

A HISTORY OF ANCIENT ROME COURSE GUIDE



Professor Frances Titchener
UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY

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A History of Ancient Rome

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Utah State University



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COURSE
Roman History

Course Syllabus A History of Ancient Rome

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About Your Professor - Frances Titchener

Frances B. Titchener, a professor who has taught at Utah State University since 1987, served for six years as associate department head in history, and continues to co-direct the classics program. She teaches all levels of Latin and Greek language, as well as history courses on Ancient Greece and Rome, Celtic Europe, and Ancient Western Civilization. Dr. Titchener was named Teacher of the Year for the College of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences for 1994. In 1995, she was selected the CASE Professor of the Year for the State of Utah by the Carnegie Foundation, and she received the national Teaching Excellence Award (college or university level) from the American Philological Society in 1999. She is the recipient of a Fulbright grant for research to Belgium for autumn 2003.

While finishing her Ph.D. at the University of Texas at Austin, Dr. Titchener became interested in the politics of 5th century (BCE) Athens, and she chose for her dissertation topic a commentary on a biography of Nicias, one of the important political figures of the day. She was attracted by the broad range of sources such a project involved and the complexity of the biographical genre. Her research still tends to focus on issues of structure and methodology in the writings of ancient historians and biographers, particularly those of Plutarch. In 1984, she joined the International Plutarch Society. She became the society's international coordinator and editor of the journal *Ploutarchos* in 1987.

COURSE SYLLABUS

Roman History, 753 B.C. - 476 A.D.

Course Objectives: In this class we'll explore the history of the ancient Romans from the period 1200 B.C. up to 476 A.D., what is commonly called the "Fall" of the western Roman empire. I'll describe the basic events and key figures of the period, as well as illuminate various facets of cultural literacy, such as what it means to "cross the Rubicon." As we go along, we'll explore certain themes, such as the Romans' intensely hierarchical outlook, their emphasis on appearances, their concept of virtue based on military prowess, and their devotion to the state.

The first four lectures will concentrate on the Romans in Italy, lectures 5-8 will focus on the Romans abroad, 9-12 will cover matters back at Rome, and lectures 13 and 14 will talk about the Roman empire proper (i.e., Rome after the time of the emperor Augustus, who died in 14 A.D.).

Most people study Roman history because the Romans were responsible for so many important elements of the western, European tradition (e.g., the Julian calendar, Romance (Roman-based) languages, republican form of government, love of formal spectacle sport). The great poet Vergil summed up the Romans' contribution thus, as translated by John Dryden:

Let others better mold the running mass
Of metals, and inform the breathing brass,
And soften into flesh a marble face;
Plead better at the bar; describe the skies,
And when the stars descend, and when they rise.
But, Rome, 'tis thine alone, with awful sway,
To rule mankind, and make the world obey,
Disposing peace and war by thy own majestic way;

To tame the proud, the fetter'd slave to free:
These are imperial arts, and worthy thee ...

They themselves did not typically invent, but they rendered, or translated, and they preserved and spread. At the end of the course, we'll look at their legacy and reexamine the assessment of Vergil, that the Romans' particular talent was to "rule mankind and make the world obey."

Roman History (in a nutshell)

- a. Romulus founded the Roman state in 753 B.C. and ruled as the first of seven kings.
- b. In 510, the upper class rebelled and ended the rule of kings, forming a Republic.
- c. For the next 250 years, the nobles and commoners fought over civil rights and access to political and religious offices during what is known as the Conflict of the Orders.
- d. By 266, the Romans had completed the subjugation of Italy south of the Po Valley. In 264, the Romans began a series of wars known collectively as the Punic Wars with their neighbor Carthage.
- e. Although Rome won these wars by 145 B.C., the period just after was one of violent conflict and civil unrest, spawning a number of "strong men" leaders.
- f. By 27 B.C., civil war had destroyed the Republican government as the Romans searched for stability in the form of one-man rule.
- g. The Roman empire dominated the Mediterranean basin and beyond for over three centuries, spreading the Latin language and Christian religion throughout what would become Europe, as well as the Levant.
- h. By 476 A.D., the western empire had become so weakened by barbarian invasion and insoluble political and economic problems that its government collapsed, and a German mercenary ascended the throne.

Lecture 1: Introduction to Rome, Italy, and the Romans, 1200-753 B.C.

Before beginning this lecture you may want to ...

Read [The Ancient Roman City](#) by John E. Stambaugh.

Introduction:

Any discussion of Roman history must begin with Italy, blessed with a superior strategic location and rich natural resources. We will also discuss the foundation myths of the people of Rome.

Consider this ...

1. Why is the study of ancient Roman history meaningful and interesting to modern people?
2. What were the Romans like?
3. Where do the Romans believe they came from?

A. Italy was blessed with a wonderfully strategic geographical location, standing as a kind of sentinel in the western Mediterranean, and with fantastic natural resources like grapes, olives, cereal grains, and metal ores. Grain was grown in the fertile alluvial river valleys, both for domestic use and export, as was flax for linen cloth and sails. Less fertile soil provided pasture for animals, and the hillsides supported vines and olive trees. Grapes and olives, indigenous to Italy, were first exploited by the Etruscans.

Because olive oil, so useful for burning lamps and bathing, raised the Italian dietary calorie load, the Italian population increased more rapidly than that of others. The need for organized agriculture inspired a landed aristocracy and a manorial system which resulted in the Romans' agrarian value system, and ultimately led to the domestic military crisis of the second century.

B. The foundation myth of Aeneas dates to about 1200 B.C. Aeneas fled the burning city of Troy with his old father on his back and his son Iulus by the hand, ordered by Juppiter to found a "new Troy" in an unknown place. After tarrying in Carthage, Aeneas was rudely set back on his course by Mercury, at Juppiter's command. He and his men suffered an awful shipwreck in which they lost their boats and gear and washed up on the Italian coast. Aeneas realized, watching one of his men roll up his food in a leaf and eat the whole thing, that his men were 'eating their plates,' and thus fulfilling the prophecy that meant they had arrived at the place of their new city.

LIFE IN ANCIENT ROME

Bathing in Ancient Rome consisted of getting wet, rubbing oneself with olive oil, and scraping off the oil with a flat knife called a "strigil."

1. Aeneas and Iulus founded the city Alba Longa that ultimately becomes Rome.
2. Members of Julius Caesar's family traced their lineage back to Iulus, and ultimately to Iulus' grandmother, Venus.
3. The fact that the city name Roma backwards spells AMOR, Latin for love, shows this close connection between the Romans' early history and Venus.

C. **Roman Values:** From the Aeneas foundation myth, it is clear that the Romans believed that they came from somewhere outside of Italy, and were conquerors from the beginning. This reflects the values so typical of them.

1. **Agrarian:** The Romans considered themselves farmers at heart, which will prove significant in their history when, for instance, veterans will want land after completing their military service. Likewise the Twelve Tables, the oldest Roman laws we know of, have a distinctly agrarian focus (i.e., penalties for failing to prevent water run-off).
2. **Conservative:** The Romans almost inevitably favored old and established over new and innovative. "Mos maiorum", or "custom of our ancestors," was often invoked as a reason for maintaining the status quo.
3. **Hierarchical:** In their personal, religious, and public lives, the Romans liked to know where they fit in, and stay where they fit in.
4. **Appearance-conscious:** The Romans were very aware of appearances in general, and cared very much about how things looked. It is a mistake to dismiss them as superficial because Senators wore a purple stripe on their togas, or knights wore gold rings, making their status clear from a distance. This behavior has at least as much to do with their hierarchical outlook.



Flight From Troy by Gian Lorenzo Bernini © Gamma Liaison/Corbis

AENEAS - FATHER OF ROME

The foundation myth of Aeneas explains where the Romans came from. Troy fought a war with Greece, probably not over the beautiful Helen, but over trade and money. The Greeks defeated the Trojans and burned the city. Aeneas, prince of Troy, wished to die in battle but instead was given a mission by the god Juppiter to found a new city—a new Troy.

Aeneas obeyed the god out of piety and reverence. He left the burning city with his old father Anchises on his back and his young son, Iulus, by the hand.

Stopping at Carthage he fell in love with Dido and settled in. Juppiter sent Mercury to kick Aeneas out of Carthage and on about his way again to an unknown place. Having been told only that when he arrived his men would eat their plates, Aeneas set out again.

Aeneas and his men were shipwrecked, losing all their ships and supplies. One enterprising soldier put his food on a leaf and ate it, thus eating his plate—Aeneas then realized this was the promised land.

VESTAL VIRGINS: Priestesses of Vesta

The worship of Vesta involved women priestesses called Vestal Virgins. The Vestals were very important in Roman political life because no men were involved in the worship of Vesta; thus men could trust these women with their secrets. The Vestal Virgins also kept the wills for the population. To be chosen as a Vestal was a great honor for the family, particularly patrician families. Girls entered service at age 7 and retired at age 37. Their ability to store wills, keep secrets, and be immune to the charms of men enabled them to collect wealth in the form of bribes. Although retired Vestals were older they were very marriageable because of this wealth.

Vestal Virgins were meant to be virgins, literally. This was so important that the punishment for women found not to be virgins was harsh. They were buried alive in a chamber with one or two days of food. If the goddess agreed to rescue a Vestal she would.

Summary:

In this lecture we've been introduced to the city of Rome herself, and the Italian Peninsula in terms of geographical location, as well as the fantastic natural resources including olive oil, grain, and grapes. We've also raised themes that will persist throughout this course: themes of dominance and hierarchy, duty, the importance of the state, and the importance of the father. We've examined the first foundation myth, the story of Aeneas, the man who put his duty to his city above all else. We've discussed Roman values and concern with appearance, and how this applies even to religion.

- a. "Dignitas" meant a dignified appearance and position, and a sense of fittingness or appropriateness.
- b. "Gravitas" meant authority and seriousness of purpose.
- 5. Roman values were, of course, reflected in and associated with Roman religion, particularly their reliance on hierarchy and consciousness of appearance. Good examples are the worship of Vesta and Bacchus.
 - a. Vesta, goddess of the hearth, was served by young women from good families who entered a 30-year period of chastity. Vestals were influential politically and often very wealthy upon their retirement.
 - b. The Romans' treatment of Bacchic worshippers was typical. Reluctant to legislate religious behavior, the Romans effectively stopped this worship, which involved orgies, by limiting the number of participants at a service to only 3, and by forcing worshippers to travel to Rome for permission to congregate.
 - c. Juppiter, or Jove Pater, ruled over all, like a father over his family, taking care of his children and punishing his children, if necessary, even to the extent of putting them to death.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. Why were the Romans proud of their "destiny" to be conquerors?
2. Is there really any difference between a king and an emperor?
3. Would you want your daughter or sister to serve as a Vestal Virgin?

Suggested Reading

- MacKendrick, Paul. The Mute Stones Speak: The Story of Archaeology in Italy. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1983.
- Stambaugh, John E. The Ancient Roman City. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1989. (out-of-print)

Other Books of Interest

- Scarre, Christopher. Penguin Historical Atlas of Ancient Rome. New York: Penguin USA, 1985.
- Williams, R.D. Aeneas and the Roman Hero. England: Bristol Classical Press.

Websites to Visit

1. <http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/asbook09.html> - Paul Halsall maintains a fantastic site that includes ancient Roman history.
2. <http://www.roman-empire.net/index.html> - This comprehensive site is user-friendly.
3. http://www.exovedate.com/ancient_timeline_one.html - TIMELINE: ANCIENT ROME: Provides a chronological index of the history of Ancient Rome with extensive links to Internet resources. Emphasis is placed upon the use of primary source material and new perspectives upon the roles of women in ancient times.
4. <http://acad.depauw.edu/romarch/index.html> - ROMARCH: Roman Art and Archaeology.

THE PATRON AND CLIENT SYSTEM IN ANCIENT ROME

Social structure was very important for the Romans. The role of the Roman father expanded into a more political role called patron. Most citizens had patrons and in turn most citizens were patrons to others.

Patrons, the top of the pyramid, would support a number of clients. They fed their clients, testified to their good character in court, and in general, cared for them. Often they would host banquets for their clients, seating them according to their rank.

Clients, in turn, greeted their patrons each morning and performed a myriad of tasks for the patron for money—including those as mundane as odd errands to illegal activities, such as assassinations and other political treachery. The more important the patron, the more prestigious the client. Clients were important to the patron's good public appearance, serving as an entourage for their patron.

Many patrons would have been unable to participate in a variety of public assemblies and sent instead their strong voting block of clients to vote for them.

The patron and client system was the foundation of the Roman social structure, remaining so until the barbarian invasions that eventually tore the fabric of the Roman Empire.

D. The role of the father ("pater" in Latin) was crucial in all public and private relationships. This is one example of the hierarchical nature of Roman social structure.

The Pater familias, ranking male member of a clan, had the power of life and death over his family. Men could not sign contracts, own property, or marry without their fathers' permission. Fathers could and occasionally did execute their sons or sell them into slavery.

The patron (from "pater") and client relationship was one of the most important in Roman society. Patrons provided money, food, legal advice, and support to their clients, who often formed a formidable voting block.

The patricians (again, from pater), or "fathers of their country," acted as fathers to the entire state as they, in the form of the Senate, made almost all significant decisions for Rome.

LIFE IN ANCIENT ROME

The origins of the giving away of the bride by the father can be traced back to Ancient Rome. The pater familias must agree and literally "turn over" his child to another pater's manus. The word emancipate comes from the Roman word for leaving a pater's manus.

Summary:

In this lecture, we have discussed Romulus, the first king of Rome and the story of how he came to power. We have also discussed the shadowy period of kings, which is fairly undocumented. We focused on the last king and the event that ended the regal period. We also discussed how tremendously important the role of father is in the culture, politics and religion of Rome.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. How can someone be both a patron and client at the same time?
2. Why was Lucretia such an icon for the Romans?
3. Is rule by one man really such a bad thing?

Suggested Reading

- Clough, Arthur Hugh (ed.). *Plutarch's Lives*, Volume I, "Life of Romulus," John Dryden (trans.) New York: The Modern Library, Penguin USA, 1992.
- Pomeroy, Sarah B. *Goddesses, Whores, Wives, and Slaves: Women in Classical Antiquity*. New York: Knopf Publishing Group, 1995.

Other Books of Interest

- Alfoldy, Geza. *The Social History of Rome*. Frank Pollock and David Braund (trans.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.
- Beard, Mary, et. al. *Religions of Rome: A History*. Two Volumes. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Livy, Titus. *The Rise of Rome, Books I-V*. (Oxford World's Classics) T. James Luce, Jr. (ed.) England: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Staples, Ariadne. *From Good Goddess to Vestal Virgins: Sex and Category in Roman Religion*. England: Routledge Press, 1988.
- Wise, T.P. *Remus: A Roman Myth*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Worsfold, T. Cato. *The History of Vestal Virgins of Rome*. Montana: Kessinger Publishing Company, 1997.

Websites to Visit

1. Women in the Ancient World: <http://www.stoa.org/diotima/>
2. Perseus Digital Library: www.perseus.tufts.edu/ - A collection of primary texts, secondary sources, and artwork.

Lecture 3: Internal Conflict: The Patrician and Plebeian Orders, 510-287 B.C.

Before beginning this lecture you may want to ...

Read The Roman Revolution by R. Syme.

Read The Early History of Rome by Titus Livy, Vol. I.

Introduction:

The "elders" of the state delivered their wisdom collectively as the Senate. Although the new form of government allowed all free men to participate, the reality was that only nobility had access to important political, military, and religious offices. After the expulsion of the kings, patricians controlled these offices (the former king's duties devolved for the most part into two elected officials called "consuls"), and dominated the Senate, Rome's most important decision-making body. By 287 B.C., that had changed. Roman historians call the struggle between patricians and plebeians for equal access the "conflict of the orders."

Consider this ...

1. How did the Romans run their state after they got rid of kings?
2. How did they participate in their government?
3. Did the Roman predilection for hierarchy cause trouble in their social interactions?

A. Patrician Families. By 510 B.C., certain families had already become identified as "patrician" (from "pater," or father). These fathers of their country gave advice collectively as the Senate. Roman citizens who were not patricians were plebeians, or plebs. Later on wealthy plebeians would constitute another order known as equites, or knights.

SPQR, which means "the Senate and the Roman People," is used to this day as the official designation of official Roman business. The order of these units, senate first, is no coincidence.

Patrician clans, like the Julians and Claudians, were extensive and extended networks strengthened by marriages and adoptions.

Traditional senatorial concerns included fiscal and foreign/military policy. As the Roman state grew, so did the complication of treaties, foreign relations, elections, taxes, military pay, and any other business routinely conducted by a state.

LIFE IN ANCIENT ROME

SPQR, which means "the Senate and the Roman People," is used to this day as the official designation of Roman business. You will still see SPQR in Rome.

In 500 B.C., there were about 50 clans, or gentes, comprising less than 10% of the free population.

B. The Plebeians. The plebeian order was not characterized by any particular birth or financial qualification, and it did not enjoy a unanimous political outlook. Nevertheless, the plebs demanded basic rights.

Non-patricians who were the first consuls in their family were known as "new men." Their descendants would be able to enter the Senate without formality.

Among other rights, the plebs at various times demanded the right to intermarry, the right to appeal, and the right to run for public offices.

One important victory for the plebs was the creation and publication of the Twelve Tables, some of the oldest remaining Latin texts.

C. Plebeian Secession. Their main weapon was secession, physically at first, as the plebs would relocate across the river Tiber. Their presence in the military, as well as in marketplaces and as clients to patrician patrons, was missed.

During the Conflict of the Orders, or struggle for rights, the plebs wanted access most particularly to the Senate. Despite the fact that there had been plebeian consuls and senators in the past, general access was not common. While they waited for access to the offices from which they would retire to the Senate, the plebs created an officer, the tribune of the plebs.

The plebeian tribune not only could attend Senate meetings but exercise the veto. Ultimately there would be ten, and they could veto one another in the Senate or Assembly.

Because of the nature of his office, the plebeian tribune was physically protected by the plebs, who annually took an oath to protect his person with their lives. It was a capital offense to assault a tribune.

ADOPTION

The ceremony of entering into another parent's control

The Roman term was *adoptio* or *adoptatio*. The easiest way for an ambitious plebeian to become a patrician was through adoption. Romans practiced adoption partly because infant mortality was quite high in ancient Rome. It was not unusual for a Roman woman to have only three or four out of eleven children survive. Many patrician families had only daughters, which were quite costly in the dowry they took with them when they married.

Patricians would adopt likely young men to add to their families. Adoption almost acted as a form of patronage.

If a patrician father had eight sons, he might gladly have one adopted to avoid the struggle for property after his death.

Sometimes sons were adopted after they had left the power of their parent in a ceremony called *adrogatio*. Daughters could not be adopted by this practice. In addition, women were unable to adopt, for even their own children were not under their control.

Adopted sons were rarely plebeians, therefore keeping the familial units socially intact. However, upon a vote of the *populus* an individual could be adopted above his birth status.

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THE TWELVE TABLES

By about 494 B.C. the plebeian classes had reached such a large number that the patricians were forced to write down the laws of the nation. The Decemviri Consulari Imperio Legibus Scribundis were given unprecedented powers to draft these laws and by the middle of the 5th century, stones were carved with the laws of the land so that all would know the exact letter of the law.

The twelve tables are of antiquarian interest now because they constitute a rich collection of material about what was considered important to early Romans.

Through the fragments we have learned the following:

Table One mandates that both parties must be present at a hearing and it must end by sunset.

Table Three gives debtors 30 days to pay before freedom is forfeited.

Table Four makes a man's will binding.

Table Eight lists punishments for certain crimes, judging that a perjurer should be put to death.

Table Nine specifies capital punishment for crooked judges and those guilty of treason.

Table Eleven specifies there are to be no marriages between plebeians and patricians, which we know was routinely ignored.

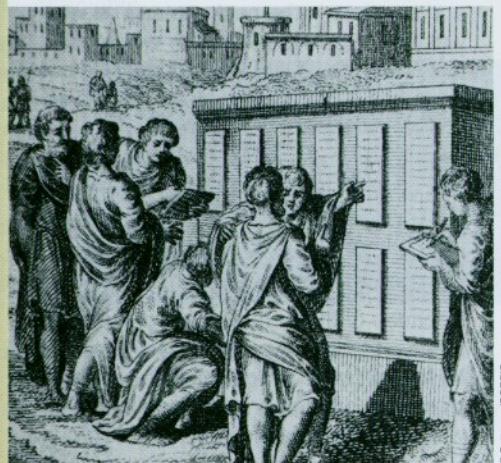
Plebeians were beginning to get somewhere in society. Often they were wealthier than patricians and therefore a marriage between the two families would infuse wealth into one and confer status on the other.

Plebeians ultimately gained access to the various priesthoods. These were political positions because some priests could stop a session of the Senate by hearing thunder—"a bad omen."

Even after the creation of the tribunate, the people wanted their own assembly which Senators were not permitted to attend.

The traditional concerns of the peoples' assembly were electing officials, particularly the tribunes, and acting on matters put to them by the consuls on behalf of the Senate. The patron-client relationship became even more important as both Senate and Assembly attempted to bribe, intimidate, and otherwise coerce their desired results.

In 287 B.C., a law proposed by Hortensius (Lex Hortensia) guaranteed that legislation passed by the plebeian assembly was binding on all Roman citizens. For most historians, this formally ends the Conflict of the Orders.



Romans Looking at Law Tablets

D. Young Politicians. The Cursus Honorum is the formal term for the Course of Offices an ambitious young man followed. Eventually this sequence was formalized and regularized throughout all provinces of the empire. A military reputation was important for office-seekers since the Roman definition of virtue is "acting like a man." Unlike the U.S. system which makes a point of balancing powers, the Roman system balanced the interests of patricians and plebs.

Prosopography, literally "face-writing," is the study of history through political office and the holders of those offices.

The story of Roman government is actually the stories of the magistracies and their clans. Many historians believe that by tracing these offices through various noble families we can see trends in how and why Roman politics and history developed the way they did in future years.

E. Offices in Ancient Rome. Young men would start out as aediles or those who put on the games. Then through a system of election, young men began to improve their positions.

The quaestor was a quartermaster attached to a military unit. This is the first mandatory office. Successful completion of this office greatly enhanced a man's reputation.

The praetor was a senior military officer, later a provincial governor.

The consuls were the two men who received the most votes in the annual elections. They convened and conducted Senate meetings, and acted as the State's representatives in all formal occasions. The consuls also had control over the Senatorial army and the selection of praetors and questors. Consuls also retired to the senate, which made it possible for plebeians and their offspring to obtain patrician privileges.

Other offices were possible, including the office of highest prestige, censor. Two censors were elected every five years from the ranks of former consuls and served for 18 months. They took the census and maintained the citizen rolls.

Summary:

It was important that between 510 and 287 B.C. some kind of government be created to take the place of the monarchy. By dividing political duties between the Senate and the people, all citizens could participate in the process of government in some form.

In this lecture, then, we have discussed the nature of the Roman Republic and how it developed, how "public" it was and what the offices were. We talked about the crucial distinction between patricians and plebeians and how the plebeians fought for equality.

ROMAN SOCIETY AND FAMILY STRUCTURE

It was very important for the Romans to know who they were and where they fit in—and to let everyone else know where they fit in. Politically the Republic was run as a forum. The consuls ran the Senate, which represented the noble houses, and the tribune of the plebs represented plebeian and equestrian interests in the Senate (see diagram below).

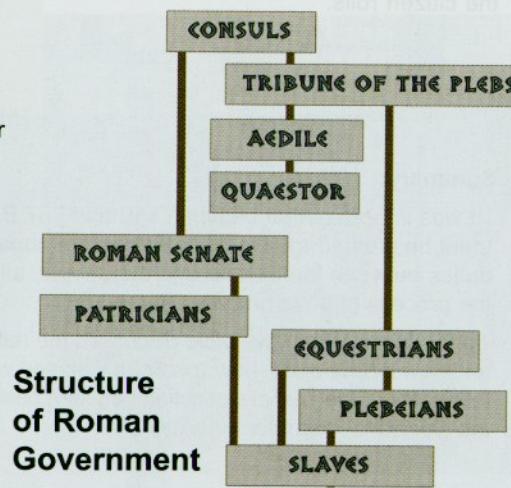
Senators wore a particular purple stripe on their togas to help them stand out in the crowd. The knights, or wealthy plebeians, wore rings that you could see at a distance.

