2\textsuperscript{nd} century BC
Problems during this time that called for a reform

- Serious economic distress.
- Peasants were being pushed off their farms by rich landowners.
- Latifundia - large estates worked by slaves and owned mostly by senatorial families. While slaves would work the land, peasants would go to Rome, ‘unemployment’ or ‘idleness’ (as portrayed in some accounts)
- Shortage of troops due to recruitment difficulties, part of which resulted from lack of public land to give in exchange for military service; most of the land had already been divided among large landholders.
- Large population of slaves was a threat for Rome. Economic impact. Slave Rebellions were a constant threat, and in Sicily one occurred in 135-131 BC which disrupted Rome's grain supply.
- Economic crisis in Rome, because less money was coming in from foreign conquests; fewer public projects and fewer jobs.
Reforms of the GRACCHI

• TIBERIUS SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS was tribune of the plebs (133). His tribunate marked a sharp break in Roman political development.

• Son of TIBERIUS SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS the ELDER (MAIOR) who was tribune, and later praetor, consul and censor. His mother, CORNELIA (AFRICANA) was the daughter of SCIPIO AFRICANUS, the one who had defeated Hannibal in the Second Punic War.

• Our Tiberius Semproniius Gracchus (tribune in 133BC), as you see, came from a wealthy and powerful family.

• Tiberius dissatisfied with the Senate
Tiberius became tribune and introduced a reform bill in 133 BCE

He first sought land reform, because he saw this as root of the problem and/or the most effective way to rile up the Senate.

He proposed a *lex agraria* (agrarian law), by-passing the Senate by enforcing the Sexto-Licinian Law which limited public land to 320 acres (remember, it was the same 4th c. law from 367 that also framed the office of consul, with one consul coming from the plebeians).

- All land in excess of this would be allotted to the poor for a small rent and would not be taken away for any reason.
- Campania was exempt from rule.
Role of OCTAVIUS, the opponent of Tiberius Gracchus and result.

- Let’s see Roman politics at work.
- Another tribune, Octavius, used his VETO power to reject the law. It was rare for one tribune to veto another (mostly used the veto power against consuls or praetors).
- Tiberius persuaded the People’s Assembly to impeach Octavius and elect someone more sympathetic. The Plebeian Assembly removed Octavius from office.
- New tribune and Tiberius passed their law and created a land commission with the power to enforce the law. The commissioners were TIBERIUS himself, his brother Gaius Gracchus, and his father-in-law Appius Claudius Pulcher.
- The Senate refused to finance the commission.
- Tiberius bypassed the Senate by persuading the People’s Assembly to vote to use part of the treasure bequeathed by Attalus III, King of Pergamum. At exactly the same year, 133 BC, the kingdom of PERGAMUM in Asia Minor was bequeathed by the will of king ATTALUS III to the ROMANS!!!
Theater at Pergamon- Among my favorite places
Pergamon Museum—in BERLIN, Germany where the entire altar of Zeus was transported
What happened then with the reform?

- Tiberius ran for re-election in 132, which was illegal according to the *Lex Villia Annalis*.
- At the People's Assembly, a riot broke out when it tried to pass a law allowing consecutive terms.
- A group of senators, led by Scipio Nasica, who was the *pontifex maximus*, entered the Assembly and clubbed and stoned 300 Gracchans to death, including Tiberius himself. Tiberius’ opponents argued that he was trying to make himself a tyrant.
- When Scipio Aemilianus who was at Numantia heard of Tiberius’ deaths he quote a verse from Homer’s *Odyssey* “so may perish all who venture on such wickedness” Yet, his death did not really result in the triumph of the opponents of the agrarian reform, as the land commission continued to operate.
GAIUS GRACCHUS

• Census figures rose (more people eligible for military service), showing the progress of the bill.
• Allies complained that their land was being taken, causing tension, but the Senate refused to give allies citizenship (which would have helped the problem).
• Gaius was the younger brother of Tiberius, and was also a renowned orator.
• Gaius continued the land reforms, proposing colonies on public land, especially in northern Africa.
• He proposed a grain law (*lex frumentaria*) which discounted the price of grain for the urban poor, and a public works program to increase employment.
• Attempt to extend citizenship to all Latins, Rome's earliest allies.
• **Opposition to Gaius**
• Gaius lost bid for re-election, and new tribunes repealed his reforms. Gaius responded by creating a bodyguard, or army of followers.
• Affairs in Rome became very tense after rioting, and so the Senate passed a *Senatus consultum ultimum*, declaring martial law and giving full authority to consuls.
THE FINALE

