

THE INSTITUTE FOR ANACYCLOSIS

EXCERPT FROM
A HISTORY AND DESCRIPTION OF ROMAN POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS
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Note: This text arranges the major inflection points of the socioeconomic and constitutional history of the Roman republic in such organization to demonstrate the full sequence of Anacyclosis without the need to change its original order. Abbott views the history of Rome from an angle that makes the outline of Anacyclosis almost self-evident. Solely for the sake of brevity, some content from the original source has been omitted, but Abbott's work is recommended in its entirety, as one could obtain a respectable understanding of Roman history on the basis of this work alone. The reader who pays careful attention to the great changes in Roman republican history and the causality which lies behind them will doubtless be able to detect many parallels with modern history, especially with respect to the decline of the middle class, the concentration of wealth, and the growing power of demagogues.

Part I – Monarchical Period. Section 1 – Historical. Chapter I. Rome Under the Kings. 3. The Founding of Rome.

... Greek and Roman writers dated the founding of the city all the way from 753 to 747 B.C. The first mentioned date, which Varro adopted, is perhaps the one most commonly accepted by the ancients. From this time to the establishment of the republic, in 509 B.C., seven kings reigned, by name Romulus, Numa Pompilius, Tullus Hostilius, Ancius Marcius, L. Tarquinius Priscus, Servius Tullius, and L. Tarquinius Superbus.

Id. 4. The Regal Period.

According to tradition, the first king laid the political foundations for the city, by creating the senate, and by dividing the people into *curiae*. He also extended Roman power by successful wars. Numa Pompilius is the antithesis, in many ways, of Romulus. He organized priesthoods, established religious rites, and sought to develop the religious life of the people. It was the main purpose of Tullus Hostilius, as it had been that of Romulus, to extend the material power of Rome. Ancus Marcius, the fourth king, represents in a way the two types in combination. The peaceful development of Rome was furthered in his reign by the founding of Ostia and the bridging of the Tiber, while her prestige in war was maintained with success. To L. Tarquinius, who was a Greek by descent, but came to Rome from Tarquinii in Etruria, many of the great public works of Rome, notably the Circus and the Cloaca Maxima, were attributed. He distinguished himself likewise in wars against the Latins and Etruscans.

After Romulus, Servius Tullius was regarded as the great political organizer of the Romans. To him tradition ascribed the division of the people into classes and centuries, the introduction of the *tribus* as a local unit of organization, and the completion of the great encircling wall. Tarquinius Superbus is the typical tyrant, and the outrage of Lucretia by his son Sextus marked the climax of the autocratic course pursued by his family, and led to the overthrow of the monarchy. ...

Id. 9. Treatment of Conquered Peoples.

The history of Rome under the kings falls naturally into two epochs. The second of these two periods covers the reigns of the last three kings, and is characterized by the extension of Rome's territory, by the

development of the plebs and their partial incorporation into the body politic, by the appearance on the throne of kings of foreign birth, and by the fact that the monarchy became hereditary. ...

Id. 13. Political Changes.

The form of government underwent a noteworthy change under the Tarquins in the substitution of an hereditary for an elective monarchy, and in the subordination of the senate to the king. The first of these two changes is indicated plainly enough by the kinship existing between the last three kings, and by the passage of the scepter to Servius Tullius and to Tarquinius Superbus without the observance of the interregnum. The fact just mentioned illustrates also the autocratic attitude which the reigning family assumed toward the senate. On the death of the king under the old régime the *auspicia* reverred to the senate, and that body, through representatives chosen from its own number, exercised the supreme executive power. The assumption of power by Servius Tullius and Tarquinius Superbus, *neque populi iussu neque auctoribus patribus* (Liv. I. 49. 3), made a serious breach in the theory that the senate was the ultimate depository of supreme power, gave a dangerous continuity to the king's office and prevented the choice by the senate of a monarch satisfactory to it.

The jealousy which the patricians felt at this usurpation of power by the king led to the overthrow of the monarchy. There are some indications of a *rapprochement* between the king and the plebeians, but the plebeians were exhausted and embittered by the long-continued service in the army and by forced labor in the construction of public works, so that they either did not come to the defense of Tarquinius Superbus, or helped the patricians to overthrow him.

Part II – Republican Period. Section 1 – Historical. Chapter III. The Patrician City. 25. The Chief Magistracy.

Tradition is probably right in making the transition from the monarchy to the republic a sudden one, – the outcome of a revolution. The most important result of this revolution consisted in the changes which the chief magistracy underwent. In place of the *rex*, who under the old regal constitution was the choice of the *patres*, and held office for life, two chief executives, called *praetores*, or leaders, [later called consuls] were chosen annually by the whole body of citizens. ... the popular assembly, in which the consul was chosen, was controlled by the patricians, just as was the senate, which had practically chosen the king. ...

Id. 27. The People.

The centuriate *comitia* was at the outset a military organization solely, and it was slow in acquiring political functions, but the growth was a natural one. ... The eighteen centuries of knights acting with the eighty centuries of the first class constituted a majority [in the *comitia centuriata*], and, since most of the rich landholders were probably patricians, the body had a pronounced aristocratic character. ...