The Roman Forum was officially the marketplace and center of political and social activity. It was the business district and civic center, and included temples, a senate house, and law courts. Women of wealth were not usually seen in the marketplace, instead sending their slaves to do the shopping. In fact, in the early days of Rome women were not usually seen except in the home since they were under the protection of husbands, fathers, or surviving male relatives. As the republic matured, women began showing themselves in public and even representing themselves in courts.

The Senate, the main governing body, was made up of the leading male citizens who were members of the original aristocratic families in the old Republic. Two leaders called consuls were chosen for terms of one year and became, therefore, the highest-ranking magistrates or government officials. The tribune of the plebs, annually elected officials, represented plebeian and equestrian interests in the Senate. They, too, had veto power.

In the home the father was in charge of his household. Often the women were segregated to separate sleeping quarters. This was a handy arrangement if the husband was unfaithful, as female slaves were welcome in the male sleeping quarters. Children remained home until the sons began their schooling around the age of seven. Female children learned to manage a household, if they were wealthy, or keep a house, cook, etc., if they were not.

Families included their ancestors and protective family gods in their family activities. They hung death masks of relatives at home so they could watch over their loved ones.



FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. Why were the Romans so proud of their Republic?
2. Why was Lex Hortensia so important?
3. Was the Republic really that different from rule by kings?

Suggested Reading

- Clough, Arthur Hugh (ed.). *Plutarch: Lives of Noble Grecians and Romans*. Volume I. John Dryden (trans.) New York: The Modern Library, Penguin USA, 1992.
- Mitchell, R.E. *Patricians and Plebeians: The Origin of the Roman State*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990.
- Syme, Ronald. *The Roman Revolution*. England: Oxford University Press, 2002.

Other Books of Interest

- Adkins, Lesley. *Handbook to Life in Ancient Rome*. England: Oxford University Press, 1998. (originally a YA title—great colorful maps, illustrations, charts).
- Aubert, Jean-Jacques (ed.) *Speculum Iuris: Roman Law as a Reflection of Social and Economic Life in Antiquity*. Michigan: University of Michigan Press, 2002.
- Cierco, Marcus Tullius. *Murder Trials*. Michael Grant (trans.) New York: Penguin Classics, Penguin USA, 1978.
- Cierco, Marcus Tullius. *The Republic and the Laws*. Niall Rudd (trans.) England: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Habinek, Thomas. *Roman Cultural Revolution*. England: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Roberts, John Maddox. *The King's Gambit*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001. (and other titles in the SPQR series)
- Robinson, O.F. *The Criminal Law of Ancient Rome*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1996.

Website of Interest

<http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/12tables.html> - The entire text of the Twelve Tables.

The Etruscans

Origins

The Etruscans' origins are not understood, but we know they are not indigenous to Italy. Ancient explanations are not helpful—the Greek poet Hesiod said the Etruscans were the children of Odysseus and Circe, while the historian Herodotus said they fled a famine in Lydia. Herodotus' theory sounds reasonable, but Lydian is an Indo-European language, and Etruscan is demonstrably not. We believe the Etruscans had a literate society, since their painting and sculpture often depict books. At least 13,000 examples of Etruscan writing still exist, but most are short inscriptions in tombs or on pots (the longest writing sample is a sacred ritual book of about 1,200 legible words, recovered from a mummy wrap). Ironically, since we cannot read their language, the Etruscans are responsible for one of the most common ways of describing ours. The Etruscans evidently had no "g" sound, but created a letter "c." This is why we say our abc's instead of our abg's.

The prevailing theory is that the Etruscan migration to Italy was part of the upheaval throughout the entire Mediterranean that took place ca. 1200 B.C. We can infer a connection with people in the north, since Etruscan metallurgy is similar to that of central



Europe. Amber artifacts showed trade with Baltic people, while the Etruscan love of horses may come from the steppes of Asia.

Natural Resources

Thomas Potter of the British Museum says "In the seventh century we see three magic words in Etruria. Wine. Olives. Cereals." As we learned earlier, grain was grown in alluvial river valleys, both for domestic use and export, as was flax for linen cloth and sails. Less fertile soil provided pasture, while hillsides supported vines and olive trees. Grapes and olives, indigenous to Italy, were first exploited by Etruscans. Grapes were good for export, and the Etruscans brought it to the Gauls (the future French!). Olive oil raised the calorie load of the Etruscan diet, helping the population

increase, while organized agriculture inspired landed aristocracy and a manor system.

The Etruscan hills (plus the island of Elba) held the Mediterranean's richest iron deposits. Since the Etruscans were not particularly efficient at extracting iron from ore, what they left behind gave Mussolini a source of iron for tanks and bombs. Many Etruscan cities exported finished iron and bronze wares like helmets, weapons, chariots, urns, cande-

labra, mirrors, and statues in return for other raw materials and luxury goods. They also made linen and woolen clothing, leather goods, fine gold jewelry, and pottery. Forests fueled the smelters and provided wood for buildings and ships.

Contributions to the Romans

The Etruscans were influenced by their native so-called Villanovan culture, far-eastern culture (Assyrian, Hittite, Persian, Egyptian) via trading, and of course the Greek culture (also trading). According to Livy, in the late seventh century a wealthy Greek-Etruscan, Lucius Tarquinius Priscus, moved from Tarquinia to Rome on the urging of his formidable full-blooded Etruscan wife, Tanaquil. In 616 B.C. Tarquinius somehow became king of Rome. Etruscan kings then ruled until 509, with Tarquin the Proud the last Roman king.

The Etruscans contributed much of what we consider typically Roman. This includes features like the following:

Typical Roman city planning, where cities are laid out in grid plan, on streets intersecting at right angles.

Soothsaying, where priests foretold the future with sheep livers (the so-called "Etruscan Discipline").

Building construction, resulting in temples that were lower, and used steps, but rarely of columns, and the use in private houses of atria, or open central areas.

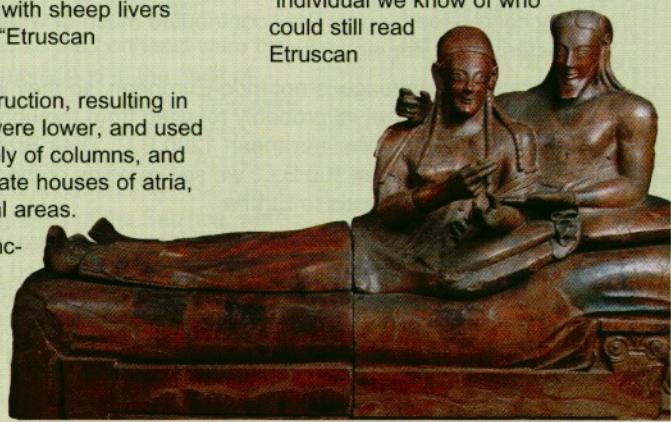
Music and dancing, since we are told that the Etruscans kneaded bread, practiced boxing,

and whipped their slaves to the sound of flutes. Etruscan tomb paintings bear out this affinity for music.

Engineering, particularly in the form of city gates, sewers, bridges, and tombs. From the Etruscans the Romans learned the essential art of draining swamps and checking erosion. Probably most importantly, they invented the arch, which the Romans then perfected. Blood sports, notably gladiatorial combat.

Their Final Days

In 474, the Etruscans were defeated by Syracuse in a battle off Cumae, which effectively ended Etruscan domination of Rome. This defeat triggered hardship in the mercantile cities of the south, while the Etruscans were threatened by the Gauls from the north. At the same time, the Etruscan aristocracy was challenged by merchant and plebeian classes. In 396, Rome conquered Etruscan Veii, and in 295, at the battle of Sentinum, the Etruscans were decisively defeated, although they continued to decline for another two centuries. The emperor Claudius (10 B.C. - 54 A.D.) was the last individual we know of who could still read Etruscan



Etruscan Sarcophagus of a Married Couple © Archivo Iconografico, S.A./CORBIS

Before beginning this lecture you may want to ...

Read Plutarch's *Life of Coriolanus* (available in *The Makers of Rome*, Penguin) and Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*.

Introduction:

Military conquest and colonization during the early Republic were two ways by which Rome began systematically expanding her sphere of control. First to come under Roman sway were her nearest neighbors. Wherever the Romans and their army went, they built roads, temples, markets, theaters, baths, and aqueducts.

Consider this ...

1. Why did the Romans want to expand?
2. How much influence did the Etruscans have on the Romans?
3. Are colonies good for everyone?

A. Military Conquest. Rome's attempt at the complete subjugation of Veii, an Etrurian town, in 405 B.C. was the first definite step in her career of world conquest, and strained her resources to the breaking point. Tradition called it a turning point in the city's military history, and Romans remembered it in a way similar to the ten-year siege of Troy. The territory gained here made even more colonization possible.

1. The Etruscans. Of the various prehistoric civilizations in early Italy, that of the Etruscans is the most important. Their burial habits, featuring sarcophagi, reveal much about their society, since their language is still undeciphered. The Etruscans ruled early Rome as kings, and were ultimately conquered by her. They contributed much of what we think of as characteristic to Roman culture.

The Etruscans' language is not Indo-European, so they were not indigenous to Italy. Their arrival probably resulted from the upheaval taking place throughout the Mediterranean 1200 B.C. Their Bronze Age culture permeated Italy, and by 900 B.C. we see remains of the so-called Villanovan culture specific to Etruria.

Many Etruscan cities exported finished iron and bronze wares like helmets, weapons, chariots, urns, candelabra, mirrors, and statues in return for other raw materials and luxury goods. They also made linen and woolen clothing, leather goods, fine gold jewelry, and pottery. Forests fueled the smelters and provided wood for buildings and ships.

The Etruscans transmitted elements of Greek culture, as well as their own.

From the Greeks, the Etruscans learned the method of fighting known as the hoplite phalanx, and the Romans perfected it.

The Greek, or Phoenician alphabet, was adapted by the Etruscans and not only embraced by the Romans, but spread over the western world. It is still the alphabet the English language is written in thousands of years later.

The Etruscans' engineering feats, particularly the foundation of the Great Sewer, were impressive. Rome adopted the Etruscan arch and, by moving and rotating it through space, created architectural triumphs like the Colosseum.

The Romans enthusiastically adopted Etruscan gladiatorial combat as a spectator sport.

The Romans learned grid-style city-planning from the Etruscans. Even today you can see, from the air, the amazing patterns of the Roman grid in the division of medieval farmland.

The "Etruscan discipline" was divination by entrails, particularly the liver. The priests in charge of this were called haruspices. A priest would slaughter a victim, take out the liver and tell from deformities what would happen.

2. The Sabines. To the northeast were the Sabines, memorialized in the myth of Romulus as early enemies, but they were neutralized, or coopted by the acceptance of one of their chieftains, Appius Claudius, into the community. The Aequi, southern neighbors of the Sabines, were decisively defeated in 431.

3. The Samnites and Volsci. To the immediate east were tribes like the Samnites and Volsci. The latter launched an invasion led by rogue Roman leader Coriolanus.

THE PHALANX

Developments in Military Strategy

From the Greeks, the Etruscans learned the method of fighting known as the "phalanx." The Hoplites, or heavily armed soldiers, were lined up in a Phalanx, or a close formation or battle line.

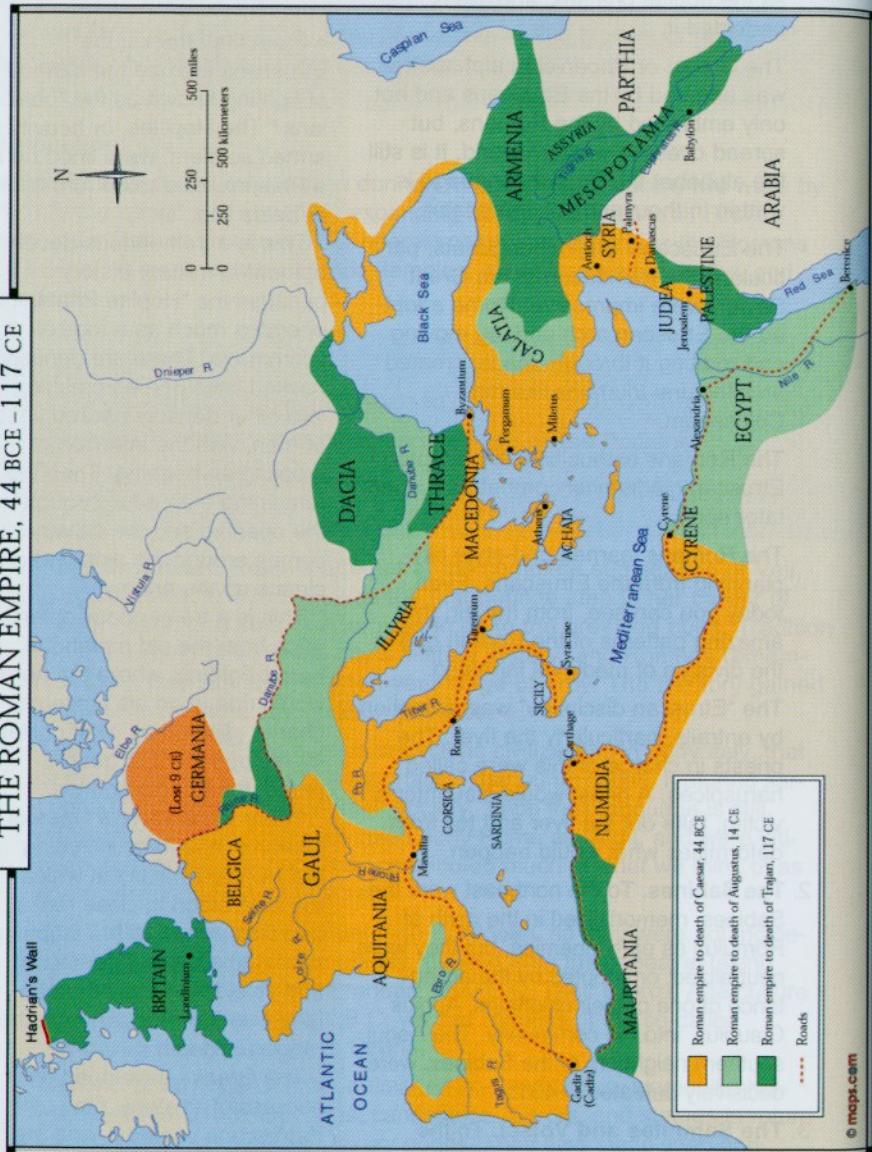
This is a tremendous development in military history because the "Hoplite Phalanx" operates much as a football scrimmage. There are densely packed lines of men crashing into other densely packed lines of men, with the intention of creating an opening. Then the remaining men pour through the opening and the cavalry comes around the side and cleans up the enemy.

This is a tremendous difference from the old method of heroic fighting, where the hero would ride in on his horse or chariot, disembark, wait politely for his opponent to get prepared, then begin fighting.

There were several types of phalanx variations, including the Hoplite Phalanx in which the men stood in close ranks and files armed with a stabbing spear (about 6 to 7 feet long) and shield. Typically the phalanx was 8 ranks, although they ranged in depth.

The Greeks developed this successful strategy, the Etruscans copied it, and the Romans perfected it.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE 44 BCE–117 CE



The details are unclear, but Roman tradition shows the city itself threatened by invasion, and Shakespeare provides a memorable picture, largely based on Plutarch's *Life*. These tribes were subdued by the end of the 4th century.

THE CELTS

"All Gaul is divided into three parts, one of which the Belgae inhabit, the Aquitani another, the third, those who in their own language are called Celts, and in ours. Gauls."—Julius Caesar

4. **The Celts.** From the north came Rome's first serious non-Italian enemy, the Celts. The Gallic branch may have entered Italy peacefully at first, attracted by the mild climate and natural resources, but by 400 B.C. the Gauls were being strongly resisted.

At the "Disaster of the River Allia," a small tributary of the Tiber, the Romans (with some Latin allies) met the Gauls, but couldn't stop the Gallic charge, and could not prevail against the Gallic long swords. Part of the Roman army escaped by swimming the Tiber, but the road to Rome was now unguarded.

In 390 B.C. the Gauls occupied Rome and burned it down. Vestal virgins and priests escaped with some cult objects, but the capitol was held under siege for seven months, during which it received no assistance from Veii or the Latin cities. The Roman garrison was eventually driven by famine to surrender, at which time the Gallic besiegers accepted a gold ransom and went off to settle south of the Alps, just north of the Po River.

Although Rome recovered relatively quickly, her defeat at the Allia encouraged rebellion and insurrection on the part of her allies. Rome brutally and efficiently suppressed these rebellions. By 338 B.C., the Latin league had been dissolved, and its members granted full or partial Roman citizenship.

B. Colonies. The Romans defined colonies as autonomous civic units, each with its own individual laws, officers, and government. Typically, considering the Romans' hierarchical outlook, there were several different kinds of colonies. These units served to spread Romanization without

The Celts were a perennial enemy of Rome for hundreds of years. Normally the Celts were larger than the typical Roman soldier and their unorthodox, to the Romans, way of fighting provoked fear among Rome's rigidly formed phalanxes.

In 390 B.C., the Celts traveled over the Alps, weathering the cold to settle in just north of the Po River, a little close for the comfort of the Romans.

The Roman Senatorial Army was sent north to meet this tremendous Gallic invasion, which in this case involved the Celts pouring over the Alps. The Roman Army lined up in their dignified orderly Hoplite Phalanx and were horrified to see naked, screaming Celtic warriors snowboarding on their shields. Their faces were, most likely, painted blue with their heads shaved halfway and the rest of their blond hair painted white.

The Celtic screaming horde was armed with the long swords like the Scottish clau-gauh, which are swung above the head, not stabbed forward. The wild charge of the Celts was extremely effective in this battle and they streamed through the orderly formations of the Romans, turning a battle into a massacre and winning the day.

COLONIZATION

Roman colonies were self-governing communities, each with its own administration, laws, and magistrates. Land often came from conquered territory, and was therefore sometimes far from the city of Rome herself. The future inhabitants would "hand in their names" at Rome, set off for their new home, and, if necessary, physically prepare the ground. They would perform religious ceremonies in conjunction with the foundation, and celebrate an anniversary.

Colonies served to decrease surplus population, give citizens down on their luck another chance, and spread "Romanization" without military intervention. Their organization became the prototype for provincial administration. Since the inhabitants were from Rome or Roman territory, they tended to organize things like the Romans did. Colonies would typically have good roads, aqueducts, baths, temples, forums, and theatres. Many of the best Roman ruins are now seen in former Roman colonies or provinces, notably Spain.

Summary:

In this lecture we have discussed Roman Expansion in Italy from 510 to 287 B.C. Rome has extended her dominance throughout the peninsula. We meet the Gauls for the first time and see the Romans' narrow escape. We are also introduced to Roman colonization.

military intervention, decrease the surplus population, and act as advance outposts. The need for land, and the conquest and eviction of locals that resulted, foreshadows the Romans' problems in the 1st century B.C. with veterans. Colonial government and settlements acted as a prototype for provincial administration after the First Punic War.

Until 338 B.C., 14 colonies were established jointly with fellow members of the Latin League. The colonists' citizenship was that of the new community, which became a Latin city like any other League member.

After 338 B.C. Rome continued to found colonies with Latin status, although the 4,000 families or so of settlers were not necessarily of Latin origin, nor were any such colonies sited within the geographical area of Latium.

Rome established so-called "Citizen" colonies, where inhabitants kept their Roman citizenship, in which about 300 families were allotted tiny plots of land. These colonists were meant to protect the coast.

1. Southern Italy. As the Romans extended their influence into southern Italy, called "Big Greece" by its immigrant inhabitants, they were aiming to control the entire Italian peninsula, south of the Po River.

The southern Italians called on King Pyrrhus, of Epirus in northern Greece, to defend them.

Pyrrhus arrived (with elephants!), but his own ambitions were greater than those of the southern Italians, and they sent him home as soon as they could.

By 267 B.C., when the southern Italians came to terms, the Romans controlled the entire boot south of the Po River.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. Did the Romans really have to expand?
2. Is a Pyrrhic victory ever somehow worth it?
3. Why didn't the Gauls take over Rome when they could?

Suggested Reading

- Clough, Arthur Hugh (ed.). *Plutarch: The Makers of Rome*. Volume I. "The Life of Coriolanus."
- Polybius. *The Rise of the Roman Empire*. Ian Scott-Kilvert (trans.) New York: Penguin USA, 1980.
- Shakespeare, William. *Three Roman Plays: Coriolanus, Julius Caesar, Antony and Cleopatra*. Norman Sanders, et. al. (eds.) New York: Penguin USA, 1995.

Other Books of Interest

- Goldsworthy, Adrian. *Roman Warfare*. New York: Sterling Publishing Company, Inc., 2002.
- Livy, Titus. *War with Hannibal*. New York: Penguin USA, 1972.
- Rankin, David. *Celts and the Classical World*. England: Routledge, 1996.
- Salmon, E.T. *Samnium and the Samnites*. England: Cambridge University Press, 1967. (out-of-print)
- Williams, J.H. *Beyond the Rubicon: Romans and Gauls in Republican Italy*. England: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Woolf, Greg. *Becoming Roman: The Origins of Provincial Civilization in Gaul*. England: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Websites to Visit

<http://www.geocities.com/Athens/Oracle/6622/> - Well-researched personal site showing models of Roman phalanxes and well-informed discussion of the organization of the Roman Army.

Lecture 5: The First Punic War and the Emergence of Individuals, 264-241 B.C.

Before beginning this lecture you may want to ...

Read Polybius' The Rise of the Roman Empire (Penguin) (all three Punic Wars).

Introduction:

The Greek historian Polybius (204-122 B.C.) wrote that there was surely no one so lacking in curiosity that he did not wish to know how the Romans had subjugated the entire world (as he put it) in under 200 years. He was describing the Punic Wars, fought between Rome and Carthage (268-145 B.C.), which changed the world and set the Romans on the path to empire.

Consider this ...

1. Why was grain such an important factor in the history of ancient Rome?
2. Is it realistic to turn back from a path of military conquest?
3. Why would it be important to the Romans to establish a trade relationship with Carthage?

A. Carthage. Carthage was a Phoenician colony (Punic = Phoenician) in northern Africa, near modern Tunis, that became a wealthy trading city with abundant wheat fields and wealthy plantation owners. She had a treaty with Rome as far back as 510 B.C., one of the prime pieces of evidence for the fact that Rome had become dominant by that time.

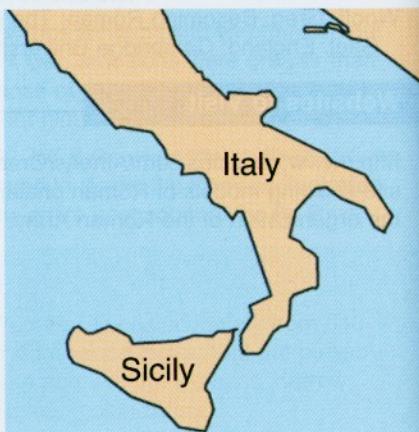
1. In 268, Carthage controlled southern Spain and the islands Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia. Once Rome had succeeded in dominating the Italian peninsula, it is not surprising that she became concerned about her relationship with Sicily, the "football" being kicked by the Italian boot.

The Romans worried that an island so rich in wheat should not be controlled by a foreign power.

However, they were unwilling to start a war.

Rome was asked in 268 B.C. to intervene in a dispute on the island of Sicily involving former Roman mercenaries known as the Sons of Mars, and the city of Syracuse.

Rome sent a small detachment into Sicily, which didn't much help the situation, but committed Rome to a course of attempting world conquest.