• Consul Lucius Opimius was able to crush the Gracchan movement by force, and his army fought Gaius and his army and led Gaius to commit suicide.
• Gaius's reforms stood in place after his death.
• The Importance of the Gracchi
• They were the first to introduce legislation to relieve economic difficulties.
• SHARP DIVISION In political ascension to power
• One way to follow traditional methods of competition within senatorial order and another to seek popularity among the citizen body. Optimates on the one, Populares on the other.
Marius vs Sulla
Marius VS Sulla

Marius’ portrait (bust)

Sulla marble portrait bust (later copy with alterations after original of the 2nd century B.C.)
Sulla

- Sulla was from a patrician family that had fallen on hard times.
- He had a reputation for always supporting the senate.
- He was an officer in Jugurthine and Celtic wars.
- He became consul in 88 BCE
  - Social War: commander of southern campaign against Samnites.
- War against Mithridates 88-84 BCE
  - Marched on Rome to secure command.
- Dictator 82-80 BCE
  - Proscriptions (lists of political enemies to be killed)
  - Political reforms.
Let’s get the details behind the events

• Marius vs. Sulla playing the cat and the mouse.
• Both competing for command (with the Mithridatic war, and Mithridates being a formidable foe, a threat for the Romans as it extended beyond Pontus and Minor Asia but towards Greece and threatened the Roman presence there
• Sulla settled the rebellion among Rome's Italian allies and was then sent to settle King Mithridates of Pontus -- a commission Marius wanted.
• Marius persuaded the Senate to change Sulla's order. Sulla refused to obey, and instead marched against Rome-- an act of civil war.
• **88 a traumatic year for Rome with Sulla’s first march on Rome (CIVIL WAR).**
• When installed in power at Rome, Sulla made Marius an outlaw and went East to deal with the king of Pontus.
• Meanwhile, Marius marched on Rome, began a bloodbath, got revenge and handed out confiscated property to his veterans.
• Marius died in 86.
What were the PROSCRIPTIONS?

• Proscription was developed by Sulla as a way to dispose of the property of those who were condemned.
• The “proscribed” individuals were called proscripti.
• The law the Romans passed to grant Sulla this extraordinary power was called lex Cornelia de proscriptione et proscriptis and was known as the lex Cornelia or lex Valeria.
• In 82 B.C. Sulla created proscription as a means of disposing of his enemies -- the supporters of Marius. He posted a list of those he wanted killed (like the wanted dead or alive posters of the Old West). The property of the proscribed was confiscated and sold and those who killed or revealed the whereabouts of the proscribed were rewarded.
Marius’ Legacy

- Marius dies of a ‘fever’ in 86 BC
- He was credited with saving Rome by defeating the Germanics
- He created an atmosphere of enfranchisement with the Italians that was a necessity for Roman growth.
- The reform of the legions was of the greatest benefit to the army and Roman power.
- He was a deep influence on the life of his illustrious nephew (Marius married Julia, aunt of the famous Gaius Julius Caesar). Julius Caesar learned the lessons about using the Tribunes and the people as a source of power, and about the advantage in power that derived from the support of the people and through military success. We will discuss Julius Caesar later. Caesar witnessed unnecessary internal, civil bloodshed with the strife between Marius and Sulla.
Sulla's Changes (that lead to the end of Roman Republic).

- Enlarged membership of Senate
- Reformed court system
  - Abolished trials before Public Assemblies
  - Separate courts for different types of crimes
  - New courts staffed by Senate members only. Most control came to Senate.
- Restricted access to consulship, (needless to say he did not abide by his own rules, of course).
- Stripped tribunate of its power. THIS WAS HUGE in marking the end of the Republic towards a slow death. a law was passed that prevented any office holder of the Tribune of the Plebes from ever holding a higher political office in the mainstream Senatorial path (such as Consul).
- Restricted powers of provincial governors.
- Ultimately Roman political power was up for grabs as checks and balances were being tossed.
Sources to look for

