

ANCIENT ROME



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HTV

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CONTENTS

About the Authors.....	IX
Using this Series.....	X
Historical Understanding.....	XI
Acknowledgements	XII

A

LIVING IN ANCIENT ROME (C.700–146 BCE)..... 1

Timeline.....	2
Overview	8

CHAPTER 1: THE FOUNDING OF ROME: MYTH AND REALITY 12

Overview	14
Geographical Features of Rome	16
The Italian Peninsula	16
Rome and the Mediterranean.....	16
Pre-Roman Italy	18
The People and Geography of Latium	18
<i>Feature: Ominous Signs</i>	19
<i>Feature: The Etruscans</i>	20
<i>Etruscan Politics</i>	21
<i>Etruria and Early Rome</i>	22
<i>Greek Influences</i>	23
Rivers, Marshes and Hills.....	23
Roman Foundation Narratives.....	25
Aeneas and the Origin of the Roman People.....	25
Romulus and the City of Rome	25
<i>Feature: The Capitoline Wolf Statue</i>	26
Historical Basis for the Legend	26
Was Rome Forever Cursed by Romulus' Murder of his Brother?	27
Archaeological Evidence and Early Rome.....	28
The Growth of Rome: From Village to City.....	30
Places of Worship.....	30
Establishment of a Political System	30
Early Commerce.....	30
<i>Historical Significance: The Roman Forum</i>	31
Conclusion.....	32

📌 The Capitoline Wolf statue



CHAPTER 2: ROMAN LIFE UNDER THE KINGS 34

Overview	36
The Kings after Romulus	38
A Time of Legends	38
The Early Kings	38
Numa Pompilius (r. 715–673 BCE).....	38



Tullus Hostilius (r. 673–642 BCE)..... 39

Ancus Marcius (r. 642–617 BCE)..... 39

The Etruscan Kings..... 40

 Tarquinius Priscus (r. 616–579 BCE)..... 40

 Servius Tullius (r. 578–535 BCE)..... 40

 Tarquinius Superbus (r. 534–509 BCE)..... 41

The Social and Political Hierarchy..... 42

 The King..... 42

 The Senate..... 43

 The Curiate Assembly..... 44

 The Centuriate Assembly..... 45

 The Phalanx Legion..... 45

 Patricians and Plebeians..... 46

 Clients and Patrons..... 46

Daily Life..... 48

 The Family..... 48

 Women..... 49

 Children..... 50

 Slaves..... 51

Agriculture and Commerce..... 52

Feature: The Latin League..... 53

Historical Significance: Rome and the Latin League..... 53

Conclusion..... 54

CHAPTER 3: THE ROMAN REPUBLIC..... 56



Overview..... 58

Birth of the Roman Republic..... 60

 A New Political System..... 60

Feature: Heroes of the Early Republic..... 61

Lucius Junius Brutus..... 61

Horatius Cocles..... 62

Gaius Mucius Scaevola..... 62

Cloelia..... 63

The Republic at War..... 64

The Struggle of the Orders..... 65

 Patricians versus Plebeians..... 65

 The First Secession..... 65

 The Twelve Tables..... 67

Historical Significance: The Twelve Tables..... 67

Feature: Coriolanus and Cincinnatus..... 68

Gnaeus Marcius Coriolanus..... 68

Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus..... 68

War with Veii (396 BCE)..... 69

The Sack of Rome (390 BCE)..... 70

The Struggle of the Orders II: Political Reforms..... 72

 The Constitution of the Roman Republic..... 73

 Magistracies..... 73

 Assemblies..... 74

 The Centuriate Assembly..... 75

 The Tribal Assembly..... 76

Incorporation of Neighbouring Cities..... 78

 Citizenship Rights..... 78

 ‘Latin Rights’..... 79

 Colonies..... 79

The Samnite Wars	81
The First Samnite War (343–341 BCE)	81
The Second Samnite War (326–304 BCE)	81
<i>Feature: The Manipular Legion</i>	82
The Third Samnite War (298–290 BCE)	83
<i>Feature: The First Roman Highway</i>	84
The Struggle of the Orders III: Resolution	84
The Senatorial Elite	85
The Pyrrhic War (280–275 BCE)	86
Trouble in Tarentum	86
King Pyrrhus of Epirus	86
<i>Historical Significance: The Pyrrhic War</i>	89
Conclusion	90

Via Appia—The First Roman Highway



CHAPTER 4: THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY: THE PUNIC WARS 92

Overview	94
The First Punic War (264–241 BCE)	96
<i>Feature: Carthage</i>	97
War in Sicily (261–256 BCE)	98
<i>Feature: The Corvus</i>	99
War in Africa (256–255 BCE)	99
War in Sicily (254–241 BCE)	100
<i>Historical Significance: The Peace Treaty between Rome and Carthage</i>	100
Between the Wars	102
The First Roman Provinces	102
The Second Punic War (218–201 BCE)	103
The War in Italy (218–209 BCE)	104
The War in Spain (218–207 BCE)	109
Hannibal's Retreat (208–202 BCE)	109
The End of the Second Punic War	110
<i>Historical Significance: The Second Punic War</i>	112
Rome after the Second Punic War	113
The Nobility	113
<i>The Cursus Honorum</i>	114
Land and wealth	115
The Management of Provinces	116
Rome Goes East	116
The Third Punic War (149–146 BCE)	119
<i>Feature: Wars that Established Rome's Supremacy</i>	120
Conclusion	122

The Battle of Zama ends the Second Punic War



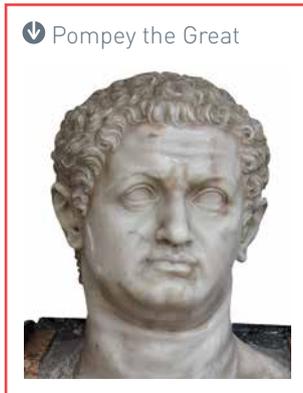
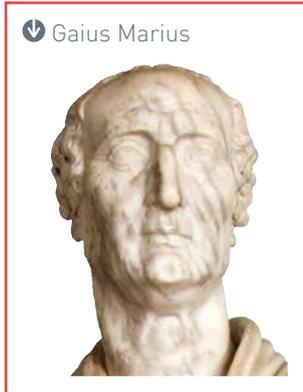
B

THE FALL OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC (133–23 BCE) 125

Timeline	126
Overview	132

CHAPTER 5: ROME DIVIDED 136

Overview	138
Consequences of Expansion	140
Land Crisis	140
<i>Feature: The Nobility and the Army</i>	141



The Gracchi Brothers 142

 The Tribunship of Tiberius Gracchus..... 142

 Attempted Reforms..... 142

 Opposition 143

 The Death of Tiberius Gracchus 144

 The Tribuneship of Gaius Gracchus..... 144

 The Decline and Death of Gaius..... 145

Historical Significance: The Gracchi Brothers 146

Consequences of the Gracchi Period..... 146

Gaius Marius—The ‘New Man’ 147

 The Jugurthine War 147

 Military Reforms 149

Historical Significance: Marius’ Reforms..... 149

 The Defeat of Jugurtha 150

 Conflict with the Cimbri..... 151

 Marius the Politician..... 153

The Social War..... 153

Historical Significance: The Social War..... 154

Lucius Cornelius Sulla 155

Feature: Mithridates VI of Pontus..... 155

 Sulla Marches on Rome..... 157

Feature: Appearance of Crassus and Pompey..... 158

 Sulla’s Proscriptions..... 158

 Dictatorship and Death 160

Historical Significance: Sulla..... 160

Pompey the Great..... 162

 Pompey’s Triumphal March..... 162

 The Lepidan Revolt..... 162

Feature: The Murder of Sertorius 163

 Spartacus’ Slave Revolt and the Rise of Crassus 164

 The Pirate Problem 165

 Wars in the East 166

Historical Significance: Pompey..... 167

Conclusion 168

CHAPTER 6: THE RISE AND FALL OF JULIUS CAESAR 170

Overview 172

The First Triumvirate..... 174

 Pompey..... 174

 Caesar 175

 Crassus 175

 The Secret Arrangement 176

Historical Significance: The First Triumvirate..... 176

 Success of the Triumvirate: Caesar’s Consulship..... 177

Historical Significance: Caesar’s Consulship..... 178

Feature: Caesar Becomes Pompey’s Father-in-law..... 178

 Caesar in Gaul..... 179

Feature: Caesar Writes his own Propaganda..... 180

 Problems in Rome..... 181

 Conference in Luca 181

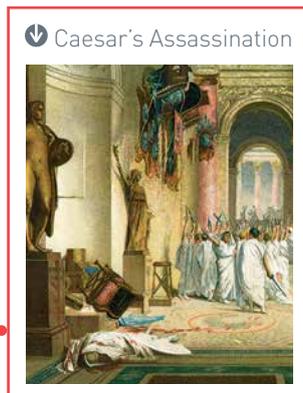
 Caesar’s Return to Gaul (56–54 BCE) 182

 Major Rebellions in Gaul..... 183

 The End of the Triumvirate 185

 Countdown to Civil War 185

<i>Feature: Cicero</i>	186
Standoff between Caesar and Pompey.....	187
The Civil War.....	189
Caesar Invades Italy.....	189
<i>Feature: Caesar and the Treasury</i>	190
Caesar's Strike on Spain.....	193
The Showdown in Greece.....	193
Pompey's Defeat and Death.....	194
<i>Historical Significance: The Civil War</i>	196
Caesar's Dictatorship.....	197
Bringing Order Back to Rome.....	197
Political and Social Reforms.....	197
Caesar's Powers	199
<i>Feature: Did Caesar Want to be King?</i>	199
Growing Concerns about Caesar's Power	200
Caesar's Assassination	200
<i>Historical Significance: Caesar's Life</i>	201
Conclusion.....	202



CHAPTER 7: THE RISE OF OCTAVIAN / AUGUSTUS 204

Overview	206
The Aftermath of Caesar's Murder	208
<i>Feature: Caesar's 'Heirs'</i>	208
Mark Antony.....	208
Octavian	209
Decimus Junius Brutus.....	209
Marcus Aemilius Lepidus	209
Caesarion.....	209
Caesar's Will and Funeral.....	210
The Rise of Mark Antony.....	211
Octavian's Return to Italy	212
Mark Antony's War with the Senate	212
<i>Feature: Cicero's Philippics</i>	213
<i>Historical Significance: Caesar's Legions</i>	214
The Second Triumvirate	214
The Proscriptions.....	215
War between Triumvirs and Conspirators.....	215
Octavian, Antony and Lepidus Divide up Territories.....	216
Mark Antony in the East (41–33 BCE)	216
Cleopatra.....	216
The Perusine War and Octavia.....	217
Antony's War with Parthia.....	218
Triumph in Armenia and the 'Donations of Alexandria'	219
<i>Feature: Sextus Pompeius and the Sicilian Revolt</i>	221
Breakdown of the Second Triumvirate (33 BCE).....	221
<i>Feature: Mark Antony the 'Degenerate'</i>	222
The Battle of Actium and its Aftermath	223
<i>Historical Significance: The Battle of Actium</i>	225
The Conquest of Egypt	226
The Death of Antony and Cleopatra	226
The End of the Republic	227
'Augustus' and the First Settlement	228
The Second Settlement.....	229
Conclusion.....	230



Julius Caesar



IN FOCUS: JULIUS CAESAR 232

Rise to Prominence 232

Family Background 232

Early Career 233

Becoming a Political Threat 233

Bribing his Way to Power 233

Feature: Clodius, Cicero and the Bona Dea Scandal..... 234

Alliance with Pompey and Crassus 235

The Gallic Wars 235

Dictatorships and Assassination 236

Feature: Evaluating Caesar 237

Cleopatra VII



IN FOCUS: CLEOPATRA VII..... 238

The Ptolemies 238

The Allure of Cleopatra 239

Cleopatra and Mark Antony 240

Cleopatra and Octavian 241

Cleopatra's Death 242

Historical Significance: Cleopatra 243

Feature: Historical Interpretations..... 243

Octavian / Augustus



IN FOCUS: OCTAVIAN / AUGUSTUS 244

Augustan Propaganda 245

Augustus and the City of Marble..... 247

Building on Caesar's Legacy..... 248

Feature: Historical Interpretations..... 249

C

ADDITIONAL MATERIAL 251

Glossary 252

Who's Who 258

Endnotes 266

Index 270

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USING THIS BOOK

TEXTBOOK FEATURES

OVERVIEW spread for each section and chapter, summarising key information

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE boxes indicating how events changed history

ACTIVITIES focusing on key events and figures

EXAM PREPARATION questions

EXAM PREPARATION

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

tasks for using primary and secondary sources (written and visual)

Colourful MAPS and DIAGRAMS

CENTRAL ITALY: ETHNIC GROUPS AND CITIES (500-300 BCE)

SOURCES 3.27

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

- What was the difference between the private rights and the public rights of Roman citizens?
- What were Latin rights, and what did Rome offer others to some city-states?
- To what extent is it accurate to say that Rome used 'incorporation and alliance' in dealing with other city-states? Use evidence to support your answer.

EXTENSION

Discuss the causes and consequences of the Latin War and the significance of the Latin League.

THE SAMNITE WARS

Latin: 'The war in Samnium... was attended with equal anger and an equal gloom' concludes

Before and after the conflict with the Latin League, Rome was engaged in long-running wars with the Samnites. The Samnites lived in the territory of Samnium in the Apennine hills to the east and south of Latium. The Latin War, the conflict with the Samnites, which Rome eventually won, had three major consequences. The Latin League was able to secure control of the centre of Italy. Rome imposed military rule on the Samnites. It is also worth noting that this period of expansion coincided with a reduction in the conflict between patricians and plebeians, suggesting the Roman nobility was able to secure interests (such as internal disagreements) had settled down.

THE FIRST SAMNITE WAR (343-341 BCE)

The Samnites enter the Roman sphere in 343 BCE when they formed an alliance with Rome against the Gauls who were threatening central Italy. They in 343 BCE the Samnites attacked the city of Capua in the fertile region of Campania, south of Rome. The Capuans asked Rome for help and the Romans attacked, turning against their ally the Samnites and pushing them back. In this way the Romans prevented a potential road (the Samnites) gaining more land in Campania, which the Romans were then able to give to themselves. When the Latin League needed support, Rome in 341 BCE, the Romans renewed their alliance with the Samnites—who helped them against the Latins—and the Samnites accepted Roman claims to the northern part of Campania. Rome now controlled territory along the western coast of Italy from southern Campania, through Latium, and to the Adriatic.

THE SECOND SAMNITE WAR (326-304 BCE)

Although it is unclear who led the Samnites, the Samnites were not a united culture as they lived in territory that the Samnites had divided into three parts in 326 BCE, which the city of Neapolis and the Samnites Neapolitans. This led to open warfare between 321 BCE, when the Samnites stopped a Roman through a humiliating treaty when they pushed Samnites from Spina—indicating they had been forced to give up their colony of Neapolis and other territory 600 homages to the Samnites.

Part of the reason the Samnites were not a united culture as a people who lived in a mountainous region of light hills. The Roman plebeians began to fight in an old black 310 BCE highway through the Second Samnite their opponents' justice and created what, in

Activities focusing on HISTORICAL SKILLS

GLOSSARY TERMS indicated in chapter text

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

questions throughout (levelled for different student abilities)

HISTORICAL UNDERSTANDING

WEB RESOURCES identified by different icons in the margins. Follow the instructions at the URL below to access these and other web resources on ancient Rome and historical thinking skills.

To access web resources for this title, go to www.htav.asn.au/publications/publications/ancient-rome-web-resources



Weblink



Video



Audio



Interactive



Activity sheet /
More info



Quiz

The study of Ancient History at the senior level is guided by historical thinking concepts developed by Seixas, van Drie and van Boxtel, Levesque and others.

Historical knowledge comprises both **substantive knowledge**, which refers to historical content or subject matter (i.e. what happened in the past?) and **procedural knowledge**, which refers to the process or skills involved in understanding that subject matter (i.e. what do the sources of evidence say and what should I conclude from them?). Together, substantive and procedural knowledge give students the depth of understanding required to excel in history.

Historical inquiry begins with **historical questions**. Students ask and are asked substantial questions about people and events from the past, including their **historical significance**, both at the time and later. Students assess **continuity and change** and the different types of change that occurred. They examine the relationship between **cause and consequence** and consider the **ethical dimensions** of history. As they do this, students should be aware that they bring a twenty-first-century perspective to their studies and that their values and beliefs are not necessarily the same as those who lived in the past.

The key part of historical thinking and practice is **using sources as evidence**—both primary and secondary—to reach conclusions and **construct arguments**. Generally speaking, primary sources indicate the **historical perspectives** or viewpoints of people at the time, while secondary sources indicate the **historical interpretations** of historians or commentators who are looking back at past events.

Historical perspectives are a reminder that people rarely share the same experience or opinions at a given point in history, while historical interpretations show how historians have different views on the importance or meaning of past events. Understanding these contrasting experiences and viewpoints is an important part of appreciating the complexity and contestability of history – one should approach the evidence with an open mind and ‘listen’ to what a source is communicating before forming a conclusion.

In this book we have included many activities designed to develop and enhance students’ substantive and procedural knowledge in history. But above all, we hope students will get swept up by the events of Ancient Rome, as it is story-telling that lies at the heart of history.

Colourful **TIMELINES**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIVING IN ANCIENT ROME

(c.700–146 BCE)

- What was it like to live in ancient Rome?
- What were the social, political and economic features of life in ancient Rome?
- What challenges did the early Roman Republic face?

5000–700 BCE

5000 BCE

Arrival of Neolithic people in Apulia

2000 BCE

Bronze Age begins in Italy with the arrival of new settlers from central Europe

1700–1400 BCE

First settlements in Rome

1000–900 BCE

Latin people settle Latium

900 BCE

Beginning of the Iron Age in Italy (called the 'Villanovan culture')

900–700 BCE

Phoenician colonisation around the Mediterranean Sea

800–700 BCE

Greek colonisation around the Mediterranean Sea. Rise of Etruscan city-states

753 BCE*

Romulus founds the city of Rome

715 BCE*

Numa Pompilius becomes king

700
BCE

600
BCE

ROMAN MILITARY EVENTS

ROMAN POLITICAL EVENTS

673 BCE*

Tullus Hostilius becomes king

642 BCE*

Ancus Marcius becomes king

616 BCE*

Tarquinius Priscus (Tarquin the Elder) becomes king

578 BCE*

Servius Tullius becomes king

535 BCE*

Tarquinius Superbus (Tarquin the Proud) becomes king

OTHER EVENTS

Late seventh to early sixth century BCE

The earliest forms of the *Circus Maximus* and *Cloaca Maxima* are built

The size of the Senate increases from 100 to 300 members

Mid- to late seventh century BCE

Last burial in the Forum, huts removed and hard earth floor put down

Temples built, first shops appear and first political meetings held

The earliest form of the *Curia Hostilia* (the senate-house) is built

Early to mid-sixth century BCE

Citizens are organised into the *comitia centuriata* (the Centuriate Assembly) according to wealth

The armed forces are reformed based on the Greek model of hoplite tactics

Rome becomes the dominant member of the Latin League

700
BCE

600
BCE

* indicates traditional dates

TIMELINE c.700–146 BCE

500
BCE

400
BCE

351
BCE

499 BCE

Roman forces defeat the Latin League (a coalition of Latin cities) at the Battle of Lake Regillus

431 BCE

Roman forces push back the Volsci and Aequi tribes

396 BCE

Rome defeats the city of Veii

390 BCE

Rome is sacked by the Gauls

509 BCE

Tarquinius Superbus is expelled. The Roman Republic is founded with Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus as the first consuls

494 BCE

The first secession of the plebeians at Rome leads to the creation of the plebeian tribuneship, the plebeian aedileship and the Plebeian Assembly; the Tribal Assembly is created at around this time

458 BCE

Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus is made dictator

390 BCE

Plebeians become eligible for the quaestorship

367 BCE

The praetorship is created; the Licinian-Sextian Laws are passed and plebeians become eligible for the consulship

356 BCE

Plebeians become eligible for the dictatorship

351 BCE

Plebeians become eligible for the censorship

366 BCE

The curule aedileship is created



⬆ The First Secession.

449 BCE

The Twelve Tables go into effect to help regulate existing social and economic practices

443 BCE

The censorship is created to count people (i.e. run a census)

⬆ The Twelve Tables are drawn up.



500
BCE

400
BCE

351
BCE

350
BCE

300
BCE

ROMAN MILITARY EVENTS

340 BCE

Rome fights the Latin League members in the Latin War

338 BCE

Rome wins the Latin War and dissolves the Latin League

340-338 BCE
Latin War

343 BCE

Rome fights the Samnites in the First Samnite War (winning in 341 BCE)

343-341 BCE
First Samnite War

316 BCE

Rome adopts the manipular legion

326 BCE

Rome fights the Samnites in the Second Samnite War (winning in 304 BCE)

326-304 BCE
Second Samnite War

298 BCE

Rome fights the Samnites in the Third Samnite War (winning in 290 BCE)

298-290 BCE
Third Samnite War

280 BCE

Rome fights the Pyrrhic War against the Greeks of southern Italy who are allied with King Pyrrhus of Epirus (winning in 275 BCE)

280-275 BCE
Pyrrhic War

Pyrrhus and his war elephants.



ROMAN POLITICAL EVENTS

337 BCE

Plebeians become eligible for the praetorship

300 BCE

The Ogulnian Law is passed, allowing plebeians to join the colleges of pontiffs and augurs

Via Appia today.



312 BCE

Rome begins construction of the *Via Appia*

LATE 200s BCE

Carthage controls much of the North African coast

OTHER EVENTS

350
BCE

300
BCE

TIMELINE c.700–146 BCE

250
BCE

238
BCE

264 BCE

Hiero II of Syracuse attacks the Sons of Mars at Messana in Sicily; the Sons of Mars ask for help from both Rome and Carthage; Roman forces are sent to Sicily to fight the Carthaginians; the First Punic War begins

256 BCE

Roman forces invade Africa

255 BCE

The Romans are defeated in battle by Carthaginian troops under the command of the Spartan Xanthippus in Africa; the Romans win the fifth naval battle of the war (Battle of Cape Hermaea) but their fleet is destroyed in a storm

254 BCE

The Romans rebuild their fleet; fighting in Sicily continues with Carthaginians confined to the western edge of the island

247 BCE

Hamilcar Barca takes charge of the Carthaginian forces and strikes back at Rome

241 BCE

The Romans win the sixth and final naval battle of the war (the Battle of the Aegates Islands); Carthage agrees to a peace treaty, ending the First Punic War

241 BCE

The Mercenary War begins in North Africa between Carthage and mutinous mercenaries

264–241 BCE First Punic War

241–238 BCE
Mercenary War

262 BCE

Rome sends consuls to Agrigentum

259–258 BCE

Roman consuls capture Corsica and Sardinia

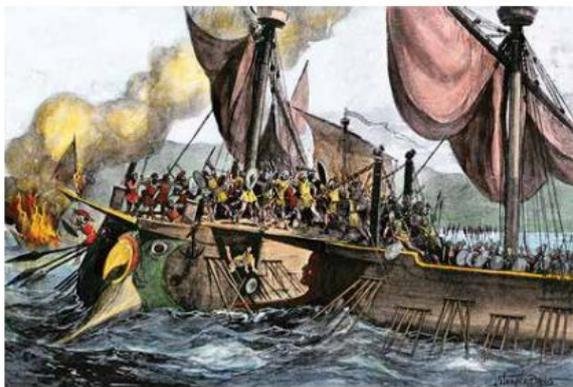
265 BCE

Roman power extends through central and southern Italy

255 BCE

100 elephants used in combat by Xanthippus

📌 Roman naval victory over the Carthaginians at Mylae during the First Punic War 260 BCE.



230s BCE

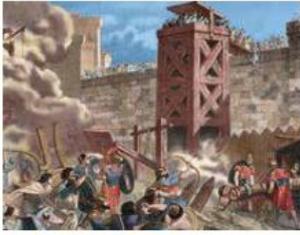
Rome creates new provinces in non-Italian territories

250
BCE

238
BCE

ROMAN MILITARY EVENTS

⬇ The Siege of Saguntum triggers Second Punic War.



218 BCE

Gnaeus and Publius Cornelius Scipio lead Roman forces in Spain against Carthaginians under the command of Hasdrubal (Hannibal's brother)

210 BCE

Publius Cornelius Scipio (later known as Scipio Africanus) is granted *imperium* to lead Roman forces in Spain

229 BCE

Rome and Illyria fight each other in the First Illyrian War

218 BCE

The Second Punic War begins; Hannibal enters Italy; Hannibal's forces defeat the Romans at the Battle of Trebia

217 BCE

Hannibal's forces defeat the Romans at the Battle of Lake Trasimene; Quintus Fabius Maximus is appointed dictator

216 BCE

Hannibal's forces defeat the Romans at the Battle of Cannae

229–228 BCE
First Illyrian War

218–201 BCE Second Punic War

ROMAN POLITICAL EVENTS

➡ Hannibal after his victory at the Battle of Cannae.



207 BCE

Quintus Fabius Maximus is appointed the first dictator in thirty years

OTHER EVENTS

237 BCE

Hamilcar Barca goes to Spain with his young son, Hannibal, to reassert Carthaginian control of Spain

229 BCE

Hamilcar Barca dies and is succeeded as governor of Spain by his son-in-law, Hasdrubal

221 BCE

Hasdrubal dies; his brother-in-law Hannibal becomes governor of Spain

226 BCE

The Ebro River treaty is signed between Rome and Carthage, limiting the extent of Carthage's area of control to northern Spain

216 BCE

Roman confidence and morale battered by defeat in Battle of Cannae—Senate imposes restrictions on buying luxury goods to save money for war

TIMELINE c.700–146 BCE

200
BCE

150
BCE

146
BCE

204 BCE

Scipio invades Africa

201 BCE

Carthage agrees to Rome's peace terms, ending the Second Punic War

149 BCE

Rome fights the Fourth Macedonian War against Adriscus of Macedonia

149–148 BCE

Fourth Macedonian War

149 BCE

Rome begins the Third Punic War

147 BCE

Scipio Aemilianus takes command of Roman forces fighting against Carthage

146 BCE

Revolts against Rome in Greece are crushed, leading to the Sack of Corinth and the conversion of Macedonia into a Roman province

146 BCE

Rome wins the Third Punic War, Carthage is destroyed and Africa becomes a Roman province

149–146 BCE Third Punic War

206 BCE

Scipio returns to Rome and is elected consul

180 BCE

The Villian Law regulates the *cursus honorum* (official hierarchy)

c.201 BCE

Many farmers who had fought in the Second Punic War drift to cities—agricultural production declines

MID-100s BCE

Around 400 000 male adult Romans are entitled to vote

📌 Carthage destroyed by the Roman army.

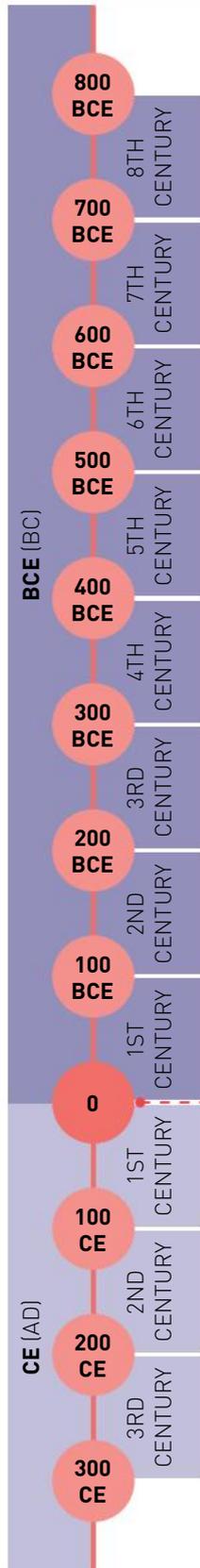


200
BCE

150
BCE

146
BCE

ANCIENT DATES



Ancient dates are sorted into two types, according to how they relate to the birth of Jesus Christ in the year '0':

1. 'BC' (Before Christ) or 'BCE' (Before the Common Era)
2. 'AD' (Anno Domini) or 'CE' (Common Era)

As you can see, the year 101 CE is in the '2nd century CE' and the year 101 BCE is in the '2nd century BCE'. Most of the dates in this book refer to the BCE period.

0—Birth of Christ

NB. Occasionally you will see the Latin phrase *Ab urbe condita* (AUC), meaning 'from the founding of the City (Rome)'. The year AUC 1 corresponds with 753 BCE, when Rome was founded.

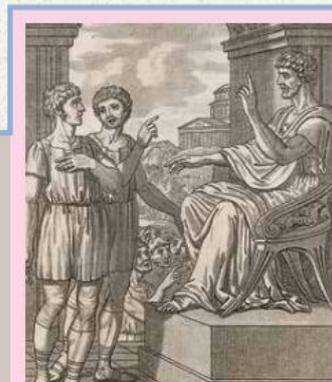
➔ *Arrival of Aeneas in Italy, the Dawn of the Roman Empire*, by Claude Lorrain, c. 1600s.



THE BANISHMENT OF KING TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS

Sallust: 'The rule of kings, which was intended from the beginning to preserve freedom and glorify the state, fell into tyranny and despotism.'

Livy: 'Tarquin found the gates shut, and a decree of banishment passed against him.'



➔ A censor dealing with an issue of public morality.

Friedrich Engels: 'Within this new constitution, the whole history of the Roman Republic runs its course, with all the struggles between patricians and plebeians for admission to office and share in the state lands, and the final merging of the patrician nobility in the new class of the great land and money owners ...'

SECTION A: OVERVIEW

TURNING POINTS IN EARLY ROME

Primary Source

Historical Interpretation

753
BCE

THE FOUNDING OF ROME

Virgil's Aeneid: '[Jupiter]: Young Romulus will take the leadership, build walls of Mars, And call by his own name his people Romans. For these I set no limits, world or time, But make the gift of empire without end.'

Gary Forsyth: 'The evidence of graves, huts, and walls ... [confirms] the ancient literary tradition concerning Rome's foundation. After all, the ancients believed that the Palatine was the initial site Romulus's settlement By synthesizing archaeological, ... historical, ... religious, and even mythological evidence [we can see that] ... villages arose at the site of Rome and gradually formed themselves into a loose union.'

509
BCE

THE BIRTH OF THE REPUBLIC

Mary Beard: 'There is the period from early Rome through the Republic when Rome is changing dramatically. Everything that happens from century to century makes a new kind of city. New politics, new crises, new controversies, and changes to the political order in very important ways.'

Dionysius of Halicarnassus: 'The Roman monarchy ... after having continued for the space of two hundred and forty-four years from the founding of Rome and having under the last king become a tyranny, was overthrown.'

494–287
BCE

THE STRUGGLE OF THE ORDERS

Polybius: 'As the Romans refused to negotiate [with] the Carthaginians, [the latter]

Livy: 'High passions were at work throughout, and mutual hatred was hardly less sharp a weapon than a sword.'

264–146
BCE

THE PUNIC WARS

Adrian Goldsworthy: 'Hannibal's invasion was just another episode in the ongoing struggle between Rome and the tribes of Cisalpine Gaul. His victories and those won by the Gauls themselves inspired a new generation to resist Roman incursions'



An engraving showing Hannibal and his army crossing the Alps into Italy, 218 BCE.

SOURCES OF EVIDENCE ON ROME (C.700–146 BCE)

Historical evidence is drawn from a range of primary sources and historical interpretations.

Primary Sources

In ancient history, primary sources of evidence are generally gleaned from buildings, artworks, objects and documents created at the time. See examples throughout this book.

Historical Interpretations

Generally speaking, historical interpretations refer to historians' accounts of a period. They should not be confused with historical perspectives, which refer to the views of people who lived at the time.

Note: Some historians lived in ancient times but wrote about events well after they occurred, making it difficult to decide if they are primary or secondary sources. Generally, such historians are treated as primary sources if they are the main source of information on that particular event, i.e. other sources are not available.

KEY HISTORIANS AND WRITERS



POLYBIUS (C.200–C.118 BCE)

Greek historian of Hellenistic period. His *Histories* covered 264–146 BCE in depth, including an eyewitness account of the Sack of Carthage. His work on Rome's constitution influenced framers of the US Constitution.



LIVY (C. 59/64 BCE–12/17 CE)

Seminal Roman historian best known for his *Ab Urbe Condita Libri* (Books from the Foundation of the City). Livy knew members of the Julio-Claudian dynasty and tended to emphasise Roman triumphs. Although he wrote during the reign of Augustus, he is considered a primary source on some earlier events.



ADRIAN GOLDSWORTHY (1969–)



British historian and novelist best known for his work on the Punic Wars, Roman military history and biographies of Caesar and Augustus.

MARY BEARD (1955–)

Historian at Cambridge University and author of popular histories. Although Beard is best known for her work on the Roman Empire, her *SPQR* includes accounts of archaic and republican Rome.



EXAM PREPARATION

ROME AFTER THE PUNIC WARS

When the people of Rome ... heard of the victory [in the Third Punic War] ... they poured into the streets and spent the whole night congratulating and embracing each other like people just now delivered from some great fear, just now confirmed in their worldwide supremacy, just now assured of the permanence of their own city, and winners of such a victory as never before. Many brilliant deeds of their own, many more of their ancestors, in Macedonia and Spain and lately against Antiochus the Great, and in Italy itself, had they celebrated; but no other war had so terrified them at their own gates as the Punic wars, which ever brought peril to them by reason of the perseverance, skill, and courage, as well as the bad faith, of those enemies. They recalled what they had suffered from the Carthaginians in Sicily and Spain, and in Italy itself for sixteen years, during which Hannibal destroyed 400 towns and killed 300,000 of their men in battles alone, more than once marching up to the city and putting it in extreme peril.

SOURCE

Appian,
The Punic Wars
Vol 27, 34.

After you have read the chapters in Section A, examine the source above and complete the tasks below.

1. Outline the ways in which ordinary people responded to the Roman victory in the Third Punic War, according to the source.
2. Explain how the Punic Wars represented a challenge to Rome. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the extent to which the Roman Republic enjoyed supremacy in the region by 146 BCE. Use evidence to support your response.

VIRGIL (70–19 BCE)



Poet who lived in Augustan period. His *Aeneid* was the key founding narrative of Rome. The *Aeneid* was influenced by Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS
(C. 60–AFTER 7 BCE)

Greek historian active during the Augustan period. His *Roman Antiquities* covered Rome from pre-history to the start of the Punic Wars. Dionysius aimed to promote Rome's achievements to Greeks after Rome's conquest of Macedonia in 146 BCE.



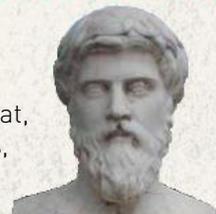
JUVENAL (1ST–2ND CENTURY CE)

Poet active in the late first and early second century CE. Juvenal is best known for his *Satires*, which include references to early Judaism.



PLUTARCH (C. 46–120 CE)

Greek biographer who wrote on Scipio Africanus, Alexander the Great, Pyrrhus, Romulus, Numa Pompilius and others.



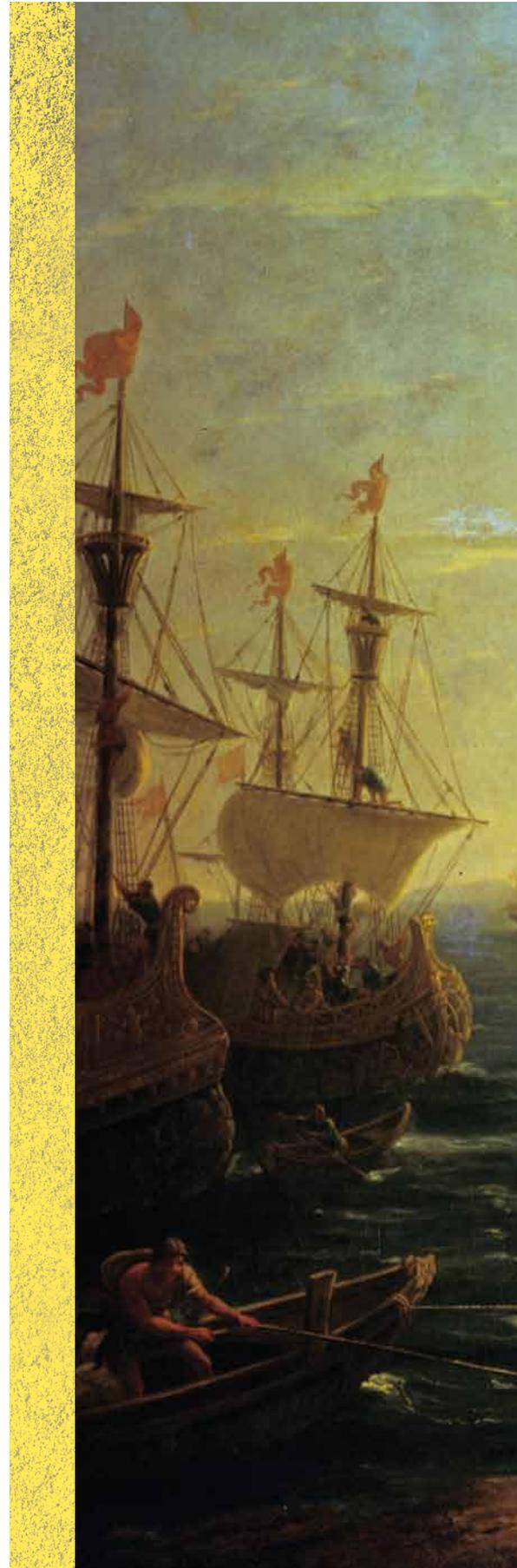
CHAPTER

1

THE FOUNDING OF ROME: MYTH AND REALITY

'Events before Rome was born or thought of have come to us in old tales with more of the charm of poetry than of sound historical record.'¹

LIVY





Arrival of Aeneas in Italy, the Dawn of the Roman Empire, by Claude Lorrain, c. 1600s.

OVERVIEW

EXTERNAL INFLUENCES

Etruria and Greece influenced Rome's cultural development.



ROMULUS*

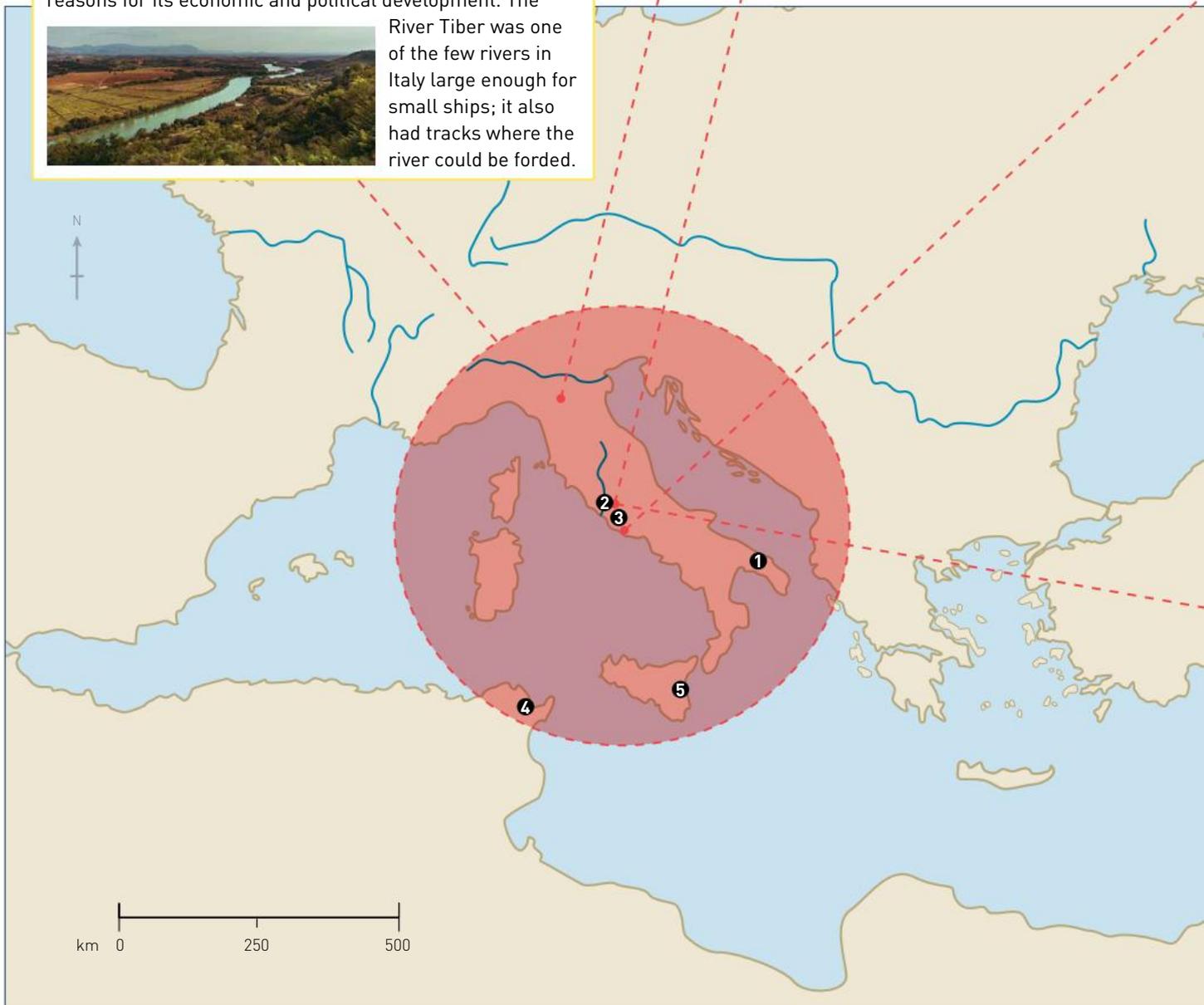
Founder of Rome (according to legend).



GEOGRAPHY

Rome's central position in both Italy and the Mediterranean Sea was a major reason for its later dominance.

Rome's position on the River Tiber was one of the major reasons for its economic and political development. The River Tiber was one of the few rivers in Italy large enough for small ships; it also had tracks where the river could be forded.



FOUNDATION NARRATIVES



➡ Aeneas lands on the shores of Latium with his son Ascanius; on the left, a sow tells him where to found his city.



AENEAS*

Prince of Troy, said to have led the Trojans to Italy and founded the Roman race and the city of Lavinium (Virgil).



ASCANIUS* (ALSO KNOWN AS IULUS)

Aeneas's son, according to Virgil. Ascanius and Aeneas travelled together from Troy and founded the Julian clan and the city of Alba Longa.

KEY EVENTS

(see map left)

5000 BCE

➊ Arrival of Neolithic people in Apulia

2000 BCE

Bronze Age begins in Italy with the arrival of new settlers from central Europe

1700–1400 BCE

➋ First settlements in Rome

1000–900 BCE

➌ Latin people settle Latium

900 BCE

Beginning of the Iron Age in Italy (called the 'Villanovan culture')

900–700 BCE

➍ Phoenician colonisation around the Mediterranean Sea

800–700 BCE

➎ Greek colonisation around the Mediterranean Sea. Rise of Etruscan city-states

753 BCE (or 1 AUC)

Founding of Rome by Romulus

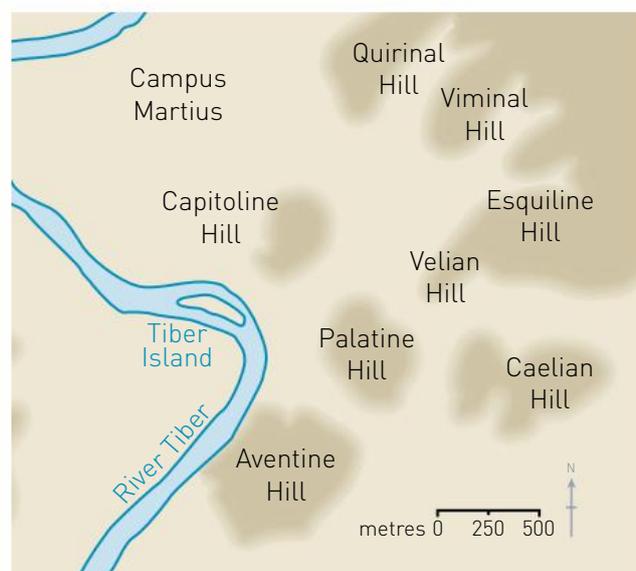
650–625 BCE

Last burial in the Forum, huts removed and hard earth floor put down

Temples built, first shops appear and first political meetings held

FROM VILLAGE TO CITY

There were settlements on the hills of Rome 600 years before the traditional date the city was 'founded' by Romulus. The villages on the hills came together to form the city of Rome soon after the Forum was paved.



* Note: Information about these people comes from legend rather than the historical record.

GEOGRAPHICAL FEATURES OF ROME

SOURCE 1.01

Mount Etna in Sicily.



THE ITALIAN PENINSULA

PLINY: 'Even the land eagerly runs out into the sea as if to assist mankind.'

Mountains dominate Italy, from the great Alps in the north—with a few passes struggled through by various early invaders—to the Apennines running from north to south, cutting the country in two. The east coast has short rivers, few plains and few places for ships to shelter. On the west coast the mountains are further back from the sea, and there are areas of fertile plains, such as *Latium*, the plain around Rome.

The mountains are volcanic, with Vesuvius and Mount Etna (in Sicily) erupting from time to time. Because of the volcanoes, the soil is very fertile.

There are only two large plains in Italy. In the far north, around the river Po, there are several great rivers running across the wide plain, bringing water and rich soil to grow crops. This area was called *Cisalpine Gaul* by the Romans. The River Rubicon was the northern boundary of Roman territory and the plain of Apulia on the 'heel' of Italy contained Tarentum, one of the few good harbours in Italy.

Until Roman conquests and Roman roads tied the country together, Italy was broken into a collection of small states. Waves of settlers fragmented Italy even further as they spoke different languages such as *Indo-European* (from which Latin originates) and non-Indo-European languages, especially Etruscan.

DID YOU KNOW?

The Phoenicians created an alphabet that could be easily used to record traded goods. It was taken from letters based on a form of hieroglyphic script that had been simplified by ancient Egyptians for their foreign workers. The Phoenician alphabet was enlarged by the Greeks to include vowels—it became the basis of Latin and the alphabet we use today.



SOURCE 1.02

A Phoenician glass bead. It is tiny: just 1.3 cm wide and 2.9 cm long.

ROME AND THE MEDITERRANEAN

The development of Roman civilisation was assisted by Italy's central position in the Mediterranean, and by two earlier civilisations: those of the *Phoenicians* and the Greeks.

Phoenician civilisation developed along the narrow coastal strip of what is (roughly) Lebanon today. The Phoenician cities' greatest period was from the ninth century BCE, when they dominated Mediterranean trade and founded trading posts and colonies as far away as the Atlantic coast of Spain.

The most important Phoenician colony in North Africa was Carthage (which would also become the Phoenician city of greatest significance for Roman history). There were also two Phoenician colonies, Mozia and Solus, on the west coast of Sicily facing Carthage, founded about 800 BCE. This meant that the Phoenicians could—and did—control the sea passage between Sicily and Africa.

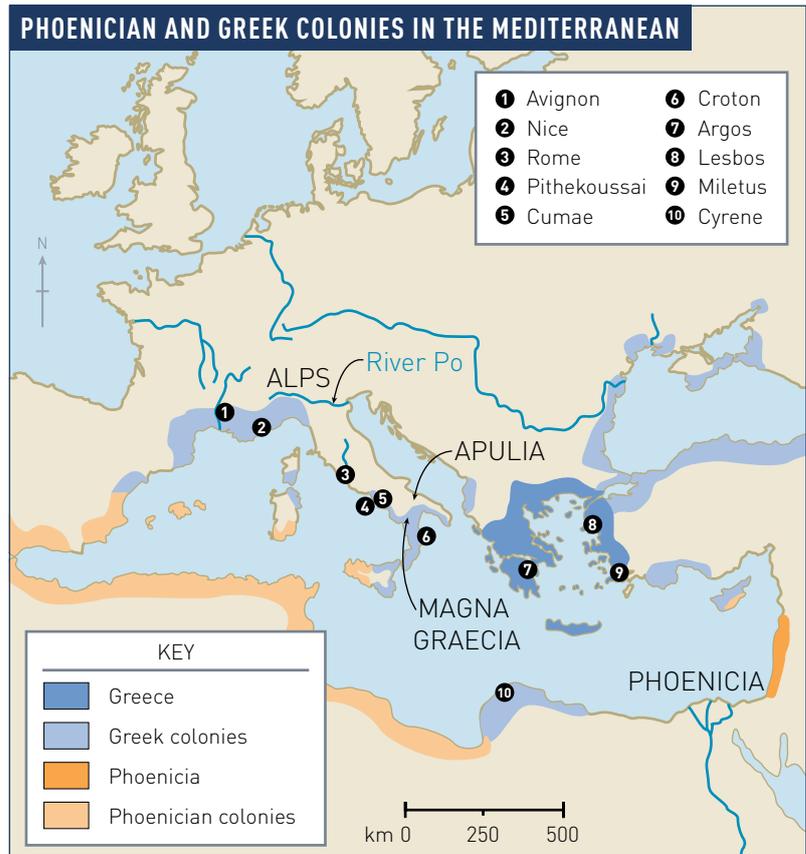
According to the modern historian T. J. Cornell, the arrival of the Greeks in Italy 'provoked a cultural revolution'.² Greek city-states were established in Sicily and southern Italy from the mid-eighth century onwards, and referred to as *Magna Graecia* ('Greater Greece') by the Romans. The Greek colonies of Cumae, a city just north of Neapolis (Naples), and Pithekoussai on the island of Ischia traded with and had a cultural impact on nearby Etruscan cities such as Pompeii and Capua.

Looking at a map of the Mediterranean (which is Latin for 'middle of the earth'), we can see Italy's significance. It is no wonder that Rome, due to its central position, sought to conquer Italy, then Carthage, before heading west to Spain (Iberia) and France (Gaul) and east to Greece, Asia Minor and Egypt. To Rome, control of the Mediterranean trade routes and countries was essential, symbolised in the Roman name for the sea: *Mare Nostrum* or 'Our Sea'.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

ACTIVITY

1. Why was Italy's geographical position in the Mediterranean so important for Rome?
2. How might the position of the Phoenician colonies have affected Rome's expansion plans?
3. List possible reasons why Rome took over 250 years to conquer and unite Italy.



SOURCE 1.03

THE RANGE OF PEOPLES IN PRE-ROMAN ITALY

Different language groups are marked on the map. The tribes without colour are non-Indo-European speaking people.

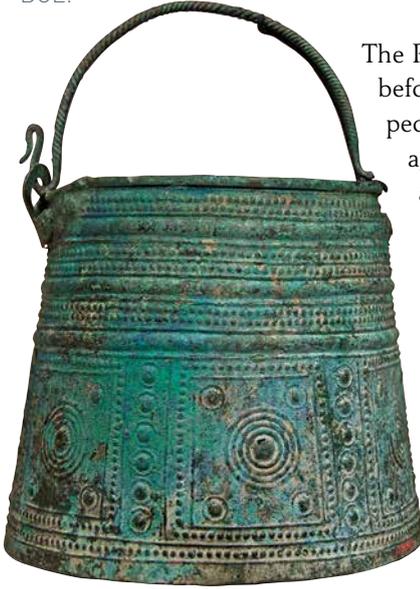


SOURCE 1.04

THE EXTENT OF PHOENICIAN AND GREEK COLONIES IN THE MEDITERRANEAN

▼ SOURCE 1.05

Villanovan bronze *situla* bucket, eighth century BCE.



PRE-ROMAN ITALY

LUCRETIUS: 'Then by slow degrees the iron sword came to the fore; the bronze sickle fell into disrepute.'

The Palaeolithic or Old Stone Age people wandered through Italy for centuries before the arrival in southern Italy, around 5000 BCE, of the Neolithic people. The Neolithic people had new skills: boat-building, pottery, carpentry, agriculture, as well as the domestication of animals such as cattle, sheep and pigs.

In about 2000 BCE there was an influx into the Po Valley of new people from central Europe, who were skilled in metalworking in copper and, later, bronze. Iron-making skills emerged in the ninth century BCE in northern Italy. Iron had an advantage over bronze as it was stronger and lasted longer—but it was more difficult to make. Metalworking and other industrial processes such as ceramics and jewellery required specialists. Because of the need for expertise, villages began to form into larger groups with their necropolises (cemeteries) outside the inhabited area. The new culture has been called Villanovan, named after the village near Bologna where objects from these people were found in 1853.

THE PEOPLE AND GEOGRAPHY OF LATIUM

Latium was a very small area in central Italy, squeezed in between the *Etruscans* to the north, the Sabines to the east and the Volsci to the south. The Etruscans controlled the north bank of the River Tiber right down to the sea and the nearest Etruscan city, *Veii*, was only sixteen kilometres from Rome. Much of Latium was marshy but there was good volcanic soil on which to grow vegetables, wheat and fruit. The Latin, a branch of the Italic peoples whose members included the later Romans, arrived in Latium between 1000 and 900 BCE. They built wattle and daub houses with thatched roofs and lived in scattered agricultural settlements on low hilltops.

By the seventh century BCE, stone houses with terracotta roofs had replaced the wattle and daub huts, and villages had become towns. These towns developed into city-states, totally independent of each other, jealously preserving and fighting over their territory.

Religious events brought the Latins together at least once a year. The main festival near Alba Longa was that of Jupiter Latiaris, the chief god of the Latins. The Latins enjoyed four days of religious festivities, ending with the slaughter of cattle for a communal feast symbolising Latin solidarity. Another ancient sanctuary for the Latins was the temple of the goddess Diana, at Aricia, near Nemi.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Who were the Paleolithic, Neolithic and Latin peoples?
2. What signs are there that land was becoming a contested commodity?
3. Why might the size and position of Latium (the plain around Rome) have caused problems for Rome when it tried to expand?



SOURCE 1.06

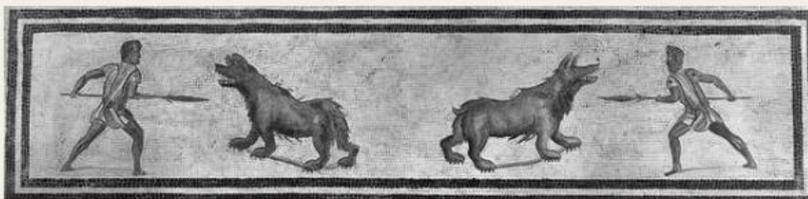
THE POSITION OF ROME AND ITS NEIGHBOURS

OMINOUS SIGNS

In the sixth century BCE, the Romans did three things that were ominous for its surrounding independent city-states: they destroyed Alba Longa—where the mythical Ascanius, son of Aeneas, and his descendants had been kings—and moved the claimed descendants of those kings—the Julii—to Rome; they built a temple to Diana on the Aventine Hill replacing the temple at Nemi; and in 509 BCE they opened a temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill in Rome and called it *Maximus Optimus*, the ‘best and greatest of all Jupiters’.

SOURCE 1.07

Pavement mosaic from the Temple of Diana on the Aventine Hill in Rome.



ACTIVITY

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

1. What kind of industrial change occurred in the Villanovan period, and what were its consequences?
2. What does Source 1.06 suggest about political change in the area between c.700 BCE and c.500 BCE?
3. How might the migration of the Julian people to Rome and the building of new temples have changed the social and cultural life of Rome?

THE ETRUSCANS

THEOPOMPUS: 'Etruscan women take particular care of their bodies and exercise often, sometimes along with the men.'

The Etruscans have inspired centuries of speculation about who they were and where they came from. The latest DNA analysis suggests that some Etruscans may have come from Turkey and some from the south-west Aegean.³ The Etruscan civilisation began in c. 700 BCE and lasted until c. 300 BCE.

The Etruscan economy owed a great deal to trade with Phoenicia and Greece. There was a Greek and Phoenician trading area of merchants—and perhaps artisans—in the Etruscan port of Gravisca in central Italy.

Tombs in Etruscan cemeteries are a good source of information about the newly wealthy or aristocratic members of that society. In the necropolis at Cerveteri, the stone 'huts'—modelled on the original buildings in Villanovan villages—are round buildings with domed roofs; the later buildings take a 'house' form and are rectangular with flat roofs. Some of the tombs have furniture, such as chairs, beds and pillows made from stone. Many tombs are decorated with frescoes depicting dinner parties where the women, painted white, lie alongside their men, enjoying the same food, wine and entertainment. Women were given the same luxurious burials as men. Buried alongside them were beautiful gold jewellery, top-quality Greek vases and artefacts from 'exotic' places such as Egypt.

The tombs are invaluable architectural evidence of Etruscan life, as outlined shapes in the ground are all that remain of houses in the cities. But as with the tombs, the ground plans of houses reveal the extravagant lifestyle of some Etruscans. In places like San Giovenale, where most of the city had houses jammed together on narrow streets, there was a separate area of the town that had large, multi-roomed houses. In the city of Marzabotto, all the houses were built to the same plan, with rooms at the front of the houses on the two main streets devoted to commerce or handicrafts. An Etruscan settlement near mineral deposits had forty identical houses with several small rooms.



THE TOMB OF THE RELIEFS



UNESCO: ETRUSCAN CEMETERIES



THE TOWN OF KISRY (CERVETERI) AND TOMBS

DID YOU KNOW?

No one knows where the Etruscan language originated—or even what it means. Although the Etruscan alphabet and short inscriptions can be read, the meaning and grammar of longer sentences are difficult to work out. (See Source 1.06 for a sample of Etruscan writing.)

🔗 SOURCE 1.08

Etruscan writing on the Sarcophagus of Chiusi, Tuscany.





↑ SOURCE 1.09

An Etruscan terracotta sarcophagus (late sixth century BCE).



↻ SOURCE 1.10

A Greek gravestone from the late fifth century BCE.



↻ SOURCE 1.11

Tarquinian fresco.

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Sources 1.09–1.11 and complete the tasks below.

1. Describe the scene on the Greek gravestone and compare it with the Etruscan sarcophagus and the Tarquinian fresco.
2. What do these images reveal about Greek and Etruscan social customs?
3. These images depict works of art. Discuss in class the kinds of problems that could arise in using them as evidence for Greek and Etruscan society.
4. Imagine you are an archaeologist. Analyse the evidence of the tombs and house plans, and then draw a diagram depicting the social position and economic activity of the various members of Etruscan society.

ACTIVITY

ETRUSCAN POLITICS

LIVY: 'The Etruscans hesitated for a moment ... each expecting someone else to start the fight.'

There was never a 'nation' of Etruria. Instead, it was a collection of city-states ranging from Bologna in the north to as far south as Pompeii. Each city-state had its own form of government—initially kings, then either tyrants or an *aristocracy*. There was a *confederacy* of twelve Etruscan states in central Italy that met in a sacred grove at Voltumna for political discussions, and once a year for a religious festival. The city-states competed with each other: instead of forming a national army when an Etruscan city was attacked, the other cities made treaties with the enemy, Rome. Once Veii fell to Rome in 396 BCE, the other cities gradually succumbed one by one, until the last Etruscan city, Velzna (Volsinii), was completely destroyed by the Romans in 265 BCE.

ETRURIA AND EARLY ROME

The fledgling city of Rome was strongly influenced by many Etruscan ideas. Roman roads were built on top of Etruscan roads, and Roman aqueducts were supported on arches (which were a form of Etruscan architecture). Six Etruscan arches still exist in Perugia today.

➔ SOURCE 1.12

An Etruscan arch in Perugia.



➔ SOURCE 1.13

A model of a liver for the *haruspex* so he could see which god was offended.

Before an Etruscan city could be built, an *auspex* or bird diviner had to ‘read’ the flight of birds. A *haruspex* or liver diviner might then check to see if there were any blemishes in a sacrificed animal’s liver. If there were no spots, the auguries (or signs) were favourable and a sacred line was ritually ploughed in the soil around the future city site, an idea followed by Romulus and, later, Romans. The Romans revered the skill of the Etruscan *haruspex* and would summon one in times of crisis. In the early years of the Roman Republic, the sons of aristocratic families were sent to Etruria so they could learn how to read auguries, a skill they would need when they became generals.

