took centuries for it to be understood that Caesar not only had conquered a new province for the Romans, but founded Roman civilization in the West. Every day, says a Roman letter of 698 (56), letters and messengers from Gaul tell us the name of some tribe, some canton, some unknown country. This enlargement of the horizon opened up by Caesar's expedition beyond the Alps was an immense historical event, comparable to the discovery of the new world by Christopher Columbus. The peoples of central and northern Europe entered the system of Mediterranean states. This is the work of Caesar,and if the creation of his great predecessor in the East perished in the flood of the Middle Ages, the edifice of Caesar defied the centuries, he changed religion and the State for generations of men, he placed the basis of civilization, and stand for what we call eternity.

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COLLECTIVE GOVERNMENT OF CAESAR AND POMPÉE

Pompey was unquestionably the first general of his time, Caesar was a skilful leader and party orator of undeniable talent; but until then he was considered to have an anti-militaristic and even feminine nature. Pompey ruled the entire Roman Empire, Caesar only two provinces. Pompey could dispose of soldiers and state coffers as he liked, Caesar determined sums and an army of twenty-four thousand men; Pompey could himself fix the moment of his retreat, the command of Caesar had been given to him for a long time, it is true, but nevertheless for a determined time. Finally, Pompey had in hand the largest enterprises on land and at sea; Caesar had been sent north, to watch over the defense of the capital in Upper Italy and ensure that Pompey could command there in peace.

The problem of governing without armed force a city comparable in many ways to nineteenth-century Paris was incredibly difficult, but for this stiff and pompous soldier it was an impossible solution.

After Caesar left, the coalition ruled world affairs, but not the streets of the capital. The Senate itself, which had only nominal power, let things go adrift in the capital. We lived in the interregnum between the past aristocratic government and the future military government. It is a singular coincidence that at the time when Caesar was doing a work beyond the Alps for eternity, the most grotesque political farce that has ever appeared on the stage of history was represented in Rome. The part of the population which still had freedom and order at heart was condemned to complete passivity. On the contrary, the rabble had never known better days, nor more beautiful theaters. If of the two potentates, one Pompey, had completely failed in the field of activity open to him,Caesar, within the limits of his competence, had accomplished things which placed him above all pursuit as well as all fear. The one who had been despised as an effeminate man was now the idol of the army, the triumphant hero, all his young laurels eclipsed the withered laurels of Pompey, and the Senate granted him the honors all the more willingly happy campaign had always deserved, that Pompey was to share them.and the Senate granted him all the more willingly the honors which a happy campaign had always deserved, as Pompey was to share them.and the Senate granted him all the more willingly the honors which a happy campaign had always deserved, as Pompey was to share them.

The change in Caesar's situation with regard to Pompey was a very serious danger; as formerly Caesar and his allies had sought military support against him, he had to seek one against Caesar, and he found himself obliged to put aside his proud indifference to public functions, and to run for an extraordinary magistracy which would put him in a state of finding himself opposite the governor of the two Gauls in an equal and, if possible, superior position.

In the fall of 697 (57), Pompey came to the Senate with a proposal for extraordinary functions. Pompey's plan was to have the Senate entrusted with the superintendence of supplies of wheat throughout the Empire, and jointly the complete disposition of the revenues of the State, the army and the fleet, thus that a command which would extend not only over the entire Roman Empire, but before which the governors should bow in every province. The Senate complacently accepted it in principle, on Cicero's proposal, but Pompey obtained neither the free disposal of public revenues, nor the legions and vessels, nor the primacy over the provincial governors; they contented themselves with voting considerable sums for the organization of the defense of the capital.He had missed his particular goal; the proconsular title, which he was authorized to wear in the provinces, was an empty name if he could not count on an army of his own.

In April 698, the consular Cicero proposed in full senate to put the discussion on the division of Campanian lands on the agenda for May 15. It was a formal declaration of war on Caesar. Obviously, the aristocracy believed the moment had arrived to begin the war not with Pompey against Caesar, but against tyranny. It was easy to see what was to come. Domitius made no secret that as soon as he was consul, he would ask the citizens to recall Caesar from Gaul… Caesar acted quickly, he was ready; the aristocracy had not seen fit to wait, before breaking, until he had crossed the Alps again. At the beginning of April 698, Crassus left the capital to confer with his more powerful colleague on what to do: he found Caesar in Ravenna.From there they both went to Lucca and Pompey met them there. Caesar had taken care, in order to give a new basis to the new collective domination, to make a more equal sharing of power and to found it solidly. The most important military governments that there was after the two Gauls were divided between his two colleagues: Pompey had the two Spains, Crassus Syria, commands which were assured to them for five years (700-704) by decree of the people. Caesar, on the contrary, needed the extension of his command, which was to end around the year 700 (54), until the end of the year 705 (49) and he had to bring his legions to the number of ten, and make the troops he had raised for his own account pay into the state treasury. The main question was thus cleared.to give a new basis to the new collective domination, to make a more equal sharing of power and to establish it solidly. The most important military governments that there was after the two Gauls were divided between his two colleagues: Pompey had the two Spains, Crassus Syria, commands which were assured to them for five years (700-704) by decree of the people. Caesar, on the contrary, needed the extension of his command, which was to end around the year 700 (54), until the end of the year 705 (49) and he had to bring his legions to the number of ten, and make the troops he had raised for his own account pay into the state treasury. The main question was thus cleared.to give a new basis to the new collective domination, to make a more equal sharing of power and to establish it solidly. The most important military governments that there was after the two Gauls were divided between his two colleagues: Pompey had the two Spains, Crassus Syria, commands which were assured to them for five years (700-704) by decree of the people. Caesar, on the contrary, needed the extension of his command, which was to end around the year 700 (54), until the end of the year 705 (49) and he had to bring his legions to the number of ten, and make the troops he had raised for his own account pay into the state treasury. The main question was thus cleared.to make a more equal sharing of power and to establish it firmly. The most important military governments that there was after the two Gauls were divided between his two colleagues: Pompey had the two Spains, Crassus Syria, commands which were assured to them for five years (700-704) by decree of the people. Caesar, on the contrary, needed the extension of his command, which was to end around the year 700 (54), until the end of the year 705 (49) and he had to bring his legions to the number of ten, and make the troops he had raised for his own account pay into the state treasury. The main question was thus cleared.to make a more equal sharing of power and to establish it firmly. The most important military governments that there was after the two Gauls were divided between his two colleagues: Pompey had the two Spains, Crassus Syria, commands which were assured to them for five years (700-704) by decree of the people. Caesar, on the contrary, needed the extension of his command, which was to end around the year 700 (54), until the end of the year 705 (49) and he had to bring his legions to the number of ten, and make the troops he had raised for his own account pay into the state treasury. The main question was thus cleared.commandments which were assured to them for five years (700-704) by decree of the people. Caesar, on the contrary, needed the extension of his command, which was to end around the year 700 (54), until the end of the year 705 (49) and he had to bring his legions to the number of ten, and make the troops he had raised for his own account pay into the state treasury. The main question was thus cleared.commandments which were assured to them for five years (700-704) by decree of the people. Caesar, on the contrary, needed the extension of his command, which was to end around the year 700 (54), until the end of the year 705 (49) and he had to bring his legions to the number of ten, and make the troops he had raised for his own account pay into the state treasury. The main question was thus cleared.

The most decisive reason for this conciliatory attitude was the thought of war. Caesar considered, unlike his biographers, the submission of Gaul, not as an occasional enterprise, useful to assure him the crown, but as necessary for the safety and the reorganization of the empire, in a word like the future of the motherland. In order to be able to accomplish this conquest without obstacle, and to be able to take in hand the direction of events in Italy, he needed supremacy over his rival, and at the same time Pompey had to have sufficient strength to overcome the Senate and of its members.

The simple news of the Lucca conferences is enough to destroy any thought of a serious opposition, to bring back to their duty of obedience, abandoned in a day of misfortune, the mass of hesitant people, that is to say the great majority. of the Senate. Above all, all military and internal affairs were decided without the advice of the Senate, sometimes by decree of the people, sometimes at the pleasure of the masters. The provisions adopted in Lucca on the military command of Gaul were directly presented to the consent of the people, by Crassus and Pompey: that which concerned Spain and Syria by the tribune of the people Caius Trebonius, and the most important governments were henceforth given usually by decree of the people.

The discouraged Senate had, willy-nilly, to resign itself to its situation. Marcus Cicero remained the leader of the obedient majority. His talent as a lawyer made him useful in finding reasons in all circumstances and it was a true Caesarean irony to take as the speaker of servilism the same man the aristocracy had used to demonstrate against the dictators. He was forgiven for this reason his ephemeral attempt to kick against the sting, but not without first making sure, in any case, of his submission. His brother must have almost answered for him as a hostage by serving as an officer in the army of Gaul, and Pompey himself had forced him to accept under his orders a command which allowed him to be exiled honorably at any time. Clodius had been ordered to let him rest,but Caesar abandoned Clodius less in favor of Cicero than Cicero in favor of Clodius, and the great savior of the fatherland and the no less great liberal there was, at the headquarters of Samarobriva, a competition for an antechamber, which would have provided spicy scenes. to a Roman Aristophanes. But not only was this rod which had so sadly struck him, suspended over Cicero's head, he was also given golden chains. Amid his seriously embarrassed finances, Caesar's interest-free loans and the collective administration of the incredible sums spent on buildings were very well received by him, and more than one immortal speech from the Senate was addressed in thought to the man. business of Caesar, who, after the close of the sitting, could present him with a bill of exchange.So he boasted of no longer consulting law and honor, but striving to earn the favor of dictators and to have become flexible as the tip of the ear. He was employed where he could render services as a lawyer - as such he often had to defend by higher order, his most deadly enemies -. Above all in the senate where he regularly served as an organ for the dynasts, and made the proposals "for which the others voted, but not him"; as the recognized leader of the obedient majority, he still had a certain political importance. As with Cicero, fear, flattery and money were used for the other members of the Senate, which made it possible to ensure their obedience.He was employed where he could render services as a lawyer - as such he often had to defend by higher order, his most deadly enemies -. Above all in the senate where he regularly served as an organ for the dynasts, and made the proposals "for which the others voted, but not him"; as the recognized leader of the obedient majority, he still had a certain political importance. As with Cicero, fear, flattery and money were used for the other members of the Senate, which made it possible to ensure their obedience.He was employed where he could render services as a lawyer - as such he often had to defend by higher order, his most deadly enemies -. Above all in the senate where he regularly served as an organ for the dynasts, and made the proposals "for which the others voted, but not him"; as the recognized leader of the obedient majority, he still had a certain political importance. As with Cicero, fear, flattery and money were used for the other members of the Senate, which made it possible to ensure their obedience.but not him ”; as the recognized leader of the obedient majority, he still had a certain political importance. As with Cicero, fear, flattery and money were used for the other members of the Senate, which made it possible to ensure their obedience.but not him ”; as the recognized leader of the obedient majority, he still had a certain political importance. As with Cicero, fear, flattery and money were used for the other members of the Senate, which made it possible to ensure their obedience.

Cicero, however baseness he might have been in the face of dictators, published against Caesar's father-in-law, Pison, a pamphlet as malicious as it was inappropriate. But the tendencies of opposition of the majority of the senate as well as the unsuccessful resistance of the minority proved all the more clearly that the government, after having once passed from citizens to the senate, has now passed from the senate to the dictators, and that the senate was no more than a council of state necessary to absorb the monarchical elements. “No one,” said supporters of the fallen regime, “can do anything apart from the three; the masters are all-powerful and take care that we are not mistaken: the whole state is transformed, it obeys their orders; our generation will see a complete revolution. We were no longer in a republic, but in a monarchy.

However, in the electoral field and that of the courts, it was the dictators who had the worst. The potentates clashed here, particularly for the elections, against the obstinate force of a tight oligarchy and grouped in coterie, which we had not got rid of by wresting the government, and which was all the more difficult to break because 'she was fighting from cover. In addition, for the juries tribunals, they came up against the malevolence of the middle classes against the new monarchical regime which they were also unable to prevent, despite all the embarrassments which resulted from it.

As much as he could, Caesar more than once sought to personally win over the most distinguished writers. Already Cicero owed to his literary reputation the benevolent treatment he had received from Caesar. The governor of Gaul also did not disdain to make peace in particular with Catullus through the latter's father, whom he had known personally in Verona, and the young poet, who had pursued the powerful general with sarcasm. the most bitter and the most personal, was treated by him with the most flattering distinction. Caesar had enough genius to follow his literary adversaries on their own ground, and to publish, to indirectly deflect attacks of various kinds,an overall account of the Gallic War which exposed with happy and skillful naivety to the public the necessity and constitutionality of its military acts. But the serious elements of literature were and remained anti-monarchical.

It happened then that Achilles and Hector met by chance at the gates of the city on the Appian way and that the two bands came to the hands: Clodius received a cut of saber in the shoulder and was obliged to flee in a neighboring house. Milo ordered his people to pursue Clodius in his refuge and to massacre him there, January 13, 702 (52). The riot moved to Milo's house and kept him there besieged until the latter's bands dispersed the besiegers with arrows.

Pompey gathered troops to put an end to the anarchy which reigned in the capital and which, in fact, had become unbearable to everyone: he ordered what he had requested thus far, and the Senate gave in. It was a very visible loophole by which, on the proposal of Cato and Bibulus, the proconsul Pompey, on leaving his office, was appointed, instead of dictator, consul without a colleague.

When, a short time later, Pompey suffered a serious illness, his recovery was celebrated throughout Italy with the obligatory demonstrations of joy, such as is customary in such circumstances in monarchies. The dictators were happy. The I st August 702 (52) Pompey deposed dictatorship and shared the consulship with his client Metellus Scipio.

DEATH OF CRASSUS - BREAKING OF THE TRIUMVIRATE

Crassus had, for many years, counted among these heads of the "monster with three heads" but without really being part of it. It served the actual dictatorship of Caesar and Pompey as a counterweight, or, to speak more accurately, it restored the balance in favor of Caesar against Pompey. But the Lucca conference changed the situation for him. To counterbalance the importance of Pompey, Caesar gave his old friend Crassus the opportunity to go to Syria, through the Parthian war, what he himself had done in Gaul through the Celtic war. Full of ardent passion, he seemed to want to buy every minute to make up for lost time, get his hands on the treasures of the Orient, and pursue glory and military power with Caesar's speed and ease of Pompey.

The military operations of the first summer were limited to a sort of reconnaissance in Mesopotamia: the Euphrates was crossed, and the Parthian satrap was beaten at Ichnes; the neighboring towns, and among them the brilliant Nicephorium, were occupied.

The Roman army, strong of seven Legions, 4000 horsemen and 4000 slingers and archers, left the Euphrates and marched through the inhospitable plains of northern Mesopotamia. Finally, after a painful march of several days, the first enemy horsemen presented themselves not far from the first river that the Romans had to cross, the Balissos (Belik). The signal for departure was given, the Balissos was crossed, the army, after half a day of insufficient rest, marched into battle without delay. The drums of the Parthians were then heard all along the line; on all sides one saw their silk standards embroidered with gold, their iron helmets and their steel breastplates shining in the March sun, and beside the vizier was Abgaros with his Bedouins.

Its army consisted exclusively of cavalry: the line was formed by the heavy cavalry, armed with long spears, and men and horses were clad in iron or leather, and other defenses: the mass of the troops consisted of archers on horseback. The Romans had in this respect a complete inferiority, as much for the number as for the address. Their line infantry, so powerful in close quarters combat, either at close range with the javelin or closer with the knife, could not force an army exclusively composed of cavalry to compete with it. While the heavily loaded Roman infantryman had difficulty walking in the sand, and was dying of hunger and thirst on an unmarked road, where only rare springs were to be found, and very distant from each other, the horseman Parthian galloped,accustomed from childhood to be and even to live on his horse, to endure and brave the need in the desert whose sterility he knew.

It was in the midst of these circumstances that the battle began six miles south of Carrhes, where there was a Roman garrison, and in a northerly direction, a little closer to Ichnes, in the middle of the desert. The legions, marching to the enemy in deep squares of ten front cohorts, were soon enveloped and blinded by the features of the enemy, which was sure to strike. Not to be completely surrounded, Publius Crassus took the offensive with an elite corps made up of cavalry, archers and line infantry. In fact, the enemy stopped attacking it in a circle and fell back. But, the big cavalry made a front against him and he was surrounded on all sides by the enemy hordes, which rushed in crowds. Night alone could put an end to the massacre.