The story of Dido (in Book IV of the *Aeneid*) in many ways acts as an explanation for an enmity the Romans chose to view as traditional, despite evidence to the contrary (like the 510 treaty). The story has to do with the virtuous queen Dido, who fled Phoenician Tyre to settle in Carthage. The goddess Venus forced the Queen of Carthage to fall in love with Aeneas. When Jupiter sent Aeneas away, Dido told Aeneas he had broken her heart, and then killed herself. For the Romans, Carthage literally tried to stop the founding of Rome.

2. Rome was rich in manpower, having conquered the Italian peninsula as far north as the Po Valley, and stable in government after over 200 years of a successful Republic.

Carthage was not only wealthy from trade, but supreme in the west naval. However, because the Carthaginian government was torn between seagoing merchants and landowners, she was overly dependent on mercenaries and post-election shifts in foreign policy.

3. A series of battles ensued, with the Romans ultimately winning after Carthage, exhausted financially, sued for peace.

Rome was forced to develop a navy, which she used with mixed results.

Even when Rome won major naval battles, she suffered terrible shipwreck losses, both from lack of experience and bad weather.

Carthage evacuated Sicily and accepted a moderate fine.

B. Results and significance.

1. It is hard to overestimate the importance of Rome's acquiring her first province. Suddenly Rome had to maintain this province with a professionally trained navy.

ROME'S NAVY IN THE FIRST PUNIC WAR

In the accounts of the Greek historian Polybius, we learn of Rome's plan to create 120 warships. Rome hired boatwrights from Corinth to build boats and train men to operate them.

There were two types of ships commissioned: the trireme, which contained three levels of oars with one man on each set of oars, and the "quinquereme", which was a major advance in ship making technology. This ship could have three levels of oars, with each oar rowed by two or three men. Each of these ships required 160 men to maneuver.

A preferred method of fighting with these ships involved ramming the enemy's ship under the water line to sink the ship, the disadvantage being the Romans were unable to utilize the ship themselves. So Rome developed another strategy.

Her use of the corvus, a kind of grappling plank, meant that she could fight naval battles using land-battle techniques. The plank was thrown over to the enemy's ship so the spike gripped the ship. Then foot soldiers boarded and conquered the ship, throwing the enemy sailors overboard. Rome was quite successful with this method of attack and won many battles.

However, the God Neptune was apparently not happy with the Romans' success in the First Punic War. They lost the bulk of their fleet in a storm.

PLAUTUS AND TERENCE

The Romans encountered a new art form in Sicily—drama. Before this time Romans had never seen plays.

Sicily, settled by Sicels and Greeks, was a hotbed of Greek literature. When the Athenian expedition to Sicily failed horribly in 413, many soldiers were ransomed when the Sicilians realized they knew all the words to Euripides' latest songs.

The Romans took a great and immediate liking to New Comedy, with its stock characters like the Braggart Soldier, the Battle-Ax Wife, the Thwarted Young Lover, and the Glutton. And since the plays were written about Greeks, the Romans could laugh at characters unlike themselves. Romans viewed actors as the lowest level of the social strata.

Two of Rome's greatest writers, the comic playwrights Plautus and Terence, translated and adapted these comedies that, like the stock characters of TV situation comedies, were still enormously popular in the early 21st century A.D. Plautus is the earliest writer of Roman theatre, drawing heavily on Greek plays. Terence was born at Carthage, brought to Rome as a slave, then later freed. Both wrote about Greek characters but infused them with Roman traits and customs.

A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum is a play based loosely on some of these new comedies that the Romans so adored.

2. The office of the praetor, or governor, was created, and his duties and power defined. This set Rome on the course of a bloated bureaucracy that, arguably, eventually would lead to her downfall.
3. Now there was a distinction between Italian and non-Italian Romans.
4. Now that Rome had naval capability, her interests would inevitably turn east, towards Greece, Asia Minor, and Egypt. Egypt was one of the richest sources of grain in the known world. Asia Minor had gold and slaves.

Summary:

In this lecture we have seen how Rome took on the dominant world trading power Carthage and wrestled her prime territory, Sicily, from her. We also see Rome setting her eyes further to the east and preparing for world domination. We also see how Greek comedy has survived the test of time.



Zero Mostel, right, is the lead performer in the Broadway musical 'A Funny Thing Happened On the Way to the Forum.'

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. What might have happened if Rome had not gotten involved in Sicilian politics?
2. Did Rome have a situation similar to that of the competing and diverse political interests in Carthage?
3. How common is it for an art form to remain as unchanged over 2,000 years as Greek New Comedy has done?

Suggested Reading

- Goldsworthy, Adrian. *The Punic Wars*. New York: Sterling Publishing, Inc., 2002.
- Polybius. *The Rise of the Roman Empire*. Ian Scott-Kilvert (trans.) New York: Penguin USA, 1980.

Other Books of Interest

- Menander. *Menander, the Plays and Fragments*. Maurice Balme (trans.) New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.

- Plautus, Titus Maccius. *Plautus and Terence: Five Comedies*. Deena Berg and Douglass Parker (trans.) Indiana: Hackett Publishing Company, Inc., 1999.

Websites to Visit

1. <http://www.fiu.edu/~eltonh/army.html>. - Warfare in the Ancient World: This page is concerned with ancient warfare, covering the period between the Mycenaean World and the Byzantine Empire.
2. http://www.archeologia.com/roman_navy/rn.html - Information on the Roman Navy.

Recorded Books

- Bradford, Ernle. *Hannibal*. UNABRIDGED Recorded Books.
(7 cassettes/9.75 hours).

Call 1-(800)-636-3399 or visit www.recordedbooks.com to order.
Available for purchase or rental by mail.

Before beginning this lecture you may want to ...

Read Plutarch's *Lives of Marcellus, Fabius Maximus, Cato the Elder* (available together as *The Makers of Rome*, Penguin).

Read Polybius' *The Rise of the Roman Empire* (Penguin) (Punic Wars).

Introduction:

The causes of the Second Punic War are painfully obvious. When the Romans treacherously seized the islands Corsica and Sardinia on a pretext, they incurred the bitter enmity of Hamilcar, father of Hannibal, soon to become Rome's most dangerous enemy. It was clear to Hamilcar that the Romans could not be trusted, treaty or no treaty, and that Carthaginian shipping and trading interests, as well as the survival of their state, was at risk. During these wars, the personalities of many of the generals and participants played a tremendous part. Men like Fabius Maximus, Marcellus, Hannibal, Archimedes, Scipio Africanus, and Cato the Elder figure large in the historical picture. After the third war, Carthage lay in ruins, while the Romans were undisputed masters of the western Mediterranean, and were now looking steadily toward the wealth and power of the east.

Consider this ...

1. Why were the Romans at war with Carthage?
 2. Had the Republican government been working out well so far?
 3. Had the Senate been serving the best interests of Rome?
- A. Surprisingly, Carthage was in a fairly strong position after the First Punic War, having paid off her war debt despite having lost the advantage of Sicily as a friendly port. So Carthage decided to enhance her holdings in Spain, a place famous for its metallurgy, particularly in the form of swords.
- This made the Romans unhappy, to see their neighbor actively expanding territory. The Romans created a treaty where the Carthaginians agreed not to come above the river Ebro in eastern Spain. However, in Carthage, Hamilcar's son Hannibal was not deterred.
- B. Hannibal was a brilliant general and a fair and compassionate man. He terrorized the Roman military for over 15 years and was so effective that for years the Romans told naughty children to behave or Hannibal would get them!
1. We are told that Hannibal as a child was taken by his father down to the sacrificial chamber of Baal, lord of the furnace, whom the Carthaginians worshiped, and forced to swear on the altar eternal enmity for the Romans. Archaeology has confirmed that children were sacrificed there, and the psychological impact on young Hannibal must have been horrendous.



The Punic Wars:
Hannibal in Italy

Hannibal ("Joy of Baal")

Hannibal was born the first son of Hamilcar Barca, a general of Carthage. At a young age Hannibal went to Spain with his father, who had taken his son to an altar bloody with sacrifice and made him swear to always loathe the Romans. "I swear that so soon as age will permit ... I will use fire and steel to arrest the destiny of Rome," the young boy said.

Hannibal served as a successful officer and, at the age of 26, was proclaimed the commander of the Carthaginian army. He worked toward fulfilling his oath to his father. After the First Punic War abated, Saguntum, a small Spanish city, made an alliance with the Romans. Hannibal attacked in 219 B.C. and the siege lasted eight months. When the town was taken by a wounded Hannibal, Rome demanded Hannibal's surrender and the Second Punic War began.

Throughout the Second Punic War Hannibal maintained the upper hand until his army, worn down by a lack of reinforcements from Carthage, was defeated at the hands of Scipio. Hannibal is most known for his trek across the Alps with his forces—including elephants. A great military strategist, Hannibal created the strategy known as the Ring of Steel, which eventually was used against him by the Romans.

Hannibal's only handicap was his accent; he was not a native Latin speaker, but Punic. In fact, the story goes that one time he told his guide he wanted to go to a specific place, but his guide misheard him. As a result, Hannibal got trapped in a box canyon with the Romans winning. Hannibal had the guide crucified and formulated a plan to escape. He had his men gather wood and tie it to the horns of the cattle he had with him. He set the wood on fire and drove the cattle forward. The Romans panicked when they saw what they thought was a battle column moving toward them. The cows began charging and bucking insanely. Fabius figured out the plan, but the Carthaginian army passed unscathed.

After failing in his attempts to defeat Rome and recapture earlier military glory, Hannibal ended his own life in 183 B.C. by swallowing poison.

FABIUS MAXIMUS

This great general was nicknamed "Lamby" as a child because of his gentle disposition. Later he became formally nicknamed "The Delayer," and was known informally as the Shield of Rome because of his nonconfrontational tactics against the great Carthaginian general Hannibal. For years, Fabius reasoned with the Roman senate and hot-headed younger officers, persuading them to let Hannibal tire of the fight rather than risk further horrific losses of Roman life. He was forgiving of misguided efforts by his subordinates, and feared by Hannibal as a crafty and worthy opponent. His tactics were successful enough to result in the recall of Hannibal to Africa by the Carthaginian government. Sadly, at the end of his life, he became bitter over the Romans abandoning his policy and adopting an aggressive military stance against Carthage, and went so far as to use his influence to block funding of an African invasion. To this day, stalling or delay tactics are known as "Fabian."

LIFE IN ANCIENT ROME

Archimedes had been hired by the King of Syracuse to see if a commissioned statue was actually made of solid gold or not. At one point, in the bath, Archimedes discovered specific gravity and thus the way to determine what the statue contained.

2. Hannibal's plan was to weaken the Romans' superior manpower by persuading her Italian allies to defect, leaving Rome vulnerable. But since the Carthaginian general made it clear that he would not harm any allies who stayed loyal to Rome, the allies exercised the better part of valor and chose the safest course of action, staying loyal to Rome.
3. After disastrous Roman losses at the River Trebia, Lake Ticinus, and Cannae, the general Fabius Maximus, nicknamed the "Delayer," believed that Rome could not defeat Hannibal in pitched battle, and advised a strategy of non-confrontation, hoping that Hannibal would exhaust his supplies and go home. This resulted in Fabius' nickname "The Shield of Rome."
4. The Romans launched an invasion of Syracuse by sea.
5. Scipio Africanus persuaded the Senate to let him lead an assault on Africa. Fabius Maximus prevented any funds being made available by the Senate, but Scipio paid for the expedition himself.
6. Scipio turned Hannibal's famous strategy, the "ring of steel" against the Carthaginian. Scipio had also made provisions to deflect the terrifying elephant charge. Instead of presenting a mass front, the Roman soldiers lined up in rows, allowing the elephants to pass down the aisles between them.
7. After their defeat at Zama in 202, the Carthaginians surrendered their navy, evacuated Spain, became a dependent ally of Rome, and were fined 10,000 talents to be paid over a period of 50 years.
- C. The Third Punic War took place because of two main factors, the ceaseless agitation of Cato the Elder against Carthage, and the need for young patrician men to acquire a military reputation.

1. The Carthaginians were provoked by their neighbors the Numidians into attacking. Since this was a violation of the treaty provision wherein the Carthaginians could not bear arms, the Romans declared war on Carthage.

2. Carthage instantly surrendered until hearing the Roman terms, which included relocating their entire city ten miles inland.

3. The Carthaginians, realizing that this meant financial doom and ruin, refused to comply. They withstood a Roman blockade until 146.

4. In 146 B.C., the Romans killed all Carthaginian men over 12, sold the women and children into slavery, burnt down the city, and sowed the land with salt.

5. Plutarch tells us that Scipio pronounced a curse on the territory, although historians don't agree that this is true.

D. In the same year, 146 B.C., the Romans razed Corinth, the wealthiest and arguably the most beautiful city in Greece. This clearly shows their intent to continue their empire eastward and their willingness to employ extreme measures in order to make their point. They will not again face serious military challenge from non-Italians in Italy until the 5th century A.D.

E. We are told the general Scipio Aemilianus, grandson of the great Scipio Africanus, victor of Zama, wept as he beheld the smoking ruins. Whether he was contemplating a great power brought to ruin or fearing for Rome's future we do not know.

Summary:

In this lecture we have discussed Rome's participation in the Second and Third Punic Wars. We have also discussed Rome's preparation to enter a phase of internal changes.



SCIPIO AFRICANUS

A member of the famous Cornelius clan, Scipio got his nickname "Africanus" after his great victory over Hannibal in Africa at Zama, in 202 B.C. Scipio had gained great experience fighting in Spain early in this war, despite his young age (22). He lost his father and uncle at that time, and it was arguably the desire to avenge them that motivated young Scipio to defeat Hannibal. The grateful Iberians saluted him as king for his exploits in Spain. At Zama, Scipio turned Hannibal's own tactics against him and won the Second Punic War for Rome.

Although this brought him great prestige, he incurred political ill-will by opposing the old general Fabius Maximus, and then later suffered attacks in the form of accusations of financial misconduct by his jealous colleagues. Ironically, he met the same fate as his colleague Fabius Maximus, and left instructions that his body not be buried in Rome because of this ingratitude.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. Did Carthage really have to be destroyed for Rome to achieve victory?
2. Why do you think Scipio wept?
3. How might the world be different if Hannibal had conquered Rome?

Suggested Reading

- Livy, Titus. War with Hannibal. New York: Penguin, 1972.
- Plutarch. The Makers of Rome. Ian Scott-Kilvert (trans.) esp. Marcellus, Fabius Maximus, and Cato the Elder. New York: Penguin, 1978.
- Polybius. The Rise of the Roman Empire. Ian Scott-Kilvert (trans.) New York: Penguin, 1980.

Other Books of Interest

- Hart, Basil Henry Liddell. Scipio Africanus: Greater than Napoleon. New York: Da Capo Press, an imprint of Perseus Book Group, 1994.
- Nepos, C. Life of Hannibal Loeb Classical Library, JC Rolfe (trans.), Cambridge: Harvard, 1992 (6th printing).

Websites to Visit

1. <http://www.barca.fsnet.co.uk/> - Hannibal Barca and the Punic Wars.
2. <http://www.fiu.edu/~eltonh/army.html> - Warfare in the Ancient World: This page is concerned with ancient warfare, covering the period between the Mycenaean World and the Byzantine Empire. The main focus is bibliographic, though other sections cover other aspects (e.g., other resources, course syllabi, etc.). Some sections are still under construction, especially the Byzantine material.



PLUTARCH

Plutarch of Chaeronea was the author of numerous treatises known collectively as the *Moralia*, as well as a collection of paired biographies known collectively as the *Parallel Lives*. By all accounts, he was a kind man, devoted to his family and friends, and active in public life, political and religious. He lived his long and productive life in Chaeronea, northwest of Athens, where he served as a priest of Delphi and a representative to the Roman empire. His works have been appreciated for centuries because of their humanity and inspirational qualities.

PLUTARCH'S BACKGROUND

Most of what we know about Plutarch's education, travels, and religion comes from his own works. His great-grandfather, Nicarchus, was an eye-witness to events surrounding the climactic battle of Actium fought by Octavian, the future Caesar Augustus, and Mark Antony. This surely had an influence on the young Plutarch and his interest in the past. He was fond of and kind to his wife Timoxena, emphasizing his pride in her in his *Consolation to My Wife* after the death of their young daughter. His essay *Advice to Bride and Groom*, although naturally dated in some respects, reveals a loving if domineering husband and includes some excellent advice. Examples include statements such as "married people should succeed in attaining their mutual desires by persuasion and not by fighting and quarreling," and "... it is the petty, continual, daily clashes between man and wife, unnoticed by the great majority, that disrupt and mar married life." The words also include tips for a new

bride to get along with her mother-in-law ("[do not] divert or lessen his affection for his mother") and some beautiful imagery ("so that, as ropes, by being intertwined, get strength from each other, thus ... the copartnership may be preserved through the joint action of both.") Plutarch studied philosophy with Ammonius at the Academy in Athens, where he was friends with Themistocles of Athens, a direct descendant of the great Athenian statesman of the fifth century B.C. Afterwards, as is clear from his reference to dinner parties given by friends on the occasion of his return from Alexandria, he traveled to Egypt, the native land of his teacher Ammonius.

Plutarch also, as one would expect, traveled extensively in Greece, ultimately settling in his small hometown of Chaeronea "lest it become even smaller." Plutarch was a priest of Delphi for many years. An inscription naming him as the officiating priest is still visible on the base of a statue dedicated to Hadrian when the emperor visited Delphi.

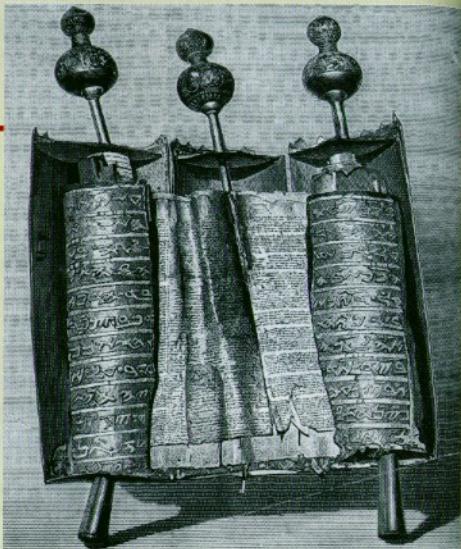
PLUTARCH'S WRITINGS

The *Parallel Lives*

Plutarch's biographies are part of a long tradition, closely connected with the development of historiography. In the latter part of the first century B.C. Cornelius Nepos wrote his *Lives of Illustrious Men*. Plutarch quotes Nepos, and may have gotten the idea of pairing biographies from Nepos. However, Plutarch's *Comparisons* are a welcome addition to the basic pairs. In them, he discusses the similarities and differences of his subjects, why he chose the two, and often renders a final judgement of sorts. *The Comparisons* frequently contain Plutarch's personal verdict.

Plutarch began writing the *Parallel Lives* relatively late in his career, after his *Moralia*. He distinguishes these biographies from history, emphasizing that he is writing the former rather than the latter. He claims the right to leave grand deeds and sweeping history to others, while he will attend to the "signs of the soul," more often revealed in "small things, like a turn of phrase, or a joke" (Alex 1.1-2). This self-effacement is characteristic of Plutarch, who seems to have been a most unpretentious individual. For instance, in *Precepts of Statecraft*, he relates an anecdote that contains a revealing scenario:

"... a position of great consideration and dignity, though previously it had been nothing but a sort of



supervision of the alleys for the removal of dung and the draining off of water in the streets. **And no doubt I myself seem ridiculous to visitors in our town when I am seen in public, as I often am, engaged in such matters.** But I am helped by the remark of Antisthenes which has been handed down to memory; for when someone expressed surprise that he himself carried a dried fish through the market-place, he said "Yes, but it's for myself"; **but I, on the other hand, say to those who criticize me for standing and watching tiles being measured or concrete or stones being delivered, that I attend to these things, not for myself, but for my native place.**" (Mor 8.11c)

The picture of Plutarch happily watching a load of building materials being delivered—and probably asking questions and making comments!—seems quite modern.

Producing the desired effect, that

of a good example, is Plutarch's principle aim in writing the *Parallel Lives*. Perhaps Plutarch's best-known statement on his method is that with which he begins *Alexander*:

"I am not writing history, but biography, nor does the revelation of virtue or vice lie completely within glorious deeds, but many times rather by a small jest or word is a man's character revealed, rather than by battles with thousands of casualties, or the largest battle lines or sieges of cities. Therefore, as painters garner a likeness from the subject's face and eyes, which reveal the spirit, and think less of the remaining parts, thus must I be permitted to enter into the distinguishing marks of the soul and through these represent each biography, leaving to others great deeds and contests." (Alex 1.1)

The *Moralia*

The essays collectively named *Moralia* cover a wide range of topics. Since Plutarch was trained in philosophy at school, and was a confirmed Platonist, some essays deal with technical philosophy, like his essays about Plato, Stoicism or Epicureanism (*About the Procreation of the Soul in Timaeus*, *About Refuting the Stoicks*, *That Epicurus Makes a Pleasant Life Impossible*, *Against Colotes*). Plutarch's admiration for Plato can also be seen in the former's use of the dialogue form (as in *The Sign of Socrates*, *Table Talk*, *On the Delays of the Divine Vengeance*).

Most essays offer opinions and advice on general education (*About Educating Children*, *How Children Ought to Listen to Poetry*), moral education and conduct (*Can Virtue Be Taught*, *How to Profit from One's Enemies*, *On Having Many Friends*, *Controlling Anger*, *Brotherly Love*, *Envy and Hate*, *Inoffensive Self-Praise*, *How to Tell a Flatterer from a Friend*, *Owing Money*). Others are almost forensic exercises, debating *Whether the Athenians Were More Famous in War or Peace*, *Whether Alexander the Great's Career Depended on Luck or Bravery*, *The Glory of the Athenians*, or *The Glory of the Romans*. Others deal with nature (*Is Water or Fire More Useful?*, *Are Earth or Water Creatures More Sentient*, *Do Brute Animals Have Reason*, *The Face on the Moon*). Some of the essays appear to have been collections of notes for use as a sort of ancient Bartlett's *Familiar Quotations*, for Plutarch to consult in other works (e.g., *Spartan Institutions*, *Roman Questions*, *Greek Questions*, *Platonic Questions*). Others concern human nature (*Talkativeness*, *Superstition*, *Curiosity*, *Exile*). Still others concern politics (*Should Old Men Govern?*, *Political Precepts*), historical and literary criticism (*The Spite of Herodotus*, *Comparison of Aristophanes and Menander*) or the nature of divinity (*About Isis and Osiris*, *About the Delphic Oracle*, *The Obsolescence of Oracles*, *The E at Delphi*).

Lecture 7: Plantations and the Gracchi Brothers

Before beginning this lecture you may want to ...

Read Plutarch's Life of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus (available in The Makers of Rome, Penguin).

Read Appian's The Civil Wars (Penguin).

Introduction:

In this seventh lecture, we'll see how a pair of brothers, Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, during the post-Punic war chaos set in motion a series of events that would result, a century later, in the destruction of the Roman Republic.

Consider this ...

1. What happened to Roman army veterans?
2. How did the public debate shift now that the war was over?
3. What happened to the relationship between the Senate and People's assemblies?

A. After the Punic Wars, the Romans faced a local crisis. Many Italian family farms had either gone bankrupt because the head of the household served in the military, or because the proprietor, awarded a farm as part of his severance pay, was unable or unwilling to work it.

1. **Building Programs.** Since there were many building programs underway, the patricians were experiencing a time of great prosperity. Yet at the same time, the dispossessed were migrating to Rome where they contributed to a growing and unruly urban mob. The gap between "have and have-not" was growing.
2. **Land.** Patricians had been buying up this land in violation of the Sexto-Licinian laws limiting individual land ownership and combining the farms into megaplantations known as latifundia. Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, grandsons of Scipio Africanus, took on the question of land ownership from personal conviction, ambition, or a combination of the two.