The Romans also took the names of their gods from Etruria, such as *Uni* for Juno (Hera in Greek) and *Menerva* for Minerva (Athena in Greek). The box-like Etruscan temple was for three gods, and it was built on a high podium, with columns three deep at the front of the temple, a blank pediment and sculpture only on the roofline. The first temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill erected by Romans was shared with Juno and Minerva, and it was built on a podium just like an Etruscan temple.

There were a number of symbolic objects inherited by the Romans. According to Livy, there were three symbols of power taken from the Etruscans: the folding ivory State Chair called the *curule*, the purple-bordered toga and the twelve *lictors* (public officers who carried out a *magistrate’s* instructions), the number being based on the twelve Etruscan city-states.⁴

Even so-called Roman numerals came from Etruria. For example, the numerals 1, 10 and 100 are I, X, C in both Etruscan and Latin, and 30 is XXX in both.

GREEK INFLUENCES

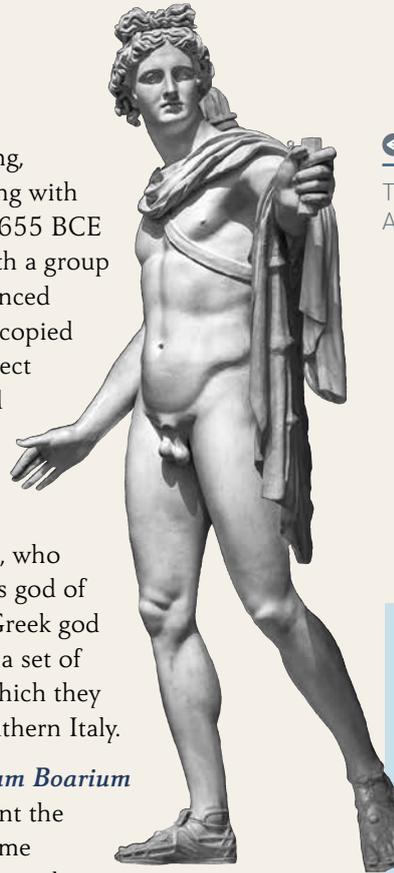
JUVENAL: 'It's smart to chatter away in Greek.'

The Etruscans absorbed Greek ideas in town planning, turning pots on a wheel and the shapes of vases, along with Greek myths and legends. According to tradition, in 655 BCE a Corinthian aristocrat called Demartus, together with a group of craftsmen, fled to Etruria from Corinth and influenced the development of Etruscan pottery. The Etruscans copied Greek frescoes but painted their own individual subject matter. Thus the Etruscan influence on Rome should also include the cultural influence of Greece.

For their part, the Romans adopted Greek gods, such as Apollo, and gave the functions of certain Greek gods to their own gods. Neptune, for instance, who was originally the god of freshwater springs, becomes god of the sea, taking over the functions and myths of the Greek god Poseidon. In times of danger, the Romans consulted a set of books written in Greek, called the Sibylline books, which they bought from the Sibyl (or priestess) in Cumae in southern Italy.

Shards of Greek pottery have been found in the *Forum Boarium* (cattle market), so it is possible that the Romans learnt the alphabet directly from Greek traders, who visited Rome as early as 800 BCE. Later, the Romans easily understood and adopted many Greek words; in contrast, there are only four Latin words in Etruscan and fourteen Etruscan words in Latin⁵ although the two peoples were neighbours for centuries.

The Romans obtained ideas for the atrium (or entrance hall) and the *peristyle* (or central-columned) courtyard from the Greeks. When the Romans lay on their couches to dine, they were copying the Greeks and based their name for the dining room, *triclinium*, on the Greek word *kline* or 'couch'.



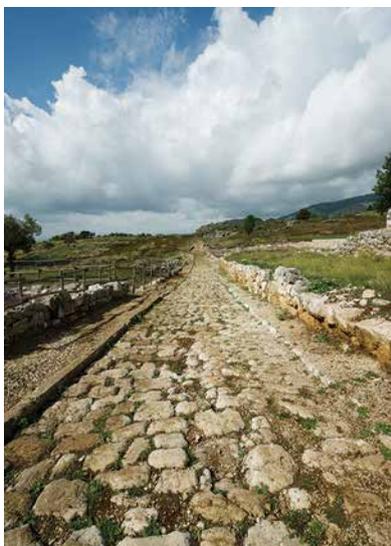
SOURCE 1.14

The Greek and Roman god Apollo.

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Which civilisation had a more significant impact on Rome at this early stage: Greece or Etruria? Write a paragraph in which you argue the case for one or the other civilisation. Support your argument with evidence.



RIVERS, MARSHES AND HILLS

At the very beginning of its history, Rome consisted of scattered groups of huts perched on several hills above a marshy plain beside the River Tiber.

The city of Rome had a number of geographical advantages. Initially the town developed in isolation. The River Tiber helped to protect the villages from the older civilisation of Etruria in the north; the Pontine Marshes protected them from Greek settlements in the south. Moreover, the hills of Rome formed effective defences because of their steep cliffs, and provided tuff (or volcanic stone) for building.

SOURCE 1.15

Ancient Roman road, situated on the Volscian mountains, overlooking the Pontine Marshes.

➔ SOURCE 1.16

Tiber Island and the Tiber River, Rome.



Several tracks that became Roman roads, down which its armies would later march, met just above Tiber Island at a ford where the River Tiber became shallow, so it was used by all north–south travellers. The ancient ‘salt’ road, later named the *Via Salaria*, ran from the coastal marshes—where salt was collected—to Rome and further inland. The River Tiber was suitable for small ships, and from at least the eighth century BCE there was a river port in Rome. Goods could be exchanged on a flat area nearby that became the *Forum Boarium*.

However, there were a number of problems with the site of Rome, apart from its near neighbours. They included:

- the entrance to the river kept silting up
- the river wasn’t wide enough for large ships to come up to Rome
- there were no sources of metals for trade
- the Tiber flooded low-lying areas of Rome regularly
- the city was very hot in summer because it was inland and surrounded by hills
- the Pontine Marshes were the source of malaria-bearing mosquitoes.

➔ SOURCE 1.17

Livy, *The History of Rome* 5.54.

LIVY ON THE TIBER

Not without reason did gods and men choose this spot for the site of our city ... the river to bring us produce from the inland regions and sea-borne commerce from abroad, the sea itself, near enough for convenience yet not so near as to bring danger from foreign fleets, our situation in the very heart of Italy—all these advantages make it of all places in the world the best for a city destined to grow great.

➔ SOURCE 1.18

Procopius, *De bello Gothico* V.26, 10–12 in Russell Meiggs, *Roman Ostia* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 290.

PROCOPIUS ON THE TIBER

When traders arrive with their ships in the harbour they unload their cargoes, reload them on to barges and so proceed up the Tiber to Rome. They make no use of sails or oars. For boats cannot be carried by the wind owing to the winding course of the river ... and oars are ineffective since the current flows continuously against them. Instead they attach ropes from the barges to the necks of oxen who drag the boats like wagons to Rome.

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Livy claims that Rome enjoyed many advantages that made the city ‘destined to grow great.’ Comment on whether or not you agree, citing evidence. You might compare Rome’s location and geographical features with those of its Mediterranean neighbours (see Sources 1.04 and 1.06).

EXTENSION

Identify three challenges Rome would be likely to face as its population grew.

ROMAN FOUNDATION NARRATIVES

VIRGIL: 'I sing of arms and the man who first from the shores of Troy came destined an exile to Italy.'

AENEAS AND THE ORIGIN OF THE ROMAN PEOPLE

Historians today, just like Livy, approach the task of writing the early history of Rome with misgivings because of the difficulty of separating 'historical record' from 'the charm of poetry'.

The Romans used the story of the Trojan prince Aeneas, sailing to Latium with his followers after the fall of Troy, to claim that their civilisation was as old as that of Greece. From 282 to 272 BCE, the Romans were engaged in a series of wars with the Greek cities of southern Italy; their victories were advertised as just revenge for the destruction of Troy. Julius Caesar and Augustus were members of the Julian clan supposedly descended from Iulus, or Ascanius, the son of Aeneas and grandson of the goddess Venus, thus confirming their religious and ancestral right to lead Rome. Virgil's epic poem the *Aeneid*, about Aeneas' voyage and his arrival in Italy, was written in the time of Augustus, the first Emperor (63 BCE–14 CE), promoting him as Aeneas' descendant and therefore the legitimate ruler of Rome.

There seems, in fact, to be little historical basis for the story. In order to get over the problem of the gap between Aeneas' arrival in Latium in 1250 BCE and the traditional foundation date of Rome in 753 BCE, the Romans invented a line of kings from Aeneas to his 'descendant' Romulus. However, the first archaeological traces of Latini tribal culture in Latium date from about 1000 BCE, which is well after the 'arrival' of Aeneas.

ROMULUS AND THE CITY OF ROME

CICERO: 'What State's origin is so famous or so well known to all men as the foundation of this city by Romulus?'

Legend has it that the twins Romulus and Remus were thrown into the River Tiber on the order of their wicked uncle, only to be beached conveniently on the foothills of the Palatine Hill, where they were suckled by a wolf before being adopted by a shepherd.

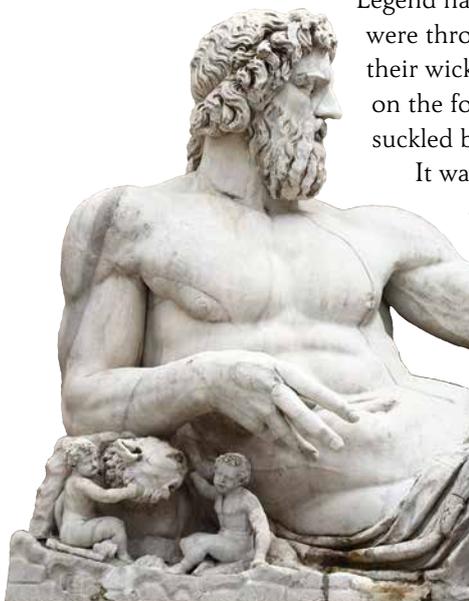
It was Romulus who supposedly built the walls around the Palatine Hill, founding Rome and becoming its first king. Official ancient Roman accounts claimed that the city was founded on 21 April year 1 *Ab Urbe Condita* (meaning 'from the founding of the city'), which the Romans shortened to year 1 AUC—or 753 BCE in our dating system. Twenty-one April was the festival of the Roman deity Pales, the protector of flocks and herds, and as Romulus and Remus were rescued by a shepherd it was an appropriate date.

DID YOU KNOW?

The myth of Aeneas was initially stronger in Etruria—judging by its popularity on vases and statues—so the myth might be another example of 'borrowing' from Etruria when the Romans were trying to prove their ancient classical roots. Some historians have suggested that the Etruscans were originally Trojans; this idea ties in with their DNA, and also with Etruscan script being found on an island near Troy, the only place outside Italy where it has been found.



AENEAS: AN ETRUSCAN FOUNDATION LEGEND



'THE LIFE OF ROMULUS' BY PLUTARCH

SOURCE 1.19

Statue of Tiberius, god of the River Tiber. Campidoglio, Rome.

THE CAPITOLINE WOLF STATUE

This famous statue of the wolf and suckling babies was given to the Capitoline Museum in 1471 CE by Pope Sixtus IV. The babies Romulus and Remus were sculpted during the Renaissance period, possibly by Antonio Pollaiuolo, but the original sculpture was thought to be Etruscan, dating back to the fifth or sixth century BCE. Recent carbon testing has given a new dating range between 1021 and 1153, which means that the statue was created in medieval times. However, some officials in Rome doubt the new information, and continue to claim that the statue is Etruscan.

➔ SOURCE 1.20

The wolf statue with Romulus and Remus, Capitoline Museum, Rome.



➔ SOURCE 1.21

*Virgil, Aeneid VIII.631, trans.
C. Day Lewis
(London: Oxford University
Press, 1966), 372.*

VIRGIL ON THE WOLF STATUE

... the twin boy babies fondling
And suckling at her udders, fearlessly nuzzling their dam [mother];
She, her graceful neck bent sideways and back, is caressing
Each child in turn with her tongue, licking them into shape.

HISTORICAL BASIS FOR THE LEGEND

Since the name Romulus means 'Mr Rome'⁶ and is Etruscan in origin, the origin story may have been invented in the fourth century BCE when Rome began to forcibly expand its territory, starting with the capture of the Etruscan city Veii in 396 BCE. After all, the father of Romulus was Mars, the god of war.

The legend included violent events such as Romulus murdering his twin brother when Remus and he quarrelled over which hill should be the site of the city. Another horrific event was the seizure of the women of the Sabine tribe during a festival, as Romulus' new settlement of ragtag Italic tribes lacked sufficient women. After several battles, the Sabine women came between the Romans and the Sabine men and helped to make peace, with the two groups combining under Romulus and the Sabine king Tatius. This unification of two tribes could have some historical basis due to the settlements on the different hills coming together to form Rome in the seventh century BCE.



THE HISTORY
OF ROME:
THE BEGINNING



FOUNDATION
NARRATIVES

At the end of his life Romulus was supposed to have vanished in a storm, raised to heaven as the god Quirinus after, according to Livy, being attacked and killed by his own senators. This part of the legend became prominent at the time Julius Caesar—after being murdered by senators—was proclaimed a god in January 42 BCE.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. How do we know that the Capitoline wolf statue is not the same Roman statue described by Virgil?
2. Where in Italy did the myth of Aeneas come from, and why did the Romans use the myth?
3. Discuss the evidence that proves the Aeneas story to be totally fictitious and the Romulus story to be a legend.

ACTIVITY

WAS ROME FOREVER CURSED BY ROMULUS' MURDER OF HIS BROTHER?

The poet Horace, in his late twenties at the time, wrote the following poem, possibly in 38 BCE, just as war was about to break out again between Pompey and Octavian, the future Augustus. He addressed it to *Ad Populum Romanum*, 'to the people of Rome'.

AD POPULUM ROMANUM ('TO THE PEOPLE OF ROME')

Where are you rushing, madmen—where? Why seize
the swords again in your right hands?
Has not enough of Latin blood been spilt
across the seas and lands in vain?

[. . .]

Not wolves—not even lions—are so mad,
so savage as to rend their kind.
Has rage undone you? Overwhelming force?
Or are you guilty? Answer me!

They're mute—white pallor seeps across their faces,
and their battered minds are numb.
It's so: a bitter fate pursues the Romans—
Cursed with brother-slaughter, since
Remus' guiltless blood first wet the ground,
To draw doom down on all his line.

SOURCE 1.22

Horace, Epodes 7, trans.
Bruce A. McMenomy, http://www.dorthonion.com/drmcm/west_to_dante/Readings/horace.html

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 1.22 and complete the tasks below.

1. Who created the source and when was it written?
2. Why is the date of the source important?
3. Why is the source addressed to 'the people of Rome' and why would it have been written?

BELIEFS AND VALUES

What do the stories of Aeneas and Romulus tell you about ancient Romans' beliefs and values? How do these values differ from Horace's values outlined in Source 1.22?

ACTIVITY

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE AND EARLY ROME

QUEEN ELIZABETH I: 'Rome wasn't built in a day.'

Livy agreed with official Roman accounts that Romulus founded Rome on 21 April 1 AUC and was the first king, and so does Andrea Carandini, a Roman archaeologist. In his book *Rome Day One*, Carandini claims that Romulus did exist and was the founder of Rome, and that he has proved it by finding the wall around the Palatine Hill and pottery in the Forum dated to between 750 and 675 BCE.⁷ However, most archaeologists would not agree with either Livy or Carandini, partly because of the evidence that keeps emerging in excavations.

The legend of Romulus creating a state in a few years is not nearly as fascinating as the true story of the unification and gradual emergence of the city of Rome. Initially Rome developed like any other Italic settlement. In the Middle Bronze Age, between 1700 and 1400 BCE, farmer settlers sought shelter on the Capitoline Hill because of its steep sides and its position near the ford over the River Tiber. Archaeologists have found Middle Bronze Age pottery in two places, as well as an early cemetery buried under the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill.

Some of the other famous Seven Hills of Rome were inhabited in the Bronze Age period. In the thirteenth century BCE, three different settlements of wattle and daub huts began on the Palatine Hill, and there are signs of habitation on the Quirinal Hill. There may have been different tribes living on the hills: for instance the Sabines (or *Tities*) on the Quirinal, and the Etruscans (or *Luceres*) on the Caelian. The question of who lived on Romulus' Palatine Hill in the thirteenth century BCE has not yet been answered.

Recently six cremation and three burial graves dating from the end of the eleventh century BCE have been excavated in the flat marshy areas between the hills. The bones of various animals such as sheep and pigs were found in the graves. One grave had cattle bones buried beside the body. These bones show that the Romans were grazing a variety of animals, as well as growing crops.

On the Capitoline Hill there is evidence of terracing dating from about 1000 BCE, so there must have been someone who had the authority to organise groups of workers. While archaeologists were excavating in the Forum, they found another sign of organisation—the remains of a stone wall from the late ninth to early eighth centuries BCE, still too early for Romulus. The wall was used to channel water from an underground spring.

DID YOU KNOW?

In March 2017, archaeologists discovered thirty-eight skeletons in the location they believe to have been the Field of the Jews (Campus Iudeorum) in Rome. The well-preserved skeletons are thought to date from the mid-fourteenth to the mid-sixteenth century.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Where did the first Romans settle and why did they continue to live in those areas?
2. What do the burials tell us about the early Romans' way of life?
3. What evidence might historians use to prove that Romulus did not found Rome?

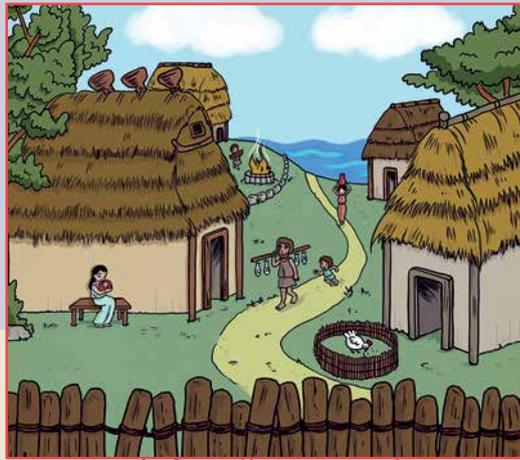


EARLY ROME:
MAP TASK

EARLY ROME

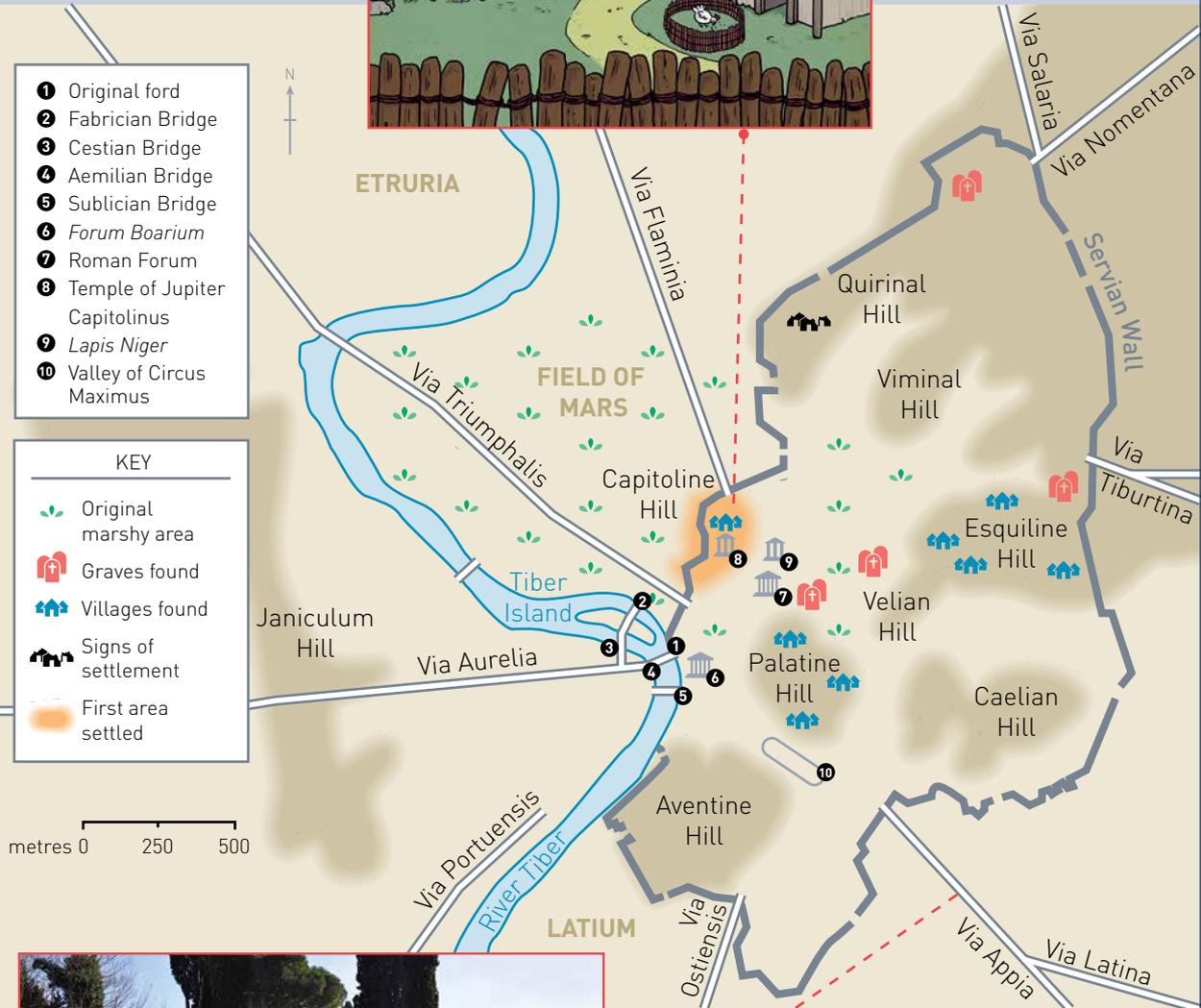
SOURCE 1.23

Settlement on the Capitoline Hill.



SOURCE 1.24

EARLY ROME



- 1 Original ford
- 2 Fabrician Bridge
- 3 Cestian Bridge
- 4 Aemilian Bridge
- 5 Sublician Bridge
- 6 Forum Boarium
- 7 Roman Forum
- 8 Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus
- 9 Lapis Niger
- 10 Valley of Circus Maximus

KEY

- Original marshy area
- Graves found
- Villages found
- Signs of settlement
- First area settled

metres 0 250 500



SOURCE 1.25
Via Appia today.

DID YOU KNOW?
The seven key Roman hills are the Aventine, Quirinal, Viminal, Palatine, Capitoline, Caelian and Esquiline.

DID YOU KNOW?

Livy tells a story about a man's head (or *caput*, which is supposedly the origin of the name *Capitoline*) being found when the foundations of the Temple of Jupiter were being laid. This showed, according to Livy, that on this spot 'would stand the imperial citadel of the capital city of the world.'⁸

SOURCE 1.26

The Temple of Vesta was built in the round in the time of Imperial Rome.



THE GROWTH OF ROME: FROM VILLAGE TO CITY

VIRGIL: 'Cattle were everywhere, lowing in what is now the Forum.'

Over time, Rome developed a complex civic life. Shortly after 650 BCE, the date of the last burial in the Forum, a hard earth floor was stamped down to form a paving; from then on temples and civic buildings appeared in the Forum, and Romans no longer had to splash through marshes to visit people on other hills.

PLACES OF WORSHIP

The Forum and the Capitoline Hill became the centre of religious worship for all the hill dwellers around Rome. Romans built temples in the Forum to gods such as Vulcan and Saturn, as well as building a temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill.

One of the first temples to be built in the Forum was dedicated to the goddess Vesta, the goddess of the hearth. The hill villagers joined together to light the sacred flame, which was tended by the Vestal Virgins (priestesses) and was never allowed to go out. The round shape of the temple seen today was based on an original temple of wattle and daub built in the form of a hut, similar to the huts people lived in on the hills of Rome in that era.

ESTABLISHMENT OF A POLITICAL SYSTEM

It is clear that kings ruled Rome before the end of the sixth century, as proved by the *Lapis Niger* (or 'Black Stone') in the Forum. The writing on it is an old form of Latin closely related to early Greek, and mentions a king or *rex*. The *Domus Regia* (King's House) has been dated to the late seventh century BCE and the word *rex* is painted on a piece of pottery from that site.

Livy claims that Romulus chose 100 *patres* or 'fathers'—which is the origin of the word *patricians*—to be his advisory council or senate, which probably only met when the king summoned it. Cornell dates the formation of the *comitium* (or people's assembly) to the middle of the seventh century BCE. As we will see in Chapter 2, Rome's political system grew into a sophisticated structure governing most aspects of daily life.

EARLY COMMERCE

Business in Rome rapidly increased as stalls were built for local shopkeepers and foreign traders on newly-paved parts of the city. The first shops were probably temporary stalls until the time of Tarquinius Priscus when, according to Livy, the Forum was lined with shops.⁹ The Old Shops

sold provisions—as they faced away from the sun—and the New Shops were let to foreigners and butchers.

It is a little puzzling what the early Romans could have exchanged with foreign traders. They did not have coins as yet, so cattle and lumps of copper were given as currency, which must have been obtained from Etruria as Latium had no metals. They sold salt, grain, timber, sheep, pigs and cattle, and possibly wine and olive oil, in exchange for such luxury items as Attic and Corinthian pottery and gold and silver jewellery.

A central area emerged for shops, temples and political meeting places. Inhabitants could mingle with each other every day to gossip, trade, shop, work, worship their gods and discuss politics. Thus, the bustling city of Rome was well and truly on its way by the end of the seventh century BCE.



DIGITAL ROMAN FORUM

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

THE ROMAN FORUM

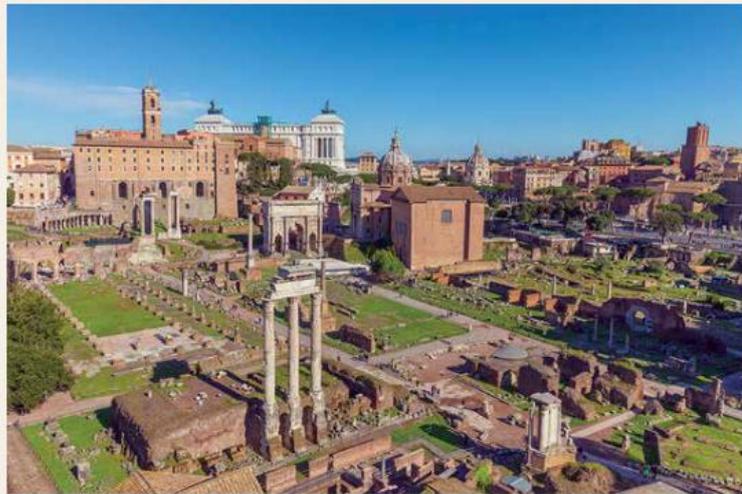
The Roman Forum is the most historically significant place, and idea, left by the ancient Romans. Even today we use the word *forum* to mean a place or meeting for public debate, or a court or tribunal.

The Roman Forum, originally a market place, gradually came to include *Basilica* or lawcourts, the *Curia* (Senate house) and Rostra (speakers' platform). The *Comitium* or people's assembly held discussions near the Rostra. The *Acta Diurna*, a daily gazette carved in metal announcing the day's activities, was stationed in the Forum from about 59 BCE for people to read and discuss. The *Tabularium*, where numerous officials worked and state archives were held, was at the north end, and above it loomed the great temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill. Emperors might build other Forums nearby but the Roman Forum was where they had their triumphal marches and arches.

Such was the Roman Forum's significance that all roads into Rome met there. Wherever the Romans went, they built forums in their conquered cities, always on or near the main roads out of the province. These forums were not just market places but usually contained large Basilicas and temples, with the temple to Jupiter at the north end a direct copy of the Capitoline temple. Due to the forums, the Romans' way of life influenced people from as far away as York in northern England to Spain, Greece, North Africa and the Middle East.

SOURCE 1.27

The Roman Forum.



CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Why is the Temple of Vesta important for the city of Rome and for historians today?
2. How do we know that kings ruled Rome and when they ruled?
3. What goods did Romans sell in the Forum, and what does this tell us about the Roman economy?

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Discuss life in Rome before and after the paving of the Forum.

ACTIVITY

CONCLUSION



The eternal city of Rome, developed at the very centre of Italy on one of the few navigable rivers in Italy. It began as a collection of little huts that gradually developed into villages on the Capitoline and Palatine hills, well before the time of the mythical Romulus. Inspired by the example of the Etruscan and Greek city-states, these hill villages began to consider uniting. In around the middle of the seventh century BCE, the villagers joined together, probably under the direction of

kings, to pave the Forum area. Once that was done they were able to construct buildings such as the temple to Vesta, with its flame burning eternally at the heart of their state.

The popular legend of Romulus, the descendant of Aeneas who created a state in a few years, is not nearly as fascinating as the real story of the unification and gradual emergence of the city of Rome.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

'The site of Rome on the Tiber River was the main reason for its rise to power.'

1. Explore the accuracy of this statement by creating a colourful mind-map with Rome at its centre. Give at least eight reasons for Rome's rise, with each reason encased in a bubble and arrows pointing at central Rome.
2. Then highlight the reason you consider to be the **main** one for Rome's rise. Defend your choice and your reasons for that choice in a class discussion.

ESSAY

Write an essay of 400–500 words on one of the topics below. Your argument should be supported by evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations.

- If there were settlements that existed well before Romulus, when was Rome actually 'founded'? In 1700 BCE, 1000 BCE, 753 BCE or 650 BCE? Use evidence to support your argument for a particular date.
- 'Rome would not have been such a great city if she had not been influenced by the Phoenicians, Etruscans and Greeks'. Discuss, using evidence.

EXTENSION

The god Quirinus storms into the National Press Club in Canberra demanding a hearing. The god gives a passionate defence of his role in founding Rome. Class members acting as reporters take turns questioning Quirinus, each using one piece of evidence to try to convince Quirinus that Rome was founded well before the god's time.

EXAM PREPARATION

Analyse the significance of traditional and mythical narratives in the development of Rome. Use evidence to support your response.

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 1

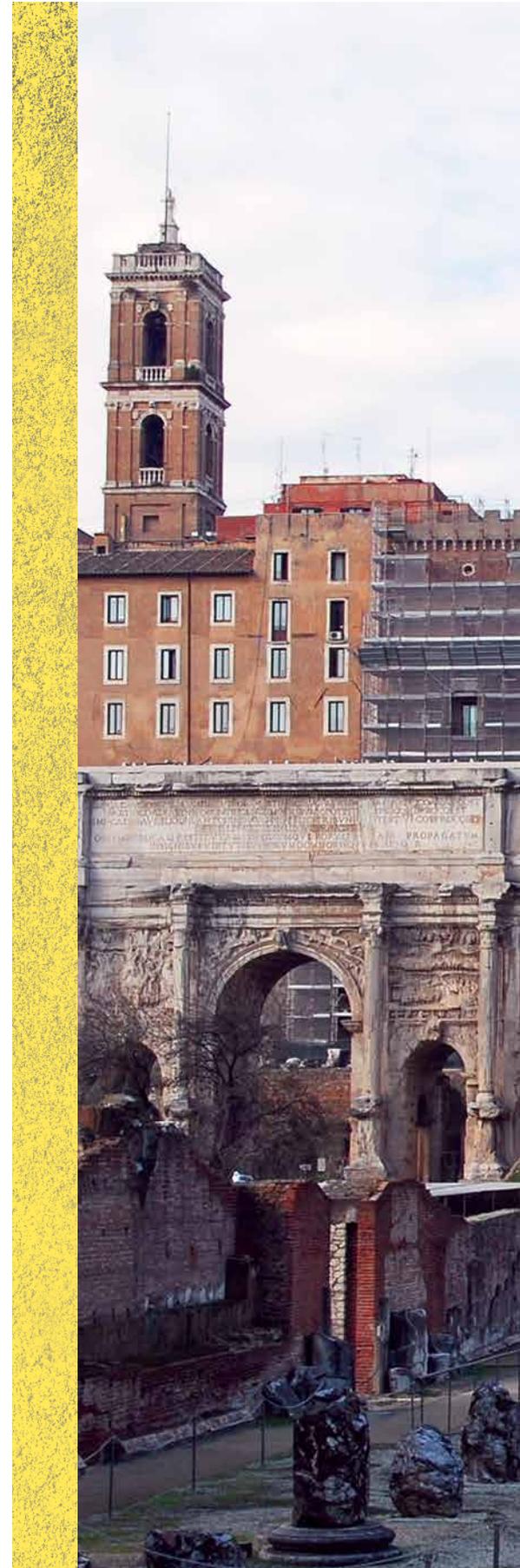
CHAPTER

2

ROMAN LIFE UNDER THE KINGS

'There is no reason, I feel, to object when antiquity draws no hard line between the human and the supernatural: it adds dignity to the past, and, if any nation deserves the privilege of claiming a divine ancestry, that nation is our own; and so great is the glory won by the Roman people in their wars that, when they declare that Mars himself was their first parent and father of the man who founded their city, all the nations of the world might well allow the claim as readily as they accept Rome's imperial dominion.'¹

LIVY





The Roman Forum, political centre of the Roman world for over 1000 years. The building in the centre is the *Curia Julia*, where the Senate met.

OVERVIEW

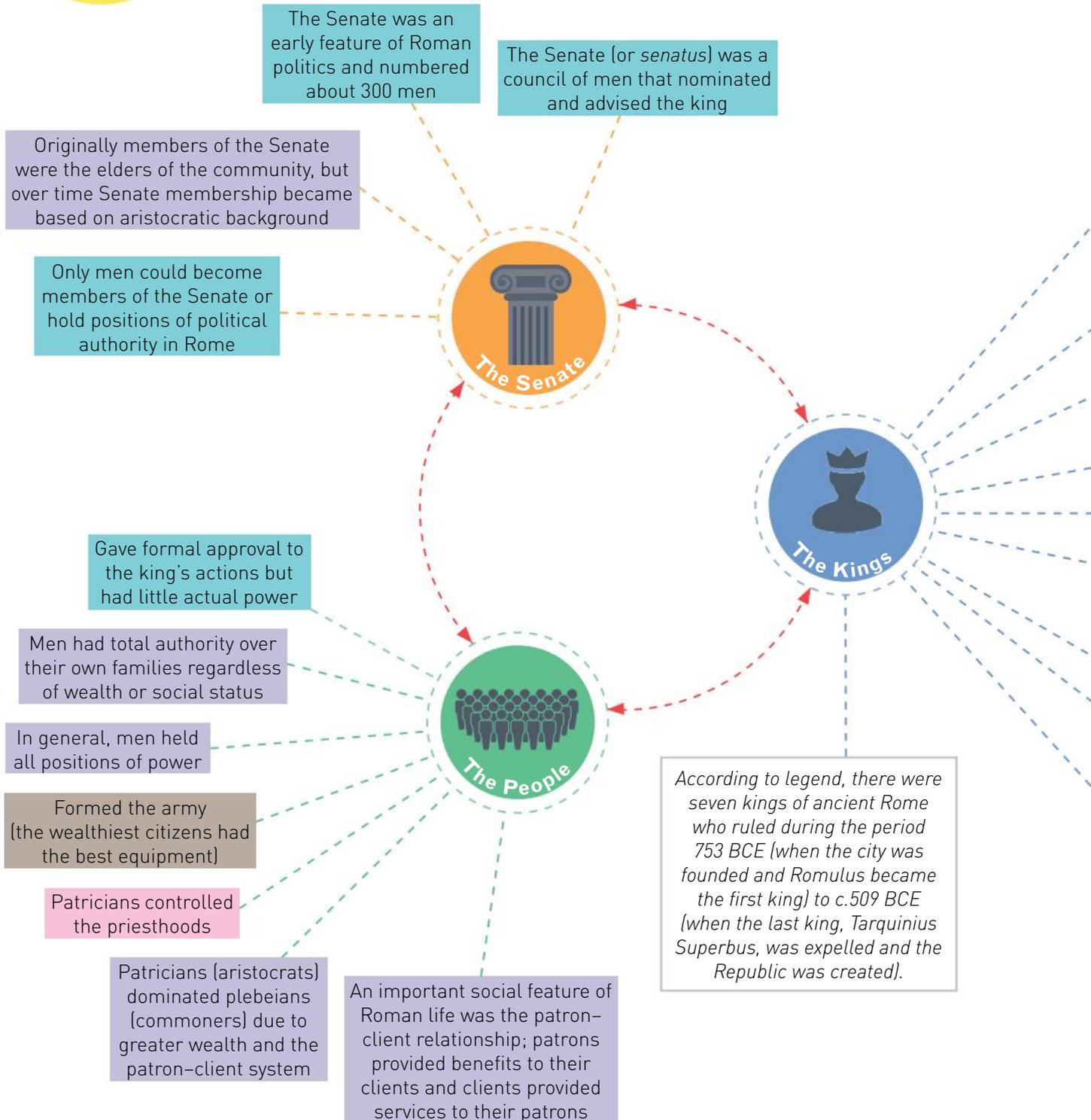
KEY:

Military

Political

Social

Religious



When studying ancient Rome in the period 753–509 BCE—when Rome was ruled by kings—it can be difficult to separate legend from history

Had military, religious and legal authority

- Chief executive of the state
- High priest of the state
- Commander of the army

Did not inherit the position, but were elected by (and from) the nobles

There is no reliable evidence that these kings existed (except the three Etruscan kings). So in discussing them, we must say 'according to legend' or 'according to tradition'.

Required the formal approval of the citizens who met in an assembly

The kings were credited with setting up important social and religious customs, fortifying the young city of Rome and expanding Rome's power by defeating neighbouring Italian communities.

Could summon the people in an assembly

Were advised by a council of old and noble men (the Senate)

EARLY REGAL PERIOD (753–617 BCE)	LATER REGAL PERIOD (616–509 BCE)
Kings of Latin or Sabine origin (probably myths)	Kings of Etruscan origin (probably historical)
Credited with establishing legal, social, political and religious practices	Credited with expanding Roman power in Latium

KEY EVENTS

(* indicates traditional dates)

- 753 BCE***
Romulus founds the city of Rome
- 715 BCE***
Numa Pompilius becomes king
- 673 BCE***
Tullus Hostilius becomes king
- Mid- to late-seventh century BCE**
The earliest form of the *Curia Hostilia* (the Senate house) is built
- 642 BCE***
Ancus Marcius becomes king
- 616 BCE***
Tarquinius Priscus (*Tarquin the Elder*) becomes king
- Late seventh to early sixth century BCE**
The earliest forms of the *Circus Maximus* and *Cloaca Maxima* are built
The size of the Senate increases from 100 to 300 members
- 578 BCE***
Servius Tullius becomes king
- Early to mid-sixth century BCE**
Citizens are organised into the *comitia centuriata* (the Centuriate Assembly) according to wealth
The armed forces are reformed based on the Greek model of hoplite tactics
Rome becomes the dominant member of the Latin League
- 534 BCE***
Tarquinius Superbus (*Tarquin the Proud*) becomes king
- c.509 BCE***
Tarquinius Superbus is expelled. The Roman Republic is established

THE KINGS AFTER ROMULUS

PLUTARCH: 'Although it seemed a good idea to everyone to have a king, they argued and were divided over not only which man should rule but also which nation he should come from.'

A TIME OF LEGENDS

The biggest challenge faced by those studying the period of the Roman *kings* (the 'regal period') is the difficulty of separating fact from fiction, legend from history. There were certainly kings in the early period and some of the seven traditional Roman kings, especially the later ones, were probably real people. Few records survive from the regal period; an attack on Rome by warriors from Gaul in 390 BCE destroyed many records, and others were lost over time. Therefore, when ancient historians such as Titus Livius (better known as Livy) and Polybius, on whom we rely so much for knowledge about this time, began writing the history of Rome they were in much the same situation as we are now. They were writing centuries after these events, they had few written sources to work with and the stories they heard passed down through the oral tradition were unreliable.²

Some of the kings (such as Numa Pompilius) were seen by later Romans as important positive forces in the growth of Rome as a city-state. Others—especially the last king, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus—were seen in such a negative light that, after the monarchy came to an end, the Romans had an intense dislike of the idea of kings. However, we do not really know anything reliable about these kings' personalities or achievements. The social developments they get credit for did happen in roughly the order that the tradition says they did, but it is hard to say for sure what any specific individual may have done. Much of what we now know about the regal period is based on the social features that continued into the later period of Roman history, and on the political structure of similar monarchical cultures in the ancient world, as well as archaeological evidence.



DIGGING HISTORY:
THE REGAL PERIOD

📍 SOURCE 2.01

The *Lapis Niger* ('Black Stone'), an ancient stone block in Rome with an early Latin inscription that refers to the king. The later Romans linked the site where it was found with the regal period in various ways, such as believing it marked the grave of Romulus.



THE EARLY KINGS

The three kings that came after Romulus had a Latin or Sabine origin and, according to tradition, established fundamental features of Roman religion, law and politics. Like Romulus, a great deal of legend surrounds these figures. These kings, the period of time which they ruled (according to tradition) and their main achievements are now outlined.

NUMA POMPILIUS (r. 715–673 BCE)

Roman tradition has it that the reign of the priest-king Numa Pompilius was long (forty-three years) and peaceful. He was given credit for building temples, updating the Roman calendar, and introducing important religious festivals, cults and sacrifices. For example, Numa Pompilius brought the priestesses known as the Vestal Virgins to Rome. These developments did occur early in the regal period, so it made sense to the Romans to give the credit to the king of that era. However, it is more likely that these developments were part of a general process of cultural change.

Numa Pompilius' role emphasised more civilised social practices, such as respect for the gods and the law, in contrast with the other, more warlike kings. That much of the history of the early kings is legendary can be seen in a story told by the ancient historian Livy, that Numa Pompilius used to get advice from the water nymph Egeria at night near Rome's Porta Capena gate.



← SOURCE 2.02

Numa Pompilius receives the laws of Rome from the nymph Egeria. Painted by Giani Felice, 1806. The tablet at Pompilius' feet is inscribed with the letters *SPQR*, a shorthand form of 'The Senate and People of Rome'.

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 2.02 and complete the tasks below.

1. Describe the character of Numa Pompilius, according to this image.
2. Explain how mythological elements are part of the accounts of early Roman history. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the extent to which the tablet with 'SPQR' inscribed on it accurately reflects the structure of Roman society at the time. Use evidence to support your response.

ACTIVITY

TULLUS HOSTILIUS (r. 673–642 BCE)

Where Numa Pompilius' reign was peaceful, the period of Tullus Hostilius' thirty-two year reign was marked by war. The warrior-king was said to be responsible for the defeat and destruction of the city of Alba Longa (a city founded centuries earlier by Ascanius, the son of Aeneas, and the ancestor of Romulus and Remus). There is no archaeological evidence for this, but the story may have helped later Romans make sense of how Rome surpassed Alba Longa as the dominant city in Latium. That Tullus Hostilius existed is suggested by the name of the house where the Senate met (the *Curia Hostilia*), which developed around the time that Tullus Hostilius would have been king.



↑ SOURCE 2.03

Tullus Hostilius.

ANCUS MARCIUS (r. 642–617 BCE)

Ancus Marcius, both strong in war and wise in peace, was credited with expanding Roman territory down to the sea at Ostia, where valuable salt was extracted from the local lagoons and traded to people living inland. Tradition also claimed that Ancus Marcius defeated neighbouring tribes, built a bridge and an aqueduct and introduced new religious practices. There is, however, very little evidence for any of these developments.

THE ETRUSCAN KINGS

In contrast to the early kings, the last three kings probably existed. At least two of them (the Tarquinii) were Etruscan and their reigns indicate that Rome was under Etruscan rule, or at least Etruscan influence, for about a century. These kings, the period they ruled (according to tradition) and their main achievements are outlined below.

SOURCE 2.04

Tarquinius Priscus.



TARQUINIUS PRISCUS (r. 616–579 BCE)

Tarquinius Priscus (often called Tarquin, or Tarquin the Elder) was credited with defeating other Latin cities, introducing drainage, expanding the Senate, encouraging the pottery trade and building the first stadium in Rome for racing and games. In the works of ancient historians, many of Tarquin's accomplishments were mixed up with the accomplishments of his son (or possibly grandson), Tarquinius Superbus, who was the seventh and last king of Rome. Tarquin the Elder was supposedly murdered by the sons of Ancus Marcius, who believed the kingship should have remained in their family. However, in the confusion surrounding the murder, Tanaquil (Tarquin's wife) secured the throne for her son-in-law, Servius Tullius.



SOURCE 2.05

Servius Tullius.

SERVIUS TULLIUS (r. 578–535 BCE)

It is unclear if Servius Tullius was Etruscan or Latin, but the Etruscan influence on Rome continued in this period. Servius Tullius was credited with introducing a number of military and political reforms that helped pave the way for important features of life in the Republic. One of Servius' reforms was organising citizens into military and voting groups (the *Centuriate Assembly*) that were based on the wealth of the citizens in each group. Servius also enhanced the physical defences around the expanding city by building earthworks and ditches. However, the stone wall that bears his name (the 'Servian Wall') was not actually constructed until the fourth century BCE. Servius was killed by Tarquin Superbus and Tullia, Servius' own daughter.



SOURCE 2.06

A painting showing Tullia driving over her father's corpse.

TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS (r. 534–509 BCE)

Tarquinius Superbus (also known as Tarquin the Proud) was usually believed by ancient writers to be the son of Tarquin the Elder, although it is more likely that he was the grandson. He was represented in Roman writing as a tyrant—oppressive, violent and greedy. Despite this reputation, the reign of Tarquinius Superbus is notable for continuing many of the improvements begun under the previous two kings. He expanded the city and completed the construction of the Temple of Jupiter. Tarquin’s aggressive foreign policy led to the reorganisation of an alliance of Latin cities under Roman leadership. Tarquin was expelled from Rome by Lucius Junius Brutus with the support of the Roman people. According to tradition, Tarquin Superbus attempted to regain his power twice afterwards but failed both times. He died in exile in 495 BCE, the last of the Roman kings.



SOURCE 2.07

Tarquinius Superbus.

FACT FILE

Construct a table or diagram that shows the following facts for each of the kings after Romulus (you may need to do additional research):

- The start and end dates of their reign
- The changes they introduced
- The challenges they faced and how they dealt with these challenges.



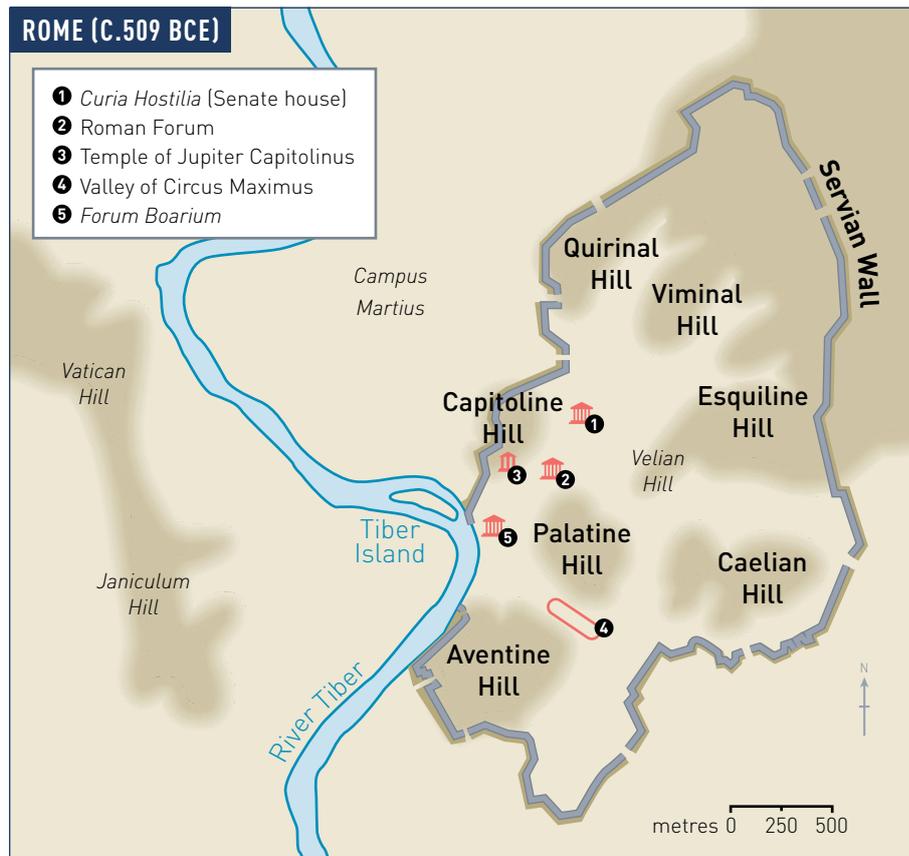
KINGS FACT FILE

BELIEFS AND VALUES

How did the ancient Romans use the stories of the kings to make sense of social and political developments?

ACTIVITY

ROME (C.509 BCE)



ROME C. 509 BCE: MAP TASK

SOURCE 2.08

THE CITY OF ROME BY THE END OF THE REGAL PERIOD

The Seven Hills of Rome can be seen in bold.

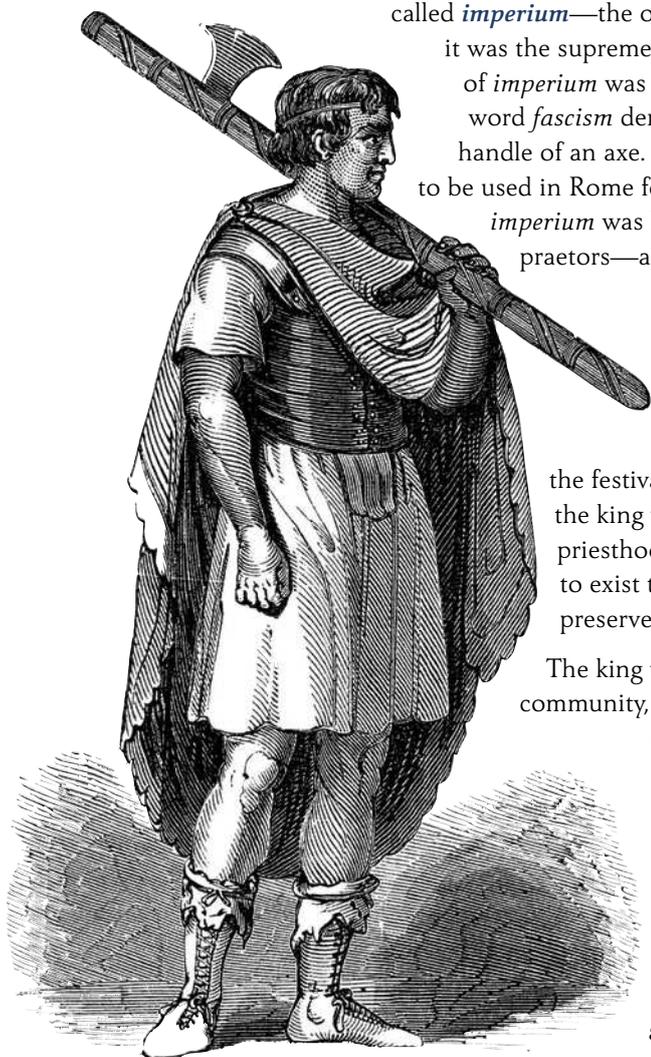
THE SOCIAL AND POLITICAL HIERARCHY

THE KING

During the regal period, the Roman king held a range of powers. The king was advised—and sometimes greatly influenced—by a group made up of the older men of the society. These older men were usually also wealthy and aristocratic. The rest of the population would come together in an assembly and listen to what the king had to say. The assembly could not vote, but there was at least some sense that the king was responsible for communicating his decisions to the people. The Roman kings did not inherit their position in a dynastic way (meaning that a king was not born to be a king just because of who his parents were). In ancient Rome, the king was chosen from eligible *noble* families by the members of the Senate and then the people of Rome officially confirmed the selection. A Roman king's power was exercised in three main ways: military, judicial and religious.

▼ SOURCE 2.09

A Roman lictor carrying the *fasces*. The *fasces* was a bundle of wooden rods tied around an axe, and symbolised official power.



The king was the commander-in-chief of the armed forces of Rome. The power to command the army and to punish or execute members of the community was called *imperium*—the origin of words such as *empire*, *emperor* and *imperial*—and it was the supreme military and legal authority in ancient Rome. The power of *imperium* was symbolised by an object called the *fasces* (from which the word *fascism* derives). A *fasces* was a bundle of rods secured around the handle of an axe. The *fasces* symbol and the power of *imperium* continued to be used in Rome for many centuries; after the end of the regal period, *imperium* was held by high-ranking officials such as consuls and praetors—and ultimately became the basis for the emperor's power.

The king also held a position as a priest. This involved determining (or at least announcing) which days were considered appropriate for conducting public business according to the signs given by the gods.³ The king also offered sacrifices, supervised the priests and proclaimed the festivals.⁴ There were other priests during the regal period so the king was not necessarily the highest religious authority. A priesthood called the *rex sacrorum* ('king of sacred rites') continued to exist throughout republican times and may have been created to preserve the religious role originally held by the king.

The king was the chief judge in matters that affected the whole community, such as murder, or matters of state security, such as treason. Punishment for these crimes involved being hanged from a tree or being sewn up in a sack and thrown into the River Tiber. The king was probably not able to interfere in private matters between individual citizens, such as charges of theft.

There is a long-standing belief that the Roman people were against the idea of having kings once the kingship had been abolished. Julius Caesar, for example, was assassinated in 44 BCE partly because the Senate feared

he would try to become a king. Hostility towards kings was probably stronger among the Roman nobility of the Republic—who would not have wanted to give up power to a single ruler—than it was among the common people.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

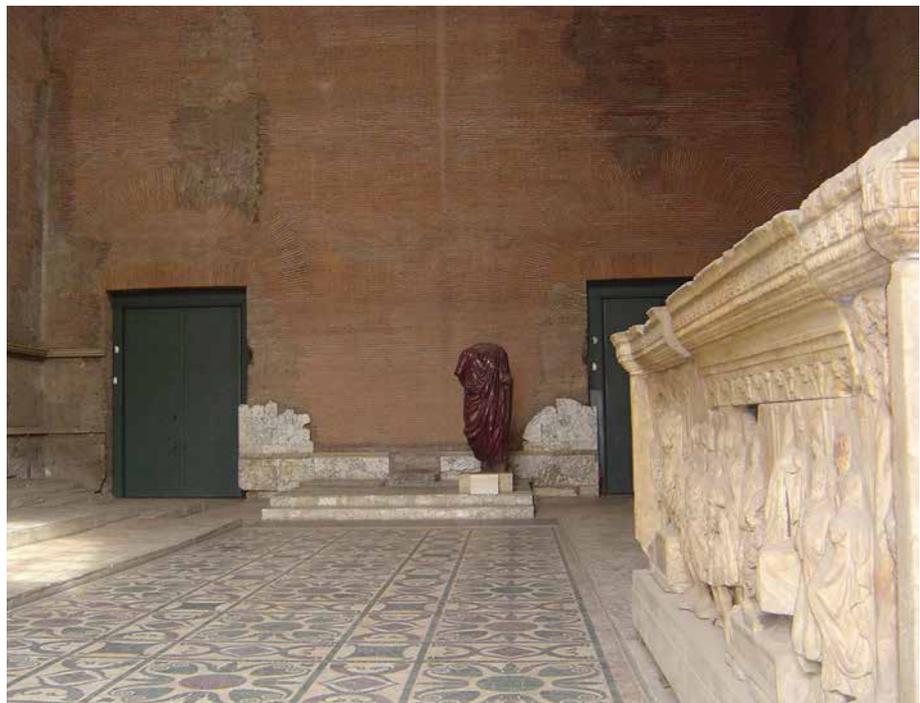
1. What range of powers were exercised by kings of Rome during the regal period?
2. What object symbolised the imperium and why?
3. To what extent were kings able to rule without consulting other members of Roman society?

ACTIVITY

THE SENATE

It is unclear exactly how the *Senate* (*senatus*) was organised in the earliest part of the regal period—and reading the accounts of Roman historians does not make the story much clearer.⁵ According to Livy, Romulus selected the original 100 men to form the Senate. These 100 men were called *patres* ('fathers'), probably indicating that they were the older and supposedly wiser men who acted like the fathers of the community. The king Ancus Marcius later added another 100 men to the Senate but the number dropped again before the end of the regal period. Livy further writes that when the new Republic was being formed, the size of the Senate was increased to 300. The additional 200 senators who were added were called *conscripti* (meaning 'those who are enrolled'). During speeches, the senators as a group were addressed as *patres et conscripti* (which means something like 'fathers and enrolees' but is often translated into English as 'conscript fathers'). It is difficult to know how accurate this is. It is possible that the size of the Senate was 300 during at least some of the regal period with the *conscripti* being added by one of the kings. These men, who relied on the king for their new position, may have helped to reinforce the king's power in relation to the more established senators.⁶

During the regal period, the main role of the Senate was to provide advice to the king—although the king could reject this advice. However, as kings came and went but the Senate endured, the Senate—in a sense—acted as a storehouse of custom and law that the individual kings could draw upon.⁷ One of the Senate's most important tasks was to appoint an *interrex* (a sort of 'caretaker king') during a period called the *interregnum* after a king died. This *interrex* would nominate a new king, which the Senate and the people then approved.



HEIRARCHY IN THE REGAL PERIOD

SOURCE 2.10

Modern restored interior of the *Curia Julia*. The last of the Senate Houses built in this location, it was completed in 29 BCE.

➔ SOURCE 2.11

Livy, *The History of Rome I.17*,
trans. Aubrey de Selincourt
(London: Penguin Books, 2002).

THE INTERREGNUM

The senators were soon quarrelling over the succession to the throne. It was a rivalry of factions, not of individuals ... The Sabine element wanted a king of Sabine blood ... the Roman element regarded the prospect of a foreigner on the throne with abhorrence [loathing]. Despite their differences, however, both parties were united in their desire for a king ... Some form of government there must be; this much was agreed, and, as neither party would yield, the hundred senators determined to exercise a joint control ... The monarchy was in abeyance [suspended] for a year, and the period of its abeyance was known as the 'interregnum', a term still in use.

The populace [people] disliked this turn of events, and complained that it brought them a hundred masters instead of one, an even worse slavery than before. The senators, seeing that the common[er]s were unlikely to continue to submit to any authority other than that of a king, elected, moreover, by themselves, decided to take the initiative by offering what in any case they were sure to lose. Accordingly they recovered the favour of the populace by granting them supreme power, but on condition that their election of a king should be valid only if it were ratified [confirmed] by themselves—thus keeping, in effect, as much power as they gave. The same right is exercised in political affairs today, though it has now become a mere empty form; before the common[er]s vote the senate ratifies the result, whatever it may be.

ACTIVITY

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 2.11 and complete the tasks below.

1. Outline the reasons why, according to Livy, there were quarrels over the succession to the throne.
2. Explain why the people objected to the interregnum. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the extent to which power was held by the Senate in the regal period of Rome. Use evidence to support your response.

THE CURIATE ASSEMBLY

Every citizen of Rome was also a member of one of thirty communities called *curiae* (a *curia* means something like 'a gathering of people'⁸). The thirty *curiae* were divided into three groups called tribes, named Ramnes, Tities and Luceres. Membership in the *curiae* was probably hereditary and each *curia* had its own cult and religious practices. Groups of *curiae* would also come together for larger festivals such as the Fordicidia (when pregnant cows were sacrificed to the earth-goddess Tellus) and the Fornacalia (a festival of ovens).

When assembled, the citizens of the *curiae* formed the *Curiate Assembly* (or *comitia curiata* in Latin). They assembled to formally grant kingship to the nominees presented to them by the nobility. The Curiate Assembly did not have the power to make laws, but it did give formal approval to acts such as declarations of war. The Curiate Assembly could also be called together by the king so the community could hear about matters relevant to the community, such as adoptions, the reading of wills and grants of citizenship. However limited its power, the existence of this assembly implies the idea that the regal government was responsible to the people to some extent.