- Plutarch’s biography of SULLA. You can find it on-line here:
  [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/e/roman/texts/plutarch/lives/sulla*.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/e/roman/texts/plutarch/lives/sulla*.html)
- See from Plutarch, 33 1
- But besides his massacres, the rest of Sulla's proceedings also gave offence. For he proclaimed himself dictator, reviving this particular office after a lapse of a hundred and twenty years. Moreover, an act was passed granting him immunity for all his past acts, and for the future, power of life and death, of confiscation, of colonization, of founding or demolishing cities, and of taking away or bestowing kingdoms at his pleasure. He conducted the sales of confiscated estates in such arrogant and imperious fashion, from the tribunal where he sat, that his gifts excited more odium than his robberies. He bestowed on handsome women, musicians, comic actors, and the lowest of freedmen, the territories of nations and the revenues of cities, and women were married against their will to some of his favourites. In the case of Pompey the Great, at least, wishing to establish relationship with him, he ordered him to divorce the wife he had, and then gave him in marriage Aemilia, daughter of Scaurus and his own wife Metella, whom he tore away from Manius Glabrio when she was with child by him; and the young woman died in childbirth at the house of Pompey.
What happened to him in the end?

• In 79 BC he retired to a country villa with the intention of writing his memoirs.
• Theme of debasement of his morality in historical accounts (prostitution, etc)
• His memoirs have not survived, but must have been a valuable resource to later writers (Plutarch and Appian in particular).
• Sulla died shortly after, in 78 BC, leaving Roman politics up for power grabs in political turmoil.
• Compare with contemporary events in various parts of the world that make us understand the crude ambition of political leaders, manipulation of ‘patriotic’ sentiments, and ‘march’ with civil conflict.

• NEXT PAIR: POMPEY AND CAESAR
“Fall” of the Roman Republic

Part I
POMPEY
CICERO
Let’s see the earlier (very basic) patterns

- Gracchi - had privileged the People's Assembly over all else.
- Marius - had privileged the consul and the army over all else.
- Sulla - had privileged the senate over all else.
  - Strife between the *Optimates* and the *Populares* and set a precedent of civil war.
  - But things are far more complex than that. So....
Our New Protagonists in the years that follow

- Personal alliances became more influential.
- *Optimates* and *Populares* loyalties became harder to discern.
  - This becomes apparent in Crassus and Pompey's early career
- Pompey
- Caesar
- Cicero
- Mark Antony
- Octavian
Pompey the Great, 106-48 BCE

- A new shift with focus on foreign conquest for its own sake to build a power base
- Was called as “Great” "Magnus" in Latin (however, this was an ironic nickname, given by Sulla and his troops).
- Connections between POMPEY and SULLA.
- Pompey supported Sulla 83 BCE.
  - Called the "teenage butcher"
  - During the Social War, his father was an effective but unpopular consul.
  - Pompey entered public life by marching 3 of his father’s legions into Rome in 83 to support Sulla.
    - As a private citizen, he demanded a triumph at the age of 23, which Sulla grants.
  - He showed his ambitious, charismatic, and talented character.
Let’s see a bit more of Pompey, though.

- He had his 1st consulship in 70 BCE
- He claimed consulship with the threat of his army.
- He was too young, and had never held office (didn’t go through the *Cursus Honorum*).
- Dismantled Sulla's reforms
  - He restored the full powers of the tribunes.
  - He staffed law court juries with senators and equestrians.
  - He revived the position of censor to enroll new Italian citizens in voting tribes.
- Defeated Spartacus, the leader of a massive slave revolt.
Spartacus and the Slave War, 73-71 BC - REVIEW

• Precarious times for Roman power
• Conditions leading to the revolt
• Spartacus, a Thracian, had served in the Roman army as an auxiliary.
• He and 70 others escaped their barracks in Capua, setting up a base of resistance on Mt. Vesuvius.
• "The growth of the rebel movement was not a ... carefully orchestrated phenomenon." ~K. Bradley
• "Freedom from slavery was the intent of the fugitives; the slavery system itself remained unaffected." K. Bradley
• Eventually 70,000-120,000 slaves join.
Other Successes of Pompey

- Was granted *imperium* (power/command) vs. pirates, 67 BCE
- Pompey cleared the seas in 90 days with 500 ships, settling the pirates in Cilicia.
- Great Mithridatic War, 74-63 BCE
- Manilian Law, 67 BCE; Cicero's speech *Pro Lege Manilia*
  - G. Manilius, tribune, proposed giving Pompey complete control over the war.
  - Cicero, as praetor, in his speech *Pro Lege Manilia*, (supporting the Manilian Law) was the one who argues for the proposal.
Results of Pompey's eastern campaign

• Pacification and reorganization of Asia
• New provincial territories
  • Syria became a new province, with the client state of Palestine (including Jerusalem) under its control.
  • This created a stronghold against the threat of the Parthians and Armenians in the East.
• Economic prosperity for Rome for a while. Yet, most of the wealth strengthens those already wealthy.
CICERO
Marcus Tullius Cicero 106-43 BCE

- Supporter of Pompey
- Consul 63 BCE
- Provincial governor of Cilicia in 57 BCE.