Ultimately both men, as tribunes, were assassinated in office. Their assassinations inaugurated a century of civil violence and ultimately brought down the Republican form of government.

B. Tiberius Gracchus had grown up in a prominent patrician family and was expected to achieve greatness in the military and political spheres.

1. He became disillusioned by his experience in the Numantine war in Spain, during which he served as quaestor, or quartermaster. Returning to Rome, he was dismayed by the sight of chain gangs of slaves working latifundia, giant plantations made up of what had been small family farms.

2. Perhaps influenced by his Greek tutor and Stoic philosophers to favor Hellenistic views of social justice, Tiberius set out to restore small farmers to the Italian agricultural landscape and rid the city of the increasingly dangerous urban mob.

3. Tiberius renounced his patrician birthright, to the astonishment of all, so that he could run for tribune of the plebs. This way he could participate in Senatorial meetings, something he was technically too young to do on his own.
4. As tribune, he proposed a land commission to reallocate illegally held land and, out of the large *ager publicus* (public land) created after the Second Punic War, establish small allotments with rent, and a promise not to disturb the farmer for a certain number of years. This commission was invested with judicial powers to decide all disputes arising from the redistribution of land.
5. The sitting tenants, those who owned the land, were understandably opposed to this plan, but there was unexpected support from the leader of the Senate, Tiberius' father-in-law, as well as others.
6. The reaction of the Senate was to withhold financial aid from the land commission. When King Attalos III died in Pergamum and bequeathed his estate to the Romans, Tiberius introduced a bill to make some of that wealth available for settlers and to bring the matter of settling the kingdom of Pergamum before the People, bypassing the Senate and incurring its wrath.
7. Tiberius began to lose support. Those who had been carried away by reform fever, but had no personal stake, lost interest and the rustic voters, who did have a personal stake, were busy with the harvest.
7. The nobles might have recovered ascendancy simply by letting nature

SEXTO-LICINIAN LAND LAWS

The Romans, who considered themselves farmers at heart, made many complex laws concerning land ownership and use. Much political conflict, like that between patricians and plebeians, and that between unpaid soldiers and their commanders, centered on the ownership of land. There was a distinction between public land, owned by the Roman state and regularly increased by conquest, and private land, concerning which laws were not usually made unless there was some public need, like need for access or water rights. Some of these laws are preserved in the Twelve Tables, a very old law code which is some of the earliest preserved Latin. The Sexto-Licinian laws, passed in 367 B.C., concerned the illegal use of public land, which was being exploited by various patrician families. Tiberius Gracchus concentrated on the land crisis at the end of the Middle Republic. The areas he mainly focused on included the decrease of small land owners and the increased reliance on slave labor. There were other land issues, as well. These included the new wealth in Rome and the Latifundia. Unfortunately, Tiberius Gracchus was unsuccessful in dealing with these issues. Later, it was the enforcement of these laws and an effort to redistribute this public land, that led to the assassination of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus.



El Greco painting of Augustus. © www.clipart.com

PONTIFEX MAXIMUS

The Pontifex Maximus was the chief official of the College of the Pontiffs, which comprised the most important of the four colleges of the Roman priesthood and included, among other officials, the Vestal Virgins. Originally there were three pontiffs, all patrician.

During the struggle of the Orders, plebeians gained access to this office, and the number of pontiffs was increased. The pontiffs supervised sacrifices, games, festivals, and other state rituals. They interpreted sacred law for the state and members of the public, and kept books of their various rulings and decisions. They had jurisdiction over family business like adoptions and inheritance. Although their relationship to the state was advisory, the pontiffs wielded great power because of their ability to stop elections, senate meetings, and other official actions.

Augustus combined the other priesthoods and increased the office's power; after this time, emperors routinely held the office. Today the holder of this office is more commonly known as the Pope.

take its course, since Tiberius was unlikely to win reelection as tribune. Instead, the Senate overreacted during an electoral assembly meeting. They clubbed Tiberius and some 300 of his supporters to death.

8. There was a superficial attempt to pursue the illegality of lynching a tribune, and those who ranted the most about violence were condemned to death.
9. Although the Senate pursued Tiberius' supporters, they did not try to block the land commission, which continued its work. Thus the Senate made clear the problem was not the land reforms, but Tiberius.
- C. Gaius Gracchus was only 21 years old in 133 B.C. Nevertheless, he was appointed to the land commission, served as quaestor in Sardinia in 126 B.C., was elected tribune in 123 B.C., and reelected in 122 B.C. without problem.

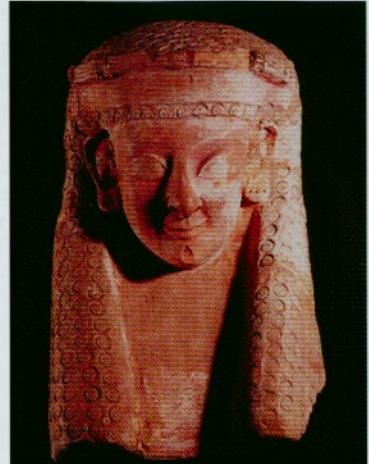
1. He reaffirmed the purpose of the land commission and removed any restrictions on its activities.
2. He carried a bill for foundation of overseas colonies, a new development in Roman foreign policy and went himself to establish Junonia in northern Africa, very near the site of old Carthage.

Junonia was the name of the colony founded by Gaius Gracchus, in northern Africa, in 122 B.C. Because of the Romans' previous destruction of the city, during which they sowed the ground with salt, Gracchus could not settle his colony on the original site of Carthage, but founded it nearby to take advantage of its excellent harbor and fertile fields. He named it after Juno, the Roman queen of the gods, who was closely identified with the Carthaginian goddess Tanit, and settled 6,000 colonists there. Romans against the settlement of this colony spread rumors

that the place was cursed and that terrible omens had been seen in the area.

3. To avoid the tremendous fluctuations in grain price, he provided for the purchase of overseas crops in bulk, and had them delivered to public warehouses from which they would be distributed on demand at a fixed rate, slightly below market price. An unforeseen, and ironic, problem with the so-called "grain dole" was that it encouraged further "urban drift" from the countryside into Rome and increased the urban mob.
4. Frustrated by Gaius' popularity and success, the Senate began to take active steps. They bribed a rival tribune to undermine Gaius' support by proposing even more popular versions of laws. Senators spread rumors that Gaius' colony Junonia had been founded on banned territory in Carthage and that awful omens were occurring (hurricanes, wolves and jackals removing the boundary markers). Finally, the senate's "tame tribune" Drusus proposed the formal annulment of the law establishing Junonia.
5. In response to Senatorial aggression, Gaius assembled an informal body guard that got carried away in a scuffle and killed one of the servants of the consul, who persuaded the Senate to pass a resolution declaring that the state was in danger, and called the Senators to arms. Gaius and his followers took refuge on the Aventine hill. They negotiated in vain and were ultimately overwhelmed and killed. The consul made arrests, held trials, and ultimately executed over 3,000 people.

The importance of the Gracchi lies not in their reform programs, but in their use of the popular assemblies as political tools to neutralize a hostile Senate. Their "success" gives rise to the division between the best people, the optimates, and the common folk, or populares, that will characterize the end of this century, and most of the next.



Terracotta Head of the Punic Goddess Tanit

© Roger Wood/CORBIS

Summary:

In this lecture we saw how post-war chaos resulted in an ever-widening gap between patrician and plebian. The separation of the two groups, however, began to blur. The reaction was even more violence.

THE ROMAN AQUEDUCTS

by Jason Moyer (Bowdoin College)

<http://academic.bowdoin.edu/classics/research/moyer/>

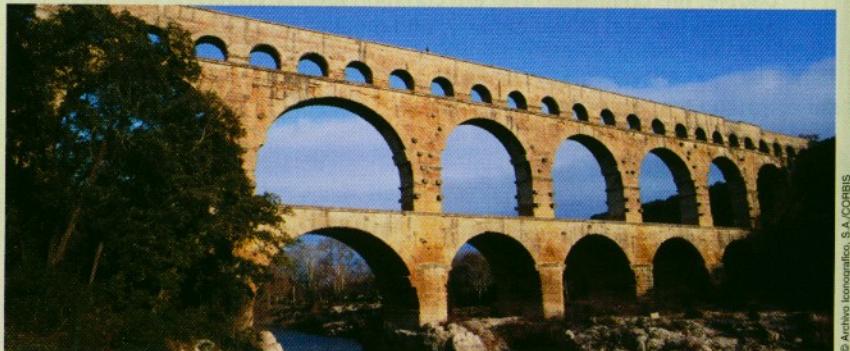
As the needs of both the civic and private establishments within the Roman Republic escalated, the desire for not only a more efficient but also extensive delivery and distribution system of water arose. The result was the construction of a complex system of aqueducts that "evolved on a piecemeal basis over time." The first aqueduct was built in 312 B.C. and over the next five hundred years ten more aqueducts were added to fulfill contemporary and future demands. The Romans, utilizing the Assyrian and Greek models, took aqueduct construction to its highest levels. Rome's greatest hurdle was her topography and the problems it posed (specifically, how the water brought to Rome by these aqueducts was delivered to its high and low-lying districts).

The Aqueduct: Water Distribution

Roman aqueducts exploited the principles of gravity in order to deliver water to the city. Water, collected from a source (catch basin), traveled through a closed conduit (rivus or specus), usually subterranean, to its distribution tank or terminus (castellum). These castella were the areas from which water could be channeled to public collecting tanks. As the number of aqueducts increased, several Elites and Imperials were granted "private" supplies, in which water delivery was extended to their respective residences. Water lines were also carried above ground on bridges, arcades and "raised embankments" (substructio). In order to remove impurities and particulate matter from the flow, settling tanks (piscinae) were installed at various points between the source and castellum. Subsidiary lines (ramus) were also employed along the course, in order to augment the capacity of the line or cool the temperature of the water. In addition, the ramus did not always terminate in the same castellum as the main line.

Once collected in the distribution tank, the water was carried out to various places through lead or tile pipes (fistulae) that were connected to the castellum by a "delivery nozzle" (calix). Fistulae transported water to many facets of the city (private, public and imperial). An interesting phenomenon, regarding the distribution tank, is the law governing the hierarchy of delivery. Vitruvius' treatise on architecture explains the chain of delivery (Vitruvius, *De Architectura*, F. Granger, Loeb Classical Library, London 1985. 8.6.1-2):

When [the water] has reached the city, build a reservoir with a distribution tank in three compartments connected with the reservoir to receive the water, and let the reservoir have three pipes, one for each of the connecting tanks, so that when the water runs over from the tanks at the ends, it may run into the one between them. From this central tank, pipes will be laid to all the basins and fountains; from the second tank, to baths, so that they may yield an annual income to the state; and from the third, to private houses, so that water for public use will not run short; for people will be unable to divert it if they have only their own supplies from headquarters.



FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. Consider the motivations behind the brother's desire for reform. Do you see similar examples today?
2. Was the Senate provoked to action or were they paranoid?

Suggested Reading

- Appian. *The Civil Wars*. John Carter (trans.) New York: Penguin, 1996.
- Plutarch. *The Makers of Rome*. Ian Scott-Kilvert (trans.) esp. Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. New York: Penguin, 1978.
- Stockton, David L. *The Gracchi*. Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1979.

Other Books of Interest

- Bernstein, Alvin H. *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus: Tradition and Apostasy*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1978.
- Scullard, Howard H. *From the Gracchi to Nero: A History of Rome from 133 B.C. to A.D. 68*. New York: Routledge, 1994.

Websites to Visit

1. www.barca.fsnet.co.uk/gracchi.htm - Great resource regarding the Gracchi brothers.
2. www.fordham.edu/halsall/ancient/appian-civwars1.html - Text from Appian regarding the Gracchi brothers.

Lecture 8: The Rise of Marius Through African and Italian Wars, 128-83 B.C.

Before beginning this lecture you may want to ...

Read Sallust's The Jugurthine War and the Conspiracy of Catiline.

Read Plutarch's Life of Marius.

Introduction:

After the assassination of the Gracchi brothers, politicians began to identify themselves in terms of their support base. The optimates, or "best people," had the bulk of their political support in the Senate, while the populares counted on support from the People's assembly. As the various groups fought among themselves, they became unable to ignore problems brewing abroad. Soon the Italian allies began lobbying for increased citizenship rights. Northern Africa continued to occupy the Romans' attention as their ally, Numidia, experienced an upheaval in government. This so-called Jugurthine War provided the setting for the rise to power of Gaius Marius, whose military reforms made possible the client armies who were largely responsible for the fall of the Republican government.

Consider this ...

1. Did the army need reforming?
2. How could there still be wars among Italians?
3. How much difference could one man make in the government at this time?

A. Born a pleb in 157 B.C., Gaius Marius had a regular and, at least early on, unremarkable political career, serving as quaestor and tribune of the plebs. At age 42, he joined the very patrician Julian clan by marrying Julius Caesar's Great Aunt Julia.

1. He effected military reforms meant to professionalize the army, specifically making the poorer classes eligible for service, and training all soldiers up to legionary standards. Ironically, these reforms led to the creation of client armies, that is armies, who are loyal to their commanders rather than to the Senate. The motive, means, and opportunity for these reforms came about because of a war in Africa.
2. In 118 B.C., the Numidian king died, leaving the kingdom to his three sons. Jugurtha assassinated one brother, and the other fled to Rome to ask for help. The Senate decided to divide the kingdom in two and give Jugurtha the western, or poorer, half.
3. By 112 B.C., Jugurtha had confined his brother up in Cirta, where the Italian residents urged holding out, sure of Roman aid. The Romans were preoccupied with matters in Germany and sent emissaries to reason with Jugurtha. Jugurtha was polite until he captured Cirta and his troops massacred the

Italian residents as well as the locals, forcing the Senate to act.

4. When the Roman heavy infantry could not defeat the famous Numidian cavalry, an armistice was arranged, but it didn't last and by 108 B.C., the Romans and Jugurtha were still at a stalemate.
5. At this time Gaius Marius, who had been serving as legate, won the consular election for 107 B.C. and asked for the Numidian command. The Senate tried to block this, but the People prevailed and appointed Marius to the Numidian command, thus encroaching on the Senate's traditional right of military patronage. He immediately set about making military reforms. He fought for three years in Africa, but Sulla Felix, the future dictator, was the one who finally captured Jugurtha. Nevertheless, Marius himself celebrated in triumph for this victory. This emphasis on the individual as opposed to the state can be seen as a harbinger of the destruction of the republic.
6. Most Italian allies were already irritated over their failure to move up after their stalwart showing in the Punic Wars. Furthermore, many of them were holding more land than legally permissible, and thus were adversely affected by the Gracchian land bills.
7. They turned for help to their patron Scipio Aemilianus, the victor of Carthage in 146 B.C., who was sympathetic to them partly out of his understanding of their Punic Wars contribution, and publicly repudiated Tiberius' actions, saying "if Tiberius intended to seize the state, he was killed justly." In 129 B.C. Scipio transferred resolution of allied land issues out of the hands of the agrarian commission and into the hands of one of the consuls. When he was found dead, the allies had to plead their own case at



THE WOMEN OF THE CIMBRI

The degree to which the Celts feared capture is clear from Plutarch's description of Marius' soldiers fighting the Celts:

"Here the greatest part and most valiant of the enemies were cut in pieces; for those that fought in the front, that they might not break their ranks, were fast tied to one another, with long chains put through their belts. But as they pursued those that fled to their camp they witnessed a most fearful tragedy; the women, standing in black clothes on their wagons, slew all that fled, some their husbands, some their brethren, others their fathers; and strangling their little children with their own hands, threw them under the wheels and the feet of cattle, and then killed themselves. They tell of one who hung herself from the end of the pole of the wagon, with her children tied dangling at her heels. The men, for want of trees, tied themselves, some to the horns of the oxen, others by the neck to their legs, that so pricking them on, by the starting and springing of the beasts, they might be torn and trodden to pieces. Yet for all they thus massacred themselves, above sixty thousand were taken prisoners, and those that were slain were said to be twice as many."



Marius © Archivo Iconografico, S.A. CORBIS

MARIUS' MILITARY REFORMS

Once he took over Numidian command, Marius immediately began to institute reforms, since many senior military officers up to this time were elected for popularity or appointed as a reward. Skill in military endeavors was not a requirement.

Marius took volunteers, the poor and anyone with the desire. He trained these warriors in the art of war, especially against cavalry. He also trained them in arts to make them more mobile including the technique of building their encampments. All of Marius' soldiers carried shovels, digging tools and other materials necessary to build a camp quickly. Marius himself was highly popular with the lower troops, who often called themselves Marius' mules because of the shovels and other supplies they carried.

Rome. The revolt of the Fregellae in 125 B.C. provided a taste of things to come. No other colonies joined her, the settlement was razed, and the inhabitants relocated.

8. The tribune Saturninus, wishing to attach himself to the rising star of Marius, carried a bill allotting 66 acres in Africa to each of Marius' Jugurthine war veterans. When Saturninus had an ex-tribune assassinated to improve Marius' chances of being elected consul, the Senate summoned Marius to exercise his consular power for the good of the state. Marius was now forced to choose: will he act for the Senate or for his veterans?
9. Marius chose the Senate. He trapped Saturninus and his friends on the Capitoline hill; while the Senate was deliberating, the crowd broke in and executed Saturninus. Marius stood by, helpless, while the Senate nullified Saturninus' legislation as illegal through having been carried by violence.
10. In 98 B.C., Marius abandoned Italy for the east, leaving the Senate in full political control of itself and the status of the Italian allies unclear. From this point on, Marius was caught between the optimates and populares, as each tried to force his hand.
- B. When their then-patron Drusus was stabbed to death, the allies lost hope of obtaining their citizenship rights peacefully.
 1. They formed an alliance and raised an army of 100,000 men.
 2. The Romans were defeated regularly, partly because they blamed Marius for their predicament and did not use him as a military commander.
- C. At the end of 90 B.C., one of the consuls, a cousin of Julius Caesar, introduced a bill that conferred citizenship on Latin and Italian allies loyal to Rome, and any currently at war who would lay down their arms.

THE ROMAN ARMY ON THE MOVE

Flavius Josephus (*The Jewish War*, trans. W. Whiston) describes the Roman army on the move:

4. Now when they are to go out of their camp, the trumpet gives a sound, at which times nobody lies still, but at the first imitation they take down their tents, and all is made ready for their going out; then do the trumpets sound again, to order them to get ready for the march; then do they lay their baggage suddenly upon their mules, and other beasts of burden, and stand, as at the place of starting, ready to march; when also they set fire to their camp, and this they do because it will be easy for them to erect another camp, and that it may not ever be of use to their enemies. Then do the trumpets give a sound the third time, that they are to go out, in order to excite those that on any account are a little tardy, that so no one may be out of his rank when the army marches. Then does the crier stand at the general's right hand, and asks them thrice, in their own tongue, whether they be now ready to go out to war or not? To which they reply as often, with a loud and cheerful voice, saying, "We are ready." And this they do almost before the question is asked them: they do this as filled with a kind of martial fury, and at the same time that they so cry out, they lift up their right hands also.
5. When, after this, they are gone out of their camp, they all march without noise, and in a decent manner, and everyone keeps his own rank, as if they were going to war. The footmen are armed with breastplates and head-pieces, and have swords on each side; but the sword which is upon their left side is much longer than the other, for that on the right side is not longer than a span. Those foot-men also that are chosen out from the rest to be about the general himself have a lance and a buckler, but the rest of the foot soldiers have a spear and a long buckler, besides a saw and a basket, a pick-axe and an axe, a thong of leather and a hook, with provisions for three days, so that a footman hath no great need of a mule to carry his burdens. The horsemen have a long sword on their right sides, and a long pole in their hand; a shield also lies by them obliquely on one side of their horses, with three or more darts that are borne in their quiver, having broad points, and not smaller than spears. They have also head-pieces and breastplates, in like manner as have all the footmen. And for those that are chosen to be about the general, their armor no way differs from that of the horsemen belonging to other troops; and he always leads the legions forth to whom the lot assigns that employment.



Roman Army © www.clipart.com

1. In 89 B.C. two tribunes proposed citizenship to all free allied men providing they registered with a Roman official in the next two months.
 2. The same year one of the consuls proposed a law granting citizenship to all free men south of the Po River in northern Italy and Latin rights to those living north of the Po, but south of the Alps.
 3. This legislation effectively ended the Social Wars, during which the loss of life and property approached the levels seen during the Second Punic War.
- D. The settlement of the Social Wars added almost 500,000 new citizens to the voting rolls. Although the economic situation was gloomy (Rome endured food shortages and high prices), the debt-burden of individuals was very high, and the urban mob had swollen even larger with Italian refugees, the union of the Italian peninsula was a crucial stage in the development of a common, Latin culture.

Summary:

In this lecture we saw how Gaius Marius extended the opportunities for all citizens of Rome to vie for higher positions and commands of their own—maybe even control of the entire Roman Empire.

SATURNINUS

Lucius Appuleius Saturninus was a Roman statesman, first quaestor (a magistracy position) in 104 B.C. and later tribune of the people. He violently opposed the senatorial party and allied himself with Marius as the tribune of the people to procure the banishment of Metellus Numidicus, a Roman commander. Together, Saturninus and Marius pushed passage of a grain law, and established new colonies in Sicily, Achaia, and Macedonia, assigned land grants to veterans, and set up a court to try cases of treason. Along with the demagogue Glaucia, Saturninus instigated the murder of Caius Memmius, a leader of the senatorial party and Glaucia's rival for the consulship. The Senate condemned Saturninus and Glaucia to death. The two men fled from the Forum to the Capitol, where they surrendered to Marius. While being held for security, the mob stoned them to death with roofing tiles. Following, Saturninus's death, the Senate overthrew most of Saturninus's legislation except for his land grants.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. Why would plebs and patricians intermarry?
2. Are the benefits of continuity (i.e., Marius' seven consulships) worth the possibility of tyranny?
3. Why did it take such a crisis for the Italian allies to obtain their full citizenship?

Suggested Reading

- Goldsworthy, Adrian Keith. The Roman Army at War: 100 B.C. - A.D. 200. Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Plutarch. The Fall of the Roman Republic. Rex Warner (trans.) Marius. New York: Penguin, 1972.
- Sallust. The Jugurthine War and the Conspiracy of Catiline. New York: Penguin, 1978.

Other Books of Interest

- Connolly, Peter. Greece and Rome at War. London: Greenhill Books/Lionel Leventhal, Ltd., 1998.
- Goldsworthy, Adrian Keith. Roman Warfare. New York: Sterling Publishing Company, Inc., 2002.

Websites to Visit

1. <http://webpages.charter.net/brueggeman> - This is a site maintained by G. Brueggeman on all aspects of the Roman army.

Lecture 9: Strong Men Fight It Out, 123-53 B.C.

Before beginning this lecture you may want to ...

Read Plutarch's Lives of Sulla, Pompey, and Crassus, available collectively in The Fall of the Roman Republic (Penguin).

Introduction:

In this lecture we will discuss how Sulla takes over violently from Marius and the struggle that occurs following Sulla's death. We will also discuss a political alliance involving Julius Caesar that will eventually lead to the end of the Republic.

Consider this ...

1. How did people decide which candidate or faction to support?
2. At this point, could anything save the Republic?
3. How much had the Republic diverted its energies to fighting the wars in Africa and Italy?

A. Marius was now challenged for the informal position of Leading Citizen by Sulla, a patrician. Sulla had served with Marius in the Jugurthine War and was ultimately the one responsible for obtaining Jugurtha's surrender.

1. Marius got the credit for this victory, but Sulla tormented him by wearing a ring featuring Jugurtha's surrender to Sulla. The animosity between them increased steadily.
2. Sulla wanted Marius' command in the east against the wealthy pirates.
3. Although Sulla forced the Senate to take away Marius' command and give it to him, in fact they vacillated between Sulla and Marius for years, declaring first one then the other a public outlaw and removing him from command.
4. In 86 B.C., Marius died, leaving the Senate to face the wrath of Sulla, then fighting pirates in the east.