... the plebeians found their position intolerable under the new chief magistrates. The condition of foreign affairs, however, helped them to wrest from the aristocracy some protection against the patrician consuls. In 494, when Rome was engaged in a fierce struggle with the Aequi and Volsci, the plebeian soldiers refused to march against the enemy, and took up their position on a hill a few miles from the city. The patricians proposed a compromise at once, and the plebeians returned to their duties on condition that they should be allowed to elect annual officials ... with sufficient power to protect them against the autocratic action of the consuls. The new officials took their title of *tribune plebis* ... From this time forth the plebeians had political leaders of their own, and the great struggle between the orders begins with their appearance, although important political results cannot be seen for a generation or two.

Id. 29. Agrarian Agitation.

Under the monarchy the disposal of land gained in war was left to the king ... His fairly impartial attitude towards all classes would lead him to make arrangements at least tolerable for the plebeians. But the patrician senate and consul inherited the king's power in this matter, and the plebeians gained little from the new territory which their own valor had helped to secure. They suffered not only financially, but also politically, from this state of things. Membership in the classes, on which the centuriate organization was based, depended on the ownership of land. Now, if no new land was thrown open to the plebeians, as they increased in number from generation to generation, the average holdings of each one of them would decrease, and plebeians would drop into the lower classes, or become landless. This was the state of things which led Spurius Cassius, himself a patrician, to advocate the assignment of certain conquered territory to the plebeians. His proposition, which tradition assigns to the year 486, brought no immediate results, but, as Livy notices (II. 41. 3), it marks the beginning of an agrarian agitation which went on to the close of the republican period.

Id. 30. The Decemvirate.

The third great achievement of the plebs during the period under consideration, the publication of the twelve tables, was the result of a long and bitter struggle. ... in 451 a compromise between the two parties was arranged, to the effect that the consuls and tribunes should alike give place to a commission of ten men ... who should not only exercise the functions of chief magistrates, but should be empowered to publish a code of laws binding on the whole community. The commission of the first year drew up ten tables, but left their task unfinished at the end of their term of office. The commission of the second year, so the story goes, took up the work where its predecessor had left off, but its conduct was so overbearing that the plebeians withdrew to the Aventine, and the decemvirs were forced out of office. ... Whatever the truth of the whole matter may have been, we know that the plebs demanded and secured, as the price of their return [in 449], the restoration of the tribunate, and the concession of certain rights which the conservative leaders Valerius and Horatius secured for them. ...

Id. 35. Economic Difficulties.

The political situation, which was already serious, in consequence of the repeated disappointments of the plebeians, was still further complicated by the development of an agrarian difficulty. We have already had occasion to notice ... the unfair treatment in the division of land to which the plebeians were subject, and the economical and political hardships which resulted from it. This difficulty steadily grew in seriousness. In the first third of the fourth century B.C. there was an almost unbroken series of wars with the Aequi, the Volsci, the Latins, and the people of Veii. During these long campaigns, patrician estates could be cultivated by dependents, but the returns from the little holdings of the poor plebeian grew smaller and smaller, and the land itself steadily deteriorated in value. Undoubtedly, also, the peasant proprietor was finding it more and more difficult to compete with the owner of large estates.

Id. 36. The Leges Liciniae Sextiae.

This was the political and economic condition of the plebs which the two tribunes of the year 377, C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius, endeavored to relieve. They accomplished their object in 367, after ten years of agitation, by securing the passage of a *lex saturna*, or law covering the various matters in dispute. The contents of the law are somewhat in doubt, but ... it included the following points: (1) restoration of the consulship, with the provision that one of the two consuls should always be a plebeian; (2) a provision forbidding an individual to occupy more than five hundred acres of arable land belonging to the state, and to pasture more than one hundred head of cattle and five hundred sheep on the common pasture land; (3) an article fixing the proportional number of free laborers and slaves to be employed on any estate; (4) a

clause providing that interest already paid on debts should be deducted from the principal, and that three years should be allowed for the payment of the rest ...

Id. 37. Results of the Struggle.

The first point in these laws marks the beginning of the end of the patricio-plebeian struggle. ... The third provision was evidently the result of an effort to check the growth of an evil which ultimately drove peasant proprietors and free laborers out of the country districts, and transformed Italy into a land of large estates worked by slaves. The fourth measure is the forerunner of the socialistic legislation of the next century, and foreshadows a re-division of the people into rich and poor, as soon as political equality has been secured. ...

Part II – Republican Period. Section 1 – Historical. Chapter IV. The Struggle Between the Orders. 42. The Period from 367 to 287.

... The history of the period in question is primarily a history of the early efforts which the plebeians made to gain political equality with the patricians. The passage of the Licinian laws marks their first great success. Their victory was made complete, and the struggle came to an end when the Hortensian law was passed in the year 287, making the assemblies independent legislative bodies. The last-mentioned year, therefore, marks a new dividing line in the development of Roman political institutions, so that it is convenient to treat the history of internal affairs during the years from 367 to 287 as a unit. ...