The Curiate Assembly's role became steadily less significant during the Republic as other assemblies of the people developed. Nevertheless, it continued to exist until the early empire, meeting to grant *imperium* to officials or to witness religious ceremonies.

THE CENTURIATE ASSEMBLY

According to tradition, the sixth Roman king, Servius Tullius, began to summon the citizens of Rome in the form of the Centuriate Assembly (the *comitia centuriata*) around the middle of the sixth century BCE. Originally, it was probably more of a way to organise people for military duty than for any political activity. The Centuriate Assembly's role in decision-making would only emerge during the first century of the Republic. The military nature of the Centuriate Assembly can be seen in its name and the way it was run—a 'century' was originally a military formation of 100 men. The assembly was summoned by a trumpet blast, red military flags were flown while it was in session and the assembly could only be called together by someone with *imperium*—the king during the regal period, and an official such as a consul during the Republic. The assembly met at the Field of Mars (*Campus Martius*), which was the army's parade ground outside the city's sacred boundary (the *pomerium*). No Roman army was permitted to enter this sacred boundary and no commander could give orders inside it.



↑ SOURCE 2.12

Detail from a Greek jug made in the seventh century BCE depicting Greek hoplites in a phalanx formation. These soldiers carry the kind of weapons and armour probably used by the Romans in the regal period.

THE PHALANX LEGION

The army of Rome in the early regal period was a single unit of men called the *legio*. The kings enlisted those citizens—both noble and common—who were wealthy enough to afford the armour and weapons needed to fight in defence of the community. Each of the three tribes supplied a regiment of 1000 infantry (100 from each *curia*) led by an officer called a tribune of the soldiers (*tribunus militum*). Each tribe also provided a block of 100 cavalry. Thus the total infantry was 3000 and the total cavalry was 300. The infantry soldiers (*pedites*) were organised into blocks of 100 men (later 60) called 'centuries' (*centuria* in Latin).

Around the beginning of the seventh century BCE, warfare in Italy started to reflect the hoplite tactics of Greek warfare, a development traditionally attributed to the later king Servius Tullius.⁹ Hoplites wore heavy bronze armour and helmets and carried spears and large shields. They fought side by side in a wide line, several ranks deep; this block of warriors was called a *phalanx*. The size of the legion also doubled to 6000 men when hoplite tactics were adopted. These disciplined blocks of citizen soldiers became the basis for Roman military power in their region of Italy. The organisation of the people of Rome into groups of men whose wealth determined their military role would also provide the model for organising men into voting units in the assemblies that emerged in the Republic.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What sort of people were in the Senate during the regal period of Rome?
2. What was the difference between the Curiate Assembly and the Centuriate Assembly?
3. How much political power did the common people of Rome appear to have?



↑ SOURCE 2.13

Female slaves attending a Roman patrician.

PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS

During the regal period, some Roman families monopolised senatorial and religious positions for generations. These families formed an aristocracy called the *patricians*. According to legend, they were the descendants of the men that Romulus had first appointed to the Senate. Livy sees a connection between the word *patres* and the word *patricii* or ‘patricians’, although the patrician class may not have actually emerged until after the end of the regal period.¹⁰ The patricians’ power was based on wealth, landownership, military aggression and control of priesthoods. By controlling priesthoods, patricians could interpret laws along the lines of religious belief

because no legal code had yet been written. Patricians also had the right to interpret divine omens (*auspicia*) and decide whether or not public business could proceed on any particular day. The patricians also dominated the Curiate Assembly through their influence rather than their numbers.¹¹

The rest of Roman society, which made up the majority, were the *plebeians*. The plebeians were the ‘many’—peasants, craftsmen, labourers, and even some wealthy non-nobles. When the monarchy was abolished, the plebeians suffered most, as they were no longer protected by a king who relied on their support against the patricians. The tension between these two groups—often called the ‘Struggle of the Orders’—became a major feature of the early Republic.



PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS: GRAPHIC ORGANISER



UNDERSTANDING CLIENTS AND PATRONS



EVALUATING POWER IN ANCIENT ROME

CLIENTS AND PATRONS

One of the most prominent characteristics of Roman society, evident even in the regal period, was the assumption that some men were born to lead and others were natural followers. This idea was expressed in the institution of patronage and clientship. *Clients* were obliged to follow their *patron* to war, to support him in politics and to give him respectful attention—such duties were called ‘offices’ (*officia*). In turn, the patron had to give the client ‘benefits’ (*beneficia*), which meant protecting his life and interests, especially in courts of law. This was particularly important for the plebeians since the patricians controlled the legal system. The patron and client relationship was hereditary on both sides and continued to be an essential feature of Roman life well into the imperial period.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE PATRON

Providing the client with legal or financial help

Helping to arrange business or marriage

Supporting a client’s candidacy for a position in the government or priesthood

Providing a client with a daily allowance of food or money (the *sportula*)

A special form of patronage applied to the relationship between a *freedman* or *freedwoman* and his or her former owner. A former owner and an ex-slave often remained close and there are many inscriptions on tombs showing that a former master would take care of the burial of a freedman or freedwoman or vice versa. In some cases, a patron and freedman or freedwoman would even be buried together.

OBLIGATIONS OF THE CLIENT

Visiting the patron's house at dawn every day to greet the patron (the *salutatio*)

Accompanying the patron in public to enhance the patron's prestige

Providing personal protection to the patron

Providing political support for the patron



📍 SOURCE 2.14

Tomb altar from Ostia (mid-to-late second century CE) dedicated to the *liberto optimo* ('best freedman'), Lucius Caltilius Diadumenus by his patron, Lucius Caltilius Euhodus.

📖 SOURCE 2.15

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The Roman Antiquities Volume 1, Books 1–2, II.8*, trans. Earnest Cary (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937).

📖 SOURCE 2.16

Plutarch, *Lives Volume I, XIII.3*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914), 5–6.

PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS

[Romulus] distinguished those who were eminent for their birth, approved for their virtue and wealthy for those times, provided they already had children, from the obscure, the lowly and the poor. Those of the lower rank he called 'plebeians' ... and those of the higher rank 'fathers,' either because they had children or from their distinguished birth or for all these reasons. One may suspect that he found his model in the system of government which at that time still prevailed at Athens. For the Athenians had divided their population into two parts, the *eupatridai* or 'well-born,' as they called those who were of the noble families and powerful by reason of their wealth, to whom the government of the city was committed, and the *agroikoi* or 'husbandmen,' consisting of the rest of the citizens, who had no voice in public affairs, though in the course of time these, also, were admitted to the offices.

CLIENTS AND PATRONS

... Romulus thought it the duty of the foremost and most influential citizens to watch over the more lowly for fatherly care and concern, while he taught the multitude not to fear their superiors nor be vexed at their honours, but to exercise goodwill towards them ... he separated the nobles from multitude, calling the one 'patrons,' that is to say, protectors, and the other 'clients,' that is to say, dependants. At the same time he inspired both classes with an astonishing goodwill towards each other, and one which became the basis of important rights and privileges. For the patrons advised their clients in matters of custom, and represented them in courts of justice, in short, were their counsellors and friends in all things; while the clients were devoted to their patrons, not only holding them in honour, but actually, in cases of poverty, helping them to dower their daughters and pay their debts. And there was neither any law nor any magistrate that could compel a patron to bear witness against a client, or a client against a patron.

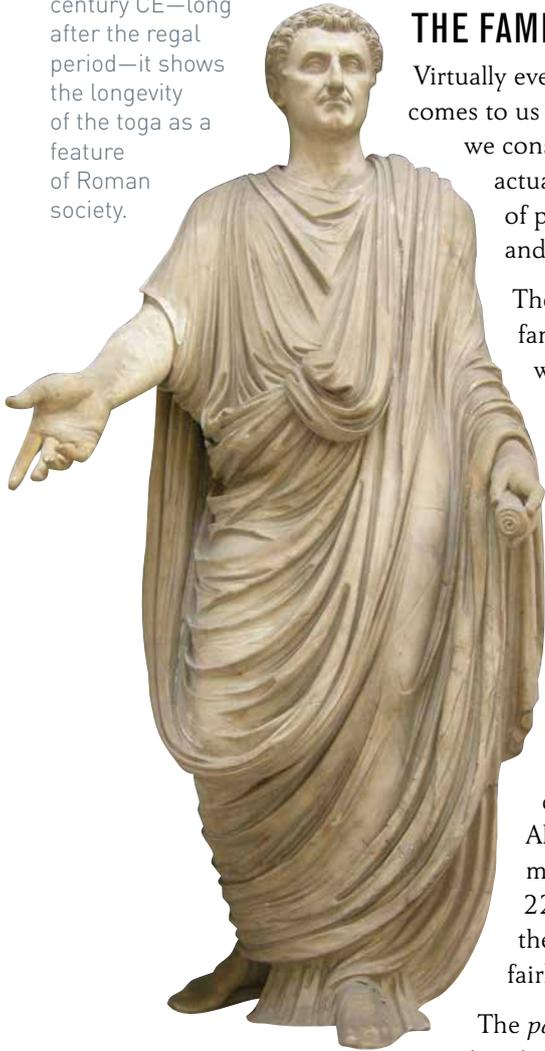
SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Sources 2.15 and 2.16 and complete the tasks below.

1. Describe the characteristics of the people chosen to be patricians and patrons, according to Dionysius and Plutarch.
2. Explain the relationship between the nobles and commoners. In your response, use your own knowledge and the sources.
3. Evaluate the degree to which social relationships were based on reciprocity and goodwill in ancient Rome. Use evidence to support your response.

▼ SOURCE 2.17

Although this statue was created in the first century CE—long after the regal period—it shows the longevity of the toga as a feature of Roman society.



DAILY LIFE

THE FAMILY

Virtually everything we know about the experiences of people in ancient Rome comes to us from sources created by adult, slave-owning males. Therefore, when we consider women, children and slaves in the ancient world we are often actually studying the way men in the ancient world viewed those groups of people. This influences the nature of the history that was created—and which we study now.

The head of a Roman household (*familia* in Latin) was male. Although family relations usually focused on the nuclear family (male head, wife, children), a household belonged to a wider community of related families called the *gens* (often translated as ‘clan’). If a person died with no heirs, the *gens* as a whole would inherit the person’s wealth and the members of a *gens* had various religious obligations they had to attend to.¹² In a typical three-part Roman man’s name, the middle name (the *nomen*) indicated his *gens*. For example, Quintus Fabius Maximus was a member of the *gens Fabia* and Gaius Julius Caesar was a member of the *gens Julia*.

A unique aspect of Roman family connections was the *patria potestas* (‘father’s power’), which was held by the *paterfamilias* (literally the ‘father of the family’), the oldest male member of the family. The power applied to the *paterfamilias*’ own children and descendants of male children or male grandchildren. Although it might seem like one old man might end up ruling over multiple generations, the low average life expectancy of between 22.5 and 30 years in the Roman era meant that households where the *paterfamilias* was living with his grandchildren ‘were probably fairly rare’.¹³

The *paterfamilias* was responsible for representing the family in social situations, and for conducting religious rites on behalf of his household.

The *paterfamilias* legally owned the property and earnings of his descendants, decided if they could get married or divorced and even had the power of life and death, mutilation and expulsion over them. This power does not seem to have been exercised very often—but the power was only limited by ‘moral constraints and the force of custom’¹⁴ rather than laws. In practice, these customs meant that the *paterfamilias* usually consulted male members of the household before making major decisions and often released their sons from their authority. When the *paterfamilias* died, every male under his authority became the head of his own household and divided up the estate of the *paterfamilias*.

This absolute authority may have developed in the early period of Roman culture, before there was an established justice system and so the *paterfamilias* was ‘expected to police the members of his household in the absence of any other authority’.¹⁵ The fact that the authority of the *paterfamilias* endured for so many centuries, even though a justice system had emerged, suggests that a conservative respect for ancestral custom was a particularly Roman feature of society.¹⁶

DID YOU KNOW?

The power of the *paterfamilias* can be seen in Roman accounts of fathers killing their sons: Lucius Junius Brutus killed his sons for plotting against the Republic in 509 BCE, and Titus Manlius Torquatus ordered the execution of his son for a breach of military discipline in 340 BCE.

THE PATRIA POTESTAS

The lawgiver of the Romans [Romulus] gave all power, so to speak, to the father over the son, even for the whole duration of his life and he could choose whether to lock him up or to whip him or to keep him chained while working in the field or to kill him, even if the son happened to be already active in politics or counted among the highest officials or commended for his devotion to the state.

But not even at this point did the Roman lawgiver limit that power, but even allowed the father to sell the son, paying no attention if anyone considered this measure to be savage or more severe than was appropriate for natural sympathy.

📖 SOURCE 2.18

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The Roman Antiquities* II.26.



MORE ON
PATRIA POTESTAS

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 2.18 and complete the tasks below.

1. List the powers that a father had over his son, according to Dionysius.
2. Explain the role and responsibility of the *paterfamilias*. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the importance of the family in ancient Rome. Use evidence to support your response.

ACTIVITY

📖 SOURCE 2.19

A Roman woman wearing a tunic and a *palla* (a type of cloak).

WOMEN

As a general rule, Roman women could not participate in the political life of the community—they could not vote, attend assemblies or hold political office. However, women were engaged in the social life of Rome. They were present with other women and men at dinner parties and attended shows and other public events. Legally, women had to have a male guardian because it was believed a woman would not be able to make sensible decisions by herself regarding property, business or family matters. The way that women's identities were defined in relation to men can be seen in the way a Roman woman's name was constructed—it was simply a feminine version of her father's family name. For example, the daughter of Gaius Julius Caesar was Julia, and the daughter of Marcus Tullius Cicero was Tullia.

Roman girls could be married at the age of twelve and boys at the age of fourteen—although it was not common for this to actually happen. Women in Rome tended to be married in their late teens or early twenties, while men married in their late twenties. The age gap between wives and husbands meant that women often outlived their husbands and may have been able to influence the next *paterfamilias*—this is certainly true for later centuries.¹⁷

Women were involved in weaving and spinning wool and this was their main activity in the household.¹⁸ The principal function of women (as far as men were concerned) in Roman society of the regal period was similar to that of women in all of ancient Roman society: to have children who would be legitimate heirs of the woman's male partner. Considering that half of all children did not live to the age of five, women on average needed to have five or six children to maintain the population.¹⁹ Having children was a dangerous process for women in the ancient world: 'Childbirth killed more women than wars did men.'²⁰



➔ SOURCE 2.20

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The Roman Antiquities Volume 1, Books 1–2*, II.25, trans. Earnest Cary (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1937).

WOMEN

[Romulus] led the women to behave themselves with modesty and great decorum. The law was to this effect, that a woman joined to her husband by a holy marriage should share in all his possessions and sacred rites ... and there was nothing that could annul these marriages ... Accordingly, if a wife was virtuous and in all things obedient to her husband, she was mistress of the house to the same degree as her husband was master of it, and after the death of her husband she was heir to his property in the same manner as a daughter was to that of her father; that is, if he died without children and intestate, she was mistress of all that he left, and if he had children, she shared equally with them. But if she did any wrong, the injured party was her judge and determined the degree of her punishment. Other offences, however, were judged by her relations together with her husband ... The wisdom of this law concerning wives is attested by the length of time it was in force; for it is agreed that during the space of five hundred and twenty years no marriage was ever dissolved at Rome.

➔ SOURCE 2.21

Plutarch, *Lives Volume I, XIII.3*, trans. Bernadotte Perrin (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1914).

DIVORCE

[Romulus] also enacted certain laws, and among them one of severity, which forbids a wife to leave her husband, but permits a husband to put away his wife for using poisons, for substituting children, and for adultery; but if a man for any other reason sends his wife away, the law prescribes that half his substance shall belong to his wife, and the other half be consecrate to Ceres [goddess of agriculture]; and whosoever puts away his wife, shall make a sacrifice to the gods of the lower world.

ACTIVITY

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Sources 2.20 and 2.21 and complete the tasks below.

1. Outline the laws that Romulus made about women, according to Dionysius and Plutarch.
2. Explain the legal protections afforded women in the regal period. In your response, use your own knowledge and Source 2.21.
3. Evaluate the extent to which women had a significant social role in Rome during the regal period. Use evidence to support your response.

CHILDREN

As noted earlier, children in Rome were under the control of their father and were considered socially inferior to adults, subject to corporal punishment and often raised by a guardian figure—such as a nurse or tutor—who was usually a slave. The presence of toys in children’s graves and references to games suggest that the experience of children was not wholly different to the experience of children today.

▼ SOURCE 2.22

A sarcophagus lid featuring a carving of a child.



There was no system of public education, so a boy’s father was responsible for his education. This education included instruction in physical activities—such as wrestling and sword-fighting— and in learning about the traditions and legends of the Roman state. When a boy reached the age of 16, he was allowed to wear the white toga of adulthood rather than the *toga praetexta* (which had a



purple border), and at the age of eighteen he was qualified to undertake military service and attend public assemblies.²¹ Not much is known about girls' education or about similar rituals or ceremonies that marked a girl's coming of age. Girls' education may have involved learning about practical housekeeping and some basic degree of literacy.

SLAVES

Slavery was a well-established feature of Roman society in the regal period. Slaves were usually obtained as prisoners of war or via the slave trade. Slavery in the ancient world was not necessarily based on race. The work done by slaves was not a major feature of the economy at this early stage of Roman history; later, in the second century BCE, after the Punic War, the number of slaves in Rome would increase dramatically and contribute to significant economic changes.

Slaves in ancient Rome did all the same kind of jobs that free citizens did except hold public office: 'Slaves, freedmen and citizens all belonged to the same professional associations'.²² Some of these jobs were considered dangerous or demeaning—such as work in mining, prostitution or theatre—but none of them were held only by slaves. At this early stage of Roman society, the cultural value of self-sufficiency and the basically agricultural nature of the economy meant that citizens did most of their own work.

The key difference was not in the role slaves played economically but in their legal status—slaves were considered property. As such, they had no legal rights and could be punished, abused or killed by their owners. All Roman men except the very poorest would have owned at least one slave, who would have worked alongside his master and also acted as his companion. In wealthier families, there would have been slaves who acted as companions for every member of the household—children would have played with slave children, been raised by slave nurses and coached by slave teachers. Numerous funerary inscriptions express a master's or mistress's sadness over the death of a devoted slave. A common nickname for a slave was 'Staius' (the 'one who waits'), implying that the slave was always on hand to do the master's bidding and that loyalty was one of a slave's greatest qualities.²³ The belief in this loyalty meant that a slave could only give evidence against his or her master in a law court if the slave had been tortured.

A slave could be freed (manumitted), hence becoming a freedman or freedwoman (*libertus* or *liberta* in Latin). A freeman or freewoman, on the other hand, was someone who was born free. It was a distinctive feature of Roman society that when a slave was freed, he or she became a citizen, often remaining attached to the former owner's household and taking on the former owner's family name. Freedmen could not usually hold political office, but they could become extremely wealthy and influential (especially in the republican and imperial periods).

ACTIVITY

BELIEFS AND VALUES

What does evidence suggest about the ways in which Roman children were valued and educated?

SOURCE 2.23

Roman boys wore a *toga praetexta*, which was a toga with a purple border. After the regal period, these togas were also worn by certain officials and priests.



SLAVERY IN THE REGAL PERIOD: RESEARCH TASK

SOURCE 2.24

The circular object on the necklace of this Roman boy was called a *bula*. It was worn as protection against evil spirits.



SOURCE 2.25

The crescent-shaped object on the necklace of this Roman girl was a *lunula*. It was worn as protection against evil spirits.



AGRICULTURE AND COMMERCE

Even before the regal period, Rome, like all of Italy, was essentially agricultural and pastoral. The people grew crops and raised animals rather than becoming seafarers like the Greeks.²⁴ The region of Latium, where the Romans lived, had fertile soil because of the volcanic activity in the area which continued until as recently as 1000 BCE. (More than fifty craters can be found within forty kilometres of Rome).²⁵ In ancient Italy, farmers grew or gathered flax, beans, lentils, wheat, millet, maize, barley, hazelnuts, pears, apples²⁶, vines, olives and figs, while pastoralists raised horses, chickens, ducks, pigs, sheep, goats and cattle²⁷. Boars, deer, bears and fish may have also been hunted. The Romans did not eat much meat, although they did like bacon²⁸.

The bulk of the ancient Roman population lived and worked on the land in agriculture. The simple and rudimentary techniques used³⁰ meant that the agricultural 'industry' remained on a small scale. The smallest viable farm was considered to be seven *iugera* in area.³¹ (An *iugerum* was a Roman unit of measurement equal to about a quarter of a hectare, so a seven-*iugera* farm would have been a little smaller than two rugby fields.) The small farms meant that households lived on what they produced, with few opportunities to become wealthier by producing and selling a surplus. This self-sufficiency and self-reliance was promoted as an essential part of the Roman character for centuries.

The Roman farmer also served as the military defender of the community. His farm had to be profitable enough for him to purchase weapons and armour and to provide for his family for a month when he went to war.³² The risk of losing a crop due to poor conditions meant that individual farmers were often forced into debt. Later, in the republican period, Roman citizen farmers were away from their farms for longer periods and this increased their risk of debt. This debt could last

DID YOU KNOW?

The importance of agriculture in Roman culture is suggested by names such as Fabius ('Beanman') and Lentulus ('Lentilman').²⁹

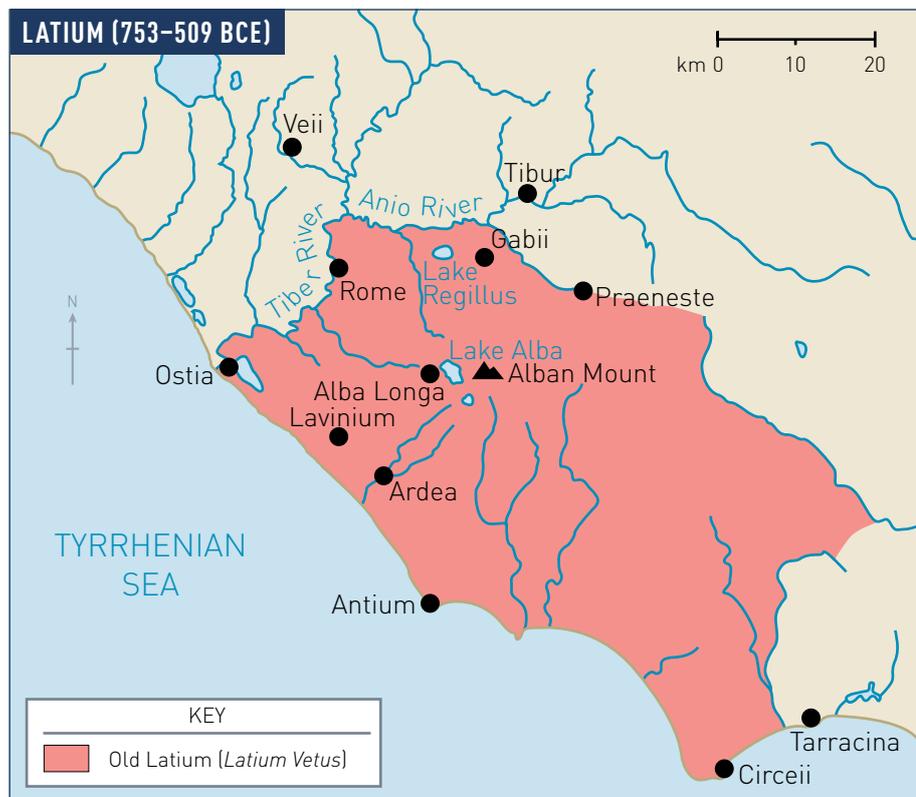


AGRICULTURE IN ANCIENT ROME

➔ SOURCE 2.26

LATIUM

The Romans' own definition of Latium evolved over time. The shaded area is the Old Latium (*Latium Vetus*) of the regal period, a region defined by the sea and the Tiber and Anio rivers to the west and north-west and the Apennines and the Pontine Marshes to the east and south.



for generations and helped to reinforce the social division between rich and poor, noble and common.

The importance of agriculture far exceeded the role of trade in ancient Rome. Commerce was looked down upon by the elites of Roman society. Livy tells us that all profit made by trading was regarded as dishonourable for the patricians. Although Italy is strategically located in the Mediterranean and the Greeks and Etruscans were involved in trade, Rome tended to produce only what the community itself needed during the regal period. Most of the produce was consumed by the household who made it, although some goods circulated further. The scarcity of minerals in Latium and the lack of a grain surplus also weakened the early Roman state's opportunity to engage in trade with the rest of Italy or the wider Mediterranean world.³³

THE LATIN LEAGUE

The cities in the region of Italy known as Latium were all independent states during the regal period. They fought one another and competed for control of the region. Nevertheless, they did share cultural connections, evident from about 1000 BCE in the material products they made and used, and they spoke variations of the Latin language.³⁴ This Latin language and culture was different (sometimes very different) to the cultures and languages of other Italian peoples. The Latins would come together at various times to participate in religious festivals and rites, the most important being held every year in spring when the Latins would gather on Mount Alban, the highest point in the Alban Hills, to venerate the Latin Jupiter.

In the sixth century BCE, the Latin states became more connected in the so-called *Latin League*. According to tradition, forty-seven towns joined together in this league³⁵ but not Rome. The connection of the towns within the league was loose—the individual states could and did still make war on each other without the league interfering. The league was a way for the member states to better organise their interactions, especially religious duties, and to coordinate defence in case of attack from some force outside the league.³⁶

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. How important was agriculture in the economy of ancient Rome?
2. What was the role of commerce in ancient Rome?
3. What was the social and political significance of the Latin League?

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

ROME AND THE LATIN LEAGUE

As with so much else in this period, the details of the relationship between Rome and the Latin League are unclear. Some evidence suggests that Rome exerted a strong influence over the league during the regal period. There is evidence of a treaty between Rome and Carthage dated to 508 BCE, in which Rome seemed to claim authority over some other Latin communities. However, not all Latin towns accepted this and when the kingship ended, the relationship with the league became more hostile until a treaty was established between Rome and the league in 493 BCE. It seems that as Rome's power fluctuated during the last part of the regal period, its ability to exert control over its neighbours also fluctuated.³⁷

Although the league was not a coordinated alliance or unified cultural institution, it provided a model for how Rome might be able to include other communities as it began to expand in the fifth century BCE. In particular, the treaty signed in 493 BCE specified mutual rights shared between Rome and the Latin League members. This helped to establish the framework by which Rome was able to conquer and unite Italy, bringing defeated towns into a community with Rome rather than as subjects under the control of Rome.³⁸



CONCLUSION

At the end of the sixth century BCE, kings no longer ruled in Rome. For centuries afterwards, Romans were hostile to the idea of monarchy. However, the most important duties of the king, especially religious and military functions, had been retained by distributing these duties to various officials. Other social features of the regal period also continued to exist. The Senate, for example, remained as an advisory body while the people still came together as assemblies. These assemblies soon developed further and in a sense Rome became a limited democracy—the people

in the assemblies had the right to elect officials and to approve or reject laws, but they could not propose laws. At the everyday level, Roman society did not change much after the regal period. Most Romans had been farmers and this remained true for centuries afterwards; the authority of the oldest male in the family to rule his household was an essential and unchanging feature of Roman life. One aspect of life that did change quickly after the end of the regal period was the tension between patricians and plebeians; once the king was gone, a struggle for power began.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Construct a diagram showing how society and politics were organised during the regal period. Outline the roles and responsibilities of various social groups and indicate their relationship to each other. In your diagram include the following individuals and groups:

- the king
- the Senate
- the people
- the assemblies
- the legion.

ESSAY

Write an essay of 400–600 words on one of the topics below. Your argument should be supported by evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations.

- ‘The study of ancient Rome is really the study of ancient Roman men.’ To what extent is this statement accurate? Use evidence to support your response.
- ‘Land and property were the basis of Roman social and political power from the very beginning.’ Discuss, using evidence to support your response.

EXTENSION

Research one (or more) of the Roman kings in detail. Identify specific features of Roman society that this king is traditionally credited with introducing. These features may be social, political, economic, legal, religious, military or architectural. Do additional research to find out when modern historians believe these features actually developed in Rome. Evaluate the extent to which the traditional and modern accounts agree.

EXAM PREPARATION

Explain how social and political structures operated in Rome during the regal period.

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 2

← A surviving section of the Servian Wall near the *Termini* railway station in Rome. The ancient Romans believed the wall had been built on the orders of the king, Servius Tullius, in the sixth century BCE.

CHAPTER

3

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

'I am going to write about the Roman people who were free from this point on—their deeds in peace and war, their annual officials and the authority of their laws which was stronger than the authority of human beings.'

LIVY

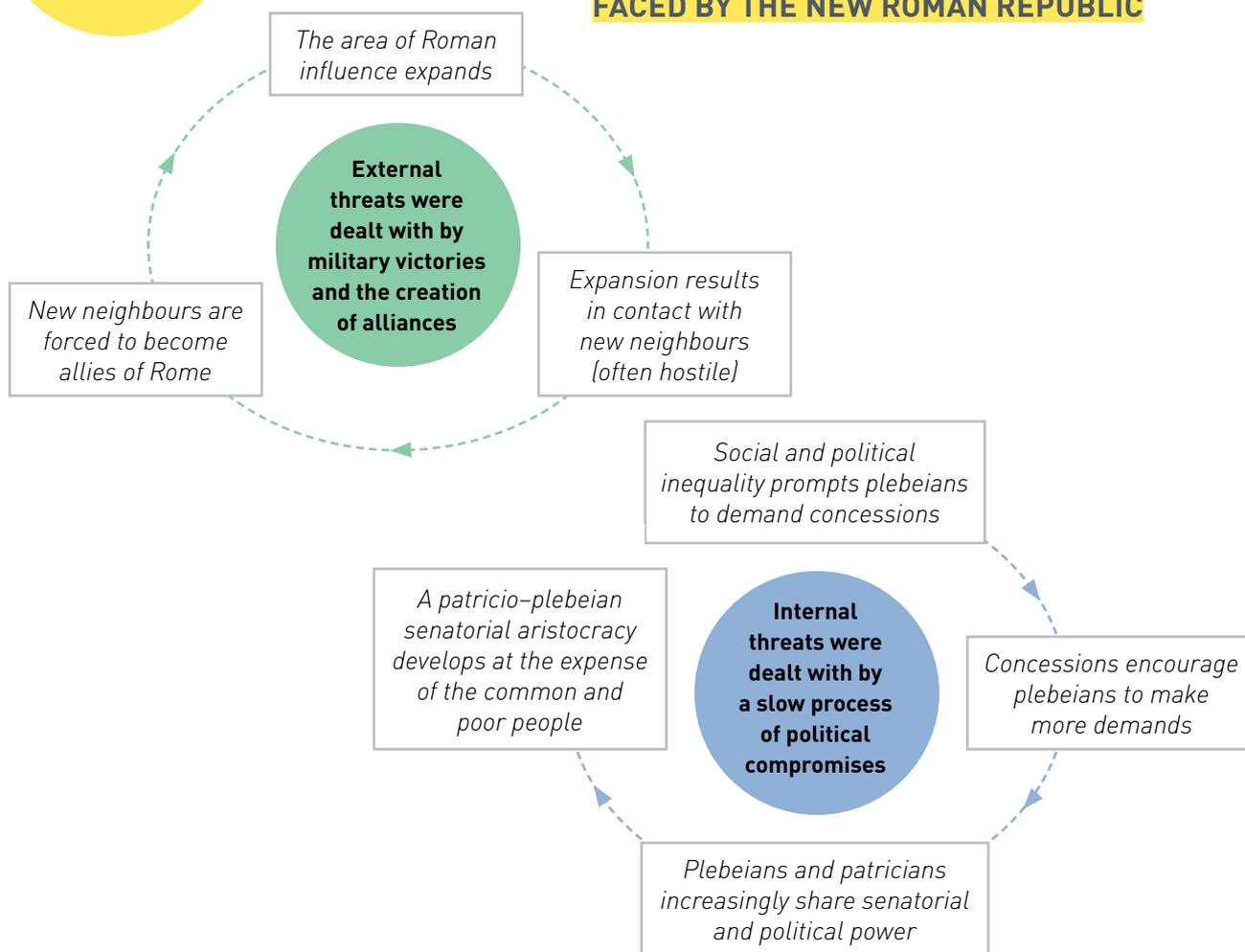




Horatius Cocles defending the Tiber bridge against the Etruscans (507 BCE).

OVERVIEW

EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL CHALLENGES FACED BY THE NEW ROMAN REPUBLIC



GAIUS MUCIUS SCAEVOLA

When he was caught sneaking into the tent of the enemy commander attacking Rome, Mucius stuck his hand in the fire until it was destroyed to show the king how tough the Romans really were.

CLOELIA

A young noblewoman, Cloelia had been handed over to an enemy king as a hostage. She escaped and got back safely to Rome, impressing both the Romans and the enemy.

GNAEUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS

A patrician and former Roman commander. After being on the wrong side of a plebeian tribune he was forced into exile, sided with the Volsci and successfully led them in war against the Romans until 488 BCE. Rome was only saved from attack when Coriolanus' wife and mother reminded him of his duty to the state.



LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS

Semi-legendary founder of the Roman Republic in 509 BCE. Known for his commitment to the Republic, he even had his sons executed when he discovered they were plotting against the state. Considered to be the ancestor of Marcus Junius Brutus, who was involved in the assassination of Julius Caesar.

KEY EVENTS

	LATE 6TH CENTURY BCE	5TH CENTURY BCE	4TH CENTURY BCE	EARLY 3RD CENTURY BCE
THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Republic founded Consuls and dictators are the highest officials Quaestors may exist this early Curiate Assembly and Centuriate Assembly already exist 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Plebeian tribunes and plebeian aediles created (494 BCE) Plebeian Council created (494 BCE) Tribal Assembly created (around 494 BCE) Censors created (443 BCE) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Praetors created (367 BCE) The curule aedileship created (367 BCE) Rome defeats Veii (396 BCE) Rome is sacked by the Gauls (390 BCE) Rome fights and wins the First Samnite War (343–341 BCE) 	
EXTERNAL CHALLENGES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tarquinius Superbus attempts to retake his throne with help from Etruscans, but is defeated 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rome fights the Latin League (499 BCE) Rome fights hill tribes such as the Volsci and Aequi, defeating them around 431 BCE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rome fights and wins the Latin War (340–338 BCE), after which Rome dissolves the Latin League Rome fights and wins the Second Samnite War (326–304 BCE) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rome fights and wins the Third Samnite War (298–290 BCE) Rome fights and wins the Pyrrhic War (280–275 BCE)
INTERNAL CHALLENGES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Social and political tension between the patricians and plebeians 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The First Secession of the plebeians (494 BCE) The Twelve Tables go into effect (449 BCE) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Plebeians become eligible for the quaestorship (390 BCE); the consulship (367 BCE); the dictatorship (356 BCE); the censorship (351 BCE) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ogulnian Law allows plebeians to join patrician priesthoods (300 BCE) Hortensian Law makes the decisions of the Plebeian Council binding on the whole state (287 BCE)
OTHER		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Cincinnatus is made dictator (458 BCE) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Plebeians become eligible for the praetorship (337 BCE) Rome adopts the manipular legion (316 BCE) Rome begins construction of the <i>Via Appia</i> (312 BCE) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Roman power extends through central and southern Italy (265 BCE)



HORATIUS COCLES

Cocles famously stood alone on the bridge leading into Rome, holding back the enemy army while his friends worked to cut the bridge down.



LUCIUS QUINTIUS CINCINNATUS

After Cincinnatus had retired from public life, Rome came under attack (in 458 BCE) and the Senate called on him to become dictator. Cincinnatus did as he was asked, saved the Republic and then gave up his power straight away to go back to work on his farm.

BIRTH OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

DIONYSIUS: 'The Roman monarchy ... having under the last king become a tyranny, was overthrown'

Towards the end of the sixth century BCE, the Roman Kingdom was crumbling. Despite some successes, the reign of Lucius Tarquinius Superbus was provoking public anger on account of the king's murders of senators, his refusal to consult the Senate and his onerous building program. The final straw was said to have been his son's involvement in a sexual assault.

The resulting overthrow of the monarchy in 509 BCE—detailed on the opposite page—prompted the creation of a new republican political system. By this time, the city of Rome and the surrounding territory it controlled was approximately 780 square kilometres in area and was populated by as many as 35 000 people.¹



THE SENATE
DURING THE ROMAN
REPUBLIC

ACTIVITY

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 3.01 and complete the tasks below.

1. Describe the actions taken by the first consuls of Rome, according to Dionysius.
2. Explain the role of the consuls in the early Republic. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the extent to which Rome's political system changed after the expulsion of the kings. Use evidence to support your response.

➔ SOURCE 3.01

Dionysius of Halicarnassus,
The Roman Antiquities Volume
3, Books 5–6.48, V.1, trans.
Earnest Cary (Cambridge:
Harvard University Press, 1940).

A NEW POLITICAL SYSTEM

With the end of the monarchy, power was invested in the community. It was exercised by the Senate, popular assemblies and various officials.

The highest officials were the *consuls*, and at first only patricians could hold this office. Two consuls of equal power and authority were elected by the Centuriate Assembly for a one-year term of office. Consuls held the executive political and, more importantly, military power (or *imperium*) that had been exercised by the Roman kings. Consuls had the right to summon the Roman people in an assembly and command legions. Although they were the highest officials in Rome, they could *veto* (overrule) each other and, from the beginning of the *Republic*, the Roman magistracies were characterised by 'annuality and collegiality'²—offices were held for a year and they were shared with others of equal rank.

The dictatorship was another office that emerged in the Republic. This was a special office used in emergencies when it would be dangerous to rely on the assemblies and Senate's collective wisdom to take effective action. The *dictator* was appointed by the consul, on the advice of the Senate, for a maximum period of six months. He was also known as the *magister populi* ('master of the people'—effectively the infantry commander) and he chose an assistant called the *magister equitum* ('master of the horse' or cavalry commander); in the early Republic both offices could only be held by patricians. There was an inherent risk in appointing a dictator—he might not surrender his power after six months.

THE END OF THE MONARCHY

The Roman monarchy ... after having continued for the space of two hundred and forty-four years from the founding of Rome and having under the last king become a tyranny, was overthrown ... Lucius Junius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus were the first consuls invested with the royal power... These men ... called an assembly of the people a few days after the expulsion of the tyrant, and ... caused them to pass another vote confirming everything which those in the city had previously voted when condemning the Tarquiniis to perpetual banishment ... and they themselves ... first swore, and then prevailed upon the rest of the citizens likewise to swear, that they would never restore from exile King Tarquinius or his sons or their posterity [descendants], and that they would never again make anyone king of Rome ...

HEROES OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC

LIVY: 'Whence came this new spirit in the beast of Brutus?... Grief was swallowed up in anger; and when Brutus summoned them to make war from that very moment on the power of kings, they followed his lead.'³

The early years of the Republic are full of tales, often from Livy, of heroes who set the example for good Roman values—such as civic duty and personal bravery—and the boundary between fact and fiction blurs when studying these people. The fight against the expelled king, Tarquinius Superbus, dominates this early period.

LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS

The foremost of these early heroes is Lucius Junius Brutus, the founder and first consul of the Republic, who overthrew the last of the kings, Tarquinius Superbus, in 509 BCE. Tarquinius had committed various outrageous acts against the Roman people, including the murder of many prominent nobles and, finally, Tarquinius' son Sextus raped the virtuous Lucretia. Lucretia compelled her husband, Collatinus, and his friend, Brutus, to swear to avenge her and then she committed suicide. Brutus roused the Roman population, who had had enough of Tarquinius, and they drove the king and his sons into exile among the Etruscans. Brutus and Collatinus were then elected as the first two consuls of the Roman Republic. Meanwhile, the Tarquins were busily plotting to retake their power. They persuaded many of the young nobles to assist them and among these nobles were Brutus' own sons, Titus and Tiberius. A slave overheard the plot being discussed and reported the matter to the consuls. The traitors were arrested and Brutus gave the order for them to be executed, including his own sons, demonstrating his power as *paterfamilias* and highlighting the importance of the Roman value of duty to the state. The slave who reported the plot was given his freedom and, according to legend, was the first freedman. The Tarquins were not yet ready to give up and Tarquinius raised an army from his Etruscan *allies* and attacked Rome. The Romans won the battle but Brutus fought in single combat with the enemy commander Arruns, the son of Tarquinius, and in the fight Brutus and Arruns slew each other. The whole city of Rome mourned the death of Brutus and the mothers of the city stayed in mourning for a whole year to honour Brutus because he had avenged Lucretia.



SOURCE 3.02

The Lictors Bringing Brutus the Bodies of His Sons. This painting, by Jacques-Louis David in 1789, depicts Brutus grimly refusing to even look at his dead sons, who had dared to threaten the new Republic.



HEROES OF THE EARLY REPUBLIC

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 3.02 and complete the tasks below.

1. Outline the impact of the deaths of Brutus' sons, according to the image.
2. Explain the role of Lucius Junius Brutus in the early Republic. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the extent to which civic duty was a significant feature of early Roman society. Use evidence to support your response.

ACTIVITY



DRAWING OF THE LICTORS BRINGING BRUTUS THE BODIES OF HIS SONS

➔ SOURCE 3.03

Horatius Cocles singlehandedly fights against the invading Etruscans, willing to sacrifice himself to protect Rome. Image from an 1864 engraving.

HORATIUS COCLES

Tarquinius had allied with Lars Porsena, an Etruscan king, and together they attacked Rome again in the second year of the Republic (508 BCE). The sudden Etruscan assault frightened the guards who were supposed to be guarding the bridge that led into Rome. The city would have fallen that day if not for the bravery of one of the guards—Horatius Cocles. When Horatius realised his comrades were too frightened to fight he told them to cut loose the bridge while he alone stood on it. Horatius challenged the Etruscans to single combat, daring them to face him, buying time for his comrades to cut through the supports holding up the bridge. Horatius fended off a storm of Etruscan



javelins and then, as the bridge gave way, he leapt into the River Tiber, offering himself as a sacrifice to the god of the river. According to Livy, Horatius survived the fall, swam to the far side of the river and was rewarded with a statue, a farm and many gifts from the Roman people. Livy does admit, however, that the idea of Horatius surviving is more ‘famous than credible’.⁴

⬇ SOURCE 3.04

Gaius Mucius holds his hand in the flames to show how committed he is to protecting the city of Rome. Painted by Peter Paul Rubens and Anthony van Dyck, early 1600s.



GAIUS MUCIUS SCAEVOLA

Porsena and Tarquinius had failed to capture Rome, so they besieged it. A young nobleman named Gaius Mucius, frustrated by the siege, gained permission from the Senate to sneak out of Rome and into the enemy camp. With a sword hidden in his clothing Mucius made his way to the king’s tent, planning to assassinate Porsena and end the siege. Unfortunately for Mucius, when he got to the king’s tent it was the soldiers’ payday and the king’s secretary, seated next to the king, was just as well-dressed as the king and was getting as much of the soldiers’ attention as the king. Mucius could not be sure which of the two men was Porsena so he took a guess and suddenly struck out, killing the secretary. Mucius tried to escape but was quickly grabbed and dragged back before the king. Mucius boldly told Porsena that he was only the first in a long line of Roman youths who would try to kill the Etruscan king and if he insisted on continuing the siege, then Porsena would have to be prepared to fight for his life every hour of every day. Porsena, thinking

this meant that there was some sort of organised plot to get him, threatened to roast Mucius alive if he did not tell him all the details. Mucius coolly thrust his own right hand into a nearby fire and kept it there until it was destroyed to demonstrate to Porsena how devoted the Romans were to their cause and how willingly they would throw away their own lives to take his. Porsena, terrified by this show of resolve, sent Mucius back to the city and quickly agreed to a peace treaty with the Senate and ended the siege. In recognition of his deeds, Mucius was awarded a plot of land but he also acquired the nickname *Scaevola*, which means 'Lefty' (and implies he was 'misguided' or 'unlucky').

CLOELIA

The third hero of the Republic to emerge in the conflict with Porsena was a woman named Cloelia. She and a number of other Roman women had been given as hostages to Porsena as part of the peace treaty so that the Etruscans would be able to withdraw safely from Roman territory. Cloelia was quite unimpressed by this situation, so she escaped, leading all the other hostages. Cloelia got them to swim across the river, avoiding the Etruscan javelins, and then returned them safely to their families. Porsena was initially angry since Cloelia's escape broke the terms of the peace treaty, but upon reflection he decided she had been braver than Horatius or Mucius. He honoured his promise that if she returned he would consider the peace treaty intact and then release her back to her family. The Romans also recognised Cloelia's bravery and honoured her by erecting a statue of her on horseback. In the following year, the Romans persuaded Porsena that they would never consent to be ruled by kings and Porsena agreed that it was pointless to continue supporting the Tarquins.

SOURCE 3.05

Cloelia and Her Companions Escaping from the Etruscans. Painted by Frans Wouter, early 1600s.



SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 3.05 and complete the tasks below.

1. Outline Cloelia's actions, according to the image.
2. Explain the role of women in early Roman social and political life. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the extent to which Cloelia's story is consistent with the stories of other early Republican heroes. Use evidence to support your response.

BELIEFS AND VALUES

Read the stories above about the heroes of the early Republic.

1. Make a list of the similarities and differences in their stories.
2. Organise this information in a Venn diagram, table or other infographic.
3. Write a paragraph of approximately 100 words explaining what social values the Romans thought were important based on the stories of their heroes.

DID YOU KNOW?

Two mysterious, handsome young men supposedly fought in the Battle of Lake Regillus then appeared in the Roman Forum to tell the city that the Romans had won. The youths disappeared and many Romans were convinced they had been the twin gods, Castor and Pollux.

➔ SOURCE 3.06

The Temple of Castor and Pollux in the Roman Forum was originally built in gratitude for victory at the Battle of Lake Regillus.

THE REPUBLIC AT WAR

LIVY: 'In 499 BC the Roman army at Lake Regillus began to bend the battle line of the Latins.'

The tension between Rome and the Latin League—a loose coalition of Latin cities—led to conflict around 499 BCE at the Battle of Lake Regillus, a few kilometres south-east of Rome. The Battle at Lake Regillus involved Tarquinius Superbus, the last of the Roman kings, making his final attempt to reclaim his throne, supported by the Latins. The Roman army was led by Aulus Postumius Albus (who had the rank of dictator) and Titus Aebutius Elva (master of the cavalry). The Romans won, but only just. Rome showed that it had sufficient military power by itself to stand up to the combined forces of the Latin League. Rome was able to negotiate the Cassian Treaty in 493 BCE between itself and thirty Latin cities.⁵ As well as establishing peace, the treaty stated that

Rome and the Latin League would be seen as two independent but equal political powers. The treaty also stated that Rome and the League would each contribute half the forces for mutual defences against a common enemy (such as the hill tribes who lived around Latium) and Rome would get half of all the spoils of war while the League members would have to share the other half.⁶ Finally, the treaty established that Rome and the League would share common rights of marriage (*conubium*), trade (*commercium*) and residency (*migratio*). This set of rights shared between the League members were known as *Latin rights*. This treaty helped to provide a model by which Rome would enter into alliances with other Italian city-states and eventually unite the peoples of the peninsula.

Part of the reason the League might have been so willing to enter into a treaty with Rome was the immediate threat they faced from the non-Latin peoples around them. These hill tribes lived in the Apennine Mountains, and included the Sabines to the north-east, the Aequi to the east and the Volsci to the south. These highlanders frequently raided the villages of Latium throughout the fifth century BCE and Latin territory was lost to the Aequi and the Volsci. In 431 BCE, the Latins pushed back the Aequi and the Volsci, and by the end of the century these groups had ceased to be a threat. It was during the course of this century that Rome learnt 'the art of war and disciplined her sons to fight.'⁷

One of Rome's early diplomatic successes can be seen in this period. Soon after the Cassian treaty was concluded, Rome made a treaty with another neighbouring people, the Hernici—who were probably not Latins. The Hernici were located between the Aequi and the Volsci peoples and wanted Roman help to stop them being crushed between two enemies, whereas the Romans wanted the Hernici to act as a buffer between them and the hill tribes. This was an example of the Roman principle of *divide et impera*: divide (your enemy into smaller units) and conquer (your enemies one by one).



THE STRUGGLE OF THE ORDERS

LIVY: 'It was in [the plebeians' power] to reach the highest ground, and to equal the patricians in honours as well as worth.'

PATRICIANS VERSUS PLEBEIANS

Roman social and political life for the first two centuries of the Republic was dominated by the tension between the patrician elite (nobles) and the plebeian majority (commoners). This tension is usually called the *Struggle of the Orders* or the 'Conflict of the Orders'. There were perhaps 40–50 patrician clans, divided into about 1000 families (7–8 per cent of the total citizen population) at the beginning of the fifth century BCE.⁸ After the end of the monarchy, patricians were concerned with holding on to political, economic and religious power. Simultaneously, the plebeians tried to put limits on those powers, often by gathering into assemblies and demanding political rights.⁹ Widespread and long-term debt among plebeians, often owed to the patricians, also contributed to their desire to challenge the existing social structure. Only gradually did the plebeians get to share in the political opportunities of the patricians. The willingness to modify existing social systems—even if it was done slowly and grudgingly—helped to avoid outright civil war during this period, and reflects the Roman quality of being able to adapt institutions to suit new situations. Additionally, it is noteworthy that Rome began to expand significantly outside of Latium only after ending the bitterest phase of the contest within Rome between patricians and plebeians, around 366 BCE.¹⁰

THE FIRST SECESSION

Rome's wars in the early Republic helped to distribute land and wealth more widely—but they also made the plebeian citizen militia essential to the ongoing success of the Roman state. The strongest political weapon the plebeians had was their ability to refuse to fight for Rome or to cooperate with patrician officials—an act called *secession*—unless the patricians agreed to give the plebeians more rights. According to tradition, there were five of these secessions (in 494, 449, 445, 342 and 287 BCE respectively). Each secession helped to create new rights for the plebeians. The First Secession supposedly took place in 494 BCE, when the infant Republic was facing attacks by the Volsci. A large number of plebeians essentially went on strike despite the approach of an enemy army. In order to get them back to the battlefield, the patricians reluctantly agreed to a number of compromises. (In reality, these compromises probably emerged gradually over a period of about fifty years rather than in response to this single event.)

Firstly, a new type of official was created – the *tribune of the plebeians*. Tribunes were meant to act as 'champions of the people'; they had the power to veto (overrule) laws or decisions that threatened the plebeians and they could intercede on behalf

▼ SOURCE 3.07

Tribunes of the People were elected, and had the right to propose legislation before the Plebeian Council. The role of tribune was created when the plebeian soldiers refused to march against the enemy.



of a plebeian against the unjust actions of a patrician. There were probably originally two tribunes, but by the middle of the fifth century BCE there were ten. The plebeian tribunes had to make themselves available to the people day or night and could not stay away from the city overnight or for a full day. A tribune's power rested on the understanding that if anyone attacked a tribune, the attacker could be killed without any consequences for the killer. This feature of tribunate authority implies that the creation of this office came out of unconstitutional and revolutionary social changes.¹¹

The second compromise made to the Plebeians was the creation of the new office of *plebeian aedile*. The aediles were originally assistants to the tribunes and superintendents of a number of temples. Over time, their role included various civic duties such as keeping the archives of plebeian documents, maintaining streets and public buildings and supervising marketplaces and the grain supply.

Finally, the First Secession led to the creation of the *Concilium Plebis* (*Plebeian Council*). This council was attended only by plebeians, organised in tribal voting blocks. The majority of votes within this voting block determined the overall vote of that tribe and the majority of votes by tribe determined the overall result. The Council's initial function was to elect plebeian tribunes and aediles. It was also able to propose resolutions (called *plebiscites*) to pass laws—but these laws only applied to plebeians unless they were approved by the Senate. This continued until 287 BCE and the passing of the *Hortensian Law*, when the plebiscites of the Plebeian Council no longer needed senatorial approval to become as legally binding as the laws passed by the Centuriate Assembly.

➔ SOURCE 3.08

*Livy, The History of Rome II.24,
trans. Aubrey de Séincourt
(London: Penguin Books, 2002).*

THE FIRST SECESSION

On top of this highly critical situation came the alarming news ... that a Volscian army was marching on Rome. So deeply was the country divided by its political differences, that the people, unlike their oppressors in the governing class, hailed the prospect of invasion with delight. For them, it seemed like an intervention of providence to crush the pride of the Senate; they went about urging their friends to refuse military service ... Let the patricians, they argued, do the fighting, if they wished: if there were war, let those face its dangers who alone reaped its profits. The Senate, on the other hand, heard the news with very different feelings: there, in view of the double danger, from within and from without, there was both alarm and depression. Knowing that, of the two consuls, Servilius was more in sympathy with the popular cause, they begged him to do what he could to save the country from the appalling dangers which beset it. Servilius, accordingly, adjourned the meeting and presented himself before the people. He declared that ... it should be illegal, first, to fetter or imprison a Roman citizen and so prevent him from enlisting for service, and, secondly, to seize or sell the property of any soldier on active service, or interfere in any way with his children or grandchildren. As a result of the edict all 'bound' debtors who were present gave in their names on the spot, and others from every part of the city hurried from the houses where they could no longer be legally detained, into the Forum where they took the military oath.



↑ SOURCE 3.09

The Secession of the People to the Mons Sacer (Roman hill), engraved by B. Barlocchini, 1849.

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

ACTIVITY

Examine Source 3.08 and complete the tasks below.

1. Outline how the plebeians and the patricians each responded to the Volscian invasion, according to Livy.
2. Explain how the First Secession led to changes in Rome. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the extent to which the relationship between patricians and plebeians had changed by the middle of the fifth century BCE. Use evidence to support your response.

THE TWELVE TABLES

Despite the agreements reached after the First Secession, the conflict continued. No written law code existed, so patricians were still able to make decisions arbitrarily, especially by relying on their control of the priesthoods to determine what was right and wrong. In response to demands for a written law code, a group of three commissioners was supposedly sent to Greece to study the legal codes in use there. When they got back and reported on their findings, both sides in the conflict agreed to suspend their officials temporarily—consuls for the patricians, and tribunes for the plebeians—and establish a ten-man team (the *Decemvirate*) of patricians. The Decemvirate would hold supreme power for a year (in 451 BCE) and in that time they would write up a legal code for the Roman Republic. The laws they produced were accepted by a vote in the Centuriate Assembly and went into effect in 449 BCE as the *Twelve Tables*.



THE LAWS OF THE TWELVE TABLES (FULL TEXT)

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

THE TWELVE TABLES

The Twelve Tables were fundamental to the development of law in the Roman world but their actual content is almost completely lost now. The material that can be reconstructed from summaries and quotations suggests that the Twelve Tables were not a cohesive set of laws but 'narrow provisions to regulate a society revolving around family and household and an economic life centering on agriculture and animal management'.¹² The Tables confirmed existing practices such as the right of the *paterfamilias* over his family while also articulating ways to deal with inheritances, contracts, land ownership and property boundaries. Legal punishment was clarified for crimes against the state and for personal injuries; crimes against the state were referred to the Centuriate Assembly, and personal injuries were dealt with by the injured party



according to the principle of retribution—'an eye for an eye'. The Twelve Tables also addressed the issue of debt and approved the practice of arresting and imprisoning debtors and even allowing the creditor to sell the debtor into slavery if there were no other way to pay back the debt. Although this was advantageous to the patricians—who were usually the creditors—the actual publication of a set of laws meant that the aristocratic elite could no longer just make up legal rules to suit themselves.

SOURCE 3.10

The Twelve Tables, Rome's first legal code, are drawn up by a commission at the request of the plebeians.

CORIOLANUS AND CINCINNATUS

The conflict with the hill tribes provides the context for other notable characters of the early Republic. The domestic discontent between patricians and plebeians also forms an important part of the background of their stories.



SOURCE 3.11

Coriolanus, painted by Soma Orlandi Petrich in 1869. This painting depicts Coriolanus' wife and mother pleading with him to remember his duty to Rome.

GNAEUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS

In 491 BCE there was a shortage of food in Rome, and a patrician named Gnaeus Marcius Coriolanus saw this as an opportunity to reverse the political gains the plebeians had made in the First Secession. Coriolanus suggested that the Senate force the plebeians to abolish the office of Tribune of the Plebeians or else have to buy food at incredibly high prices. In response, the tribunes tried to put Coriolanus on trial and he scornfully claimed that they had no authority over a patrician like him. Nevertheless, Coriolanus was condemned and he angrily went into exile among

the Volsci. Coriolanus led the Volsci in a very successful military campaign that took him right into Roman territory (488 BCE). The frightened Romans sent a senatorial representative to ask him for peace but he rejected the overture. They then sent priests to Coriolanus and he rejected them also. Thus, the women of Rome took charge of the situation; they pleaded with Coriolanus but he remained unmoved—until he was informed that among the women were his mother, Veturia, and his wife, Volumnia, who had brought Coriolanus' two young sons with her. Veturia reminded him of his obligation to Rome and at last Coriolanus relented, moving his army away from Rome. Coriolanus' story reflects the tensions between patricians and plebeians at this time and the threats that the young republic faced from nearby enemies. It also demonstrates the civic duty that the Romans valued so highly, even if the 'hero' of the story only remembers it at the last minute. It is important to note the role of the women in this story; they are examples of patriotism and female virtue and show that the ancient writers saw Roman women as 'citizens of the state as well as members of families, which cannot be said of their Greek counterparts'.¹³

LUCIUS QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS

The patrician Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus first came to prominence as a consul in 460 BCE. As consul, he criticised the patrician Senate for its political weakness and he criticised the plebeians for their excessive demands for power. Cincinnatus made it clear that he expected both groups to show more devotion to Rome than they were



SOURCE 3.12

Cincinnatus shown hard at work in the fields when messengers from Rome arrive to ask him to take up the role of dictator. Painted by Léon Bénouville in 1844.

displaying. A couple of years later (in 458 BCE), the Romans were at war with the Aequi again. The Aequi closed in on the city and surrounded the Roman army. It was felt that a dictator was needed for the emergency and the Senate knew that Cincinnatus was the man for the job. Messengers were sent to his farm, where they found him hard at work in the fields. They summoned him to Rome where he was made dictator (a decision the plebeians objected to). Cincinnatus immediately took charge. Within sixteen days he had raised an army, defeated the enemy, resigned his authority and returned to his farm. For centuries afterwards Cincinnatus was a model for the kind of virtue and duty expected of a Roman leader.

DID YOU KNOW?

The American city of Cincinnati is named after Cincinnatus, who embodies the idea of selfless service. George Washington was referred to as the 'American Cincinnatus' as he relinquished his great military authority as soon as the American War of Independence had been won.

BELIEFS AND VALUES

ACTIVITY

- Note down key words and phrases from the stories of Coriolanus and Cincinnatus that say something about the following aspects of Roman life and values:
 - Duty
 - Family
 - Food
 - Leadership
 - Virtue
 - Class
 - Security
- Compare the stories with those about the Heroes of the Early Republic earlier in the chapter. What ideals and actions did the Romans appear to value most?

WAR WITH VEII (396 BCE)

LIVY: 'Whilst peace prevailed elsewhere, Rome and Veii were confronting each other in arms.'

At the end of the fifth century BCE, Rome came into conflict with the Etruscan city of Veii, which was about twenty kilometres north-west of Rome on the River Tiber. Veii was a large, prosperous and well-defended city, described by Livy as 'the most splendid' of the Etruscan cities. In 406 BCE Rome besieged Veii. The siege supposedly lasted ten years until Veii was captured in 396 BCE.

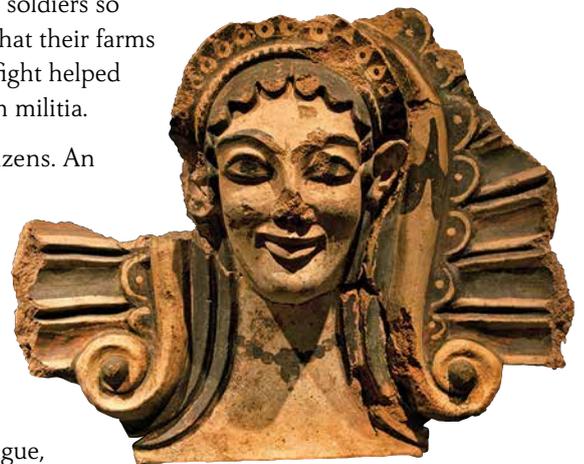
The capture of Veii was significant for Rome's development in the early Republic. Firstly, the long duration of the war led to the custom of paying citizen soldiers so that they could continue to fight throughout the year without fearing that their farms would fall into ruin in their absence. The practice of paying people to fight helped to establish the foundation for a professional army rather than a citizen militia.