We headed for the mountains of Armenia; walking at night and resting during the day, we arrived, with a body of 5,000 men, at the fortress of Sinnaka. There, the vizier presented himself on horseback in front of the Roman camp to offer peace and friendship to the Romans in the name of his master. A richly decorated parchment was immediately brought: it was a present from the king to the general-in-chief; the vizier's servants crowded around Crassus, as if to invite him to mount a horse. It seemed to the Roman officers that they wanted to seize the person of the general-in-chief; Octavius, though unarmed, snatched his weapon from one of the Parthians and struck the man holding the horse. In the ensuing uproar, all the officers were killed; the old general wanted, like his great-uncle, not to serve as a living trophy for the enemy: he sought and found death.The leaderless multitude who had remained in the camp were partly taken and partly dispersed. What Carrhes' day had begun, Sinnaka's day ended, June 9, 701 (53); both took their place with the nefarious dates of the Allia, Cannes and Arausia. The army of the Euphrates no longer existed.

This was since the time of the Achaemenids the first serious triumph that the East had won over the West, and there was a deep meaning in the circumstance. The Roman city and the genius of Greece began to link up with the Sultan.

The catastrophe, frightful in itself, seemed destined to be even more so by its consequences. Syria was invaded by the Parthians and all of Upper Asia trembled. But the Parthians did not know how to besiege cities. Not only did they not succeed in taking Antioch, where Cassius had thrown himself with his troops, but on their return to the Orontes, they were surprised by Cassius' cavalry and badly treated by the Roman infantry. This was the end of the Parthian invasion of Asia Minor, and the border of the Euphrates was, at least for some time, respected.

In Rome, the volcano of the revolution continued to raise clouds of smoke. They no longer thought of sending a soldier or a shield against the enemy of the country: they no longer had a thought for the destiny of the people. It is one of the saddest signs of the times, which the incredible disaster of Carrhes and Sinnaka gave much less to the politicians of the time to think about than the tumult of the Appian way, in which, two months after Crassus, perished Clodius. . Pompey's intention to break with Caesar was probably as old in its germ as the alliance of dictators itself; but Pompey's concealed nature had let her mature until then. The death of the beautiful Julia, who perished in the prime of her life, in the fall of 700 (54), and whom her only son soon followed to the tomb,had to put an end to the personal agreement between her father and her husband. It was Pompey who broke the first. Caesar sought to renew the bond broken by destiny; he asked for the hand of Pompey's only daughter on his own account, and offered her that of his closest relative, his sister's granddaughter, Octavia; but Pompey made his daughter marry his former fiancé Faustus Sylla, son of the dictator, and for his part married the daughter of Quintus Metellus Scipio.and on his part married the daughter of Quintus Metellus Scipio.and on his part married the daughter of Quintus Metellus Scipio.

The catastrophe of June 701, in which the army and the general of Syria were destroyed, was for Caesar a terrible blow. Once again fate had worked for Pompey. Crassus was dead, all of Gaul on fire, Pompey was de facto dictator of Rome and master of the senate.

Thus the republican opposition, which for years had had to content itself with the role of spectator, and had hardly dared to breathe, found itself, by the breaking of the dictators, brought onto the scene. This was the circle which recognized Cato as its leader, those republicans who were ready to wage, in any case, and now more than ever, a battle for the republic. There was therefore only one possibility for Cato's party to restore the old regime, and that was to enter into an alliance with the less dangerous of the two dictators. Since Pompey declared himself for the republican constitution and offered to defend it against Caesar, the republican opposition could and should recognize in him its general.

It was not Caesar's view to break with Pompey at this time. He therefore sought to maintain the situation, and consequently peace with Pompey, and to arrive at the consulate which had been assured to him in Lucca for 706 (48). He thus gained the time to finish the affairs of Gaul, and left to his colleague the odiousness of the initiative of the rupture and, consequently, of the civil war, which was very important for Caesar, in consideration of the majority of the Senate and the party of material interests, and above all of its own soldiers. The consul Marcus Marcellus proposed to choose, for the year 705, from the 1stMarch, the two consulars intended for governments until then entrusted to Caesar. The long-held storm broke. The Catonians had no intention of giving up their point of view. They considered that the right granted by an emergency law to the proconsul Caesar to apply for the consulate, although absent, (right subsequently abrogated by a decree of the people) was maintained illegally. The Senate was also to decide that the submission of Gaul being completed, the soldiers who had completed their service would be dismissed. The collations of city rights and the foundations of colonies made by Caesar in Upper Italy were considered null and unconstitutional. Those who supported Caesar then argued in the Senate that the situation in Gaul as well as convenience,advised not to recall Caesar prematurely, but to give him command with the consulate.

The proposal of the Caesarians, to give their master the combination of the consulate and the proconsulate, was rejected by Pompey clearly and harshly.

During the diplomatic war preliminaries of his adversaries, Caesar had succeeded in putting an end to the Gallic insurrection, and to reestablish peace in all the territories raised. However, he did not hesitate to make great sacrifices to avoid colliding overtly with government officials.

He declared himself ready to depose, by order of the Senate, government and command, on condition that Pompey would do the same; he could do so in complete safety, for, deprived of his command of Spain and Italy, Pompey was no longer dangerous. Pompey could not refuse to do so. The vote which could not be postponed took place and signaled the defeat of Pompey and Cato across the board. The Senate decided, by 370 votes to 20, that the proconsuls of Gaul and Spain would both be invited to relinquish their command. Pompey was therefore no less recalled than Caesar by the senate, and while Caesar declared himself ready to obey, Pompey refused.

The coalition beaten in the senate was in the most painful situation.

It was said that Caesar, October 704 (50), had brought four legions from later Gaul into city-dwelling Gaul, and established them at Placentia. Curion demonstrated in the Senate the complete absence of any foundation for this noise; but the consul appointed as well as the two elected for 705 (49), and belonging to the party of Cato, went to Pompey, and these three men attempted, on their own sovereign authority, to persuade him to put himself at the head of the two legions stationed at Capua, and to call under arms the Roman militia. One could not imagine a more unconstitutional act of omnipotence to start the civil war; but there was no time to think about these details: Pompey accepted. The preparations for war, the reviews began; to take care of it personally, Pompey left the capital in December 704 (50).

Caesar had, by remaining himself attached to the field of law, obliged Pompey to declare war on him, and to declare it to him not as depositary of the legitimate power, but as general of a minority of the openly revolutionary senate and which terrorized the majority. This was a considerable result. Now that war was declared, it was in Caesar's best interests to strike a decisive blow as soon as possible. Caesar sent Rome an ultimatum which, if it was not good for something else, compromised, at least by his humility, his adversary in public opinion, and while he himself seemed to hesitate, must push him not to rush his preparations. In this ultimatum he disregarded all previous grievances,and declared himself ready to depose the government of Gaul and to dismiss eight legions within the time limits fixed by the senate, and declared himself satisfied, if the senate left him the government of Citerar Gaul and Illyria, with a legion, or that of the city of Gaul, only with two legions, and not even until the entry into office of the consuls, but until the end of the consular elections of 706 (48). Curion set out to defend his master in the lion's den.Curion set out to defend his master in the lion's den.Curion set out to defend his master in the lion's den.

The 1stJanuary 705 (49): Curion delivered the letter addressed by the general to the senate in full session. The serious and clear words, by which Caesar exposed, with the implacable power of truth, the imminence of civil war, the universal desire for peace, Pompey's arrogance and his own condescension, the accommodation proposals whose moderation doubtless surprised his own supporters, the very clear declaration that he was holding out his hand for the last time of reconciliation produced the deepest impression. In spite of the fear caused by the soldiers who had invaded the city, the feeling of the majority was not doubtful: one did not dare to venture to express it. The consuls responded by refusing to allow voting, as their quality of presidents authorized them to do. Pompey declared by his accustomed organ,Quintus Scipio, that he was more resolved than ever to defend the interests of the Senate, and that there would be danger in waiting any longer. Consul Lentulus bluntly announced that he was no longer relying on the decree of the senate, but that if the latter became immobilized in his servility, he would act on his side and come to terms with his powerful friend. Thus terrified, the majority of the senate voted what it was ordered: that Caesar was to hand over the government of later Gaul to Domitius Ahénobarbus on a fixed day and shortly afterwards, and that of Cited Gaul to Marcus Servilius, and to dismiss his army, otherwise he would be declared a high treason.Consul Lentulus bluntly announced that he was no longer relying on the decree of the senate, but that if the senate froze in his servility, he would act on his side and come to terms with his powerful friend. Thus terrified, the majority of the senate voted what it was ordered: that Caesar was to hand over the government of later Gaul to Domitius Ahénobarbus on a fixed day and shortly afterwards, and that of Cited Gaul to Marcus Servilius, and to dismiss his army, otherwise he would be declared a high treason.Consul Lentulus bluntly announced that he was no longer relying on the decree of the senate, but that if the senate froze in his servility, he would act on his side and come to terms with his powerful friend. Thus terrified, the majority of the senate voted what it was ordered: that Caesar was to hand over the government of later Gaul to Domitius Ahénobarbus on a fixed day and shortly afterwards, and that of Cited Gaul to Marcus Servilius, and to dismiss his army, otherwise he would be declared a high treason.that Caesar was to hand over the government of subsequent Gaul to Domitius Ahénobarbus on a fixed day and shortly thereafter, and that of the former Gaul to Marcus Servilius, and to dismiss his army, failing which he would be decreed of high treason.that Caesar was to hand over the government of later Gaul to Domitius Ahenobarbus on a fixed day and shortly afterwards, and that of former Gaul to Marcus Servilius, and to dismiss his army, failing which he would be decreed of high treason.

It was too much. Caesar gathered his soldiers of the Third Legion, who had left their cantonments in Tergeste (Trieste), to go to Ravenna, and explained to them the state of affairs. It was not only the master of hearts and minds whose brilliant word, at this solemn moment of his destiny and of the destiny of the world, burst out in dashes of flame; it was not only the popular and victorious general, who spoke to the soldiers called up by himself and who had followed him for eight years with ever-growing enthusiasm; it was above all the energetic and consistent statesman who for nineteen years had defended the cause of liberty in good and bad fortune, who had braved for it the dagger of the assassins and the executioners of the aristocracy. ,the sword of the Germans and the waves of an unknown ocean, without hesitation and without trembling, which had shattered the constitution of Sylla, overthrew the government of the senate, covered and defended beyond the Alps democracy disarmed by its combats; and he did not speak to this audience of Clodius, whose republican enthusiasm had long since been reduced to ashes and dust, but to the young populations of the towns and villages of Upper Italy, who still enthusiastically welcomed the thought of political liberty. , who were still capable of fighting and dying for the ideal, who had received, in a revolutionary way, from Caesar, the citizenship which was refused to them by the government, who consented to see Caesar overturn the ax and the beams,knowing by certain works what ruthless use the oligarchy wanted to make of it against the Transpadans. In front of such listeners, such an orator exposed the gratitude for the conquest of Gaul, which the nobility preserved to the general and the army; he exposed the suspension of the comitia, the terrorism exercised on the senate, the sacred duty to wrest by armed force from the aristocracy the tribunate of the people, conquered centuries before by their fathers, arms in hand, and to hold the he ancient oath that one took for oneself and for one's nephews, from generation to generation, to die for the maintenance of the tribunate of the people. So when he, leader and general of the popular party, he who, after the failure of his attempts at good, had pushed patience to the limit, called the soldiers of the people to arms,to follow him in this supreme, inevitable and final struggle against an aristocracy hated and despised, as perfidious as it is implacable and ridiculously incorrigible, there was not an officer nor a soldier who wanted to retreat. The march forward was ordered; at the head of his staff Caesar passed the narrow stream which separated his province from Italy and beyond which the constitution commanded the proconsuls of Gaul to stand. By treading again, after nine years of absence, the soil of the fatherland, he trod at the same time the path of the revolution. The die was cast.at the head of his staff Caesar passed the narrow stream which separated his province from Italy and beyond which the constitution commanded the proconsuls of Gaul to stand. By treading again, after nine years of absence, the soil of the fatherland, he trod at the same time the path of the revolution. The die was cast.at the head of his staff Caesar passed the narrow stream which separated his province from Italy and beyond which the constitution commanded the proconsuls of Gaul to stand. By treading again, after nine years of absence, the soil of the fatherland, he trod at the same time the path of the revolution. The die was cast.

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BRUNDISIUM, ILERDA, PHARSALE AND THAPSUS

If Caesar had what he needed: unlimited political power and an unwaveringly strong army, that power only extended over a relatively small area. He dominated above all the province of Upper Italy. This country was not only the best populated in all of Italy, but the most devoted to the democratic cause. In Italy properly so called, on the contrary, Caesar's influence roughly balanced that of his adversary. Although, by a clever maneuver, he had known how to put Cato's party in the wrong, and that he had succeeded in persuading of his rightfulness all those who sought a pretext for becoming neutral with peace, like the majority of the senate, or to take his side, like his soldiers and the Transpadans, the mass of citizens had not allowed themselves to be deceived,and when the commander of Gaul directed his legions over Rome, in spite of all the quarrels of legality, she saw in Cato and Pompey the defenders of the legitimate republic and in Caesar the democratic usurper.

Gaul transalpine to the Rhine and to the Canal obeyed him, and the colonists of Narbonne as well as the Roman citizens who were established there, were devoted to him; but even in the province of Narbonne the party of the constitution had many supporters, and the newly conquered provinces were, in the impending civil war, rather a burden than an advantage; for he could not, for good reasons, make any use of the Celtic infantry, and still less of the cavalry.

If Caesar began the struggle as a simple governor of Gaul, with no other essential resource than skillful lieutenants, a loyal army and a devoted province, Pompey began it as effective head of the Roman republic, and in full possession of the available resources of the regular government. of the great Roman Empire.

The coalition dominated exclusively the sea: all the ports, all the warships, all the equipment of the fleets were at its disposal. The two Spains, which were to Pompey what the Gauls were to Caesar, were devoted to their master and in the hands of skilful and faithful governors. In the other provinces, naturally with the exception of the two Gauls, the positions of governors and commanders were, under the influence of Pompey and the minority of the senate, occupied by reliable men. The client states had taken Pompey's side against Caesar with great resolution.

As far as Italy was concerned, the great majority of the citizens were, as we have said, against Caesar: first of all, naturally, the whole aristocracy with its immense clientele, and, more or less to the same degree, the high finance, which could hardly hope to preserve, in a serious reform of the republic, its juries' tribunals and its monopoly of pressure on the provinces. The same undemocratic sentiments were found among the small capitalists, the rural landowners, and, in general, all those who had something to lose.

The army on which Pompey relied consisted mainly of Spanish troops, seven legions accustomed to war, and on which one could entirely count, and to which were joined the divisions of troops, it is true weak and dispersed in Syria, in Asia. , Macedonia, Africa and Sicily. In Italy there were only the two legions surrendered by Caesar, whose strength did not amount to more than 7,000 men, and whose fidelity was more than doubtful. But, besides the fact that the Spanish troops could arrive in Italy in the spring, either by Gaul or by sea, one could find in Italy the contingent of the three legions raised in 699 (55), and the italic levy of 702 (52). , who was only on leave. Including this reserve, the number of soldiers available to Pompey,without the seven legions of Spain and those which were dispersed in the other provinces, amounted, in Italy alone, to ten legions or nearly 60,000 men, so that it was not exaggerated to claim, as he did so, that it was enough for him to strike the ground with his foot to bring out legions.

Under these circumstances, war broke out at the beginning of January 705 (49). It was, for Caesar, it seemed, madness, with an army strong like that of Catiline and without effective reserve, to take the offensive against a superior army and which grew bigger every day; but it was a madness like Hannibal's. But perhaps Pompey, accustomed to operating slowly or surely with superior forces, would allow himself to be sidetracked by a completely improvised attack. Caesar therefore entered Italy.

Two carriageways then led from Romagna to the south: the Emilia Cassia route, which went from Bononia via the Apennines to Arrétium and Rome, and the Popilia Flaminia route, which went from Ravenna to Fanum via the Adriatic coast. Marcus Antonius won Arretium by the first, Caesar himself took the second. They found no resistance anywhere.

The consternation of his adversaries was prodigious. Pompey learned in Rome the news of Caesar's march; at first he seemed to want to defend the city; but when the news of Caesar's entry into the Picenum and of his first successes in that region arrived, he gave it up and ordered the evacuation. A panicked terror, heightened by the false news that Caesar's horsemen had already shown themselves at the gates of the city, seized the upper classes. The senators, who had been told that any man who remained in the city would be treated as an accomplice of the rebel Caesar, rushed out. The consuls themselves had lost their minds so much that they did not know how to secure the public coffers. Soon new offers of accommodation were received from Caesar: he offered to disband his army,to deliver the provinces to the designated successors, and to present themselves regularly to the consulate, provided that Pompey went to Spain and that they disarmed in Italy. The answer was that if Caesar himself returned to his province, they would undertake to disarm in Italy and obtain from the Senate a proposal which would send Pompey back to Spain. If it wasn't a mere hoax, it must have been an acceptance of the proposal, but it was in fact rejection. The interview Caesar desired with Pompey was refused by the latter. As to the direction of operations, it was decided at Teanum that Pompey would take command of the troops stationed at Luceria, and on which, in spite of the suspicions which one had of their fidelity, all hopes were based. But the land was already lost,when we saw arrive there the officer charged by Pompey to organize the defense, Lucius Vibullius Rufus, who was not a distinguished senator, but an experienced soldier: he had to content himself with removing from the incapable officers of the militia the six to seven thousand recruits who had been rescued and then taken to the nearest quarter in Corfinium.