Id. 48. The Appearance of the Nobilitas.

Under the new régime the choice of senators was made indirectly by the people in their centuriate and tribal assemblies. ... since wealth became a more and more influential factor in politics and society [*note: coinage was introduced into Rome around this time, c. 300*], and since the *imagines* of distinguished families appealed in a forcible, concrete way to the Roman's deeply rooted respect for the past, political office, and consequently a seat in the senate, became practically the hereditary privilege of a new patricio-plebeian aristocracy, the *nobilitas*, which from this time took the place in the state and in society which the patricians had formerly held. The exclusive rights of the old aristocracy had rested on the law. ... The privileges of the new aristocracy depended, not on the law, but on the organization of society. Nothing but a revolution could, therefore, take them away. In this way the appearance of the *nobilitas* marks a turning point in Roman history, and the whole history of the republic falls into two great epochs. In one the patricians are in the ascendant, in the other the *nobilitas*.

A contest of two hundred years had at last brought the rich plebeians to the goal of their ambition, – political equality with the patricians, – but the position of the poor plebeians had not improved in like measure. In fact, the establishment of the patricio-plebeian *nobilitas* not only brought into more marked contrast the conditions of the rich and the poor, but the fusion of prominent plebeian families with the patricians into a new aristocracy with exclusive privileges, and with common interests hostile to those of the poor plebeians, robbed the latter of the help of their most powerful leaders.

Id. 49. The Distress of the Poor.

Their difficulties were partly economical, partly political. It will be remembered that some attempts had been made in the Licinian laws to relieve the distress of the proletariat, but the measure brought little help. Perhaps a resumption of the *ager publicus* by the state, and its assignment to the needy with the full right of ownership, might have relieved the difficulty for a time, but probably nothing short of revolution or another secession could have forced the rich to make this concession. Resort was therefore, had to other measures, some of them excellent, some of them absurd. ... [a] rational measure of relief was the

lex Poetelia of 326, which alleviated the condition of such debtors as were turned over to their creditors for failure to pay their debts. ... The greatest relief to the proletariat came indirectly as a result of the long series of wars in which Rome was engaged during the period under consideration. It is a significant fact that one of the provisions of the so-called *lex sacrata militaris*, whose passage was forced by a mutiny in the army, directed that no soldier's name should be dropped from the army rolls without his consent. Payment for military service, the prospect of booty, and a share in conquered land had evidently made service in the army a profitable form of employment. The relief which the proletariat derived from the acquisition of new territory can be readily appreciated when we remember that between 367 and 287 twenty-one Latin colonies and six Roman colonies were founded. In some of these cases a large number of colonists was sent out. Thus, for instance, 2,500 were sent to Caes in the year 334.

Id. 50. The Lex Publilia and the Lex Hortensia.

The great political movements of this period, in which the mass of the people were concerned, are connected with the passage of the *lex Publilia* in 339, of the *lex Hortensia* in 287, and with the career of Appius Claudius. ... This much seems to be clear ... with reference to the movement in 287, that the debtors demanded a radical measure of relief. To this the patricians in the senate, who belonged in most cases to the creditor class, refused their consent. Thereupon the needy withdrew to the Janiculum, but returned to the city on condition of the enactment of certain favorable legislation. ... Of one fact we are sure, viz., that after 287 *plebiscita* were unconditionally binding on the whole community. ... One must not assume that the passage of these three laws [*leges Valeriae Horatiae* of 449, *lex Publilia* of 339, and *lex Hortensia* of 287] gave the popular assemblies practical control of legislation and robbed the senate of all of its powers in this field of activity, or, to put it another way, one must not infer that the passage of the *lex Hortensia* marked the final triumph of democracy over aristocracy. ... It was the patrician element in the senate, not the senate itself, which lost power and prestige at this time. ... the mantle of the old patriciate fell, not on the shoulders of the democracy, but on those of the new *nobilitas*.

Part II – Republican Period. Section 1 – Historical. Chapter V. The Supremacy of the Nobilitas. 56. The Period from 287 to 133.

With the passage of the Hortensian law the great struggle which had gone on for more than two centuries was brought to an end. The efforts of the plebeians to secure their political rights had been crowned with complete success. ... As one might naturally expect, the settlement of the great questions which had divided the Roman people into two parties made the period after 287 one of comparative political inactivity. Not only were the questions at issue settled, but the Romans were occupied in adapting the new institutions to the needs of the community, and their energy was expended in the management of foreign affairs. The wars of the period, in fact, and the results which flowed from them, exerted a controlling influence on the social and political development of the community. The wars with Pyrrhus, with Carthage, with Philip, Antiochus, and Perseus occupied the Romans sixty-seven years ... In their presence all the elements at Rome united in the common defense, and, for the time, internal differences disappeared and a remarkable political harmony prevailed. The intense interest which the Romans felt in military affairs naturally gave a political prominence to men who had won distinction in the field. ... During these years [287 to 133] the state was ruled by the *nobilitas*, a fact which gives the period its political unity. Its end is fixed by the determined stand which the Gracchi took against the oligarchy in the name of the democracy.