Secondly, the newly-acquired land was shared out among poorer citizens. An increase in the number of men who owned land meant an increase in the number of men eligible to fight in the army—which further increased Rome's military power. Also, the increase in the number of plebeians who held land gave that class of citizens more social and political power.

Thirdly, Rome doubled the size of its territory, expanding northwards into Etruscan territory, and became the largest city in Latium. Because it had captured Veii without help from the Latin League,

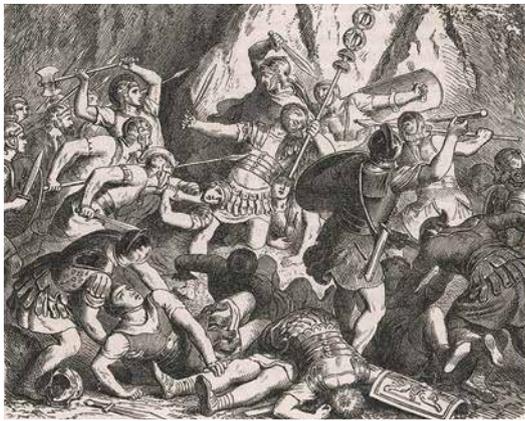
SOURCE 3.13

An Etruscan roof ornament, found in the temple Apollo Portonaccio archaeological site of Veii. Sixth century BCE.



▼ SOURCE 3.14

The Fabii bravely undertook war against the Etruscan city of Veii on behalf of Rome at the Battle of the Cremera. All of the Fabii were killed except one youth, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, who was too young to take part. 477 BCE.



it did not have to share land or spoils from the conquest, although it did give some land to its Latin allies to help Rome secure the northern border of its newly expanded territory.

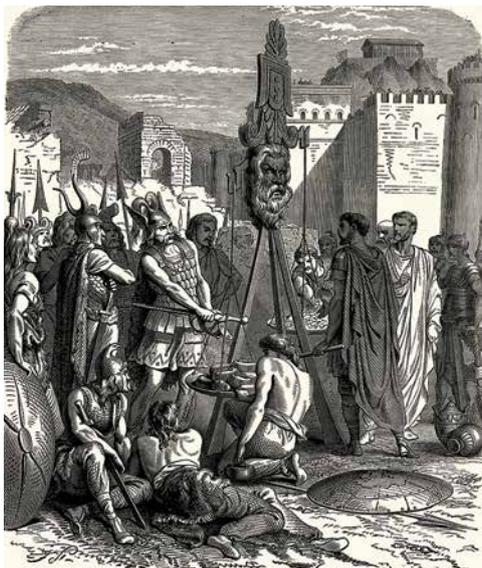
By the time Veii had been conquered, Roman territory had grown but remained compact and cohesive. However, the territory of the members of the Latin League was scattered, often separated by Roman territory, and so the Latins had difficulty in coordinating common action. Rome, united and ready to act, was able to take up a position of leadership in Latium. In the decades that followed, the Latin League would need to decide if it would try once more to assert its independence from Rome or let Rome take control of the region.¹⁴ But before that showdown came, another cloud was looming on Rome's horizon.

ACTIVITY

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Review the information in this book about Roman conquests from the founding of the Republic until the capture of Veii.

Make a timeline of these Roman conquests. For each conquest write one to three sentences outlining how each conquest contributed to changes in Roman political or economic power.



THE SACK OF ROME (390 BCE)

POLYBIUS (DESCRIBING THE GAULS): 'It was astounding, the appearance and movement of the naked men in the lead ... and all those in the front ranks were decked out in golden armlets and bracelets.'

Even during the war with Veii, there had been rumours of a strange group of people beginning to attack the northern part of Etruria. These were the **Gauls**. The Gauls originally lived on the northern side of the Alps and some made their way into Italy in response to pressure put on them by Germanic peoples even further north. The Gauls who migrated to Italy are often referred to by historians as 'Cisalpine Gauls', meaning Gauls from 'this side of the Alps' (the Italian side). Those who remained north of the Alps are referred to as 'Transalpine Gauls' (Gauls from 'that side of the Alps'). Ancient historians described the Gauls as tall, blond and blue-eyed people who loved to drink and make trouble, fighting in wild mobs to gain

loot.¹³ More recent scholarship has drawn attention to the high standard of their metalworking and the political rights of Gallic women—although it is true that the Gauls rushed into battle stark naked, screaming terrifying battle cries.¹⁶

When a band of Gauls attacked the Etruscan city of Clusium around 390 BCE, the people of Clusium asked the Romans to help them. The Romans sent ambassadors to assess the situation—and the ambassadors immediately took the side of the Clusians against the Gauls. The Romans and the Gauls fought at Allia,

▲ SOURCE 3.15

Brennus and His Share of the Spoils. This illustration shows the impact of the Gallic Sack of Rome of 390 BCE.

near Fidenae. The Gauls had some 30 000 men and the Roman army had about 10 000 – the largest army the Romans had ever fielded at that time.¹⁷ The Romans were crushed. The survivors fled to the ruins of nearby Veii while back in the city of Rome itself the people ran away, leaving all but the Capitol wide open for the Gauls. The Gauls then sacked the city, a catastrophic event that long remained in the psyche of the Romans. The Sack of Rome destroyed much archival material about the regal period and the first century of the Republic that would have been invaluable to historians. The Gauls occupied the city for seven months, during which time a small garrison stubbornly defended the Capitol. The Gauls eventually agreed to accept 1 000 pounds of gold as a ransom and left the city.

ROMAN AND GALLIC FIGHTING STYLES

Now the barbarians' manner of fighting, being in large measure that of wild beasts and frenzied, was an erratic procedure, quite lacking in military science. Thus, at one moment they would raise their swords aloft and smite after the manner of wild boars, throwing the whole weight of their bodies into the blow like hewers of wood or men digging with mattocks, and again they would deliver crosswise blows aimed at no target, as if they intended to cut to pieces the entire bodies of their adversaries, protective armour and all ... On the other hand, the Romans' defence and counter-manoeuving against the barbarians was steadfast and afforded great safety. For while their foes were still raising their swords aloft, they would duck under their arms, holding up their shields, and then, stooping and crouching low, they would render vain and useless the blows of the others, which were aimed too high, while for their own part, holding their swords straight out, they would strike their opponents in the groins, pierce their sides, and drive their blows through their breasts into their vitals. And if they saw any of them keeping these parts of their bodies protected, they would cut the tendons of their knees or ankles and topple them to the ground ... Not only did their strength desert many of the barbarians as their limbs failed them through weariness, but their weapons also were either blunted or broken or no longer serviceable ... The Romans, however, being accustomed to many toils by reason of their unabating and continuous warfare, continued to meet every peril in noble fashion.

SOURCE 3.16

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, The Roman Antiquities Volume 7, Books 11–20, XIV.10, trans. Earnest Cary (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950).

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 3.16 and complete the tasks below.

1. List three characteristics of the fighting style of the Gauls ('the barbarians'), according to Dionysius.
2. Compare the military behaviour of the Gauls and the Romans. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the extent to which the Sack of Rome was the key challenge facing the early Republic. Use evidence to support your response.

ACTIVITY

The Gallic attack on Rome weakened Rome's reputation more than it hurt the state itself. The city was rebuilt and fortified with the so-called Servian Wall (because later historians incorrectly believed that a previous king, Servius Tullius, had ordered that the wall be built). The new wall was made of large blocks of volcanic rock (called tufa), with a ditch in front and backed by an earthen embankment. The wall was about four metres thick and stood about eight metres high. It was constructed around the whole city—a distance of about nine kilometres at that time—and traces of it still survive.¹⁸ The shift to a more defensive posture would help to keep Rome from being captured again by foreign enemies again until 410 CE.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE ORDERS II: POLITICAL REFORMS

LIVY: 'The tribunes declared that they would not permit the elections to be held unless they were conducted in accordance with the Licinian Law.'

➔ SOURCE 3.17

Roman consuls were elected in pairs. The first plebeian consul was elected in 366 BCE. From 342 BCE, at least one consul had to be a plebeian.



In the decades that followed the establishment of the Twelve Tables, the plebeians steadily gained admission to the various offices of the Roman Republic. By the end of the fifth century BCE, plebeians had an assembly (whose resolutions only applied to plebeians), strong representatives in the form of plebeian tribunes and access to the minor offices of aedile and *quaestor* (junior officer). The office of quaestor had been created in the early years of the Republic. The two quaestors assisted the consuls by handling financial matters—they were responsible for managing the money in the state treasury and the funds that were used for a military campaign.

This office became available to the plebeians in 421 BCE—although no plebeian actually held the office until 409 BCE.¹⁹ However, access to the consulship and the Senate still eluded plebeians, which meant they were excluded from 'control of army commands, administration of justice, and public policy'.²⁰ The Sack of Rome by the Gauls seems to have accelerated the demand for social and political change. Large numbers of poorer plebeians had suffered in the attacks and demanded relief while the wealthier plebeians renewed their calls for change.²¹

The next major reforms to occur were the so-called *Licinian-Sextian Laws*. These laws were proposed by the plebeian tribunes Gaius Licinius Stolo and Lucius Sextius Lateranus; Livy states that the changes introduced by these laws 'could not possibly be carried without a bitter struggle'²² and they were only introduced in 367 BCE after ten years of political campaigning. These laws permitted plebeians to run for the consulship. Lucius Sextius Lateranus himself was the first plebeian consul, elected for the year 366 BCE. The laws also provided some debt relief, and placed limits on the amount of land that could be held by an individual.²³ These economic considerations helped poor plebeians gain access to land—which Rome would rapidly acquire more of in the following century. Another tribune, Lucius Genucius, passed a law in 342 BCE which stated that at least one of the two consuls had to be a plebeian. From this point on, consuls always appeared in pairs of one patrician and one plebeian until 172 BCE when two plebeians were elected for the first time.²⁴ The dictatorship was also opened to the plebeians in 356 BCE; this was not a feature of the Licinian-Sextian Laws but reflects the move towards the political inclusion of the plebeians.

ACTIVITY

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

1. How did the relationship between the patricians and plebeians change between 509 and 342 BCE?
2. To what extent did pressures from outside threats contribute to changing social and political relationships in Rome between 509 and 342 BCE?

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

By the end of the fourth century BCE, the key features of the Roman constitution were well-established, although they relied on traditional practices rather than a clearly defined system of government.²⁵ The Roman constitution became ‘involved and ingrown’.²⁶

Officials could overrule a colleague of equal rank or an official of lower rank—and the tribunes could overrule anyone. The officials were under no obligation to agree or even work together, and they often had very different political agendas. Despite the competition for office and the concentration of wealth and power in one segment of the community, Roman society ‘remained a society based on the rule of law’ which generally worked to make decisions based on consensus.²⁷

MAGISTRACIES

In addition to consuls, dictators, quaestors, aediles and tribunes, there were three further offices.

The office of *praetor* was created around the time the Licinian-Sextian Laws went into effect (367 BCE). The praetor was a sort of assistant to the consul and would be the highest-ranking official in Rome if the consul was away leading the army. The praetor held *imperium* and was therefore able to command the army—but was usually involved in resolving legal disputes in the city of Rome between citizens, and so had an influence on the way the Roman law developed over time.²⁸ Plebeians gained access to this office within a generation and the first plebeian praetor was elected in 337 BCE. A second praetor was added in 242 BCE and over the following centuries more praetors were created to assist with running an ever-expanding empire (until the maximum number of eight was reached in 81 BCE).

The year 367 BCE also saw the creation of the office of the *curule aediles*, a pair of minor officials introduced as a patrician counterbalance to the two plebeian aediles. The curule aedileship alternated between patricians and plebeians—one year the curule aediles would be patricians, the next year they would be plebeians, and so on. There was little practical difference between the four aediles; between them they continued to oversee maintenance of public infrastructure and supervise markets.

The last political office to consider is the *censor* which, according to tradition, was created in 443 BCE. The censor was the only office that was not appointed on an annual basis. Two censors would be elected once every five years for a period of eighteen months. When they took office they would perform a ritual called the *lustrum* that purified the Roman people. The censors were responsible for counting the total number of Roman citizens and determining what property class they belonged to. This was important for working out their military role in the early Republic, and later for working out which voting block they belonged to in the various assemblies. From 351 BCE, the office of censor was available to plebeians. At some point around 339 BCE, the censors also gained responsibility for compiling the list of senators. Those who made the censor’s list would become

THE ROMAN CONSTITUTION

FOUR ASSEMBLIES OF THE PEOPLE

Various functions—passing laws, voting for officials and confirming the authority of the officials.

CONSULS, PRAETORS AND DICTATORS

Three types of officials with executive power and imperium.

AEDILES AND QUAESTORS

Two types of minor officials with administrative functions.

THE TRIBUNES

Plebeian background, power to overrule any other official.

THE CENSOR

Power to choose and dismiss senators, count and classify citizens.

THE SENATE

Technically advisory but became steadily more influential.

DID YOU KNOW?

From the ancient Roman office of the censor we derive the words *census* (a counting up of the people) and *censorship* (the act of banning inappropriate material).

➔ SOURCE 3.18

A censor dealing with an issue of public morality.

ACTIVITY

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

Make a flowchart that shows how major events in the Struggle of the Orders influenced the development of various Roman offices.



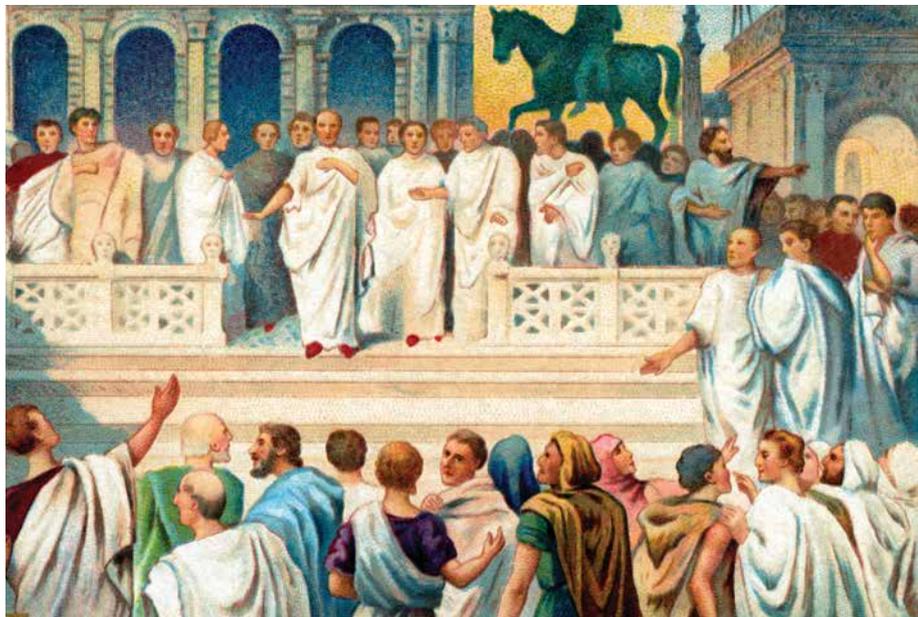
members of the Senate for life. However, a censor could dismiss a senator whose behaviour had, in the opinion of the censor, been inappropriate. Although he lacked *imperium*, the censor's role as a kind of custodian of public morality gave the position a great deal of authority and dignity. Achieving the honour of being censor was seen as the high point of a successful political career.²⁹

ASSEMBLIES

Even during the regal period, the Roman people regularly gathered in assemblies, and this institution expanded in the Republic. The assemblies were occasions to bring together adult male citizens to vote for candidates for office, on proposals for new legislation and on other important public matters—such as trials for crimes against the state and decisions about war and peace. The assemblies tended to be opportunities for those already in power to reinforce their positions of authority. An assembly could only be summoned by consuls, praetors or plebeian tribunes, and those officials would set the agenda for the assembly. The voting took place within the city of Rome itself and all voting had to be completed in a single day. The citizens could not debate, amend or propose any legislation or candidates for office and voting was done openly—by verbally giving an affirmative or negative vote rather than by secret ballot. Therefore, at any given assembly, the 'ordinary citizens had little freedom of speech or initiative'.³⁰

➔ SOURCE 3.19

Tribune of the Plebs: proposing a law before the Plebeian Council.

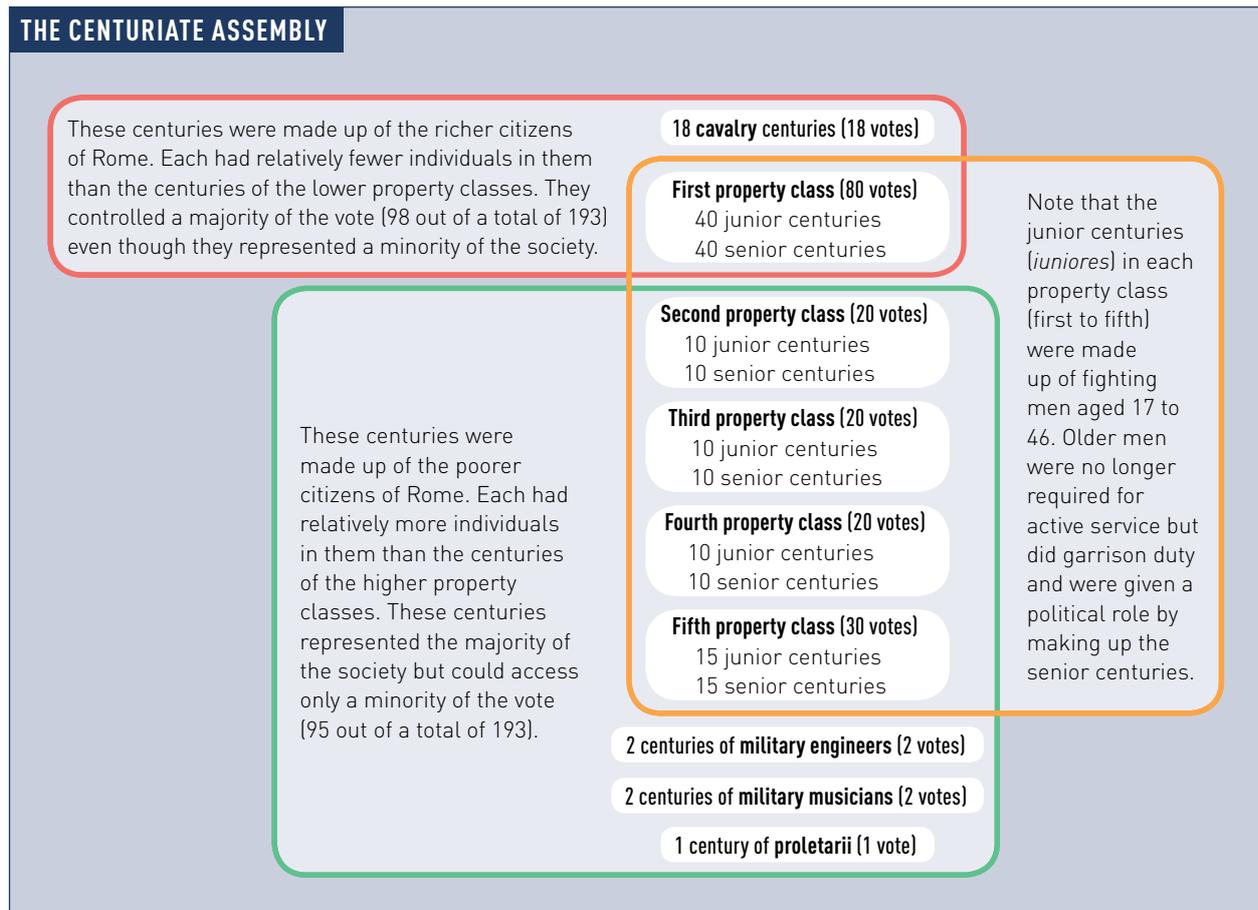


All assemblies in Rome used the same basic voting system. In this system, those attending the assembly would be organised into voting blocks based on their *curia*, century or tribe. The men in the voting block would vote among themselves and the majority vote within each block would be converted into a single vote from that block—so if more than half of the men in a block voted ‘yes’, that block would cast one ‘yes’ vote. As well as the Curiate Assembly and the Plebeian Council, there were two other assemblies—the Centuriate Assembly and the *Tribal Assembly*.

THE CENTURIATE ASSEMBLY

The Centuriate Assembly (*comitia centuriata*) elected the highest officials of the Republic—the consuls, praetors and censors—and voted on matters of war and peace. They heard appeals from citizens charged with crimes that carried penalties of death, whipping, loss of citizen rights or large fines.²⁸

When the citizens attended the Centuriate Assembly, they were sorted into groups called centuries, which were initially military units. However, since the role a citizen had in the army was originally based on the equipment he could afford, the Centuriate Assembly became a way of organising Roman citizens into groups according to their wealth. The people of Rome were assessed during each census as belonging to a particular property class (that is, how wealthy they were based on the property they owned) and by the middle of the fifth century BCE this assembly had taken on a political—rather than just a military—character.³²



There were 193 centuries in the Centuriate Assembly and therefore a maximum of 193 votes could be cast. However, the two wealthiest groups (the cavalry centuries and the first-class centuries) controlled 98 votes between them, more than half the possible maximum. Therefore, if those two classes voted the same way on a particular matter, an overall majority vote could be reached by the time they had finished voting. Since the lower-class centuries would not be able to affect the outcome, voting stopped at this point and so in many cases the poorest Romans never actually got to cast their votes. Additionally, until 339 BCE, the Senate could veto laws passed by the Centuriate Assembly, further limiting the assembly's democratic power. After 339 BCE, the Publilian Law required the Senate to ratify in advance proposals that would be put to this assembly.³³

The Centuriate Assembly was not a genuinely democratic body as its structure favoured the wealthy—so it was not an effective way to provide 'legislative safeguards that the average Roman citizen may have wanted'.³⁴ Nevertheless, the basic format of the Centuriate Assembly continued to be used until the very end of the Republic and its survival suggests it served the 'existing social value system and political reality'.³⁵ To put it another way, the 'system worked because the Roman people wanted it to work'.³⁶



MORE ON THE
CENTURIATE
ASSEMBLY

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Historian David Potter argues that the Centuriate Assembly lacked 'legislative safeguards', meaning its laws did not always protect people adequately. Form a position on Potter's statement (Strongly Agree; Somewhat Agree; Neither Agree nor Disagree; Somewhat Disagree; Strongly Disagree) and note down points to support your position. As an extension activity, evaluate how accurately the argument applies to other elements of the republican constitution.

▼ SOURCE 3.20

Modern-day remains of the *Rostra Vetera* ('Old Rostrum'), the platform from which speakers addressed the Tribal Assembly in the *Comitium*, an open area in the Forum.



THE TRIBAL ASSEMBLY

The Tribal Assembly (*comitia tributa*) was created around the middle of the fifth century BCE. Its structure copied the Plebeian Council but included patricians and, like the Plebeian Council, it brought the people together organised by tribe (*tribus*, or district). Tribal groups made it easier to register citizens and property so the state could work out where

the people would fight and vote and how much tax they should pay. The three tribes during the regal period had expanded into four urban and seventeen rural tribes by 495 BCE and the final number of thirty-five tribes (four urban and thirty-one rural) was reached in 241 BCE. After this time, new citizens or colonists were placed into one of the existing tribes.

Each tribal group voted in a random order and the Tribal Assembly elected quaestors and curule aediles and passed laws that applied to the entire community—both patricians and plebeians. The Tribal Assembly also issued verdicts in legal cases where the potential penalty was not a death penalty.

The number of citizens in each tribe was not equal—the poorest citizens, who made up the majority of the population, were crammed into the four urban tribes. The rural tribes represented more thinly populated areas of Roman territory and often included wealthy landowners. City-dwelling elites who owned property in the countryside might also be enrolled in the rural tribes. As a result, the Tribal Assembly could be influenced by the wealthiest citizens—although not as strongly as the Centuriate Assembly was, as ‘each tribe represented a cross section of every economic and social class’.³⁷

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What was the role of the Curiate Assembly? (See p.44)
2. What was the role of the Centuriate Assembly?
3. What was the role of the Tribal Assembly?

ACTIVITY

POLITICAL DECISION-MAKING

The consul, when he leaves with his army invested with the powers I mentioned, appears indeed to have absolute authority in all matters necessary for carrying out his purpose; but in fact he requires the support of the people and the senate, and is not able to bring his operations to a conclusion without them. For it is obvious that the legions require constant supplies, and without the consent of the senate, neither corn, clothing, nor pay can be provided ... and what is most important, on laying down office the consuls are obliged to account for their actions to the people ...

The senate again, which possesses such great power, is obliged in the first place to pay attention to the commons in public affairs and respect the wishes of the people ... if anyone introduces a law meant to deprive the senate of some of its traditional authority ... it is the people alone which has the power of passing or rejecting any such measure. And what is most important is that if a single one of the tribunes interposes, the senate is unable to decide finally about any matter, and cannot even meet and hold sittings; and here it is to be observed that the tribunes are always obliged to act as the people decree and to pay every attention to their wishes.

Similarly, again, the people must be submissive to the senate and respect its members both in public and in private. Through the whole of Italy a vast number of contracts ... are given out by the censors for the construction and repair of public buildings, and besides this there are many things which are farmed, such as navigable rivers, harbours, gardens, mines, lands, in fact everything that forms part of the Roman dominion ... Now in all these matters the senate is supreme ... What is even more important is that the judges in most civil trials, whether public or private, are appointed from its members ...

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 3.21 and complete the tasks below.

1. Outline the duties and powers of the Senate, according to Polybius.
2. Explain the way in which the consul, the Senate and the people were able to place limits on each other's power. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the extent to which political power had changed in the Roman Republic by the middle of the fourth century BCE. Use evidence to support your response.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE 3.21

Polybius, The Histories Volume 3, Books 5–6, VI.15–17, trans. W. R. Paton, revised by Frank W. Walbank and Christian Habicht (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2011).

INCORPORATION OF NEIGHBOURING CITIES



↑ SOURCE 3.22

Engraving depicting the retreat after the Battle of Vesuvius, the first recorded battle of the Latin War 340–338 BCE.

CASSIUS DIO: 'Now the Latins, although under treaty with the Romans, revolted and began war.'

The damage done to Rome's reputation by the Gallic attack prompted the surrounding peoples to try their luck at conquering the chief city of Latium. In the first half of the fourth century BCE, Rome was attacked by the Etruscans, by the Volsci and the Aequi (with the help of some Latin cities), by more bands of Gauls and even by Rome's old allies, the Hernici. One by one, the Romans defeated their opponents, expanding into their lands or forcing them into treaties favourable to Rome. In 341 BCE, the Latin League demanded equality with Rome or freedom from Rome's influence. The Romans refused and the Latin War of 340–338 BCE broke out. Rome won this war and dissolved the Latin League. After 338 BCE, the original cities of Latium ceased to exist as independent states and their destinies were thereafter bound up with Rome's.³⁸ We can see 'the two guiding principles of Roman policy were incorporation and alliance'³⁹ in the way they dealt with other peoples. Underlying these principles of Roman foreign policy that emerged in the fourth century BCE was the idea of *fides* ('good faith'), inspired by a belief in the importance of mutual responsibility in Roman society. After 338 BCE,

Rome created a Latin federation with the surrounding states, maintaining the connections to those states in a variety of ways.

CITIZENSHIP RIGHTS

After the Latin War, five Latin cities (Aricia, Antium, Lanuvium, Nomentum and Pedum; Tusculum had probably been incorporated earlier) were granted the rights of Roman citizens and fully absorbed into the Roman state, but this was atypical of the way that Rome dealt with other city-states during the republican period.

Most Latin cities had to make individual peace treaties with Rome and this would become the usual way that Rome attached other communities to itself. Some of these treaties gave a community all the private rights of Romans but not the public rights, and so this was called *civitas sine suffragio* or 'citizenship without the vote'. The private rights were *provocatio* (legal appeal), *commercium* (the right to trade) and *conubium* (the right to intermarry with Roman citizens). The men in these communities had no right to vote in Roman assemblies or hold office unless they settled in Rome itself. This limited form of citizenship meant that they had to pay taxes and supply Rome with troops but they could otherwise run their own communities as they wanted to, maintaining their own traditions, cults, languages and laws—although some judicial authority was exercised by Rome. A community of this kind was called a *municipium* ('municipality'). Early towns to accept 'citizenship without the vote' were Fundi, Formiae, Capua, Suessula and Cumae.⁴⁰

‘LATIN RIGHTS’

Some treaties defined a Latin community as an ally (*socius*) with the right to intermarry and to trade with Romans. These were the so-called ‘Latin rights’ that all members of the Latin League had previously shared with each other, but these new treaties stated that the defeated cities only shared these rights with Rome and not with each other. This helped to keep them closely linked to Rome and prevented them from forming alliances or leagues among themselves. Latin cities that fell into this category after the dissolution of the Latin League included Signia, Norba, Ardea, Circeii, Sutrium, Nepete and Setia.⁴¹ Latin rights should be seen as a package of rights that Rome extended to various other peoples over the centuries when Latin ethnicity was no longer a relevant feature of the alliance system. Some alliances extended different rights and obligations, depending on the situation; ‘voluntary alliance and alliance imposed by conquest would produce different privileges’.⁴² Allies had to provide military support but did not have to pay taxes and were otherwise independent states, at least technically. In practical terms, Rome exercised an increasing degree of influence over its allies.

COLONIES

In addition to establishing treaties and alliances, Rome extended its power by building colonies in Italy, usually at harbour towns. The colonies of this period were small, having about 300 families, which might have acted as garrisons to protect the harbours from sea raiders. Therefore, the founding of colonies was probably motivated by strategy in the early Republic, and by the need to relieve population pressures.

Roman colonies included Ostia (probably founded sometime in the early fourth century BCE), Antium in 338 BCE, Tarracina in 329 BCE, Minturnae and Sinuessa in 296 BCE and Sena Gallica around 290 BCE, all of which are on the coast. Other colonies were founded on land seized from defeated enemies and this was a way to ‘provide a core Roman presence and act as informal garrisons’.⁴³ The colonists had the full rights of Roman citizens—they could vote in Roman assemblies and run for political office—although they were obliged to follow Rome’s legal rulings and they could not mint their own money. As such, some colonists preferred to collaborate with other Latin communities in founding a colony because then the colonists would belong to a self-governing community allied with Rome.⁴⁴ Latin colonies were much larger, consisting of 2000–5000 settlers and their families, and these colonies apparently aimed to urbanise less developed regions (such as Samnium) and spread Roman culture.⁴⁵ Colonies tended to spread this culture at the expense of existing economies and languages in the area.

SOURCE 3.23

(Top)
Ruins of Ostia Antica, Italy.

SOURCE 3.24

(Bottom)
Ruins of the ancient city of Minturnae (now Minturno) in Lazio, Italy.





SOURCE 3.25

CENTRAL ITALY FROM THE PO RIVER TO CAMPANIA

This map shows the main ethnic groups and cities that the Romans came into contact with during the fifth and fourth centuries BCE.



ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What was the difference between the private rights and the public rights of Roman citizens?
2. What were Latin rights, and why did Rome offer them to some city-states?
3. To what extent is it accurate to say that Rome used 'incorporation and alliance' in dealing with other city-states? Use evidence to support your answer.

EXTENSION

Discuss the causes and consequences of the Latin War and the breakdown of the Latin League.

THE SAMNITE WARS

LIVY: 'The war in Samnium ... was attended with equal danger and an equally glorious conclusion.'

Before and after the conflict with the Latin League, Rome was engaged in long-running wars with the *Samnites*. The Samnites lived in the territory of Samnium in the Apennine hills to the east and south of Latium and, like other hill tribes, they raided their neighbours as part of their livelihood. The conflict with the Samnites, which Rome eventually won, had three major consequences for Rome: Rome was able to secure control of the centre of Italy; Rome started constructing a network of roads; and Rome adopted the flexible and superior military techniques of the Samnites. It is also worth noting that this period of expansion coincided with a reduction in the conflict between patricians and plebeians, suggesting that Rome was better able to move outwards once its internal disagreements had settled down.



THE CONQUEST OF ITALY: INTERACTIVE MAP

THE FIRST SAMNITE WAR (343–341 BCE)

The Samnites enter the Roman story in 354 BCE when they formed an alliance with Rome against the Gauls who were threatening central Italy. Then in 343 BCE the Samnites attacked the city of Capua in the fertile region of Campania, south of Rome. The Capuans asked Rome for help and the Romans assisted, turning against their allies the Samnites and pushing them back. In this way, the Romans prevented a potential rival (the Samnites) gaining more land in Campania, which the Romans were then able to gain for themselves. When the Latin League revolted against Rome in 341 BCE, the Romans renewed their alliance with the Samnites—who helped them against the Latins—and the Samnites accepted Rome's claim to the northern part of Campania. Rome now controlled territory along the western coast of Italy from northern Campania, through Latium and up to Veii.

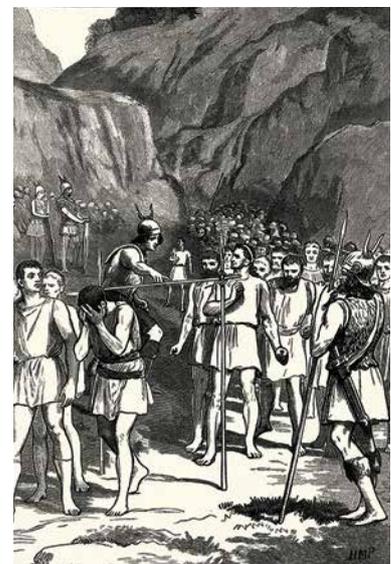
THE SECOND SAMNITE WAR (326–304 BCE)

Although it is unclear what led to a second war, it seems that Rome set up a colony at Fregellae in territory that the Samnites considered theirs. The tension this created flared into conflict in 326 BCE when the Romans attacked the city of Neapolis and the Samnites came to the aid of the Neapolitans. This led to open warfare between Rome and Samnium until 321 BCE, when the Samnites trapped a Roman army in a mountain valley called the Caudine Forks. The Romans were forced to surrender. After going through a humiliating ritual where they passed under a yoke (harness) formed from spears—indicating they had been defeated—the Romans had to give up their colony of Fregellae and other territory near Samnium and hand over 600 hostages to the Samnites.

Part of the reason the Samnites were such a stubborn foe was because of their military tactics. As a people who lived in the mountains, they had developed a more flexible style of fighting than the Romans, who were still using the phalanx legion that fought as one solid block of men. This gave the Romans an advantage in low, flat terrain but made them clumsy in hilly country. By 316 BCE, halfway through the Second Samnite War, the Romans had adopted their opponents' tactics and created what is known as the *manipular legion*.

SOURCE 3.26

Defeated Romans passing under the yoke at the Caudine Forks.

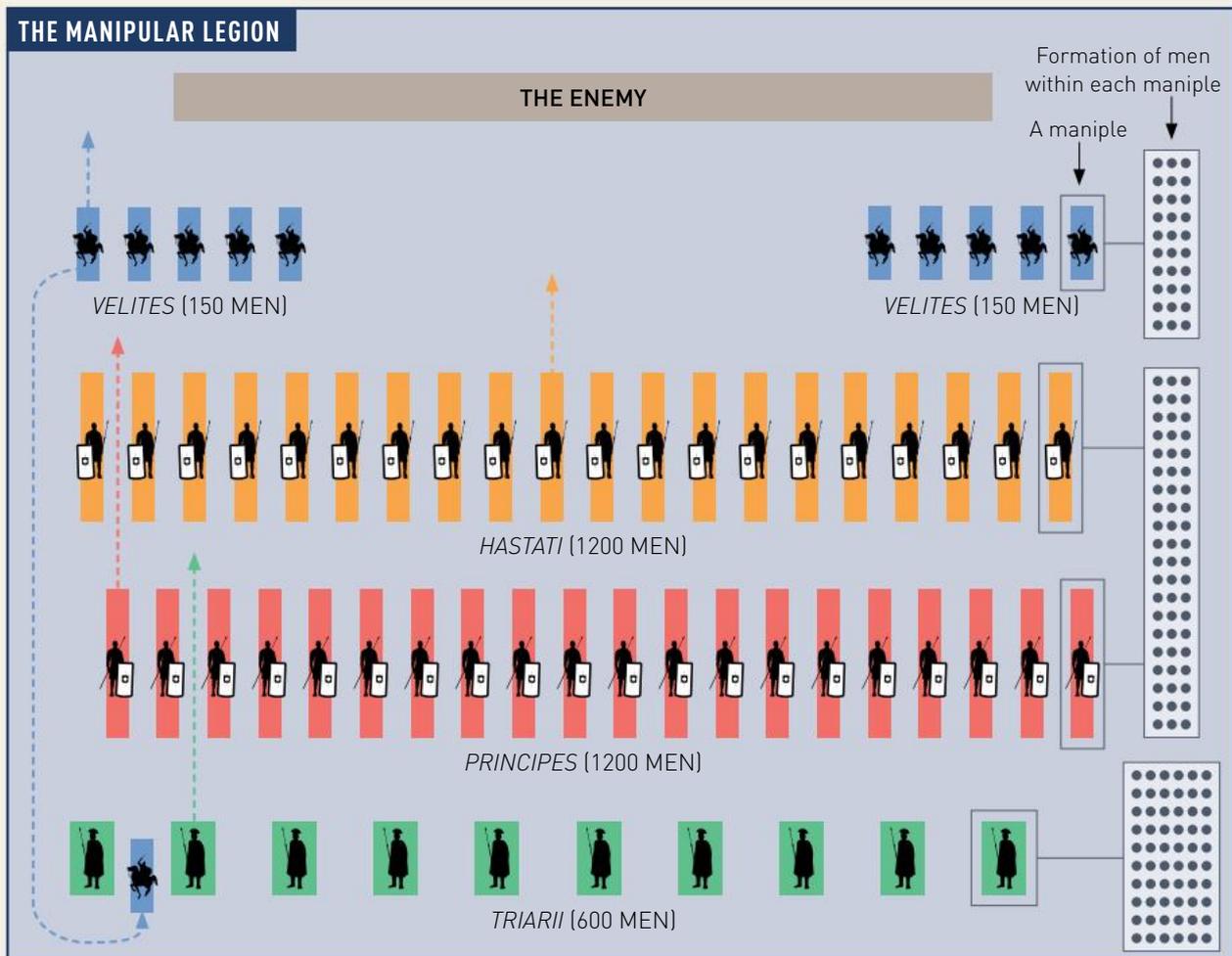


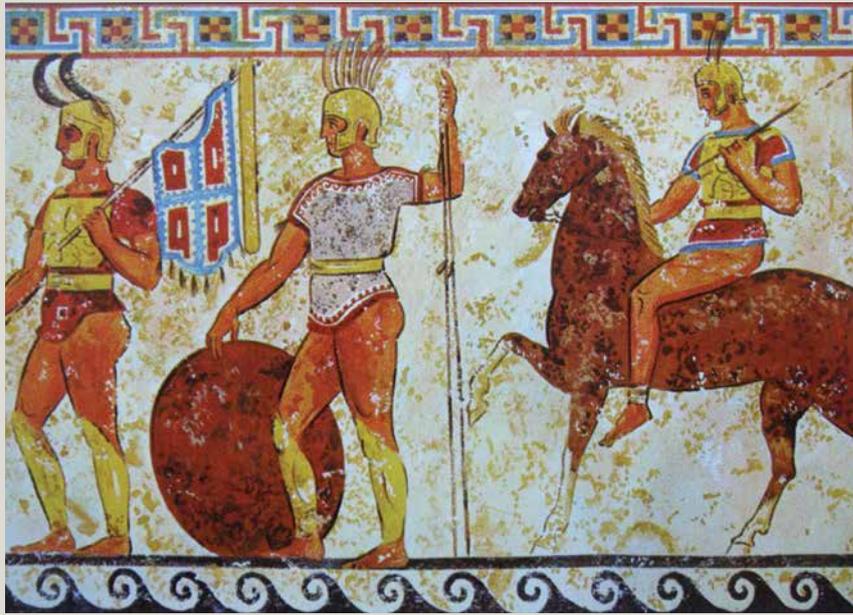
THE MANIPULAR LEGION

In the manipular legion, the Romans fought in small companies rather than one large block. Each company was called a *manipulus* ('handful' or 'maniple'). The legion was made up of 30 maniples, each numbering between 120 and 160 men. Thus the whole manipular legion had around 4200 men—and perhaps as many as 5000. By the late fourth century BCE, Rome was able to field four of these legions, two commanded by each of the consuls, as well as an equal number of legions from their allies. The maniples were arranged in three lines on the battlefield:

- the *hastati* or young spearmen in the front line
- the *principes*, who were more mature soldiers, in the middle line
- the *triarii*, who were battle-hardened veterans, held in reserve.

Skirmishers named *velites* (light infantry) and cavalry troops would help to protect the legion. The maniples had gaps between them; the maniples in the second line lined up with the gaps in the front line and the maniples in the third line lined up with the gaps in the second line, creating a chequerboard effect. This way, when the front line was exhausted they could retreat and the maniples of the second line could move forward through the gaps. The *triarii* would only enter battle if things got really bad and this gave rise to the ancient Roman saying *rem ad triarios redisse* or 'matters have come down to the triarii'—meaning the situation was now desperate.





SOURCE 3.27

A frieze depicting Samnite soldiers, from a fourth century BCE tomb.

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 3.27 and complete the tasks below.

1. Outline the main military features of Samnite warriors, according to this image.
2. Explain how the Romans benefited from their conflict with the Samnites. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the extent to which Rome interacted with other Italian societies and groups. Use evidence to support your response.

ACTIVITY

The Romans kept the peace until 316 BCE, when they struck back at the Samnites. The move was risky and the Samnites responded aggressively, pushing well into Latium. This incursion tested the alliances that Rome had made with the Latin communities in the 330s BCE and revealed that Rome had dealt wisely with the former members of the Latin League.⁴⁶ The Latin allies remained loyal and in 314 BCE the Romans began to push the Samnites back, invading Samnium again and again until the Romans won the war in 304 BCE. Samnium remained independent, but was no longer the equal of Rome in power or territory.

THE THIRD SAMNITE WAR (298–290 BCE)

The third conflict between the peoples of Rome and Samnium began in 298 BCE. This time Rome faced a coalition of Samnite, Etruscan, Umbrian and Gallic forces. The turning point of this third war came at the battle of Sentinum in Umbria in 295 BCE. Samnium finally surrendered in 290 BCE; in addition to giving up a significant amount of territory and booty, it was also forced to become allies of Rome—meaning it was obliged to supply Rome with troops. In the same year, Rome also took control of the territory of the Sabines.

At the end of the Samnite Wars, Roman territory had expanded significantly and Rome was the strongest power in Italy. However, much of Rome's claim to power relied on a core of Roman colonies and a much larger number of alliances with other Italian peoples. These alliances were not always stable; even those allies who

were not openly resentful wished to pursue their own agendas.⁴⁷ Rome had to carefully manage these alliances, often drawing manpower from one ally to assert control over another.

ACTIVITY

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

1. What was the cause of the First Samnite War?
2. What factors contributed to Roman victory in the Second Samnite War?
3. How did the Samnite Wars contribute to change in the Roman Republic?

THE FIRST ROMAN HIGHWAY



SOURCE 3.28

Remnants of the Via Appia passing through the ruins of Minturno.

In 312 BCE, Rome undertook a large public works project to create a 'highway' from Rome in Latium down to Capua in Campania. It was eventually extended all the way to Brundisium (on the 'heel' of Italy) in 264 BCE. This road was called the *Via Appia* ('the road of Appius') and was named after the Roman official Appius Claudius Caecus who was responsible for its construction. This road 'marked a fundamental step in the development of the Roman state'.⁴⁸ The Via Appia was at least partly paved at the time of construction and it ensured quick communication, effective deployment of troops and movement of agricultural produce throughout Roman land. It was the biggest public project undertaken in Rome to that date and ran in a very straight line for some 132 Roman miles⁴⁹ (about 195 kilometres). The Via Appia was extended over time and the entire Roman road network expanded slowly in the third and second centuries BCE. The road network provided a physical line along which Roman colonies could be established and helped to integrate the growing Roman economy, as well as provide a way for people to migrate into the city of Rome itself. In these early centuries of the Republic, all roads really did lead to Rome. At its greatest extent, the network of Roman roads ran for a total length of 80 000 kilometres of paved roads and a great deal more unpaved roads.

SOURCE 3.29

Remnants of the Via Appia as it appears today, on the south-eastern outskirts of the city of Rome.



THE STRUGGLE OF THE ORDERS III: RESOLUTION

POLYBIUS: 'The senate, though invested with so great authority, is bound to yield a certain attention to the people, and to act in concert with them in all affairs that are of great importance.'

The differences between the patricians and plebeians continued to erode. Plebeians had gained access to the high offices of the state and in 300 BCE the *Ogulnian Law* stated that plebeians could join the colleges of pontiffs and augurs, leaving only a few priesthoods in patrician hands.⁵⁰ As a result, patricians could no longer use religious laws as a way of interfering with plebeian political activity.⁵¹ At the end of the Samnite Wars, many farmers who had been fighting for Rome were deep in debt. The Plebeian Council had presented the Senate with proposals to deal

with these debts but the senators, who were the people to whom the debts were owed, resisted these measures. When the plebeians threatened another secession, the Hortensian Law was passed in 287 BCE to address the situation. This law meant that the Plebeian Council no longer needed senatorial approval to pass legislation that would be binding on the whole community.⁵² With the passage of this law, the political differences between patricians and plebeians virtually disappeared. The Plebeian Council took on the role of the main legislative body in Rome (as well as voting for plebeian tribunes and aediles) while the Centuriate Assembly became the main elective body (electing consuls, praetors and censors) although it could still pass laws and vote on matters of war and peace. The Curiate Assembly continued to meet to formally confirm *imperium* on the higher officials but this became such a formality that by the end of the Republic the original thirty *curiae* were simply represented by thirty individuals.

KEY LEGAL DEVELOPMENTS IN THE STRUGGLE OF THE ORDERS

367
BCE

LICINIAN-SEXTIAN LAWS

Plebeians became eligible for the consulship.

342
BCE

GENUCIAN LAW

At least one of the two consuls had to be a plebeian.

339
BCE

OVINIAN LAW

Membership in the Senate was for life; consuls and praetors (who were as likely to be plebeians as patricians) automatically joined the Senate when their year in office ended.

300
BCE

OGULNIAN LAW

Plebeians could become pontiffs and augurs, leaving only a few priesthoods under patrician control.

287
BCE

HORTENSIAN LAW

The Plebeian Council no longer needed senatorial approval to pass legislation that would be binding on the whole community.

THE SENATORIAL ELITE

Around 339 BCE the Ovinian Law was passed. This law introduced two important new elements in how membership of the Senate would be determined. Firstly, membership in the Senate was for life unless a senator's behaviour was considered unacceptable by a censor. As a result of this law, the Senate took on a permanence that it had not had during the regal period or the first century of the Republic, when the Senate membership changed from year to year at the discretion of the kings, consuls and military tribunes.⁵³ Second, the law allowed consuls and praetors—who were as likely to be plebeians as patricians—to automatically join the Senate when their year in office ended. In this way the Senate increasingly mixed patricians and plebeians in the century after plebeians first gained access to the consulship—just under half of all consuls in the period 366–265 BCE were plebeians (ninety consulships supplied by thirty-six plebeian clans).⁵⁴

However, the mixing of men of patrician and plebeian backgrounds did not make the Senate—or the Roman state—more equitable. Indeed, the plebeian families that entered politics were the wealthy minority of plebeians and they supported the rights of the existing senatorial elite because it was a way for them to gain and keep a share of the existing political power.⁵⁵ As the distinction between patricians and plebeians blurred, a new nobility began to emerge that controlled the Senate and dominated Roman political offices. This concentration of power in the hands of the aristocratic elite increased in the late third and early second centuries BCE.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What was the impact of the Hortensian Law?
2. What was the impact of the Ovinian Law?
3. How different was the social structure of Rome in the third century BCE compared to the social structure at the time of the founding of the Republic?

➔ SOURCE 3.30

Marble bust of King Pyrrhus. This sculpture was found in the town of Herculaneum, which was destroyed by the eruption of Vesuvius in 79 CE.



'THE LIFE OF PYRRHUS' BY PLUTARCH

DID YOU KNOW?

Pyrrhus defeated the Romans in another battle at Ausculum in 279 BCE but he lost so many soldiers that he supposedly said, 'Another victory like that and we are done for!' This event gave rise to the expression 'a Pyrrhic victory' to refer to a success that comes at such a high price that it may as well have been a loss.

➔ SOURCE 3.31

Pyrrhus, King of Epirus, defeats the Romans, with the help of his war elephants.

THE PYRRHIC WAR (280–275 BCE)

POLYBIUS: '[The Romans] came to the contest against Pyrrhus as absolute champions in the deeds of war'.⁵⁶

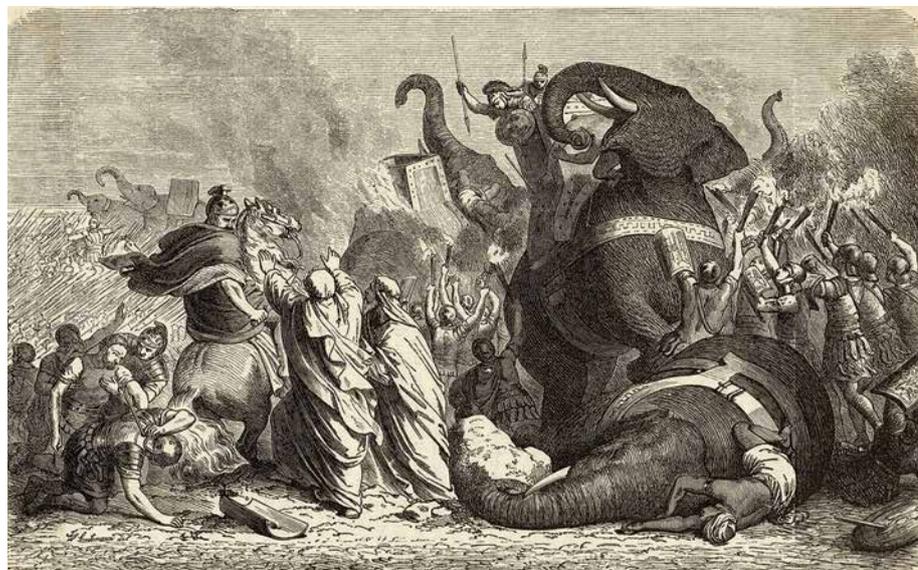


TROUBLE IN TARENTUM

Even as the Romans were consolidating their control of central Italy after the Samnite Wars, they were heading for trouble in the south. The southern part of Italy had been colonised by Greeks starting in the eighth century BCE, and Tarentum was the most powerful of the Italian Greek cities. The Tarentines (as the the people of Tarentum were known) had taken on the role of 'protector of the Italian Greeks',⁵⁷ as they owed their position to profitable trade with Greece and their practice of hiring highly-trained Greek mercenaries. Rome became involved in the affairs of the Italian Greeks when the city of Thurii appealed to Rome for help against the Lucanians who were attacking them. Thurii believed the Romans were stronger than the Tarentines and the Romans never missed an opportunity to establish a new ally. The Romans came to the aid of Thurii in 282 BCE and the Tarentines, resentful of Rome's interference, attacked some Roman ships that sailed into their harbour and pushed the Roman garrison out of Thurii. When Roman demands for compensation were rejected, the Romans sent in their army. The Tarentines might have been willing to settle the matter at this point but just then an ally responded to the Greeks' request for help. This ally was King Pyrrhus of Epirus.

KING PYRRHUS OF EPIRUS

King Pyrrhus was a noble prince, related to Alexander the Great, with ambitions of conquering Italy, then Sicily and possibly even Carthage. He came to Italy with 25 000 soldiers organised in the Macedonian phalanx that had helped Alexander the Great conquer the Persian Empire. Pyrrhus also brought twenty war elephants—living engines of destruction that the Romans had never seen before.



Pyrrhus quickly took charge of the Italian Greeks' defence effort and the Romans rushed to engage him. They fought at Heraclea in 280 BCE and, although each side had about the same number of soldiers, the Romans were fielding citizen militia against a 'first-class professional Hellenistic army'.⁵⁸ The Romans were defeated, partly due to the impact of the elephants on the Roman cavalry—an untrained horse won't go anywhere near an elephant. Pyrrhus tried to capitalise on this victory by attacking Rome but, although he got as far as Latium, he failed to persuade Rome's allies to swap sides. The value of Rome's alliance system was demonstrated once again.



THE LIFE OF PYRRHUS OF EPIRUS

SOURCE 3.32

SOUTHERN ITALY AND THE MAIN LOCATIONS OF THE PYRRHIC WAR



ACTIVITY

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 3.33 and complete the tasks below.

1. List the arguments Appius gives for resisting Pyrrhus, according to Plutarch.
2. Explain why Pyrrhus was a threat to Rome. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the extent to which the Pyrrhic War was caused by Roman expansion in Italy. Use evidence to support your response.



ROMAN POWER:
MAP TASK

DID YOU KNOW?

Pyrrhus was killed during a battle in the city of Argos in 272 BCE. A woman threw a roof tile at him from the top of her house, breaking his neck.

THE THREAT OF PYRRHUS

[T]he majority of the senators were inclined towards peace, for they recognized that they had been defeated in a great battle and must expect to have to fight another against an even stronger army, now that the Italian Greeks had joined Pyrrhus. It was at this point that Appius Claudius, a man of great distinction but one who had long been prevented by old age and blindness from playing an active part in politics, learned that the king's terms had been presented to the Senate, and that they were about to vote on the proposed cessation [end] of hostilities. He could no longer bear to remain at home, but ordered his attendants to take him up, and had himself carried through the Forum to the Senate-house on a litter. When he arrived at the doors, his sons and sons-in-law supported him and guided him to his seat ...

Speaking from where he stood, Appius then addressed them as follows. 'Until now, my countrymen, I had felt the loss of my sight as a heavy affliction. But now it grieves me that I have not lost my hearing as well, when I learn of the shameful motions and decrees with which you propose to dishonor the great name of Rome ... you tremble before this Pyrrhus ... Do not imagine that you will get rid of this fellow by making him your friend. You will only bring other invaders after him and they will despise you as a people whom anybody can subdue. That is what you can expect if you allow Pyrrhus to leave Italy not merely unpunished for the outrages he has committed against you, but actually rewarded for having made Rome a laughing-stock ...'

By the time Appius had finished, his audience were filled with the desire to continue the war ...

↑ SOURCE 3.33

Plutarch, Lives XVIII.5–XIX.3, trans. Ian Scott-Kilvert (London: Penguin Books, 1977).

It seemed at this point that Pyrrhus and Rome had reached a stalemate. Rome began to negotiate while Pyrrhus started to look towards Sicily. The Sicilian Greeks were asking Pyrrhus for help against Carthage and Pyrrhus considered Sicily an easier target, so the invitation from the Sicilians gave him a reason to move into the island. This alarmed Carthage, whose interests were focused on the large and prosperous island of Sicily. So Carthage offered money and ships to Rome; Rome accepted the offer and stopped negotiating with Pyrrhus. Pyrrhus shifted his attention to Sicily in 278 BCE and over the course of two years he was so successful in his battles against the Carthaginians that he was soon poised to attack Carthaginian strongholds in Africa. At this point, however, the Sicilians became afraid that Pyrrhus would annex their cities and so they turned against him and made peace with Carthage. Pyrrhus returned to Italy in 275 BCE, suffering defeats from the Carthaginian navy and the Roman army, and then went back east to attempt the conquest of Macedonia. Tarentum, along with other Greek cities of southern Italy, had to become an ally of Rome.

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Discuss how the following parties would have perceived the causes and consequences of the Pyrrhic War: Pyrrhus; the Romans; the Tarentines; the Sicilian Greeks.

**ACTIVITY****HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES**

The ancient Roman historian Livy asserts that from the Samnite Wars to the Pyrrhic Wars Rome went through ‘extremes of danger’ in order to reach a later state of ‘greatness’. Make a list of arguments to support or oppose Livy’s assertion.

SOURCE 3.34

THE EXPANSION OF ROMAN POWER IN ITALY FROM THE FOUNDING OF THE REPUBLIC TO THE END OF THE PYRRHIC WAR

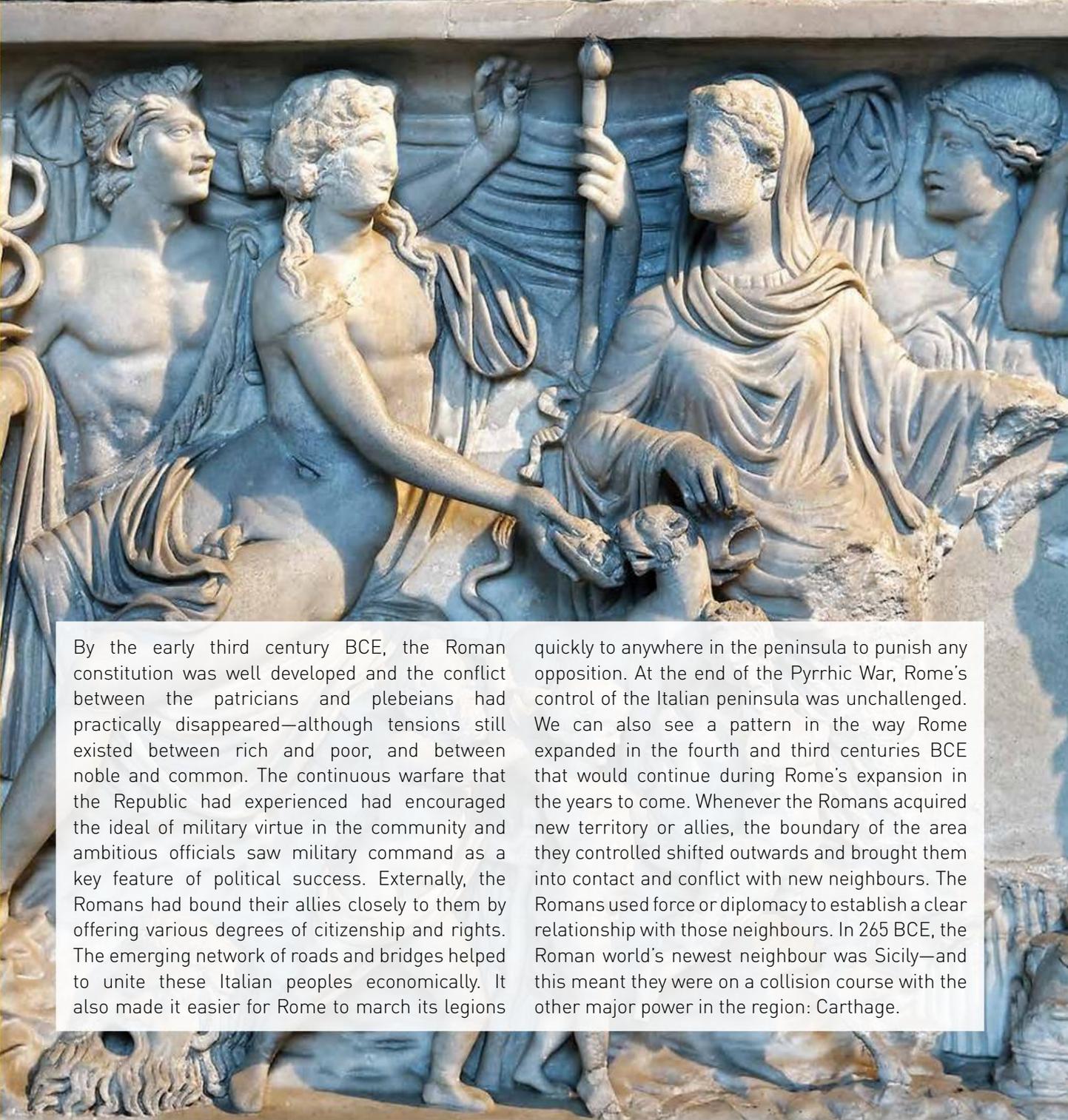
Note that ‘expansion’ did not necessarily mean that the Romans exercised direct control over this territory; Roman power more often took the form of alliances, treaties and other political arrangements.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE**THE PYRRHIC WAR**

As a result of the war with Pyrrhus, Rome was able to force the Italian Greeks to become their allies. By 265 BCE, Rome dominated the peninsula of Italy south of the Rubicon, having brought some 150 once-independent communities under its control.⁵⁹ Only the central part of this was actually Roman territory, the rest still technically belonged to their allies; of the 135 000 square kilometres Rome exercised control over, only about 26 000 square kilometres was Roman territory (expanded from 130 square kilometres in 509 BCE) and Latins occupied only another 13 000 square kilometres.⁶⁰ The allies had to provide Rome with troops and follow Rome’s lead in dealing with foreign states. As such, Rome could draw on a huge pool of resources; by the middle of the third century BCE, there were about 1 million Roman citizens and another 2 million Roman allies—about a quarter of whom enjoyed Latin rights.⁶¹ Rome secured the loyalty of its allies by sharing the spoils of war (loot and land) and providing the local pro-Roman rulers with military support against rebels⁶² but otherwise not getting involved in internal affairs. Pyrrhus’ failure to recruit those allies showed that their loyalty to Rome was solid. Over the next few decades, the alliance system would prove crucial to Rome’s survival as it entered the fight of its life in the Punic Wars.