But the commander of Corfinium was Caesar's designated successor, Lucius Domitius, one of the most narrow-minded stubbornness of the Roman aristocracy: and the latter not only refused to follow Pompey's orders, but he prevented Vibullius from marching towards it. Apulia with the Picénum contingent. He was so convinced that Pompey was only procrastinating out of stubbornness and had to come to his aid that he did not seriously prepare for a siege. Instead of Pompey, it was Caesar who arrived (February 14). Domitius decamped the following night with the senior officers. Then all the garrison seized the staff, and surrendered entirely with it to Caesar (February 20).

Pompey had considered Italy as lost as soon as Caesar entered the Picenum: he only wanted to postpone the embarkation as much as he could, to save what he could from the militias. He had finally set out to reach Brundisium, the nearest port. There were the two legions of Luceria, and what Pompey had been able to hastily collect recruits from the depopulated Apulia, as well as the contingents that the consuls and other delegates had been able to lead to Brundisium: there also went in great number the political refugees, and among them the first senators with their families. The embarkation began; but the prepared vessels were not sufficient to transport at one time a mass of men which already amounted to 25,000 heads. So there was nothing left but to divide the army.

The larger half set sail (March 4). With the rest of the army, of around 10,000 men, Pompey awaited the return of the fleet in Brundisium. Meanwhile Caesar, arriving in front of the city, sought above all to close the gully of the port by dikes and floating bridges, to prevent the re-entry of the fleet on its return; but Pompey had the transports which were in the port armed, and knew how to prevent the entrance to the port from being closed until the moment when the fleet appeared, and when the rest of the army, in spite of the close surveillance the besiegers and the hostile dispositions of the inhabitants of the city, succeeded in coming out of it until the last man, and arrived in Greece without having been reached by Caesar.

In a campaign of two months, without a single serious fight, Caesar had dispersed an army of ten legions, to the point that barely half had been able to escape by fleeing across the sea, and all of Italy with the capital and state coffers, and all provisions were in the power of Caesar. It was not without reason that the vanquished party moaned over the marvelous speed, foresight and energy "of the monster."

However, the main sources of income, that is to say the taxes of the East, were still in the hands of the enemy, and the growing needs of the army, as well as the new need to take care of the Roman population, demanded resources for which these enormous sums were so insufficient, that Caesar was soon obliged to appeal to the private credit.

The concern that the impending anarchy caused the wealthy classes was universal. Friends and enemies alike saw in a second Catiline: Pompey, it was believed, affected to believe that Caesar had only been driven into civil war by the impossibility of paying his debts.

However, this time again, "the monster" deceived the expectations of his enemies as well as that of his friends. In the midst of the greatest financial distress, the immense possessions of adversaries present or absent were not touched. Caesar preferred to borrow from his friends rather than to irritate the populations against him by the exercise of the right, legitimate it is true, but fallen into disuse, to levy the land tax. He hoped for the duration of his success, as he himself said, only through an unconditional forgiveness granted to the vanquished, and throughout the march from Ravenna to Brundisium, he constantly renewed his proposals for a personal interview with Pompey, and reasonable accommodation.

The plans for revenge of the vanquished contrasted with the moderation of the victor.

The outburst of impotence and the moderation of force produced their effects. The masses, who put material interests ahead of political ones, threw themselves into Caesar's arms. The provincial towns praised the fairness, moderation, and skill of the conqueror, and the very enemies were obliged to admit that these praises were deserved. The vast majority of the senate, at least in numerical terms (for the most illustrious and influential senators were no longer part of it), had, despite the orders of Pompey and the consuls, remained in Italy and even partly in the capital, and put up with the new government.

But for the moment, this gentleness was more dangerous for Caesar than the renewal of the follies of Cinna and Catilina would have been: it made enemies of her friends, and did not reconcile her enemies. The Catilinian clique which surrounded Caesar murmured to see the murder and the plunder postponed. One might expect from these disparaged, corrupt and sometimes talented friends a formidable opposition.

When Caesar spoke in the Senate of a dictatorship for the continuation of the war, one of the two consulars present, Servius Sulpicius Rufus, an honored man, who only asked to die quietly in his bed, said that Caesar would deserve to be homeland if he wanted to give up carrying war on Greece and Spain. When Caesar asked the Senate to at least serve as an intermediary for proposals for peace to Pompey, it was not opposed in principle, but the threats of the emigres against the neutrals had so frightened them that no one wanted to take charge of the peaceful embassy. Caesar also came up against the reluctance of the aristocracy to help raise a throne, and against the weakness of the senate which had already paralyzed before Caesar the appointment of Pompey to the chief command of the civil war.Caesar declared to the senate, as he had done previously with the party of the constitution, that he would have liked to reorganize the State by legal means and with the help of the supreme body of the State; but as long as this competition was refused him he could do without it.

Without worrying more about the senate and political formalities, he gave the government of Rome to the praetor Marcus Æmilius Lépidus, as prefect of the city, and he occupied himself with the government of the countries which were subject to him, and the continuation of the war.

Caesar hastened to open the country. He had the choice of directing his arms either against the army which was organized in Greece under the very orders of Pompey, or against the seasoned army of Spain, commanded by his able lieutenants. He had decided on the latter plan, and as soon as the Italian campaign was over he had taken steps to assemble his best nine legions and 6,000 cavalry on the Lower Rhone.

Caesar himself went to Gaul, and, held back by the conduct of the siege of Marseilles, he sent most of the troops assembled on the Rhone, six legions and the cavalry, on the main road which led by Narbo (Narbonne) in Rhode (Rosas), to prevent the enemy in the Pyrenees. He succeeds; when Afranius and Petreius arrived at the passages, they found them occupied by the Caesareans, and, after having lost the line of the Pyrenees, they took position between these mountains and the Ebro, at Ilerda (Lerida).

After many alternatives, the struggle turned to the disadvantage of the Pompeians who capitulated.

Caesar guarantees to officers and soldiers not only life, liberty, and possession of what was left or what was taken from them; he only laid down their arms and sent the prisoners back to their homeland.

The former Spain fell of itself into the hands of the conqueror by the dissolution of this army.

When Caesar, returning from the submission of Spain, arrived in front of Marseilles, he found the city at its very end because of enemy attack, famine and contagion, and willing, this time seriously, to surrender to any condition. Domitius alone, fearing the resentment of the conqueror, boarded a ship and passed through the Roman fleet, to seek out his ruthless hatred for a third battlefield. Caesar's soldiers had sworn to slay the entire maritime population of this city to the sword, and impatiently awaited the signal for plunder from their leader. But Caesar, thinking of his great enterprise to found Hellenic-Italian civilization in the West, did not allow himself to be compelled to renew the destruction of Corinth. Massilia had to deliver his fleet and his arsenals to the victor,and lost part of its territory and its privileges; but it kept its freedom and its nationality, and remained, although materially well fallen, an intellectual power for the Hellenic culture in this Celtic country, called from now on to new destinies.

The Pompeians intended to starve Italy. It was absolutely necessary for Caesar to thwart the enemy's plan and to take away the wheat provinces. Quintus Valérius was sent with a legion to Sardinia, and forced the Pompeian government to evacuate the island.

Sicily was occupied by Curion without a fight. Gurion left half of his troops to protect this island so precious to the capital, and embarked for Africa with the others, composed of two legions and 500 horsemen.

Fortunately Curion made his landing in Africa between Adrumète, where an entire legion was near the warships, and Utica before which the second legion was under Varus. Enthused by the fiery harangue of their young general, Curion's cavalry put that of the enemy to flight, and slashed the light infantry before the front of the two armies, which had marched with the cavalry. Emboldened by the success and by the personal example of Curion, the legions crossed the deep valley which separated the two armies, to attack the Pompeians who, not expecting it, fled to their camp, which they raised during the night. The victory was so complete that Curion went to lay siege to Utique. Curion, to whom his ardent nature hardly allowed rest,marched forward to give battle to Saburra, before the latter had made its junction with the garrison of Utica.

His cavalry, which had gone forward in the evening, managed to surprise Saburra's body on the Bagradas during the night, and mistreated it. But, Saburra was not, as was believed, without a rearguard; and he was not much more than a mile from Juba's army. Already the elite of the Roman infantry and 2,000 Gallic and Spanish horsemen had arrived on the battlefield to rescue Saburra, and the king himself was marching with the main body of the army and sixteen elephants. After the night march and a lively fight, the Roman horsemen were scarcely more than two hundred, and, like the infantry, they were exhausted by the marches and the struggle: in the wide plain where they sided. 'were left enveloped, they were absolutely locked up by the ever-increasing enemy masses.It was in vain that Curion tried to charge en masse.

His soldiers were driven back and dispersed by the enemy cavalry. Everything was lost. The infantry was annihilated until the last man. Of the cavalry, barely a few men escaped. Curion could have been one of them; but he could not bear the idea of ​​reappearing before his master without the army entrusted to him, and he perished with sword in hand. The corps which was in the camp in front of Utica, and the fleet which guarded it, and which could so easily have sailed for Sicily, went to Varus under the impression of this appalling catastrophe, the following day, August or September 705 (49).

Thus ended the Sicilian-African expedition organized by Caesar. It achieved its goal, in the sense that, by the occupation of Sicily, joined to that of Sardinia, the most pressing needs of the capital were met; the failure experienced in Africa, an advantage of which the victorious party reaped no fruit, and the loss of two insecure legions, were soon forgotten. But an invaluable loss for Caesar and for Rome was the death of Curion.

The success of Pompey's fleet in Illyria, though quite significant in itself, had little influence on the campaign as a whole.

Caesar's double offensive against Spain, on the one hand, and against Sicily and Africa on the other, had succeeded in Spain completely, and only partially elsewhere; on the contrary, Pompey's plan to starve Italy by the occupation of Sicily had failed in part and that which rested on the annihilation of the army of Spain completely: in Italy, the measures of defense of Caesar had hardly been used. Despite the serious disasters in Africa and Illyria, Caesar obviously emerged completely victorious from this first campaign.

The great place of arms of Caesar's adversary was Macedonia. It was there that Pompey and the mass of the emigres of Brundisium went, there that the other fugitives from the West went: Marcus Cato from Sicily, Lucius Domitius from Massilia, and in particular from Spain a multitude of the best officers and soldiers of the dissolved army and at their head their generals Afranius and Varro.

The conduct of war operations in the Macedonian camp was in the hands of General-in-Chief Pompey. The difficult and painful position of the latter had worsened still further following the unfortunate events of 705. In the eyes of his supporters, the fault lay mainly with him. It was the confidence in the military talents of Pompey that had decided the party of the constitution to break with Caesar; the disastrous consequences of this rupture fell today on Pompey, and if, owing to the notorious incapacity of all the other leaders, one could not make an attempt to change the superior command, the confidence in the general in chief does not was no less paralyzed. To these consequences of the defeat was added the unfortunate influence of emigration.

The aristocratic generals had transferred the customs of the capital to the camp, and it was not for the greater good of the army; the tents of these great people were elegant cradles, the ground was covered with fresh grass and the walls were covered with ivy: on the table was spread silverware and the cups shone there. These elegant warriors made a singular contrast with the companions of Caesar, whose coarse bread terrified these delicate ones, and who, for lack of this same bread, ate roots and swore to chew leaves rather than let go before the enemy. Pompey, however, fulfilled with admirable zeal the mission entrusted to him to organize large but dispersed military forces.

The nucleus was the troops brought from Italy, of which one had been able to form five legions by joining there the prisoners of Illyria and the Romans domiciled in Greece. Three others came from the East: two formed by the remnants of Crassus' army, and another formed by the two weak corps stationed in Cilicia. In addition, a new legion had been formed with the discharged soldiers established in Crete and Macedonia, and two with the Romans of Asia Minor. In addition, we had 2,000 volunteers, remnants of the armies of Spain and other corps.

The cavalry, on the contrary, besides a bodyguard made up of the young nobility of Rome and more brilliant than solid, and the mounted pastors of Apulia that Pompey had recruited, was formed from the contingent of subjects and clients of Rome. To them were joined the excellent Parthian horsemen.

Pompey's fleet was also considerable. It was formed, in part, of transport vessels brought from Brundisium or built since, in part of warships of the king of Egypt, the princes of Colchis, the Cilician dynasts Tarkondimotos, the cities of Tire, Rhodes, and Athens, Corcyra, and especially the maritime cities of Asia and Greece, and had around 500 sails. In corn and in material of war, there was in Dyrrachium considerable supplies. The war fund was full, given that the Pompeians had in their possession the main sources of state revenue, and used the revenue of client princes, those of senators, those of tax farmers, and especially of those of all the Roman and non-Roman population that they could reach.

In the intention of the general-in-chief, the fleet was to be, before the winter of 705-6 (49-8), assembled on the coasts and in the waters of Epirus. Admiral Bibulus had already arrived with 110 sails in the headquarters. On the contrary, the Army, whose headquarters had been in Berrhoea on the Haliakmon during the summer, was behind schedule.

Thus Caesar still had the possibility, despite the war in Spain which had broken out in the intervening period, of taking the offensive in Macedonia, and he did not hesitate to do so. For a long time he had ordered the reunion of the transport and war vessels at Brundisium, and after the capitulation of the army of Spain and the fall of Massilia, he had directed towards this place the nucleus of the troops which had been employed there. But the lack of vessels still threatened to derail this expedition. He found at Brundisium only twelve warships and barely enough transport ships to pass a third of his army of twelve legions and 10,000 cavalry at one time.

On January 4, 706, Caesar with ten legions weakened by forced marches and by disease, and 600 cavalry, set sail from Brundisium for the coasts of Epirus. It was a repeat of the bold expedition to Brittany. However, the beginning was happy, and the first transport landed without obstacle. As the ships returned to take a second, Caesar passed the Acroceraun mountains that same evening. Nowhere did the Epirot militia defend themselves.

But the rest of the campaign did not respond to this brilliant start. Bibulus repaired a little the negligence of which he had been guilty by redoubling his efforts. Not only did he capture more than thirty of the transports returning to Italy, and burn them with all the men they carried, but he also established, along the entire district of the coast occupied by Caesar, from the island of Sason (Saseno) to the ports of Corcyra, an active cruise. It was not possible for Caesar's officers to get the second part of the army through. He himself was no better off taking Dyrrachium. Pompey learned, from one of Caesar's messengers of peace, his preparations for the journey to the coast of Epirus, and, consequently accelerating his march, he threw himself in time into this important arsenal. Caesar's situation was critical. With his army,strong about 20,000 men, he could not offer the battle to that of Pompey, who had at least the double, and had to consider himself lucky that Pompey proceeded methodically, and instead of giving him battle immediately, wintered between Dyrrachium and Apollonia, on the right bank of the Apsus. How desperate the situation appeared to Caesar himself, we can see by his resolution: realizing that the fleet was not arriving, he wanted to get on a fishing boat and cross the Adriatic to Brundisium to fetch it. : this design was only abandoned because he could not find a sailor to undertake the voyage.wintered between Dyrrachium and Apollonia, on the right bank of the Apsus. How desperate the situation appeared to Caesar himself, we can see by his resolution: realizing that the fleet was not arriving, he wanted to get on a fishing boat and cross the Adriatic to Brundisium to fetch it. : this design was abandoned only because he could not find a sailor to undertake the voyage.wintered between Dyrrachium and Apollonia, on the right bank of the Apsus. How desperate the situation appeared to Caesar himself, we can see by his resolution: realizing that the fleet was not arriving, he wanted to get on a fishing boat and cross the Adriatic to Brundisium to fetch it. : this design was only abandoned because he could not find a sailor to undertake the voyage.

But he no longer needed to appear to persuade his loyal lieutenant who commanded in Italy, Marcus Antonius, to make the last efforts to save his general. Once again the transport fleet with four legions and 800 horses left the port of Brundisium, and a good wind carried it past Libo's cruise. The landing of the second shipment could be carried out.