Id. 57. The Senate and the Popular Assemblies.

After the passage of the Hortensian law the Roman government was in theory essentially a democracy, in so far as landowners were concerned. Its magistrates were elected by the popular assemblies, and the measures enacted by these bodies were valid without further condition in the case of the centuriate

comitia. In reality, however, the government was in the hands of an oligarchy, and almost all the legislation of the period emanated from the senate. One might almost say that the democracy was satisfied with the possession of power but did not care to exercise it. There is indeed some truth in this way of starting the case. The people recognized the fact that the senate was better able to direct the policy of the state than they were themselves. Now and then they asserted their constitutional rights. This was the case in 232, when the *concilium plebis*, under the leadership of C. Flaminius, passed a bill, contrary to the wishes of the senate, dividing certain land in Picenum and Gaul. Even in the second Punic war, in the case of Scipio, the senate was forced to yield to the people or to popular sentiment. In general, however, the senate had a free hand in the administration of affairs.

The reasons are not far to seek. The number of voters during this period ranged from 250,000 to 300,000. Many of them lived at a great distance from the place of voting. It was obviously inexpedient to call together such an assembly for the passage of ordinary administrative legislation. Many matters, especially in time of war, require prompt action. This could not be secured through one of the popular assemblies. Furthermore, the questions which came up for consideration were far more difficult to settle than those of earlier years had been. The scene of active operations at present was far from Rome. The average Roman knew little about the conditions abroad, and was not, therefore, in a position to express an intelligent opinion on the majority of the questions at issue. What made matters worse was the fact that adequate discussion in the *contio*, which preceded the casting of ballots, was impossible. The senate, however, was eminently qualified to meet all the conditions mentioned. It was a body of only three hundred members, so that it could be called together quickly, and could discuss fully any important question laid before it. ... A still greater advantage which the senate had lay in the character of its composition after a passage of the Ovinian law. Under that law it became a body of ex-magistrates, whose experience in administration and knowledge of affairs at home and abroad fitted them in a peculiar way to settle wisely the complicated questions of foreign policy which engaged the attention of the Roman people during this period. ... and as foreign questions completely overshadowed domestic affairs in number and importance, another reason for the ascendancy of the senate as a legislative body is apparent. Not only did the qualifications of the senate help it to acquire a supremacy in legislative affairs, but it found means to prevent the popular assemblies from taking the initiative in such matters. A popular assembly could meet only when it was called together by a magistrate or a tribune, and only to discuss such matters as were laid before it by a magistrate or tribune. Now both of these classes of officials were under the control of the senate, so that it was practically impossible to get a bill of which the senate did not approve before any one of the assemblies. ...

Id. 68. Growth of the Proletariat.

The economic changes in the condition of the people were far more serious than the political. The immediate result of them was the widening of the gap between the rich and the poor. A number of reasons may be given for the growth of the proletariat on the one hand, and, on the other, for the acquisition of great wealth by the favored few. The long wars had taken the peasant proprietors from home, and their land, left without cultivate, rapidly deteriorated in value. Hannibal's occupation of Italy [218-203] increased the damage which had resulted from neglect, and at the close of the second Punic war a large part of the land in Italy had passed out of cultivation. This change bore heavily on free laborer also. The demand for his services was greatly diminished by the transformation of arable into pasture land, and the introduction of a vast number of slaves brought his wages down to a very low point and put a stigma on manual labor. The massing of landed property in the hands of a few and the employment of slave labor made the business of the peasant proprietor unprofitable. Competition with the newly acquired provinces was still more disastrous to him. The ranks of the proletariat, which were reinforced in this way by free laborers out of work and by bankrupt peasant proprietors, were still further swelled by the manumission of slaves. Many of the slaves who had been brought to Rome as captives during the wars outside of Italy were clever artisans or good farmers, and their owners found it more profitable to

manumit them, give them a small capital, and share in the profits of the enterprise, than to retain them as slaves. This condition of things was somewhat relieved in the early part of the period by drawing off large numbers of the *proletarii* to the newly established colonies. Ten or twelve colonies were founded in the interval between 287 and the close of the second Punic war [in 201], and twice as many in the early part of the second century, but after 180 we hear only of one new colony, so that the proletariat lost even this form of relief.

Id. 69. Amassing of Great Fortunes.