CONCLUSION



By the early third century BCE, the Roman constitution was well developed and the conflict between the patricians and plebeians had practically disappeared—although tensions still existed between rich and poor, and between noble and common. The continuous warfare that the Republic had experienced had encouraged the ideal of military virtue in the community and ambitious officials saw military command as a key feature of political success. Externally, the Romans had bound their allies closely to them by offering various degrees of citizenship and rights. The emerging network of roads and bridges helped to unite these Italian peoples economically. It also made it easier for Rome to march its legions

quickly to anywhere in the peninsula to punish any opposition. At the end of the Pyrrhic War, Rome's control of the Italian peninsula was unchallenged. We can also see a pattern in the way Rome expanded in the fourth and third centuries BCE that would continue during Rome's expansion in the years to come. Whenever the Romans acquired new territory or allies, the boundary of the area they controlled shifted outwards and brought them into contact and conflict with new neighbours. The Romans used force or diplomacy to establish a clear relationship with those neighbours. In 265 BCE, the Roman world's newest neighbour was Sicily—and this meant they were on a collision course with the other major power in the region: Carthage.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Create two timelines in parallel columns, one timeline showing developments in the Struggle of the Orders and the other showing the development of Rome's interactions with other groups of people outside Rome. What conclusions can you draw about the way political and social changes within Rome affected what was happening outside Rome and vice versa?

EXAM PREPARATION

1. Choose one specific conflict Rome was involved in during the early Republic. Explain what caused this conflict and how the conflict brought about changes in the Republic, using evidence to support your response.
2. Explain how and why Rome developed alliances with other Italian communities. Use evidence to support your response.

ESSAY

Write an essay of 400–600 words on the following topic:

- 'The political system of the Republic primarily served the interests of an elite minority in Roman society.' To what extent do you agree? In your response, use evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations.

EXTENSION

Research the career of a Roman leader who has not been discussed in this chapter (look at, for example, Marcus Furius Camillus, Aulus Cornelius Cossus or Titus Manlius Torquatus). To what extent does this leader's career and experience reflect the major social and political concerns of the early Roman Republic?

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 3

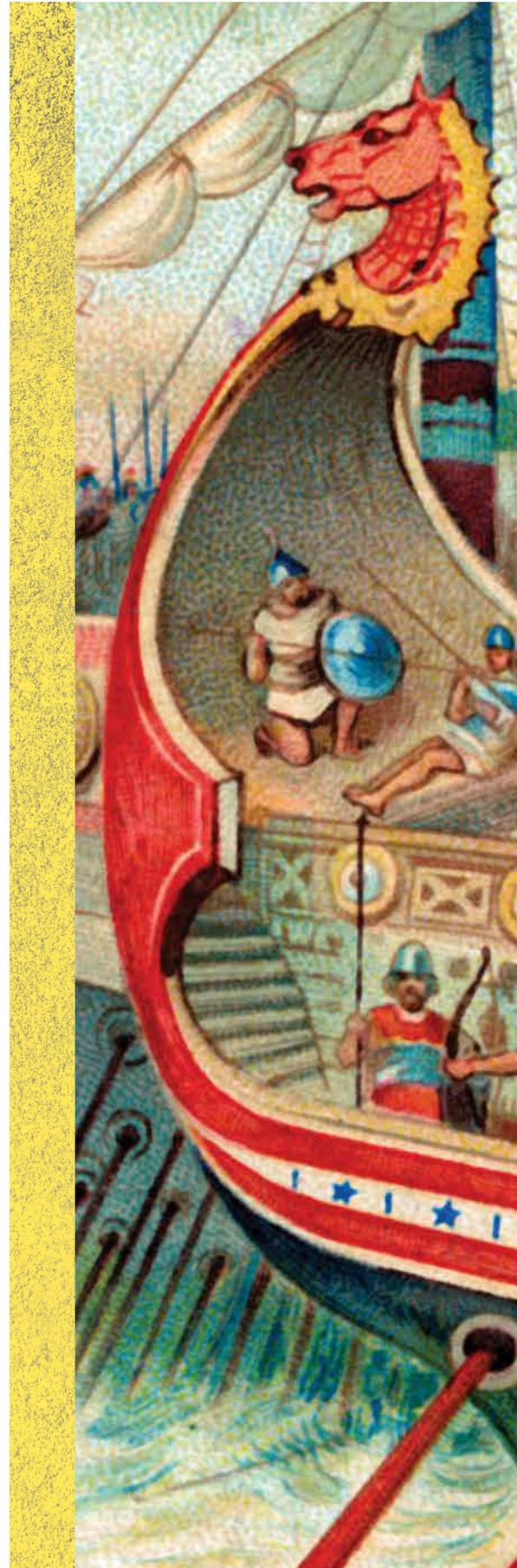
CHAPTER

4

THE STRUGGLE FOR SUPREMACY: THE PUNIC WARS

'Most historians have prefaced their work by stressing the importance of the period they propose to deal with; and I may well, at this point, follow their example and declare that I am now about to tell the story of the most memorable war in history: that, namely, which was fought by Carthage under the leadership of Hannibal against Rome.'¹

LIVY





The Battle of Mylae, Sicily, in 260 BCE as depicted on a playing card from 1913.

OVERVIEW

ROMAN SUCCESS

- For much of the third century BCE, Rome was involved in long and costly wars with Carthage
- Rome began to make contact with the Greek eastern Mediterranean, drawing the city into further conflict
- Roman control of the sea, strong alliances and effective senatorial leadership contributed to Roman success
- By the end of the third century BCE, Rome clearly had an empire and controlled a number of overseas provinces

	BEFORE 265 BCE	FIRST PUNIC WAR 264–241 BCE	
ROME	Republic based in Italy	GAINS: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • navy • new provinces (Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia) 	
RELATIONSHIP	friendship	open conflict	hostility
EVENTS	Sicily caught in the middle		
CARTHAGE	Republic based in North Africa	LOSSES: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • territory • compensation to Rome 	
	BEFORE 265 BCE	FIRST PUNIC WAR 264–241 BCE	



HAMILCAR BARCA

The father of Hannibal Barca, Hamilcar was a commander of Carthaginian forces in Sicily during the First Punic War and the commander of Carthaginian forces in Spain between the two wars. Hamilcar did much to re-establish Carthage's presence in Spain, and he died there in 229 BCE.



QUINTUS FABIUS MAXIMUS

Fabius was appointed dictator in response to the Roman loss at the Battle of Lake Trasimene in 217 BCE. Fabius recognised Hannibal's military superiority and developed the unpopular strategy of harassing Hannibal's forces rather than facing him in a direct fight.

PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO

There are two Scipios by this name—a father and son. The father was the leader of Roman forces in Spain during the Second Punic War and died in 211 BCE. His more famous son (236–183 BCE) took over command of Roman troops in Spain and was immediately successful. After the Roman victory at Zama, the son became known as Scipio Africanus.

SECOND PUNIC WAR 218–201 BCE		THIRD PUNIC WAR 149–146 BCE	
GAINS: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • new provinces (Spain) • senatorial wealth and prestige 		GAINS: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • new provinces (Africa) 	
open conflict		hostility	
Romans invade Spain Carthaginians invade Italy		Carthaginians go to war in North Africa	
LOSSES: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • territory • compensation to Rome • navy • the right to go to war 		LOSSES: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • territory • city (destroyed) • people (enslaved) 	
SECOND PUNIC WAR 218–201 BCE		THIRD PUNIC WAR 149–146 BCE	
		VICTOR	
		END OF RIVALRY BETWEEN ROME AND CARTHAGE	
		LOSER	



HANNIBAL BARCA

Hannibal was a Carthaginian general (247–183/182 BCE) in the Second Punic War and one of the greatest military strategists in history. He is famous for crossing the Alps with an army that included elephants. Despite his incredible military successes, he was not effectively supported by Carthage. His family members are collectively known as the 'Barcids' (based on their family name 'Barca').

HASDRUBAL BARCA

Hasdrubal is a common Carthaginian name and it can be unclear which Hasdrubal is being referred to. One Hasdrubal was the son-in-law of Hamilcar Barca and took over the management of Spain when Hamilcar died; this Hasdrubal died in 221 BCE. Another Hasdrubal Barca was the brother of Hannibal; when Hannibal invaded Italy in 218 BCE, Hasdrubal remained in Spain to fight the Romans. A third Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, was also a commander in Spain at the same time as Hannibal's brother, and a fourth Hasdrubal was a commander of Carthaginian troops during the Third Punic War.

THE FIRST PUNIC WAR (264–241 BCE)

CASSIUS DIO: 'The Carthaginians, who had long been powerful, and the Romans, who were now growing in strength, viewed each other with suspicion; and they were led into war, partly out of a desire to keep getting more, just like the majority of human beings (and especially when they are doing well, of course), but also partly out of fear.'

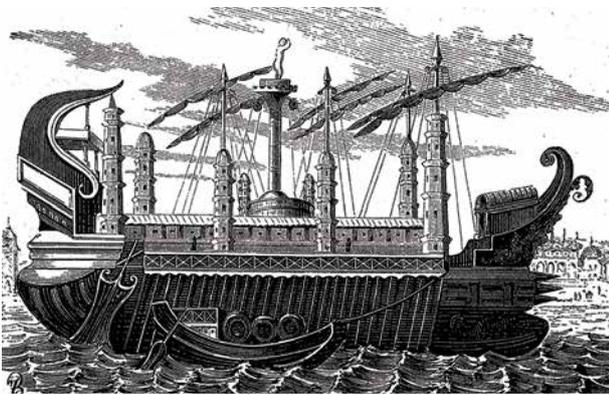


THE PUNIC WARS

At the end of the Pyrrhic War in 265 BCE, Rome was master of central and southern Italy. Although Rome and Carthage (a city in modern-day Tunisia) had been aware of each other for centuries, they had enjoyed peaceful relations. No one in 265 BCE assumed that these two city-states would come into conflict with each other, let alone fight three devastating wars until one wiped out the other.² At the end of the *Punic Wars*, Rome would be undisputed master of the Mediterranean.

The unexpected event that triggered the conflict was the behaviour of the aptly named Sons of Mars (as Mars was the Roman god of war). The Sons of Mars—also known as the *Mamertines*—were a band of mercenaries formerly in the

employment of Agathocles of Sicily. In 288 BCE the Sons captured the city of Messana, near the Strait of Messina and used it as a base to attack other towns in Sicily and ships sailing through the strait. Around 264 BCE, Hiero II of Syracuse attacked Messana and came close to liberating it. The Sons of Mars became alarmed at the thought of Syracuse taking control and called upon Carthage to help them; Carthage responded by sending a garrison into Messana. The Sons of Mars then became alarmed at the thought of the Carthaginians controlling of Messana, so they called upon the Romans to help them.



↑ SOURCE 4.01

Hiero II's ship, in Syracuse, Italy.

There was considerable debate in Rome about the request for intervention. The Mamertines were from Campania—which was under Roman control—and thus had a 'moral claim on the Republic's protection'.³ The Senate was aware that interference in Sicilian affairs might well draw Rome into conflict with Carthage, but Syracuse was seen as a greater threat than Carthage at the time. Hiero II seemed to be presenting himself as the champion of the Greeks and might end up trying to liberate the Greek cities in the south of Italy (following the example of Pyrrhus). Unsure of what to do, the Senate took the unusual step of allowing the consuls to present the matter to the Centuriate Assembly without any advice from the Senate. The consuls stressed the prospect of gaining loot in a Sicilian war and the assembly voted in favour of sending an army to help the Sons of Mars.

Two legions under the command of the consul Appius Claudius Caudex headed for Messana in 264 BCE. When the Carthaginians heard that the Romans were on the way, the commander of the Carthaginian garrison withdrew with his troops (the commander was later crucified by the Carthaginian Senate for having failed to even try to hold onto Messana). The Carthaginians quickly made an alliance with Syracuse; together they set up camp around Messana and blockaded the city at sea. The Carthaginians famously declared that they would not even let the Romans wash their hands in the sea let alone have freedom of movement on the water. Appius Claudius slipped past the blockade at night, landed his army and pushed the Syracusans and Carthaginians out of Messana.

CARTHAGE

Greek and Roman accounts often present the Carthaginians as cruel and self-indulgent people who were interested in pleasure and profit rather than community or productivity. The Romans and Greeks even claimed that the Carthaginians practised human sacrifice, including the sacrifice of their own children—and there is some archaeological evidence to support this. The ‘lurid stories’ of Carthaginian religion have endured—unfair as they may be to the people of Carthage⁴—so students of ancient history should be cautious when reading Roman and Greek accounts of the Carthaginians.

The city of Carthage was settled by the Phoenician people around 750 BCE. The word ‘Punic’ comes from the Latin *Punicus*, which was the Roman way of saying ‘Phoenician’. The Phoenicians had come from the city of Tyre, on the east coast of the Mediterranean, and were famous for their skills in navigation, trade and naval warfare. Carthage was originally a trading station in northern Africa, facing towards Sicily—where Tunisia is today. When Phoenician cities like Tyre in the east started to fall under the control of empires such as Babylonia and Persia, Carthage took on the role of protector of Phoenician interests in the western Mediterranean. By the beginning of the third century BCE, Carthage controlled much of the North African coast—from the Gulf of Syrtis to the Strait of Gibraltar—as well as southern Spain, the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Corsica and western Sicily.

The city of Carthage was built around an excellent harbour; it was defended by stout walls and its stables were filled with elephants and horses. There were perhaps 200 000 residents of the city and another 2 million people in Carthaginian territory in the third century BCE.⁵ The wealthy Carthaginians exported large amounts of agricultural produce and controlled mines in Spain—but their real source of wealth came from commerce.⁶ Carthaginian caravans traded in Africa and Egypt, while merchants sailed beyond the Pillars of Hercules (the Strait of Gibraltar) to Britain and Senegal.⁷

The political and social structure of the Carthaginians shared similarities with Rome and classical Athens. Those citizens of Carthage who had the required level of wealth and social status gathered into an assembly to debate matters proposed to them. The assembly elected officials and military commanders. Two executive officers called *suffetes* (similar to the Roman consuls) were elected annually and had significant civil authority. The Carthaginian Senate gave advice to the *suffetes* but if the *suffetes* and the Senate could not agree, the assembly of the people would be consulted, a practice that was quite different to the role of the Roman assemblies. The Senate had a great deal of responsibility for Carthaginian policy and its members formed committees that supervised legal, financial and military matters. Those military matters included managing the large number of mercenaries who made up Carthage’s armed forces and keeping a close eye on ambitious generals—the usual punishment for a general who ran afoul of the Senate was crucifixion.



SOURCE 4.02

Bones of a sacrificed Carthaginian youth recovered from the ruins of Carthage.



UNESCO:
ARCHAEOLOGICAL
SITE OF CARTHAGE



UNESCO: 3D
RECONSTRUCTION
OF CARTHAGE

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Where did the Carthaginians originally come from?
2. What were some of the distinctive features of the city of Carthage?
3. In what ways were the Romans and Carthaginians similar?

SOURCE 4.03

Punic ruins in Byrsa, Carthage, Tunisia.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Why did the Sons of Mars ask the Romans for help?
2. How did the Romans establish themselves in Sicily in 264 and 263 BCE?
3. To what extent were the Carthaginians responsible for starting the First Punic War? Use evidence to support your response.

The Carthaginians retreated to the west of Sicily to protect their cities there while the Romans focused on Syracuse. In 263 BCE, the Romans persuaded Hiero II of Syracuse to become an ally. Once again, the Roman skill in consolidating military gains with alliances was successful and Hiero II remained a firm friend to Rome until his death in 216 BCE. The two consuls of 263 BCE arrived in Sicily with 40,000 men and captured some of the cities under Carthaginian control in the west of the island. The Romans may have done this to discourage Carthage from resisting Rome's newly established involvement in Sicily.⁸ But it had the opposite effect.

The Carthaginian Senate realized that Rome now posed a direct threat to their position in Sicily. Either Rome would eventually try to expand and push Carthage out of Sicily, or the Sicilian towns under Carthaginian control would be tempted to ally with Rome. Carthaginian forces—including North African allies and mercenaries from Spain and Gaul—began to build up at the city of Agrigentum on the south-west coast of Sicily. The Romans responded by sending both consuls with their armies in 262 BCE. Agrigentum was captured in early 261 after a five-month siege.

WAR IN SICILY (261–256 BCE)

The First Punic War had started in Sicily and it would be carried out over the next twenty years in and around that island. The problem for the Romans was that they had virtually no ships and no skill in naval warfare, while the Carthaginians ruled the waves. It became clear to the Romans by 261 BCE that they would need a fleet. According to Polybius, the Romans found a stranded Carthaginian warship and copied the design. Supposedly, within two months the Romans had built 100 *quinqueremes*, the type of battleship used by the Carthaginians. Each ship was crewed by about 300 rowers and carried 120 soldiers on board. These *quinqueremes* were the first of many ships the Romans would build.

When the Roman fleet was ready, it fought the Carthaginian fleet off the north coast of Sicily near the town of Mylae. Rome, the naval newcomer, soundly defeated Carthage, the former maritime masters. The consul for 260 BCE, Gaius Duilius, celebrated the first naval triumph in Roman history.

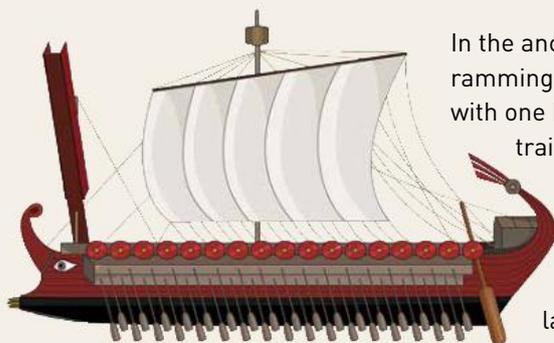
The Romans had won their first major sea battle against Carthage—but the struggle was far from over. One of the consuls of 259 BCE, Lucius Cornelius

➔ SOURCE 4.04

Modern-day Sicily, showing the agricultural richness of the island.



THE CORVUS



↑ SOURCE 4.05

Illustration of an ancient Roman warship. Note the boarding device (or *corvus*) at the front of the ship.

In the ancient world, naval combat relied on one basic tactic—ramming. A well-trained crew could crack an enemy ship in half with one blow,⁹ and the Carthaginian crews were very well-trained. The Romans came up with a way to neutralise Carthaginian expertise and allow the Romans to do what they were best at, which was fighting hand-to-hand. To achieve this, when a Carthaginian ship manoeuvred nearby, the Romans dropped a large plank with a spike at one end; the spike would stick in the Carthaginian ship and the plank would act as a bridge. The bridge was called a *corvus* (meaning ‘raven’) because its spike was like a beak. The Romans then rushed over the bridge and fought the Carthaginians. The *corvus* was a key part of Rome’s success in at least the first half of this war.

Scipio, captured Corsica, and his successor, Gaius Sulpicius Paterculus, won Rome’s second naval battle at Sulci in Sardinia in 258 BCE. The battles around Corsica and Sardinia were, however, a secondary theatre of the war. In 257 BCE, the consul Gaius Atilius Regulus won Rome’s third naval battle at Tyndaris.

WAR IN AFRICA (256–255 BCE)

By establishing themselves in Sicily, the Romans were now a relatively short distance by sea from Carthage itself and it was possible that an invasion of Africa could bring the war to an end. The fleet was increased to 250 ships, eighty transport ships and about 100 000 men for the crews. This would have made the invasion force larger, relative to population, than the Allied forces in the D-Day invasion of 1944 during World War II—and one of the most massive military operations in the ancient world.¹⁰ The invasion, under the command of consuls Marcus Atilius Regulus and Lucius Manlius Vulso, began well, with Rome’s fourth naval victory at Cape Ecnomus. Vulso returned to Rome with most of the fleet while Regulus remained in Africa with the remaining ships and two legions (about 15 000 men), plundering the countryside around Carthage.

When it became clear that Marcus Atilius Regulus would be a real threat in North Africa, the Carthaginians were willing to discuss peace terms. Regulus, however, proposed such unfair terms—the details of which are unclear—that the Carthaginians decided it was better to keep fighting. The Carthaginians hired new mercenaries, including a Spartan named Xanthippus who took charge of the Carthaginian war effort. When the Romans met Xanthippus in 255 BCE, he had a concentrated mass of about 100 elephants at the front of his 12 000 troops and about 4000 cavalry waiting on the wings. The Romans formed into a compact mass—but this was exactly what Xanthippus wanted. Xanthippus’ cavalry kept the Romans from spreading out and the elephants trampled the legions underfoot. Only about 2000 of the



DID YOU KNOW?

A column put up to celebrate a naval achievement is called a rostral column. It is named after the Roman word *rostrum*, which was the ‘beak’ of the bow of a ship, used for ramming other ships. Rostral columns today can be seen in cities such as St Petersburg and New York.

↑ SOURCE 4.06

Reproduction of the rostral column erected by Gaius Duilius to commemorate his victory in the Battle of Mylae, 260 BCE.

DID YOU KNOW?

Roman armies carried sacred chickens around with them, and the army could only fight if the chickens ate before a battle. When the Romans were getting ready for the sea battle at Drepana in 249 BCE, the chickens would not eat, so the consul in charge impatiently said, 'Then let them drink' and threw them overboard. The Romans went into battle and lost. The gods, it seems, were displeased.

SOURCE 4.07

Carthaginian commander Hamilcar Barca.

ACTIVITY

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Discuss how Roman technology and military tactics changed as a result of the First Punic War.

15 000 Romans escaped while 500 others were taken prisoner, including Marcus Atilius Regulus—this was the first time a Roman consul had ever been captured. A Roman fleet of about 250 ships picked up the survivors. This fleet was attacked by the Carthaginians at the Hermaean Promontory but the Romans won, making this their fifth naval victory. The Roman fleet was then hit by a terrible storm and only 80 ships survived; as many as 100 000 sailors and soldiers may have drowned.¹¹ The North Africa campaign was over.

WAR IN SICILY (254–241 BCE)

The war shifted back to Sicily, with battles continuing on land and at sea. The Romans rebuilt their fleet and had 220 ships by 254 BCE. The Romans were soon able to confine the Carthaginians in Sicily to the western edge of the island, most significantly in the strongholds of Drepana and Lilybaeum. But the Romans could not decisively take control of Sicily and their fortunes at sea took a turn for the worse. They lost another fleet in a storm off Cape Palinurus (253 BCE) and suffered their only naval defeat of the war at Drepana (249 BCE), while a third fleet was forced into a storm by the Carthaginians on the south-east coast of Sicily. The war was at a stalemate.

A new Carthaginian commander arrived on the scene in 247 BCE. His name was Hamilcar Barca. Hamilcar launched continual raids against Roman positions in Sicily and on the coast of Italy, and reasserted Carthaginian control of the sea. By 242 BCE, the Roman state had run out of ships and had to borrow money from wealthy individuals to build another 200 ships. The Roman fleet blockaded Drepana and Lilybaeum in Sicily, cutting Carthaginians off from reinforcements and supplies. In 241 BCE, Carthage made one last attempt to send ships to help their besieged countrymen in Sicily but the new Roman fleet met them at the Aegates Islands and defeated them. Carthage could not continue the war and a peace treaty was negotiated between Hamilcar Barca and the Roman consul, Gaius Lutatius Catulus.



HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

THE PEACE TREATY BETWEEN ROME AND CARTHAGE

The terms of the peace treaty meant that Carthage had to give up control of Sicily and the small islands on the north coast (but not Sardinia or Corsica), return prisoners of war, not attack or try to recruit Rome's allies (such as Syracuse) and pay compensation of 3200 *talents* of silver to Rome. (A *talent* was an ancient unit of weight, roughly 26 kilograms). The First Punic War had been costly for Rome—it had lost 200 000 men at sea (both Romans and allies) and at least 500 ships¹²—but the twenty-four years of conflict had shown that Rome could access far more men for its armies than Carthage could, thanks to the alliances it had created with conquered city-states. While Carthage could afford to pay the compensation demanded by the treaty, the loss of Sicily, with its rich grain fields and strategic location, meant that Carthage slid into second place behind Rome as the most important power in the western Mediterranean.

SOURCE 4.08



THE FIRST PUNIC WAR: MAP TASK

KEY MILITARY EVENTS OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR

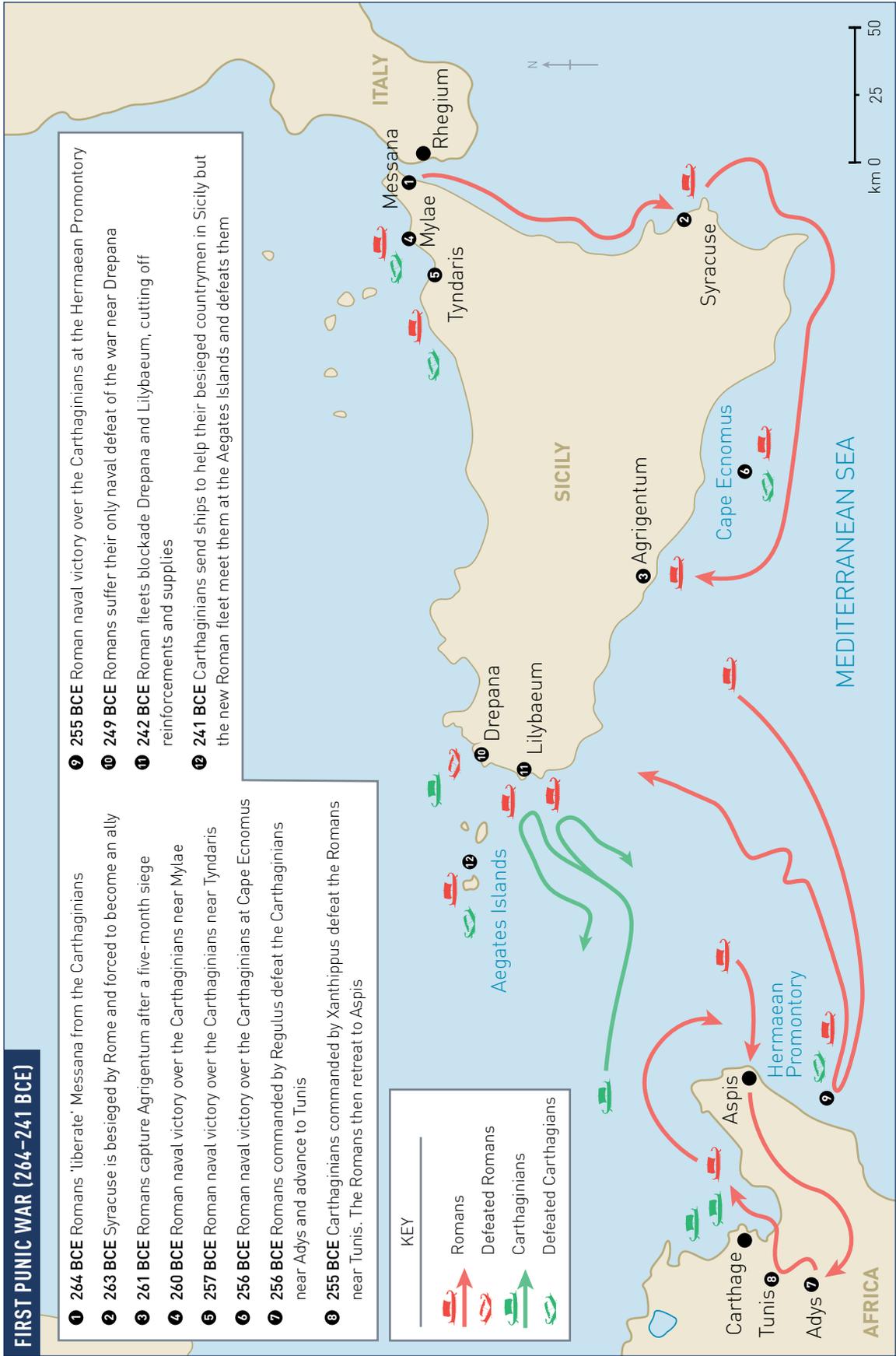
FIRST PUNIC WAR (264–241 BCE)

- 1 264 BCE Romans 'liberate' Messana from the Carthaginians
- 2 263 BCE Syracuse is besieged by Rome and forced to become an ally
- 3 261 BCE Romans capture Agrigentum after a five-month siege
- 4 260 BCE Roman naval victory over the Carthaginians near Mylae
- 5 257 BCE Roman naval victory over the Carthaginians near Tyndaris
- 6 256 BCE Roman naval victory over the Carthaginians at Cape Ecnomus
- 7 256 BCE Romans commanded by Regulus defeat the Carthaginians near Adys and advance to Tunis
- 8 255 BCE Carthaginians commanded by Xanthippus defeat the Romans near Tunis. The Romans then retreat to Aspis

- 9 255 BCE Roman naval victory over the Carthaginians at the Hermaean Promontory
- 10 249 BCE Romans suffer their only naval defeat of the war near Drepana
- 11 242 BCE Roman fleets blockade Drepana and Lilybaeum, cutting off reinforcements and supplies
- 12 241 BCE Carthaginians send ships to help their besieged countrymen in Sicily but the new Roman fleet meet them at the Aegates Islands and defeats them

KEY

- Romans
- Defeated Romans
- Carthaginians
- Defeated Carthaginians



➔ SOURCE 4.09

An engraving from the 1890s, showing nine-year-old Hannibal swearing an oath against Rome.

DID YOU KNOW?

The temple of the god Janus in Rome had large double doors that would be opened during times of war. They had remained opened for 400 years until they were closed in 235 BCE. They only stayed closed for eight years.

DID YOU KNOW?

The consul for 222 BCE, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, killed the chieftain of the Gauls, Viridomarus, in single combat. This gave Marcellus the right to take the armour and weapons of the defeated enemy leader as trophies. These trophies were called the *spolia opima* and were dedicated to Jupiter. Marcellus was the third and final Roman ever to win the *spolia opima*.



ORBIS: 'THE GOOGLE MAPS OF ANCIENT ROME'



ROMAN TRANSPORTATION TASK



BETWEEN THE WARS

JUVENAL: 'Hannibal is the man for whom Africa was too small a continent.'

The period between the first two Punic Wars was significant for a number of reasons. Carthage's allies in Sardinia rebelled in 239 BCE. Rome helped these rebels and forced Carthage to surrender Sardinia and

Corsica to Rome. This did much to stir up resentment in Carthage against the Romans. Hamilcar Barca made his nine-year-old son swear an oath that he would never be friends with Rome. The boy's name was Hannibal.

Rome also became involved in conflicts on the eastern side of the Adriatic Sea when it fought two wars against Illyria (in 229–228 BCE and 220–219 BCE). As a result of the first war, Illyria was forced to give up control of a number of cities in 228 BCE, and these cities entered into a new kind of relationship with Rome. This relationship was based on 'friendship' rather than conquest or a formal alliance. These friends are often called 'clients' by historians; like the client–patron relationships that existed in Roman society and politics, good faith between Rome and its friends was the basis of mutual benefit.

In Italy, the Romans recognised that they faced further attacks as long as the north of the peninsula was occupied by Gauls. To prevent this, the Romans undertook a series of bitter campaigns against the Gauls between 225 and 222 BCE; by 219 BCE, all of Italy south of the Alps was under Roman control. The Gauls fiercely resented the Roman presence there—but no Gallic army ever crossed the Apennine Mountains again.¹³ The Romans tried to secure the area by founding nearby colonies at Placentia and Cremona, building a new road (the *Via Flaminia*) into the region and forcing the locals to pay tribute, but the Gauls were clearly discontented and would not need much of an excuse to revolt.

THE FIRST ROMAN PROVINCES

With the First Punic War over, Rome faced a new challenge, and that was how to administer three large islands that had no traditional connection to Rome—Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia. In the 230s BCE, Rome began to experiment with the administration of these non-Italian territories. This led to the creation of Rome's first *provinces* (from the Latin *provincia*, meaning a task assigned to an official and, later, the area such an official was in charge of).¹⁴ At first Sicily was viewed as a source of income in the form of tribute and so a quaestor—whose role was mostly financial—was appointed to oversee the island and report to the officials in Rome. This turned out to be inadequate and in 227 BCE two new praetorships were created. One praetor would be the governor of Sicily and the other praetor would be the governor of both Sardinia and Corsica. A praetor, unlike a quaestor, had *imperium* and thus could use the full range of military and judicial authority to govern the province—and could do so with virtually no supervision or limit to his power.¹⁵

This new system represented a shift in Roman imperial policy. Previously, consuls and praetors had raised an army only for the summer campaigning season and the soldiers—most of whom were farmers—would be able to tend to their farms during the autumn harvest.¹⁶ The First Punic War showed that Rome would be

facing longer periods of fighting further from home. As a result, many soldiers would not be able to look after their farms, and they risked losing their land and their livelihoods. If soldiers were to remain in the army for long periods of time, as part of a garrison in Corsica or Sardinia perhaps, then they would have to be paid, supplied and transported. All of this would cost much more money than the Roman state had ever needed to spend in its previous wars—and the demand for this money would be ongoing.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR (218–201 BCE)

LIVY: 'Scipio and Hannibal had excited everyone's spirits—the commanders were pitted against each other as though for the final battle.'

Meanwhile, Carthage had not been idle. In 237 BCE, Hamilcar Barca was sent to reassert Carthaginian authority in Spain. He did this very successfully, using a combination of ruthlessness and lenience to establish the *Barcids* in Spain. Hasdrubal Barca built the city of New Carthage and he and Hannibal both married Spanish princesses, further committing the family to Spain. Hamilcar's successes in the region meant that Carthage would now be able to recruit large numbers of tough Spanish mercenaries and access incredibly valuable silver, copper and iron mines—the silver mines alone produced 2000–3000 talents every year¹⁷—and both the mercenaries and the money could be used to fight Rome again if needed. Hamilcar died in 229 BCE, but Hasdrubal proved to be a worthy successor. The Romans were growing increasingly nervous about growing Carthaginian power, and in 226 BCE they negotiated a treaty with Carthage stating the Carthaginians would not cross the River Ebro in the north of Spain. Such a crossing would be the logical place to begin a move towards the north of Italy. Hasdrubal died in 221 BCE and was succeeded by Hannibal, who was twenty-five years old and destined to become one of the greatest military geniuses of history or legend.

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

A number of things contributed to give this war its unique character: in the first place, it was fought between peoples unrivalled throughout previous history in material resources, and themselves at the peak of their prosperity and power; secondly, it was a struggle between old antagonists, each of whom had learned, in the first Punic War, to appreciate the military capabilities of the other; thirdly, the final issue hung so much in doubt that the eventual victors came nearer to destruction than their adversaries. Moreover, high passions were at work throughout, and mutual hatred was hardly less sharp a weapon than a sword; on the Roman side there was rage at the unprovoked attack by a previously beaten enemy; on the Carthaginian, bitter resentment at what was felt to be the grasping and tyrannical attitude of their conquerors.

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 4.10 and complete the tasks below.

1. Outline the reasons why, according to Livy, the Second Punic War had a 'unique character'.
2. Explain how the Carthaginians and Romans might have viewed each other just before the war started. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the extent to which the consequences of the First Punic War contributed to the causes of the Second Punic War. Use evidence to support your response.

ACTIVITY

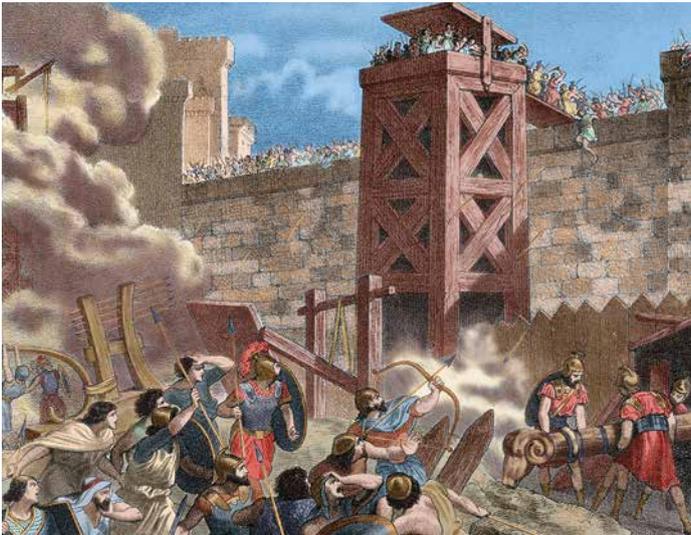
CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Create a concept map or diagram showing how the Romans interacted with other Italian communities in the fourth century BCE as compared with the third century BCE.

SOURCE 4.10

Livy, The History of Rome XXI.1, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt, ed. Betty Radice (London: Penguin Books, 1972).

ACTIVITY



➤ SOURCE 4.11

The Siege of Saguntum, 219 BCE. This battle triggered the Second Punic War.

ACTIVITY

KEY PLAYERS

On slips of paper, write down the key players in the Second Punic War and their apparent reasons for fighting. (Refer to text and maps in this section.) Sort the slips of paper into groups according to who was fighting who. Why did Livy say that ‘high passions were at work’ in the war?

➤ SOURCE 4.12

An engraving showing Hannibal and his army crossing the Alps into Italy, 218 BCE.

At some point after the Ebro River treaty, Rome became involved with the internal politics of the city of Saguntum on the east coast of Spain. The Romans helped to set up an anti-Carthaginian government¹⁸ and sent diplomats to warn Hannibal to leave Saguntum alone. Hannibal recognised that a pro-Roman Saguntum could serve as a base for the Romans if they tried to establish themselves in Spain. Hannibal announced that *he* was the real protector of Saguntum; the Romans had unjustly interfered in the internal politics of the city and Hannibal would set matters right. The Roman diplomats left, sure that war was now unavoidable.

Hannibal’s next move was to attack Saguntum. The Roman Senate decided not to help such a

distant friend—besides, it was dealing with the Second Illyrian War at the time—and Saguntum was captured by the Carthaginians in 219 BCE after an eight-month siege. The reasons behind Hannibal’s actions have long been a matter of historical argument. One tradition, seen in Polybius, argues that the Barcid family had been planning a war of revenge on Rome for years and the now-confident Hannibal used the events in Spain to deliberately provoke Rome into declaring war. However, Hannibal may have simply wanted to secure Carthage’s position in Spain. In any case, the Roman response was swift and definite. Rome sent ambassadors to Carthage, demanding Hannibal’s surrender. The Carthaginian Senate refused to hand Hannibal over and Rome declared war, starting the Second Punic War—which is also known as the ‘Hannibalic War’.

THE WAR IN ITALY (218–209 BCE)



The Romans assumed that there would be two main theatres of war. In 218 BCE, they sent out each of the two consuls with an army—Publius Cornelius Scipio went to Spain and Tiberius Sempronius Longus went to Sicily (from where he could launch attacks on the Carthaginian heartland of North Africa). Hannibal had anticipated this and marched north from Spain, through southern Gaul (modern France) and down over the Alps into Italy, attacking the Roman homeland while the Roman armies were away. It is not certain what Hannibal’s war aims actually were: initially at least it seems that he wanted to force Rome to come to a quick peace agreement, hopefully one that would force Rome to give up its influence in Sardinia or even Sicily.¹⁹

SOURCE 4.13



THE SECOND PUNIC WAR: MAP TASK

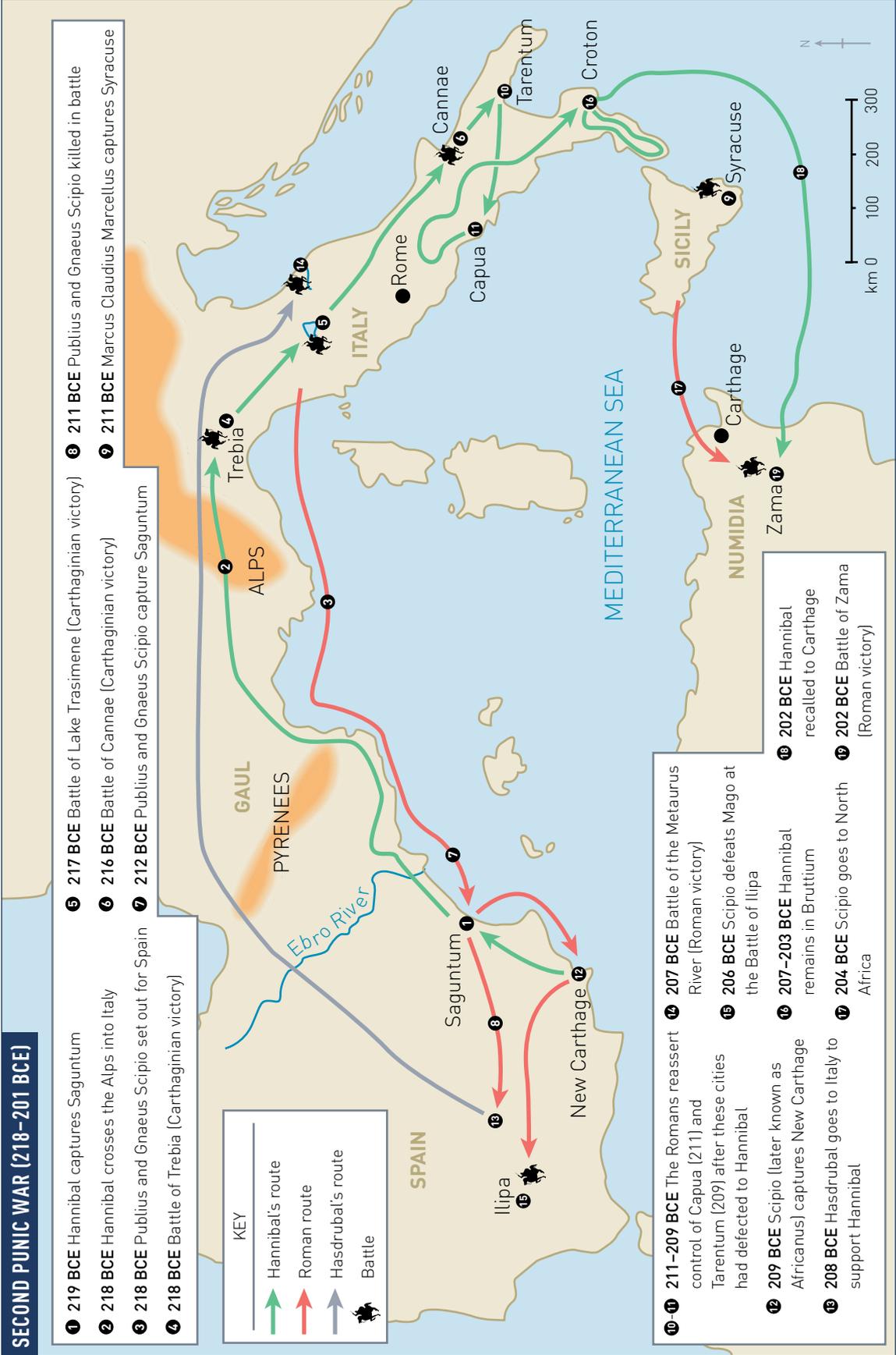
KEY MILITARY EVENTS OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

SECOND PUNIC WAR (218–201 BCE)

- 1 219 BCE Hannibal captures Saguntum
- 2 218 BCE Hannibal crosses the Alps into Italy
- 3 218 BCE Publius and Gnaeus Scipio set out for Spain
- 4 218 BCE Battle of Trebia (Carthaginian victory)
- 5 217 BCE Battle of Lake Trasimene (Carthaginian victory)
- 6 216 BCE Battle of Cannae (Carthaginian victory)
- 7 212 BCE Publius and Gnaeus Scipio capture Saguntum
- 8 211 BCE Publius and Gnaeus Scipio killed in battle
- 9 211 BCE Marcus Claudius Marcellus captures Syracuse

KEY

- Hannibal's route
- Roman route
- Hasdrubal's route
- Battle



- 10–11 211–209 BCE The Romans reassert control of Capua (211) and Tarentum (209) after these cities had defected to Hannibal
- 12 209 BCE Scipio (later known as Africanus) captures New Carthage
- 13 208 BCE Hasdrubal goes to Italy to support Hannibal
- 14 207 BCE The Battle of the Metaurus River (Roman victory)
- 15 206 BCE Scipio defeats Mago at the Battle of Ilipa
- 16 207–203 BCE Hannibal remains in Bruttium
- 17 204 BCE Scipio goes to North Africa
- 18 202 BCE Hannibal recalled to Carthage
- 19 202 BCE Battle of Zama (Roman victory)

➤ SOURCE 4.14

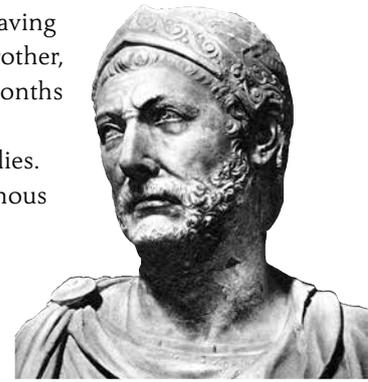
A bust of Hannibal, sculpted in the first century BCE.

ACTIVITY

FAMILY TREE

Create a family tree for the Barca family (often referred to as the 'Barcids'). Annotate the family tree to show the significant achievements of the members of the family.

Hannibal set out from Spain in mid-218 BCE, leaving one brother, Hasdrubal, in charge and another brother, Mago, as a senior officer. It took Hannibal five months to reach Italy, along with 50 000 infantry, 9000 cavalry, 37 elephants and a large amount of supplies. The greatest challenge—and Hannibal's most famous exploit—was the crossing of the Alps. This accomplishment took fifteen days and has been romanticised ever since. Many historians, both ancient and modern, emphasise the deadly conditions—snow and ice, dangerous trails, landslides and hostile local peoples—as well as various fanciful events, such as the appearance of a divine guide to aid Hannibal. While parts of the tale are clearly exaggerated, there is no doubt that it was an impressive and traumatic undertaking.²⁰ The army that arrived in Italy was significantly reduced, with about 20 000 infantry and 6000 cavalry surviving. The elephants seem to have survived until winter set in, when all but one perished. On the other side of the Alps, Hannibal met the Gauls of the Po Valley. The Gauls were resentful of their harsh treatment by the Romans and eagerly joined forces with Hannibal. The two consuls raced back to Italy to meet Hannibal, although Scipio left a large part of his army in Spain with his brother, Gnaeus, to keep an eye on Hannibal's brothers.



The first major clash of the war took place at the end of 218 BCE at the Battle of Trebia. Hannibal lured Roman legions into an ambush and his victory over them was unambiguous—20 000 Romans were killed and the invaders had control of northern Italy. In early 217 BCE, the Senate sent Scipio back to Spain and elected a new consul, Gaius Flaminius. Hannibal headed south and trapped Flaminius' army on the narrow shore of Lake Trasimene. Flaminius died along with 15 000 Romans. The way to Rome was open—but Hannibal was unable to exploit his victories. He lacked the equipment and supplies to besiege the city of Rome and none of the Italian communities swapped sides to join him the way the Gauls had. Hannibal marched on to the south-eastern heel of the Italian peninsula, wrecking large parts of the countryside and looting everything else—but not directly threatening Rome itself.

⬇ SOURCE 4.15

Modern view of Lake Trasimene where in 217 BCE Hannibal defeated the Romans.

After the Battle of Lake Trasimene, the terrified Romans appointed Quintus Fabius Maximus as the first dictator in thirty years. Fabius knew he could not outwit the military genius of Hannibal or outmanoeuvre the superior Carthaginian cavalry. Fabius' strategy was to avoid major battles with Hannibal while continually harassing the Carthaginians with skirmishes. This strategy



earned Fabius the nickname of *Cunctator* which means the ‘Delayer’. It was not a compliment—the strategy was unpopular because it meant that for six months Hannibal was able to destroy whatever he wanted outside of Rome, including the precious farmland of so many Roman citizens.

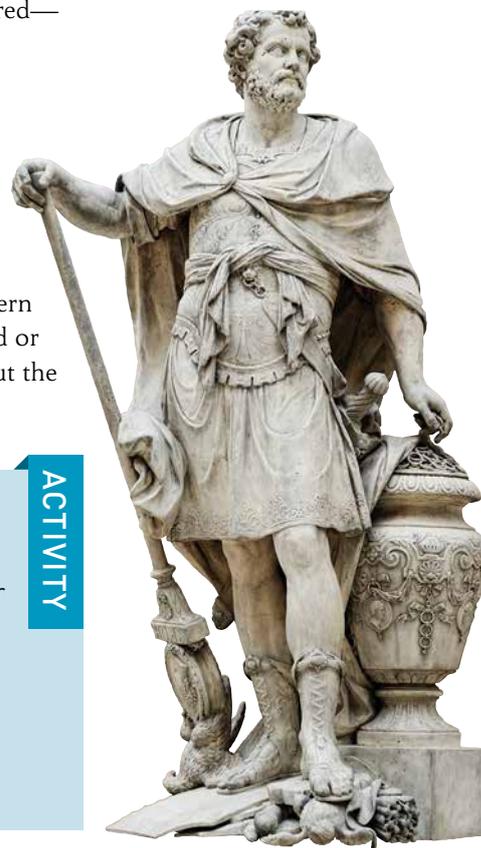
When Fabius’ term as dictator expired, the Romans rejected him and his unpopular strategy. They elected new consuls for 216 BCE, Gaius Terentius Varro and Lucius Aemilius Paullus, and raised another army of eight legions to take the fight to Hannibal. The Romans learned that Hannibal had captured the town of Cannae and decided to fight him there. The Romans outnumbered the Carthaginians at least four to one and they expected that their superior numbers, arranged in a strong, dense mass, would be more than a match for Hannibal no matter how superior his tactical powers may have been. They were wrong. The Battle of Cannae that followed was the worst defeat the Romans ever suffered—and it remains one of the most studied battles in military history.

Hannibal allowed the centre of his battle line to slowly retreat, bending his battleline back in a crescent, making it look like the Carthaginians were giving up and the Romans were winning. But then he used the ends of the battleline to fold in on the sides of the Romans while the strong Carthaginian cavalry attacked from behind, closing the trap on the Romans. The consul Lucius Aemilianus Paullus died in battle along with most of his army—he was the third consul to be killed in three years. Modern historians tend to put the figure at around 30 000 Romans killed, wounded or missing. Against this, Hannibal lost 5700 men, mostly Gauls, and wiped out the largest army the Romans had ever sent onto the battlefield.²¹



↑ SOURCE 4.16

The victorious Hannibal after his crushing victory over the Romans at Cannae.



↑ SOURCE 4.17

This sculpture is entitled *Hannibal Barca counting the rings of the Roman knights killed at the Battle of Cannae*. Note the rings in the urn at the right and the upside-down Roman standard in Hannibal's right hand.

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 4.17 and complete the tasks below.

1. Outline the features of the image that imply Hannibal was victorious over the Romans.
2. Explain how the Carthaginians won the Battle of Cannae. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Analyse the extent to which Roman failures in the Second Punic War were the result of decisions made by the Senate. Use evidence to support your response.

ACTIVITY

The disaster at Cannae was more than a military defeat—it was a savage blow to Roman confidence. Over 100 000 Romans and their allies had died since Hannibal had entered Italy—‘one in every seven Italian men of fighting age alive in August 218 was dead by August 216’.²² The Roman Senate showed the determination that would win Rome the war. The Senate banned public mourning, forbade gossip in the streets, armed all males over the age of sixteen, raised two more legions by freeing slaves, limited the purchase of luxury items to make more money available for the war—and even made human sacrifices to call upon the



↑ SOURCE 4.18

A monument to commemorate the Battle of Cannae in 216 BCE. The monument, near the Italian city of Barletta, overlooks what is believed to be the site of the battlefield.



HANNIBAL'S BATTLE TACTICS

➔ SOURCE 4.19

Livy, The History of Rome XXII.61, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt, ed. Betty Radice (London: Penguin Books, 1972).

➔ SOURCE 4.20

Polybius, The Histories Volume 2, Books 3–4, III.118, trans. W. R. Paton, revised by Frank W. Walbank and Christian Habicht (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

support of the gods. Despite these efforts to boost morale, no Roman army would dare to fight Hannibal in Italy again and about half the Roman allies in Italy swapped sides, particularly those in Samnium, Apulia, Lucania and Bruttium. By 212 BCE, Hannibal had the support of key cities such as Tarentum and, most significantly, Capua. Capua was the second biggest city in Italy and populated by Roman citizens with connections to the senatorial elite. Capua's decision to join Hannibal sent a signal to the rest of Italy that the system of alliances was starting to crack. Rome was forced to return to the Fabian strategy, sending

smaller armies to recapture the cities that had swapped sides while constantly harassing Hannibal's army. The Romans focused on keeping Hannibal bottled up in Italy and pursuing the war more aggressively in Spain and Sicily.

AFTER CANNAE

How much more serious was the defeat at Cannae than those which had preceded it can be seen by the behaviour of Rome's allies: before that fatal day their loyalty had remained unshaken; now it began to waver, for the simple reason that they despaired of the survival of Roman power ...

But neither the defeats they had suffered nor the subsequent defection of all these allied peoples moved the Romans ever to breathe a word about peace ... So great, in this grim time, was the nation's heart, that the consul, fresh from a defeat of which he had himself been the principal cause, was met on his return to Rome by men of all conditions, who came in crowds to participate in the thanks, publicly bestowed upon him, for not having 'despaired of the commonwealth'. A Carthaginian general in such circumstances would have been punished with the utmost rigour of the law.

AFTERMATH OF CANNAE

The Carthaginians by this action became at once masters of almost all the rest of the coast ... and the eyes of all were now turned to the Carthaginians, who had great hopes of even taking Rome itself at the first assault. The Romans on their part owing to this defeat at once abandoned all hope of retaining their supremacy in Italy, and were in the greatest fear about their own safety and that of Rome, expecting Hannibal every moment to appear ... Yet the Senate neglected no means in its power, but exhorted and encouraged the populace, strengthened the defenses of the city, and deliberated on the situation with manly coolness. And subsequent events made this manifest. For though the Romans were now incontestably beaten and their military reputation shattered, yet by the peculiar virtues of their constitution and by wise counsel they not only recovered their supremacy in Italy and afterwards defeated the Carthaginians, but in a few years made themselves masters of the whole world.

ACTIVITY

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

1. To what extent do Livy and Polybius (see above) agree with each other in their assessment of the consequences of the battle and the Roman response to their loss at Cannae?
2. Do you think these ancient authors are correct in their assessments? What other research might you need to do to develop a fuller understanding of the consequences of the Battle of Cannae?

THE WAR IN SPAIN (218–207 BCE)

From 218 BCE, Roman forces led by Gnaeus and Publius Cornelius Scipio had been dealing with Hannibal's brother, Hasdrubal, in Spain, keeping the Carthaginians there tied down so they could not reinforce Hannibal. In 211 BCE, however, both Scipios were killed and their armies crushed by Hasdrubal. Fortunately for Rome, the Carthaginian generals did not cooperate in using Spain to gather reinforcements for Hannibal. Capua had also just been recaptured and so additional Roman forces were available to be sent to Spain.



At this time, the son of Publius Cornelius Scipio (who had the same name as his father but would later be called Scipio Africanus Major) presented himself to the Centuriate Assembly and asked to be granted *imperium* so that he could take command of the war in Spain. Scipio was only twenty-five years old and a private citizen. He had had some military experience—having fought at the battles of Ticinus, Trebia and Cannae, and had previously been aedile—but he did not hold any official rank and should not have been eligible to command an army. The Centuriate Assembly nevertheless granted him *imperium* by passing a special law and giving him the rank of proconsul. Although no one knew it yet, Hannibal's equal—and eventual conqueror—had at last appeared.

The young Scipio arrived in Spain and took command of about 28 000 soldiers. He persuaded Carthaginian allies in Spain to swap sides and join the Romans, and in 209 BCE he captured the Carthaginian capital in Spain, New Carthage. This success gave Scipio access to an excellent base in Spain, huge amounts of money and the opportunity to further endear himself to the local peoples by releasing all the Spanish hostages. Scipio also trained his legions in new ways; he kept the basic manipular legion structure but gave it a more flexible formation, arranged into cohorts made up of one maniple each of *hastati*, *principes* and *triarii*²³ (see page 82 in Chapter 3) that could operate more freely on the battlefield. He also replaced the Italian stabbing sword with the superior Spanish sword that could be used for cutting *and* stabbing. In 209 BCE, Rome's fortunes looked like they were about to improve.

HANNIBAL'S RETREAT (208–202 BCE)

Despite Scipio's military skill, he could not prevent Hasdrubal slipping out of Spain to reinforce Hannibal in Italy with 20 000 men. Hannibal had continued to have some success—he had defeated Roman consuls in 210 and 208 BCE—but he was running out of soldiers and desperately needed reinforcements. Hasdrubal crossed the Pyrenees and headed through Europe, planning to link up with Hannibal in central Italy and crush the Romans once and for all. One of the consuls for 207 BCE, Gaius Claudius Nero, found out about the plan and took a risk by leaving Hannibal unwatched in the south and heading north to join his consular colleague, Marcus Livius Salinator, and cut off Hasdrubal. The risk paid off: Hasdrubal and most of his troops were killed at the Battle of the Metaurus River, which was the only real Roman victory in Italy during the war. The Romans delivered the news of Hasdrubal's defeat by throwing Hasdrubal's severed head into Hannibal's camp. Hannibal retreated south to Bruttium and remained there for four years, grieving and

📍 SOURCE 4.21

Bust of Scipio Africanus, excavated from the town of Herculaneum after it was destroyed by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 CE.

📍 SOURCE 4.22

Hannibal Recognising the Head of his Brother Hasdrubal by Giambattista Tiepolo, c.1728–30.



believing that the Italian campaign was lost. The Carthaginians sent Hannibal's other brother, Mago, in 205 BCE to reinforce him. Mago enjoyed minor successes in the north but was then recalled to Carthage. He died on the way home.

SOURCE 4.23

Livy, *The History of Rome XXVIII.12*, trans. Aubrey de Sélincourt, ed. Betty Radice (London: Penguin Books, 1972).

HANNIBAL IN ADVERSITY

During this year there was no direct action against Hannibal ... the Romans were content to leave him alone so long as he remained inactive—such was the power they felt still to reside in this one man, even though everything around him was tumbling into ruin. Indeed I hardly know whether Hannibal was not more wonderful when fortune was against him than in hours of success. Fighting for thirteen years in enemy territory, far from home, with varying fortunes and an army composed not of native troops but of a hotch-potch of the riff-raff [collection of undesirables] of all nationalities, men who shared neither law nor custom nor language, who differed in manner, in dress, in equipment, who had in common neither the forms of religious observance nor even the gods they served, yet he was able, somehow or other, to weld this motley crowd so firmly together that they never quarrelled amongst themselves nor mutinied against their general, though money to pay them was often lacking and provisions to them were often short ...