Value of Cicero's writings
- His Latin prose style was imitated by all the most learned thinkers for centuries to come.
- He gave Romans the vocabulary to express their unique views on philosophy, politics, and history.
Catiline was an impoverished patrician who unsuccessfully ran for consulship on a platform/agenda of debt relief

• He was seen as a demagogue.

• He attracted the “worst” parts of Roman society to his cause according to Cicero’s speeches and Sallust’s history. Many of the poor together with veterans of Sulla joined him and several paesants who had lost their farms and were forced to move to the city, where they increased the numbers of the urban poor.

• Cicero sniffed out the plot and used a senatus consultum ultimum.

• Cicero rounded up the remnants of Catiline’s rag tag army and condemned them to death without a trial.

• Cicero hailed as Pater Patriae (Father of the Country)

• Our sources are all hostile to Catiline (Cicero’s speeches, and Sallust)
The historian Suetonius wrote in his *The Twelve Caesars*,

• “When the Catilinian Conspiracy came to light, the whole House, with the sole exception of Caesar, the Praetor-elect, demanded the death penalty for Catiline and his associates. Caesar proposed merely that they should be imprisoned, each in a different town, and their estates confiscated.”
Cicero’s moment

• Although he had success as a consul, a writer and poet, Cicero always believed his fight against Catiline was his greatest achievement. In a much-quoted speech made several weeks earlier on November 8, 63 BCE (the day after his assassination attempt) Cicero expressed his disdain for Catiline, Quo usque tandem abutere, Catilina, patientia nostra? which translated means “How long, Catiline, will you go on abusing our patience?”
Cicero’s Speeches- The Catilinarians- Beginning

• When, O Catiline, do you mean to cease abusing our patience? How long is that madness of yours still to mock us? When is there to be an end of that unbridled audacity of yours, swaggering about as it does now? Do not the nightly guards placed on the Palatine Hill—do not the watches posted throughout the city—does not the alarm of the people, and the union of all good men—does not the precaution taken of assembling the senate in this most defensible place—do not the looks and countenances of this venerable body here present, have any effect upon you? Do you not feel that your plans are detected? Do you not see that your conspiracy is already arrested and rendered powerless by the knowledge which every one here possesses of it? What is there that you did last night, what the night before—where is it that you were—who was there that you summoned to meet you—what design was there which was adopted by you, with which you think that any one of us is unacquainted?
The Career of Julius Caesar. Caesar’s military career, first against the Gauls and Germans and then against his Roman rivals, took him as far west as the Rhine and east through Greece to Egypt.
CAESAR (102-44 BCE) 

he went through the *Cursus Honorum*.

- Sought support from the people (*popularis*) even though he came from one of the most aristocratic families.
- 69 *quaestor* in Spain,
- 65 *curule aedile* (allegedly spent money on public spectacles),
- 63 *pontifex maximus* (he had amassed ‘debt’ trying to win the elections as *pontifex* and *praetor*)
- 62 *praetor*
- 61 governor of further Spain, exploited his time as governor to recoup his earlier expenses.
- 60 - forms the *first Triumvirate*
- 59 - *Consul*; then became governor of Gaul: Gallic Wars, conquest of Gaul
- 40’s - Dictatorship
- 49-45 BCE - Civil War with Pompey after crossing the Rubicon river.
- 44 BCE - named *Dictator Perpetuus* - Dictator for Life
First Triumvirate (THREE MEN) 60 BC

• Remember consulship was a 2-man unit
• The two consuls were elected annually and were top figures in Roman political hierarchy.
• In 61 B.C. Pompey came back, and, to the surprise of all he disbanded his army as soon as he entered Italy.
• After receiving triumph, Pompey requested that the Senate ratifies his eastern settlement and rewards his veterans. But the senate procrastinated so Pompey was tired of this kind of politics and disappointed that his military success was not enough to grant him what he was asking. He was ready to join forces with Caesar who was coming back from Rome.
• The first triumvirate was a coalition of the three men, Pompey (returning from the East), Julius Caesar (just returning from the West) and Crassus who was in Rome.
• Triumvirate lasted until Crassus’ death
FIRST Triumvirate - 60 BC

• POMPEY  CRASSUS  JULIUS CAESAR
What would the deal be for Caesar?