The aggrandizement of the rich kept pace with the impoverishment of the middle classes. Several states in southern Italy, which had sided with Hannibal, were punished after the close of the second Punic war by being deprived of a large portion of their territory. The rich men at Rome found little difficulty in getting possession of the greater part of this confiscated land. The acquisition of territory beyond the sea was of immense value to the capitalist and successful politician. On the one hand, it gave the Roman officials who were sent out to the provinces a good opportunity to amass fortunes at the expense of the provincials. On the other hand, the conquests in Spain and the East opened new outlets for trade, which the special privileges granted to Roman citizens, and the destruction of Rome's commercial rival, Carthage, threw almost entirely into the hands of the Roman merchant and banker, and Roman capitalists began to reap rich returns for the investment of their money. Another profitable field for investment was the collection in the new provinces of the taxes which the state let out by contract to private citizens. Since the provincials were without defense, and the ruling class at Rome winked at the extortionate demands of its representatives abroad, enormous fortunes were made in a short time. The evils which naturally follow a sudden increase in wealth were aggravated by the fact that the conquest of Magna Graecia and the East brought the Romans into contact with a highly developed civilization to which their previous simple life was in marked contrast. The development of luxurious tastes and the means of gratifying them came simultaneously, and the rich Roman rushed into reckless expenditure on his household and his retinue with the intemperance which characterizes the parvenu. ...

Id. 70. Political Results.

The immense increase, on the one hand, in the number of freedmen, and of freemen out of work, and on the other, the acquisition of large fortunes by a few, had a most disastrous effect on Roman politics. A large number of freedmen and of those who had lost their holdings or their occupation in the country districts drifted to Rome and were admitted to the popular assemblies, in so far as their property allowed it. Their votes were in many cases to be had by the candidate who gave them most for them, or whose games were the most magnificent. The laws to punish bribery and to provide for a secret ballot ... furnish an indication of the growing demoralization of the popular assemblies. The great inequality in wealth had another unfortunate political result. It gave rise to a spirit of dependence among the great mass of the people, in some cases of hostility toward the rich on the part of the poor, which found expression in class legislation of various kinds. Thus, in 217, the democratic leader Flaminius secured the passage of a bill lowering the money standard; in 216 a commission was established to facilitate the negotiation of loans; and in the same decade a law was passed prohibiting senators from owning ships of more than a certain tonnage.

Chapter VI. The Struggle Between the Democracy and the Nobilitas. 85. Tiberius Gracchus

An investigation of the preceding period has revealed ... the serious economic and political changes which followed as a result of the great wars. The republic had been at the outset, and for several centuries afterward, a commonwealth of free landowners. This great middle class was now swept out of existence, and with it went the foundation on which the state rested. The object of the movement connected with the name Tiberius Gracchus was to build this class up again. ... He thought relief could be had by assigning

state land to citizens, and, with this purpose in mind, he secured an election to the tribunate for the year 133 and at once proposed a reënactment of that clause of the Licinian law which limited the amount of land to be held by an individual to five hundred acres, with the modification that for each of two grown sons two hundred and fifty acres in addition should be allowed. That portion of the *ager publicus*, the control of which the state would resume under the operation of this law, was to be divided among poor citizens on condition of the payment of a yearly tax. Payment for improvements was to be made to those already in possession ... This proposal was essentially different from earlier colonizing projects. ... The new colonists were to be settled in peaceful sections of Italy and received land from the government solely by virtue of their poverty. The proposal of Tiberius naturally aroused the violent opposition of the rich, whose profits from the *ager publicus* would be materially diminished by its adoption. ... The agrarian law of Tiberius was adopted, but he himself was killed while seeking reëlection to the tribunate.

Id. 86. The Years following the Death of Tiberius.

The ten years which followed the tribunate of Gracchus were years of comparative political inactivity. The development of a democratic opposition to the *nobilitas*, however, went on steadily. The passage of the agrarian law, and of other less important measures, in a popular assembly against the wishes of the senate had stimulated the activity of the tribal assembly, and its importance, both as a legislative body and as a center of political agitation, increased rapidly, and an attempt was made to preserve its purity by the *lex tabellaria* of the tribune C. Papirius Carbo, which supplemented the *lex Gabinia* and the *lex Cassia* ... by providing for a secret ballot, when the comitia met as a legislative body. That the agrarian law of Gracchus was actively carried out for some time is indicated by the census, which shows an increase in the number of citizens from 318,000 in 135 to 395,000 in 124. A large majority of these 77,000 new citizens must have gained their citizenship by becoming landowners under operation of the new law. ... The position of the Latins and other Italians was already bad enough. The passage of the new law made it worse, since it took from them some of their privileges in the *ager publicus*, and therefore emphasized the disadvantage of their position when compared with that of Roman citizens.

Id. 87. The Legislation of Gaius Gracchus.

Accordingly, the necessity of settling satisfactorily the land question and of admitting the Italians to the rights of Roman citizenship were the two questions which confronted Gaius, the brother of Tiberius Gracchus, on his election to the tribunate in 123. Two motives probably actuated him in the course which he took, – a desire to avenge the death of his brother, as well as to bring to an end the supremacy of the senate. To accomplish the latter purpose he sought to bring to his support the proletariat and the knights, the two non-senatorial elements in the community. He aimed at securing the favor of the former by the passage of a *lex frumentaria*, which put grain at the disposal of the poor at a price lower than the market rate. He favored the knights at the expense of the senate by substituting knights for senators on the juries in the *quaestio de repetundis* [note: extortion courts]. ... The agrarian law of Tiberius, which had not been carried out for several years, was reënacted or reaffirmed. ... Toward the end of his second tribunate Gaius took up the second great political problem, which, as we have seen, confronted him at the beginning of his political career, and proposed to give Roman citizenship to the Latins, and Latin rights to the other Italian allies; but at this point the selfish democracy of Rome deserted him. He became a candidate for the tribunate a third time, was defeated, and, like his brother, met a violent death. The agrarian movement which had been instituted by Tiberius and Gaius was summarily checked by the legislation of 118 and 111, which gave the full rights of ownership to those already occupying state land; but the other legislation of Gaius remained in force. A still more important result of the Gracchan movement was the consciousness which the democracy gained of its own strength and of the weak points in the position of the Senate.