ACTIVITY

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 4.23 and complete the tasks below.

1. Describe the people who made up Hannibal's army, according to Livy.
2. Explain why Hannibal had difficulties in conquering Italy. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the extent to which the Second Punic War posed a challenge for the Carthaginians. Use evidence to support your response.

DID YOU KNOW?

Hannibal Barca's brother, Mago, spent time on the Mediterranean island of Minorca and the island's capital was named after him. The name eventually changed into the Spanish form Mahón and the city is the birthplace of a sauce made of egg, oil and vinegar named *salsa mahonesa*—or, as we know it, *mayonnaise*.

Back in Spain, 207 BCE was Scipio's year. He won the last major battle in Spain at Ilipa and by the end of the following year Carthaginian forces in Spain had been defeated. Scipio returned to Rome as a hero, was elected consul in 206 BCE and began planning his next move at once—an attack on Africa that would complete the original Roman battle plan of 218 BCE. The Senate agreed to give Scipio two legions stationed in Sicily, which were the disgraced survivors of the Battle of Cannae. Scipio finished his preparations and in 204 BCE landed on the coast of North Africa with about 30 000 men. Once there, Scipio spent time pretending to seriously consider peace talks with the Carthaginians so that he could gather military intelligence and find local allies. The Carthaginians believed that they could not win the war and began to ratify a peace treaty. At the same time, however, they summoned Hannibal back to Africa. The Carthaginian Senate hoped that a good result in one last battle would help to make the inevitable peace terms with Rome gentler than they would be if the result were a crushing defeat for the Africans.²⁴

THE END OF THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

Hannibal had been in Italy continuously for fifteen years and in Spain for the nineteen years before that. He at last came home as Carthage's last chance, hoping to win one more battle in a lost war. Hannibal landed in Africa in 202 BCE for the final showdown with Scipio. The two forces, each with numbers roughly equal

to the other, approached Zama, near Carthage. On the day before the battle, Hannibal invited Scipio to meet him face-to-face for a personal meeting on neutral ground. The event sounds like dramatic fiction but it seems to have really happened. Hannibal suggested that they avoid a fight and agree to the peace terms that had recently been proposed. Scipio replied that only a battle could decide what sort of peace would exist between Rome and Carthage. The two great commanders of this most dramatic of all Roman conflicts returned to their respective camps.



SOURCE 4.24

Scipio Africanus meets Hannibal before defeating him at Zama in North Africa.

The next day the Battle of Zama was fought. Lacking the cavalry that had been such a crucial element of his military successes, Hannibal had to rely on young, untrained elephants—which panicked during the battle and stampeded into the Carthaginians’ own battlelines. Scipio copied Hannibal’s tactics from Cannae, folding the wings of his forces onto the Carthaginians and almost wiping them out. The last fighting was between the Roman survivors of Cannae and Hannibal’s veterans, who had served with him in Italy for fifteen years. When the battle was over, 20 000 of Hannibal’s men lay dead and almost as many were taken prisoner.²⁵ Hannibal survived, retreated to Carthage and urged the Senate there to accept peace terms.

The peace terms that followed the Roman victory were harsher than those that had been discussed in the half-hearted negotiations of the previous year. The final peace treaty offered was designed to prevent Carthage from ever recovering and threatening Rome again. Carthage had to surrender all of its territory apart from the capital city and the surrounding territory. Additionally, the Carthaginians had to pay compensation of 10 000 talents over a period of fifty years and hand over all prisoners of war, war elephants and all but ten warships. Finally, the Carthaginians could not engage in any war, even to defend themselves, without Roman permission. Carthage’s government structure and leading citizens, however, were not touched. The neighbouring kingdom of Numidia emerged from the conflict as a strong ally of Rome. Publius Cornelius Scipio returned to Rome in triumph, adding ‘Africanus’ to his name to signify his great victory in Africa. Hannibal turned to politics in his homeland, becoming one of the executive officers of the Carthaginian Republic in 196 BCE.



HANNIBAL: THE FALL OF CARTHAGE



SOURCE 4.25

Publius Cornelius Scipio Africanus Pardons a Suppliant during the Second Punic War. French tapestry from the seventeenth century.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. How did the Romans win the Battle of Zama?
2. In what sense were the Roman victory conditions harsh?
3. To what extent was Scipio responsible for Rome’s victory in the Second Punic War?

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

Rome's victory in the Second Punic War meant that it had no rival for supremacy in the western Mediterranean and it had rapidly accelerated the growth of its empire. Balanced against this success was the huge cost in terms of life; most of the Roman dead were farmers and much of the Italian farmland they had worked on had been destroyed by Hannibal.

Bruttium, for example,

where Hannibal had been based for long periods of time, remained a 'wilderness' for years afterwards.²⁶ The struggle between Carthage and Rome was probably the greatest the ancient world ever witnessed and had called forth the Roman virtues of courage, determination and self-sacrifice in a way that later generations of Romans would admire and strive to copy.²⁷

In addition to these qualities, Rome had three major factors in its favour during the war:

1. First, Rome was in control of the sea. With about 200 ships and 50 000 sailors, Rome was able to move men and supplies around the Mediterranean with ease while preventing Carthage from doing the same. Hannibal had, after all, gone the long way around by land to invade Italy because the sea belonged to Rome.
2. Second, Rome was able to raise larger armies from its citizen body and from its allies; in the fifteen years that Hannibal was in Italy, Rome was able to maintain a military force of about 100 000 men plus allies. Carthage, on the other hand, had to rely on mercenaries, who became more difficult to pay as the war went on, and subjects, whose loyalty eroded over time. To put it bluntly, 'In a slogging match, Rome could simply outslug Carthage.'²⁸
3. Third, throughout the war the usual process of government continued and the Senate exercised consistent and focused leadership. The Roman military leaders were generally cooperative and free of rivalries—which was not the case in Carthage. There were as many as twenty-five legions active at the height of the war in 212 BCE and these legions required officials with *imperium* to command them; normally there were only six such officials at a time (two consuls and four praetors) and each official would not usually command more than two legions. The Romans showed their ability to adapt through the use of *promagistracies*, which allowed them to keep competent generals in the war after their year of service as consul or praetor expired, or even to grant *imperium* to men who had held office in previous years.

With all these advantages, we might think that the Romans should have won this war much more quickly—but even the above factors could not cancel out the brilliance of Hannibal prior to Scipio's arrival. In many ways, it was a struggle of a mighty imperial state against one extraordinary individual.



↑ SOURCE 4.26

A Roman Triumph by Peter Paul Rubens, c. 1630.

ACTIVITY

CONCEPT MAP

Create a concept map, diagram or infographic that shows the range of factors that contributed to the Roman victory in the Second Punic War.

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Historian John F. Lazenby claims that, 'In a slogging match, Rome could simply outslug Carthage'. What evidence can be found to support this claim? How significant was this factor compared to others in understanding why Rome won the Second Punic War?

ROME AFTER THE SECOND PUNIC WAR

POLYBIUS: 'The Romans—after defeating the Carthaginians in this war and considering themselves to have achieved the most decisive and greatest move towards mastery of the world—then first felt confident about stretching out their hands upon the rest.'

THE NOBILITY

The basic structure of Roman politics did not change between the beginning of the First Punic War (264 BCE) and the end of the Third Punic War (146 BCE). An oligarchy of nobles (both patricians and plebeians) controlled the Senate and gave 'advice' to the consuls and other officials. Politics was dominated by nobles with an ancestor who had been consul and the nobles aspired to the same achievement. Over time these nobles made up the vast majority of Roman officials and the Senate; officials passed through a process called the *cursus honorum* to gain their positions (see over). This elite group resisted the entry of any senator without a consular ancestor—such a social climber was known as a *novus homo* ('new man'). Of the 108 consuls elected between 200 and 146 BCE, only eight new men were admitted to that office and by the end of the second century BCE, control of Roman government and policy was in the hands of only twenty senatorial families.²⁹

Unlike a modern state, there was no military bureaucracy or high command in Rome that handled logistics and financial demands. The contest with Carthage had shown the Senate was capable of managing the Republic in a more complex way than ever before.³⁰ By doing this so successfully, the Senate increased its



prestige and, on the basis of this prestige, rather than legal power, it increased its authority. The advice it issued, the *senatus consultum*, often had the force of law and was presented to the assembly for approval as a mere formality.

The power of the people was even more limited by the middle of the second century BCE. Although there were about 400 000 male adult citizens

eligible to vote, the Campus Martius where the Centuriate Assembly met could hold a maximum of only 70 000³¹ persons, suggesting that relatively few Roman commoners actually participated in the political process. Those who did turn up to vote had no real way to exercise their power; as had been the case from the beginning, voting was limited to accepting or rejecting a proposal. Moreover, the wording of the proposal was set by the official who had summoned the assembly and that official (a consul, praetor or tribune) chose who would be allowed to address the assembly. Finally, from the middle of the second century BCE, tribunes were able to join the Senate at the end of their year of office. The tribunes, once the champion of the people but now aligned with the interests of wealth and power, could block any proposal that had not previously met with the approval of the Senate.



THE CURSUS
HONORUM

SOURCE 4.27

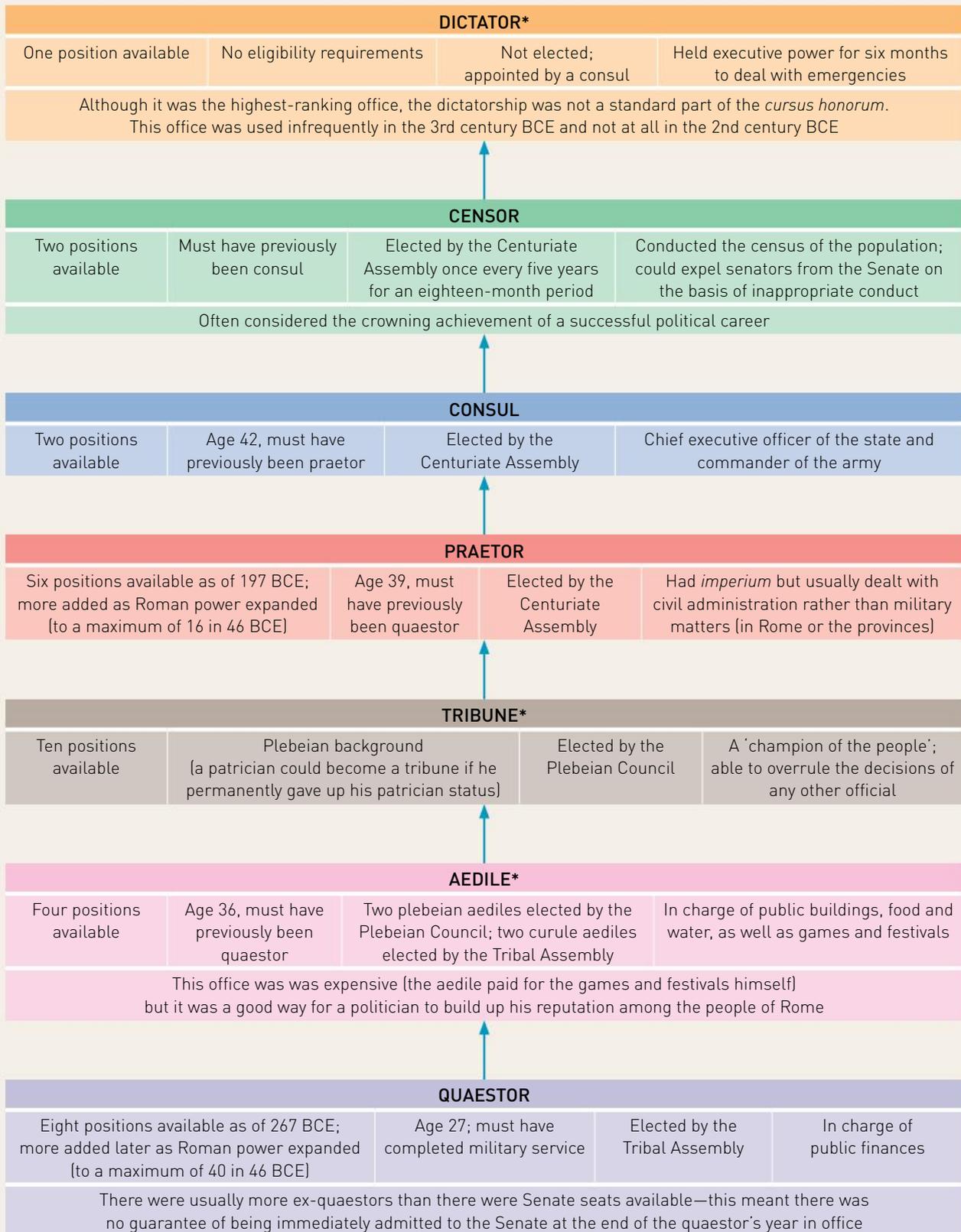
Campus Martius ruins,
Rome, Italy.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What is an 'oligarchy of nobles'?
2. To what extent were the people of Rome able to exercise political power by the middle of the second century BCE?
3. What social and political position did the Senate hold?

THE CURSUS HONORUM



* This office was not a required stage of the *curtus honorum*

The typical career path of official positions that an aspiring politician followed was called the *cursus honorum* ('course of honours'). There were conventions in place that indicated the order in which these offices should be achieved but it had traditionally been a fairly loose system. At the end of the Second Punic War the system became stricter; access to political office had to be regulated so it could be shared among the competitive nobles. The Villian Law of 180 BCE established a minimum age for each of the offices and ten years of military service was required before a noble could even start on the *cursus honorum*. For a noble to achieve one of these offices at the youngest age possible (*anno suo* or 'in his year') was seen as a political success. This law also formalised the order in which the offices should be held and stated that there had to be a two-year gap between the end of one office and the beginning of the next. A ten-year gap was meant to elapse before an individual held the same office again. This helped to slow the progress of any one individual, opening up opportunities for others and keeping the careers of aristocrats roughly equal with those of their peers.³²

*The table opposite outlines the key features of the *cursus honorum*. Variations to the details occurred at different times but, overall, it became more strictly regulated from 180 BCE.*

ACTIVITY

BELIEFS AND VALUES

What beliefs and values were reflected in the *cursus honorum*?

LAND AND WEALTH

Many of the farmers who had survived the Second Punic War did not return to the devastated farmland. They drifted into the cities looking for work, lacking property and political opportunities, while agricultural production declined. Wealthy senators, banned from engaging in overseas trade by a law in 218 BCE, bought up large amounts of abandoned farmland and land confiscated from Italian allies who had sided with Hannibal; the huge supply of Carthaginian slaves provided those senators with the labour they needed to become even richer from their enormous new estates. The great estates were known as *latifundia* and they enabled the senatorial nobles who owned them to produce a surplus of food that could be sold for huge profits during the food shortages of the post-war years. Some historians have challenged this view, suggesting that the rest of the farming family—women, children and the elderly—would have been able to maintain the farms in the absence of the male soldier-farmer and the population of Italy could have recovered quickly.³³

Even as the elite in the Senate were gaining more property and wealth in the countryside, the number of poor and unemployed Romans in the city was increasing. The term 'city mob' is usually used to describe these people, from the Latin term *mobile vulgus* ('the unreliable commoners'). This mob raised the population of Rome from about 200 000 people in 200 BCE to as many as half a million by the middle of the second century BCE.³⁴ The mob found work in a construction boom funded by military conquests and tributes from the provinces. This boom saw the creation of new aqueducts, harbours, roads, bridges, courts and temples (for example, twenty-one new temples were built between 200 and 146 BCE³⁵) but never provided more money than the mob needed to live on from day to day. The gulf between the rich and poor in Rome yawned even wider. The *senatorial aristocracy*, encouraged by their success in handling the Punic Wars, saw no reason to reform the political or economic systems.

▼ SOURCE 4.28

Ancient roman aqueduct, *aqua marcia*, constructed 144–140 BCE.



THE MANAGEMENT OF PROVINCES

As the Republic grew, it was the Senate that decided how it would be managed. At the end of the First Punic War, the Roman provinces were Sicily, Corsica and Sardinia. After the Second Punic War, the Romans divided their new territory in Spain into two provinces: Nearer Spain along the eastern coast, and Further Spain along the south. Rome profited from Spain in the same way that Carthage had—by recruiting soldiers and exploiting its agricultural and mineral resources.

The Senate wrote up regulations for each province, which specified the relationship between Rome and the people of that province; in general, the level of government was very low.³⁶ The nature of these relationships echoed the connections that Rome had built with other communities over the centuries. Broadly speaking, some communities in each province had formal alliances with Rome; others were considered close friends (but without the protection or obligations of a formal alliance); while a third group, the largest of all, were politically independent of the Roman provincial government. The first two groups had to obey Roman foreign policy and provide troops, while the third group paid tribute to Rome in the form of taxes or supplies.³⁷

Collecting taxes was an effort for the provincial administration, so the system of professional tax collectors (*publicani*) developed. They competed for the right to pay the Roman state a lump sum up front that represented the amount of tax that the province should provide. The tax collectors could then use whatever methods they wanted to recover the amount they had already spent plus whatever other profit they could squeeze out of the people in the provinces. Many corrupt tax collectors enriched themselves immensely, often with the help of the provincial governors. Public outrage at these practices led to the passing of the Calpurnian Law of 149 BCE, which created law courts that heard cases of misconduct in the provinces. However, these courts, made up of senatorial juries, tended to make decisions that favoured senatorial governors.³⁸

▼ SOURCE 4.29

An ancient Greek silver drinking vessel called a *rhyton*, from the fourth century BCE.



ACTIVITY

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

1. Brainstorm how the Second Punic War led to changes in the way wealth and land were controlled in the Roman Republic.
2. Create a Venn diagram comparing the way Rome managed its provinces before and after the Second Punic War.
3. Debate the following proposition: 'Despite the upheaval of the First and Second Punic Wars, Rome maintained stability surprisingly well.'

ROME GOES EAST

APPIAN: 'The Romans paid no attention to Philip, the Macedonian, when he began war against them.'

The eastern Mediterranean had been changed significantly by the Macedonian king, Alexander the Great. When Alexander died at the age of thirty-three in 323 BCE, he had conquered huge amounts of territory and

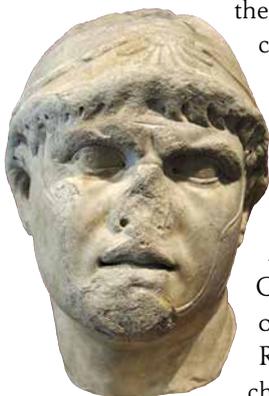
exported *Hellenistic* culture through this area. The Hellenistic period (named after *Hellas*, the Greek word for 'Greece') was notable for its artistic, academic and scientific achievements. When Alexander died, his empire was divided among his generals, Antigonos, Ptolemy and Seleucus, who began fighting each other. The three greatest kingdoms were Antigonid Macedonia, Ptolemaic Egypt and the Seleucid Empire, which loosely held the vast region from Syria to the borders of India. Sandwiched between these were smaller kingdoms in Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey) such as Pergamon, Pontus, Cappadocia and Bithynia, while the island of Rhodes became a powerful maritime state. In Greece, some larger cities, such as Sparta and Athens, remained independent, while other cities joined together into leagues, the two largest being the Aetolian League in the north and the rival Achaean League in the south.³⁹



📍 SOURCE 4.30

Bronze relief depicting Alexander the Great and his army in battle.

In the Illyrian Wars of the 220s BCE, the Romans 'made a demonstration of their awesome power' but 'took care to avoid any formal commitments in the East'.⁴⁰ However, Roman intrusion into this part of the world aroused the resentment of Philip V of Macedonia. When the Carthaginian victory at Cannae in 216 BCE made the Romans look vulnerable, Philip allied with Hannibal. Rome declared war on Macedonia and allied with a coalition of Greek states called the Aetolian League. The Romans used their fleet to stop the Carthaginians and the Macedonians directly helping each other. Rome ended hostilities with Macedonia in 205 BCE. Rome maintained connections to its 'client' cities but did not change its relationship with the East generally. For most of the second century BCE, the Roman Senate tried to influence rather



than control the region. Direct administration would require Roman legions stationed in provinces under a *promagistrate* (an official acting in the place of a consul or praetor) and be a drain on Rome's resources. But as the century wore on, it became increasingly clear that more direct involvement in the East would be needed.

The Romans fought three more wars against Macedonia (200–196 BCE, 172–168 BCE and 149–148 BCE) and one war against the Seleucids (the Syrian War of 192–188 BCE). Rome used the justification that it was protecting its friends to intervene in these conflicts; as a result Rome ended up with yet more states bound to it through alliances and treaties. After the Second Macedonian War, the Roman general Flaminius graciously announced that the Greek city-states were free. But Rome soon faced problems in the Greek world arising from conflicting definitions of freedom. The Romans assumed that the Greeks understood they were only independent

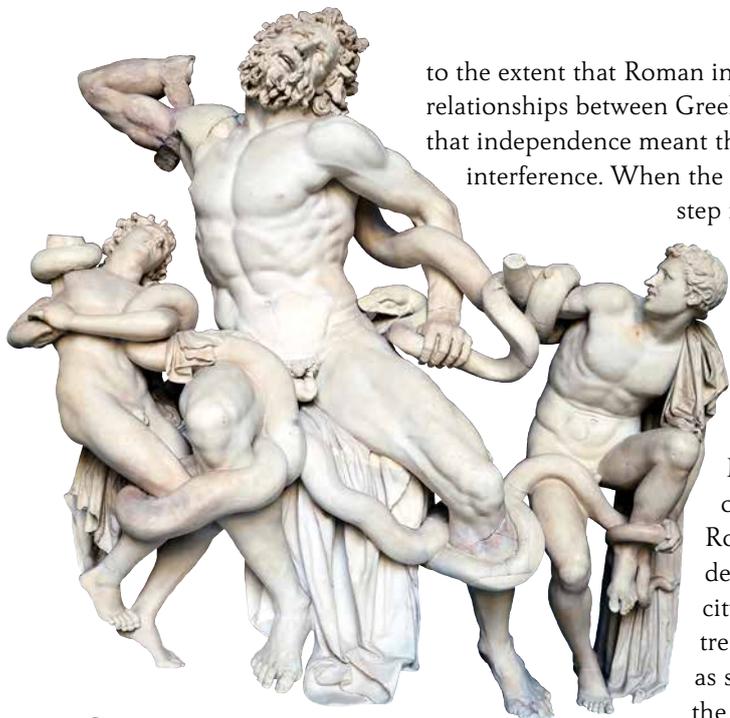
📍 SOURCE 4.31

Bust of Philip V, King of Macedon 221–179 BCE.

📍 SOURCE 4.32

A golden hairnet from the third century BCE.





to the extent that Roman interests were respected—that foreign policy and relationships between Greek cities was for Rome to arrange. The Greeks assumed that independence meant that they could do whatever they wanted without interference. When the Greeks resumed their usual disputes, Rome had to step in and exert more control in the area.

By the middle of the second century BCE, Rome was consolidating its influence over the East, developing ‘a much more forceful Roman posture and a determination to bend the Greek world to Roman will’.⁴¹ The Romans rewarded their friends and punished their enemies—when the Fourth Macedonian War broke out in 149 BCE, supported by other Greeks who revolted against Roman involvement, Rome’s response was swift and clear. The Roman armies defeated Macedonia and the Greek cities—notably the city of Corinth in 146 BCE, which was destroyed, its treasures sent off as Roman loot and its inhabitants sold as slaves. Macedonia was turned into a province, while the cities of Greece were forced to enter into individual arrangements with Rome; those cities that had supported Rome—such as Sparta and Athens—became allies, those who opposed Rome became tribute-paying subjects. The client system in Greece had failed to ensure peace, so now Rome applied more direct measures of control. This client system had also been applied to Carthage for fifty years after the Second Punic War and, as had happened in Greece, it was not a system that would last.

📌 SOURCE 4.33

This statue of *Laocoön and His Sons* is from around the second century BCE, and shows the superb skill of Hellenistic artists.

DID YOU KNOW?

According to ancient historian Polybius, when Flaminius declared the Greek cities were free, the cheering of the Greeks was so loud that birds were knocked dead out of the sky.

➡ SOURCE 4.34

Polybius, The Histories Volume 1, Books 1–2, , 1.9, trans. W. R. Paton, revised by Frank W. Walbank and Christian Habicht, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010).

ACTIVITY

THE BEGINNING OF ROMAN POWER IN THE EAST

The date from which I propose to begin my history is the 140th Olympiad [220–216 BCE] ... Previously the doings of the world had been, so to say, dispersed, as they were held together by no unity of initiative, results, or locality; but ever since this date history has been an organic whole, and the affairs of Italy and Libya have been interlinked with those of Greece and Asia, all leading up to one end. And this is my reason for beginning their systematic history from that date. For it was owing to their defeat of the Carthaginians in the Hannibalic War that the Romans, feeling that the chief and most essential step in their scheme of universal aggression had now been taken, were first emboldened to reach out their hands to grasp the rest and to cross with an army to Greece (in 200) and the continent of Asia (in 190).

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 4.34 and complete the tasks below.

1. Why does Polybius begin his ‘systematic history’ from the 140th Olympiad?
2. Explain how the defeat of the Carthaginians contributed to the Romans coming into conflict with the people in the eastern Mediterranean. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Analyse the extent to which the Romans treated the people in the East in the second century BCE in the same way they had treated people in Italy in the fourth century BCE. Use evidence to support your response.

THE THIRD PUNIC WAR (149–146 BCE)

POLYBIUS: 'Scipio, seeing the city then utterly ending in complete and final destruction, is said to have wept and openly lamented for his enemies.'

Carthage was humbled but not crippled by the treaty that ended the Second Punic War (201 BCE). The Carthaginians focused on rebuilding their commerce and paying the compensation demanded by Rome. The steady revival of Carthaginian fortunes added to Roman fears and they watched the Punic city closely. In the first half of the second century BCE, Carthage often found itself in disputes with the neighbouring kingdom of Numidia, which was allied with Rome. Whenever Rome was called in to settle these disputes, it decided in favour of Numidia. By 154 BCE, Numidia had grabbed all but 13 000 square kilometres of the 78 000 square kilometres of land Carthage had been left with at the end of the Second Punic War.⁴²

In 151 BCE, Carthage finished paying compensation to Rome and, feeling that the peace treaty with Rome had now come to an end, attacked Numidia. As far as the Romans were concerned there was no expiry date on the peace treaty—and the Carthaginians had just broken it by starting a war without Rome's permission. Carthage lost this minor war against Numidia and when Rome declared war, Carthage surrendered immediately. The Roman judgement was harsh and cunning: the Carthaginians had to leave Carthage and settle at least sixteen kilometres from the sea. This would destroy Carthage's ability to trade at sea and thus destroy Carthage itself. In the face of this judgement, the desperate Carthaginians thought that they should at least die fighting. The Third Punic War began in 149 BCE just as the Romans intended.

The Carthaginians prepared for a siege with great energy and commitment; one story goes that the women of the city even cut off their hair so it could be used for bowstrings. For two years the Carthaginians bravely defended their city while ineffective Roman commanders failed to dislodge them. Then in 147 BCE, a new commander arrived on the scene. This was Scipio Aemilianus, the grandson-by-adoption of Scipio Africanus. Scipio Aemilianus was appointed consul even though he was ineligible and at once proved himself worthy of the Scipio name. This younger Scipio increased the pressure on the besieged Carthaginians—and in 146 BCE his troops broke into the city. The Romans captured the city after six days of fierce fighting through the streets. The 50 000 Carthaginian survivors were sold as slaves, the city was completely destroyed, the ground was cursed and the Carthaginian civilisation ceased to exist. The Romans created a new province from the former territory of Carthage. This newest province was called Africa and became part of Rome's empire, which now included Macedonia, Nearer Spain, Further Spain, Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica.



DID YOU KNOW?

The tough old Roman senator, Cato the Elder, ended every speech he made in the Senate with the words *Carthago est delenda*—'Carthage must be destroyed'.

SOURCE 4.35

Carthage destroyed by the Roman army, Third Punic War, 146 BCE.

ACTIVITY

FACT FILE

Construct a table, list or infographic showing the following facts for 2–3 provinces in Rome's empire by the middle of the second century BCE:

- **When** the province came under Roman control
- **How** the province came under Roman control
- **Why** Rome wanted to control the province
- **What** challenges the province posed for Rome.

WARS THAT ESTABLISHED ROME'S SUPREMACY

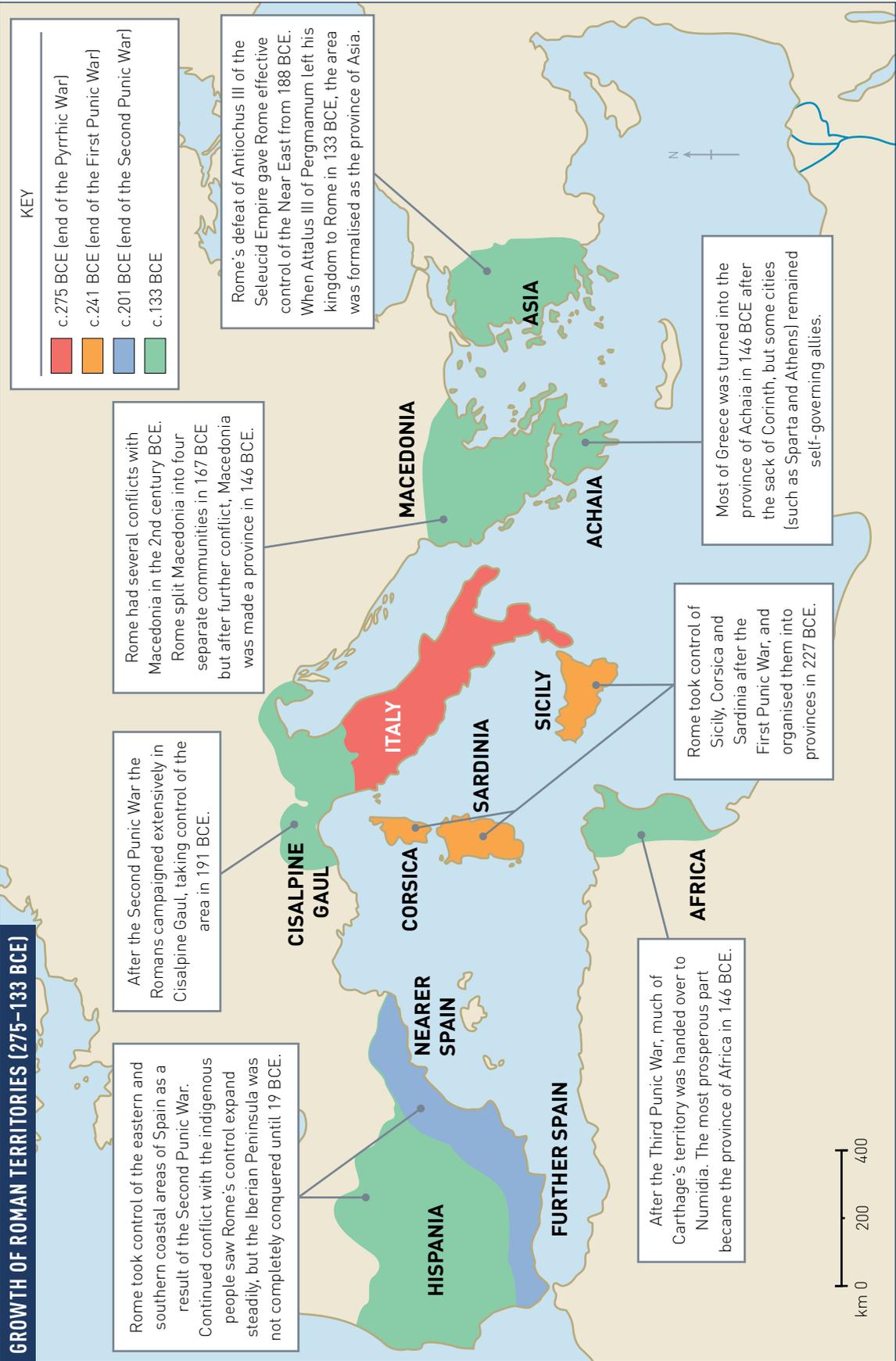
	CAUSES	COURSE	CONSEQUENCES
FIRST PUNIC WAR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No pre-existing tension Roman and Carthaginian areas of influence bordered each other from about 265 BCE Immediate cause: Sons of Mars calling on both Rome and Carthage for help 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fighting in and around Sicily (261–256 BCE) Romans attempted to invade North Africa in 256 BCE but failed Fighting resumed in Sicily (254–241 BCE) Romans won all but one of the naval battles Carthaginians forced to surrender due to Roman control of the sea and of Sicily 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rome acquired its first province in Sicily Rome developed a strong navy Rome lost many men and ships Carthage had to pay compensation to Rome
SECOND PUNIC WAR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existing tension from the previous war Carthage reasserted its presence in Spain Immediate cause: the Saguntum Crisis revealed that both states would take action to protect their interests 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Carthaginians invaded Italy (under Hannibal's leadership 218–202 BCE) Romans invaded Spain (under the leadership of the Scipio family 218–207 BCE) Romans invaded North Africa in 204 BCE; Roman victory at the Battle of Zama in 202 BCE brought the war to an end 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rome's control of the sea was undisputed Rome's alliance system proved to be strong The Senate gained enormous prestige Carthage had to pay compensation to Rome and promise not to fight wars without Roman permission Rome no longer had a rival in the western Mediterranean
EASTERN WARS	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Illyrian piracy and Hellenistic squabbling unsettled the eastern border of Rome's areas of influence 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In the first half of the 2nd century BCE, Rome interfered more often and more aggressively in the politics of Greece and the Hellenistic kingdoms Roman experiments in how to deal with the East started with 'friendship' but ended up with alliances and the creation of provinces 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Rome brought the Greek world under its control but began to import Greek culture and ideas Creation of the province of Macedonia
THIRD PUNIC WAR	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Existing tension from the previous wars Roman fears that Carthage would become powerful again Immediate cause: Carthage attacked a Roman ally, Numidia, in 151 BCE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The war was basically a siege of Carthage starting in 149 BCE The Romans gained the upper hand with the arrival of Scipio Aemilianus in 147 BCE The war ended with total Carthaginian defeat in 146 BCE 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Carthage was destroyed Carthaginian territory was turned into the province of Africa

SOURCE 4.36

THE GROWTH OF ROMAN TERRITORY: MAP TASK

GROWTH OF ROMAN TERRITORY IN THE THIRD AND SECOND CENTURIES BCE

GROWTH OF ROMAN TERRITORIES (275–133 BCE)





CONCLUSION

The middle period of the Republic began with Rome in a commanding position in Italy; from the Alps in the north down to the Greek cities of the south, the peninsula was controlled by Rome. This control was only partly maintained by a strong military. The foundation of Roman dominance came from the Republic's ability to work with allies and keep those alliances strong. The Romans' control over Italy brought them into conflict with the other great power of the western Mediterranean: Carthage.

The Punic Wars between Rome and Carthage that were such a feature of the third century BCE helped to define Roman politics and economics for generations to come. The conflict also influenced developments in Roman identity, as Romans came to see themselves as a people who were dutiful

to the state and willing to continue the fight regardless of the odds. At the same time, political power became more entrenched in the senatorial aristocracy. While the old divisions between patricians and plebeians faded, the gulf between rich and poor grew ever wider.

In defeating Carthage, Rome eliminated its last rival in the western Mediterranean, allowing it to address rising tensions to the east. Within fifty years, the destiny of the Greek world was bound up with Rome. Although it might seem at this point as if Rome was riding high, it was poised to enter into the bitterest of calamities—a century of civil war that saw ambitious individuals fighting to be Rome's 'first man'.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Create a flowchart that shows how Rome's interactions with Carthage contributed to change in the Roman Republic. Colour-code these changes to differentiate between social, political and economic changes.

ESSAY

Write an essay of 400–600 words on one of the following topics. Support your argument with evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations.

- 'The Second Punic War was fundamentally different to the First Punic War in its scope and impact.' Discuss, using evidence to support your response.
- 'Nothing really changed for the poorest members of Roman society between the founding of the Republic and the middle of the second century BCE.' Do you agree? Use evidence to support your answer.
- 'Rome used both hard and soft power to great effect during the period of the Punic Wars.' Discuss, using evidence to support your response.

EXTENSION

Organise a debate to evaluate who had the greatest significance in the Second Punic War: Hannibal Barca or Scipio Africanus. In your debate, identify the military and political contributions of each, and use specific historical evidence and quotes from historians (both ancient and modern) to support your argument.

EXAM PREPARATION

1. Explain how Rome adapted its political structures in order to administer the provinces it acquired in the third and second centuries BCE.
2. Explain how access to wealth and land affected political and social participation in the Roman Republic.

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 4



SECTION
B

THE FALL OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

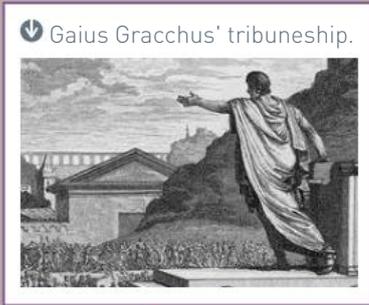
(133–23 BCE)

- Why did the Roman Republic fall?
- How did key individuals contribute to this event?
- How might we judge the historical significance of this crisis and the people involved?

133
BCE

120
BCE

ROMAN MILITARY EVENTS



104 BCE

Marius is given command against the German tribes

107 BCE

Marius takes command against Jugurtha

105 BCE

Jugurtha captured; Jugurthine War ends

119–105 BCE

Jugurthine War

ROMAN POLITICAL EVENTS

133 BCE

Tiberius Gracchus' tribuneship and death

123 BCE

Gaius Gracchus' tribuneship and death

107 BCE

Marius' first consulship

104 BCE

Marius' second consulship



OTHER EVENTS

123 BCE

Gaius institutes the grain dole for ordinary Romans

122 BCE

Gaius grants people the right to prosecute a magistrate who exiles a citizen without trial

107 BCE

Marius removes requirement that prospective soldiers own land

133
BCE

120
BCE

TIMELINE 133–23 BCE

100
BCE

80
BCE

61
BCE

102 BCE

Marius defeats the German tribes

➤ Marius defeats the Teutones at the Battle of Aquae Sextiae.



77 BCE

Pompey's campaign in Spain begins

67 BCE

Pompey defeats the pirates

66 BCE

Pompey's campaign in the east begins

89 BCE

The Social War effectively ends

88 BCE

Sulla's first march on Rome

83 BCE

Sulla's second march on Rome

91–89 BCE

Social War

102 BCE

Marius' fourth consulship

86 BCE

Marius' seventh consulship and death

73 BCE

Slave revolt under Spartacus

64 BCE

Pompey adds Judea to Roman Republic

➤ Sulla marches on Rome.



78 BCE

Sulla's death

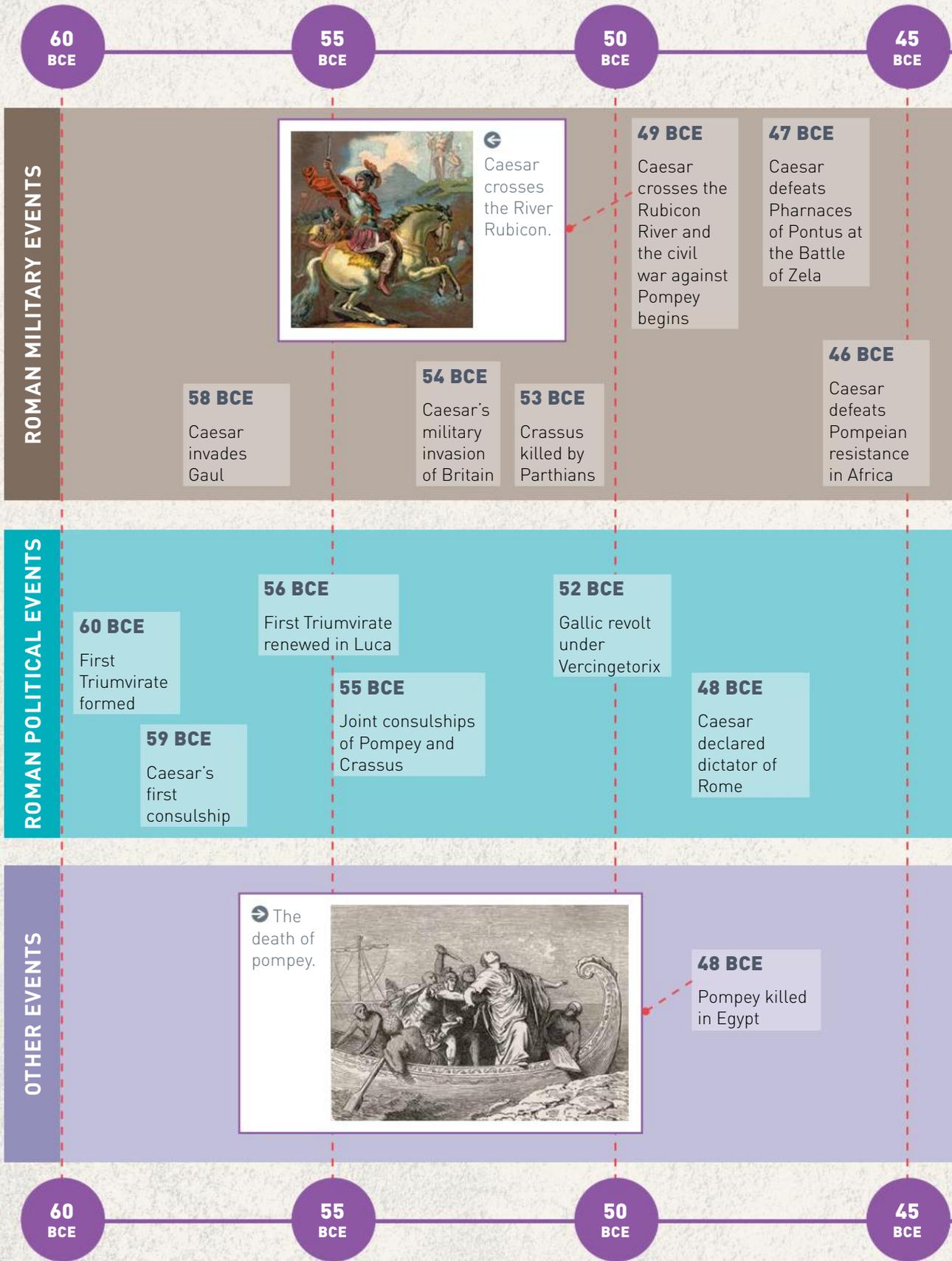
62 BCE

Pompey returns from the east

100
BCE

80
BCE

61
BCE



← Caesar crosses the River Rubicon.



→ The death of pompey.

48 BCE
Pompey killed in Egypt

40
BCE

38
BCE

Assassination of Julius Caesar.



43 BCE

Octavian defeats Antony at Mutina

42 BCE

Antony and Octavian defeat Brutus and Cassius at Philippi

41 BCE

Antony's brother Lucius opposes Octavian in Italy

40 BCE

Octavian defeats Lucius Antonius at Perusia

44 BCE

Caesar assassinated

44 BCE

Octavian is named as Caesar's heir

43 BCE

Octavian assumes *imperium*

43 BCE

Octavian acclaimed as *Imperator*

43 BCE

Antony, Lepidus and Octavian appointed triumvirs

40 BCE

Antony and Octavian renew *amicitia* at Brundisium

39 BCE

Treaty of Misenum; Triumvirs reconciled with Sextus Pompeius

Cleopatra's arrival at Tarsus.



44 BCE

Mark Antony delivers speech at Caesar's funeral that is later popularised by Shakespeare ('Friends, Romans, countrymen...')

44 BCE

Octavian stages Victory Games promised by Caesar

41 BCE

Antony summons Cleopatra to Tarsus

40 BCE

Antony marries Octavia

40 BCE

Octavian divorces Clodia and marries Scribonia

40
BCE

38
BCE

37
BCE

35
BCE

30
BCE

ROMAN MILITARY EVENTS

36 BCE

Octavian and Agrippa defeat Sextus Pompeius at Nauclchos



↑ Battle of Actium.

30 BCE

Octavian invades Egypt

36 BCE

Antony invades Parthia with support from Cleopatra

35 BCE

Antony retreats from Parthia; conquers and settles Armenia

31 BCE

Octavian and Agrippa defeat Antony in naval battle at Actium

30 BCE

Egypt conquered by Octavian

ROMAN POLITICAL EVENTS

34 BCE

Antony and Cleopatra 'donate' eastern regions to their children

29 BCE

Octavian celebrates a triple Triumph in Rome

32 BCE

Octavian reveals Antony's will



↑ Cleopatra's death.

OTHER EVENTS

37 BCE

Octavian and Scribonia divorce; Octavian remarries

32 BCE

Antony divorces Octavia

31 BCE

Antony and Cleopatra flee to Egypt

30 BCE

Antony and Cleopatra commit suicide

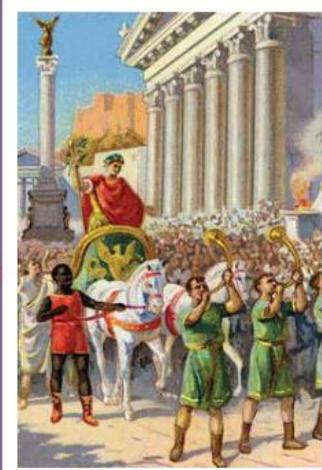
37
BCE

35
BCE

30
BCE

25
BCE

23
BCE



← Octavian's triple Triumph.

AFTER 23 BCE

12 BCE

Augustus becomes Pontifex Maximus on death of Lepidus

14 CE

Augustus dies at Nola

Augustus is declared a god, *Divus Augustus*

Augustus' heir, Tiberius, becomes emperor

27 BCE

Octavian is given a variety of powers and responsibilities as *Princeps*

28 BCE

Octavian and Agrippa serve as consuls and reform the Senate

27 BCE

Octavian is honoured by being named *Augustus*

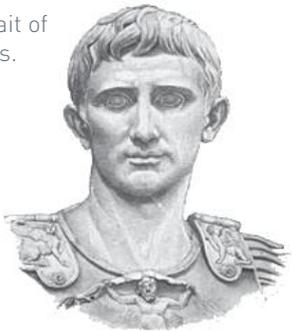
23 BCE

Augustus resigns consulship; is given special *maius imperium* and the powers of a tribune

23 BCE

Second Settlement: Augustus gains expanded *imperium* and control over all provinces

→ Portrait of Augustus.



23 BCE

Augustus becomes ill, then recovers

25
BCE

23
BCE

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

CAUSES

Senate forms two factions—*populares* and *optimates*

c.121
BCE

After the attempted reforms of the Gracchi brothers, Senators are divided over whether 'the people' or the Senate should have the most power (*populares* and *optimates* respectively); armies employed by individual generals begin to challenge the power of the Senate through violence and intimidation

Caesar forms Triumvirate with Pompey and Crassus

60
BCE

The three men unofficially rule Rome with a combination of political skill (Caesar), military prowess (Pompey and Caesar) and commercial nous (Crassus); Caesar conquers Central Europe (58 BCE)

Civil War between 'the people' and the Senate

49–45
BCE

After the breakdown of the Triumvirate, a civil war is fought between Caesar and the *populares*, and Pompey and the *optimates*; Caesar triumphs

Caesar gains trappings of a monarch

48–44
BCE

As well as imperator and other offices, Caesar becomes dictator in perpetuum (for life) and introduces many reforms without Senate support; he wears regal robes, refuses to rise when others approach him, places his image on coins and fills the calendar with commemorations of himself

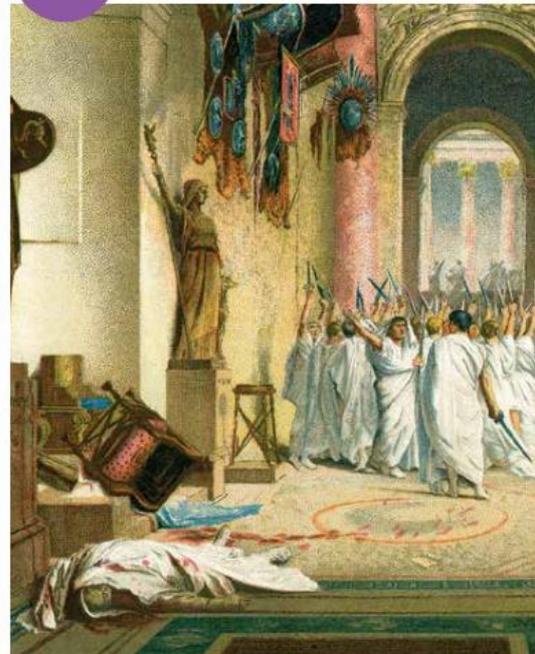
Senators conspire against Caesar

44
BCE

Around 60 senators, led by Decimus Junius Brutus, Gaius Trebonius, Gaius Cassius Longinus and Marcus Junius Brutus, decide to kill Caesar; some are former friends of Caesar's

44
BCE

THE ASSASSINATION OF JULIUS CAESAR



KEY CONSPIRATORS ('LIBERATORS')

Decimus Junius Brutus

Distant cousin and potential heir of Caesar



Gaius Cassius Longinus ('Cassius')

Senator and naval commander who served under Pompey



Marcus Junius Brutus

Senator and commander who served under Pompey



Gaius Trebonius

Consul and former trusted associate of Caesar



CONSEQUENCES

The people riot over Caesar's murder

44
BCE

Mark Antony gives an oration at Caesar's funeral that cleverly exploits the popular feeling that the Senators had no right to kill Caesar, prompting attacks on suspected conspirators

Antony positions himself for power

44
BCE

Antony removes the position of dictator but gives himself provinces in Gaul. Cicero gives 14 speeches (Philippics) praising Octavian

Antony, Octavian and Lepidus appointed as Second Triumvirate

43
BCE

Unlike the Triumvirate between Caesar, Pompey and Crassus, the Second Triumvirate is appointed by the Senate and given supreme power to restore order

Triumvirate breaks down after series of civil wars

33
BCE

The Triumvirate wins wars against Caesar's assassins (Brutus and Cassius) but is strained by the Perusine War, Sicilian Revolt and Antony's alliance with Cleopatra

Octavian ('Augustus') becomes all-powerful leader after conquest of Egypt and Constitutional Settlements

23
BCE

Antony and Cleopatra commit suicide after Octavian invades Egypt; the Senate names Octavian 'Augustus' and appoints him princeps ('first man') and the First and Second Settlements give him unequalled powers, as the Republic gives way to the Roman Empire

ACTIVITY

EXAM PREPARATION

After reading the chapters in Section B, write an essay of 600–800 words on ONE of the questions below. Your essay should include an introduction, paragraphs supported by evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations, and a conclusion. Refer to the period 133–23 BCE.

Discuss the significance for the Roman Republic of Gaius Marius' military reforms.

OR

'Julius Caesar's rule was fatal for the Republic.' Discuss.

SIGNIFICANT WOMEN (133–23 BCE)



CLEOPATRA VII (69–30 BCE)



Cleopatra VII was the Ptolemaic queen of Egypt who allied with Mark Antony in the war between Egypt and Rome. She had a child with Julius Caesar (Caesarion) and two children with Antony. She and Antony committed suicide after losing the Battle of Actium to Octavian in 31 BCE.

FULVIA (C. 83–40 BCE)



Fulvia was one of the instigators of the Perusine War, a civil war of the late Republic, in which Fulvia, Mark Antony's third wife, allied with Antony's brother Lucius to challenge Octavian. Fulvia died suddenly of unknown causes in 40 BCE.

LIVIA (58 BCE–29 CE)

Livia Drusilla was the advisor and third wife of Octavian/Augustus. Livia's former husband, the future emperor Tiberius, was persuaded or forced by Octavian to divorce her when she was pregnant, so that he could marry her; the pair remained married for over 50 years.



OCTAVIA (69–11 BCE)

Octavia Minor was the youngest of Octavian's sisters and the fourth wife of Mark Antony. Her marriage to Antony in 40 BCE was an attempt to cement the uneasy alliance between Octavian and Antony. Octavia was renowned as a model of Roman womanhood.



SCRIBONIA (68 BCE–16 CE)

Scribonia was the second wife of Octavian/Augustus. In 40 BCE she was forced to divorce her husband and marry Octavian; Octavian in turn divorced his wife and married Scribonia to cement a political alliance with her niece's husband, Sextus Pompey. Octavian divorced Scribonia in 39 BCE (on the day she gave birth to his daughter, Julia) in order to marry Livia.



KEY TURNING POINT

What happened?

A naval battle between Mark Antony's and Octavian's ships, constituting the decisive battle of the Final War of the Republic. Antony and a few of his ships escaped through a hole in Octavian's formation and followed Cleopatra; the rest of his forces were left to surrender

Where did it happen?

The Ionian Sea, near the promontory of Actium, in the Roman province of Epirus Vetus (Greece).

When did it happen?

2 September 31 BCE.

31 BCE
THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM**Who was involved?**

The forces of Octavian and Agrippa against the combined forces of Antony and Cleopatra.

Why was it significant?

Antony suffered a strategic defeat, losing his army, the war and his reputation. His legionaries surrendered to Octavian. Egypt was at Caesar's mercy, and he exploited his success at Actium for many years to come.

Why did it happen?

Octavian discredited Antony's alliance with Cleopatra and secured a proclamation of war against Egypt; Antony's legions were outmanoeuvred by Agrippa and some were defecting to Octavian—he had little choice but to engage in a sea battle.

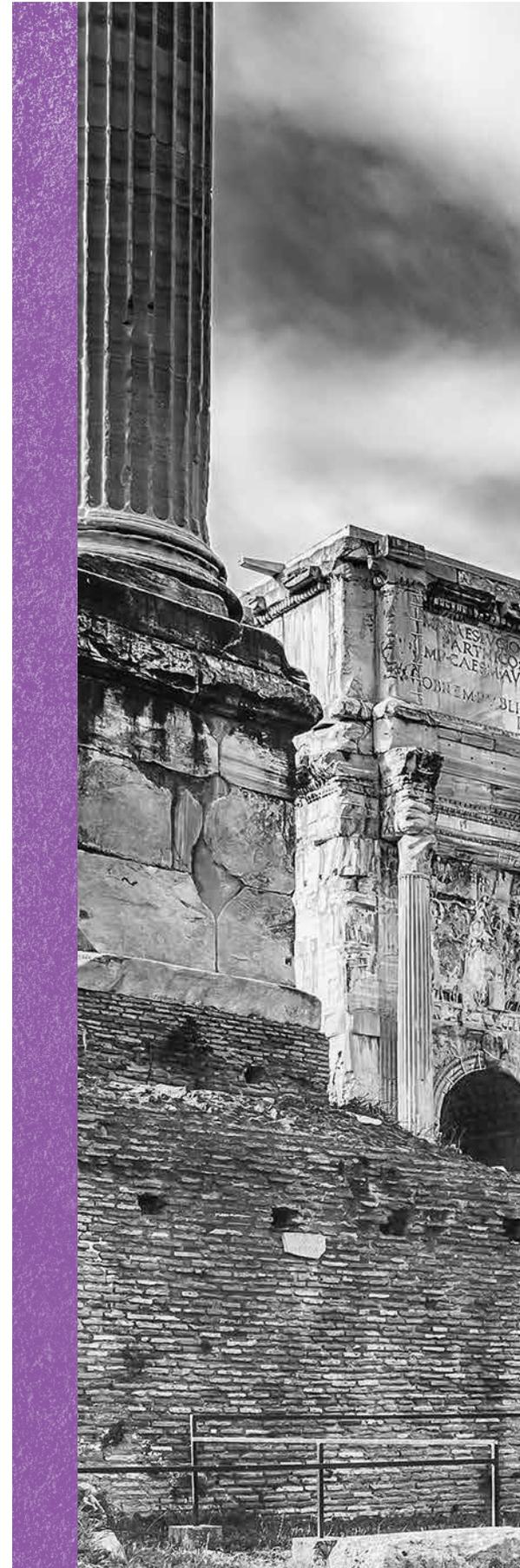
CHAPTER

5

ROME DIVIDED

'Before the destruction of Carthage the Roman people and senate managed the commonwealth placidly and restrainedly between them. There was no struggle amongst citizens either for glory or domination ... But when that source of alarm left their minds ... the nobility began to turn their rank, and the people their freedom, into matters of whim: every man for himself appropriated, looted and seized. So the whole was split into two parties, and the commonwealth, which had been neutral, was rent apart.'¹

SALLUST





The Forum in Rome was the scene of violent political and military upheavals that rocked the foundations of the Roman Republic.

OVERVIEW

POWER STRUGGLES

- Political divisions arose over who had the ultimate power in Rome: the Senate or the people
- Violence, murder and wars were used as ways for people to seize power
- The reform of the army changed soldiers' loyalties from the Republic to individual generals



TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus was a Roman politician who lived from about 168 to 133 BCE. He held the office of Plebeian Tribune. Like his brother Gaius, he was killed by members of the Senate who opposed his attempted political reforms.



GAIUS GRACCHUS

Gaius Sempronius Gracchus was a Roman politician and younger brother of Tiberius Gracchus. He lived 154–121 BCE, and held the position of Plebeian Tribune. He was killed by members of the Senate who opposed the political reforms he proposed.

THE GRACCHI BROTHERS

As a result of what happened during the tribuneships of the Gracchi brothers, Roman senators were ideologically divided into two opposing factions: the *optimates* and the *populares*. Each faction had different ideas about where the true political power in Rome resided—with the people or with the Senate.



	OPTIMATES (Latin for 'the best men')	POPULARES (Latin for 'the people')
WHO THEY BELIEVED SHOULD HOLD THE MOST POWER IN ROME	The Senate	All citizens of Rome
BELIEVED THAT THE ROLE OF THE PLEBEIAN ASSEMBLY WAS...	To follow the advice and wisdom of the Senate	To use its voting power to further their own interests, regardless of what the Senate wanted
MAIN AREAS OF CONCERN IN POLITICS	Maintaining an orderly and fair political system for the nobility and trying to stop powerful individuals from becoming autocrats	The living and financial conditions of the common people living in Rome, especially the grain dole
FAMOUS ROMANS WHO FAVOURED THIS POLITICAL FACTION	Marius, Sulla, Pompey the Great	Tiberius Gracchus, Gaius Gracchus, Crassus, Julius Caesar



GAIUS MARIUS

Gaius Marius was a Roman politician and general who lived 157–86 BCE. He held the highest position in Roman politics—the consulship—seven times and is credited with significant military reforms that set the stage for later civil wars. In his later life, he became the key enemy of Sulla.



SULLA

Lucius Cornelius Sulla was a Roman politician and general who lived 138–78 BCE. He served in his early career under Gaius Marius, and later fought against him. Sulla marched his own armies against Rome on two separate occasions. He became dictator of Rome and oversaw the murders of hundreds of fellow Romans in a program known as the Proscriptions.



POMPEY THE GREAT

Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus was a Roman politician and general. He served under Sulla and his distinguished military career led to significant territorial expansion for the Republic.

KEY EVENTS

133 BCE

Tiberius Gracchus' tribuneship and death

121 BCE

Gaius Gracchus' death

119 BCE

Jugurthine War begins (ends 105 BCE)

107 BCE

Marius' first consulship; he takes command against Jugurtha

104 BCE

Marius' second consulship; he is given command against the German tribes

102 BCE

Marius' fourth consulship; he defeats the German tribes

91 BCE

The Social War begins (ends 89 BCE)

88 BCE

Sulla's first march on Rome

86 BCE

Marius' seventh consulship and death

83 BCE

Sulla's second march on Rome

78 BCE

Sulla's death

77 BCE

Pompey's campaign in Spain begins

73 BCE

Slave revolt under Spartacus

67 BCE

Pompey defeats the pirates

64 BCE

Pompey adds Judaea to Roman Republic

CONSEQUENCES OF EXPANSION

PLUTARCH: 'Of the territory which the Romans won in war from their neighbours, a part they sold, and a part they made common land, and assigned it for occupation to the poor and indigent among the citizens, on payment of a small rent into the public treasury.'