- Pompey and Crassus were consuls together in 70 BC but had drifted apart. Caesar brought them together.
- Pompey could call his veterans. All three had to gain from each other. Crassus was wealthy.
- Caesar wanted the support of Crassus’ wealth and Pompey’s military prestige
- In return Caesar would provide Crassus certain requests (such as tax regulations) demanded by members of the equestrian order.
- Pompey needed to his eastern settlement ratified and a bonus for his soldiers.
Civil War Campaigns 49-45 and end of Pompey, Caesar and the Republic Caesar’s Assassination in 44
After crossing the Rubicon River (see previous lecture) in 49 BC the war between the two men continued.

Pompey had approximately 47,000 troops whereas Caesar had 27,000.

Caesar’s defeated the troops of the Roman Senate, led by Pompey.

15,000 of Pompey’s troops killed, 24,000 captured.

Caesar’s victory marked the end of the Roman republic. Beginning of empire.

Pompey then decided to fled to Egypt, hoping for asylum with Ptolemaic King and Queen Cleopatra.

He spent 7 months in Egypt. Cleopatra was put in power over her brother.

Pompey was murdered near Alexandria, Egypt.
Bust of Cleopatra, Museum Berlin
Affair of Cleopatra and Julius Caesar

- Caesar spent his winter in Egypt in 48-47.
- She soon became pregnant by Caesar and she gave birth to a son, Ptolemy XV also called Caesarion or Little Caesar.
- Cleopatra and Caesarion visited Rome between 46 BC and 44 BC.
- In 44 B.C., Caesar was stabbed to death at the Senate in Rome.
- While in Rome there would be reaction against her.
- Cleopatra fled back to Egypt.
Compare Alexandria to Rome

- Rome much more crowded.
- Alexandria, home of the intellectuals, the arts and the sciences.
- Alexandria home to the greatest library the ancient world knew.
- Cosmopolitan city, big roads.
- Discuss the significance of the contact that Caesar had with not only the Ptolemaic queen (of the dynasty of the Ptolemies) of Egypt but also with her city.
Cleopatra’s Alexandria

Founded by Alexander the Great in 331 B.C., this Mediterranean city became the world’s most magnificent center of trade, culture, and learning under the Ptolemies. Ruins of the ancient buildings now lie under the sea and beneath modern construction. This re-creation shows what the city may have looked like during Cleopatra’s reign, when a multicultural mix of perhaps 325,000 people made it their home.
Caesar's Reforms

Caesar's dictatorship (49-44)

- Some historians argue that he integrated Rome with Italy and Italy with provinces somehow reducing the emphasis on just Rome.
- Enlarged senate from 600 to 900; included Romanized provincials, more unity to Roman rule.

- Julian Calendar

- Socio-economic reforms:
  - Architectural landscape of Rome changed, he put emphasis on public works projects such as temples (including temples to CONCORDIA and CLEMENTIA), libraries, theaters, roads, and harbors
  - Land for veterans (colonies)
  - Started granting Roman citizenship for intellectuals - teachers, scholars, doctors, and librarians

- Relief for debt communities in Asia allowed to collect their own taxes
- Limits on free grain

VII. The Monuments of Caesar's Rome

- The Forum Julium
- New senate house
- Saepta Julia
The Forum had the regular form of an elongated rectangle, planned on the model of the public squares of Hellenistic cities, with porticoes and shops on three sides and a temple in the middle, dedicated to Venus Genetrix. It was built with money from the spoils of the Gallic war and was inaugurated in 46 B.C. Inscription: C. IULIUS CAESAR IMP. DICT. FECIT.
Caesar’s FORUM
The FORUM

- Was THE center of Roman public life: the site of triumphal processions, elections, venue for public speeches, criminal trials, and gladiatorial matches, and heart of business and commercial affairs.