Id. 88. Marius and the Wars with Jugurtha and the Cimbri.

In fact, the weakness of the *nobilitas* soon gave the chance of success. ... The popular party insisted on a change, and in 107 succeeded in electing to the consulship C. Marius ...

Id. 89. Saturninus and the Conservative Reaction.

The Brilliant successes which the *novus homo* Marius thus won in the Jugurthine and Cimbrian wars, following, as they did, on the disasters which the stated had suffered under senatorial leadership, inflicted a severe blow on the prestige of the senate, and the democracy was quick to take advantage of the situation by allaying itself directly with Marius. For the year 100 he was elected consul for the sixth time, and liberal assignments of land in Africa were made to his veterans in a measure introduced by the tribune Saturninus; but the radical character of the agrarian bills which Saturninus brought forward in his second tribunate in 100, and the forcible means which he and the praetor Glaucia used to secure their passage, alienated a large part of the people, and drove even Marius over the opposition. ...

Id. 90. Drusus and the Italians.

It is a strange illustration of the irony of fate that M. Livius Drusus, the son of the conservative whose clever manoeuvres had brought political disaster and death to the younger Gracchus when he tried to ameliorate the political condition of the Italians, should have been the man who revived the movement to relieve the Italians, thereby losing his life. C. Gracchus had tried to overthrow the senate by combining all the other forces in the state against it. Drusus, on the other hand, sought to strengthen the conservative position by removing the principal causes of discontent, not only in Rome but in all Italy. He sought to conciliate the poor by an agrarian law and a corn law. He tried [in 91] to reconcile the senate and the knights by a measure which made both senators and *equites* eligible for jury duty, and finally he promised citizenship to the discontented Italian allies. But the selfishness of all the parties concerned brought his efforts to naught. ...

Id. 93. Sulla, Marius, and Cinna.

... Then Sulla set out for the East, leaving as consuls for 87 the aristocrat Cn. Octavius and the democratic leader L. Cornelius Cinna. Dissensions sprang up between them at once. Cinna was driven out of Rome by Octavius, but, with the assistance of Marius and his veterans, he returned and made himself master of the city. The democratic party was at last installed in power, but the record which it made was not one to be proud of. ... Sulla concluded a peace with Mithridates in 85. In the spring of 83 he landed in Italy with his troops, and in the autumn of 82 overcoming all resistance captured the city.

Id. 94. The Legislation of Sulla with reference to the Senate.

Sulla had himself made dictator for an indefinite period [in 82 or 81] with the express purpose of reforming the constitution. His tendencies were naturally conservative, and these had been strengthened by his observation of the results which had followed the democratic government of Marius and Cinna. It is not strange, therefore, that his legislation bore a marked reactionary character. His primary purpose, in so far as the home government was concerned, was to strengthen the oligarchy, and especially the senate as the official representative of that element in the community. ...

Id. 98. Pompey at the War with Sertorius.

In 79 Sulla resigned the dictatorship and retired into private life. ... within ten year's after Sulla's death, two of his own lieutenants, Pompey and Crassus, used the prestige which successful campaigns brought them to undo a great part of his work. ...

Id. 100. Pompey, Crassus, and the Democracy.

Both Pompey and Crassus now returned to Rome to secure an election to the consulship for 70 as a reward for their services in the field. They found the democratic party fiercely attacking the reactionary constitution of Sulla. ... That party now agreed to elect Pompey and Crassus to the consulship in return for the repeal of the most obnoxious Sullan laws; and, thanks to its support and to the presence of troops outside the gates, their candidacy was successful. The new consuls loyally carried out their part of the compact ...

Id. 102. The Conspiracy of Cataline.

... Looking at the political side of the [Catiline's] movement, at the outset it seems to have had for its object the improvement of the condition of certain classes in Rome and throughout Italy by constitutional, or at least, peaceful, methods. The repeated disappointments which its leaders met in the years 66-64 led to the formation of a secret conspiracy, ready to use any means whatsoever for the accomplishment of its purpose. At this point the timid, the judicious, and in large measure the respectable, supporters of the movement fell away, and its further development was left in the hands of moral and financial bankrupts or of honest fanatics and adventurers. So, for instance, Caesar and Crassus supported Catiline and his sympathizers at the outset, just as they supported every promising attack on the oligarchy; but as the incompetency of the Catilinarian leaders became apparent, and their plans assumed a violent character, they withdrew from a venture which was sure to fail and to wreck the fortunes of those concerned. The Catilinarian movement is similar in its inception, in its development, in the character of its supporters, and in its methods, to the other uprisings of the party of discontent during the first century, for instance, to those under Sulpicius in 88 and under Lepidus in 78. ... Like Catiline he [Lepidus] proposed radical and socialistic measures for the benefit of the honest and dishonest poor. Both men found adherents in Rome among the bankrupt aristocrats, the poor freemen and freedmen, and the democrats, and among the discontented peasant proprietors in the country districts. ...