Pompey, after having tried in vain to prevent the junction of the two armies of the enemy, and to force Antony's body to fight in isolation, took a new position at Asparagium, on the river Genusos (Uschkomobin), which flows parallel to the Apsus, between the latter and the city of Dyrrachium, and he remained there motionless. Caesar then found himself strong enough to fight, but Pompey refused. On the other hand, he succeeded in deceiving Pompey and throwing himself unnoticed with his best marching troops, as in Ilerda, between the enemy's camp and the fortress of Dyrrachium which served as his base.

The veterans of Caesar, by infinite efforts, invested the camp of Pompey with a chain of posts sixteen miles long, and soon added to this interior first line an exterior second, to defend themselves against the attacks of Dyrrachium and against the attempts of turn their position, which could so easily have been executed with the help of the fleet. Pompey more than once attacked part of these entrenchments with the intention, if possible, of breaking the enemy line; but he did not try to prevent the investment by a battle; he preferred to build in his turn a certain number of entrenchments around his camp. There was a continual struggle on different points. No significant success was achieved on either side;but the effects of the investment were particularly felt by the Pompeians. Pompey could not delay any longer in getting rid of his disagreeable situation by a blow struck on the enemy.

He learned from Celtic deserters that the enemy had neglected to defend the strike between the two chains of entrenchments 600 feet apart by a transverse line, and he based his operations on this fault. He had the interior line of Caesar's intrenchments attacked by the legions on the side of the camp, and the exterior line by the light troops placed on the ships and disembarked outside the entrenchments of the enemy; a third division landed in the space which remained open between the two lines, and attacked their defenders in the rear, already sufficiently occupied. The entrenchment near the sea was taken and the garrison fled in complete confusion; it was with difficulty that the commander of the nearby trench, Marcus Antonius,succeeds in maintaining it and in stopping Pompey's march for a moment; but besides the considerable loss, the outermost entrenchment along the sea remained in the hands of the Pompeians, and the line was broken.

When the Caesareans saw Pompey advancing, they were seized with panic; and if the engagement ended with the loss of 1000 of the best soldiers, and if Caesar's army did not experience a complete defeat, it was simply because of the circumstance that Pompey could not freely deploy his forces on this jagged terrain. and that, fearing a stratagem, he withheld his troops.

The bold enterprise by which Caesar had wished to take the offensive without ships against an enemy which dominated the sea, and which was supported by a fleet, had totally failed. He found himself in the theater of war, in the presence of an impregnable defensive position, and unable to strike a serious blow, either against Dyrrachium or against the Roman army.

After this unfortunate engagement, Caesar began his retreat to Apollonia. Pompey followed him. The march from Dyrrachium to Apollonia along a difficult road crossed by several rivers was no easy task for a defeated army pursued by the enemy; but the skilful conduct of the general and the indestructible energy displayed in the march by the soldiers obliged Pompey, after three days of pursuit, to stop. He now had to choose between an expedition to Italy and walking in the interior. However reasonable and engaging the first might seem to him, and although more than one voice rose in his favor, he preferred not to abandon Scipio's body. Caesar had meanwhile arrived safely in Apollonia.The march on Apollonia had no other goal than to place the wounded in safety and to pay the soldiers where the depots were stationed: as soon as this operation was over, he headed for Thessaly, leaving garrisons in Apollonia. , Oricum and Lissus. Calvinus' body had also moved towards Thessaly, and Caesar was able to effect his junction with the reinforcements coming from Italy, this time by the land road of Illyria, two legions commanded by Quintus Cornificius. Calvinus was also directed at this point, and the junction of the two armies was thus accomplished by the shortest route. Pompey had simply returned to the idea of ​​fighting with Caesar at all costs, and therefore of reaching him as soon as possible and by the most convenient route. Cato took command of Dyrrachium,where a garrison of 18 cohorts had been left; Pompey and Scipio were busy, the first to apparently follow the Egnatia route as far as Pella, to then head on the main road to the south, the second to Haliacmon, through the passes of Olympus, to the lower Penea. . They were to meet in Larissa.

Caesar camped south of Larissa, in the plain which stretches from the mountainous region of Cynocephali to the range of Othrys, and which is cut by a tributary of the Penea, the Enipeus, on the right bank of the latter river. , near the town of Pharsalia; Pompey encamped in front of him on the right bank of the Enipeus, along the hills of Cynocephali. Pompey's entire army was assembled; Caesar was still awaiting the body of nearly two legions detached to Aetolia and Thessaly, then stationed, under Quintus Fusius Calenus in Greece, and the two legions of Cornificius who arrived by land from Italy, and who were already in Illyria. Pompey's army, numbering eleven legions or 47,000 men and 7,000 horses, was more than double that of Caesar in infantry, and three times as numerous in cavalry;fatigue and fighting had so decimated Caesar's troops that the eight legions did not include more than 22,000 men in arms, barely half of their normal contingent.

This was how the battle of Pharsalus was fought, on August 9, 706 (48), almost on the same battlefield where, fifty years earlier, the Romans had laid the foundations of their domination in the East. Caesar, foreseeing the defeat of his cavalry, had supported it, on the threatened flank of his left wing, by 2,000 of his best legionaries. As the enemy's horsemen, pushing those of Caesar before them, galloped on the front and the sides of the line, they suddenly encountered this elite body which was advancing intrepidly against them, and, put in disorder by this attack unexpected and new infantry, left the battlefield at full speed. The victorious legionaries cut to pieces the archers of the enemy now discovered,then rushed to the enemy's left wing and prepared to turn it on their side. At the same time, Caesar's third division, until then held in reserve, advanced all along the line to attack. The unexpected defeat of the best part of Pompey's army, by increasing the courage of the adversaries, broke that of his army and especially that of the general. When Pompey, who, before the action, did not count on his infantry, saw his horsemen run away at a gallop, he left the battlefield, and marched on the camp, without even waiting for the outcome of the attack. general ordained by Caesar. His legions began to bend and cross the river, to regain the camp, not without considerable losses. Pompey's situation was much less perilous than that of Caesar after Dyrrachium's defeat. But,the weak soul of Pompey, in such vicissitudes, fell into the infinite abyss of despair. Now that he saw his legions crossing the river again, he threw down the staff of command, and fled as quickly as possible to the sea to embark there.

So ended Pharsalius' day. The enemy's army was not only defeated, but annihilated; 15,000 Pompeians were killed or wounded on the battlefield, while the Caesareans only lacked 200 men: what was still able to be assembled, and which amounted to 20,000 men, laid down their arms the following day. the battle. The soldiers were incorporated into the army; fines and confiscations of property were inflicted on the men of the first rank; the senators and distinguished knights who were captured were put to death with few exceptions. The time for clemency had passed; the longer the civil war lasted, the more relentless and remorseless it became. On the same day that the client cities submitted to the victor of Pharsalia, the tail of the constitutional party, all those who had joined with regret or who,as Marcus Cicero and his followers danced around the aristocracy, as the witches on the Broken stepped forward to make their peace with the new monarch, a peace his disdainful indulgence graciously bestowed upon them. But the elite of the defeated party did not compromise. It was all over with the aristocracy; but the aristocrats could not be converted to the monarchy.

Pompey did not want peace either. If he had been a man worthy of the high position he occupied, we can assume that he would have understood that a man who aspires to the crown cannot return to the beaten paths of ordinary life, and that he there is no more room on earth for it. But Pompey had just enough soul, high enough not to ask for a favor which the victor might have been magnanimous enough to grant him: he was, on the other hand, too small of mind to do so. Either he could not take it upon himself to confide in Caesar, or that in his vague and indecisive manner, after the first impression of the disaster of Pharsalia, he had begun to hope again, Pompey resolved to continue the struggle and to look for another battlefield than that of Pharsalia.

In Africa, the coalition, or rather Juba, king of Numidia, who was master there, had armed without obstacle since the fall of 705 (49). While the whole of the East was lost to the coalition by the battle of Pharsalia, it could honorably continue the war, probably in Spain and certainly in Africa.

While the remnants of the vanquished party let themselves be swept away by fate, and even those who had resolved to continue the struggle did not know how or where to pursue it, Caesar, always prompt in his resolutions as in his actions, prepared to pursue Pompey. , the only one of his adversaries whom he respected as a general, and the one whose capture would probably have discouraged the better part of his adversaries. With a few men he crossed the Hellespont: his boat encountered an enemy fleet destined for the Black Sea and captured all the crews struck with terror by the news of the battle of Pharsalus, and as soon as the most necessary preparations were completed, he set out in pursuit of Pompey towards the East. Pompey had gone to Lesbos after the battle, brought back his wife and his second son Sextus,and after having rubbed shoulders with Asia Minor, had gone to Cyprus. At the news that Antioch had declared for Caesar and that the way to the land of the Parthians was no longer open, he then changed and sailed to Egypt, where a number of his old soldiers were serving in the army. , and where the situation and the rich resources of the country gave him the time and the opportunity to reorganize the war.

In Egypt, after the death of Ptolemy Auletes, May 703 (51), his children, Cleopatra, aged about sixteen, and Ptolemy Dionysius, aged about ten, had jointly inherited the throne, according to the wish of their dad ; but soon the brother, or rather his guardian Pothin, had driven his sister out of the kingdom and compelled her to seek refuge in Syria, from where she made preparations to return to the paternal kingdom. Ptolemy and Pothin were at Peluse with the entire Egyptian army, to protect the eastern border against it, at the very moment when Pompey anchored at the promontory of Cassium and asked the king for permission to disembark. The Egyptian court, which had long been informed of Pharsalia's disaster, was about to repel Pompey; but King Theodotus' guardian pointed out that if we did so,Pompey would probably use his relations with the army of Egypt to stir up a revolt, and that it would be better, as far as Caesar was concerned, to seize this opportunity to get rid of Pompey. Political reasoning of this kind seldom failed to have effect among statesmen in the Hellenic world. Achillus, the general of the royal troops, and some of Pompey's former officers, went in a boat to Pompey's ship and invited him to come to the king, and as the water was low, to enter their room. small boat.Achillus, the general of the royal troops, and some of Pompey's former officers, went in a boat to Pompey's ship and invited him to come to the king, and as the water was low, to enter their room. small boat.Achillus, the general of the royal troops, and some of Pompey's former officers, went in a boat to Pompey's ship and invited him to come to the king, and as the water was low, to enter their room. small boat.

As he touched the shore, the military tribune Lucius Septimius struck him from behind, before the eyes of his wife and son, who were forced to witness Pompey's murder from the deck of their ship, without power or the Defend Nor Avenge, Sep 28, 706 (48). On the same day that, thirteen years before, he had entered triumphantly into the capital after the defeat of Mithridates, the man who for a whole generation had been called the Great and had ruled Rome, perished on these inhospitable sands by the hand one of his soldiers. A good officer, but mediocre in intelligence and heart, destiny had, with prodigious constancy, enabled him to accomplish for thirty years the most brilliant and easiest deeds; she had allowed him to pick all the laurels planted and cultivated by others;she had offered him all the conditions required to show in his person an example of false greatness, to which history could not oppose anything like it.

When Caesar, following in Pompey's footsteps, arrived in the harbor of Alexandria, it was all over. He was returning deeply agitated, when the murderer brought on board the head of the man who had been his son-in-law and his colleague in power for so many years, and whom he had been sought in Egypt to take him alive. . The dagger of an assassin exempted him from wondering what he would have done with the captive Pompey; but while human sympathy, which still held its place in Caesar's great soul alongside ambition, ordered him to spare his old friend, his interest demanded that he should get rid of Pompey otherwise than by hand. of an assassin. Caesar, faithful to the custom of organizing things definitively and immediately in person,and firmly convinced that he had no fear of resistance neither from the Roman garrison nor from the court, very embarrassed about money, moreover, landed in Alexandria with two legions fused together and whose strength amounted to 3 200 men, plus 800 Celtic and German horsemen. He lodged in the royal palace, and took care of collecting the necessary sums of money and settling the Egyptian succession. The brother and sister were ordered to immediately cease hostilities, and they were invited to have their dispute examined by agreeing to arbitration. They submitted; the royal child was already in the palace and Cleopatra also appeared there. Caesar adjudicated the kingdom of Egypt, in accordance with the will of Auletes, to the married brother and sister, Cleopatra and Ptolemy Dionysius.landed at Alexandria with two legions melted together and whose strength amounted to 3,200 men, plus 800 Celtic and German cavalry. He lodged in the royal palace, and took care of collecting the necessary sums of money and settling the Egyptian succession. The brother and sister were ordered to immediately cease hostilities, and they were invited to have their dispute examined by agreeing to arbitration. They submitted; the royal child was already in the palace and Cleopatra also appeared there. Caesar adjudicated the kingdom of Egypt, in accordance with the will of Auletes, to the married brother and sister, Cleopatra and Ptolemy Dionysius.landed at Alexandria with two legions melted together and whose strength amounted to 3,200 men, plus 800 Celtic and German cavalry. He lodged in the royal palace, and took care of collecting the necessary sums of money and settling the Egyptian succession. The brother and sister were ordered to immediately cease hostilities, and they were invited to have their dispute examined by agreeing to arbitration. They submitted; the royal child was already in the palace and Cleopatra also appeared there. Caesar adjudicated the kingdom of Egypt, in accordance with the will of Auletes, to the married brother and sister, Cleopatra and Ptolemy Dionysius.and took care of collecting the necessary sums of money and settling the Egyptian succession. The brother and sister were ordered to immediately cease hostilities, and they were invited to have their dispute examined by agreeing to arbitration. They submitted; the royal child was already in the palace and Cleopatra also appeared there. Caesar adjudicated the kingdom of Egypt, in accordance with the will of Auletes, to the married brother and sister, Cleopatra and Ptolemy Dionysius.and took care of collecting the necessary sums of money and settling the Egyptian succession. The brother and sister were ordered to immediately cease hostilities, and they were invited to have their dispute examined by agreeing to arbitration. They submitted; the royal child was already in the palace and Cleopatra also appeared there. Caesar adjudicated the kingdom of Egypt, in accordance with the will of Auletes, to the married brother and sister, Cleopatra and Ptolemy Dionysius.to the married brother and sister, Cleopatra and Ptolemy Dionysius.to the married brother and sister, Cleopatra and Ptolemy Dionysius.

But a storm was brewing. Alexandria was a cosmopolitan city like Rome, hardly inferior to the capital of Italy, and much superior to it for its commercial activity, in industry, in taste for science and for art: among the citizens there was a feeling of very powerful national pride. It was with growing indignation that the Egyptians, who were devout to the point of superstition, and who prided themselves on the renowned magnificence of their court as a personal possession, saw the stripping of the walls of their temples and of the wooden tableware. on their king's table. The tumult of the landing, when the multitude saw the Roman bundles transported to the old palace, and the numerous assassinations of soldiers in the city,had shown Caesar the immense danger which the exiguity of his army made him run in the presence of this exasperated multitude; but it was difficult to return home because of the northeasterly winds that prevailed at this time of the year, and attempts to embark could easily become a signal of insurrection: moreover, it was not the custom of Caesar to go away without having accomplished his work. At the same time he brought in reinforcements from Asia, and until the moment of their arrival he affected the greatest calm. Never was there more gaiety in his camp than during this rest in Alexandria, and while the beautiful and skilful Cleopatra lavished her coquetries on everyone and especially on his judge, Caesar seemed to include among his most beautiful victories those which he won over women.It was a joyful prelude to serious drama. Under the command of Achillus, and, as was later proved, by the secret orders of the king and his intimate, the occupying Roman army unexpectedly appeared at Alexandria, and as soon as the citizens saw that it had come attack Caesar, they made common cause with the soldiers.

Caesar hastily assembled his dispersed soldiers, seized the king and his minister, took refuge in the royal residence and in the theater adjoining it, and gave orders, since time was running out to secure the fleet. war stationed in the main port, in front of the theater, to be set on fire. At the same time, Caesar ordered the commander of Asia Minor as well as of the nearest prone regions, the Syrians and the Nabataeans, the Cretans and the Rhodians, to send troops and vessels in haste to Egypt. The insurrection, at the head of which the princess Arsinoë and her confidant the eunuch Ganymede had placed themselves, spread during this time over all of Egypt and in most of the capital.

Finally, the long-awaited help arrived. Mithridates of Pergamos, a skillful general of the school of Mithridates Eupator, of whom he claimed to be the natural son, brought a mixed army from Syria. This army arrived by a series of successful battles on the other bank of the Nile at Memphis. Caesar, on the other hand, as soon as he heard of the arrival of relief troops, transported part of his troops by water to the end of Lake Marea, west of Alexandria, and marched around the lake. and along the Nile to meet Mithridates going up the river. The junction took place, without the enemy trying to prevent it.

Then Caesar marched on the Delta, where the king had withdrawn, overturned at the first shock, in spite of the deep channel which covered it, the Egyptian vanguard and carried away the Egyptian camp itself.