B. Once his business in the east was complete, Sulla marched on Rome with Roman legions. As the Senate scrambled to defend itself, everyone knew it was a life-and-death choice, whether or not to side with Sulla.

1. Pompey, soon to be known as "the Great," guessed right and joined Sulla. This was his chance to leap-frog over the barriers to higher office his young age presented.
2. Crassus, who had been in exile avoiding Marius, fought by Sulla's side at the very gates of Rome.
3. Ultimately, the Senate capitulated and Sulla was in sole control of the Roman state, and then declared dictator by the Senate.

4. Sulla took terrible vengeance via proscriptions.
5. He then set about restoration of the Senate to its ancestral dignity and powers.
6. Believing that he accomplished his mission, Sulla abdicated.
7. The following year (79 B.C.) he died of the horrible disease phthiriasis.
8. The power vacuum after Sulla's death encouraged all kinds of ambitious politicians, like Pompey and Crassus.
- C. Pompey, already nicknamed Magnus, or the Great, went east to fight pirates. In this way he would make money, gain a military reputation, and position himself as the prime candidate for First Citizen. He had tremendous success, defeating the pirates and making the eastern Mediterranean safe for travel and trade. He had also made a series of political arrangements with eastern territories like Syria, Cilicia, and Judaea. Now he needed the Senate to ratify these arrangements and pay his soldiers, and was horrified when the Senate refused.
- D. Crassus was very wealthy, but from distasteful sources, dealing in slaves, operating an early form of fire department, and buying up proscribed property below market value. So he needed prestige, ideally from a military reputation. He thought he had achieved this when he defeated Spartacus and his slave army, only to be cheated when Pompey showed up just in time to share credit for the victory. He became the patron of the tax farmers, or publicans, only to lose what little prestige he had by failing to persuade the Senate to renegotiate the tax contracts.
- E. Julius Caesar had kept a low profile during the Sulla years because of the fact that Marius had been a member of Caesar's family, and hence Sulla hated Julius. At this time he had been elected

PROSCRIPTIONS

After Sulla was established as dictator, no one was prepared for his ruthless actions against his enemies.

He instituted a frightening procedure known as "proscriptions." In this a notice was posted giving an individual 24 hours to leave Rome or be executed by the state. Many Roman men took poison instead of facing execution as a criminal and having their families lose all property and title. Sulla issued hundreds of these edicts. Over 300 senators alone were exterminated. During one meeting of what remained of the Senate, screams could be heard from a field next door. Sulla demanded the few senators in attendance to take no note of the noise, explaining that some criminals were being executed and it was being done at his order. Only afterwards did the senators learn that it was their compatriots who were being strangled, tortured, and killed only yards away from them. These proscriptions were supposedly done for only a few different reasons. These reasons included revenge for the reign of terror, as a deterrent to others who may have been thinking of rebelling in the future, and the removal of certain people Sulla did not want in political positions, and land confiscated was given to Sulla's supporters as rewards. According to Sulla, it was a citizen's duty to arrest or even kill someone if he was on the list.

CRASSUS

(From Plutarch's *Life of Crassus*, trans. John Dryden, public domain.)

Moreover, observing how extremely subject the city was to fire and falling down of houses, by reason of their height and their standing so near together, he bought slaves that were builders and architects, and when he had collected these to the number of more than five hundred, he made it his practice to buy houses that were on fire, and those in the neighbourhood, which, in the immediate danger and uncertainty the proprietors were willing to part with for little or nothing, so that the greatest part of Rome, at one time or other, came into his hands ... And though he had many silver mines, and much valuable land, and labourers to work in it, yet all this was nothing in comparison to his slaves, such a number and variety did he possess of excellent readers, amanuenses, silversmiths, stewards and table-waiters, whose instruction he always attended to himself, superintending in person, while they learned, and teaching them himself, accounting it the main duty of a master to look over the servants that are, indeed, the living tools of housekeeping; and in this, indeed, he was in the right, in thinking, that is, as he used to say, that servants ought to look after all other things, and the master after them.

Pontifex Maximus and served a military mission. He was now determined to pacify Gaul and make it a province. When the Senate awarded him the insulting post-consular province of "swamps and byways" of Gaul, instead of the province itself, he could not let the affront stand. He made common cause with Pompey and Crassus.

F. Caesar had tremendous popular support and veteran armies but no money, Pompey had tremendous military support in the form of "client" armies but no popular support, and Crassus had money. Their agreement to support one another is usually called the First Triumvirate. Together, they were able to circumvent the Senate on any meaningful issue. Ultimately, the triumvirate fell apart as the individuals all pursued their own aims.

Summary:

In this lecture we saw a succession of powerful men who followed Sulla at the head of the helm of the powerful Roman Empire, most notably Crassus, Pompey, and Julius Caesar, who formed a mutually beneficial alliance usually called the First Triumvirate. Now we are poised to enter one of the most famous periods of Roman History—the rule of Julius Caesar.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. Why would the Senate tolerate Sulla's executions?
2. What was the plebeian assembly doing about all this?
3. Why did Sulla abdicate?

Suggested Reading

McCullough, Colleen. *The First Man in Rome. A Novel*. New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1991.

Plutarch. *The Fall of the Roman Republic*. Ian Scott-Kilvert (trans.) esp. Sulla, Pompey, and Crassus. New York: Penguin, 1978.

Other Books of Interest

Baker, G.P. *Sulla the Fortunate*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2001.

Greenhalgh, Peter, A.L. *Pompey, the Roman Alexander*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981.

Iggulden, Conn. *Emperor: The Gates of Rome*, Vol. 1. New York: Bantam Doubleday Dell Publishing Group, 2003.

Langguth, A.J. *Noise of War: Caesar, Pompey, Octavian and the Struggle for Rome*. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1994.

Seager, Robin. *Pompey the Great*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2002.

Weinrib, Ernest Joseph. *Spaniards in Rome from Marius to Domitian*. London: Taylor & Francis, Inc. (Harvard Dissertations in the Classics), 1990.

Books on Audio

Langguth, A.J. *Noise of War: Caesar, Pompey, Octavian and the Struggle for Rome*. UNABRIDGED Recorded Books. (9 cassettes/13.25 hours).

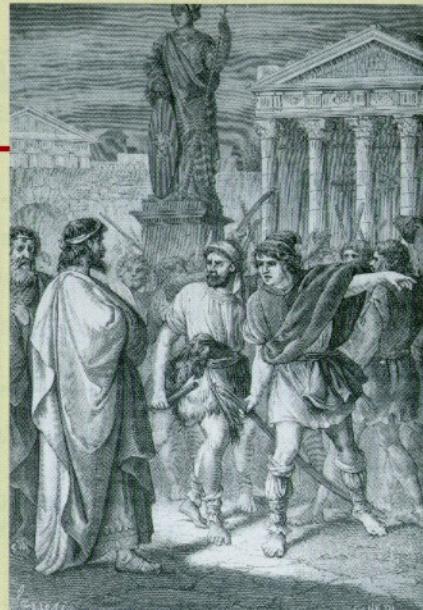
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SPARTACUS AND THE SLAVE REBELLION

from Plutarch's *Lives*

The insurrection of the gladiators and the devastation of Italy, commonly called the war of Spartacus, began upon this occasion. One Lentulus Batiates trained up a great many gladiators in Capua, most of them Gauls and Thracians, who, not for any fault by them committed, but simply through the cruelty of their master, were kept in confinement for this object of fighting one with another. Two hundred of these formed a plan to escape, but being discovered, those of them who became aware of it in time to anticipate their master, being 78 got out of a cook's shop chopping-knives and spits, and made their way through the city, and lighting by the way on several wagons that were carrying gladiators' arms to another city, they seized upon them and armed themselves. And seizing upon a defensible place, they chose three captains, of whom Spartacus was chief, a Thracian of one of the nomad tribes, and a man not only of high spirit and valiant, but in understanding, also, and in gentleness superior to his condition, and more of a Grecian than the people of his country usually are. When he first came to be sold at Rome, they say a snake coiled itself upon his face as he lay asleep, and his wife, who at this latter time also accompanied him in his flight, his country-woman, a kind of prophetess, and one of those possessed with the bacchanal frenzy, declared that it was a sign portending great and formidable power to him with no happy event. First, then, routing those that came out of Capua against them, and thus procuring a quantity of proper soldiers' arms, they gladly threw away their own as barbarous and dishonourable.

Afterwards Clodius, the praetor, took the command against them with a body of three thousand men from Rome, and besieged them within a mountain, accessible only by one narrow and diffi-

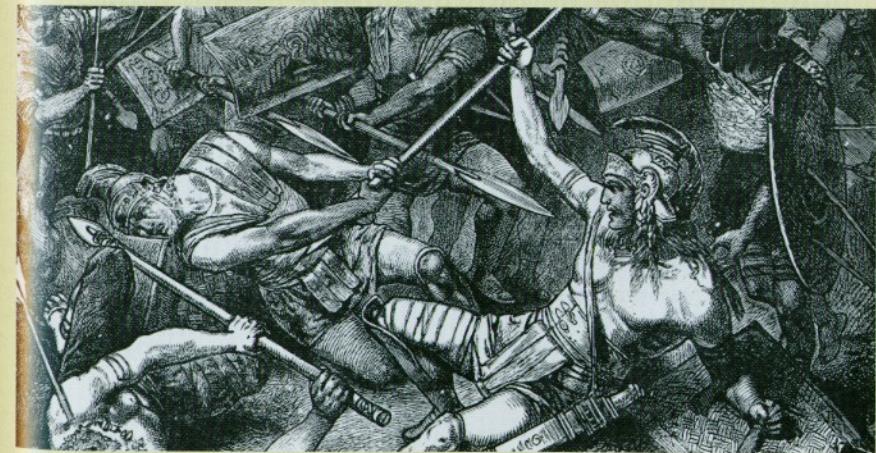


Spartacus Leading Slave Revolt

cult passage, which Clodius kept guarded, encompassed on all other sides with steep and slippery precipices. Upon the top, however, grew a great many wild vines, and cutting down as many of their boughs as they had need of, they twisted them into strong ladders long enough to reach from thence to the bottom, by which, without any danger, they got down all but one, who stayed there to throw them down their arms, and after this succeeded in saving himself. The Romans were ignorant of all this, and, therefore, coming upon them in the rear, they assaulted them unawares and took their camp. Several, also, of the shepherds and herdsmen that were there, stout and nimble fellows, revolted over to them, to some of whom they gave complete arms, and made use of others as scouts and light-armed soldiers. Publius Varinus, the praetor, was now sent against them, whose lieutenant, Furius, with two thousand men, they fought and routed. Then Cossinius was sent with considerable forces, to give his assistance and advice, and him

Spartacus missed but very little of capturing in person, as he was bathing at Salinae; for he with great difficulty made his escape, while Spartacus possessed himself of his baggage, and following the chase with a great slaughter, stormed his camp and took it, where Cossinius himself was slain. After many successful skirmishes with the praetor himself, in one of which he took his lictors and his own horse, he began to be great and terrible; but wisely considering that he was not to expect to match the force of the empire, he marched his army towards the Alps, intending, when he had passed them, that every man should go to his own home, some to Thrace, some to Gaul. But they, grown confident in their numbers, and puffed up with their success, would give no obedience to him, but went about and ravaged Italy; so that now the senate was not only moved at the indignity and baseness, both of the enemy and of the insurrection, but, looking upon it as a matter of alarm and of dangerous consequence, sent out both the consuls to

it, as to a great and difficult enterprise. The consul Gellius, falling suddenly upon a party of Germans, who through contempt, and confidence had straggled from Spartacus, cut them all to pieces. But when Lentulus with a large army besieged Spartacus, he sallied out upon him, and, joining battle, defeated his chief officers, and captured all his baggage. As he made toward the Alps, Cassius, who was praetor of that part of Gaul that lies about the Po, met him with ten thousand men, but being overcome in the battle, he had much ado to escape himself, with the loss of a great many of his men. When the senate understood this, they were displeased at the consuls, and ordering them to meddle no further, they appointed Crassus general of the war, and a great many of the nobility went volunteers with him, partly out of friendship, and partly to get honour. He stayed himself on the borders of Picenum, expecting Spartacus would come that way, and sent his lieutenant, Mummius, with two legions, to wheel about and observe the enemy's motions,



Spartacus During His Fatal Battle

but upon no account to engage or skirmish. But he, upon the first opportunity, joined battle, and was routed, having a great many of his men slain, and a great many only saving their lives with the loss of their arms. Crassus rebuked Mummius severely, and arming the soldiers again, he made them find sureties for their arms, that they would part with them no more, and five hundred that were the beginners of the flight he divided into fifty tens, and one of each was to die by lot, thus reviving the ancient Roman punishment of decimation, where ignominy is added to the penalty of death, with a variety of appalling and terrible circumstances, presented before the eyes of the whole army, assembled as spectators. When he had thus reclaimed his men, he led them against the enemy; but Spartacus retreated through Lucania toward the sea, and in the straits meeting with some Cilician pirate ships, he had thoughts of attempting Sicily, where, by landing two thousand men, he hoped to new kindle the war of the slaves, which was but lately extinguished, and seemed to need but little fuel to set it burning again. But after the pirates had struck a bargain with him, and received his earnest they deceived him and sailed away. He thereupon retired again from the sea, and established his army in the peninsula of Rhegium; there Crassus came upon him, and considering the nature of the place, which of itself suggested the undertaking, he set to work to build a wall across the isthmus; thus keeping his soldiers at once from idleness and his foes from forage. This great and difficult work he perfected in a space of time short beyond all expectation, making a ditch from one sea to the other, over the neck of land, three hundred furlongs long, fifteen feet broad, and as much in depth, and above it built a wonderfully high and strong wall. All which Spartacus at first slighted and despised, but when provisions began to fail, and on his proposing to pass further, he found he was walled in, and no more was to be had in the peninsula, taking the opportunity of a snowy, stormy night, he filled up part of

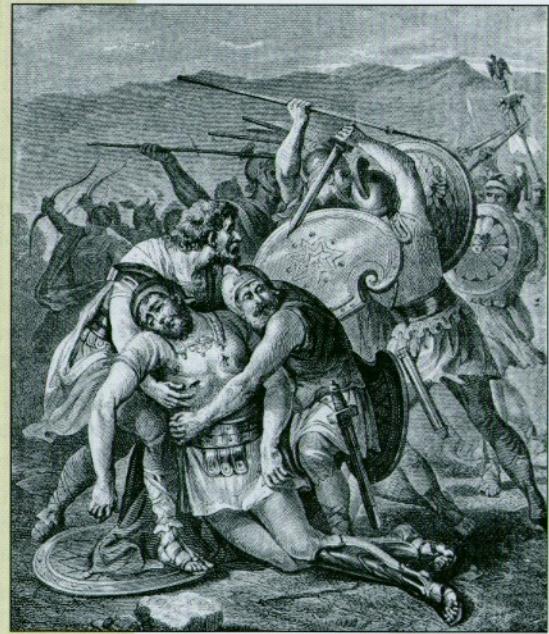
the ditch with earth and boughs of trees, and so passed the third part of his army over. Crassus was afraid lest he should march directly to Rome, but was soon eased of that fear when he saw many of his men break out in a mutiny and quit him, and encamped by themselves upon the Lucanian lake. This lake they say changes at intervals of time, and is sometimes sweet, and sometimes so salt that it cannot be drunk. Crassus falling upon these beat them from the lake, but he could not pursue the slaughter, because of Spartacus suddenly coming up and checking the flight. Now he began to repent that he had previously written to the senate to call Lucullus out of Thrace, and Pompey out of Spain; so that he did all he could to finish the war before they came, knowing that the honour of the action would redound to him that came to his assistance.

Resolving, therefore, first to set upon those that had mutinied and encamped apart, whom Caius, Cannicus and Castus commanded, he sent six thousand men before to secure a little eminence, and to do it as privately as possible, which that they might do they covered their helmets, but being discovered by two women that were sacrificing for the enemy, they had been in great hazard, had not Crassus immediately appeared, and engaged in a battle which proved a most bloody one. Of twelve thousand three hundred whom he killed, two only were found wounded in their backs, the rest all having died standing in their ranks and fighting bravely. Spartacus, after this discomfiture, retired to the mountains of Petelia, but Quintius, one of Crassus's officers, and Scrofa, the quaestor, pursued and overtook him. But when Spartacus rallied and faced them, they were utterly routed and fled, and had much ado to carry off their quaestor, who was wounded.

This success, however, ruined Spartacus, because it encouraged the slaves, who now disdained any longer to avoid fighting, or to obey their officers, but as they were upon the march, they came

to them with their swords in their hands, and compelled them to lead them back again through Lucania, against the Romans, the very thing which Crassus was eager for. For news was already brought that Pompey was at hand; and people began to talk openly that the honour of this war was reserved to him, who would come and at once oblige the enemy to fight and put an end to the war. Crassus, therefore, eager to fight a decisive battle, encamped very near the enemy, and began to make lines of circumvallation; but the slaves made a sally and attacked the pioneers. As fresh supplies came in on either side, Spartacus, seeing there was no avoiding it, set all his army in array, and when his horse was brought him, he drew out his sword and killed him, saying, if he got the day he should have a great many better horses of the enemies', and if he lost it he should have no need of this. And so making directly towards Crassus himself, through the midst of arms and wounds, he missed him, but slew two centurions that fell upon him together.

At last being deserted by those that were about him, he himself stood his ground, and, surrounded by the enemy, bravely defending himself, was cut in pieces. But though Crassus had good fortune, and not only did the part of a good general, but gallantly exposed his person, yet Pompey had much of the credit of the action. For he met with many of the fugitives, and slew them, and wrote to the senate that Crassus indeed had vanquished the slaves in a pitched battle, but that he had put an end to the war, Pompey was honoured with a magnificent triumph for his conquest over Sertorius and Spain, while Crassus could not himself so much as desire a triumph in its full form, and indeed it was thought to look but meanly in him to accept of the lesser honour, called the ovation, for a servile war, and perform a procession on foot.



Romans Carrying the Dead Spartacus

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Lecture 10: And Then There Was One: Julius Caesar, 53-44 B.C.

Before beginning this lecture you may want to ...

Read Suetonius' [Life of Julius Caesar](#).

Read Plutarch's [Life of Julius Caesar](#).

Introduction:

In this lecture we will see the triumvirate dissolve, leaving one man as the first Roman: Julius Caesar.

Consider this ...

1. Was there any way to stop the fall of the Republic at this point?
2. Is it fair to call the Senate its own worst enemy?
3. Was Sulla or Marius more to blame for the state of the Republic in 53 B.C.?

A. Crassus was the first of the triumvirate to fall, when he was killed treacherously at Carrhae, invading Parthia.

1. Against the advice of his own officers, Crassus agreed to meet the king of Parthia to discuss terms. The Parthians captured and killed Crassus, cutting off his head and using it as a theatrical prop.

B. Back in Rome, Pompey tried to play Caesar, a popular politician, against the Senate. The Senate in turn tried to use Pompey to get rid of Caesar, figuring that they would be rid of at least one, and possibly both trouble makers.

1. Julius Caesar was still in Gaul and had been for some time fighting under difficult circumstances. The Senate asked Pompey to defend the Republic against Caesar, after telling Caesar to lay down his command and return to Rome for trial regarding his illegal passage of legislation—a capital offense.

2. Civil war ensued when Caesar crossed the Rubicon on January 10, 49 B.C., thereby becoming a public outlaw and himself declaring war on Rome and forcing a military confrontation with the Senate.

3. Swiftly Caesar descended on Rome, almost as quickly as the messenger dispatched to warn of his advance. After a meeting with the Senate Caesar departed to fight Pompey in a civil war—brother meeting brother.

C. In 48 B.C., Caesar defeated Pompey at Pharsalus in Greece.

Treacherously, Pompey abandoned his men and fled to Egypt. Caesar did not massacre Pompey's men, but rather accepted them into his own army.

1. Pompey escaped to Egypt where he was assassinated by the Egyptians, anxious to curry favor (as they believed) with Caesar. When Caesar arrived, he wept at the sight of Pompey's severed head. Later on this same trip, he met Cleopatra.

D. There was another feud in Egypt at the time. Cleopatra, instead of ruling jointly with her brother Ptolemy, wanted Caesar to kill him, so she contrived to have herself delivered to Caesar hidden in a rug. The intriguing Egyptian ruler captivated Caesar and he stayed in Egypt for 18 months. In his efforts to escape Ptolemy's army, Caesar accidentally burned down the library of Alexandria.

E. In Rome Caesar declared Cleopatra his common-law wife and recognized his son Caesarion. Then he prepared to take on the Senate and the remnant of Pompey's supporters.

F. Cowed by his popular support, the Senate voted Caesar a 10-year dictatorship, converted in two years to a lifetime dictatorship. During this time, he:

1. Reformed the calendar, adding 67 days to the year 46 B.C. and renaming the month named Quintilis, number 5, after himself, hence July. The only other individuals with months named after them were gods. This seemed to the Senate to be an action suggesting that Caesar intended to pursue deification.
2. Reduced the +1,000,000 population in Rome by rebuilding the city center and founding 20 new colonies for 100,000 citizens.
3. Built a temple to his own mercy, a clear message of his intentions.

TACITUS, 1: THE END OF THE REPUBLIC

(trans. Alfred John Church and William Jackson Brodribb)

Rome at the beginning was ruled by kings. Freedom and the consulship were established by Lucius Brutus. Dictatorships were held for a temporary crisis. The power of the decemvirs did not last beyond two years, nor was the consular jurisdiction of the military tribunes of long duration. The despotisms of Cinna and Sulla were brief; the rule of Pompey and of Crassus soon yielded before Caesar; the arms of Lepidus and (Mark) Antony before Augustus; who, when the world was wearied by civil strife, subjected it to empire under the title of "Prince." But the successes and reverses of the old Roman people have been recorded by famous historians; and fine intellects were not wanting to describe the times of Augustus, till growing sycophancy scared them away. The histories of Tiberius, Caius (Caligula), Claudius, and Nero, while they were in power, were falsified through terror, and after their death were written under the irritation of a recent hatred. Hence my purpose is to relate a few facts about Augustus—more particularly his last acts, then the reign of Tiberius, and all which follows, without either bitterness or partiality, from any motives to which I am far removed. When after the destruction of Brutus and Cassius there was no longer any army of the Republic, when Pompey was crushed in Sicily, and when, with Lepidus pushed aside and (Mark) Antony slain, even the Julian faction had only Caesar left to lead it, then, dropping the title of triumvir, and giving out that he was a Consul, and was satisfied with a tribune's authority for the protection of the people, Augustus won over the soldiers with gifts, the populace with cheap corn, and all men with the sweets of repose, and so grew greater by degrees, while he concentrated in himself the functions of the Senate, the magistrates, and the laws. He was wholly unopposed, for the boldest spirits had fallen in battle, or in the proscription, while the remaining nobles, the readier they were to be slaves, were raised the higher by wealth and promotion, so that, aggrandised by revolution, they preferred the safety of the present to the dangerous past. Nor did the provinces dislike that condition of affairs, for they distrusted the government of the Senate and the people, because of the rivalries between the leading men and the rapacity of the officials, while the protection of the laws was unavailing, as they were continually deranged by violence, intrigue, and finally by corruption.

MARK ANTONY'S EULOGY

from Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*
(Act III, Sc. ii, l. 78-112)

Friends, Romans, countrymen, lend me your ears;
I come to bury Caesar, not to praise him.
The evil that men do lives after them;
The good is oft interred with their bones;
So let it be with Caesar. The noble Brutus
Hath told you Caesar was ambitious:
If it were so, it was a grievous fault,
And grievously hath Caesar answer'd it.
Here, under leave of Brutus and the rest,-
For Brutus is an honourable man;
So are they all, all honourable men,-
Come I to speak in Caesar's funeral.
He was my friend, faithful and just to me:
But Brutus says he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honourable man.
He hath brought many captives home to
Rome,
Whose ransoms did the general coffers fill:
Did this in Caesar seem ambitious?
When that the poor have cried, Caesar
hath wept:
Ambition should be made of sterner stuff:
Yet Brutus says he was ambitious;
And Brutus is an honourable man.
You all did see that on the Lupercal
I thrice presented him a kingly crown,
Which he did thrice refuse: was this
ambition?
Yet Brutus says he was ambitious;
And, sure, he is an honourable man.
I speak not to disprove what Brutus spoke,
But here I am to speak what I do know.
You all did love him once, not without
cause:
What cause withholds you then to mourn
for him?
O judgement: thou art fled to brutish
beasts,
And men have lost their reason. Bear with
me;
My heart is in the coffin
there with Caesar,
And I must pause till it
come back to me.