Id. 103. Political Effect of the Catilinarian Conspiracy.

The revolutionary tendencies of the Catilinarian movement and its suppression inflicted a severe blow on the democratic party, because that party had evidently fallen into the hands of desperadoes. All the forces which stood for law and order were united against it, and Cicero might well price himself on the fact that the union took place [in 63] under his leadership. ...

Id. 104. The First Triumvirate.

The senate was, in fact, so elated by its success that, when Pompey returned from Asia toward the close of 62, it failed to confirm his arrangements or to grant suitable rewards to his veterans, and he was powerless to force it to yield. The result was that when Caesar returned from the proprietorship of Spain at the close of the year 61, he found it easy to make a private arrangement with Pompey to their mutual advantage. Crassus, too, with whom Caesar was already on good terms, was induced to cast in his lot with them, and a private compact, commonly known as the first triumvirate, was formed between the three men. In the bargain it was stipulated that Pompey's arrangements in Asia should be ratified, that land should be assigned to his veterans, that Caesar should have the consulship in 59 and a term of five years as governor

in Gaul, while to Crassus a future consulship was promised and probably a place on the Pompeian land commission, or else certain tax concessions.

Id. 106. Humiliation of the Senate.

Caesar did not care to go to his province at the end of his consulship and leave affairs in Rome in the hands of two such unskilful [*sic*] political leaders as Pompey and Crassus, until he had crushed the spirit of the senate and deprived it of its most dangerous leaders, Cato and Cicero. Cato was accordingly sent to Cyprus on a mission ... while Clodius, an ex-patrician, who was very bitter against Cicero, was allowed to become tribune for 58. Clodius prepared the way for his attack on Cicero by securing the passage of popular measures, which provided that grain should be given gratis to the poor ...

Id. 108. Estrangement of Pompey and Caesar.

The violence and disorder, with their accompaniment of bribery and political intrigue, which prevailed almost uninterruptedly from midsummer of the year 54, reached its climax in January, 52, in a riotous contest between the followers of Clodius and Milo which resulted in the death of the democratic leader Clodius, and, as a last resort, Pompey was elected sole consul ... This sudden elevation to extraordinary power completed the separation of Pompey in Caesar. Pompey thought himself at last in a position to crush the rival, who alone, since the death of Crassus in the East, stood between him and the realization of his hopes for supreme power.

Id. 109. The Question at Issue between Caesar and the Senate.

... By a *lex Pompeia Licinia* of 55 ... Caesar's term of office was extended for a period of five years ... and special legislation of the year 52 in his favor had allowed him to sue for the consulship in 49, without personally attending the canvass. ... When the senate met, January 1, 49, Curio, Caesar's agent, presented a formal ultimatum. Caesar's proposals were not accepted, and a resolution was passed declaring that he would be acting *adversus rem publicam* if he did not give up his army by July 1, 49, while on January 7 the *senatus consultum ultimum* was passed. ... As soon as he had learned of the action of the senate, Caesar crossed the Rubicon into Italy and marched toward Rome. On January 14 the senate passed the *decretum tumultus*, but the news of Caesar's rapid advance forced Pompey, the consuls, and senators to leave the city, and even the forms of civil government were given up.

Id. 117. General Political Results.

The conquests of Pompey and Caesar, which had brought within the sphere of Roman influence the entire Mediterranean coast with the exception of Egypt and Mauretania ... could not fail to exert a reflex influence on Italy itself. The economic and political changes among the masses ... were accelerated by the conquests made between 66 and 49. Furthermore, the general machinery of government had broken down under the strain put upon it by the policy of imperialism. All the great achievements of Caesar and Pompey required a violation of the oligarchic, or republican, tradition. ... The danger to the republican form of government which lay in the disappearance of the middle class, and in the preëminence of individuals, was aggravated by the change in the composition of the army and in its relation to its chief. ...

Chapter VII. The Period of Transition. 121. Campaigns in Egypt, Asia Minor, and Africa.

In the autumn of 49 Caesar followed Pompey to Egypt, but, on hearing of his death, occupied himself with the settlement of Egyptian affairs. ...

Id. 123. Caesar's Assassination.

After his return to the city Caesar occupied himself partly with various administrative reforms, but mainly in making preparations for a great expedition against the Parthians. His plans, however, were brought to a tragic end by his assassination on the Ides of March, 44. ...

Id. 124. Caesar's Policy.

... In 44, after Caesar's death, the dictatorship which he had held for several years was characterized by Cicero as one *quae iam vim regiae potestatis obsederat* [which has the force of royal power], and it is highly probable that during the last years of his life Caesar did take into his hands all those powers which in their natural development gave Augustus and his successors their exalted position. ...