The fate of the city, which had dared to thwart the plans of the master of the world, and which had almost overthrown them, was in the hands of Caesar; but he was too much a statesman to resent it, and he treated the Alexandrians like the Massaliotes. Caesar pointing to their horribly devastated city deprived of its granaries, famous library and other important buildings, following the burning of the fleet, urged the inhabitants to cultivate the arts and peace in the future and to heal the wounds they had inflicted on themselves. Cleopatra and her younger brother Ptolemy obtained the sovereignty of Egypt under the supremacy of Rome.

This insurrection of Alexandria, though insignificant in itself, was nevertheless important enough to oblige the almighty man, without whom nothing could be accomplished and nothing could be resolved, to neglect his ulterior designs since the October 706 until March 707. The consequences of personal government were beginning to be felt. We had the monarchy; but the most extreme confusion reigned everywhere, and the monarch was absent.

However, the great majority of Republicans and Pompeians had gone to Africa, where one could only pursue an honorable and constitutional war against the usurper.

As neither Caesar nor any of his lieutenants made the slightest attempt against Africa, the coalition had time to acquire a complete political and military organization there. First it was necessary to fill the position of commander-in-chief left empty by the death of Pompey. The army wanted to have as its leader the owner Marcus Caton. But the choice finally fell on Scipio, and it was Cato himself who brought about this decision.

The senate of the "three hundred" again appeared before the new general-in-chief. It establishes its seat in Utique, and fills its ranks thinned by the admission of the most esteemed and the richest men of the equestrian order.

The preparations for war were driven, chiefly by the zeal of Cato, with the greatest energy and all able-bodied men, even the freedmen and the Libyans, were drafted into the legions. We must also add the 120 elephants of Juba, and the fleet of 55 sails commanded by Publius Varus and Marcus Octavius. The absence of Caesar, the agitation of the legions, the movements of Spain and Italy had gradually exalted the spirits, and the memory of the defeat of Pharsalus began to give way to new hopes of victory.

In fact, disturbing events had taken place among the troops that Caesar had assembled in southern Italy, in order to embark them with him for Africa. These were for the most part the old legions that had founded Caesar's rule in Gaul, Spain and Thessaly. The spirit of these troops had not won by victory, and had been completely disturbed by a long rest in southern Italy. The almost superhuman work that the general had demanded of them had left even in these iron men a leaven of secret resentment. When the orders to embark for Sicily arrived, the legions refused to obey until the gifts they had been promised were paid, scornfully repulsed the officers sent by Caesar and even threw stones at them.Caesar suddenly appeared among the angry bands, asking them what they wanted. They cried out that they wanted their leave. In a moment they were granted what they asked for. Regarding the presents he had promised his soldiers at his triumph, as well as the lands he had not promised them and intended for them, Caesar replied that they might ask for them on the day he and his soldiers would triumph; naturally they could not participate, since they had been dismissed previously. Ashamed, as men, of the loyalty with which the general kept his promise to soldiers who had betrayed their duty and of his generosity, moved, as soldiers, at the prospect that he offered them of being civilian spectators of the triumph of their comrades,and to hear themselves called no longer "comrades" but "citizens", an appellation which seemed so strange in his mouth and which suddenly destroyed all the pride of their military career, finally returning under the spell of a man whose presence was irresistibly powerful, the soldiers remained silent for some time; then cries arose on all sides, asking the general to return his favor and to allow them to call themselves Caesar's soldiers again. Caesar, after asking for a moment, granted what was asked of him; but the leaders of the sedition were deprived of a third of their triumphal presents. History does not know of a greater masterpiece of psychology which has been more completely successful.a name which seemed so strange in his mouth and which suddenly destroyed all the pride of their military career, finally falling under the spell of a man whose presence had an irresistible power, the soldiers remained silent for some time; then cries arose from all sides, asking the general to return his favor and to allow them to call themselves Caesar's soldiers again. Caesar, after asking for a moment, granted what was asked of him; but the leaders of the sedition were deprived of a third of their triumphal presents. History does not know of a greater masterpiece of psychology which has been more completely successful.a name which seemed so strange in his mouth and which suddenly destroyed all the pride of their military career, finally falling under the spell of a man whose presence had an irresistible power, the soldiers remained silent for some time; then cries arose from all sides, asking the general to return his favor and to allow them to call themselves Caesar's soldiers again. Caesar, after asking for a moment, granted what was asked of him; but the leaders of the sedition were deprived of a third of their triumphal presents. History does not know of a greater masterpiece of psychology which has been more completely successful.the soldiers remained silent for some time; then cries arose on all sides, asking the general to return his favor and to allow them to call themselves Caesar's soldiers again. Caesar, after asking for a moment, granted what was asked of him; but the leaders of the sedition were deprived of a third of their triumphal presents. History does not know of a greater masterpiece of psychology which has been more completely successful.the soldiers remained silent for some time; then cries arose on all sides, asking the general to return his favor and to allow them to call themselves Caesar's soldiers again. Caesar, after asking for a moment, granted what was asked of him; but the leaders of the sedition were deprived of a third of their triumphal presents. History does not know of a greater masterpiece of psychology which has been more completely successful.History does not know of a greater masterpiece of psychology which has been more completely successful.History does not know of a greater masterpiece of psychology which has been more completely successful.

This sedition had an unfortunate influence on the African campaign, at least in the sense that it delayed its opening. When Caesar arrived at the port of Lilybee where he was to embark, the ten legions destined for Africa were far from being fully assembled there, and it was the more seasoned troops who had remained behind. He could not land in Africa more than 3,000 men, who were mostly recruits, and 150 cavalry.

Caesar therefore waited for the arrival of the legions of veterans. His situation was critical. His army was assembled over a space of two and a half square leagues; although the fleet brought wheat, Caesar's cavalry suffered from a lack of forage as much as that of Pompey's before Dyrrachium. The enemy's light troops remained, despite Caesar's efforts, so immensely superior to his that it seemed impossible to continue military operations in the interior, even with veterans. If Scipio had retired and abandoned the towns on the coast, he might have won a victory similar to that which the vizier of Orodes had won over Crassus, and Juba over Curion. But Scipio, the general-in-chief, decided that the war would be continued in the regions of the coast.However, the methods of terror employed against the communities which were simply suspected of indifference had driven exasperation to the most intense hatred. The cities of Africa declared themselves for Caesar, wherever they could do so; desertion spread among the Getulians and the Libyans who served in large numbers in the light troops and even in the legions. But Scipio, with the stubbornness which characterizes madness, persevered in his plan, set out with all his forces from Utica to appear before the towns of Ruspina and Little Leptis occupied by Caesar, provided Hadrumetes to the north and Thapsus to the south ( on the Ras el Demas promontory) strong garrisons.The cities of Africa declared themselves for Caesar, wherever they could do so; desertion spread among the Getulians and the Libyans who served in large numbers in the light troops and even in the legions. But Scipio, with the stubbornness which characterizes madness, persevered in his plan, set out with all his forces from Utica to appear before the towns of Ruspina and Little Leptis occupied by Caesar, provided Hadrumetes to the north and Thapsus to the south ( on the Ras el Demas promontory) strong garrisons.The cities of Africa declared themselves for Caesar, wherever they could do so; desertion spread among the Getulians and the Libyans who served in large numbers in the light troops and even in the legions. But Scipio, with the stubbornness which characterizes madness, persevered in his plan, set out with all his forces from Utica to appear before the towns of Ruspina and Little Leptis occupied by Caesar, provided Hadrumetes to the north and Thapsus to the south ( on the Ras el Demas promontory) strong garrisons.left with all his forces from Utica to appear before the towns of Ruspina and Little Leptis occupied by Caesar, provided Hadrumète to the north and Thapsus to the south (on the Ras el Demas promontory) with strong garrisons.left with all his forces from Utica to appear before the towns of Ruspina and Little Leptis occupied by Caesar, provided Hadrumète to the north and Thapsus to the south (on the Ras el Demas promontory) with strong garrisons.

Finally Caesar, after being joined by the last reinforcements, made a lateral movement towards Thapsus. Suddenly, along the shore of the sea, and in front of Caesar's camp, the legions of Scipio and Juba were seen appearing. Caesar's right wing, ahead of the other divisions, frightened the line of elephants opposed to it - and this was the last battle to be used - by throwing bullets and arrows at them, so that they turned in their own ranks. The defensive force was shattered, the enemy's left wing was overthrown, and the entire line was broken. The mass of the defeated army threw down their arms and demanded quarter; but Caesar's soldiers were no longer those who had consented not to fight at Ilerda, and who had honorably spared the vanquished.The habit of civil war and the grudge created by the insurgency showed their power in a terrible way on the battlefield of Thapsus. The fifty thousand corpses which covered this battlefield and among which were several officers of Caesar known as secret adversaries of the new monarchy and killed for this reason by their own soldiers, showed how the soldier made himself justice.

Cato repulsed with indignation the request made to him by the soldiers to let them put to death the infidel inhabitants of Utica en masse, and preferred to let down without resistance the last boulevard of the republicans than to soil the last moments of the republic by such a massacre. After convincing himself that he could no longer render any service to anyone, he thought he could resign his command, retired to his apartment, and pierced himself with his sword. The Commander-in-Chief, Metellus Scipio, with the fleet of the defeated party, fell into the power of Sittius' cruisers, and just as they were about to lay their hands on him, he killed himself. King Juba, who was prepared for the circumstances, had resolved to die in the way he saw fit for a king,and had set up a huge pyre in the market of the city of Zama, intending to burn himself there with all the treasures and corpses of all the inhabitants of Zama. But these showed themselves very reluctant to serve as a decoration at the funeral service of the African Sardanapalus, and closed the doors in front of the king, when, fleeing the battlefield, he appeared accompanied by Marcus Petreius in front of the city. This sovereign, who was one of those natures who become wild in the midst of a life of splendor and insolent power, and who even sought in death an intoxicating feast, went with a companion to one of his houses in campaign, had his copious banquet served, and at the end of the feast challenged Petreius to death in a single combat. It was the conqueror of Catiline who received death at the hand of the king;then the latter was killed by one of his slaves.

The struggle which Pompey and the republicans had undertaken against the monarchy of Caesar thus ended, after having lasted four years, with the complete victory of the new monarchy. The republican tradition, which had lasted without interruption for five hundred years, was broken, and the monarchy was established throughout the entire extent of the Roman Empire by the legitimacy of the fait accompli.

The constitutional conflict was over, and the fact was proclaimed by Cato when he committed suicide at Utica. For many years he had championed Republican legitimacy against his oppressors; he had continued in this role, even though he no longer had any hope of success. But, today, the conflict itself had become impossible; the republic that Marcus Brutus had founded was dead and could not live again; what remained for republicans to do on this earth? The treasure was taken away; the sentries were therefore relieved of their guard; who could blame them for leaving? There was more nobility, and above all more judgment, in Cato's death than in his life. Cato was nothing less than a great man; but with all this narrowness of view, this harshness, this dry prolixity,and those more or less authentic sentences, which made of him, of his time and for centuries, the ideal of thoughtless republicanism and the favorite of all those whose rattle he is, he was however the only man who honorably defended and courageously in the last struggle the great system condemned to death. Precisely for the reason that the most skilful lie is annihilated before the simple truth, and because all the dignity and glory of human nature depend, in the last analysis, not on cleverness but on honesty, Cato played a greater role in history than many men superior to him in intelligence. The deep and tragic significance of his death is raised rather than diminished by the fact that he was a fool: it is precisely because Don Quixote is mad that he is a tragic figure.It is a striking event that, in this drama of the history of the world, in which so many sages and heroes had played a part, the epilogue had to be uttered by a fool.

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THE OLD REPUBLIC AND THE NEW MONARCHY

The new monarch of Rome, the first ruler of the entire Roman-Hellenic civilization, Caius Julius Caesar, was fifty-six years old (having been born July 12, 652 (102)), when the Battle of Thapsus, the last ring of a long chain of important victories, put the destiny of the world in his hands. Few men have seen the flexibility of their genius put to more tests than Caesar, the only creative genius produced by Rome and the last produced by the ancient world, which, naturally, walked in the furrow that 'he had opened until this luminous star had disappeared. Coming from one of the oldest families of Lazio, which traced its origin back to the heroes of the Iliad and the kings of Rome, and even to Venus Aphrodite common to both nations,he spent the years of his childhood and adolescence as the noble youth of that era used to do. He had tasted the sweetness and bitterness of elegant life, recited and declaimed, practiced literature and made verses in his lost moments, had thrown himself into amorous intrigues of all kinds and had been initiated into all the mysteries of the toilet of time, as well as the still more mysterious art of always borrowing and never paying. But flexible steel of this nature stood the test of these dissipated and corrupted practices; Caesar retained his bodily vigor and elasticity of mind and heart. In arms and horsemanship, he was the equal of all his soldiers, and his skill in swimming saved his life in Alexandria; the incredible speed of his travels,that he did most often at night to save time, in stark contrast to the solemn slowness with which Pompey moved from one place to another, astonished his contemporaries and was not one of the least causes of its successes. The mind was like the body. His remarkable power of intuition was revealed in the precision and practicality of his combinations; he gave his orders, even without having seen with his own eyes. His memory was incomparable, and it was easy for him to carry out several occupations at the same time, always remaining in control of himself. Although he was a well-bred man, a man of genius, and almost a monarch, he had a heart. As long as he lived, he surrounded with the purest veneration his worthy mother Aurélia (his father had died young);he had for his wives and for his daughter Julia an affection which did him honor, and which was not without influence on his political conduct. He maintained relations with the most capable and excellent men of his time, whether of high rank or lowly, and maintained an inviolable loyalty to them, treating each according to their character. Unlike Pompey, who cowardly abandoned his followers, Caesar out of a sentiment pure of any coterie, remained loyal to his friends, many of whom, such as Aulus Hirtius and Caius Matius, even after his death, gave sensitive evidence of their attachment to his person. If in a nature organized with such harmony, one can point out a dominant trait, it is because it hated all ideology and all fantasy. By nature, Caesar was a passionate man,for there is no genius without passion; but his passion was never too strong to be dominated. He had had his youthful days, and love, songs and wine had held their place in his mind; but these habits had not been able to penetrate into his intimate nature. Literature occupied him for a long time and seriously; but while Alexander could not sleep thinking of Homer's Achilles, Caesar, in his insomnia, reflected on the Latin declensions and conjugations. He wrote verses, as everyone did then, but they were weak; on the other hand, he was interested in questions of astronomy and natural history. While wine remained for Alexander the consolation of worries, the sober Roman, when the orgies of youth had passed, gave it up altogether. Around him,as around those whose youth were blinded by the love of women, traces of this passion remained; even in old age he had love affairs and success with women, and he retained a certain nonchalance in his walk, or, to put it better, the flattering feeling of his masculine beauty. He carefully hid the baldness from which he was afflicted with a laurel wreath which he wore in public, in the last years, and he would have given more than one of his victories to find the beautiful curls of his youth. But whatever pleasure he found, even being a monarch, in the society of women, he sought with them nothing but distraction, and did not allow them to take any influence over him:his much-blamed intrigue with Cleopatra had no other purpose than to hide a weak point in his political situation. Caesar was above all a practical man and a man of sense: and whatever he undertook or executed, he did it with a cold presence of mind which was disturbed by neither memory nor expectation; it was to this that he owed the ability to act with all his might and to apply all his genius to the smallest and least important circumstances; it was to this that he owed this multiple power, which gave him control over all that the intelligence can understand, and the will to lead; it was to this that he owed this ease and this possession of himself, which enabled him to balance oratorical periods and to plan campaigns; finally,he owed to her that marvelous serenity which he preserved in good as in bad fortune, and that complete independence, which admitted the control neither of a favorite nor of a mistress, not even of a friend. Moreover, this clarity of judgment prevented him from having illusions about the power of destiny and the skill of man; he did not know that veil which hides from man the inanity of his efforts. With whatever prudence he combined his plans, he foresaw all eventualities, and he never forgot that in all things fortune, that is to say, chance, must ensure success. which caused him to so often play such desperate games with fate, and that in particular he risked his person a thousand times with daring indifference.Men of superior sagacity sometimes indulge in a pure game of chance; but there was a point in Caesar's rationalism where it bordered on mysticism.

