Civil War Marius and Sulla



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> Marius Glyptothek, Munich



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Sulla Glyptothek, Munich

Cicero, On the Republic 1.31:

'For, as you observe, the death of Tiberius Gracchus, and even before his death, the whole character of his tribunate, divided one people into two factions.'

> Cicero. *De Re Publica, De Legibus.* Translated by Clinton Walker Keyes. Loeb Classical Library, 1928. © Harvard University Press. All rights reserved. This content is excluded from our Creative Commons license. For more information, see <u>https://ocw.mit.edu/help/faq-fair-use/</u>.

Velleius Paterculus 2.3.3:

"This was the beginning in Rome of civil bloodshed, and of the licence of the sword. From this time on right was crushed by might, the most powerful now took precedence in the state, the disputes of citizens which were once healed by amicable agreements were now settled by arms..."

133 – 80 BC Key Themes

- Popular politics
- Provocative use of the Tribunate
- Political violence
- Politicization of the army/veterans

Gaius Marius



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- ca. 123 Quaestor
- 119 Tribune
- 115 Praetor
- 114 Propraetor in Spain
- 109 Legatus with Metellus in Africa



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Micipsa Hiempsal Adherbal Jugurtha

The Jugurthine War 111-105 BC

Roman commanders in Africa:

- 111 L. Calpurnius Bestia
- 110 Sp. Postumius Albinus
- 109-8 Q. Caecilius Metellus
- 107-5 Gaius Marius

Jugurtha on corruption at Rome Sallust, Jugurthine War 35.10

After going out of the gates, it is said that he often looked back at Rome in silence and finally said, "A city for sale doomed to speedy destruction if it finds a purchaser!"

From *The War with Jurgurtha* by Sallust. Translated by John C. Rolfe. This material is in the public domain.

Lex Mamilia of 109:

 Established special court to try those accused of bribery and corruption in dealings with Jugurtha

Marius's Speech at Rome

Sallust, Jugurthine War 85

"I cannot...display family portraits or the triumphs and consulships of my forefathers; but...I can show spears, a banner, trappings and other military prizes, as well as scars on my breast. These are my portraits, these my patent of nobility, not left me by inheritance as theirs were, but won by my own innumerable efforts and perils..."

From *The War with Jurgurtha* by Sallust. Translated by John C. Rolfe. This material is in the public domain.

...continued

"...They say that I am common and of rude manners, because I cannot give an elegant dinner and because I pay no actor or cook higher wages than I do my overseer. This I gladly admit, fellow citizens: for I learned from my father and other righteous men that elegance is proper to women but toil to men, that all the virtuous ought to have more fame than riches, and that arms and not furniture confer honour."

From *The War with Jurgurtha* by Sallust. Translated by John C. Rolfe. This material is in the public domain.

On Marius's recruitment reform of 107 BC

Sallust, Jugurthine War 86

"He himself in the meantime enrolled soldiers, not according to the classes in the manner of our forefathers, but allowing anyone to volunteer, for the most part the proletariat. Some say that he did this through lack of good men, others because of a desire to curry favour, since that class had given him honour and rank. As a matter of fact, to one who aspires to power the poorest man is the most helpful, since he has no regard for his property, having none, and considers anything honourable for which he receives pay."

From The War with Jurgurtha by Sallust. Translated by John C. Rolfe. This material is in the public domain.

On Marius's recruitment reform of 107 BC

Plutarch, Marius 9

"Contrary to law and custom he enlisted many a poor and insignificant man, although former commanders had not accepted such persons, but bestowed arms, just as they would any other honour, only on those whose property assessment made them worthy to receive these, each soldier being supposed to put his substance in pledge to the state."

From *Plutarch's Lives*. Translated by Bernadotte Perrin. This material is in the public domain.

History of the property qualification

- 11,000 sesterces
- 4,000 by late 3rd c. BC (Polyb. 6.19)
- 1,500 by 129 BC (Cic. De rep. 2.40)



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Gaius Marius



- •107 Consul (1)•106-5 Proconsul
- •104 Consul (2)
- •103 Consul (3)
- •102 Consul (4)
- •101 Consul (5)
- •100 Consul (6)

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Teutones & Ambrones (102)

Cimbri (101)



Land for Marius's veterans

Laws of the tribune L. Appuleius Saturninus

- 103 BC: land grants in Africa 100 *iugera* each
- 100 BC: further land grants in Africa and N. Italy?

L. Cornelius Sulla



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- 107: Quaestor under Marius in Africa
- 104-1: Under Marius agst German tribes
- 97: Praetor
- 96-92: Governor of Cilicia
- 91-89: Southern command in Social War
- 88: Consul

ITALY

On the eve of the Social War

91 BC



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First War against Mithridates, 88-84 BC



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Appian, Civil Wars 1.57

When Sulla heard of this he resolved to decide the question by war, and called the army together to a conference. They were eager for the war against Mithridates because it promised much plunder, and they feared that Marius would enlist other soldiers instead of themselves. Sulla spoke of the indignity put upon him by Sulpicius and Marius, and while he did not openly allude to anything else (for he did not dare as yet to mention this sort of war), he urged them to be ready to obey his orders. They understood what he meant, and as they feared lest they should miss the campaign they uttered boldly what Sulla had in mind, and told him to be of good courage, and to lead them to Rome...

From *The Civil Wars* by Appian. Translated by Horace White. This material is in the public domain.

Appian, Civil Wars 1.57

Sulla was overjoyed and led six legions thither forthwith; but all his superior officers, except one quaestor, left him and fled to the city, because they would not submit to the idea of leading an army against their country. Envoys met him on the road and asked him why he was marching with armed forces against his country. "To deliver her from tyrants," he replied.

The 80s BC

- 89 Mithridates invades Asia
- 88 Command given to Sulla
 - Marius, w/ P. Sulpicius Rufus, transfers command
 - Sulla's First March on Rome
 - Sulpicius flees; killed
 - Marius' humiliating flight to Africa
- 87 Gnaeus Octavius and L. Cornelius Cinna consuls
 - Cinna stripped of consulship, replaced by L. Cornelius Merula
 - Cinna, Marius, Carbo, Sertorius March on Rome

86 - Cinna and Marius consuls; Marius dies

85 - Cinna and Carbo consuls

– Sulla's Peace of Dardanus with Mithridates

84 - Cinna and Carbo consuls again

- Cinna killed in mutiny

83 - Sulla's Second March on Rome

- Joined by Caecilius Metellus Pius and Gnaeus Pompeius

82 - Carbo and C. Marius jr. consuls

- Sulla takes Italy and Rome with much violence

Sulla Dictator 81-80 BC



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The *lex Valeria* of 82 BC appointed Sulla as:

Dictator legibus faciendis et reipublicae constituendae

'Dictator for creating laws and constituting the republic'

Sulla's Constitutional Reforms

- Increased Senate to 600
- Automatic adlection of Quaestors to Senate
- Increased number of Praetors & Quaestors
- Limited powers of Tribunes
- New system of permanent courts
- Control of juries back to Senators
- Stricter rules for *cursus honorum*
- Abolished subsidized grain distributions

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