Id. 125. His Offices and Titles.

... Caesar's position as dictator was probably like that of Sulla ... once Caesar was obliged to resort to the theory of popular sovereignty which Tiberius Gracchus had applied in the case of Octavius ...

Id. 129. The Senate and People.

The senate was reduced in number to such an extent by the civil war, that immediately after his return to Rome in 47 Caesar made numerous additions to it, and two years later raised the number of its members to 900. This change robbed the *nobilitas* in large measure of its prestige and made the senate subservient to his wishes. ...

Id. 132. Octavius.

The arrival in Italy of Octavius, Caesar's grand nephew, a young man in his nineteenth year, whom the dictator had adopted and made his heir, seemed likely to give affairs an unexpected turn. The deferential manner which Octavius assumed toward certain senatorial leaders on the one hand, and on the other hand his generous treatment of Caesar's followers, and the fact that he bore their great leader's name, won for him at the same time the respectful consideration of senators and the enthusiastic support of many Caesarians. Antony appreciated how dangerous a rival he might become and tried to thwart his plans at every point, but Caesar's veterans forced a reconciliation between their two leaders.

Id. 135. The Second Triumvirate.

In October [43] Octavius went north, and held a conference with Antony and Lepidus at Bononia, which resulted in the formation of a compact for the adjustment of affairs in Italy and for the prosecution of the war in the East against M. Brutus and Cassius; and in November, by a vote of the tribal assembly, Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius were made *III viri rei publicae constituendae* for a period of five years. The second triumvirate was, therefore, distinguished from the first by the fact that it rested on a legal basis, while the compact which Caesar, Pompey, and Crassus had formed was purely a private arrangement. ... In so far as its exercise of executive and legislative powers was concerned, the second triumvirate differs little from Caesar's dictatorship. The magistracies, the senate, and popular assemblies were all directly or indirectly under the control of the new officials. ... Their return to Rome was followed by a reign of terror which rivaled that of Sulla. Cicero was one of the early victims of their fury. ...

Id. 139. War with Sextus Pompeius and the Retirement of Lepidus.

... Lepidus ... [in 37] ... took possession of Sicily, and showed signs of an intention to regain his influence in the triumvirate. His success was short-lived, however. Octavius won over his troops, and Lepidus was deprived of his provinces and forced into retirement. ...

Id. 140. Estrangement of Octavius and Antony.

The enforced retirement of Lepidus from the triumvirate doubtless intensified the rivalry between Octavius and Antony, just as the death of Crassus had made the conflict between Caesar and Pompey inevitable. ... The suppression of the piratical enterprises of Sextus Pompeius in the Mediterranean, the lightening of the taxes, and the restoration of order in Italy, largely through the efforts of Maecenas, and the far-reaching improvements which Agrippa effected in Rome had won for Octavius the sympathy and support of all classes in the [Italian] peninsula. ...

Id. 142. Battle of Actium and Death of Antony.

During the year 32 Antony and Cleopatra collected a force of more than 100,000 men and 500 ships. The fleet and army of Octavius crossed from Brundisium in the spring of 31, and the two armies lay encamped near one another for several months. The issue was decided by a naval battle near Actium, September 2, 31. The fleet of Antony and Cleopatra was deserted by its leaders and forced to surrender, and after the battle the opposing army went over to Octavius. Antony and Cleopatra fled to Egypt. Octavius followed them thither a year later, and when Alexandria had fallen into his hands and they learned that he would show them no mercy, they both took their own lives. ...

Part III – Imperial Period. Section 1 – Historical. Chapter XII. The Establishment of the Empire. 322. Restoration of Order in Italy.

When Octavius returned to Italy in the summer of 29 ... It was necessary to relieve the poverty-stricken people of Italy at once, to provide lands for the veterans, and to decide upon a policy with reference to the soldiers of Antony. The prudence and moderation which he had shown on the previous occasion encouraged friend and foe alike to look for a wise policy now. This expectation was not disappointed. His very arrival in Italy inspired that confidence in the future which is the precursor of prosperity, while immediate financial difficulties were relieved by a liberal use of the treasuries of Egypt. One hundred and twenty thousand veterans were provided with land, not by confiscation, but by purchase at a total cost of 600,000,000 sesterces, as Octavius himself tells us in the Monumentum Ancyranum, and in pursuance of the same wise policy a general amnesty was granted to the followers of Antony and Sextus Pompeius. ...

Id. 324. The Change made in 27 B.C.

The problem which he set himself to solve was to retain his position as master of the state, yet at the same time to keep intact the old forms of the constitution. ... At a meeting of the senate, held on the 13th of January in that year [27], he transferred the control of the state to the senate and people. ... This transfer of authority was only a temporary one, and ancient (*e.g.*, Dio, LIII .3-11) as well as modern historians have not hesitated to characterize it as a political manœuvre, since he retained the consulship and the tribunician power, and the senate immediately conferred on him the *imperium proconsulare* for a period of ten years, and the title of *Augustus*. ...

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