Summary:

In this lecture we have examined the career of Julius Caesar, including his membership in the triumvirate, his ascension to dictator for life, and how his personal manner and autocratic bearing brought the Senate to conspire against him. We've also seen his assassination by the Senate, including Brutus, a man whom he had supported and loved.

4. Enfranchised various clients of his, including soldiers, doctors, and teachers, allowing them to vote. Caesar also granted many of his clients in Gaul the right to vote.

G. In 45 B.C. a conspiracy formed among Senators, possibly alarmed at Caesar's popularity and autocratic bearing, and afraid of his potential monarchy, or possibly jealous, ambitious, or a combination of the two. They were particularly alarmed at Caesar's agreement to let the eastern provinces set up his statue in temples. Ironically, some of the autocratic manner probably came from Caesar's efforts to control his situation when anticipating an epileptic attack.

H. On March 14, 44 B.C., Caesar received a series of bad omens. For instance, his wife dreamed that he died in her arms.

I. On the morning of March 15, 44 B.C., or as the Romans would say, the Ides of March, Caesar set off for the Senate. His wife and friends begged him to skip the meeting, or at least wear armor, or take a bodyguard; he refused. When he reached the meeting, he was fatally attacked by the conspirators, among whom was Caesar's protégé Marcus Brutus. Most of Rome assembled soon after to hear Caesar's will read, and discover who would be his heir.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. What if Pompey had won instead of Julius Caesar?
2. What if Julius Caesar had never met Cleopatra?
3. Did the conspirators really believe they were acting in Rome's interest?

Suggested Reading

- Caesar, Julius. *The Civil War*. Jane F. Gardner (trans.) New York: Penguin USA, 1976.
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Other Books of Interest

- Catullus, Gaius Valerius. *The Poems of Catullus: The Complete Poems*. Guy Lee (ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Lucan. *Pharsalia*. Jane Wilson Joyce (trans.) Ithaca: Cornell Press, 1994.
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- Meier, Christian. *Caesar: A Biography*. David McLintock (trans.) New York: Basic Books, 1996.
- Shakespeare. *Julius Caesar*. Paul Werstine and Barbara A. Mowat (eds.) New Folger Library Shakespeare Series. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1976.

Websites to Visit

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/JC/> - Julius Caesar.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

(from Dryden's translation of
Plutarch's *Life of Antony*)

Such being his temper, the last and crowning mischief that could befall him came in the love of Cleopatra, to awaken and kindle to fury passions that as yet lay still and dormant in his nature, and to stifle and finally corrupt any elements that yet made resistance in him of goodness and a sound judgment. He fell into the snare thus. When making preparation for the Parthian war, he sent to command her to make her personal appearance in Cilicia, to answer an accusation that she had given great assistance, in the late wars, to Cassius. Dellius, who was sent on this message, had no sooner seen her face, and remarked her adroitness and subtlety in speech, but he felt convinced that Antony would not so much as think of giving any molestation to a woman like this; on the contrary, she would be the first in favour with him. So he set himself at once to pay his court to the Egyptian, and gave her his advice, "to go," in the Homeric style, to Cilicia, "in her best attire," and bade her fear nothing from Antony, the gentlest and kindest of soldiers. She had some faith in the words of Dellius, but more in her own attractions; which, having formerly recommended her to Caesar and the young Cnaeus Pompey, she did not doubt might prove yet more successful with Antony. Their acquaintance was with her when a girl, young and ignorant of the world, but she was to meet Antony in the time of life when women's beauty is most splendid, and their intellects are in full maturity. She made great preparation for her journey, of money, gifts, and ornaments of value, such as so wealthy a kingdom might afford, but she brought with her her surest hopes in her own magic arts and charms. She received several letters, both from Antony and from his friends, to summon her, but she took no account of these orders; and at last, as if in mockery of them, she came sailing up the river Cydnus, in a barge with gilded stern and outspread sails of purple, while



oars of silver beat time to the music of flutes and fifes and harps. She herself lay all along under a canopy of cloth of gold, dressed as Venus in a picture, and beautiful young boys, like painted Cupids, stood on each side to fan her. Her maids were dressed like sea nymphs and graces, some steering at the rudder, some working at the ropes. The perfumes diffused themselves from the vessel to the shore, which was covered with multitudes, part following the galley up the river on either bank, part running out of the city to see the sight. The market-place was quite emptied, and Antony at last was left alone sitting upon the tribunal; while the word went through all the multitude, that Venus was come to feast with Bacchus, for the common good of Asia. On her arrival, Antony sent to invite her to supper. She thought it fitter he should come to her; so, willing to show his good-humour and courtesy, he complied, and went. He found the preparations to receive him magnificent beyond expression, but nothing so admirable as the great number of lights; for on a sudden there was let down altogether so great a number of branches with lights in them so ingeniously disposed, some in squares, and some in circles, that the whole thing was a spectacle that has seldom been equalled for beauty. The next day, Antony invited her to supper, and was very desirous to outdo her as well in magnificence as contrivance; but he found he was altogether beaten in both, and was so well convinced of it that he was himself the first to jest and

mock at his poverty of wit and his rustic awkwardness. She, perceiving that his raillery was broad and gross, and savoured more of the soldier than the courtier, rejoined in the same taste, and fell into it at once, without any sort of reluctance or reserve. For her actual beauty, it is said, was not in itself so remarkable that none could be compared with her, or that no one could see her without being struck by it, but the contact of her presence, if you lived with her, was irresistible; the attraction of her person, joining with the charm of her conversation, and the character that attended all she said or did, was something bewitching. It was a pleasure merely to hear the sound of her voice, with which, like an instrument of many strings, she could pass from one language to another; so that there were few of the barbarian nations that she answered by an interpreter; to most of them she spoke herself, as to the Ethiopians, Troglodytes, Hebrews, Arabians, Syrians, Medes, Parthians, and many others, whose language she had learnt; which was all the more surprising because most of the kings, her predecessors, scarcely gave themselves the trouble to acquire the Egyptian tongue, and several of them quite abandoned the Macedonian. Antony was so captivated by her that, while Fulvia his wife maintained his quarrels in Rome against Caesar by actual force of arms, and the Parthian troops, commanded by Labienus (the king's generals having made him commander-in-chief), were assembled in Mesopotamia, and ready to enter Syria, he could yet suffer himself to be carried away by her to Alexandria, there to keep holiday, like a boy, in play and diversion, squandering and fooling away in enjoyments that most costly, as Antiphon says, of all valuables, time. They had a sort of company, to which they gave a particular name, calling it that of the Inimitable Livers. The members entertained one another daily in turn, with all extravagance of expenditure beyond measure or belief. ...

To return to Cleopatra; Plato admits four sorts of flattery, but she had a thousand. Were Antony serious or disposed to mirth, she had at any moment some new delight or charm to meet his wishes; at every turn she was upon him, and let him escape her neither by day nor by night. She played at dice with him, drank with him, hunted with him; and when he exercised in arms, she was there to see. At night she would go rambling with him to disturb and torment people at their doors and windows, dressed like a servant-woman, for Antony also went in servant's disguise, and from these expeditions he often came home very scurvy answered, and sometimes even beaten severely, though most people guessed who it was. However, the Alexandrians in general liked it all well enough, and joined good-humouredly and kindly in his frolic and play, saying they were much obliged to Antony for acting his tragic parts at Rome, and keeping comedy for them. It would be trifling without end to be particular in his follies, but his fishing must not be forgotten. He went out one day to angle with Cleopatra, and, being so unfortunate as to catch nothing in the presence of his mistress, he gave secret orders to the fishermen to dive under water, and put fishes that had been already taken upon his hooks; and these he drew so fast that the Egyptian perceived it. But, feigning great admiration, she told everybody how dexterous Antony was, and invited them next day to come and see him again. So, when a number of them had come on board the fishing-boats, as soon as he had let down his hook, one of her servants was beforehand with his divers and fixed upon his hook a salted fish from Pontus. Antony, feeling his line give, drew up the prey, and when, as may be imagined, great laughter ensued, "Leave," said Cleopatra, "the fishing-rod, general, to us poor sovereigns of Pharos and Canopus; your game is cities, provinces, and kingdoms."

Lecture 11: Augustus, the Father of His Country, 43 B.C.-14 A.D.

Before beginning this lecture you may want to ...

Read The Aeneid R. Fitzgerald (trans.)

Introduction:

At the reading of Caesar's will the entirety of Rome got a surprise. In this lecture we will study the age of Augustus.

Consider this ...

1. After a century of civil war, should Romans do anything they can to avoid more?
 2. How crucial was the Senate's inability to deal with reality?
 3. What distinguished patriot from traitor in the aftermath of Caesar's assassination?
- A. When Caesar's will was read, many were astonished to learn that his heir was not Mark Antony, but Octavian, Julius' great-nephew, away in Greece at the time, undergoing military training.
1. Octavian returned immediately to Rome to claim his inheritance, most of which Antony had already spent.
 2. The Senate made Octavian a consul, gave him an army, and sent him to defeat Mark Antony. Octavian, assuming he would not beat Antony, made a pact with him.
- B. Antony and Octavian made common cause with a third man, Lepidus, and formed a Triumvirate.
1. They defeated the conspirators at a great battle in Macedonia, at Philippi.
 2. Octavian forced Lepidus into retirement and bided his time until Mark Antony left for the east, where he would meet up with Cleopatra.
 3. Cleopatra formed an alliance with Antony, wishing to recover Egypt's ancestral territory.
- C. Octavian showed himself a master of propaganda as he turned Roman feeling against Mark Antony, whom he portrayed as bewitched by a foreign queen. In 33 B.C. he declared war on Egypt and Cleopatra (not on Antony).
1. With the help of his able general Agrippa, Octavian soundly defeated Antony and Cleopatra at the battle of Actium in 31 B.C.
 2. Antony, seeing Cleopatra's barge heading back to Egypt, swam after it. With only a short time before the Romans would arrive in Egypt, Antony committed suicide with a sword. Cleopatra killed herself as Octavian arrived.
- D. In 27 B.C. Octavian accepted the title Augustus, and began his long, productive term as "first citizen," arguably the first emperor.

1. In his memoirs, Augustus claimed that his success came from his possession of the great Roman virtues, "excellence, mercy, justice, and piety."

2. His legacy is often called the Roman Peace, or Pax Romana. Peace at home and abroad meant that Romans could direct their attention elsewhere. He refrained from wars and expansion but still kept an active paid army in the provinces.

3. He commissioned one of the world's greatest poems, *The Aeneid of Vergil*, a story of the founding of Rome. In the middle of the poem, Vergil presents as a future vision great men such as the Gracchi brothers, Julius Caesar, and Augustus. However, Vergil gives us two exit gates, one in which the good visions come true, one in which the vision will prove to be false. Aeneas goes through the gate of falsehood, or untrue dreams.

4. He passed a lot of moral legislation encouraging large families.

5. He spent his own money, building a new Forum, renovating temples (like that of Mars the Avenger), improving roads, building the Great Sewer (an enclosed sewer), financing public games, and keeping grain prices artificially low. This made him popular with everyone.

E. Augustus was both tribune and consul at the same time with his political power growing rapidly. He continued in power for almost 50 years.

F. The one problem Augustus couldn't really solve was that of succession. Who would rule after him?

1. If he didn't solve this problem, all his work could be undone very quickly.

2. He had married Livia and was very much in love with her. However, they

OCTAVIAN

From Suetonius' biography
(trans. J.C. Rolfe):

He was unusually handsome and exceedingly graceful ... though he cared nothing for personal adornment. He was so far from being particular about the dressing of his hair, that he would have several barbers working in a hurry at the same time, and as for his beard he now had it clipped and now shaved, while at the very same time he would either be reading or writing something. His expression ... was so calm and mild, that one of the leading men of the Gallic provinces admitted to his countrymen that it had ... kept him from carrying out his design of pushing the emperor over a cliff ... as he was crossing the Alps. He had clear, bright eyes ... His teeth were wide apart, small, and ill-kept; his hair was slightly curly and inclining to golden; his eyebrows met. His ears were of moderate size, and his nose projected a little at the top and then bent slightly inward. His complexion was between dark and fair. He was short of stature, but this was concealed by the fine proportion and symmetry of his figure, and was noticeable only by comparison with some taller person standing beside him. It is said that ... he had birthmarks scattered over his breast and belly, corresponding in form, order and number with the stars of the Bear in the heavens [*Ursa Major*, aka "the Big Dipper"].



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LIVIA, WIFE OF AUGUSTUS

Livia (58 B.C. - 29 A.D.) was the influential wife of Augustus, considered the architect of the Roman Empire, for over 50 years. Her position as first lady of Imperial Rome, her own family connections of Roman senators, her confident personality, and private wealth allowed her to exercise power through Augustus and on her own. Although Livia and Augustus had no children, Tiberius, Livia's son from a previous marriage, succeeded Augustus.

Tiberius soon discovered that Livia planned to be as involved in his rule as she had been in her husband Augustus'. He resented this fact, and was so hostile to her that after her death in 29 A.D., he prevented her will from being executed until the reign of his successor, Gaius (Caligula), and denied her that which she had most desired—posthumous deification, so that she would be forever by her husband's side.

had not been able to have any children. He did have one daughter of his own, Julia, and he married her to a Roman general. She produced six children, three of whom were male. All of Augustus' choices for heir died early. Livia had a full time poisoner on her staff, which leads to the suspicion that perhaps she participated in some of their deaths.

3. Livia already had a son when she married. Augustus was finally forced to adopt his stepson, Tiberius, whom he disliked considerably.
4. Augustus died soon after adopting Tiberius and was almost immediately deified. Oddly, perhaps, Augustus died after eating a pear brought to him by his wife Livia.

Summary:

In this lecture we have seen how Caesar's great nephew transformed himself from a college student into Augustus, the "first citizen." In doing so he was able to overcome the Roman Senate, the great general Mark Antony, and the foreign queen Cleopatra. He began as an inexperienced young man and ended as the father of his country, inaugurating a new form of government and a Roman peace that would last for centuries.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. How was Octavian/Augustus different from other "strongmen" of Rome, before and after him?
2. Was Octavian a good choice for heir by Julius Caesar?
3. Why do you suppose Vergil had Aeneas exit the underworld through the Gate of False Dreams?

Suggested Reading

Shakespeare, William. *Antony and Cleopatra*. Paul Werstine and Barbara A. Mowat (eds.) New Folger Library Shakespeare Series. New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1999.

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Augustus. *Res Gestae Divi Augusti: The Achievements of the Divine Augustus*. P.A. Brunt (ed.) Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1967.

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Galinsky, Karl. *Augustan Culture: An Interpretive Introduction*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.

Martindale, Charles (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to Virgil*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Websites to Visit

<http://virgil.org/links/> - All Virgil, all the time, plus links to even more.

Books on Audio

Grant, Michael. *Cleopatra*. UNABRIDGED Recorded Books. (9 cassettes/12.75 hours).

Call 1-(800)-636-3399 or visit www.recordedbooks.com to order Recorded Books. Available for purchase or rental by mail.

Lecture 12: The Empire's First Century

Julio-Claudians and Flavians, 14-96 A.D.

Before beginning this lecture you may want to ...

Read I. Claudius and Claudius the God (R. Graves).

Introduction:

In this lecture we are going to discuss the period 14-96 A.D. The first century is characterized by a host of emperors all of whose colorful personalities have a great deal to do with shaping the empire and the Romans' relationship with one another.

Consider this ...

1. What makes an emperor effective or ineffective?
 2. Is there still a place for the Senate in the empire?
 3. What was the most important challenge of the first century A.D.?
- A. Emperors should be evaluated in terms of specific criteria related to their governing, not their personal habits. Good emperors do the following:
1. Act in a fiscally responsible way both in terms of financial income and expenditure.
 2. Are militarily conservative in terms of land grabbing.
 3. Are fair with provincials, providing military support and minimizing the tax burden.
 4. Balance the interests of the military, Senate, and plebs.
 5. Act as a model for all Roman citizens.
 6. Act in a decisive and timely way.
 7. Establish a secure succession to prevent civil war after their deaths.
- B. Throughout their marriage, Augustus and his wife Livia had each been concerned with making sure that their own clan lineage, Julian and Claudian, respectively, dominated the succession. Tiberius, Livia's son and Augustus' stepson, was a fine general but unfortunately a tormented person. His death was generally unlamented.
1. Tiberius made no plans for his succession which makes him a bad emperor in terms of the rules we have just discussed.
- C. Tiberius' great-nephew Gaius, nicknamed Caligula, succeeded him as emperor. His excesses, more than most emperors, have contributed to the popular picture of Roman emperors as a group of decadent, hedonistic, depraved, and cruel individuals, wantonly forcing their will upon the struggling masses. He was assassinated by his own bodyguard after only four years.

D. Ironically, Caligula was succeeded by his own uncle, Tiberius' nephew, Claudius, who was chosen by the army immediately after the assassination of Caligula, while the Senate was meeting to consider restoration of the Republic. He increased the empire's territory.

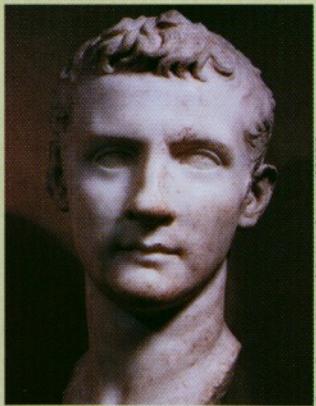
E. The rule of Nero, the last Julio-Claudian, began well, as he was guided by able tutors and under the thumb of his formidable mother Agrippina, widow of Germanicus and granddaughter of Augustus. After these mitigating influences were gone, Nero became increasingly preoccupied with his artistic and athletic interests. After the great fire of Rome in 62 A.D., Nero blamed the Christians, inaugurating terrible persecution, and driving Christianity underground for almost 200 years.

1. After his construction of an elaborate private palace called the Golden House and a brutal revolt in Britain, Nero's popularity waned to the point where the Senate declared him a public enemy, and he committed suicide, having effectively eliminated any possible successor.

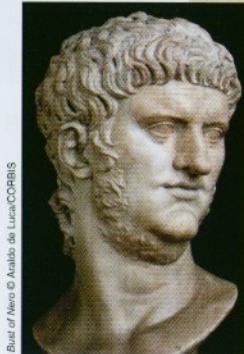
CALIGULA: Better Not to Be His Relative

(From: *Suetonius De Vita Caesarum: Caius Caligula*)

"XXIII. [Caligula] did not wish to be thought the grandson of Agrippa, or called so, because of the latter's humble origin; and he grew very angry if anyone in a speech or a song included Agrippa among the ancestors of the Caesars. He even boasted that his own mother was born in incest, which Augustus had committed with his daughter Julia; and not content with this slur on the memory of Augustus, he forbade the celebration of his victories at Actium and off Sicily by annual festivals, on the grounds that they were disastrous and ruinous to the Roman people. He often called his great-grandmother Livia Augusta "a Ulysses in petticoats," and he had the audacity to accuse her of low birth in a letter to the senate, alleging that her maternal grandfather had been nothing but a decurion of Fundi; whereas it is proved by public records that Aufidius Lurco held high offices at Rome. When his grandmother Antonia asked for a private interview, he refused it except in the presence of the praefect Macro, and by such indignities and annoyances he caused her death; although some think that he also gave her poison. After she was dead, he paid her no honor, but viewed her burning pyre from his dining-room. He had his brother Tiberius put to death without warning, suddenly sending a Tribune of the soldiers to do the deed; besides driving his father-in-law Silanus to end his life by cutting his throat with a razor. His charge against the latter was that Silanus had not followed him when he put to sea in stormy weather, but had remained behind in the hope of taking possession of the city in case he should be lost in the storm; against Tiberius, that his breath smelled of an antidote, which he had taken to guard against being poisoned at his hand. Now as a matter of fact, Silanus was subject to sea-sickness and wished to avoid the discomforts of the voyage, while Tiberius had taken medicine for a chronic cough, which was growing worse. As for his uncle Claudius, he spared him merely as a laughingstock."



Roman Emperor Caligula © Burstein Collection/ORBIS



NERO

Boy to Frustrated Artist

Nero became emperor when he was twelve, with his mother as a power behind the throne. As Nero reached puberty he began to resent her influence, and tried to assassinate his mother by sinking a boat and causing the ceiling of her bedroom to fall. Finally Nero's mother was killed when her servants were found with weapons in the presence of the emperor.

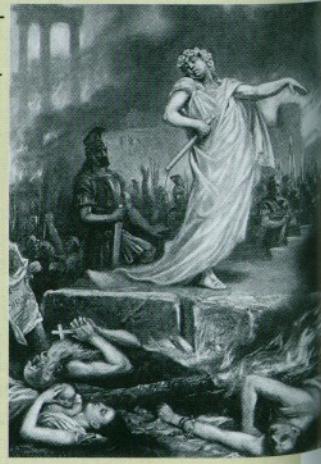
Nero embarked on his reign alone. An avid competitor, Nero participated in a number of sports including chariot racing. Also an avid singer, Nero would give 12-hour concerts. There are accounts of people jumping from balconies to their deaths to avoid these concerts. In fact the future emperor Vespasian was exiled for falling asleep at one of Nero's concerts.

As Nero grew into manhood, he embarked on an era of self-gratification. He built a private palace called The Golden House. It had a retractable roof for star-gazing, the couches sprayed fresh scents, and there was a multitude of fine statuary about the ground.

In 62 A.D. a great fire started in an apartment building and spread throughout the city. Nero was not, as myth has it, fiddling while Rome burned. In fact Nero was not even in the city at the time. However when the Roman city dwellers saw Nero's soldiers setting fires to try and contain the fire, they misinterpreted the actions and believed their emperor was actually burning the city. In an attempt to deflect blame, Nero lay the blame on Christians.

This initiated a horrible persecution. Nero did such things as tying Christians to poles and setting them on fire to light night games. This is the time in which Paul and Peter were killed and Christianity went underground.

The Roman people were aghast at the lifestyle of their emperor. The Senate declared Nero a traitor and ordered him to kill himself. Unable to comply, Nero had a slave kill him.