With the fall of Carthage and Corinth in 146 BCE, the Roman Republic had become the undisputed superpower of the Mediterranean world. It had conquered lands stretching from Spain in the west all the way to Asia Minor (modern-day Turkey) in the east. Rome's rapid expansion resulted in contact with foreign cultures that introduced them to new ideas and beliefs. As a consequence, Rome's cultural life blossomed as it absorbed exciting new concepts. In particular, Romans became fascinated with Greek ways of thinking. Wealthy Romans began learning the Greek language and fell in love with the Hellenistic writing styles of philosophy and literature. As well as this, a number of Greek gods were added into the Roman religious system and there was an increase in the popularity of so-called 'mystery religions'.

However, the ongoing wars also resulted in major problems for Rome. Growing economic and social discontent caused great divisions between the wealthy noble families and the rest of society. Roman citizens seemed to be growing steadily poorer, while the members of the nobility seemed to be getting progressively richer. This economic difference was made worse because the nobles controlled the political power in the Senate.

📌 SOURCE 5.01

Part of a plaque from the *Altar of Domitius Ahenobarbus* known as the *Census frieze*, showing republican soldiers from the late second century BCE.



LAND CRISIS

Modern historians have traditionally claimed that most of the problems that Rome faced in this era were caused by the Roman military system.² The soldiers who fought in Rome's armies against Carthage and the Greek states were primarily made up of citizens who were not nobles and, according to established

custom, Romans could only become soldiers if they owned land: for many, this usually meant a small farm. This land requirement was meant to ensure that citizen soldiers could afford their own weapons and armour, but it also meant that the recruits had a personal reason to defend their homeland.

Roman soldiers were expected to remain in the army until a particular war was finished, regardless of how long it took. This sometimes meant that men could be away from their lands and families for up

to ten years.³ As a result, their farms were generally left under the control of the soldiers' wives and children. Unfortunately, their families were usually unable to grow sufficient crops or pay their debts while the men were at war, and they were forced to sell their lands to wealthier nobles. When the soldiers returned from war and discovered that they no longer had farms to support them, they had no choice but to move to Rome in the hope of finding work to support their families. Very few of these war veterans actually found work, so they began to band together to try and force the Senate to help them.

The nobles, who predominantly controlled the Senate, were profiting from the sale of farming land and were reluctant to surrender any of their political or economic power to the poorer people of Rome. One particular group of patricians, known as the *equites*, had bought so many of the farms that they combined them into huge agricultural plantations called latifundia. And rather than hiring the unemployed Romans to work on these plantations, the equites purchased foreign slaves to farm the land. The equites became very wealthy because of the enormous profits they made from their plantations, and because of cheap slave labour.⁴

While the equites were economically powerful, they were legally prevented from becoming members of the Senate. This rule was put in place to prevent senators from creating laws to help their own businesses. However, the equites got around this limitation by using their enormous wealth to influence their friends and relatives in the Senate, and tried to prevent the landless Romans from interfering in their financial monopoly. This growing division between poor citizens and rich nobility resulted in a major military problem for the Republic: fewer land-owning people meant that there were fewer men available to become soldiers. The wealthy nobles did not have the numbers, nor the desire, to make up for the shortage of men themselves. Some politicians became concerned that the Republic might be left without adequate military protection—and a solution needed to be found.



LATIFUNDIA TASK

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What were the requirements for people who were traditionally recruited as soldiers in Rome's armies?
2. Why were the nobles (both equestrians and senators) so reluctant to help poorer Roman citizens?
3. Why were equestrians prevented from becoming senators?

ACTIVITY

THE NOBILITY AND THE ARMY

While all Roman citizens were recruited as soldiers in the Roman army, not all of them served as regular soldiers. Members of the nobility served as generals, officers and commanders rather than as common foot soldiers. This division of power in the military reinforced the idea that the nobles occupied a more important position in the Roman social hierarchy. All nobles who wanted to become senators later in life were expected to have at least ten years' military experience before they were allowed to run for political office, and so grew accustomed to ordering around anyone who was not a noble. When these same nobles entered politics, many of them assumed that the citizens of Rome would be just as compliant as they were in the army. However—as the senators would find out—treating the voting citizens of Rome with contempt would ultimately lead to social unrest.

▼ SOURCE 5.02

The Roman patrician Cornelia walks with her sons, Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus. Each boy wears a charm to ward off evil spirits.



THE GRACCHI BROTHERS

MATTHEW DILLON AND LYNDA GARLAND: 'It is not an understatement to say that the demise of the Republic began with the Gracchi.'⁵

THE TRIBUNESHIP OF TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

One of the first people to propose a legal solution for the landless and unemployed citizens was a man named Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus. Tiberius Gracchus was raised by his mother, along with his sister and younger brother, Gaius Gracchus. The Gracchi, as the family were known, were well respected, quite wealthy and had many political friends.⁶ In particular, Tiberius' sister married Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, from the powerful noble family, the Scipiones.

DID YOU KNOW?

Tiberius' mother, Cornelia, was asked for her hand in marriage by the king of Egypt, Ptolemy. She was not interested in becoming an Egyptian queen and rejected his offer.

ATTEMPTED REFORMS

In 133 BCE, Tiberius Gracchus won election as one of the ten Tribunes of the Plebs for that year. In his role, he focused on trying to find a solution for the landless ex-soldiers. Tiberius drafted a law known as the *Lex Sempronia Agraria*. This law proposed that the Senate should give to the war veterans some of the Italian land that had been confiscated from allied cities during the Second Punic War. Tiberius' law would solve the unemployment problem by giving the veterans new farms, while also increasing the number of men that could be recruited for military service.

TIBERIUS' INSPIRATION FOR HIS REFORMS

[Tiberius'] brother Gaius has written in a pamphlet that while Tiberius was travelling through Etruria on his way to Numantia, he saw for himself how the country had been deserted by its native inhabitants, and how those who tilled the soil or tended the flocks were barbarian slaves introduced from abroad; and that it was this experience which first inspired the policy that later brought so many misfortunes upon the two brothers.

DIFFERENT MOTIVES?

In proposing the land reform Tiberius and his associates will not have been unmindful of the possibility of obtaining the political support of the urban plebs and the rural proletariat, of adding these classes, or a section of them, to their clientelae.

➔ SOURCE 5.03

Plutarch, *Lives VIII.9*, trans. Rex Warner, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, (London: Penguin Classics, 2005), 23.

➔ SOURCE 5.04

Donald C. Earl, *The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1967), 40.

ACTIVITY

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Sources 5.03 and 5.04 and complete the tasks below.

1. In Source 5.03, what is Gaius said to have told the Romans about what inspired Tiberius' reforms?
2. To what extent would Gaius be an objective source regarding the events of his brother's life?
3. In what way do the sources disagree about Tiberius' motives for proposing his land reforms?

OPPOSITION

Many senators were illegally using the land that Tiberius wanted to give to the people, and so the Senate refused to accept his proposal. In response, Tiberius decided to avoid the Senate entirely and took his idea to the people themselves at the Plebeian Council. The council responded positively to his ideas. However, taking a law straight to the people before having it approved by the Senate went against centuries of Roman tradition and Tiberius' decision to do this infuriated the senators.⁶

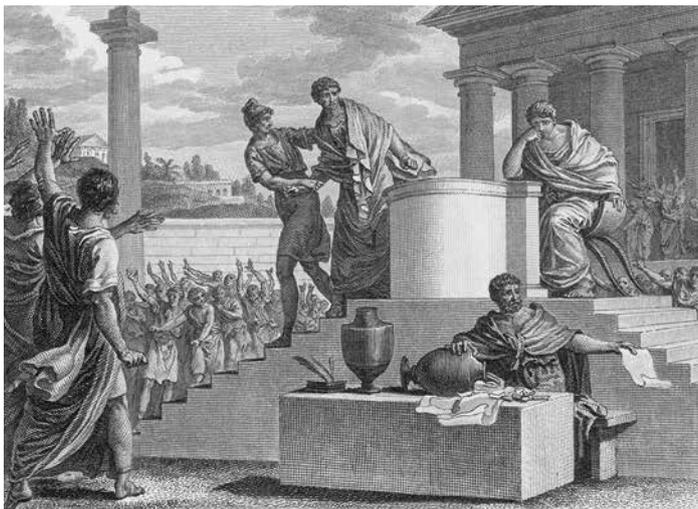
In an attempt to stop Tiberius from passing his law through the Plebeian Council, the Senate persuaded another tribune, Octavius, to use his veto power to prevent the presentation of Tiberius' bills to the people. Faced with Octavius' veto, Tiberius turned to the voters and convinced them that Octavius was failing in his role as tribune, since tribunes were supposed to defend the rights of the people. Tiberius argued that Octavius should be immediately removed from his role as tribune and replaced.⁷

The people followed Tiberius' suggestions and began voting to depose Octavius. However, Octavius used his veto power once more to shut down the voting process. As a final act to solve the deadlock, Tiberius ordered the people to forcefully remove Octavius from the assembly so that he could no longer use his veto, and after this was done, the assembly continued with the vote to depose him. The forceful removal of Octavius from the assembly violated the sacred protection that all tribunes were given, called *sacrosanctity*. Once Octavius was removed, the Plebeian Assembly passed Tiberius' law.



▼ SOURCE 5.05

The remains of the *rostra* in the Forum, the platform from which senators addressed the people of Rome.



THE SACROSANCTITY OF PLEBEIAN TRIBUNES

This [tribuneship is] sacred and inviolable ... Let no one whip [a tribune], or command another to whip him, or kill him or command another to kill him. And if anyone should commit any of these prohibited acts, let him be accursed and his goods consecrated to [the goddess] Ceres, and whoever should kill any person who has committed such acts, let him be innocent of murder.

BELIEFS AND VALUES

1. What was sacrosanctity and to whom did it apply?
2. What does the concept of sacrosanctity suggest about Romans' beliefs about their leaders?
3. Is there any equivalent of sacrosanctity today?

▲ SOURCE 5.06

Tiberius Gracchus unconstitutionally removes Octavius from his role as tribune.

↻ SOURCE 5.07

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *The Roman Antiquities* VI.89.2-3 in Matthew Dillon and Lynda Garland, *Ancient Rome: From the Early Republic to the Assassination of Julius Caesar* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 24.

ACTIVITY

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What did the power of veto allow tribunes to do?
2. Why was the physical removal of Octavius from the Forum considered to be a crime?
3. Based upon what you know about sacrosanctity, what should have happened to the people who killed Tiberius Gracchus?

However, the Senate still had the power to decide how laws were implemented. The senators therefore only provided minimal funding for Tiberius' new law, which essentially prevented it from taking effect. The lack of funding threatened to destroy Tiberius' solution. However, by sheer chance, a large sum of money was offered to Rome by the city of Pergamum in Asia Minor. This offer was the result of the death of Attalus III, the king of Pergamum. Attalus had died and had bequeathed all of his wealth, as a gift, to the city of Rome. Tiberius used his powers as tribune to encourage the Plebeian Council to use the huge sum of money to fund the implementation of his law. The act of seizing foreign funds was another direct challenge to the senators, as the Senate traditionally decided how public money was spent.

THE DEATH OF TIBERIUS GRACCHUS

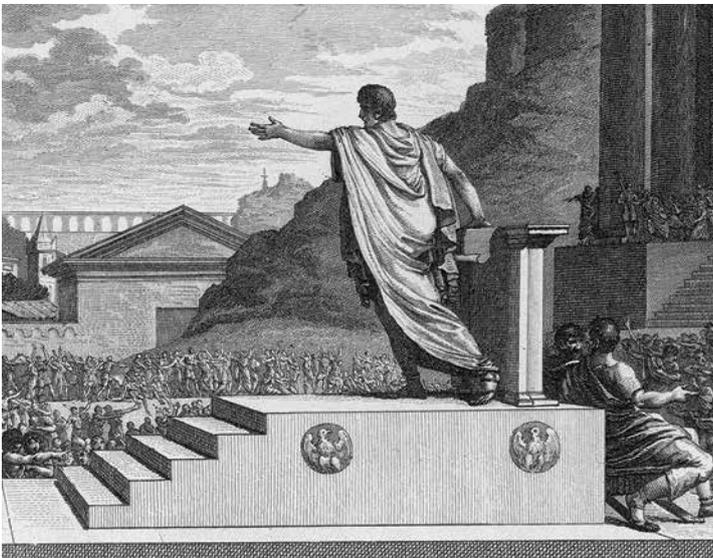
The senators declared Tiberius' actions illegal and considered Tiberius to be a direct threat to Rome itself. His opponents even accused Tiberius of behaving like a king—that he was personally controlling Roman politics to do what he wanted. Tiberius' enemies declared that they would arrest him when his one-year term as tribune was over—when he would no longer be protected by sacrosanctity.

Aware of the senators' plans, Tiberius tried to find a way to avoid arrest. His solution was to seek re-election as tribune for the following year. This too was against political tradition, as repeated terms in office were usually not allowed. However, Tiberius had strong support for re-election and continued anyway. On election day, Tiberius appeared in the Forum with armed guards. Meanwhile, the senators had gathered in the Temple of Fides to discuss what they would do. Once the voting began, the senators marched into the Forum to stop it and violence quickly broke out between the two sides. In the ensuing fight, Tiberius was beaten to death, along with hundreds of his supporters.

The death of Tiberius was a shock to the people, and the Senate sought to calm the angry crowds. Eventually, the senators avoided further bloodshed by providing the necessary funds for the implementation of Tiberius' law.

SOURCE 5.08

Gaius Gracchus addresses the Plebeian Council.



THE TRIBUNESHIP OF GAIUS GRACCHUS

In 123 BCE, ten years after Tiberius' death, his younger brother, Gaius Gracchus, won election to the Plebeian Tribune, the same position that Tiberius had held. Gaius turned out to be an inspiring speaker and he seemed determined to continue his brother's program of political and social reform.⁸ However, Gaius appeared to be more ambitious than Tiberius because he proposed a range of laws that not only aimed to change economics and politics, but also change how the Roman law courts worked. As Tiberius had done, Gaius took his proposals to the Plebeian Council without first consulting the Senate.

One of Gaius' first significant actions was to modify the land redistribution law that his brother had instituted. He enacted new laws, successfully proposing that Rome should build a new city on the ruins of Carthage.⁹ Gaius also worked to help the poor citizens of Rome by passing a law that guaranteed them grain supplies each month, sold at a set price. This became known as the *grain dole*, and it meant that the government guaranteed food for its citizens. Gaius' popularity with the Roman people was such that he was able to hold the office of *Tribune of the Plebs* for two consecutive years—the very thing for which his brother was killed.

THE DECLINE AND DEATH OF GAIUS

Gaius gained similar enemies to his older brother and was accused of wanting to destroy the Senate altogether. However, Gaius made a series of decisions that also meant that the people of Rome began to disapprove of him. When Gaius proposed that people living in all Latin cities should become full Roman citizens, the existing citizens reacted angrily; they didn't want to share the grain dole and other privileges of citizenship with those that they considered to be 'outsiders'.

Gaius' proposal to build a new colony on the site of Carthage was successful and he was sent to Africa to oversee its implementation. When planning for the new colony was completed, Gaius returned to Rome—but found that his popularity had fallen dramatically. He attempted election to the tribuneship for a third year, but was unsuccessful. Once he had lost his political power, Gaius' enemies in the Senate quickly undid all of the laws he had put into place.

One of the consuls, Lucius Opimius, wanted to cancel the construction of Gaius' new city at Carthage. During a meeting to discuss this, supporters of both sides clashed. In the melee, a messenger from the consul was killed. Opimius considered the murder a direct attack on himself, and by extension, the Republic of Rome. The Senate decided to give the consul the Final Decree of the Senate (*senatus consultum ultimum*): this gave Opimius the right to do anything he thought necessary to defend Rome, no matter how extreme the measures might be.¹⁰ With his new powers, Opimius ordered a direct military attack on Gaius and his supporters. As fighting broke out in the streets of Rome, Gaius tried to flee but was cornered. He then ordered one of his slaves to kill him before Opimius' men could, which the slave duly did. Thousands of Gaius' loyal supporters were slain.

▼ SOURCE 5.09

Pursued by his enemies, Gaius escapes to the Aventine Hill, where he commits suicide with the help of his servant.





THE BROTHERS GRACCHI

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

THE GRACCHI BROTHERS

Ultimately, the reforms attempted by the Gracchi brothers failed. Their laws were repealed by the Senate and replaced with different legislation that favoured the senators. The only law that remained in place was the grain dole. However, the tribuneships of the Gracchi brothers highlighted some key flaws in the Republican system of government, particularly regarding the role of the Tribune of the Plebs. It became clear that tribunes could use their powers to simply ignore the Senate's wishes. Following the deaths of Tiberius and Gaius, some rebellious Roman politicians tried to gain the support of Plebeian Tribunes so that proposed laws might be put directly to the people rather than having to convince the Senate. Over time, some senators came to resent the influence enjoyed by tribunes over Roman citizens and sought to limit their powers.

CONSEQUENCES OF THE GRACCHI PERIOD

After the death of the Gracchi brothers, the senators formed into two key groups with the aim of furthering their political careers. Most senators were in the first group, the *optimates* ('best men'). *Optimates* followed the traditional political system under which the Senate was the primary seat of power and the Plebeian Council followed the Senate's wishes. *Optimates* believed that the senators were the 'best people' in the city and, as such, their opinions carried the most weight. The other group was known as the *populares* ('of the people'). *Populares* believed that pleasing the Plebeian Council was the best way of advancing their senatorial careers.

The two groups of senators were often at odds and frequently accused each other of trying to destroy the Roman Republic. Individual senators could change which group they identified with whenever it suited them, but the *optimates* always remained the larger of the two groups.

Beyond the new political divisions that arose among senators, the events around the lives of Tiberius and Gaius left another kind of legacy in Roman politics. Prior to the Gracchi brothers, violence and murder in politics were almost non-existent.¹¹ But following the murders of Tiberius and Gaius, other Roman politicians became progressively more comfortable with the idea of using violence to overcome their opponents and achieve their goals—even if it meant calling in the army to do so.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

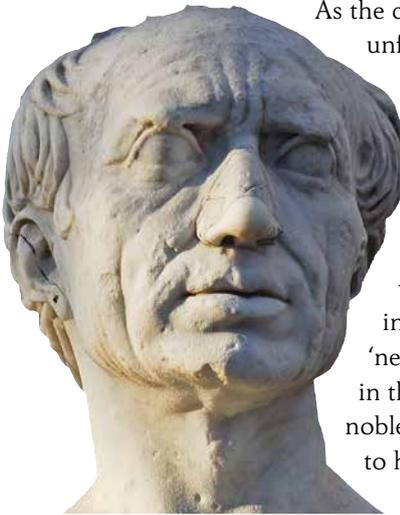
1. What were the main reasons for the reforms of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus?
2. What were the main differences between the *optimates* and *populares* groups in the Roman Senate?
3. What were some of the consequences of the Gracchi period for Rome?

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Even though both Gracchi brothers failed in their immediate aims for political reforms, why would they still be considered 'significant' individuals in Roman history?

GAIUS MARIUS—THE ‘NEW MAN’

MARIUS: ‘My political opponents, if they make a mistake, can rely for protection on the resources of their relatives and marriage connections ... My hopes rest only on myself ... Compare me, the “new” man, with these high and mighty ones. What they know only from reading, I have seen with my own eyes or done with my own hands. What they have learned out of books, I have learned on the battlefield. They criticise my lack of famous ancestors, I criticise their lazy habits.’



As the chaos surrounding the Gracchi brothers was unfolding in Rome, a young Roman named Gaius Marius was beginning his political career. He would become one of the most significant men of his era. Marius was born near the Italian town of Arpinum. Although his family was wealthy and influential in Arpinum, they were practically unknown in Rome. Therefore, when Marius travelled to Rome to seek a life in politics, he was referred to as a *novus homo* (a ‘new man’), as his family had no political heritage in the city. Marius sought acceptance by influential nobles, such as members of the *optimates* faction, to help him get established in politics. He forged a strong relationship with the Metelli family. Their patronage opened up military and

political opportunities for Marius that would otherwise have been impossible for a ‘new man’ to achieve.

In 133 BCE, Marius had the good fortune of serving at Numantia in Spain under the famous general Scipio Aemilianus. He acquired valuable leadership and strategic experience during this time and gained a reputation as a good commander. In 119 BCE, Marius became a Plebeian Tribune, which was the starting point for anyone wanting to go into Roman politics. He then unsuccessfully ran for the position of aedile (magistrate) in 117 BCE, before becoming a praetor (senior magistrate) in 115 BCE.

THE JUGURTHINE WAR

While Marius was trying to make a name for himself in Roman politics, a war was brewing in Africa that would become a long-term problem for the Roman Republic. It all began in 118 BCE when a civil war broke out in a North African kingdom called Numidia, a territory that had been one of Rome’s allies in the wars against Carthage. A Numidian prince named Jugurtha attacked his brother, Adherbal. Since Rome controlled the land next to Numidia, it had a vested interest in re-establishing peace in the region. Knowing this, Adherbal travelled to Rome to seek military aid to fight against his brother. However, the Senate’s solution was to attempt to placate both brothers without direct interference. Rome ordered that Numidia be divided into two separate kingdoms, with each kingdom ruled by one of the brothers. Initially, the two princes seemed to obey the Senate’s orders and Adherbal returned to Numidia to rule his half of the kingdom.

📖 SOURCE 5.10

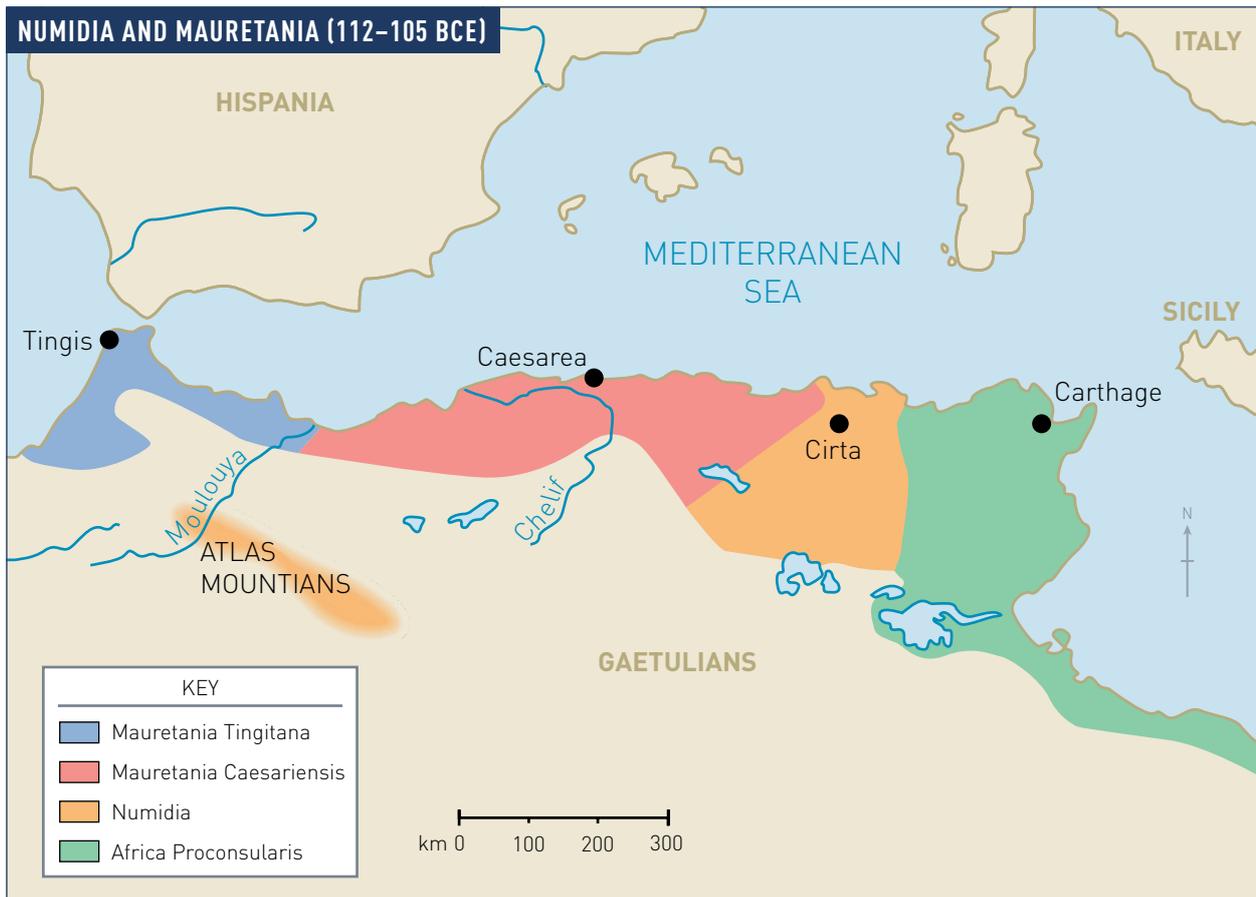
Gaius Marius.

DID YOU KNOW?

Marius married Julius Caesar’s aunt, Julia. When Julia died in 69 BCE, Julius gave the speech at her funeral and proudly spoke about his uncle Marius.

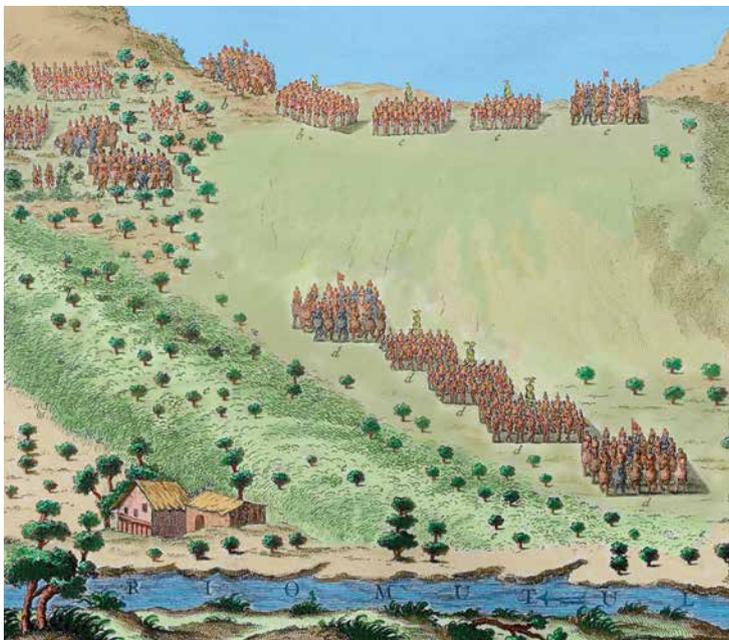


SALLUST ON
THE WAR WITH
JUGURTHA



SOURCE 5.11

THE KINGDOMS OF NUMIDIA AND MAURETANIA AT THE TIME OF THE JUGURTHINE WAR



Unfortunately, in 113 BCE, Jugurtha invaded his brother's lands and executed Adherbal. Rome was outraged by Jugurtha's refusal to follow their instructions and the Senate declared war on Jugurtha in 112 BCE. The first army sent against Jugurtha had little success and the Senate grew frustrated. So, in 109 BCE, one of the Metelli family, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, was given charge over the campaign. One of the military officers that Metellus took with him was Marius. However, Metellus also struggled to gain victory over Jugurtha and the war continued to drag on.

In 108 BCE, Marius wanted to continue his progression through the *cursus honorum* and sought to leave his position

SOURCE 5.12

Engraving depicting the battle between the army of Jugurtha and the Roman legions of Quintus Caecilius Metellus.

in Metellus' forces so that he could travel back to Rome and seek election as a consul. Metellus was against Marius doing so, as he thought that Marius was being too ambitious for a 'new man', and ordered him to remain in Numidia. Marius ignored his commander and returned to Rome where he successfully won a consulship for 107 BCE—an outstanding achievement for a 'new man'.

Marius' popularity with the people granted him an additional honour. During the consular elections, the Senate had chosen to extend Metellus' command against Jugurtha, despite his lack of progress. Marius repeatedly claimed that he would be able to bring a swift and decisive end to the war if he had the chance, so the Plebeian Council circumvented the Senate and voted for Marius to take the command from Metellus.

MILITARY REFORMS

With his new position as consul and with a commission to take command in Numidia, Marius had to raise his own army. However, Marius realised that the issue of landless citizens, which Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus had sought to fix—was still causing problems. Marius found that there were simply not enough farmers available to form the forces he needed.

Marius came up with a surprisingly practical solution. He decided that he would no longer require soldiers to own land in order to join his new army. Instead, he asked for volunteers to become his soldiers, regardless of their personal financial position, even taking the poorest people of Rome. Marius offered to pay the volunteer soldiers while they were on campaign and promised to give them their own land when they eventually retired from military service. Marius' new recruitment scheme was very successful and he soon raised the necessary numbers for his army. Marius' changes also created a new idea for Romans—that serving in the military could be a full-time career.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

MARIUS' REFORMS

Marius' vision of a professional army of volunteer soldiers transformed the role of the military in the Roman world. When men no longer needed to own land to qualify to become soldiers, they became loyal to their general rather than to the Republic, as the generals were the ones who provided pay and gave them land when they retired. As a consequence, ambitious generals started using the promise of rewards to recruit men who would do whatever they wished—even if this meant going against Rome itself.



SOURCE 5.13

Gaius Marius.

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

1. What problems continued to face Rome after the rule of the Gracchi?
2. What did Marius have to change in order to resolve these lingering problems?
3. What new problems did Marius' changes create?

ACTIVITY

DID YOU KNOW?

The Roman historian, Appian, tells the story of seven young eagles landing on Marius' lap when he was young. Eagles were considered the sacred animal of the god Jupiter, and so people interpreted the event as a prediction of Marius' seven consulships.

DID YOU KNOW?

Rather than putting their weapons and armour on mules, which was traditionally done when marching, each of Marius' soldiers was expected to carry his own equipment upon his back. As a result, Marius' soldiers were jokingly referred to as 'Marius' mules'.



THE DEFEAT OF JUGURTHA

With his new army, Marius returned to Africa to fight Jugurtha. However, the decisive victory Marius had promised was elusive. During the conflict, he managed to reduce the number of Jugurtha's supporters, which led to Jugurtha fleeing to the safety of his father-in-law, Bocchus, the king of neighbouring Mauretania. While taking refuge with Bocchus, Jugurtha was out of Marius' reach. The war seemed to be at a stalemate.

It was one of Marius' officers, Lucius Cornelius Sulla, who brought the situation to an end. Sulla persuaded Bocchus to betray Jugurtha and surrender him to Marius. Jugurtha was soon captured and the war ended in 105 BCE. Although it was Sulla's personal intervention that won the war, it was Marius, as commander, who was allowed to celebrate the triumph in Rome. During his triumphal parade, Marius showed off Jugurtha, his captive, before cheering crowds of Romans—then had the Numidian king executed.

📌 SOURCE 5.14

Bocchus turns Jugurtha over to the Romans, who later execute him.

➔ SOURCE 5.15

Plutarch, Lives. Life of Marius. trans. Rex Warner, Fall of the Roman Republic, (London: Penguin Classics, 2005), 12.

THE START OF THE TENSIONS BETWEEN MARIUS AND SULLA

Bocchus ... was planning to betray [Jugurtha] and he sent for Lucius Sulla, who was Marius' quaestor [magistrate] and had been of some help to Bocchus in the course of the campaign. Sulla, relying on his word, made the journey up country, but now the native changed his mind and began to regret what he had done. For several days he was weighing up which of the two courses to follow—to surrender Jugurtha or keep Sulla too under arrest. Finally, he decided upon his original plan of treachery and delivered Jugurtha over alive to Sulla. It was this that sowed the first seed of that irreconcilable and bitter hatred between Marius and Sulla, which very nearly brought Rome to ruin. There were many who, out of envy of Marius, gave the whole credit for the affair to Sulla, and Sulla himself used to carry a signet ring which he had had made on which was engraved the scene of Jugurtha being surrendered to him by Bocchus.

ACTIVITY

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 5.15 and complete the tasks below.

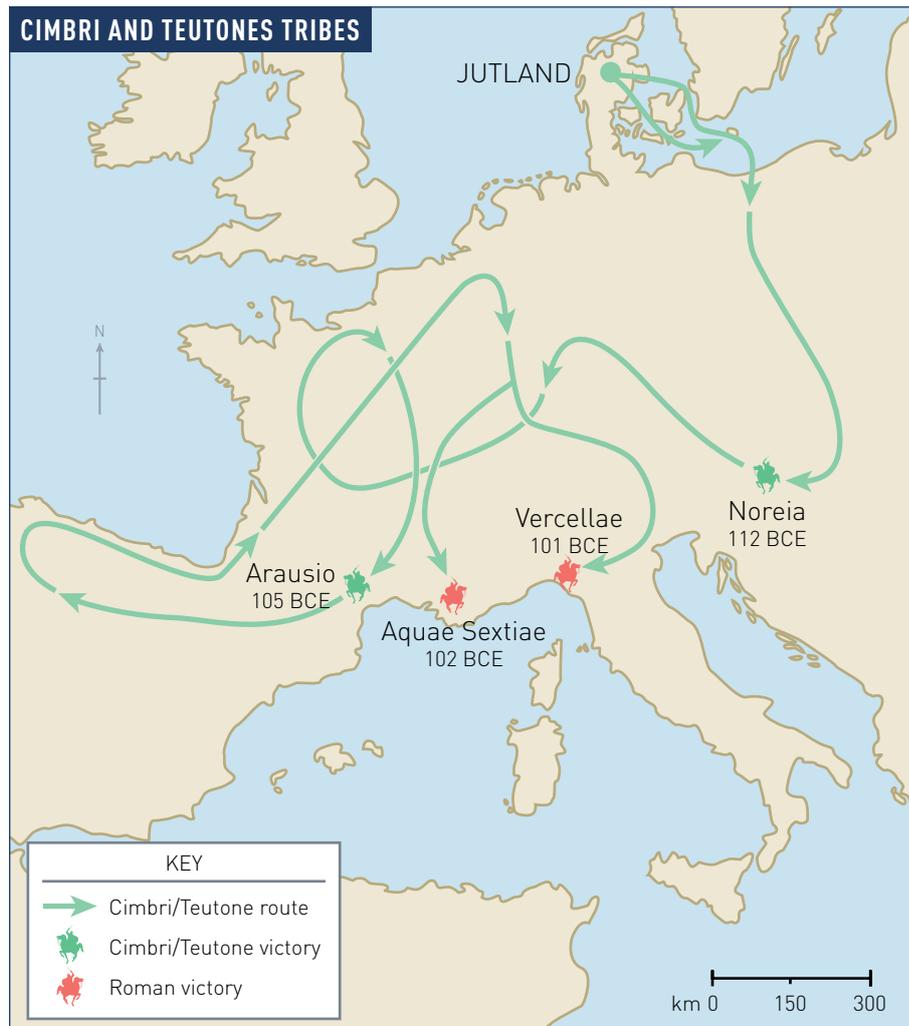
1. Why did Sulla initially travel to see Bocchus?
2. Why might Bocchus have struggled to choose between giving up Jugurtha or arresting Sulla?
3. Why, according to the source, did this event create conflict between Marius and Sulla?

At the end of Marius' command, the problems in Numidia were solved and peace was restored in the region. However, the Jugurthine War was considered a diplomatic debacle for Rome—it did not bring any new territory nor produce any new wealth. The failures of the military commanders during the protracted war reflected badly on the Senate's political effectiveness. As a result, the Roman people's confidence in the Senate's abilities to deal with foreign policy suffered. In contrast, the people's opinion of Marius soared.

CONFLICT WITH THE CIMBRI

While the Jugurthine War was raging in Africa, another military problem arose to the north of Rome's Italian territories. In 113 BCE, two Germanic tribes, the Cimbri and the Teutones, appeared at the eastern end of the Alps and began moving in the direction of Italy. Several Roman armies were sent to turn them away but each army was defeated. The continual failure of Roman troops to stop the tribes' gradual movements towards Italy caused great concern among the Romans. However, much to everyone's surprise, rather than rampaging through Roman lands, the Cimbri and Teutones suddenly changed direction and moved west into Gaul (modern France).

Despite the sudden good fortune, the Romans were in panic about the potential return of the Germanic hordes. The Plebeian Council called for Marius to be re-elected as consul and lead an army against them. At that time it was illegal for anyone to be elected to the consulship twice—this was to prevent any man from gaining too much political power. However, the outcry from the people was so great that the Senate overturned this rule and allowed Marius to become consul for a second time in 104 BCE, even though he had not yet returned from the war against Jugurtha. Once Marius arrived back in Rome, he recruited further troops and headed north to pursue the Germanic tribes.



← SOURCE 5.16

THE MOVEMENTS OF THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONES, AND THEIR BATTLES AGAINST THE ROMANS



THE CIMBRI AND TEUTONES: MAP TASK

🔍 SOURCE 5.17

The Battle of Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence), 102 BCE. The Romans under Gaius Marius defeat the Teutones. Engraving by Mancastropa, 1884.

The hunt for the Germanic tribes was not straightforward, and it took several years before Marius could encounter them in direct battle. The people of Rome continued to elect him to the consulship for 103 and 102 BCE, bringing his total number of consulships to four. Finally, Marius intercepted and defeated the Germanic tribes in two separate battles: one in southern Gaul (102 BCE) and another in northern Italy (101 BCE).



Once more, Marius was the saviour of Rome. In gratitude, he was allowed another triumphal parade through the streets of the capital, and was even elected to his fifth and sixth consulships for 101 and 100 BCE. By this time, Marius' popularity with the Roman citizens was at its height and he had achieved more than any other Roman politician had before, winning six consulships. This achievement was even more remarkable as he was a 'new man'.

🔍 SOURCE 5.18

Adrian Goldsworthy, *Caesar: The Life of a Colossus* (London: Phoenix, 2006), 15.

AN UNFAIR FIGHT?

The Cimbri and Teutones were peoples on the move in search of a new land, not a professional army engaged in an all-out war. In battle their warriors were terrifying in appearance and individually brave, but they lacked discipline. At a strategic level the tribes were not guided by rigid objectives.

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Identify the key similarities and differences between the Cimbri/Teutones, and the Romans, as suggested by Adrian Goldsworthy (above). What does the Roman pursuit of the Cimbri and Teutones suggest about Rome at this time?

MARIUS THE POLITICIAN

Marius was a gifted military commander, but he did not have the same talent for politics. He had some early success when he managed to convince the Senate to provide the land that he had promised to give to his soldiers who had fought against Jugurtha. These soldiers were given land in Africa. However, Marius could not get the Senate to agree to give similar plots of land to the veterans who fought against the Cimbri and Teutones. This refusal by the Senate turned Marius' political allegiances towards the *populares*.

Marius approached the Plebeian Council to get land for his veterans but, to his surprise, the people were not keen on voting for the measures either. In an attempt to force his will on the assembly, Marius' veteran soldiers entered the Forum on voting day and physically turned hostile voters away, ensuring that Marius' proposals were passed into law.

The use of the military in voting assemblies created a dangerous new way of manipulating the Roman political system to fulfil the desires of a single politician. Senators were outraged that soldiers could be used to force through laws that were designed to benefit the soldiers themselves. Marius was criticised for allowing the poorest class of Romans to fight under the promise of free land. As the Roman historian Sallust stated, 'for a man seeking power, the neediest men are also the most advantageous, in that their own possessions are not dear to them—indeed they have none—and everything that pays seems honourable'.¹² The events surrounding the forcing through of Marius' land promises damaged his reputation with the Senate and the people of Rome. In 99 BCE, after facing strong opposition, Marius voluntarily left Rome for almost two years, apparently claiming that he had to undergo a religious pilgrimage to the east of the Mediterranean. He would not return to political prominence again until Rome found itself embroiled in a devastating war with other Italian cities.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Based upon what you know of Marius' family and background, explain why Marius was not expected to achieve much in Roman politics.
2. What caused Marius to initially side with the *optimates* faction of the Senate, but then later switch to the *populares* faction?
3. What was so revolutionary about the military reforms implemented by Marius?

ACTIVITY

THE SOCIAL WAR

In 91 BCE, the tension that had been building between the city of Rome and its allied cities in Italy exploded into all-out war. This war came to be known as the 'Social War' because of the Latin word for allies: *socii*. Since the time of the Gracchi brothers, Rome's Italian allies had consistently sought to gain full Roman citizenship. These cities argued that—since all their political decisions were being controlled by the Senate and voted on by the citizens of Rome—they should have a say in the Roman political system. However, every time the tribunes attempted

SOURCE 5.19

One of the coins minted by the rebel cities during the Social War.

It depicts the Italian bull killing the Roman wolf. Coins like this were used as propaganda during the conflict.



to bring in proposals giving Roman citizenship to the people of allied cities, they were threatened, beaten—and even killed.

Finally, after decades of being refused citizenship, the allied cities turned on Rome and declared war, in the hope of forcing the Senate to accept their requests. The former allied cities formed a confederation—which they called Italica—and chose the city of Corfinium to be their capital. In this new capital, the allies created their own version of the Senate

and even made their own coins. The cities along the Italian peninsula then split into two groups—those who remained loyal to Rome and those who joined the rebels.

With a civil war on its doorstep, Rome called upon Marius once more and he was given an army to defend Rome from the new threat. Other armies were raised and assigned to generals. While there were experienced and talented commanders leading the armies for both Rome and the rebels, it appears that there was very little true animosity between them: the conflict was purely political in nature. Cicero—who later became a Roman senator—fought in the Social War; he said: ‘the allies were aiming, not to rob us of our state, but to be received as members of it.’¹⁴

The new alliance had early victories on the battlefield and even captured a number of key Roman towns. By 90 BCE, Rome was in crisis and tried to stop further allied cities from joining the enemy. The Senate decided to extend citizenship to allied cities—but only to those who had stayed loyal to Rome during the conflict. After this, Rome gradually overcame the rebels and captured Corfinium in 89 BCE. A few towns held out until 87 BCE, but as Rome continued to extend citizenship rights to more Italian towns, the resistance gradually disappeared.

DID YOU KNOW?

Marius was known for his wit as well as his ability as a commander. ‘They say that once Publius Silo, the most powerful of the enemy commanders and the one with the greatest reputation, said to [Marius]: If you really are a great general, Marius, come down and fight it out. To which Marius replied: If you are a great general, make me.’

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

THE SOCIAL WAR

The Social War was a turning point in the Roman world. Although the rebel confederation did not win the war, it achieved its aim: the extension of Roman citizenship to other Italian cities. This showed that military force could coerce the Senate into submitting to someone’s will. After seeing how military force could be used to ‘persuade’ the Senate, some Roman commanders used their own armies to march on Rome in an attempt to force the Senate to give them what they wanted.

ACTIVITY

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

1. What caused the Social War?
2. Why were Romans reluctant to share their citizenship with other cities?
3. How did Rome eventually gain victory in the Social War?

LUCIUS CORNELIUS SULLA

PLUTARCH: ‘Sulla immediately proscribed eighty persons without communicating with any magistrate ... and then proscribed two hundred and twenty more, and again on the third day as many. ... [He said that] he had proscribed all he could think of, and as to those who now escaped his memory, he would proscribe them at some future time.’¹³

One Roman commander who gained a reputation as a gifted leader during the Social War had served under Marius during the Jugurthine War and the campaigns against the Germanic tribes: Lucius Cornelius Sulla. Sulla had married into the Metelli family, the same Roman family that had helped Marius enter the Roman political system. Since leaving Marius’ armies, Sulla had found political success for himself. In particular, he was assigned as governor of Cilicia in Asia Minor in 95 BCE. While there, he demonstrated great skill in managing the province and became aware of the growing power of the king of Pontus, Mithridates VI.

Upon his return to Rome, Sulla found support among the *optimates* faction and even led his own army during the Social War, achieving many victories. Keen to raise his profile with the Roman people, Sulla continually made it known that it was he, not Marius, who had achieved the victory over Jugurtha many years prior. Sulla’s boasting sparked a fierce war of words with his old commander and the two men became political enemies. Sulla, however, was on the political rise and he successfully won election as a consul in 88 BCE. As an additional benefit, he was given the mission to declare war on one of Rome’s biggest threats in Asia Minor: King Mithridates VI of Pontus. This war would almost guarantee Sulla immense glory and wealth.



↑ SOURCE 5.20

A bust of Lucius Cornelius Sulla.



‘THE LIFE OF SULLA’
BY PLUTARCH



THE LIFE OF KING
MITHRIDATES VI

MITHRIDATES VI OF PONTUS



While Rome had been occupied with wars in Africa, northern Italy and its own civil war, the kingdom of Pontus had been growing in size in Asia Minor under the young king, Mithridates VI. This king had ambitions of creating his own empire that would incorporate the best elements of the old Greek and Persian cultures. Mithridates had early victories against Roman forces in Asia Minor and even managed to claim parts of mainland Greece for his empire. By the time the Romans had recovered from the Social War, they realised that Mithridates VI was one of their biggest threats—and that he needed to be dealt with immediately.

↑ SOURCE 5.21

A silver coin showing the head of Mithridates VI. Dating from the first century BCE, it copied the style that had been used on coins centuries earlier to portray Alexander the Great.

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

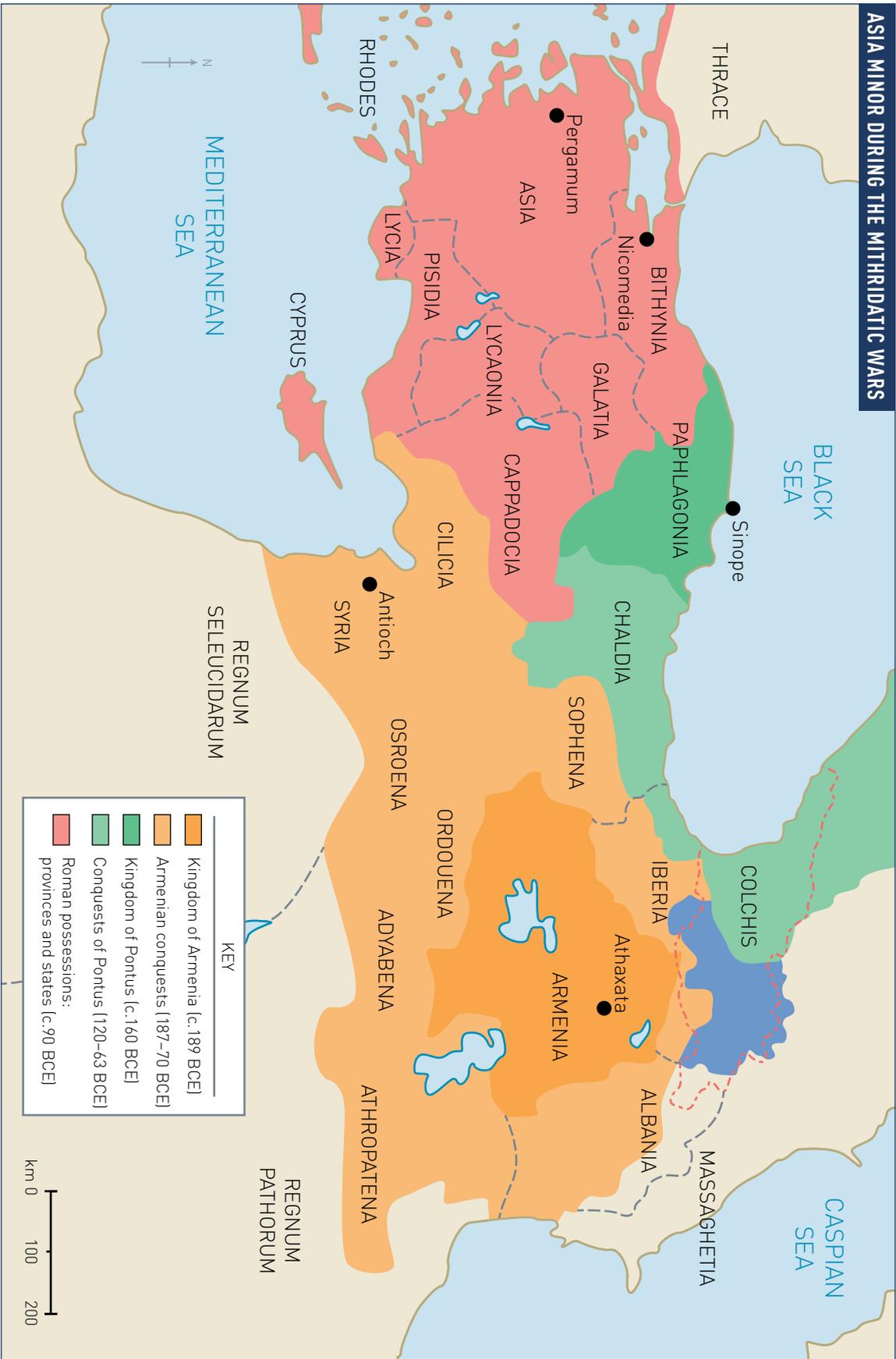
Examine Source 5.21 and complete the tasks below.

1. Why might Mithridates VI have wanted to create an image of himself that made him look similar to Alexander the Great?
2. Who do you think Mithridates hoped would see the image and the coins he had created?
3. Why might coins be a shrewd form of political propaganda?

ACTIVITY

SOURCE 5.22

ASIA MINOR: MITHRIDATES' KINGDOM OF PONTUS COMPARED TO ROMAN TERRITORIES OF THAT ERA



ASIA MINOR DURING THE MITHRIDATIC WARS: MAP TASK

Marius was unhappy that his former subordinate, Sulla—who was now his political enemy—had received the lucrative Mithridatic campaign. So, with the help of one of the Plebeian Tribunes, and the use of violence, Marius was able to get Sulla's commission for the war against Mithridates reassigned to himself. This meant that Marius stood to gain all the potential glory and wealth that Sulla was expecting.

Sulla was understandably shocked by the sudden turn of events. He was particularly angry that he had lost a commission that he had worked hard to gain through proper political means to someone who had done the exact opposite to obtain it. Sulla knew that if he accepted the loss of the commission his political life would be over—and that future politicians would simply follow Marius' example to get their way, thereby destroying any hope of a fair political order in Rome.

SULLA MARCHES ON ROME

Sulla fled Rome to join his army, which was stationed at the Italian city of Nola. The army was expecting Sulla to arrive to lead them to Greece. Instead, Sulla outlined what had happened. He explained to his men that if Marius were allowed steal his command, he would then need to recruit his own volunteer army—and Sulla's men would miss out on all the money from the war. Sulla explained that their only hope would be to return to Rome with him and force the Senate to reverse the changes that Marius had made. The Roman soldiers were so inspired by Sulla's speech that when messengers arrived from Marius to inform them of the change in command, Sulla's soldiers stoned them to death.

With his army swearing loyalty to him, Sulla marched upon Rome. Marius and the Senate were taken completely by surprise and offered no real resistance. Lining the streets of Rome with his soldiers, Sulla forced a series of his own laws through the Senate, returning the Mithridatic command to himself and officially outlawing all of those who had worked against him. These outlawed men were declared enemies of the state by Sulla, which meant that they could be killed on sight. Marius, Sulla's primary target, managed to escape capture and fled to northern Africa.

Once Sulla was confident that he had set up a political system that would operate in an orderly fashion, he left for Asia Minor with his army in 87 BCE to begin his lucrative war against Mithridates. For the next few years Sulla had continued success against Mithridates' Pontic armies and gained considerable wealth for himself and his soldiers. However, while he was away from Rome, his enemies reasserted themselves. Marius returned from Africa and won his seventh consulship. The *populares* faction took over the Senate and passed laws declaring that Sulla was a public enemy of Rome—which meant that he could be hunted and killed in the same fashion as he had done to others.



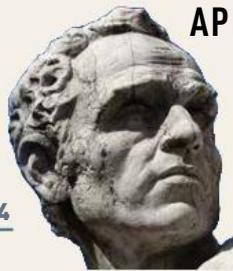
↑ SOURCE 5.23

Sulla wages civil war against Marius, captures Rome and seeks to punish his enemies.

DID YOU KNOW?

When Marius returned to Rome in Sulla's absence and helped the *populares* regain power, his soldiers hunted down some of Sulla's supporters, killed them and displayed their heads in the Forum. When Sulla returned in 82 BCE, he would follow their example.

Declaring peace with Mithridates, Sulla went back to Italy in 83 BCE and once more marched on Rome. However, the Senate was better prepared this time, and had formed armies to defend the city. Rome no longer had Marius to command its forces, as he had died soon after becoming consul for the seventh time. Instead, the Senate handed over leadership to Marius' son (who was also called Marius). However, Sulla's veteran soldiers quickly defeated the Roman soldiers and the young Marius fled to the city of Praeneste. Sulla pursued him and defeated the Senate's forces in a series of battles. In one final confrontation, Sulla defeated his enemies at one of the gates of Rome, known as the Colline Gate. Afterwards, Sulla entered Rome as the clear victor.

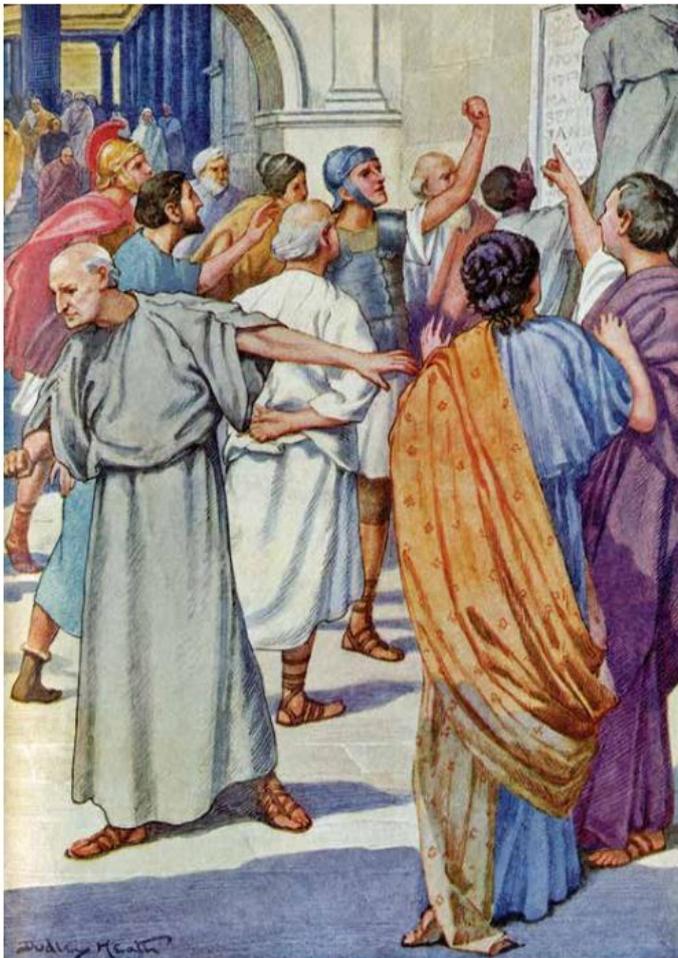


APPEARANCE OF CRASSUS AND POMPEY

When Sulla landed in Italy with his army in 83 BCE to march on Rome a second time, a number of young nobles joined him with their own client armies. Among them were two men named Crassus and Pompey who, in an alliance with Julius Caesar decades later, would become two of the most powerful men in the Republic.

SOURCE 5.24

Crassus.



SULLA'S PROSCRIPTIONS

By late 82 BCE, even though Sulla had won a military victory over his enemies, he still remained uncertain of his control over the Roman senators. To purge the Senate of those who were against him, Sulla introduced a brutal new strategy known as the *proscriptions*. Proscriptions were lists of people's names that were displayed in public. Those who were named on these proscriptions could be legally hunted and killed, and their killers could collect a reward from Sulla. For those individuals who were on the lists, their land and houses were also taken and sold, with the money being used to fund Sulla's wishes. Furthermore, Sulla declared that the descendants of anyone who was on these lists were banned from ever entering Roman politics. The impact of these proscriptions was devastating. It is unclear from the ancient sources how many were killed, but most estimates indicate that over 500 people were murdered as a result.¹⁵

SOURCE 5.25

Sulla set up proscription lists, as depicted here, with the names of those he claimed to be enemies of the Republic.

THE PROSCRIPTIONS OF SULLA

Sulla now devoted himself entirely to the work of butchery. The city was filled with murder and there was no counting the executions or setting a limit to them. Many people were killed because of purely personal enmities; they had no connection with Sulla in any way, but Sulla, in order to gratify members of his own party, permitted them to be done away with ... Then immediately, and without consulting any magistrate, Sulla published a list of eighty men to be condemned. Public opinion was outraged, but, after a single day's interval, he published another list containing 220 more names, and next day a third list with the same number of names on it. And in a public speech which he made on the subject he said that he was publishing the names of all those whom he happened to remember: those who escaped his memory for the moment would have their names put up later ... the reward for murder was two talents, and this sum was paid to anyone who killed a condemned man, even though it was a slave who killed his master or a son his father.

SOURCE 5.26

Plutarch, Lives. Life of Sulla, trans. Rex Warner, Fall of the Roman Republic, (London: Penguin Classics, 2005), 97.

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 5.26 and complete the tasks below.

1. According to the source, what motivated Sulla to put certain names on his proscription lists?
2. How might some Romans have used Sulla's proscription lists to benefit themselves?
3. What is the tone of Plutarch's language in the source? What does he appear to think of Sulla?

ACTIVITY

However, Sulla didn't stop there. He had the bones of his old commander and enemy, Marius, dug up and thrown away. He also arranged to have the Senate officially give him the honorific name *Felix* (which means 'lucky'). Most importantly, the Senate, under the advice of Sulla himself, gave Sulla the political position of dictator. This gave Sulla absolute power to do what he wished. His authority was unquestioned and therefore everything he did was declared legal. What made this power unique is that rather than his dictatorship being limited to the traditional maximum of six months, Sulla was given permission to remain as dictator for as long as he deemed it necessary.



SULLA AND THE 'SEDUCTION OF POWER'



SOURCE 5.27

The Return of Marcus Sextus, painted 1799 by Pierre-Narcisse Guerin. Sextus escapes the proscriptions of Sulla but then returns home to find his dead wife.



SULLA: INQUIRY TASK

DICTATORSHIP AND DEATH

As a supporter of the *optimates*, Sulla used his powers as dictator to set new laws that gave control back to the senators, control he considered to have been lost to the Plebeian Council since the time of the Gracchi brothers. His program of reform was known as the ‘Sullan Restoration’. To achieve his aims, he increased the number of people in the Senate and even included new members from the equites to fill up the numbers. Also, he strictly reinforced the old rules of systematic progression through the *cursus honorum*. He was so strict in enforcing these rules that when one young noble continually harassed Sulla to let him run for an office for which he had not yet qualified, Sulla had him killed. According to Appian, once Sulla had put him to death, he told those who watched on: ‘Understand this, my friends, and hear it from my own lips: I killed Lucretius because he would not obey me’.¹⁶

To strengthen further the power of the Senate over the people of Rome, Sulla minimised the powers that the Plebeian Tribunes had used so effectively since the time of the Gracchi. First, Sulla tried to make the election to the tribuneship as undesirable as possible. He made a rule that if anyone became a tribune they could not hold any other political position during their lifetime. This meant that those Romans who wanted to progress through the political system would avoid becoming tribune. Sulla also created a law that Plebeian Tribunes could no longer propose new laws directly to the Plebeian Council, but that each new proposal had to be officially accepted by the Senate first. To add further insult, Sulla cancelled the grain dole that Gaius Gracchus had instituted because it had become a powerful tool, used by tribunes to gain popular support.

SOURCE 5.28

Mary T. Boatwright, Daniel J. Gargola and Richard J. Talbert, *The Romans: From Village to Empire* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 200.