Such gifts were to produce a statesman. Also Caesar was it from his youth in the deepest sense of the word, and his goal was the highest that a man can propose: the political, military, intellectual and moral regeneration of a nation in decline, and of the Hellenic people, related to his, and even more in decline. The harsh school of thirty years of experience changed his views as to the means that could help him achieve this goal; but this goal itself never varied, in times of hopeless humiliation as in those of unlimited power, in times when, conspirator and demagogue, he walked there by dark paths and in those where, master of the sovereign power and a true monarch, he worked at his work in the full light of day, before the eyes of the world.All the measures of a permanent character which came from him at various times took their place in this vast edifice. We cannot therefore speak of isolated acts of Caesar: he did nothing isolated. In Caesar we praise with justice the orator whose male eloquence, disdaining all the artifices of the lawyer, illuminated and warmed like a flame. We admire with justice in Caesar author the immutable simplicity of composition, the perfect purity and the beauty of language. It is with justice that the greatest masters in the art of war praised in Caesar the general who, disdain to a supreme degree of routine and tradition, knew how to find the system of war which, in a given circumstance , ensured the triumph over the enemy, and therefore was good, and which, with the certainty of divination, found the means suitable for every goal, and,like William of Orange, got up after each defeat and invariably ended the campaign with victory. Caesar spared military resources, which distinguishes military genius from the simple talent of an officer, and made the masses move with superior perfection, and found the guarantee of victory, not in the mass of his forces, but in the speed of their movements, not by long preparations, but in rapid action, even when the means were insufficient. But these were secondary qualities in Caesar. No doubt he was a great orator, author, general, but he became such because he was a consummate statesman. The soldier only played an accessory role with him; and one of the main peculiarities that distinguished him from Alexander, Hannibal and Napoleon,it is because he entered political activity not as an officer, but as a demagogue. Following his original plan, he proposed to achieve his goal like Pericles and Caius Gracchus, without force of arms, and for eighteen years, as leader of the People's Party, he had lived exclusively in political plans and intrigues. until the moment when, convinced in the long run of the need for military support, he put himself at the head of an army at the age of forty.at forty, at the head of an army.at forty, at the head of an army.

Even in his military system, we recognize an improvised leader; Napoleon's undertakings against Egypt and against England clearly show the lieutenant of artillery who had risen from the lower ranks to command, as similar undertakings of Caesar show the metamorphosed demagogue in general. The task of the statesman is universal in nature, like the genius of Caesar; if he undertook the most varied and foreign things to each other, they all had some relation to the great object that with marvelous fidelity and constancy, he pursued relentlessly, and he never allowed one to dominate by the other the various aspects of his great authority. Although a master in the art of war, he did his best, out of political considerations, to ward off civil strife,and when it did begin, however, he tried to save his laurels from the blood. Although the founder of a military monarchy, he persisted, with an energy of which there are few examples in history, in wanting neither a hierarchy of marshals nor a government of praetorians. If he had a preference for any form of service to the state, it was for the sciences and arts of peace rather than those of war. The most remarkable feature of his work as a statesman was the perfect harmony. In reality all the conditions for this most difficult function here on earth were met in Caesar. Deeply practical, he never allowed himself to be disturbed by images of the past or by any venerable tradition; for him, nothing had value in politics except the living present and the law of reason,just as in grammar he despised all historical and antiquity research, and recognized on the one hand only the usual usage, and on the other hand the rule of symmetry. Born a master, he governed the minds of men as the wind directs the clouds, and forced the most heterogeneous natures to put themselves at his service, the polite citizen and the rude subordinate, the noble matrons of Rome and the beautiful princesses of Egypt and from Mauritania, the brilliant cavalry officer and calculating banker. His talent for organization was wonderful; no statesman has ever forced alliances, no general formed an army with the most rebellious and refractory elements, with a decision and firmness comparable to those of Caesar, when he organized coalitions and legions ;never a ruler judged his instruments and knew better how to appropriate them in their true place with a more keen eye. He was a monarch, but he never played king. Even when he became absolute master of Rome, he kept the exterior of a party leader; perfectly supple and flexible, easy and gentle in conversation, obliging to all, he seemed to want to be only the first among his peers. Caesar entirely avoided the pitfall of so many men who are, in other respects, his equals, and who have brought into politics the tone of military command; although his different relations with the senate often gave him the opportunity, he never had to commit such violence as the 18 Brumaire. Caesar was monarch; but he never felt the vertigo of tyranny.He is perhaps the only one among the powerful of the earth who, in great as in small circumstances, has never acted according to his inclination or his whim, but always, without exception, in accordance with his duty as ruler, and who, while going over his life, while having to regret more than one false calculation, never had to regret an inappropriate outburst of passion. There is nothing in the history of Caesar's life that can be compared, even on a small scale, to the poetic-sensual boils, such as the murder of Clitus or the burning of Persepolis, found in the story of its great predecessor in the East. In short, he is perhaps the only one of these powerful men who has kept until the end of his career the political tact with which one navigates between the possible and the impossible,and who has not succumbed to the most difficult task for richly gifted natures, that of recognizing, at the height of success, the natural limit of things. He did what was possible, and never left a useful thing not done to pursue an impossible new one, he never disdained at least to mitigate incurable evils with palliatives. But where he recognized that destiny had spoken, he still obeyed. Alexander on the Hyphase, Napoleon in Moscow, resisted because they could not do otherwise, and were indignant against the destiny of what it gave its favorites only limited success; Caesar retreated voluntarily on the Thames and on the Rhine; on the Danube and the Euphrates he did not dream of unlimited plans for conquest, but simply a reasonable settlement of borders.

Such was this unique man whom it seems so easy and yet so difficult to portray. His whole nature is of transparent clarity, and tradition has preserved more abundant and more vivid details of him than of any of the heroes of the old world. The idea that we can form of such a man may vary, may be more or less hollow or deep, but it cannot undergo any noticeable difference: for any man whose mind is not absolutely perverted, his great figure presents itself with the same essential features, and yet no one has succeeded in bringing it to life. The secret is precisely in this perfection. By his character as a man, as well as his place in history, Caesar occupies a position where the great contrasts of existence meet and sway.He had at the same time the most extraordinary creative power and the most penetrating judgment; he was no longer a young man, and he was not yet an old man; endowed with the greatest energy of will and the highest capacity for execution, full of the republican ideal and at the same time born to be king, Roman in the deepest essence of his nature, and yet called to reconcile and to combine in himself as well as in the outside world the Roman and Greek types of civilization, Caesar is the whole and perfect man. But in this very circumstance lies the difficulty, I would even say the impossibility of making a portrait from life of Caesar. As the artist can paint anything except consummate beauty, the historian, when he meets perfection once in a thousand, can only be silent in front of it.Regularity can be painted; but it only gives the negative idea of ​​the absence of the defect; the secret of nature, which in its most accomplished manifestations combines regularity and individuality, passes all expression. We have only to envy the fate of those who have contemplated this perfection, and form an idea of ​​it weakened by the reflected brilliance which remains in the works created by this great nature. These works also bear, it is true, the seal of time. The Roman hero is not only the equal of his Greek predecessor, but his superior; but the world had grown old, and it had lost the charm of youth. Caesar's action was no longer, like that of Alexander, a joyous march forward towards an end indefinitely distant. He had to build on ruins and with ruins,and was content to establish himself as surely and as favorably as possible within the vast but impassable limits which were assigned to him. It is with reason, therefore, that the delicate and poetic tact of nations has not fallen in love with the unpopetic Roman, and has attached only to the forehead of the son of Philip this political halo which reflects all the nuances of the legend. But it is with just as much reason that the political life of nations has been agitated for centuries in the orbit traced by Caesar. The peoples to which the empire of the world belongs still designate by name the highest of their monarchs, and this is a rather significant symptom, and unfortunately little to their credit.consequently, that the delicate and poetic tact of the nations did not fall in love with the little poetic Roman, and only attached to the forehead of the son of Philippe this political halo which reflects all the nuances of the legend. But it is with just as much reason that the political life of nations has been agitated for centuries in the orbit traced by Caesar. The peoples to which the empire of the world belongs still designate by name the highest of their monarchs, and this is a rather significant symptom, and unfortunately little to their credit.consequently, that the delicate and poetic tact of the nations did not fall in love with the little poetic Roman, and only attached to the forehead of the son of Philippe this political halo which reflects all the nuances of the legend. But it is with just as much reason that the political life of nations has been agitated for centuries in the orbit traced by Caesar. The peoples to which the empire of the world belongs still designate by name the highest of their monarchs, and this is a rather significant symptom, and unfortunately little to their credit.But it is with just as much reason that the political life of nations has been agitated for centuries in the orbit traced by Caesar. The peoples to which the empire of the world belongs still designate by name the highest of their monarchs, and this is a rather significant symptom, and unfortunately little to their credit.But it is with just as much reason that the political life of nations has been agitated for centuries in the orbit traced by Caesar. The peoples to which the empire of the world belongs still designate by name the highest of their monarchs, and this is a rather significant symptom, and unfortunately little to their credit.

In his work of pacification, Caesar started from the principle of the reconciliation of the parties which had subsisted until then. While Caesar was giving orders that the statues of Sylla, which had been overthrown by the populace of the capital at the news of the battle of Pharsalus, should be raised, and thus recognized the fact that history alone should be judged this great man, he annulled at the same time the last effects of his exceptional laws, recalling from exile those who had been banished in the times of troubles of Cinna and Sertorius, and returned to the sons of those who had been exiled by Sylla the right to be elected which they had lost. Likewise, he re-establishes all those who, at the beginning of the recent catastrophe, had lost their seat in the Senate and their civil rights by sentence of censors or political trial.

One thing much more difficult than the resolution of these questions, which already belonged, as to their object, to the past, was the conduct towards the parties which still existed at that time: on the one hand, Caesar's own democratic adherents. , on the other, the destroyed aristocracy. When it became evident that Caesar was far removed from becoming Catiline's executor, and that the most debtors could expect from him was some relief in payment and procedural changes, outrage was manifested by this question: For whom then has the popular party won, if not for the people? And the scum of this species, high and low, seeing his political-economic saturnalia fail, began to flirt with the Pompeians.

With regard to the old aristocratic party, which possessed much greater vitality, he had to prepare and begin its dissolution, which time alone could accomplish, by a clever combination of repression and conciliation. He avoided exasperating the vanquished party with unnecessary sarcasm; he spoke of Pompey only with respect. The political persecution which followed the victory was confined by Caesar within the narrowest limits. He spared himself and the country political trials of high treason. In addition, all ordinary soldiers who had followed their Roman or provincial officers in the fight against Caesar enjoyed impunity. The death sentence was only applied against a small number of culprits.

The republican opposition submitted to obtain pardon; but she was not reconciled. Unhappy with the new order of things, she was enraged at this intruding leader. There was no room for open political resistance. But republicanism found its expression all the better in the opposition of opinions, in secret agitations and in plots. When a comedian made a Republican allusion, he was greeted with the loudest applause. The Roman Empire was full of nascent suitors and republicans; the flames of civil war, kindled sometimes by the Pompeians, sometimes by the republicans, were reborn violently in different places, and in the capital there was a perpetual conspiracy against the life of the monarch. But Caesar could not, even in the presence of these plots,take it upon himself to be surrounded by a permanent bodyguard, and content himself with having these conspiracies denounced by placards. Caesar could not, for the lofty goal he pursued, do without the constitutional party itself, which in fact embraced not only the aristocracy, but all that there were literate and national minds among the citizens. Italians. Consequently, the most distinguished leaders of the vanquished parties were, it is true, removed; but forgiveness was not spared from men of the second and third order, and particularly of the younger generation. As for Henry IV and William of Orange, the greatest difficulties arose for Caesar after the victory.for the lofty goal he pursued, to dispense with the constitutional party itself, which in fact embraced not only the aristocracy, but all that there was of literate and national minds among Italian citizens. Consequently, the most distinguished leaders of the vanquished parties were, it is true, removed; but forgiveness was not spared from men of the second and third order, and particularly of the younger generation. As for Henry IV and William of Orange, the greatest difficulties arose for Caesar after the victory.for the lofty goal which he pursued, to dispense with the constitutional party itself, which in fact embraced not only the aristocracy, but all that there was of literate and national minds among the Italian citizens. Consequently, the most distinguished leaders of the vanquished parties were, it is true, removed; but forgiveness was not spared from men of the second and third order, and particularly of the younger generation. As for Henry IV and William of Orange, the greatest difficulties arose for Caesar after the victory.distant; but forgiveness was not spared from men of the second and third order, and particularly of the younger generation. As for Henry IV and William of Orange, the greatest difficulties arose for Caesar after the victory.distant; but forgiveness was not spared from men of the second and third order, and particularly of the younger generation. As for Henry IV and William of Orange, the greatest difficulties arose for Caesar after the victory.

Degenerated democracy was in open rebellion against Caesar, from the moment it saw that Caesar's goal was by no means his: Caesar's personal adherents themselves murmured, when they saw that the leader was establishing, at place of a state of condottieri, a fair and just monarchy for all. This regulation of the republic was not well regarded by any party, and had to be imposed on its associates no less than on its adversaries. The very position of Caesar was in a certain sense more perilous than before the victory; but what he lost the state gained. By annihilating parties and sparing partisans, and even by allowing any man of talent or even of good family to get into business, regardless of his political past, he united for his great enterprise all the living forces of the world. 'State.

By accepting unreservedly, apart from of course the senseless projects of Catiline and Clodius, the legacy of his party, by showing the most bitter and the most personal hatred of the aristocracy and true aristocrats, by keeping, without them modify essentially, the ideas of Roman democracy, that is to say the relief of debts, colonization beyond the seas, the gradual leveling of rights between the various classes of the State, the emancipation of power politically, with regard to the Senate, its monarchy differed so little from democracy that democracy, on the contrary, achieved its end only by means of this monarchy. This monarchy, in fact, was not oriental despotism of divine right, but a monarchy such as Caius Gracchus wished to form it, such as Pericles and Cromwell founded it,the representation of the nation by the man in whom it places its supreme and unlimited confidence.

The position of the new head of the State took on a seemingly singular form. Caesar had been invested with the dictatorship, temporarily first after his return from Spain, in 705 (49), then after the battle of Pharsalia, in the autumn of 706 (48), for an indefinite time finally, after the battle of Thapsus, since the I st January 709, as an annual charge to which he was first raised to ten years, and finally 710 for life: he also received the censorship under the new title of pr æfectus morum, in 708, for three years, and in 710 for life; then the consulate, first in 706, following ordinary forms (this was the immediate cause of the civil war), and successively for five years and for ten years, and once also without a colleague; moreover, not the tribuneship of the people, it is true, but the tribunitian power in 706 (48) for life; he was also given the first place in the senate with the right to direct the vote; finally, in 708 (46), he received the title of imperatorfor life. A mixture of laws and senate decrees conferred on Caesar the right to decide on peace and war, without consulting the senate or the people, the free disposal of armies and funds, the appointment of provincial governors, a right obligatory proposal with regard to a portion of elections in the comitia by centuries, the right to appoint patricians, and other extraordinary prerogatives of the same kind, not to mention empty honors and decorations. This was an attempt to dissolve the absolute authority of the monarch in his various individual elements.

The new name of imperator appears in all respects the true expression which befits this new monarchy, precisely because it is new, and we do not see that it was motivated by any external circumstance. From the point of view of public law, the new office of imperator was based on the position which the consuls and proconsuls occupied outside the pomœrium , so that not only the military command, but the supreme judicial and therefore administrative power was there. withdrawn. The authority of the imperatorwas, from the point of view of quality, superior to that of consuls and proconsuls, in that it was not limited in time or space, but was for life, hereditary, and exercised even in the capital, that the imperator could not, like the consul, be held in check by his colleagues of equal power.

In short, this new charge of imperatorwas nothing else than the reestablishment of primitive royal power; for it was these very restrictions, that is to say, what concerned the limitation of power as to place and time, the collegiation, the cooperation of the senate or the people, necessary in certain cases, that distinguished the consuls from the kings. There are few features of the new monarchy that are not found in the old one, the union of supreme military, judicial and administrative power in the hands of the prince, a religious presidency of the republic, the right to enact ordinances having the force of law, the reduction of the senate to the role of a council of state, the reestablishment of the patriciate and the prefecture of the city, the particular and quasi-hereditary character; for the constitution of Caesar, like that of Cromwell and Napoleon,allowed the monarch to name his successor in the form of adoption. We should no longer be astonished that Caesar, who was nothing less than a political antiquarian, went back five centuries to find the model of a new state. As a result, Caesar very aptly attached himself to Servius Tullius, just as Charlemagne later attached to Caesar, and Napoleon attempted to at least try to relate to Charlemagne. More than one of his vehement adherents advised him in different ways and at different times to take the crown, and more particularly Marc-Antoine, when he offered him as consul the diadem in front of all the people. But Caesar rejected all these proposals without exception.went back five centuries to find the model of a new state. As a result, Caesar very aptly attached himself to Servius Tullius, just as Charlemagne later attached to Caesar, and Napoleon attempted to at least try to relate to Charlemagne. More than one of his vehement adherents advised him in different ways and at different times to take the crown, and more particularly Marc-Antoine, when he offered him as consul the diadem in front of all the people. But Caesar rejected all these proposals without exception.went back five centuries to find the model of a new state. As a result, Caesar very aptly attached himself to Servius Tullius, just as Charlemagne later attached to Caesar, and Napoleon attempted to at least try to relate to Charlemagne. More than one of his vehement adherents advised him in different ways and at different times to take the crown, and more particularly Marc-Antoine, when he offered him as consul the diadem in front of all the people. But Caesar rejected all these proposals without exception.More than one of his vehement adherents advised him in different ways and at different times to take the crown, and more particularly Marc-Antoine, when he offered him as consul the diadem in front of all the people. But Caesar rejected all these proposals without exception.More than one of his vehement adherents advised him in different ways and at different times to take the crown, and more particularly Marc-Antoine, when he offered him as consul the diadem in front of all the people. But Caesar rejected all these proposals without exception.