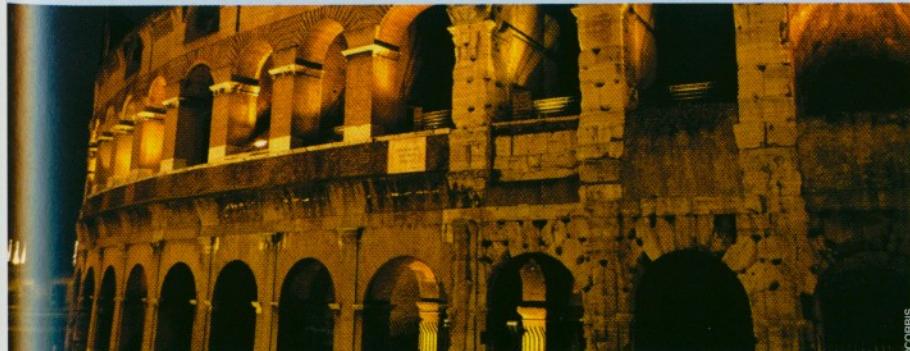


F. The Flavian Dynasty.

1. The year after Nero's death, 68 A.D., is called the Year of Four Emperors because of the four men who strove to be ruler. The Senate and military contended, sometimes bitterly, for their various candidates for emperor. Vespasian was the last of the four, and the only one to rule more than a few months.
2. Titus Flavius Vespasian was born in 9 A.D., and emperor 69 to 79 A.D. After a distinguished military career that ended with his assignment to Judaea, Vespasian joined forces with the prefects of Egypt and Syria. The Senate ultimately chose Vespasian as emperor.
 - a. Vespasian spent time raising money in Egypt to cope with the Neronian deficit.
 - b. As part of his building program, he restored the capitol, built a Forum and the Temple of Peace, and began work on the great Flavian amphitheater.
 - c. He was immediately deified upon his death. The historian Tacitus will write later that Vespasian was the first emperor to have changed for the better.
3. During the reign of Vespasian's eldest son Titus, Mount Vesuvius erupted, burying the towns of Pompeii and Herculaneum, and the great amphitheater begun by his father was dedicated. The so-called Colosseum still stands as the most recognizable symbol of ancient Rome. Titus was instantly deified after his death on September 13, 81 A.D.
 1. Vespasian's younger son Domitian succeeded his brother. Like Nero, he did well early on, but became cruel and paranoid. Ultimately, after a reign of terror vividly commemorated by the satirist Juvenal, he was assassinated on September 18, 96 A.D., and the Senate condemned his memory.

Summary:

In this lecture we have discussed the Julio-Claudians and how the legacy of this great dynasty left Rome scarred. We see the Julio-Claudians unable to continue their succession for more than 50 years, and Christianity driven underground for more than 200 years. The era was also marked by great building programs and the height of Roman culture.



To Cornelius Tacitus

The letter which, in compliance with your request, I wrote to you concerning the death of my uncle has raised, it seems, your curiosity to know what terrors and dangers attended me while I continued at Misenum; for there, I think, my account broke off.

**"Though my shock'd soul recoils,
my tongue shall tell."**

My uncle having left us, I spent such time as was left on my studies (it was on their account indeed that I had stopped behind), till it was time for my bath. After which I went to supper, and then fell into a short and uneasy sleep. There had been noticed for many days before a trembling of the earth, which did not alarm us much, as this is quite an ordinary occurrence in Campania; but it was so particularly violent that night that it not only shook but actually overturned, as it would seem, everything about us. My mother rushed into my chamber, where she found me rising, in order to awaken her. We sat

down in the open court of the house, which occupied a small space between the buildings and the sea. As I was at that time but eighteen years of age, I know not whether I

should call my behaviour, in this dangerous juncture, courage or folly; but I took up Livy, and amused myself with turning over that author, and even making extracts from him, as if I had been perfectly at my leisure. Just then, a friend of my uncle's, who had lately come to him from Spain, joined us, and observing me sitting by my mother with a book in my hand, reproved her for her calmness, and me at the same time for my careless



Ruins of Pompeii © Roger Ressmeyer/CORBIS

From the Letters of Pliny

security: nevertheless I went on with my author. Though it was now morning, the light was still exceedingly faint and doubtful; the buildings all around us tottered, and though we stood upon open ground, yet as the place was narrow and confined, there was no remaining without imminent danger: we therefore resolved to quit the town. A panic-stricken crowd followed us, and (as to a mind distracted with terror every suggestion seems more prudent than its own) pressed on us in dense array to drive us forward as we came out. Being at a convenient distance from the houses, we stood still, in the midst of a most dangerous and dreadful scene. The chariots, which we had ordered to be drawn out, were so agitated backwards and forwards, though upon the most level ground, that we could not keep them steady, even by supporting them with large stones. The sea seemed to roll back upon itself, and to be driven from its banks by the convulsive motion of the earth; it is certain at least the shore was considerably enlarged, and several sea animals

were left upon it. On the other side, a black and dreadful cloud, broken with rapid, zigzag flashes, revealed behind it variously shaped masses of flame: these last were like sheet-lightning, but much larger. Upon this our Spanish friend came upon us, not such as we have when the sky is cloudy, or when there is no moon, but that of a room when it is shut up, and all the lights put out. You

might hear the shrieks of women, the screams of children, and the shouts of men; some calling for their children, others for their parents, others for their husbands, and seeking to recognize each other by the voices that replied; one lamenting his own fate, another that of his family; some wishing to die, from the very fear of dying; some lifting their hands to the gods; but the greater part convinced that there were now no gods at all, and that the final endless night of which we have heard had come upon the world. Among these there were some who augmented the real terrors by others imaginary or wilfully invented. I remember some who declared that one part of Misenum had fallen, that another was on fire; it was false, but they found people to believe them. It now grew rather lighter, which we imagined to be rather the forerunner of an approaching burst of flames (as in truth it was) than the return of day: however, the fire fell at a distance from us: then again we were immersed in thick darkness, and a heavy shower of ashes rained upon us, which we were obliged every now and then to stand up to shake off, otherwise we should have been crushed and buried in the heap. I might boast that, during all this scene of horror, not a sigh, or expression of fear, escaped me, had not my support been grounded in that miserable,



Ruins of Pompeii © Roger Ressmeyer/CORBIS

though mighty, consolation, that all mankind were involved in the same calamity,

ty, and that I was perishing with the world itself. At last this dreadful darkness was dissipated by degrees, like a cloud or smoke; the real day returned, and even the sun shone out, though with a lurid light, as when an eclipse is coming on. Every object that presented itself to our eyes (which were extremely weakened) seemed changed, being covered deep with ashes as if with snow. We returned to Misenum, where we refreshed ourselves as well as we could, and passed an anxious night between hope and fear; though, indeed, with a much larger share of the latter: for the earthquake still continued, while many frenzied persons ran up and down heightening their own and their friends' calamities by terrible predictions. However, my mother and I, notwithstanding the danger we had passed, and that which still threatened us, had no thoughts of leaving the place, till we could receive some news of my uncle.



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Consider

1. What might have happened to the spread of Christianity had Nero not used Christians as scapegoats in the fire?
2. Is the Colosseum a good symbol of Rome?
3. Can good art be made under a repressive regime?

Suggested Reading

- Graves, Robert. *Claudius the God and His Wife Messalina*. New York: Knopf Publishing Group, 1989.
- Graves, Robert. *I, Claudius*. New York: Knopf Publishing Group, 1989.
- Juvenal. *Sixteen Satires*. Peter Green and Wendell Vernon Clausen (trans.) New York: Penguin, 1999.

Other Books of Interest

- Grant, Michael. *Cities of Vesuvius: Pompeii and Herculaneum*. New York: Sterling Publishing Company, Inc., 2001.
- Jones, Brian W. *The Emperor Domitian*. London: Routledge, 1992.
- Shotter, David. *Nero*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Tacitus. *The Annals of Imperial Rome*. Adapted by Michael Grant. New York: Penguin, 1976.

Books on Audio

- Graves, Robert. *I, Claudius*. UNABRIDGED Recorded Books. (12 cassettes/16.5 hours).
- Graves, Robert. *Claudius the God*. UNABRIDGED Recorded Books. (15 cassettes/19 hours).
- Massie, Alan. *Tiberius*. UNABRIDGED Recorded Books. (7 cassettes/10.25 hours).

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DAILY LIFE IN ROME

SATIRE III by Juvenal

QUID ROMAE FACIAM?

"Since at Rome there is no place for honest pursuits, no profit to be got by honest toil—my fortune is less to-day than it was yesterday, and to-morrow must again make that little less—we purpose emigrating to the spot where Daedalus put off his wearied wings, while my grey hairs are still but few, my old age green and erect; while something yet remains for Lachesis to spin, and I can bear myself on my own legs, without a staff to support my right hand. Let us leave our native land. There let Arturius and Catulus live. Let those continue in it who turn black to white; for whom it is an easy matter to get contracts for building temples, clearing rivers, constructing harbors, cleansing the sewers, the furnishing of funerals, and under the mistress-spear set up the slave to sale.

"It is that the city is become Greek, Quirites, that I cannot tolerate; and yet how small the proportion even of the dregs of Greece! Syrian Orontes has long since flowed into the Tiber, and brought with it its language, morals, and the crooked harps with the flute-player, and its national tambourines, and girls made to stand for hire at the Circus. Go thither, you who fancy a barbarian harlot with embroidered turban. That rustic of yours, Quirinus, takes his Greek supper-cloak, and wears Greek prizes on his neck besmeared with Ceroma. One forsaking steep Sicyon, another Amydon, a third from Andros, another from Samos, another again from Tralles, or Alabanda, swarm to Esquiliae, and the hill called from its osiers, destined to be the very vitals, and future lords of great houses.



These have a quick wit, desperate impudence, a ready speech, more rapidly fluent even than Isaeus. Tell me what you fancy he is? He has brought with him whatever character you wish—grammatician rhetorician, geometer, painter, trainer, soothsayer, ropedancer, physician, wizard—he knows everything. Bid the hungry Greekling go to heaven! He'll go. In short, it was neither Moor, nor Sarmatian, nor Thracian, that took wings, but one born in the heart of Athens. Shall I not shun these men's purple robes? Shall this fellow take precedence of me in signing his name, and recline pillow'd on a more honorable couch than I, though imported to Rome by the same wind that brought the plums and figs? Does it then go so utterly for nothing, that my infancy inhaled the air of Aventine, nourished on the Sabine berry? Why add that this nation, most deeply versed in flattery, praises the conversation of an ignorant, the face of a hideously ugly friend, and compares some weak fellow's crane-like neck to the brawny shoulders of Hercules, holding Antaeus far from his mother Earth: and is in raptures at the squeaking voice, not a whit superior in sound to that of the cock as he bites the hen.

"Besides, there is nothing that is held sacred by these fellows, or that is safe from their lust. Neither the mistress of the house, nor your virgin daughter, nor her suitor, unbearded as yet, nor your



son, heretofore chaste. If none of these are to be found, he assails his friend's grandmother. They aim at learning the secrets of the house, and from that knowledge be feared. And since we have begun to make mention of the Greeks, pass on to their schools of philosophy, and hear the foul crime of the more dignified cloak. It was a Stoic that killed Barea—the informer, his personal friend—the old man, his own pupil—bred on that shore on which the pinion of the Gorgonean horse lighted. There is no room for any Roman here, where some Protogenes, or Diphilus, or Erimanthus reigns supreme; who, with the common vice of his race, never shares a friend, but engrosses him entirely to himself. In exact proportion to the sum of money a man keeps in his chest, is the credit given to his oath. Though you were to swear by all the altars of the Samothracian and our own gods, the poor man is believed to despise the thunder-bolts and the gods, even with the sanction of the gods themselves. Why add that this same poor man furnishes material and grounds for ridicule to all, if his cloak is dirty and torn, if his toga is a little soiled, and one shoe gapes with its upper leather burst; or if more than one patch displays the coarse fresh darning thread, where a rent has been sewn up. Poverty, bitter though it be, has no sharper pang than this, that it makes men ridiculous. Let him retire, if he has any shame left, and quit the cushions of

the knights, that has not the income required by the law, and let these seats be taken by the sons of pimps, in whatever brothel born! Here let the son of the sleek crier applaud among the spruce youths of the gladiator, and the scions of the fencing-school.

"Who was ever allowed at Rome to become a son-in-law if his estate was inferior, and not a match for the portion of the young lady? What poor man's name appears in any will? When is he summoned to a consultation even by an aedile? All Quirites that are poor, ought long ago to have emigrated in a body. Difficult indeed is it for those to emerge from obscurity whose noble qualities are cramped by narrow means at home; but at Rome, for men like these, the attempt is still more hopeless; it is only at an exorbitant price they can get a wretched lodging, keep for their servants, and a frugal meal. A man is ashamed here to dine off pottery ware, which, were he suddenly transported to the Marsi and a Sabine board, contented there with a coarse bowl of blue earthenware, he would no longer deem discreditable. Here, in Rome, the splendor of dress is carried beyond men's means; here, something more than is enough, is taken occasionally from another's chest. In this fault all participate. Here we all live with a poverty that apes our betters. Why should I detain you? Everything at Rome is coupled with high price. What have you to give, that you may occasionally pay your respects to Cossus? that Veiento may give you a passing glance, though without deigning to open his mouth? One shaves the beard,

another deposits the hair of a favorite; the house is full of venal cakes.

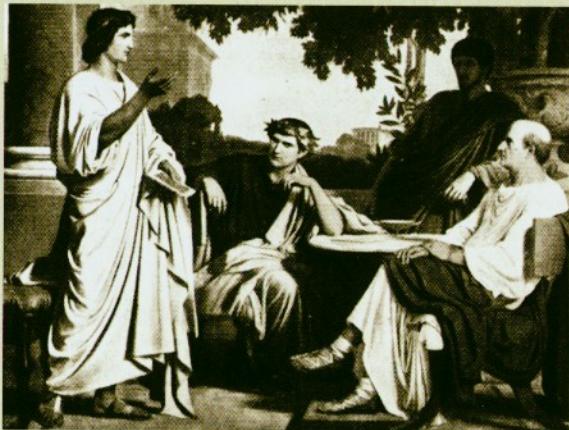
"I must live in a place, where there are no fires, no nightly alarms. Already is Ucalegon shouting for water! already is he removing his chattels: the third story in the house you live in is already in a blaze. Yet you are unconscious! For if the alarm begin from the bottom of the stairs, he will be the last to be burnt whom a single tile protects from the rain, where the tame pigeons lay their eggs. Codrus had a bed too small for his Procula, six little jugs the ornament of his sideboard, and a little can besides beneath it, and a Chiron reclining under the same marble; and a chest now grown old in the service contained his Greek books, and mice gnawed poems of divine inspiration. Codrus possessed nothing at all; who denies the fact? and yet all that little nothing that he had, he lost. But the climax that crowns his misery is the fact, that though he is stark naked and begging for a few scraps, no one will lend a hand to help him to bed and board. But, if the great mansion of Asturius has fallen, the matrons appear in weeds, the senators in mourning robes, the praetor adjourns the courts. Then it is we groan for the accidents of the city; then we loathe the very name of fire. The fire is still raging, and already there runs up to him one who offers to present him with marble, and

contribute towards the rebuilding. Another will present him with naked statues of Parian marble, another with a chef-d'oeuvre of Euphranor or Polycletus. Some lady will contribute some ancient ornaments of gods taken in our Asiatic victories; another, books and cases and a bust of Minerva; another, a whole bushel of silver. Persicus, the most splendid of childless men, replaces all he has lost by things more numerous and more valuable, and might with reason be suspected of having himself set his own house on fire.

"If you can tear yourself away from the games of the Circus, you can buy an excellent house at Sora, at Fabrateria or Frusino, for what you now pay in Rome to rent a dark garret for one year. And you will there have a little garden, with a shallow well from which you can easily draw water, without need of a rope, to bedew your weakly plants. There make your abode, a friend of the mattock, tending a trim garden fit to feast a hundred Pythagoreans. It is something, in whatever spot, however remote, to have become the possessor of a single lizard!

"Most sick people here in Rome perish for want of sleep, the illness itself having been produced by food lying undigested on a fevered stomach. For what sleep is possible in a lodging? Who but the wealthy get sleep in Rome? There lies





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ing a whole pine-tree; they tower aloft and threaten the people. For if that axle with its load of Ligurian marble breaks down, and pours an overturned mountain on to the crowd, what is left of their bodies? Who can identify the limbs, who the bones? The poor man's crushed corpse wholly disappears, just like his soul. At home meanwhile

the folk, unwitting, are washing the dishes, blowing up the fire with distended cheek, clattering over the greasy flesh-scrapers, filling the oil-flasks and laying out the towels. And while each of them is thus busy over his own task, their master is already sitting, a new arrival, upon the bank, and shuddering at the grim ferryman: he has no copper in his mouth to tender for his fare, and no hope of a passage over the murky flood, poor wretch.

"And now regard the different and diverse perils of the night. See what a height it is to that towering roof from which a potsherd comes crack upon my head every time that some broken or leaky vessel is pitched out of the window! See with what a smash it strikes and dints the pavement! There's death in every open window as you pass along at night; you may well be deemed a fool, improvident of sudden accident, if you go out to dinner without having made your will. You can but hope, and put up a piteous prayer in your heart, that they may be content to pour down on you the contents of their slop-basins!

"Your drunken bully who has by chance not slain his man passes a night of torture like that of Achilles when he bemoaned his friend, lying now upon his

the root of the disorder. The crossing of wagons in the narrow winding streets, the slanging of drovers when brought to a stand, would make sleep impossible for a Drusus—or a sea-calf. When the rich man has a call of social duty, the mob makes way for him as he is borne swiftly over their heads in a huge Liburnian car. He writes or reads or sleeps inside as he goes along, for the closed window of the litter induces slumber. Yet he will arrive before us; hurry as we may, we are blocked by a surging crowd in front, and by a dense mass of people pressing in on us from behind: one man digs an elbow into me, another a hard sedan-pole; one bangs a beam, another a wine-cask, against my head. My legs are plastered with mud; soon huge feet trample on me from every side, and a soldier plants his hobnails firmly on my toe.

"See now the smoke rising from that crowd which hurries as if to a dole: there are a hundred guests, each followed by a kitchener of his own. Corbulo himself could scarce bear the weight of all the big vessels and other gear which that poor little slave is carrying with head erect, fanning the flame as he runs along. Newly-patched tunics are torn in two; up comes a huge fir-log swaying on a wagon, and then a second dray carry-

face, and now upon his back; he will get no rest in any other way, since some men can only sleep after a brawl. Yet however reckless the fellow may be, however hot with wine and young blood, he gives a wide berth to one whose scarlet cloak and long retinue of attendants, with torches and brass lamps in their hands, bid him keep his distance. But to me, who am wont to be escorted home by the moon, or by the scant light of a candle whose wick I husband with due care, he pays no respect. Hear how the wretched fray begins—if fray it can be called when you do all the thrashing and I get all the blows! The fellow stands up against me, and bids me halt; obey I must. What else can you do when attacked by a madman stronger than yourself? 'Where are you from?' shouts he; 'whose vinegar, whose beans have blown you out? With what cobbler have you been munching cut leeks and boiled wether's chaps?—What, sirrah, no answer? Speak out, or take that upon your shins! Say, where is your stand? In what prayer-shop shall I find you?' Whether you venture to say anything, or make off silently, it's all one: he will thrash you just the same, and then, in a rage, take bail from you.

Such is the liberty of the poor man: having been pounded and cuffed into a jelly, he begs and prays to be allowed to return home with a few teeth in his head!

"Nor are these your only terrors. When your house is shut, when bar and chain have made fast your shop, and all is silent, you will be robbed by a burglar; or perhaps a cut-throat will do for you quickly with cold steel. For whenever the Pontine marshes and the Gallinarian forest are secured by an armed guard, all that tribe flocks into Rome as into a fish-preserve. What furnaces, what anvils, are not groaning with the forging of chains? That is how our iron is mostly used; and you may well fear that ere long none will be left for plough-shares, none for hoes and mattocks. Happy, you would say, were the forbears of our great-grandfathers, happy the days of old which under Kings and Tribunes beheld Rome satisfied with a single gaol!"



Lecture 13: Gibbon's Golden Age and the Beginning of the End, 96-303 A.D.

Before beginning this lecture you may want to ...

Read E. Gibbon, Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire (Chapters 4-14).

Introduction:

The last lecture ended with the death of Domitian and the end of the Flavian Dynasty. We will now examine what the great historian Gibbon calls the golden age of Rome and the five great emperors that reigned.

Consider this ...

1. How often do the interests of the military and the Senate coincide when choosing emperors?
2. What's the best way to choose a successor, family, dynastic connections, or adoption of the fittest?
3. In addition to language and religion, what unifies a group of people as large and diverse as the inhabitants of the Roman empire?

A. The Five Good Emperors. It was even more clear, as Tacitus said, that now emperors could be made outside of Rome. The Senate and military vied for the right to choose, but no one wanted a repeat of 68/69 A.D., the year of Four Emperors.

1. These two great entities cooperated on the choice of Nerva, a man of patrician birth and great experience in public affairs. Since Nerva was old and childless, the first order of business was securing the succession, which he did by adopting Trajan, who at the time was governor of Upper Germany. Really this is his greatest achievement as emperor. Nerva's death marked the end of an era, in that he was the last Italian-born emperor.
2. Trajan improved the physical city of Rome with new buildings, pacified rebellion in the east, and judiciously added territory to the empire. Trajan was not interested in acquiring new peoples, just land on which to grow crops. His biggest problem was once again in the east, which he suppressed through a program of violent fighting and destruction. Early in his reign, he adopted Hadrian, an experienced military man popular with the people, Senate, and army.
3. Hadrian, an experienced soldier, was an educated Philhellene, or lover of Greek culture. The Greeks made him an archon, or official of Athens. He spent a lot of time on tour, visiting the different provinces and particularly army outposts. This increased his popularity with the army and helped morale on the frontier.
 - a. Hadrian built a great wall across Britain to protect the Roman province



Hadrian's Wall in Snow © Adam Woolatt/ORBIS

from invasion by the Scots to the north. This process has yielded a great deal of information about life on the Roman frontier.

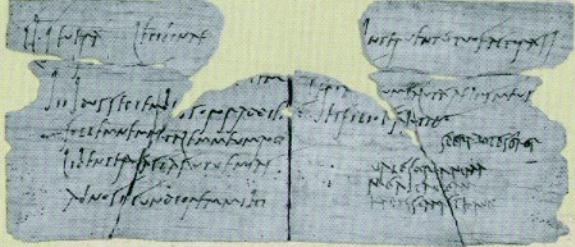
4. Antoninus Pius was adopted by Hadrian, and himself adopted Marcus Aurelius, who was a student of Stoic philosophy. M. Aurelius tried to reinstate a kind of Republican form of government whereby he ruled with a colleague, Lucius Verus. Verus died suddenly, and public pressure may have been the reason M. Aurelius named his unsuitable son, Commodus, his heir.
5. Commodus was an exhibitionist who was obsessed with gladiators. After antics such as adopting the dress of the hero Hercules and renaming Rome Colonia Commodiana, after himself, Commodus' guards contrived his death, ironically, in the arena, with no successor provided for.
6. Following Commodus Rome experienced another period of chaos and bloodshed as various individuals, usually military commanders, usurped leadership and ruled very briefly. These rulers are known collectively as "barracks" emperors, because of their association with the army.

"In the second century of the Christian era, the Empire of Rome comprehended the fairest part of the earth, and the most civilised portion of mankind. The frontiers of that extensive monarchy were guarded by ancient renown and disciplined valour. The gentle but powerful influence of laws and manners had gradually cemented the union of the provinces. Their peaceful inhabitants enjoyed and abused the advantages of wealth and luxury. The image of a free constitution was preserved with decent reverence: the Roman senate appeared to possess the sovereign authority, and devolved on the emperors all the executive powers of government. During a happy period (A.D. 98-180) of more than fourscore years, the public administration was conducted by the virtue and abilities of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two Antonines. It is the design of this, and of the two succeeding chapters, to describe the prosperous condition of their empire; and afterwards, from the death of Marcus Antoninus, to deduce the most important circumstances of its decline and fall; a revolution which will ever be remembered, and is still felt by the nations of the earth."

—E. Gibbon, Ch.1, The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire

SURVIVING LETTERS FROM HADRIAN'S WALL

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The Oldest (that we know of) Birthday Party Invitation (Tablet 291):

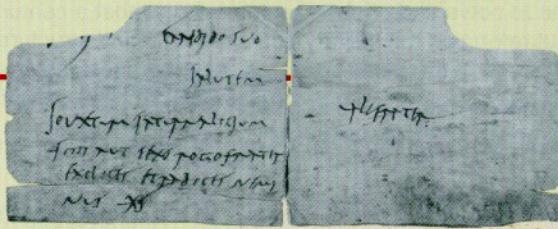
"Claudia Severa to her Lepidina greetings. On 11 September, sister, for the day of the celebration of my birthday, I give you a warm invitation to make sure that you come to us, to make the day more enjoyable for me by your arrival, if you are present (?). Give my greetings to your Cerialis. My Aelius and my little son send him (?) their greetings. (2nd hand) I shall expect you, sister. Farewell, sister, my dearest soul, as I hope to prosper, and hail.
(Back, 1st hand)

To Sulpicia Lepidina, wife of Cerialis, from Severa.