- Evolution of the FORA (Plural in Latin of the singular FORUM)

- Developed over many centuries

- Idea of an urban administrative, economic, political CENTER, think of a ‘piazza’ in the middle of a city
Forum Romanum
Coin issued by Caesar depicting military trophy.
Focus on ROME

• Reconstruction. Theater built earlier by Pompey
Why was Caesar assassinated in the Ides of March in 44 BC

• Ides of March, 44 BCE (15 March)

• Many believed Caesar had aspirations to monarchy - **February, 44 BCE**: Caesar was named *dictator perpetuus*. On February 15, at the feast of Lupercalia, Caesar wore his purple garb for the first time in public. At the public festival, Antony offered him a diadem (symbol of the Hellenistic monarchs), but Caesar refused it, saying Jupiter alone is king of the Romans (possibly because he saw the people did not want him to accept the diadem, or possibly because he wanted to end once and for all the speculation that he was trying to become a king).

• He named a month after himself, put his image on coins, and put up many statues of himself.

• 60-80 senators (of 900) were involved in the plot, led by Brutus and Cassius.

• It occurred days before planned campaigns would have taken him out of Rome.

• Famous phrase of Caesar as he was dying addressing Brutus in Greek “And you, my child, Brutus?”
Temple of Venus Genetrix (& Church of Santi Luca e Martina)- Ceasars Forum, Rome, Italy

**Destruction**
A massive fire ravaged the city in AD 80, under the reign of Titus. The fire tore through the entire Forum. The temple was later rebuilt and headed by the Roman Emperor Domitian. Trajan eventually restored the temple in 113 AD, adding the three famous columns which stand today.

Three of the sides of the western side of the temple, after the excavations of the 1930s were raised.
Was there an immediate return to the RES PUBLICA after Caesar’s death?

- Those who tried to get rid of Caesar failed to restore the Republic. Why?
- They did not have a plan for a restoration of the Republic. They thought erroneously that this would be done automatically.
- They did not account for Caesar's popularity with the people.
- Caesar had powerful supporters, like Mark Antony, who kept the "liberators" from undoing Caesar's reforms.
Gaius Cassius Longinus issued the denarius on the left in 42 BCE; its symbolism, including a veiled head of Liberty and religious implements (a jug and an augur's curved staff), presents a justification for the assassination of Caesar. The right-hand coin of Marcus Junius Brutus, issued the same year, is less subtle, since it contains a direct reference to the Ides of March along with a pair of daggers and a cap of liberty (pileus), the type of headgear that was given to slaves when they were freed; the obverse of this coin contains a portrait of Brutus with the legend IMP[erator].
The gift which contributed most largely to [Caesar's] success was an abnormally energetic ability to get things done. This was conspicuously apparent in the occupation of warfare in which he excelled all his rivals. . . . The point was that he could do everything with extraordinary speed. . . . Caesar lived at a faster tempo than the people who had to contend with him, and this gave him an enormous advantage, offering the widest scope to that capacity for the unexpected, unpredictable action which his friends found such an irresistibly attractive feature of his talents. . . . In most of what he did—though not quite everything, as we shall see—clear vision of this kind was Caesar's outstanding characteristic: the product of exceptional brain-power guided by a will of steel. Even Cicero, when he saw Antony trying to step into the dead dictator's shoes, knew that the anti-climax was absurd. ‘Your ambition to reign, Antony, certainly deserves to be compared with Caesar's. But in not a single other respect are you entitled to the same comparison. . . . His character was an amalgamation of genius, method, memory, culture, thoroughness, intellect, and industry.’
Caesar, if anyone, deserves to be called a master of politics. He was equally great in understanding general political trends as in directing them. With consummate skill he handled the machinery of political details, without ever sacrificing his major aim of winning decisive power. . . . What a tragedy lies over the life of the greatest genius produced by Rome—to be snuffed out by Romans who imagined that they were acting on behalf of their res publica! His demonic genius raised him in every respect above all his contemporaries—through his spiritual and physical vigour, through the faster tempo of his life, through his free-ranging gaze which, unfettered by traditional concepts, everywhere discovered new possibilities, and through the masterful way in which he overcame difficulties and realized the most daring plans. Thus, although he was a Roman through and through and intended only to use his rule in order to raise the imperium populi Romani to the level of perfection required by the circumstances, nevertheless the flights of his genius lifted him to a lonely eminence where others were unable to follow him.