But whatever the name, there was a sovereign there, and consequently the court established itself with all its procession of pomp, insipidity and emptiness. Caesar appeared in public, not in the garment of the consuls which was edged in purple, but in a robe all purple, which for antiquity constituted the royal garment, and he received; seated on a golden throne and without rising, the solemn deputation of the senate. The feasts commemorating his birth, his victories and his wishes filled the calendar.

Under a monarch as absolute in fact as Caesar was, there was little room for a constitution. Caesar returned fully and deliberately to the tradition of the royal period; the citizens' assembly became again what it had been at that time, with and with the king, the supreme and final expression of the will of the sovereign people; the senate returned to its original destination to give advice to the king when he asked for them.

For legislation, the democratic monarch remained faithful to the primitive custom of public law of the Romans, that all the citizens, in agreement with the king who summoned them, alone had the power to make organic laws for the republic, and he regularly sanctioned his ordinances by decree of the people.

While the democratic king thus granted the community of the people at least a formal share of sovereignty, it was in no way his intention to divide his authority with the body which had hitherto been the sovereign, the college of senators. . The senate of Caesar was to be, unlike the future senate of Augustus, a supreme council of state which he used to prepare laws, and to enact the most important administrative ordinances made by him, or at least under his last name ; for there were circumstances in which senatus-consulta had been given, without any of the senators who were designated as present there having had the slightest knowledge.

While the government of the nobility was thus set aside and its very existence undermined, and the Senate in its new form was no more than the instrument of the monarch, autocracy at the same time was introduced into the administration, and the state government; all executive power was concentrated in the hands of the monarch. First, the imperatornaturally decided all the questions in person. The Roman house was a machine where the intellectual power itself of slaves and freedmen was a product for the master: a master, who knew how to govern them, had at his service a multitude of intelligences. This was the ideal beauty of bureaucratic centralization; our accounting system tries to emulate it, but it remains as far from its prototype as the power of capital is inferior to the old system of slavery. What we can say with certainty is that Caesar did not have a second who exercised a personal influence on his work, or who even was initiated into the whole plan; he was not only the only master worker, but he worked without skillful associates, with vulgar companions.

Caesar took over the government of the entire financial and treasury system, and ruled it as he and the nobles of Rome used to administer their own property. For the future, the raising of provincial revenues, and, on the whole, the administration of the currency were entrusted to the slaves and freedmen of the imperator , to the exclusion of the men of the senatorial order: a considerable measure which gave birth over time to the important class of procuratores and the imperial house.

As for the governors, they became exclusively military leaders.

The magistrates of Rome were only the first among those of the empire, and the consulate in particular became a purely nominal post, which retained a certain practical importance only by virtue of the provincial government to which it gave right. The number of praetors and quaestors was at the same time doubled, as we have said, and the same was done for the plebeian aediles, to which were added two new "aediles for wheat ( ædiles cereales )", to supervise the supplies. from the capital. The nomination to these offices remained with the city, and was not subjected to any restriction as regards the consuls, the tribunes of the people and the plebeian aediles: the imperator reserved the right to present to the electors, who were to accept them, half of the praetors, aediles curules and quaestors who were to be appointed annually.

The faint luster that the cult of Jupiter could still spread shone around the newly established throne, and the old national faith became, in recent times, the instrument of the Caesarean papacy, which, however, was - from the beginning - hollow and weak. .

Caesar claimed the right to call capital cases as well as private trials in sole and last resort at his own bar, and to judge them personally if he was present, or by the lieutenant of the city in case of absence. In fact, we see him, like the ancient kings, sometimes sitting in court publicly at the Forum, to try Roman citizens accused of high treason, sometimes conducting a judicial investigation in his house, for client princes accused of the same crime. For the usual judicial procedure in criminal and civil cases, Caesar kept the old judicial institutions or kept the old way of delivering justice.

Political crimes continued, even under the monarchy, to be reported to a jury commission: the new decree that Caesar issued on this subject specified the punishable acts with precision and in a liberal spirit which excluded any prosecution for reasons of opinion, and fixed as penalty not death, but banishment.

Caesar's reorganization of the military system was limited to discipline which he tightened and fortified, for it had been loosened under the neglectful and incompetent control that had preceded. The military system of the Romans did not seem to him to require a radical reform of which he was not, moreover, susceptible: he accepted the elements of the army as Hannibal had done.

The most essential change introduced in the military system was the institution of a permanent military leader in the person of the imperator , who dominated a non-military governing corporation and incapable in all respects, united in his hands complete control of the army, and made it, instead of a largely nominal leadership, a real and supreme command.

Above all, Caesar was planning an expedition against the Parthians, to avenge the day of Carrhes. He had counted three years into this war, and was determined to put an end to these dangerous enemies once and for all, and with as much precaution as vigor. He had also planned to attack Boerebistas, king of the Getae, who greatly extended his power on both sides of the Danube, and to protect Italy in the northeast by border districts similar to those he had created for it in Gaul. On the other hand, there is no proof that Caesar, like Alexander, meditated an indefinite career of victories: it is said that he had thought of marching from Parthia to the Caspian Sea, and from the Caspian Sea to the sea. Black, and thence to the Danube, to annex Scythia and Germany to the empire as far as the Northern Ocean, which,according to the ideas of that time, was not very distant from Mauritania, and to return to Rome through Gaul; but no reliable authority guarantees the existence of these fabulous projects.

It is highly probable that Caesar asked the gods, like Scipio Emilien, not to increase the empire, but to preserve it, and that his projects of conquest were limited to a settlement of borders.

But, if it is only by probability that Caesar cannot be considered a conqueror of the world, in the same sense as Alexander and Napoleon, it is certain that his plan was not to base his new monarchy mainly on the the army, nor to place military authority above civil authority, but to incorporate it into the civil community, and, as far as possible, to subordinate it to it. The main pillars of the military state, these old and famous legions of Gaul were honorably dissolved, owing to the incompatibility of their esprit de corps with the civil status, and their glorious name was perpetuated only in the newly civilized communities. founded. The soldiers received lots of land from Caesar; but they were not, like those of Sylla, established together and militarily in particular colonies,but especially in Italy, isolated as much as possible.

Although still surrounded by assassins and knowing it well, Caesar rejected the proposal made in the Senate to institute a private guard; he dismissed, as soon as peace was restored a little, the Spanish escort with whom he had first surrounded himself in the capital and contented himself with a series of lictors sanctioned by the traditional custom for the supreme magistrates of Rome.

Destiny is more powerful than genius. Caesar wanted to become the restorer of the republic, and he became the founder of the military monarchy he abhorred; he overthrew the regime of the aristocrats and the bankers, to substitute for it the military regime, and the republic continued as before to be tyrannized and exploited by a privileged minority. It is nevertheless the privilege of the highest natures to go astray while creating. Brilliant attempts by great men to realize the ideal, even when they fall short of their goal, form the safest treasure of nations. It was thanks to the work of Caesar that the Roman military state did not become a police government for centuries and that the imperatoresRomans employed the army, not against the citizens, but against the public enemy.

The settlement of financial affairs caused relatively little difficulty owing to the solid foundations provided by the vastness of the empire and the exclusion from the credit system.

As soon as the reins of financial administration were in the hands of Caesar and no longer of the senators, a new life, a more severe order and more unity in the management, made themselves felt in all the cogs of this vast machine. The two institutions which owed their origin to Caius Gracchus, and which devoured, like gangrene, the finances of the State, the farm of public revenues and the distribution of wheat, were partly reformed.

While, according to the Sempronia law, renewed by Cato, all the Roman citizens established in Rome had a right to the distributions of wheat without paying, this list of indigent, which had reached the figure of 320,000, was reduced, by the exclusion of those who had means of subsistence or for other reasons, at 150,000 and this number was definitively fixed as being that of the men who were entitled to distributions. By this change from a political privilege to a charitable institution; a principle as remarkable from a moral point of view as from a historical point of view was born into life.

The old Latin race had long since completely disappeared from Rome. From all corners of the vast empire one saw flocking to Rome a crowd of people who had come for speculation, for debauchery, for intrigue, for crime, or to elude the eyes of the law. These were evils inseparable from a capital; but there were others which were more accidental and which were perhaps even more serious. There has perhaps never been a great city more incapable than Rome of being self-sufficient: the importation on the one hand, and the domestic manufacture by slaves on the other, returned there early all the way. free industry impossible.

The popular festivals had increased in duration so much that the seven ordinary festivals alone, the Roman, the plebeian, that of the mother of the gods, of Ceres, of Apollo, of Flora and of Victory, together lasted sixty-two days: to which must be added the gladiatorial fights and many other extraordinary amusements. The duty of providing grain at low prices, which was inevitably necessary with a proletariat which lived from day to day, was carried out with extreme lightness, and the fluctuations in the price of bread wheat were truly fabulous. Finally, the grain distributions officially invited the entire proletariat, which was dying of hunger and did not want to work, to stay in the capital. The seed was bad, and the crop suffered.

People always saw famine before them, and often complete famine. Nowhere was no man less sure of his life than in the capital: professional murder carried out by bandits was the only business that was peculiar to him: before the assassination, the victim was lured to Rome; no one ventured into the vicinity of the capital without being armed and followed. The internal condition corresponded to this external disorganization, and seemed a bitter satire of aristocratic government. Nothing was done to correct the course of the Tiber; except that one made build in stone, at least until the island of the Tiber, the only bridge which one still uses. No more was done to level the city on the Seven Hills, except perhaps where the accumulation of filth had corrected the level.The streets went up and down narrow and angular, and were horribly ill-kept: the sidewalks were narrow and badly paved. The ordinary houses were built of brick and without care, and reached an extraordinary height, by the fact of entrepreneurs who worked for the small owners: the former thus became prodigiously rich, and the others were reduced to the last misery. Like isolated islands in the middle of this sea of ​​hovels, one saw the splendid palaces of the rich rise up, which ate up the space of small houses, as their owners devoured the rights of the little ones in the State: beside these marble palaces and of these Greek statues the ruined temples, with their images of the gods which were largely made of wood, made a melancholy figure.The surveillance of the streets, platforms and construction was absolutely unknown. If the government dealt with the daily floods and fires and falls of houses, it was only to ask the theologians of the state for their report and their opinion as to the significance of these signs and wonders. If we imagine London with the slave population of New Orleans, with the police in Constantinople, with the anti-industrial character of modern Rome, and agitated by policies such as those of Paris in 1848, we will get an idea. approximate republican glory, of which Cicero and his supporters lament the loss in their unreasonable letters.of the fires and falls of houses which were daily, it was only to ask the theologians of the state for their report and their opinion as to the significance of these signs and wonders. If we imagine London with the slave population of New Orleans, with the police in Constantinople, with the anti-industrial character of modern Rome, and agitated by policies such as those of Paris in 1848, we will get an idea. approximate republican glory, of which Cicero and his supporters lament the loss in their unreasonable letters.of the fires and falls of houses which were daily, it was only to ask the theologians of the state for their report and their opinion as to the significance of these signs and wonders. If we imagine London with the slave population of New Orleans, with the police in Constantinople, with the anti-industrial character of modern Rome, and agitated by policies such as those of Paris in 1848, we will get an idea approximate republican glory, of which Cicero and his supporters lament the loss in their unreasonable letters.If we imagine London with the slave population of New Orleans, with the police in Constantinople, with the anti-industrial character of modern Rome, and agitated by policies such as those of Paris in 1848, we will get an idea approximate republican glory, of which Cicero and his supporters lament the loss in their unreasonable letters.If we imagine London with the slave population of New Orleans, with the police in Constantinople, with the anti-industrial character of modern Rome, and agitated by policies such as those of Paris in 1848, we will get an idea. approximate republican glory, of which Cicero and his supporters lament the loss in their unreasonable letters.

Caesar worked energetically for the reform of this lamentable and shameful state of affairs. Unfortunately the most essential ailments were the most incurable. Caesar could not abolish slavery with its attendant national calamities. Caesar could just as little create industry in the capital. However, the great constructions remedied to a certain point this lack of fulcrum which it encountered, and it opened up to the proletariat a source of limited but honorable gains.

The ranks of the existing proletariat were cleared up, on the one hand, by the courts which pursued the multitude with relentless vigor, and on the other hand, by a large trans-marine colonization. New measures were taken to limit the incessant fluctuation of the price of the most essential commodities on the capital market. The club system was reformed. The same was true of the corruption and violence, which had prevailed in the Republican elections and in the courts, and generally of the Saturnalia of the rabble, which ended on their own. To this was added a stricter administration of criminal justice and an energetic police force. The emperor did not disdain to oblige the owners to repair the roads and to pave the sidewalk in all its width,and also issued ordinances on litter carriers and carters who, owing to the narrowness of the streets, were only allowed to circulate freely in the capital during the night.

It was not only by the extent of the buildings themselves and the size of the sums spent on them that Caesar prevailed over his predecessors; but the true sense of what was necessary for the public good distinguishes what Caesar did for the public institutions of Rome. He does not build temples and other splendid constructions like his successors; at the Forum were held the assemblies of the people, the courts, the stock exchange, work and everyday idleness; at least he got rid of the assemblies and the tribunals, by building new comitia for the people, the Septa Julia at the Champ de Mars, and for the tribunals a special place of session, the Forum Julium, between the Capitol and the Palatine. Plans had already been made for a new palace of the senate, for a new and magnificent bazaar, for a theater which was to rival that of Pompey, for a Latin and Greek library on the model of the one which had been recently destroyed in Alexandria, and which would have been the first institution of this nature in Rome, finally for a temple of Mars, which was to surpass all that had hitherto existed in wealth and glory.

Despite the most serious attempts to annihilate small estates, renting was no longer the predominant feature of agriculture at this time, with the possible exception of the Apennine and Abruzzo valleys. In the estates of Tusculum and Tibur, on the shores of Terracina and Baia, where the ancient Latin farmers had sown and harvested, one now saw the villas of the Roman nobles rising in empty splendor, some of which covered the space of a medium-sized city with their outbuildings of gardens, aqueducts, freshwater and saltwater fishponds for the conservation and multiplication of sea fish and freshwater fish, warrens for hares, rabbits, deer, roe deer, wild boar, and aviaries for pheasants and peacocks.

The rivalry of the fruit gardeners was carried so far that in the elegant villas the fruit tree was clad in marble and arranged like a dining room.

The valley of Rieti, the surroundings of Lake Fucin, the districts of Liris and Volturne, and central Italy in general, were, as regards culture, in a flourishing condition: there were even certain branches of industry. which were favorable auxiliaries of agriculture and, when the circumstances were right, one built on the property inns, factories of cloth, and especially brickyards. The wine owners of Italy and the owners of olive trees, not only supplied the markets of Italy, but exported a great quantity of their products beyond the seas.

As a result of this economic system which was based, from the agricultural and mercantile point of view, on the mass of capital and on speculation, a terrible disproportion was born in the distribution of wealth. The hackneyed phrase of a republic made up of millionaires and beggars was perhaps never so well applied as in Rome at the end of the republic. A true middle class, in the true sense of the word, there could not be, for a similar class could not exist in a slave state.

The aristocrat fought with the plebeian to do nothing; if one lay down on the pavement, the other stayed in bed until the middle of the day. Extravagance, and a tasteless extravagance, prevailed. It spread in politics and in the theater, and naturally so as to corrupt both. The office of consul was bought at an enormous price; in the summer of 700 (54), the first degree vote was paid for only 10,000,000 sesterces (2,500,000 gold frs), and all the pleasure that the educated man finds in the theater was spoiled by taste messy decoration.