Here's a complaint about mistreatment from a merchant (Tablet 344):

"... he beat (?) me all the more... goods ... or pour them down the drain (?). As befits an honest man (?) I implore your majesty not to allow me, an innocent man, to have been beaten with rods and, my lord, inasmuch as (?) I was unable to complain to the prefect because he was detained by ill-health I have complained in vain (?) to the beneficiarius and the rest

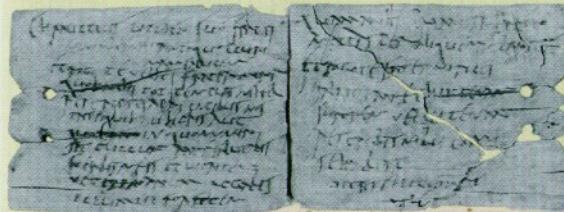
(?) of the centurions of his (?) unit. Accordingly (?) I implore your mercifulness not to allow me, a man from overseas and an innocent one, about whose good faith you may inquire, to have been bloodied by rods as if I had committed some crime."



Here's a partial shopping list for the winter holiday Saturnalia (Tablet 301):

"Severus to his Candidus, greetings. Regarding the expenses for the Saturnalia, I ask you, brother, to see to them at a price of 4 or six asses and radishes to the value of not less than 1/2 denarius. Farewell, brother.

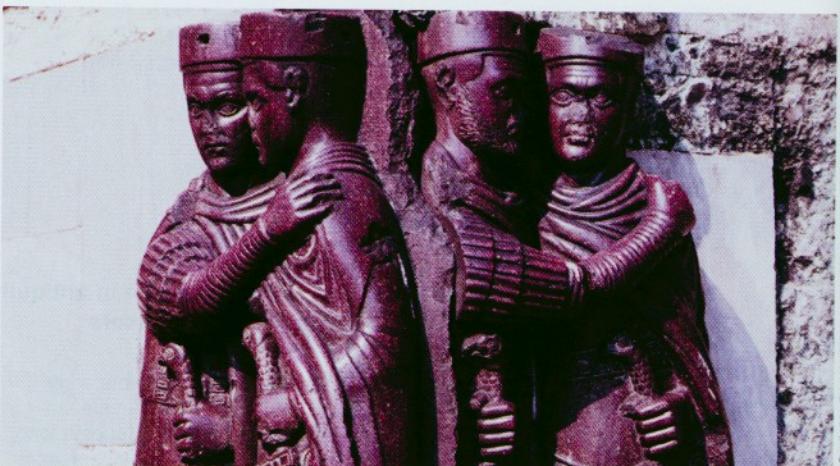
To Candidus, slave of Genialis the prefect, from Severus, cornicularius ..."



Finally, you better keep your receipt, even in antiquity, as is clear from this letter requesting scissors (Tablet 310):

"Chrautius to Veldeius his brother and old messmate, very many greetings. And I ask you, brother Veldeius — I am surprised that you have written nothing back to me for such a long time — whether you have heard anything from our elders, or about ... in which unit he is; and greet him from me in my words and Virilis the veterinary doctor. Ask him (sc. Virilis) whether you may send through one of our friends the pair of shears which he promised me in exchange for money. And I ask you, brother Virilis, to greet from me our sister Thuttenea. Write back to us how Velbuteius is (?). (2nd hand?) It is my wish that you enjoy the best of fortune. Farewell. (Back, 1st hand) (Deliver) at London. To Velbuteua, groom of the governor, from his brother Chrautius."

1. Elegabalus is an example of the other kind of problem emperors this period saw. He was a devotee of the Sun God and promoted a worship involving ritualistic sexual intercourse.
- C. When Diocletian came to power in 285, he was following almost a century of chaos. He set about reforming the military and civil command structures, as well as addressing some of the basic problems of Roman society.
 1. He reaffirmed the emperor's prestige and authority.
 2. He attempted to control prices through an Edict of Maximum Prices and by inflating debased coinage.
 3. He divided the empire in half to deal with the size of the empire and the need for an orderly succession.
 4. He began work on a new capital city in the east on the site of old Byzantium, which is why the eastern empire after 300 A.D. became known as the Byzantine empire.
 5. He created the tetrarchy, a system of four rulers designed to secure the succession.
 6. Old, sick, and influenced by anti-Christian courtiers, Diocletian passed a series of Edicts of Intolerance, forcing Christians to recant. He abdicated in 305 A.D., forcing his colleague in the west to do the same, dying soon after.



Detail of the Tetrarchs, a statue looted from Constantinople during the Crusades

Summary:

In this lecture we have seen the golden age of Rome when five good emperors worried about the problems of the state and succession. Then we saw how a series of unorganized successions brought back the era of bad leadership and its inherent chaos and turmoil.

FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. What else could Diocletian have done to deal with the problems associated with the size of the empire?
2. If Verus had lived, might Rome have drifted back toward a Republican government?
3. Is there any way for rulers to prevent future rulers from undoing their work?

Suggested Reading

- Bowman, Alan K. *Life and Letters on the Roman Frontier: Vindolanda and Its People*. London: Routledge, 1998.
- Gibbon, Edward. *The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*. (Vol. 1 - 6). New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1993.

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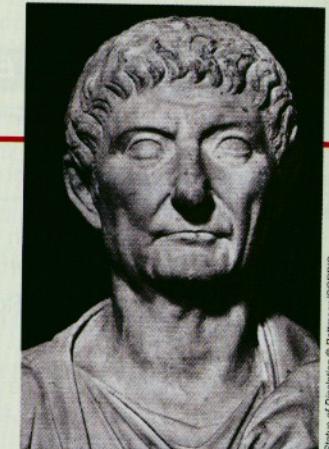
Websites to Visit

1. www.hadrians-wall.org/ - Hadrian's Wall World Heritage Site.
2. <http://vindolanda.csad.ox.ac.uk/> - Vindolanda Tablets Online.

EMPEROR DIOCLETIAN AND THE CHRISTIANS

Emperor Diocletian (284 to 305 A.D.) restored efficient government to Rome after the near anarchy of the third century. Though he sought to remove the military from politics and established a tetrarchy (four-ruler system) to spread his influence and combat rebellions throughout the empire, he proclaimed himself and his co-rulers as gods. Thus, he added the trappings of a theocracy to the reign. He is known as the persecutor of the Church, issuing four edicts in 303 to 304 decreeing the last great persecution of Christians.

Diocletian's reign marked an era both in the military and political history of the empire. The triumph over subjugation of Persia, which he celebrated together with his colleague Maximian in 303, was the last triumph, that Rome ever held. Soon after his accession to power Diocletian realized that the empire was too unwieldy and too much exposed to attack to be safely ruled by a single head. He recognized that his vast Roman Empire could best be governed by sharing his power. He associated with himself Maximian Hercules, another Augustus with responsibility for the western half of the Empire (eventually Italy and Spain, governed from Milan). Later on, he further distributed his power by granting the inferior title of Caesar to two generals, Galerius and Constantius. He reserved for his own portion Thrace, Egypt, and Asia and governed from Nicomedia. He granted the provinces of Italy and Africa to Maximian, the Balkans and part of the Danube to Galerius, and Gaul, Spain, and Britain to Constantius. The supreme power, however, remained with Diocletian. None of the rulers resided in Rome, however, preparing the way for the downfall of the imperial city. Also, Diocletian undermined the authority of the Senate, assumed the diadem, and introduced the servile ceremony known as 'kowtow,' most often associated with the Persian court.



Statue of Diocletian © Bettmann/CORBIS

Though Christians enjoyed peace and prosperity during most of Diocletian's reign, his name is associated with the last and most terrible persecutions of the early Christian Church. Had he remained sole ruler, he would probably have continued toleration of the Christians. In fact, it is thought that his wife and daughter were probably Christian. His subordinate Galerius convinced Diocletian that for the unity of the Empire, Christians had to be exterminated and induced Diocletian to turn persecutor.

Diocletian and Galerius, rulers of the eastern part of the empire, resolved at a council held at Nicomedia in 302 to suppress Christianity throughout the empire. One must understand the state religion of the Roman Empire—worship of the gods of Olympus, to understand the persecution of the Christians. Since the reign of Emperor Augustus (27 B.C. to 14 A.D.), the emperor was treated as divine together with the Olympian deities. The official religion was no more than a pledge of allegiance and, for the most part, religious toleration of various beliefs and practices existed. The Romans basically tolerated any religion that would tolerate others. Christians were not a group of people who easily tolerated other religions. Thus, by the third century, they were considered a threat to the social stability of the Roman Empire.

In addition to these factors, Galerius

was influenced, even instigated, by his dihard pagan mother. Galerius believed that the Christians with their vast, well-knit organizations were a threat to unity in the empire and could not be trusted. Their loyalty was to King Jesus rather than Caesar, a factor that could not be tolerated. Many poor were Christians and some soldiers. The Church, however, was mostly urban. Very few of the upper class were Christian, though there were some exceptions.

Diocletian, who for 18 years had never lifted a finger against the Christian faith, was persuaded to follow the advice of Galerius. The two rulers issued an edict at Nicomedia in 302 to tear down Christian churches to their foundations, destroy sacred Scriptures by fire, and degrade the Christians. This edict was to lead to the most savage and prolonged persecution of Christians in the entire history of the Roman Empire. Diocletian was convinced that one of the main causes of the crisis in the Roman Empire was the defeatism and anti-patriotism of the Christians. Three further edicts were issued in 303 to 304, marking successive stages in the severity of the persecution. The first ordered that the bishops, presbyters, and deacons be imprisoned. The second ordered that they be tortured and compelled by every means to sacrifice, and the third included the laity in the persecution.

Enforcement of the edicts was efficient, and vast numbers of Christians suffered for their faith. Church leaders were dragged off and tortured to death, and Christian books and scriptures were burnt. The rack, the scourge, slow fires, crucifixion, and every other barbarity were employed against the leaders of the church. Many died deaths of great courage. Christians lost their rights as citizens, were punished for assembling to worship, and were forced, by torture, to make sacrifice to

the gods. Not all Christians captured were executed, however; many were imprisoned and some were tortured and then released.

The persecution started with the army and the civil service. In place after place, Christians were rounded up. There were hundreds of soldier martyrs during the persecutions, such as Sebastian. Sebastian remained a dutiful soldier as the persecutions began. However, he quietly whispered words of encouragement, engaged in small kindnesses, and showed a human face to those being tortured. Someone discovered that Sebastian was a Christian and informed on him. Diocletian was enraged by what he considered disloyalty. He ordered Sebastian shot to death with arrows. A Christian widow named Irene, one of several Christian women who buried the martyrs, came to take Sebastian's body away for burial and found him still alive. She took him back to her own home, hid him and nursed him until he recovered from his wounds. As soon as he was well, he returned to the emperor's palace and confronted Diocletian for his cruelty to Christians. The emperor was enraged and ordered him beaten to death. His body was thrown into the sewer. The little church of St. Sebastiano on the Palatine Hill stands on the site where he was martyred.

No one knows how many Christians died in the Diocletian persecution. However, Gibbon in his epic *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* estimated the total number of Christians martyred during that nine years of persecution as no more than 2,000. After Diocletian's abdication in 305 and before Galerius' death in 311, Galerius issued an edict of toleration, which restored the civil liberties and right to worship of the Christians. After Galerius' death, Constantine became emperor and Christianity was persecuted no more.

Lecture 14: Constantine, Barbarians and the Great Transformation, 303-476 A.D.

Before beginning this lecture you may want to ...

Read Confessions of Saint Augustine (Doubleday).

Introduction:

We conclude our exploration of Ancient Rome with the reign of the Emperor Constantine and the Great Transformation.

Consider this ...

1. What is the stereotypical vision of the “fall of Rome” as depicted in art and literature?
 2. Why is Constantine such an important figure in western European history?
 3. Why were so many barbarian groups displaced and migrating?
- A. The tetrarchy failed almost immediately as a means to guarantee the succession. Constantius Chlorus, father of the future emperor Constantine, acceded to power in the west. Upon Constantius’ death in 306 A.D., his troops in Eboracum (York), Britain declared for Constantine.
- B. Constantine converted to Christianity after having a vision during the battle of the Milvian bridge in 312 A.D., against his rival in the east, Maxentius. Sources differ, but he saw either the Chi Rho (combination of the first two Greek letters of Christ’s name), or a cross, and heard a voice say “Conquer under this sign.” Constantine made his soldiers paint crosses on their shields, and won decisively. By 324 he was sole emperor.
1. Constantine not only made Christianity the religion of the empire, but had a great deal to do with shaping it.
 2. He changed the traditional role of the Pontifex Maximus, or head priest, to reflect the new Christian outlook.
 3. In the east, the head religious leader, or patriarch, was also the political leader, but in the west these offices were separate, causing friction.
 4. Constantine improved life in other ways, most notably by minting a new gold coinage of uniform standard weight. In 325 A.D., the first ecumenical world council, held at Nicaea, formalized a statement of essential beliefs of Christian faith known as the Nicene Creed.
 - a. Christianity was split now between “orthodox” and variant Christians.
 5. Constantine took over rebuilding Byzantium and named it after himself.
 6. In 337, Constantine died after being baptized on his deathbed according to the custom of the times.
- C. The 5th century saw an increase in barbarian attacks on the geographically vul-

nerable west. Large populations moved, pushed from behind by the Huns.

1. In 410, the Visigoths, led by the heretic Christian Alaric, sacked Rome on their third siege. The Goths mainly wanted land to settle in.
 2. In 452, Attila the Hun, also a heretic Christian known as the “Scourge of God,” was turned back from the gates of Rome by Pope Leo I.
 3. In 476, Odoacer, a German, became the first barbarian ruler of Rome, completing what is known as the “fall” of the western empire.
 4. Edward Gibbon believed that Christianity was the root cause for the fall of the western government. He asserted that Augustine’s “City of God” (i.e., heaven) vs. the city of man diverted men. Human allegiance, naturally, was directed toward the former. It was even suggested that the empire’s destruction could be part of god’s plan.
- In conclusion:**
- We have examined the history of Rome from prehistoric times to the fall of the western empire in 476 A.D. We have learned the basic events of Roman history, as well as encountered the colorful personalities who shaped those events. In many cases we have looked at the writings of the ancient authors themselves and traced important legacies to our cultural tradition. We have learned much about the ancient Roman character and in doing so, I hope something about our own. The Eternal City still has much to teach us.

FALL OF CONSTANTINOPLE

The Emperor [Constantine] always intent on the advancement of religion erected splendid Christian temples to God in every place—especially in great cities such as Nicomedia in Bithynia, Antioch on the Orontes, and Byzantium. He greatly improved this latter city, and made it equal to Rome in power and influence; for when he had settled his empire as he was minded, and had freed himself from foreign foes, he resolved on founding a city which should be called by his own name, and should equal in fame even Rome. With this intent he went to the plain at the foot of Troy on the Hellespont ... and here he laid out the plan of a large and beautiful city, and built gates on a high spot of ground, whence they are still visible from the sea to sailors. But when he had proceeded thus far, God appeared to him by night and bade him seek another site for his city.

Led by the divine hand, he came to Byzantium in Thrace, beyond Chalcedon in Bithynia, and here he desired to build his city, and render it worthy of the name Constantine. In obedience to the command of God, he therefore enlarged the city formerly called Byzantium, and surrounded it with high walls; likewise he built splendid dwelling houses; and being aware that the former population was not enough for so great a city, he peopled it with men of rank and their families, whom he summoned from Rome and from other countries. He imposed special taxes to cover the expenses of building and adorning the city, and of supplying the inhabitants with food. He erected all the needed edifices for a great capital—a hippodrome, fountains, porticoes and other beautiful adornments. He named it Constantinople and New Rome—and established it as the capital for all the inhabitants of the North, the South, the East, and the shores of the Mediterranean, from the cities on the Danube and from Epidamnus and the Ionian Gulf to Cyrene and Libya.

He created another Senate which he endowed with the same honors and privileges as that of Rome, and he strove to render the city of his name equal in every way to Rome in Italy; nor were his wishes in vain, for by the favor of God, it became the most populous and wealthy of cities. As this city became the capital of the Empire during the period of religious prosperity, it was not polluted by altars, Grecian temples, nor pagan sacrifices. Constantine also honored this new city of Christ by adorning it with many and splendid houses of prayer, in which the Deity vouchsafed to bless the efforts of the Emperor by giving sensible manifestations of his presence.

Dinner with Attila the Hun by Priscus (ca. 450 AD)

"Attila invited both parties of us to dine with him about three o'clock that afternoon. We waited for the time of the invitation, and then all of us, the envoys from the Western Romans as well, presented ourselves in the doorway facing Attila. In accordance with the national custom the cupbearers gave us a cup for us to make our libations before we took our seats. When that had been done and we had sipped the wine, we went to the chairs where we would sit to have dinner. All the seats were ranged down either side of the room, up against the walls. In the middle Attila was sitting on a couch with a second couch behind him. Behind that a few steps led up to his bed, which for decorative purposes was covered in ornate drapes made of fine linen, like those which Greeks and Romans prepare for marriage ceremonies. I think that the more distinguished guests were on Attila's right, and the second rank on his left, where we were with Berichos, a man of some renown among the Scythians, who was sitting in front of us. Onegesios was to the right of Attila's couch, and opposite him were two of the king's sons on chairs. The eldest son was sitting on Attila's own couch, right on the



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very edge, with his eyes fixed on the ground in fear of his father.

"When all were sitting properly in order, a cupbearer came to offer Attila an ivy-wood bowl of wine, which he took and drank a toast to the man first in order of precedence. The man thus honored rose to his feet and it was not right for him to sit down again until Attila had drunk some or all of the wine and had handed the goblet back to the attendant. The guests, taking their own cups, then honored him in the same way, sipping the wine after making the toast. One attendant went round to each man in strict order after Attila's personal cupbearer had gone out. When the second guest and then all the others in their turn had been honored, Attila greeted us in like fashion in our order of seating.

"After everyone had been toasted, the cupbearers left, and a table was put in front of Attila and other tables for groups of three or four men each. This enabled each guest to help himself to the things put on the table without leaving his proper seat. Attila's servant entered first with

plates full of meat, and those waiting on all the others put bread and cooked food on the tables. A lavish meal, served on silver trenchers, was prepared for us and the other barbarians, but Attila just had some meat on a wooden platter, for this was one aspect of his self-discipline. For instance, gold or silver cups were presented to the other diners, but his own goblet was made of wood. His clothes, too, were simple, and no trouble was taken except to have them clean. The sword that hung by his side, the clasps of his barbarian shoes and the bridle of his horse were all free from gold, precious stones or other valuable decorations affected by the other Scythians. When the food in the first plates was finished we all got up, and no one, once on his feet, returned to his seat until he had, in the same order as before, drunk the full cup of wine that he was handed, with a toast for Attila's health. After this honor had been paid him, we sat down again and second plates were put on each table with other food on them. This also finished, everyone rose once more, drank another toast and resumed his seat.

"As twilight came on torches were lit, and two barbarians entered before Attila to sing some songs they had composed, telling of his victories and his valor in war. The

guests paid close attention to them, and some were delighted with the songs, others excited at being reminded of the wars, but others broke down and wept if their bodies were weakened by age and their warrior spirits forced to remain inactive. After the songs a Scythian entered, a crazy fellow who told a lot of strange and completely false stories, not a word of

truth in them, which made everyone laugh. Following him came

the Morr, Zerkon, totally disorganized in appearance, clothes, voice and words.

By mixing up the languages of the Italians, with those of the Huns and Goths, he fascinated everyone and made them break out in uncontrollable laughter, all that is except Attila. He remained impulsive, without any change of expression,

and neither by word or gesture did he seem to share in the merriment except that when his youngest son, Ernas, came in and stood by him, he drew the boy towards him and looked at him with gentle eyes. I was surprised that he paid no attention to his other sons, and only had time for this one. But the barbarian at my side, who understood Italian and what I had said about the boy, warned me not to speak up, and said that the seers had told Attila that his family would be banished but

would be restored by this son. After spending most of the night at the party, we left, having no wish to pursue the drinking any further."

Image © Hulton-Deutsch Collection/CORBIS



FOR GREATER UNDERSTANDING

Consider

1. Did the Roman empire really fall?
2. In the end, was the Republic the high point of Rome?
3. Was Vergil right, that the Romans' special gift was "to rule?"

Suggested Reading

- Drake, H.A. Constantine and the Bishops: The Politics of Intolerance. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002.
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Websites to Visit

<http://www.torreys.org/bible/> - Resource pages for biblical studies.

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SUGGESTED COURSE MATERIALS

Suggested Reading:

- Appian. The Civil Wars. John Carter (trans.) New York: Penguin, 1996.
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- Vergil. The Aeneid. Robert Fitzgerald (trans.) New York: Alfred A. Knopf Publishing, 1990.

SUGGESTED COURSE MATERIALS (cont.)

Recorded Books:

Bradford, Ernle. Hannibal. UNABRIDGED Recorded Books. (7 cassettes/9.75 hours).

Langguth, A.J. A Noise of War: Caesar, Pompey, Octavian and the Struggle for Rome. UNABRIDGED Recorded Books. (9 cassettes/13.25 hours).

Grant, Michael. Cleopatra. UNABRIDGED Recorded Books. (9 cassettes/12.75 hours).

Graves, Robert. I, Claudius. UNABRIDGED Recorded Books. (12 cassettes/16.5 hours).

Graves, Robert. Claudius the God. UNABRIDGED Recorded Books. (15 cassettes/19 hours).

Massie, Alan. Tiberius. UNABRIDGED Recorded Books. (7 cassettes/10.25 hours).

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Of all the civilizations that have ever been, none have inspired as much wonder and awe as Ancient Rome. No society since has replicated the achievements nor enjoyed the longevity that the Roman Empire did. Indeed Ancient Rome is among the greatest contributors to Western Civilization and culture. Among these contributions are the Julian Calendar, Romance (Roman based) languages, republican government, and formal spectacle sport. This course explores the world of Ancient Rome as students investigate important events and key figures of the epoch.

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At the end of this course, students will possess a thorough understanding of Ancient Rome's legacy to the modern world, and will have fully considered the poet Virgil's assertion that the Romans' talent was to "rule mankind and make the world obey."

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- Lecture 2 First There Were Kings, 753-510 B.C.
- Lecture 3 Internal Conflict: The Patrician and Plebeian Orders, 510-287 B.C.
- Lecture 4 Roman Expansion in Italy, 510-287 B.C.
- Lecture 5 The First Punic War and the Emergence of Individuals, 264-241 B.C.
- Lecture 6 Rome's Greatest Enemy: The Second and Third Punic Wars
- Lecture 7 Plantations and the Gracchi Brothers
- Lecture 8 The Rise of Marius Through African and Italian Wars, 128-83 B.C.
- Lecture 9 Strong Men Fight It Out, 123-53 B.C.
- Lecture 10 And Then There Was One: Julius Caesar, 53-44 B.C.
- Lecture 11 Augustus, the Father of His Country, 43 B.C.-14 A.D.
- Lecture 12 The Empire's First Century: Julio-Claudians and Flavians, 14-96 A.D.
- Lecture 13 Gibbon's Golden Age and the Beginning of the End, 96-303 A.D.
- Lecture 14 Constantine, Barbarians, and the Great Transformation, 303-476 A.D.

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FRANCES TITCHENER

has taught at Utah State University since 1987, has served for six years as associate department head in history, and continues to co-direct the classics program. She teaches all levels of Latin and Greek language, as well as history courses on

Ancient Greece and Rome, Celtic Europe, and Ancient Western Civilization. Dr. Titchener received the national Teaching Excellence Award (college or university level) from the American Philological Society in 1999. She is the recipient of a Fulbright grant for research to Belgium for autumn 2003. She is the international coordinator and editor of the journal *Ploutarchos*.

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