But no luxury was more common than the crudest of all, the luxury of the table. All the arrangements of the villas and all the country life were subordinated to dinner; not only did we have different dining rooms for summer and winter, but we served dinner in the painting gallery, in the fruit tree, in the aviary, or on an elevated platform in the deer park, and around which, when the local Orpheus appeared in theatrical costume and made his accents heard, the well-trained deer and wild boar were grouped together. Such was the care given to the decoration; but for this reason we did not forget the realities: not only was the cook a scholar in gastronomy, but the master himself often made himself the teacher of his cook.No naturalist has ever scrutinized the land and the seas with more zeal to find new animals and new plants than the epicureans of that time to find culinary rarities. We were not surprised to see a guest take emetic after a banquet, to avoid the consequences of too great a variety of dishes placed in front of him. Debauchery in all its forms became so systematic and scholarly that it found teachers, who lived by the lessons they gave to young people of quality on the theory and practice of vice.to avoid the consequences of too great a variety of dishes placed in front of him. Debauchery in all its forms became so systematic and scholarly that it found teachers, who lived by the lessons they gave to young people of quality on the theory and practice of vice.to avoid the consequences of too great a variety of dishes placed in front of him. Debauchery in all its forms became so systematic and scholarly that it found teachers, who lived by the lessons they gave to young people of quality on the theory and practice of vice.

The princely fortunes of this period had already had only debts that were also princely: Caesar, around 692 (62) after deduction of his assets, owed 25,000,000 sesterces (6,250,000 gold francs); Marc-Antoine, at twenty-four, 6,000,000 sesterces (1,500,000 gold frs), fourteen years later, 40,000,000 sesterces (10 million gold frs).

In such circumstances, morality and family life were treated as old prejudices in all classes of society. To be poor was not only the greatest misfortune and the worst of crimes, but the only misfortune and the only crime: for money, the statesman sold his country and the citizen his freedom; the rank of officer and the vote of the juror were bought at a price of money; quality women sold themselves like courtesans.

As a consequence of such a social condition, the Latin race in Italy had undergone an alarming decrease, and its beautiful provinces were in the grip either of parasitic emigrants or of complete desolation. A considerable portion of the population of Italy took refuge in foreign countries.

As the rivers are colored in different shades, while a sewer always has the same color, Italy of the Ciceronian era substantially resembles the Greece of Polybius, and even more to Carthage of the time of Hannibal, where of even the omnipotence of capital ruined the middle class, raised trade and large property to the highest prosperity, and finally led to moral and political corruption coated with a veneer of hypocrisy. All the crimes that capital has been guilty of against nations and civilizations in the modern world, remain inferior to the abominations of the ancient slave states.

Caesar devoted all his energy to bringing the nation back, by special intervention, to its home and family life, and to reforming the national economy by law and decree.

In order to prevent the continual emigration of Italians, and to persuade people of quality and merchants to settle in their homeland, not only were the time of service shortened, but men of senatorial rank no longer had the permission to leave Italy. As emperor, he offered extraordinary rewards for the fathers of many families, while, as supreme judge of the nation, he treated divorce and adultery with a severity unprecedented in Roman history. He restricted the use of purple robes and pearls to certain times, to certain ages and to certain classes, and totally prohibited them for grown men; he set a maximum for the expense of the table, and directly defended several luxury dishes.

Caesar refused the abolition of debts, but as early as 705 (49) two important concessions were made. First, the late interest was waived, and what had been paid was deducted from the principal. Second, the creditor was obliged to accept the movable and immovable property of the debtor in lieu of payment of the estimated value before the civil war.

In the agrarian question, Caesar, who already, in his first consulate, had been in a position to settle it, was more judicious than Tiberius Gracchus and did not seek to re-establish the farming system at any cost. On the other hand, in his strictly economic manner, which tolerated neither profusion nor neglect, even on a small scale, he instituted a commission of twenty members for the general revision of the titles of property of Italy, and destined the whole earth domanial of Italy (containing a considerable portion of the lands which were in the hands of spiritual corporations, but which legally belonged to the State) to be distributed in the manner of the Gracchi, as it was suitable for agriculture . By deciding that the new owners would not have the right to alienate the land they had received for twenty years,Caesar found a happy medium between the complete concession of the right of alienation which would soon have returned much of the alienated lands to the hands of the capitalists, and the permanent restrictions on the freedom of the land trade which Tiberius Gracchus and Sylla had established, all two equally to no avail.

The provinces that Caesar found existing were fourteen: seven European, later and citier Spain, transalpine Gaul, Italic Gaul with Illyria, Macedonia with Greece, Sicily, Sardinia with Corsica; five Asians: Asia, Bithynia and Pontus, Cilicia with Cyprus, Syria, Crete; and two Africans: Cyrenaica and Africa. To these provinces, Caesar added three new ones by the erection of the new governments of Gaul in Lyon and of Belgium and by constituting Italy in a separate province.

In the administration of these provinces, oligarchic disorder reached a point which, despite many notable examples of this kind, surpasses anything that has ever been seen, at least in the West, and which seems impossible. 'after our ideas, to be able to surpass. Ordinary taxes became much more oppressive by the unequal manner in which they were distributed and by the absurd system which governed the levy, than by their importance. As to the burden of the garrisons, Roman statesmen themselves were of the opinion that a city suffered almost as much when a Roman army took up its winter quarters there, as when an enemy stormed it.

In client states, the burden was even worse. The Roman oligarchy resembled in this respect a band of thieves and carried out the plundering of the provincials according to the system of business.

Thanks to the low value of Roman property and the absence of maritime police, brigands and pirates swarmed everywhere. In Sardinia and in the interior of Asia Minor, brigandage was endemic; in Africa and subsequent Spain it became necessary to fortify all buildings constructed outside the city limits.

The system of administration was completely overhauled by Caesar. Governments were still no doubt distributed between the consuls who retired annually and sixteen praetors; but as the imperator named eight directly, and the distribution of the provinces depended entirely on him, they were, in reality, distributed by the imperator., and the levying of taxes was henceforth entrusted, even in the provinces, to imperial officers. The magistrates of Caesar were there to protect the weak against the strong, and instead of the old more than useless control of the equestrian or senatorial courts, they were to answer, on their own account, at the bar of a just monarch and severe. The law on exactions, of which Caesar, in his first consulate, had already made the provisions more severe, was applied by him against the principal governors of provinces with an inexorable rigor which sometimes even exceeded the letter of the law.

So, although the old wounds were still bleeding, with Caesar we saw the dawn of a more tolerable age, the first intelligent and human government that had appeared for centuries, and a policy of peace which was not based on cowardice, but on strength. The subjects had at least as much reason as the best Romans to weep over the coffin of their great liberator.

On the other hand, the reciprocal fusion of the Latin character and the Hellenic character was, it can be said, as old as Rome. On the occasion of the union of Italy, the conquering Latin nation had assimilated all the other conquered nationalities, if not the Greek element, which had been received in its integrity and as it stands. found. Wherever the Roman legionary went, the Greek schoolmaster, also a conqueror in his own way, followed him: early we see distinguished Greek masters established on the Guadalquivir, and Greek taught at the same time as the Latin at the Osca Institute. The highest Roman culture was, in fact, only the proclamation of the great Gospel of Greek manners and art in the Latin idiom:the Greek could hardly protest against the modest pretensions of the victors who proclaimed their civilization to the barbarians of the East, in the language of the Greeks themselves. Wherever the Greek dominated, where the national feeling was the purest, at the borders threatened by barbaric denationalization, in Marseilles for example, on the northern coast of the Black Sea, on the Euphrates and on the Tigris, people called for Rome as protector and avenger of Hellenism; and, in fact, the foundations of cities by Pompey in the Far East were resuming, after an interruption of several centuries, the beneficent work of Alexander.in Marseilles, for example, on the northern coast of the Black Sea, on the Euphrates and on the Tigris, people were called upon to Rome as the protector and avenger of Hellenism; and, in fact, the foundations of cities by Pompey in the Far East were resuming, after an interruption of several centuries, the beneficent work of Alexander.in Marseilles, for example, on the northern coast of the Black Sea, on the Euphrates and on the Tigris, people were called upon to Rome as the protector and avenger of Hellenism; and, in fact, the foundations of cities by Pompey in the Far East resumed, after an interruption of several centuries, the beneficent work of Alexander.

The idea of ​​the Hellenic-Italic Empire with two languages ​​and one nationality was not new: otherwise it would have been only a mistake; but to make it pass from the state of a floating project to a continuous conception, from primitive efforts to a sure and definitive conception, such was the work of the third and the greatest of the democratic statesmen of Rome.

In Africa, the project that Caius Gracchus could not achieve was carried out, and in the place where had been raised the city of the hereditary enemies of Rome, 3,000 Italian colonists and a great number of farmers residing in the Carthaginian territory were established: the new colony of Venus, Roman Carthage, rose with great rapidity, thanks to the favorable circumstances presented by its situation. Utique, which had hitherto been the capital and the first Latin city of the province, had to some extent received, in the grant of Latin rights, compensation for the restoration of its ancient rival. In the Numidian territory newly annexed to the empire, the important Cirta and the other cities assigned to the Roman condottiere Publius Sittius for himself and his troops,obtained the rights of the Roman military colonies.

In the desolate land of Greece, Caesar, besides other plans such as the establishment of a Roman colony at Buthrotum (opposite Corfu), was mainly concerned with the restoration of Corinth. Not only was a large colony of citizens brought there, but a plan was made to cross the isthmus, so as to avoid the dangerous circumnavigation of the Peloponnese and to pass all traffic between Italy and Asia through the Corinthian Gulf. Saronic. Finally, in the Greek Far East, the monarch founded Italic establishments: on the Black Sea, for example, in Heraclea and Sinope, which the colonists from Italy shared, as in Emporiæ, with the ancient inhabitants; on the coast of Syria, in the important city of Berytos, which, like Sinope, obtained an Italic constitution, and even in Egypt,where a Roman station was established on the island of Pharos which dominated the harbor of Alexandria.

By these provisions, the municipal liberty of Italy was extended to the provinces in a much more extensive manner than previously. The complete cities, that is to say all the cities of the Cisalpine provinces and the cities of citizens, and the municipalities scattered in transalpine Gaul and elsewhere, were on an equal footing with those of Italy, in the sense that 'they administered their own affairs and exercised limited jurisdiction. Autonomous Latin cities for form and other emancipated cities, including those of Narbonne Gaul, all those of Sicily, insofar as they were not cities of citizens, and a considerable number of cities in the other provinces , not only had free administration, but probably unlimited jurisdiction as well;so that the governor could only intervene by virtue of his administrative control, which was, it is true, very arbitrary.

Italy was converted, from the mistress of the subject peoples, into the mother of the renewed Italo-Hellenic nation. The Cisalpine province, completely assimilated to the mother country, was a promise and a guarantee that, in Caesar's monarchy, as in the best days of the republic, any Latinized district could hope to be placed on an equal footing with its elders. and with the motherland itself. The neighboring lands, Greek Sicily and the South of Gaul, which quickly became Latin, were on the threshold of political and national equalization with Italy. At a less advanced stage of preparation were the other provinces of the empire, in which, as in southern Gaul Narbo was a Roman colony, the great maritime cities, Emporiæ, Gades, Carthage, Corinth, Heraclea, Pontica, Sinope, Béryte,Alexandria, had become Italic or Helleno-Italic cities, centers of Roman civilization in the Greek East, fundamental pillars of the future equality of all parts of the empire.

The new state needed a common worship which was in accordance with Italo-Hellenic thought and a general code of laws superior to the municipal statutes. He needed it and, in fact, these things already existed. In the field of religion, men had spent centuries merging Italic and Hellenic worship together, either by adopting outwardly or inwardly arranging the different conceptions of gods; and, thanks to this flexible character of the gods of Italy, there was little difficulty in transforming Jupiter into Zeus, Venus into Aphrodite, and likewise all the essential ideas of the Latin faith into their Hellenic counterpart.

These were the foundations of Caesar's new monarchy. For the second time, in Rome, the social question had reached a crisis, where antagonism seemed to be and was indeed inevitable and irreconcilable. On the first occasion, Rome had been saved by the fact that Italy had drowned in Rome, and Rome in Italy, and, in the new, Rome remains enlarged, changed; the old antagonism, if it had not been reconciled, had at least greatly weakened. This time Rome was saved again, because the countries of the Mediterranean drowned in Rome or prepared to drown there; the war between poor and rich Italians, which in old Italy could only end with the destruction of the nation, no longer had a battlefield or meaning in the Italy of the three continents.The Latin colonies filled the abyss which threatened to engulf the Roman city in the fifth century: the even wider abyss of the seventh century was filled by the transmarine colonizations of Caius Gracchus and Caesar. For Rome alone, history not only performed miracles, but it renewed them and twice healed the internal crisis, which in the State itself was incurable, by regenerating the State. There was undoubtedly a lot of corruption in this regeneration; as the union of Italy was accomplished on the ruins of the Samnite and Etruscan nations, the Mediterranean monarchy was built on the ruin of the innumerable states and of the once living and vigorous tribes; but it was a corruption that brought about a rebirth, part of which has survived to the present day. What we knocked down to build,They were secondary nationalities which had long been pointed out for the leveling hand destruction of civilization. Caesar, wherever he destroyed, did nothing but pronounce the verdict of history; but he defended the seeds of civilization such as he found them, in his own country as in the midst of the chosen nation of the Hellenes. He saved and renewed the Roman element; and, not only did he spare the Greek element, but, with the same independent genius which he applied to the renovation of Rome, he undertook the regeneration of the Greeks, and resumed the interrupted work of the great Alexander whose image like us we can imagine, was never absent from Caesar's soul. He solved the two great tasks, not only side by side, but one by means of the other. The two great essential traits of humanity,general and individual development, state and civilization, formerly united in embryo among these ancient Greeks-Italians who grazed their flocks in the heart of primitive simplicity, far from the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean, had separated when the Italiots and Hellenes were divided, and remained isolated for centuries. Now the descendant of the Trojan prince and the daughter of the king of Lazio created, with a state that had no distinct civilization and a cosmopolitan culture, a new whole, in which state and culture came together to produce a harvest rich and blessed in a sphere appropriate to their union.once reunited in embryo with these ancient Greeks-Italians who grazed their herds in a primitive simplicity, far from the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean, had separated when the division between the Italiots and the Hellenes took place, and remained isolated for centuries. Now the descendant of the Trojan prince and the daughter of the king of Lazio created, with a state that had no distinct civilization and a cosmopolitan culture, a new whole, in which state and culture came together to produce a harvest rich and blessed in a sphere appropriate to their union.once reunited in embryo among these ancient Greeks-Italians who grazed their herds in a primitive simplicity, far from the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean, had separated when the division between the Italiots and the Hellenes took place, and remained isolated for centuries. Now the descendant of the Trojan prince and the daughter of the king of Lazio created, with a state that had no distinct civilization and a cosmopolitan culture, a new whole, in which state and culture came together to produce a harvest rich and blessed in a sphere appropriate to their union.Now the descendant of the Trojan prince and the daughter of the king of Lazio created, with a state that had no distinct civilization and a cosmopolitan culture, a new whole, in which state and culture came together to produce a harvest rich and blessed in a sphere appropriate to their union.Now the descendant of the Trojan prince and the daughter of the king of Lazio created, with a state that had no distinct civilization and a cosmopolitan culture, a new whole, in which state and culture came together to produce a harvest rich and blessed in a sphere appropriate to their union.

We have sketched the work that Caesar conceived and that posterity, retained for centuries in the paths traced by this great man, tried to pursue, if not with intelligence and energy, at least in agreement with the intentions of the illustrious master. There was nothing finished, and many lines were barely sketched. We would have to compete in genius with such a man to say whether the plan was complete; but we do not see any essential defect in what we have in front of us, each stone of the building would be enough to make a man immortal, and yet all contribute to form a harmonious whole. Caesar ruled as king of Rome for five and a half years, barely half of Alexander's reign: in the interval of seven great campaigns which did not allow him to stay fifteen months in all in Rome,he regulated the destinies of the world for the present and the future, from the establishment of a border between civilization and barbarism until the abolition of the ponds of water in the capital, and he kept enough time and possession of himself to follow the crowned plays to the theater and to award the crown to the winner with improvised verses. The speed and precision with which the plan was executed prove that it had been long meditated and studied in all its parts, which does not prevent them from being as wonderful as the plan itself. The main features were outlined, and the new State was defined for the rest of the time which alone could complete it. Caesar could say that his work was complete; that's what he probably meant when he said he had lived long enough.But precisely because the edifice was immense, the master added to it during his life, stone upon stone, with the same skill and the same laborious elasticity, as if he had no tomorrow. He worked and created, as mortal never did, and as a worker and creator, after twenty centuries, he has remained in the imagination of the peoples as the first, the only, the Emperor Caesar.

Theodor Mommsen, History of Rome (extracts), Editions Rombaldi, 1960.

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