ASSESSMENT OF SULLA'S MOTIVES

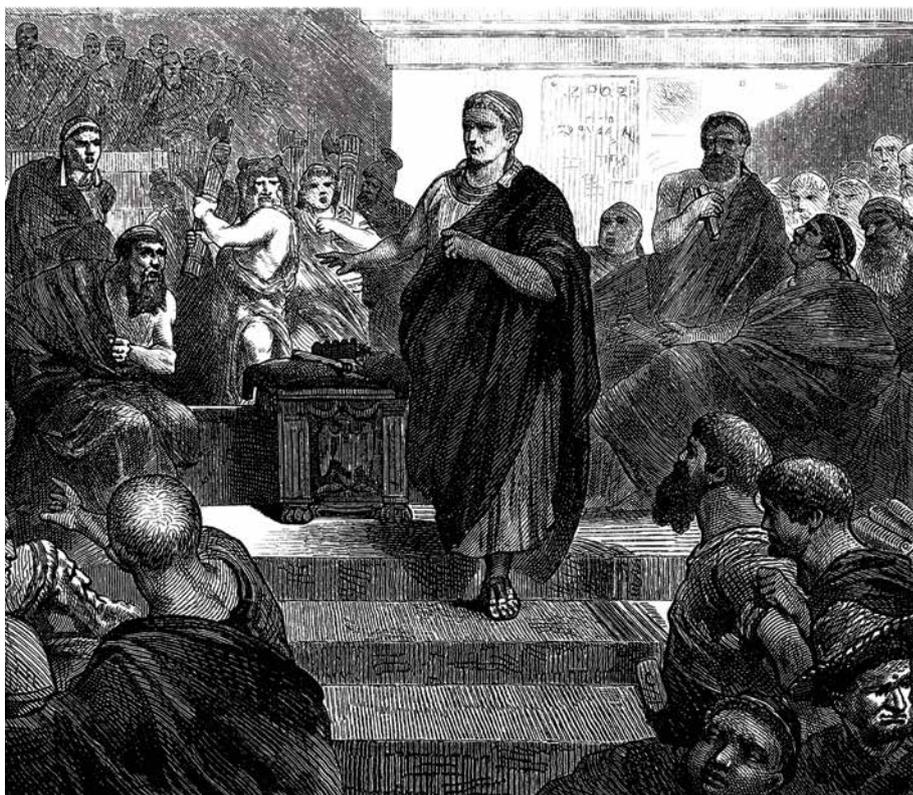
Sulla's reinforcement of certain Republican ideals as he saw them [shows that] ... Sulla wanted to equip the state with stable, undisputed leadership, and he continued to regard the senate as the best agent for this key role.

After enacting all of his political changes, to the surprise of many, Sulla voluntarily resigned the position of dictator. With all of his new systems in place, he became consul in 80 BCE. After that time, Sulla decided to leave political life and retired to a country villa where he focused on writing his memoirs. However, he died not long after, in 78 BCE. After his death, other senators began undoing some of the laws that Sulla had put into place: the grain dole was reinstated and the ban on Plebeian Tribunes holding other political offices was removed.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

SULLA

Even though Sulla seems to have been a talented and driven commander and politician, generations of Romans looked back on his rule with horror. The memory of the unchecked murders of Romans by other Romans during the proscriptions was considered to be inexcusable. While some ancient sources seem to acknowledge that Sulla's desire to bring stability back to the Senate was well-intentioned, they generally described Sulla as a monster. Politicians that followed Sulla tried to learn from his mistakes but copy his successes. In particular, Julius Caesar criticised Sulla for laying down the ultimate power of the dictatorship when he could have held it indefinitely.¹⁷ However, the most profound impacts of Sulla's decisions were his marches on the city of Rome to enforce his will. Later Romans drew upon Sulla's precedent and used their own soldiers to seize power.



SOURCE 5.29

Sulla resigns the dictatorship. From a nineteenth-century engraving.

DID YOU KNOW?

Sulla died while having one last person killed. While he lay growing ill at his home, Sulla had a man brought to him who was defying his orders. When Sulla yelled out for his men to execute the offender, the exertion was too much—and Sulla died that night.

ETHICAL DIMENSIONS

1. By today's standards, how fair were the 'proscriptions'?
2. Why do you think Sulla resorted to such extreme measures?
3. To what extent do you think Sulla was justified in the decisions he made in public life?

ACTIVITY

PROBLEMS IN THE EARLY FIRST CENTURY BCE

Impoverished citizens with votes to be bought; opportunities for politicians to get at wealth on a huge scale in the new territories to which they could be appointed governors and generals; an army which was unbeatable (or almost) in the field and more and more loyal to itself and its leaders than the Senate—these were slow but crucial political developments, and they went on for nearly two centuries, transforming the state under the surface even though much about it still looked the same. It was a muted revolution.

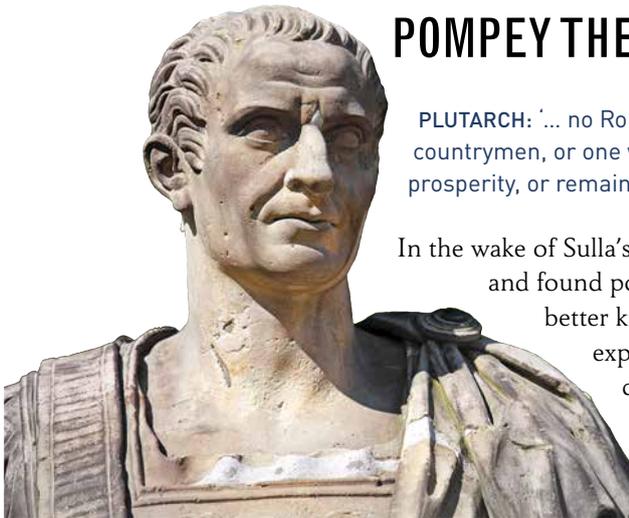
SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

1. Based upon what you've learnt so far, what historical events or developments might Roberts (see above) have had in mind when he made the following statements?
 - a. 'Impoverished citizens with votes to be bought'
 - b. '... opportunities for politicians to get at wealth on a huge scale in new territories'
 - c. '... An army which was ... more loyal to itself than the Senate'.
2. What do you think Roberts meant when he said that 'much about [Rome] still looked the same' despite the major changes of this period?

ACTIVITY

SOURCE 5.30

John Morris Roberts, The Penguin History of Europe, (London: Penguin Books, 1997), 57-8.



POMPEY THE GREAT

PLUTARCH: ‘... no Roman ever enjoyed a heartier goodwill on the part of his countrymen, or one which began sooner, or reached a greater height in his prosperity, or remained more constant in his adversity, than Pompey did.’¹⁸

In the wake of Sulla’s death, another Roman general rose to prominence and found popularity with the Senate: Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus, better known as Pompey. Pompey had considerable military experience, even serving in the army of his own father during the Social War. Also, when Sulla and his legions had landed at Brundisium for their second march upon Rome, Pompey used his own money to raise an army to help Sulla. He soon became a trusted commander and was sent to Sicily to hunt down Sulla’s enemies.

📌 SOURCE 5.31

A bust of Pompey the Great.



POMPEY:
INQUIRY TASK

POMPEY’S TRIUMPHAL MARCH

When Pompey returned to Rome from Sicily, Sulla was reported to have proclaimed Pompey as ‘the great’, and the young commander began using this title. At this time, Pompey asked Sulla for permission to celebrate his triumph through the streets of Rome. Sulla, who had only recently enforced the strict observance of the *cursus honorum*, flatly denied this request. Sulla pointed out that triumphal marches were for consuls who had enjoyed a long political career and who had won a great military victory over non-Romans. Pompey, in comparison, was too young (not yet twenty-five years old), had no political experience, and had only defeated other Romans. However, Pompey pressed the issue and pointed out to Sulla that ‘more people worship the rising sun than the setting sun’.¹⁹ Pompey’s statement suggested that his popularity with the Roman people was already substantial, and that Sulla, in comparison, was falling out of favour. Sulla relented and permitted Pompey to have his triumphal march through the streets of Rome.

THE LEPIDAN REVOLT

In 78 BCE, the year of Sulla’s death, a new consul was elected who made it his main purpose to undo all of Sulla’s changes. His name was Marcus Aemilius Lepidus. However, the senators of that era were opposed to any major changes to Sulla’s laws—especially as so many of them had gained their positions in the Senate from Sulla himself. For his year as consul, Lepidus was faced with constant resistance from the Senate and he became increasingly frustrated. In



➔ SOURCE 5.32

An engraving of Lepidus.

77 BCE, the year after Lepidus' consulship, he was given the governorship of northern Italy and tasked with crushing a local rebellion in Etruria. However, Lepidus used the opportunity to repeat what Sulla had done to achieve his aims in Rome: he recruited the rebels into his own army and marched them on Rome.

The Senate was convinced that the nightmare of Sulla's armies marching on Rome would be repeated and passed the *senatus consultum ultimum*, which gave the consuls the powers normally reserved for a dictator. Sulla's veteran soldiers, who were still in Rome, were called upon to help protect the city and Pompey was given command over them. Pompey marched north where he defeated and executed one of Lepidus' commanders, Marcus Junius Brutus. Lepidus was also defeated in battle, but avoided capture and escaped by ship. He reached the island of Sardinia with the rest of his soldiers, but died soon after. Lepidus' soldiers, however, refused to surrender, and they sailed on to Spain where they carried on the rebellion. The armies of Lepidus in Spain were led by a man called Sertorius. He gained almost complete domination in Spain and continued to crush the Roman commanders in the region. Such a powerful enemy continued to concern the Senate, so Pompey suggested that he should be sent to Spain with his troops to deal with Sertorius. After heated discussion, the Senate agreed and Pompey departed for Spain with his army in 77 BCE.

When Pompey arrived in Spain, he suffered two consecutive defeats. After two years of fighting, with little progress towards victory for either side, Pompey requested extra troops and supplies from Rome. The Senate hesitated to supply either and Pompey sent a message back to the Senate, warning that if help was not sent, the civil war would find its way back to Italy. Unsure whether Pompey was threatening to march on Rome himself or whether Sertorius was on the brink of victory, the Senate decided to send new troops and supplies to Pompey.²⁰ Upon receiving the additional support, Pompey began to overrun the rebels, finally defeating them in 73 BCE.

DID YOU KNOW?

The rebel commander Sertorius claimed that his pet fawn spoke to him and gave him messages from the goddess Diana.

THE MURDER OF SERTORIUS



SOURCE 5.33

The murder of Quintus Sertorius.

Pompey did not have the pleasure of defeating Sertorius himself, as the enemy commander was murdered by one of his own men, who was jealous of his power. His killer, known as Perpena, had hosted a feast to which he invited Sertorius and while there, the rebel leader was killed. Perpena took charge of the rebels but lacked Sertorius' skill as a commander, and Pompey had continued success against him. Perpena was eventually captured and executed by Pompey in 71 BCE.



SPARTACUS' SLAVE REVOLT AND THE RISE OF CRASSUS

As Pompey was claiming victory in Spain in 73 BCE, a different kind of crisis appeared in Italy. In the city of Capua, just south of Rome, seventy gladiator slaves, led by a Thracian slave named Spartacus, escaped from their masters and began an armed rebellion. They managed to steal weapons from travellers and quickly attracted other escaped slaves to the cause, tallying an army of 70,000 men.²¹ Two Roman consuls were sent to deal with the uprising but they were both defeated. To deal with the growing threat, the Senate called upon a wealthy Roman, Marcus Licinius

📌 SOURCE 5.34

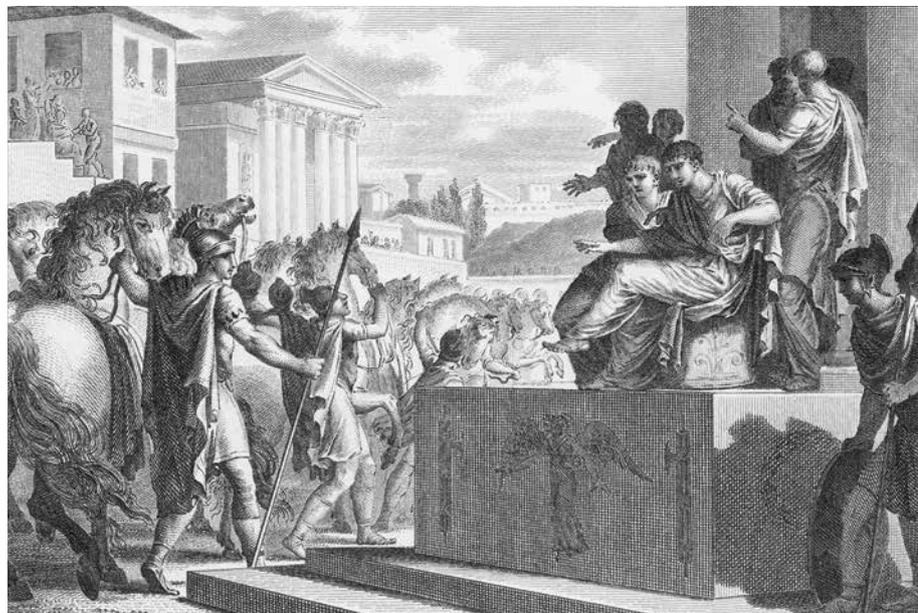
In the final battle Crassus defeats the slaves, and Spartacus is killed on the battlefield. From an 1882 engraving.

Crassus, to help. Crassus, who had once served under Sulla, had risen through the political hierarchy and become well respected. He used his own money to raise an army to deal with the problem. Crassus marched south and, after a series of successful battles, killed Spartacus. In an effort to dissuade other slaves from copying Spartacus' example, Crassus lined both sides of the main road back to Rome with 6000 crucified members of the revolt.²²

Crassus' victory was not complete, as 5000 of Spartacus' soldiers had escaped and fled north in a final attempt to gain freedom. By sheer chance they ran into Pompey, who was returning from Spain with his victorious army, and he decisively defeated them. Despite Crassus winning more battles against the slaves, Pompey claimed that he was ultimately responsible for finally ending the uprising. For his victories, Pompey was allowed to celebrate another triumph upon his return to

➔ SOURCE 5.35

Pompey is elected Consul in 70 BCE.



Rome. In the following year, 70 BCE, he was elected consul for the first time—this was a great honour because he was technically too young and had not followed the *cursus honorum*. The other consul elected for that year was Crassus. Pompey and Crassus disliked each other, but worked together to restore the powers of the Plebeian Tribuneship that Sulla had taken away. While it might seem odd that two men who had worked so closely with Sulla would undo some of his laws, they were put under enormous pressure by the Roman people to allow the tribunes to have the powers to protect their interests. And since both Crassus and Pompey wanted the support of the people, they were willing to overturn Sulla's ban.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Who were the different enemies that Pompey fought against before 70 BCE?
2. What was considered to be exceptional about Pompey's consulship?
3. Why did Spartacus' slave revolt cause animosity between Crassus and Pompey?

ACTIVITY

THE PIRATE PROBLEM

Towards the end of Pompey and Crassus' consulships in 70 BCE, the Senate decided that it was time to deal with a problem that had been growing for almost a hundred years. While Rome had been fighting its wars in Africa and Greece, armed pirates had been operating across the entire Mediterranean Sea unchallenged. These pirates had been so successful in harassing trading ships that individual pirates had begun working in groups to maximise their operations. Such organised pirate gangs had become so effective and powerful that they had even begun capturing entire cities along the Mediterranean coastline, effectively forming a new empire. What made things even worse is that most of their wealth was generated by selling captives as slaves to wealthy Romans. This meant that senators were initially reluctant to stop the pirates in case it resulted in a loss of slave labour.

However, by Pompey's time, the pirates' power had become so great that they had even begun launching raids on the roads and towns in Italy: in one particular case, they even captured two unlucky Roman senators.²³ The Senate finally realised how bad the situation had become when pirates began attacking and robbing ships that were transporting much-needed grain to Rome. This resulted in increased food costs and the threat of starvation. While earlier attempts had been made to hunt down and destroy the pirates, the problem was deemed too widespread and too expensive to be solved by normal means. The final straw came in 68 BCE, when the pirates struck Ostia, the main coastal port of Rome. The pirates attacked Roman naval ships as they sat in dock and set fire to the town before leaving.

In 67 BCE, a bill called the *Lex Gabinia* was finally put forward by a tribune. It proposed that Pompey be given extraordinary political and military power to find a workable solution against the pirate threat. Specifically, it suggested giving Pompey a three-year command over the entire Mediterranean Sea, largest naval



PIRATES OF THE
MEDITERRANEAN

DID YOU KNOW?

Despite Pompey's easy victory in defeating them, pirates were never completely removed from the Mediterranean. They would continue to harass ships and take people captive. Most famously, a young Julius Caesar was taken hostage by pirates until he paid a significant ransom.

➔ SOURCE 5.36

Mithridates VI.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Why was Mithridates considered a threat?
2. What did Pompey achieve while he was in the east of the Mediterranean?
3. Based upon what had happened during the time of Sulla, why might the Senate have been concerned when they heard that Pompey was planning to march his armies back to Italy at the end of his eastern campaign?

➔ SOURCE 5.37

Pompey.

fleet Rome had ever built, and access to as much financial support as he needed. The Senate was initially reluctant to put so much power into the hands of one person but, after much deliberation, the proposal was accepted. Pompey took to the task with great efficiency—within three months, he had intercepted fleets, attacked towns and defeated many leading pirate commanders. The pirates were destroyed and their burgeoning empire was dismantled. Having defeated such a long-term threat in only a fraction of the time assigned to him brought Pompey extensive praise and respect.

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

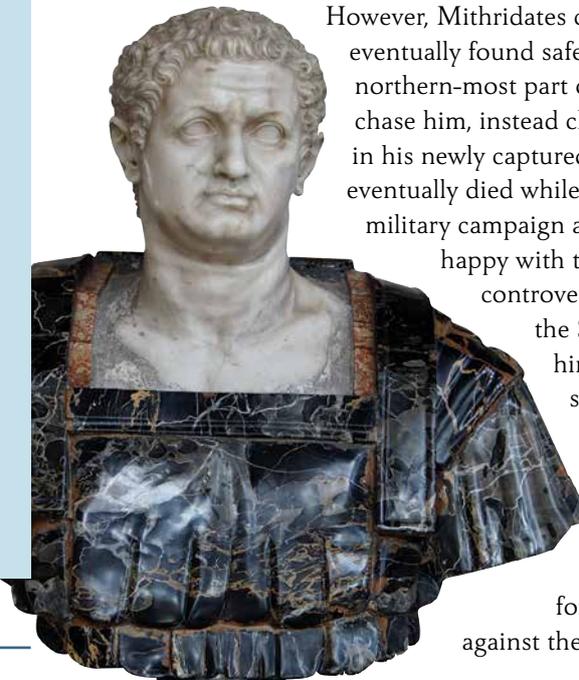
1. Why was the pirate problem considered to be a significant historical event?
2. What was unique about how Rome solved the problem?

WARS IN THE EAST

Pompey was riding high on success after his victory over the pirates. Another law, called the *lex Manilia* was passed by a tribune giving Pompey the authority to march an army to the east and finally deal with Rome's long-standing enemy, Mithridates VI of Pontus.

Mithridates had continued to grow in power since he had arranged the peace with Sulla in 85 BCE. After he had begun invading Roman territories in Asia Minor, Mithridates was once more considered a major threat. The army that Pompey raised was the largest ever sent to Asia Minor and it helped Pompey to achieve quick victories on the battlefield against Mithridates.

However, Mithridates continued to avoid capture and eventually found safety in the Crimea, which was the northern-most part of his kingdom. Pompey chose not to chase him, instead choosing to deal with minor rebellions in his newly captured territories. As for Mithridates, he eventually died while trying to raise resources for another military campaign against Rome. Once Pompey was happy with the security of his new lands, he controversially chose to invade countries that the Senate had not specifically ordered him to. In 64 BCE, he marched southwards into Palestine, taking Syria and Judaea. Happy with his political reorganisation of Asia Minor into Roman territories, Pompey then began heading back to Rome to celebrate three separate triumphs for victories in Spain, in the east and against the pirates.



POMPEY'S TRIUMPHS UPON RETURNING TO ROME

[Pompey's] triumph was on such a scale that, although two separate days were devoted to it, the time was still not long enough, and much of what had been got ready for it—in fact enough to equip another triumphal procession altogether—was not included in the actual spectacle ... But what seemed to be the greatest glory of all and one quite unprecedented in Roman history was that this third triumph of his was over the third continent. Others before him had celebrated three triumphs; but his first had been over Africa, his second over Europe, and now this last one was over Asia, so that in his three triumphs he seemed in a sense to have led the whole world captive.

SOURCE 5.38

Plutarch, *Lives*. *Life of Pompey*. trans. Rex Warner, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, (London: Penguin Classics, 2005), 208-9

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 5.38 and complete the tasks below.

1. What were the three continents that the Romans considered Pompey to have conquered?
2. Why were Pompey's achievements 'unprecedented'?
3. What message might Pompey have wished to convey to the people of Rome with his lavish spectacle?

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

POMPEY

Pompey's clever incorporation of new lands during his eastern campaign against Mithridates added huge chunks of territory to Rome. These lands would become the financial heart of the Roman Empire for centuries after Pompey's death, bringing in vast revenue. By the time he was finished in the east and started marching his troops back to Italy, Pompey was the undisputed champion of Rome, having achieved unprecedented military success.



POMPEY THE GREAT

SOURCE 5.39

Triumph of Pompey, by Nicolò Giolifino, sixteenth century.





CONCLUSION

Over the seventy years that separated the events of Tiberius Gracchus' and Pompey's lives, a lot had changed in the Roman political system. The army recruitment crisis noticed by the Gracchi had been temporarily solved by Marius, who had the revolutionary idea of creating client armies. This took the burden off citizen farmers and brought some stability back to a society that relied on agriculture. Furthermore, the grain dole had provided help to citizens who had fought for Rome but had become impoverished while doing so.

However, other problems had been created over that seventy years. The most notable problem was the ideological division that arose in the Senate,

with senators at odds with each other about where the true power lay in the Republic: the Senate or the people. Another problem was the creation of armies that fought for individual generals rather than for their country, which were used by ruthless leaders to force their opponents to fulfil their demands. The spectre of Sulla loomed in the background of Roman history as an example of how the use of client armies against other Romans could be abused. Yet by the time Pompey returned from his eastern campaigns in 62 BCE, Rome had not seen the last of ambitious military commanders who were willing to march their troops against the city.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Using the information provided in this chapter, write a paragraph answering each of the following questions:

1. What impacts did the reforms of the Gracchi brothers have on Roman politics?
2. What made Marius such a unique individual?
3. Why did Sulla decide to march on Rome on two separate occasions?
4. Why is Pompey considered a significant individual in the history of the Roman Republic?

EXAM PREPARATION

In 60 minutes, write an essay of 600–800 words on one of the topics below.

- ‘By the time of Pompey the Great, the Republican system of Rome was fundamentally broken and it was simply controlled by a few powerful individuals.’ Discuss.
- ‘The politicians of the *populares* faction did not actually care about the welfare of the population of Rome but only cared how the people could be used to achieve their own political aims.’ Discuss.

EXTENSION

Using the information presented in this chapter, write a paragraph answering the following question:

Which individual made the most significant impact on the history of the Roman Republic: Tiberius Gracchus, Gaius Gracchus, Marius, Sulla or Pompey? Give three reasons to justify your response.

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 5

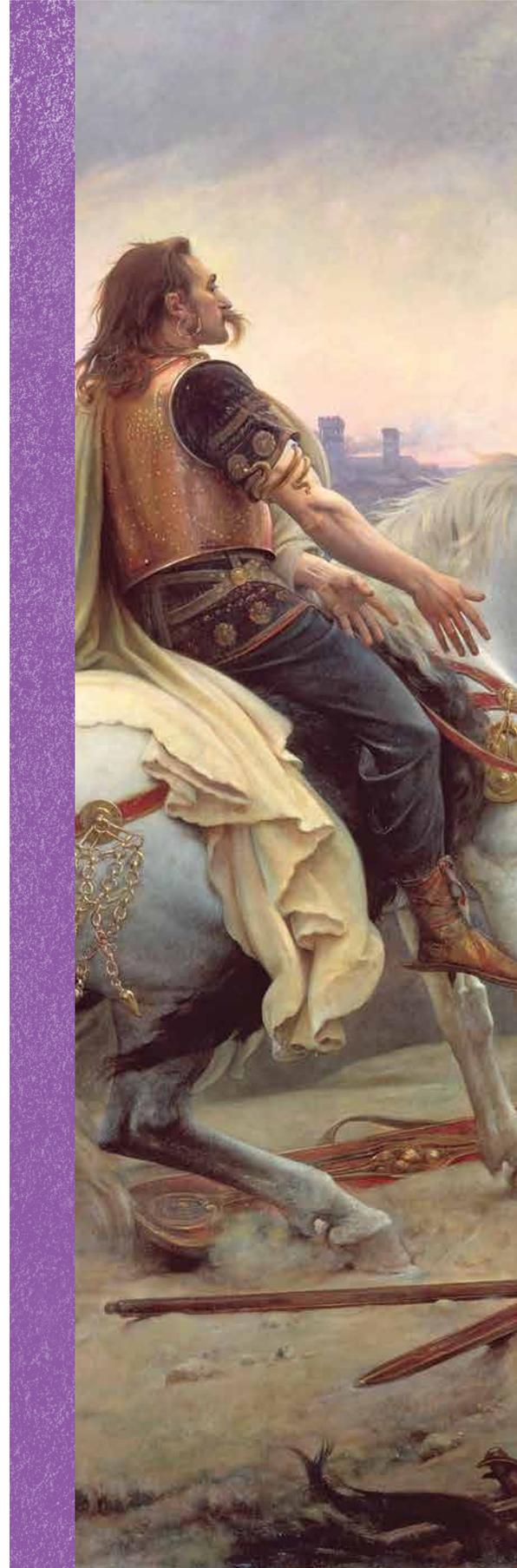
CHAPTER

6

THE RISE AND FALL OF JULIUS CAESAR

'Caesar's achievements surpassed everyone else's. He may be considered superior because of the difficulty of the lands in which he fought; because of the extent of his conquests; because of the number and strength of the enemy forces which he defeated; because of the savage and treacherous character of the tribes whose trust he won; because of the reasonable and considerate way in which he treated prisoners; because of the gifts he gave to his soldiers and his acts of kindness to them. He surpassed all before him in the fact that he fought more battles than anyone and killed greater numbers of the enemy.'¹

PLUTARCH





Vercingetorix Throws Down His Arms at the Feet of Julius Caesar by Lionel Royer, 1899.

OVERVIEW

A FRAGILE ALLIANCE

- A mutually beneficial agreement is formed between Crassus, Pompey and Caesar
- Caesar crosses the Rubicon River to attack Rome under Pompey
- After ruling as dictator, Caesar is slain by conspirators.

THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE

An agreement between Crassus, Pompey and Caesar that helped each man achieve his own aims by helping the others achieve theirs. The three men used their combined influence to control the Roman Republic

CRASSUS

POMPEY

CAESAR

WHAT DID THEY GAIN?

60 BCE
AGREEMENT

Tax breaks for his tax collector friends

Land for his veteran soldiers from his eastern campaigns and the Senate's agreement to his organisation of the East

A consulship for 59 BCE and a military command in Gaul for five years

56 BCE
AGREEMENT

A consulship in 55 BCE and the governorship of Syria for 54 BCE

A consulship in 55 BCE and the governorship of Spain for 54 BCE

An additional five-year military command in Gaul



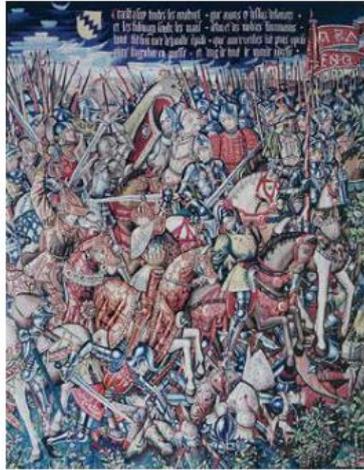
CRASSUS



Crassus was considered to be the wealthiest man in Rome. He held a long-term animosity towards Pompey and eventually died fighting against the Parthian empire.

CAESAR AND POMPEY

Caesar and Pompey became political opponents because of divisions in the Senate. They threw Rome into a civil war because neither of them would back down.



➔ Tapestry of the Battle of Pharsalus between Caesar and Pompey.



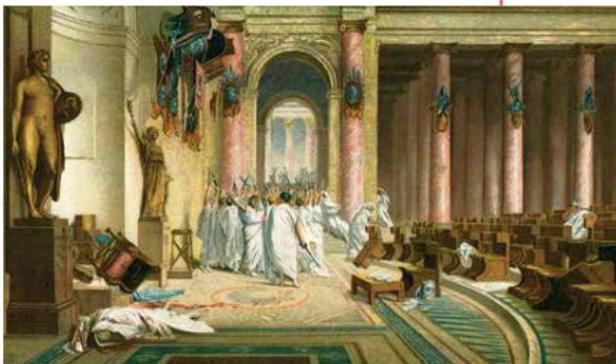
POMPEY THE GREAT

Pompey was considered the greatest Roman of his time. He was assassinated in 48 BCE during the civil war against Caesar.



JULIUS CAESAR

Julius Caesar gained unrivalled power over Rome but was assassinated by his enemies.



KEY EVENTS

62 BCE

Pompey returns from the East

60 BCE

First Triumvirate formed

59 BCE

Caesar's first consulship

58 BCE

Caesar invades Gaul

56 BCE

Triumvirate renewed in Luca

55 BCE

Joint consulships of Pompey and Crassus

54 BCE

Caesar's military invasion of Britain

53 BCE

Crassus killed by Parthians

52 BCE

Gallic revolt under Vercingetorix

49 BCE

Caesar crosses the Rubicon River and the civil war against Pompey begins

48 BCE

Pompey killed in Egypt and Caesar declared dictator of Rome

47 BCE

Caesar defeats Pharnaces of Pontus at the Battle of Zela

46 BCE

Caesar defeats Pompeian resistance in Africa

44 BCE

Caesar assassinated

THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE

VELLEIUS PATERCULUS: 'It was in Caesar's consulship that the partnership in political control between him and Gnaeus Pompey and Marcus Crassus was formed, which was to be so destructive to the city, the world, and no less, at different periods, to the men themselves.'²

POMPEY

When Pompey arrived back in Italy with his forces in 62 BCE following his victories in the East, he had amassed a great fortune and led an experienced army that was loyal to him alone. The Senate worried that by landing with his troops at Brundisium, he was mirroring the behaviour of Sulla when he had marched on Rome for the second time, and they feared that Pompey was going to do the same. However, Pompey's actions surprised everyone. Firstly, he dismissed his army and travelled to Rome with only a few of his commanders. Once in the city, he was awarded another triumph for his eastern campaigns. After that, Pompey generously shared his new wealth with his fellow Romans by funding new buildings, and even gave his loyal veterans 6000 sesterces each—over twelve years' worth of a soldier's wages.³ His acts of generosity made him exceedingly popular with the common people of Rome.

Pompey's popularity with the Roman people seems to have only fuelled the Senate's concerns about his real intentions. When he approached the senators to officially recognise his reorganisation of his eastern conquests and to give the land allotments he had promised to his troops, they denied him both requests. These

denials were motivated by a genuine fear that Pompey would become far more popular and influential over the people than the Senate was—so by denying his requests, the Senate would be able to keep him under control. Pompey, in response to the Senate's rejections, spent the next few years trying various political solutions to gain approval for his requests. However, the Senate's continued reluctance made Pompey progressively more frustrated, which motivated him to look for a political ally to help him achieve his aims. This ally would turn out to be Julius Caesar.



POMPEY IN MEDIEVAL
MANUSCRIPTS



➔ SOURCE 6.01

Pompey the Great, as painted in 1875.

CAESAR

In 60 BCE, a young Roman politician named Gaius Julius Caesar approached Pompey with a solution to his problems. Caesar, who was about 40 years old and had just returned from a successful military campaign in Spain, was seeking election to the consulship for 59 BCE. However, Caesar knew that his chances of becoming consul were slim because he was not popular enough with the people of Rome. Caesar needed Pompey's popularity with the people as a way of gaining more votes. In particular, he wanted Pompey's veteran soldiers to intimidate voters on election day to further guarantee his success. In return for Pompey's influence in the election, Caesar promised that once he had won the consulship he would successfully drive Pompey's bills through the Senate.

This plan was attractive to Pompey as it required very little effort from him and, in return, he would gain everything that the Senate had denied him. However, there was one catch: working with Caesar also meant working with another noble whom Pompey had grown to dislike intensely: Crassus.

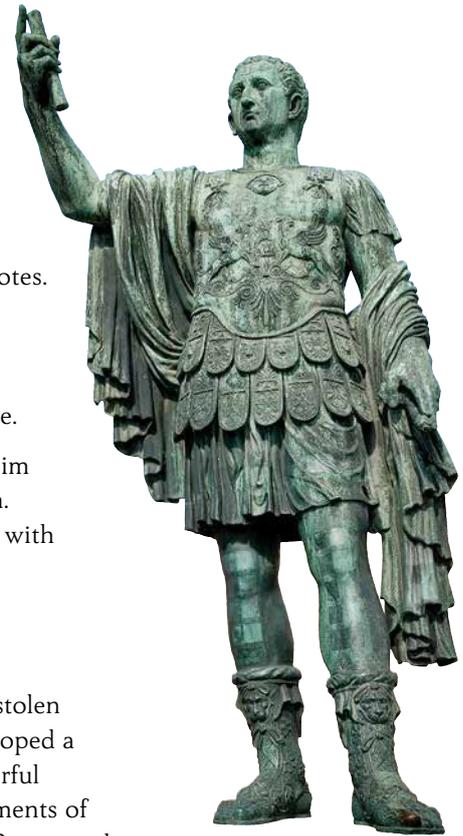
CRASSUS

Crassus was about 55 years old in 60 BCE and ever since Pompey had stolen Crassus' victory during Spartacus' slave uprising, the two men had developed a deep resentment for each other. Both had worked hard to become powerful political figures, but Crassus could not match the great military achievements of Pompey. Instead, Crassus had focused on becoming the richest man in Rome, and he used his financial power to control fellow politicians. He had readily loaned money to young nobles who sought ascension through the *cursus honorum* (ladder of official posts). These same nobles were therefore indebted to Crassus—and obliged to honour his wishes during their time in the Senate.

THE SOURCE OF CRASSUS' WEALTH

[Crassus] amassed most of [his] property by fire and war; public calamities were his principal source of revenue ... Crassus ... observed what frequent and every day occurrences in Rome were fire and the collapse of buildings owing to their size and their close proximity to each other. He therefore bought slaves who were architects and builders, and then, when he had more than 500 of them, he would buy up houses that were either on fire themselves or near the scene of the fire; the owners of these properties, in the terror and uncertainty of the moment, would let them go for next to nothing. In this way most of Rome came into his possession.

Caesar was one of the politicians who had borrowed money from Crassus, and although Caesar had managed to pay most of his debts back as a result of his time in Spain, he again needed Crassus' immense wealth to help bribe citizens to vote for him. In return, Caesar promised that he would use his influence as consul to get generous tax-breaks for Crassus' tax-collector friends. Since Crassus was already working closely with Caesar, Pompey had no choice but to overcome his animosity towards Crassus in order to get what he wanted.

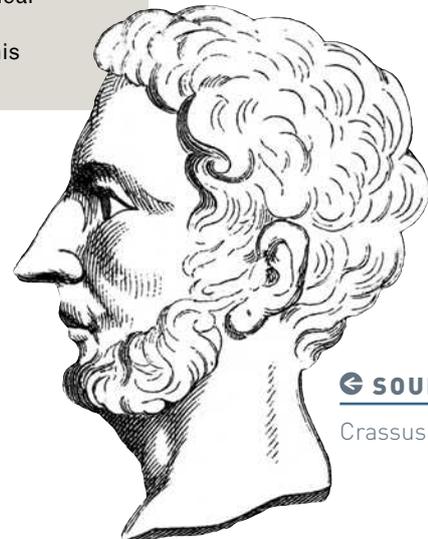


SOURCE 6.02

Gaius Julius Caesar.

SOURCE 6.03

Plutarch, *Lives*. Life of Crassus. trans. Rex Warner, *Fall of the Roman Republic*, (London: Penguin Classics, 2005), 112.



SOURCE 6.04

Crassus.



THE LIFE OF CRASSUS

THE SECRET ARRANGEMENT

In 60 BCE, Caesar arranged a secret meeting with Pompey and Crassus where they discussed the final terms of their agreement. Caesar encouraged the two men to overcome their differences in order to achieve their individual aims. The three men then formed an unofficial, secret pact that is known by modern historians as the First *Triumvirate* (in Latin *trium* means ‘three’ and *vir* means ‘men’). An agreement of this nature was highly illegal in the Roman mind. All of republican politics was designed to avoid Rome’s control by autocrats: Romans never wanted to return to the days of the kings. Knowing that other Romans would view their agreement as a form of shared autocracy, the three men swore to keep their arrangement secret for as long as they could.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE

What made this agreement so powerful is that the three *triumvirs* had the capability of controlling the entire Roman political system. With Caesar as consul, he would be one of the most senior senators in the city; with Pompey’s popularity and ex-soldiers’ ability to control the voters on election day, tight votes could be swung in their favour; and with Crassus’ money buying as many extra votes as required, the three men were almost guaranteed to get their way. As historian H. H. Scullard wrote, ‘[The creation of the first triumvirate] was a turning point in the history of the Free State, and it was, as both Cicero and Cato recognised, the ultimate origin of the Civil War of 49 BC’.⁴



UNDERSTANDING THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE

THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE

CAESAR	
NEEDED	OFFERED
Successful election as consul for 59 BCE and to receive a five-year military command in Gaul after he finished his one-year term as consul.	As consul, he would use his political power to pass laws to meet the needs of Pompey and Crassus.
POMPEY	
NEEDED	OFFERED
To have his bills passed, giving land to his veterans, and for the Senate to accept his reorganisation of the eastern kingdoms.	His popularity with the Roman people (which would encourage them to vote for Caesar), and his veteran soldiers who could turn up on election day and throw out any voters who would be against their bills.
CRASSUS	
NEEDED	OFFERED
A person in the Senate who could give his rich tax-collector friends massive tax-breaks to prevent them from going out of business.	To use his immense wealth to bribe people to vote for the bills put forward by Caesar during his consulship.

SUCCESS OF THE TRIUMVIRATE: CAESAR'S CONSULSHIP

The secret arrangement between the three men seemed to work well because Caesar won one of the two consulships for 59 BCE. Once installed as consul, Caesar made good on his promises and started to seek the land that Pompey needed for his veteran soldiers. Caesar initially approached the Senate with the bill, but it was rejected. Following this, Caesar took the request directly to the Plebeian Council, where it was successfully passed.

The other consul elected with Caesar for 59 BCE was a man known as Bibulus, who had had strong financial and moral support from the Senate during the election process. Bibulus had expected to be working closely with Caesar during their joint year of consulship—which was traditionally how consuls operated—but was surprised when Caesar ignored him. Caesar knew that he did not need the support of the other consul to successfully achieve his aims—because he had Pompey's influence over the people and Crassus' money behind him. When Bibulus suspected that something strange was going on, he publicly approached Caesar in the Forum to get answers. Rather than answering Bibulus, Caesar had him physically removed from the Forum. Confused and powerless to change the situation, Bibulus chose to spend the rest of his year as consul at home, hoping things would get better.

CAESAR'S CONDUCT AS CONSUL

When a large number of senators persisted in opposing the measure, Caesar pretended to be angry, saying that they were doing wrong, storming out, and for the whole rest of the year refused to summon the senate but addressed the people from the rostra; he asked [Pompey] and Crassus in public for their opinion on the laws, and they supported them, and the people came to the voting carrying concealed daggers. No one summoned the senate to meet, since it was unlawful for the other consul to do so, so they gathered in Bibulus' house and although they took no action that matched Caesar's carefully planned use of force they considered that Bibulus should none the less put up some resistance to the laws and allow himself to be thought a loser rather than a quitter. Bibulus was persuaded, and burst into the forum while Caesar was still speaking. Scuffling and disorder broke out, and blows had already been exchanged when the men with daggers smashed Bibulus' fasces and insignia and wounded some of the tribunes who were with him.

SOURCE 6.05

Appian, *The Civil Wars*, II.10–11, trans. John Carter, *The Civil Wars* (London: Penguin Classics, 1996), 74.

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 6.05 and complete the tasks below.

1. What did Caesar do as consul that could be considered illegal?
2. According to the source, what motivated Bibulus to return to the Forum?
3. What evidence is there from the source that Caesar supported the *populares* rather than the *optimates* side of Roman politics?

ACTIVITY

However, even with Crassus' money buying support, not all of Caesar's proposed bills passed easily through the various voting assemblies. On these occasions, Caesar used Pompey's ex-soldiers to intimidate voters, thus ensuring his success. Ultimately, Caesar fulfilled his promises to Crassus and Pompey, but the frequent use of violence in elections was still illegal, especially when used against a consul.

The arrangement between Crassus, Caesar and Pompey quickly became apparent and the senators became outraged at the hijacking of Roman politics. Because no charges could be brought against a politician while they held a political position, several *optimates* senators threatened Caesar with immediate arrest and trial upon the completion of his term as consul, when he would become a private citizen again. Caesar realised that he needed to avoid becoming a private citizen in order to stay safe from prosecution, so he needed to hold another political position for the following year. With the help of Crassus and Pompey, Caesar successfully secured a five-year military command in the provinces of Gaul and northern Italy. This gave him the power of *imperium* for the whole campaign—which meant that he was not a private citizen and could not be arrested or charged.

ACTIVITY

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

Discuss the consequences of the First Triumvirate for the three men involved and for Rome. To what extent did the agreement disrupt political life?

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

CAESAR'S CONSULSHIP

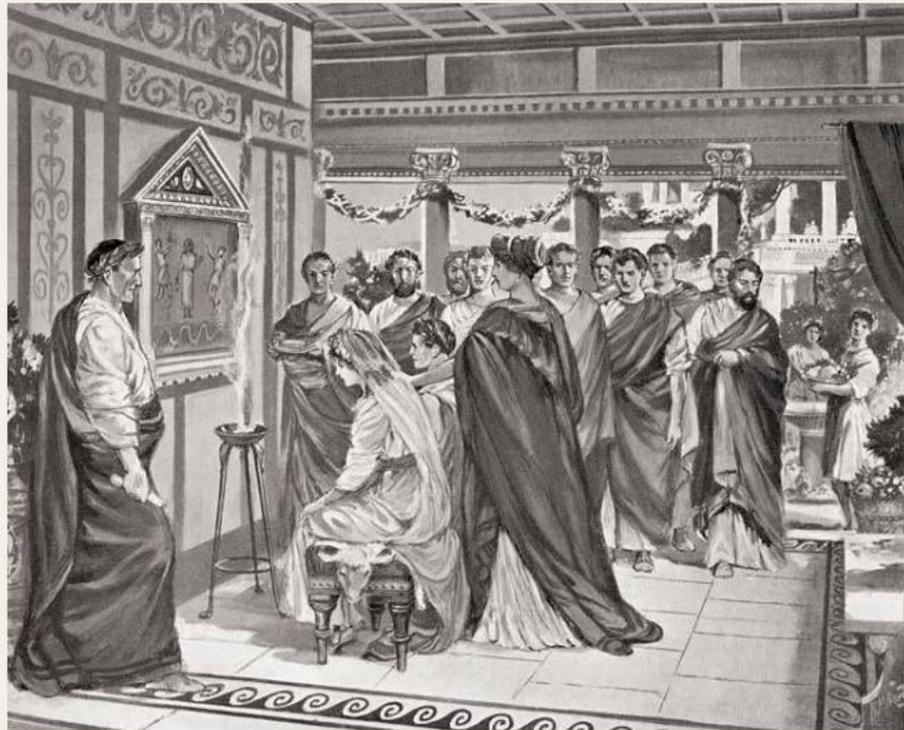
While the agreement between Crassus, Pompey and Caesar worked to achieve their aims, the overall opinion of the three men among the Romans was negative. The Roman people expressed disappointment at Pompey for taking part. Pompey, as a result, felt the need to save his own reputation and began to distance himself from Caesar. Caesar had become a political criminal awaiting trial and needed to maintain *imperium* for as long as he could in order to avoid punishment. Pompey knew that Caesar would eventually become a private citizen again and that his trial was just a matter of time. Crassus knew that he no longer needed the agreement between the three men and returned to his earlier animosity towards Pompey, focusing on becoming more popular and powerful than his old rival.

CAESAR BECOMES POMPEY'S FATHER-IN-LAW

During his consulship in 59 BCE, Caesar had doubts about Pompey's commitment to their agreement. To form a closer bond between the two, Caesar proposed that Pompey marry his daughter, Julia. Pompey agreed to the deal and the two men become related through marriage.

SOURCE 6.06

Pompey marries Caesar's daughter Julia.

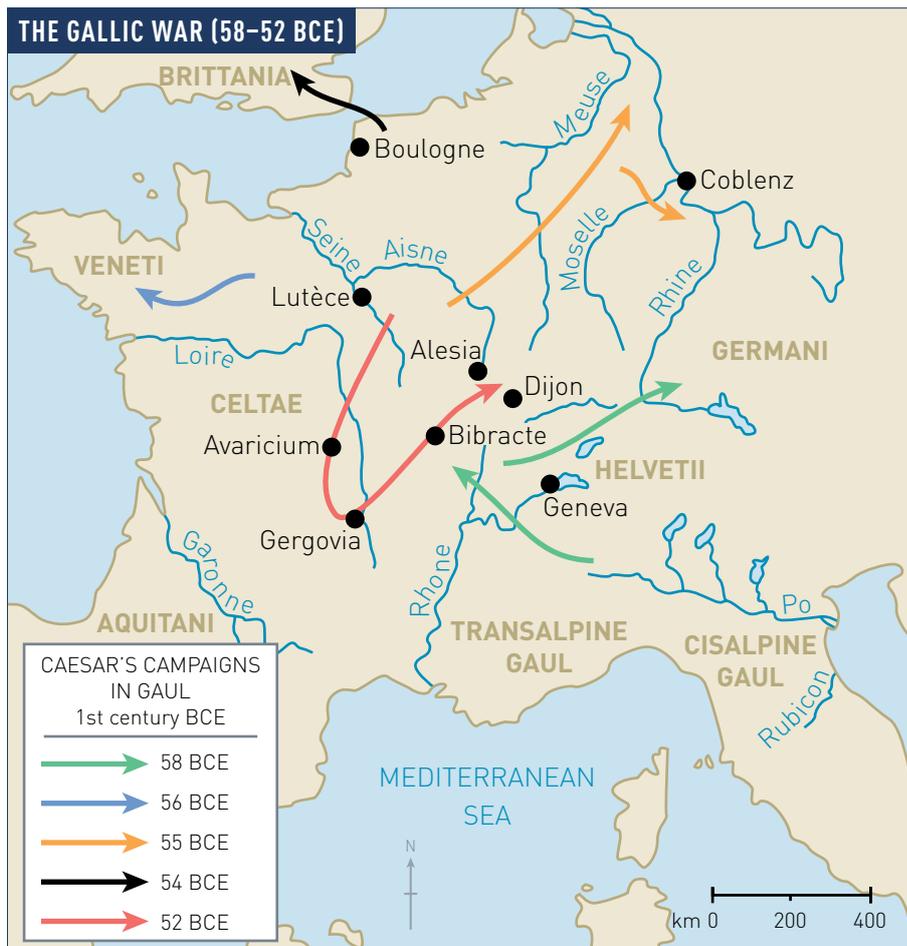


CAESAR IN GAUL

After he had served his year as consul, Caesar took up his five-year military command in Gaul (present-day France, Belgium and surrounds) in 58 BCE. Over the next few years, Caesar would constantly march across the breadth of the region, fighting local tribes and leading a core of loyal soldiers trained to obey his every command. At the same time, Caesar tried to keep up to date with political developments in Rome—he was not allowed to leave his assigned territory until his command was completed.

Caesar had strategically sought to be assigned command over the region of Gaul because it was quite a wealthy region. Although Gaul was not a unified country—it was more a collection of warring local tribes—the Romans always feared that the Gallic tribes would start to work together. This fear was based upon an event in the fourth century BCE, when a large group of Gauls had briefly attacked and burnt the city of Rome. Caesar exploited this traditional fear to elevate his own reputation in the minds of his fellow Romans: he wanted to be known as the one who was capable of defeating their feared enemies.

Caesar did not have to wait too long before he could engage in military activities in his new regions. In 58 BCE, a tribe from Switzerland (just north of Caesar's territory), called the Helvetians, attempted to march through northern Italy with the aim of invading parts of Gaul. Caesar acted swiftly to intercept them and promptly defeated the Helvetians in two separate battles.



SOURCE 6.07

THE DIFFERENT STAGES OF THE GALLIC WAR



THE GALLIC WAR:
MAP TASK

After these victories, a Gallic tribe asked Caesar to help them against an invading Germanic tribe called the Suebians. Caesar was only too happy to lend assistance, as this meant that he could move his troops into the centre of Gaul and place himself in a strategically strong position to launch his own attacks on other Gallic tribes. As agreed, Caesar defeated the Suebians for his Gallic allies but, as it was almost winter, Caesar had to build a camp for his troops and wait for the next year before launching his own attacks.

CAESAR WRITES HIS OWN PROPAGANDA

While his troops waited in camp during the winter of 58 BCE, Caesar spent the winter in his territories in northern Italy. He did so in order to keep in touch with political developments in Rome. While there, he wrote down what had happened in Gaul that year. He sent this account back to Rome in order for it to be read out publicly. His primary motive was to ensure that the people of Rome didn't forget about him and he could continue to raise his profile during his absence. This technique was so successful that he would write new updates at the end of each of his years in Gaul. To this day, Caesar's account of the Gallic Wars is the only first-hand account historians have of the events.

➔ SOURCE 6.08

An edition of Caesar's
Commentaries on the Gallic War.



During that winter, a Gallic tribe in the north, known as the Belgae, started forming a coalition of other Gallic tribes to resist any potential Roman attacks. When Caesar learned about this, he decided to act quickly and, when spring began in 57 BCE, he launched a surprise attack on the Belgae. Unprepared and clearly outmatched, some tribes surrendered and joined Caesar's army. Other tribes stood their ground but were overwhelmingly defeated by Caesar's troops. Caesar stated that on one occasion barely 500 Gauls survived out of an army originally numbering 60,000.⁵ While Caesar was fighting the Belgae, he had sent a smaller Roman army to western Gaul under the command of Crassus' son, who sent word to Caesar that almost all of north-western Gaul had surrendered to him.

➔ SOURCE 6.09

Adrian Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War: 100 BC–AD 200*, [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2009], 60.

THE NATURE OF GALLIC ARMIES

Gallic armies varied in size and efficiency, but even the most organized was still a clumsy body to manoeuvre compared to a Roman army. The vast majority of tribes produced armies geared towards massed combat and not guerrilla warfare. For many [tribes], especially in the north-east, wars were expected to be decided by a single decisive battle, as was the case in Germanic warfare. The reason for this was that their armies could supply themselves only for a brief period and thus a quick decision was desirable.

As winter set in again in late 57 BCE, Caesar sent news of his various victories back to Rome. The reports of his continuous successes over Rome's feared enemies were celebrated by a public festival that lasted fifteen days. The Senate had given special permission for these extraordinary festivities as a way of showing their appreciation for Caesar's remarkable achievements. No Roman had ever been granted this kind of honour before. However, the senators were becoming

concerned with Caesar's increasing popularity, wealth and power. The political situation in Rome was also becoming unstable and the *optimates* senators started pressuring the other triumvirs to recall Caesar from Gaul so that he could stand trial.

PROBLEMS IN ROME

Before Caesar had left Rome for his Gallic campaigns, he had helped one of his supporters, Clodius, become a Plebeian Tribune. Caesar had done this hoping that he would have a powerful individual protecting his interests in Rome while he was away. However, in Caesar's absence, Clodius focused on his own agenda rather than Caesar's, and had begun recruiting groups of armed thugs to intimidate those who stood against him. Most surprisingly, Crassus seems to have supported Clodius in his campaigns. Since both Crassus and Pompey had achieved everything they had wanted during Caesar's consulship in 59 BCE, they had returned to their long-held hostility towards each other and were using other political figures to hinder each other's progress. For example, with Crassus' support, Clodius' thugs had begun harassing Pompey when he resisted some of Clodius' bills. In return, Pompey recruited his own armed gangs, led by a man named Milo, to fight off Clodius' gangs. With two competing groups of armed men patrolling the streets of Rome, violence and chaos became daily political realities in the city.

The gradual collapse of the agreement between Crassus and Pompey worried Caesar immensely. He needed to be sure that Crassus and Pompey would protect his interests rather than become distracted by their own squabbles. However, as the gangs of Pompey and Crassus clashed in Rome, members of the Senate began demanding that Caesar be replaced as the commander in Gaul so that he could be brought back to Rome for trial. Caesar desperately needed Pompey and Crassus to step in to stop such a threat being carried out but, based upon the news Caesar was receiving from Rome, he began to fear that his two fellow triumvirs were too busy fighting each other to protect him from the *optimates*. He knew that he needed to act before he was relieved of his command and recalled home.

CONFERENCE IN LUCA

In 56 BCE, Caesar met with Crassus and Pompey in the town of Luca, where he hoped to find a way of re-establishing the triumvirate. Luca was chosen for the meeting because it was the closest location to Rome that was still within Caesar's territories. The meeting was not secret—unlike their first meeting—and almost 200 members of the Senate travelled with Pompey to see what the outcome would be.⁶ During the meeting, Caesar convinced Pompey and Crassus to work together again in order to achieve new goals. As part of the negotiations, it was decided that both Pompey and Crassus would run for the two consulships of 55 BCE, and that the two men would seek to get Caesar's *imperium* in Gaul extended for another five years, allowing him to remain free from prosecution for longer. In return, Caesar promised to use his followers in Rome to support Crassus and Pompey's campaigns for the consulships. The meeting was a success, and the Triumvirate was renewed.



↑ SOURCE 6.10

Part of a series showing the triumphal procession of Julius Caesar, by Andrea Andreani.

DID YOU KNOW?

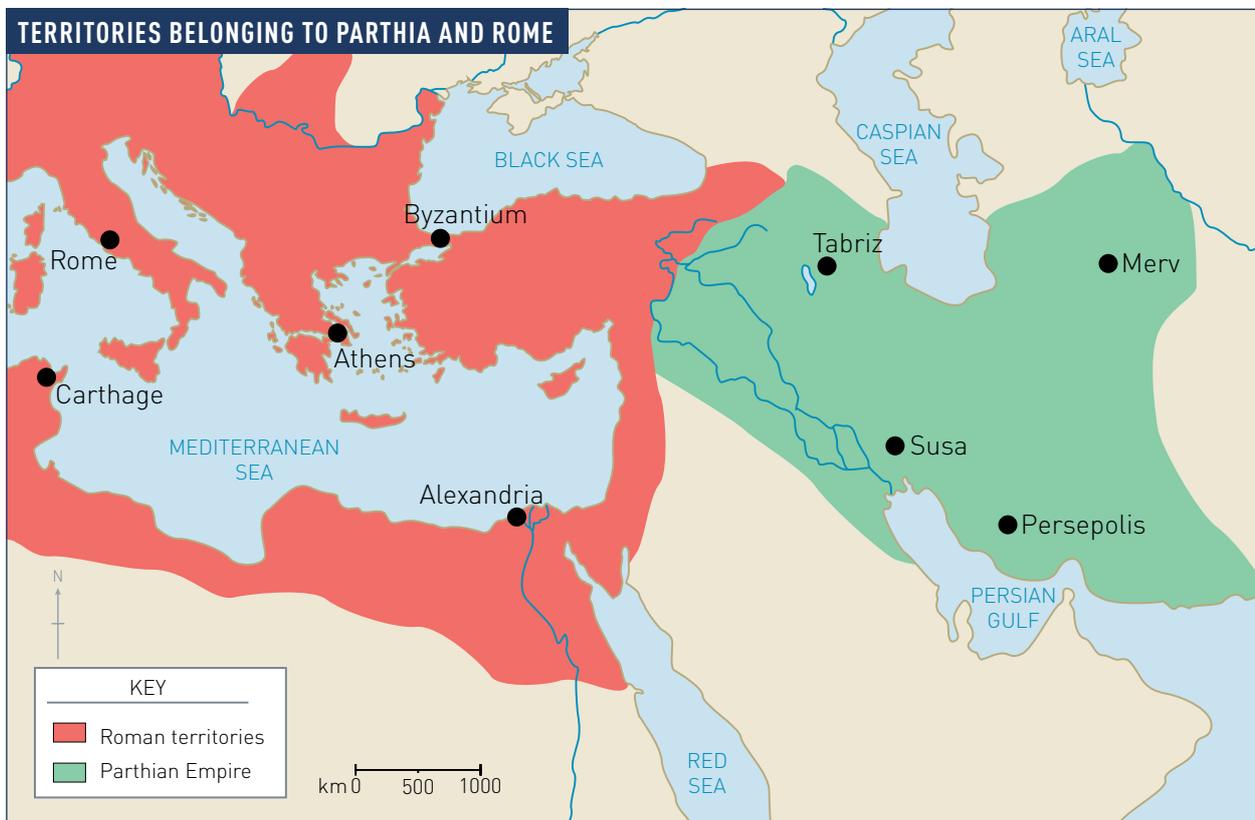
Clodius was a patrician who became a Tribune of the Plebs. This was technically impossible, since Tribunes of the Plebs could only come from plebeian families. However, Clodius managed to do this because Caesar used his power as *pontifex maximus* to officially adopt Clodius into a plebeian family which meant that, for legal purposes, he had become a plebeian.

ACTIVITY

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

How did the relationship between Crassus and Pompey change over time?

Pompey and Crassus returned to Rome in order to begin their campaigns for the consulships, which they both won. As promised, the consuls extended Caesar's Gallic command until the end of 50 BCE. As part of the commission as consul, Pompey was given management over Rome's grain dole and also command in Spain for the following year. However, Pompey appointed subordinate commanders to look after Spain for him so that he could remain in Rome. Crassus was also given command over a province when his consulship was over, and he was assigned to Syria. Crassus was particularly excited about his command in Syria because it meant that he could lead Rome's armies in a potentially glorious war against the Parthian empire. Such a war would guarantee great wealth and provide Crassus with as much glory as Pompey had received in his own eastern campaigns. In this appointment, Crassus saw an opportunity to finally outdo his long-time rival.



↑ SOURCE 6.11

THE TERRITORIES BELONGING TO PARTHIA AND ROME

CAESAR'S RETURN TO GAUL (56–54 BCE)

With Caesar confident that his Gallic command was safe again, he rejoined his forces. He spent the remainder of 56 BCE and 55 BCE suppressing some rebellious Gallic tribes, as well as fighting off two more Germanic tribes who were attempting to invade Gaul. Caesar became so frustrated with the frequent incursions by Germanic tribes that he sought to make a clear demonstration of his power in order to deter others from trying similar invasions in the future. He brutally attacked the two tribes that had entered Gaul, and many women and children were slaughtered by his soldiers. Following these attacks, Caesar ordered his soldiers to build a 400-metre-long bridge over the Rhine River—which was the natural border between Gaul and Germania. As a demonstration of his troops' skill and determination, the impressive engineering project was completed in only

ten days. Caesar then used the bridge to cross into Germanic territories, where he marched against several local tribes who stood little chance against him. When he was sure that his message was clear, Caesar crossed back over his bridge and ordered his troops to destroy it.

Convinced that the Germanic tribes had been sufficiently intimidated, Caesar then marched his troops to north-west Gaul where he built a fleet of ships and, in 54 BCE, used them to sail his army across the English Channel to invade Britannia. He spent only a short time on British soil and fought a handful of battles against local tribes. Most significantly, Caesar defeated a major local chief called Cassivellaunus near the present site of London. After this, Caesar returned to Gaul with his troops. The invasion of Britannia seems to have primarily been a publicity stunt for Caesar, who sent details of his time there back to Rome. The Senate appeared to be impressed by the reports and declared another public celebration—this time lasting for twenty days.



📍 SOURCE 6.12

Il Ponte di Cesare ('Caesar's Bridge'). An 1814 depiction of Caesar's temporary bridge over the River Rhine.

MAJOR REBELLIONS IN GAUL

During the following year, 53 BCE, Caesar faced a succession of Gallic rebellions against Roman domination. His armies in Belgium were attacked by the Treveri tribe and much to Caesar's dismay, one entire Roman legion was destroyed. News also reached him that a second legion had suffered heavy losses when fighting against the Eburones, another Gallic tribe. While Caesar was able to hold on to the region, it was becoming clear that Roman control over Gaul was far from complete.

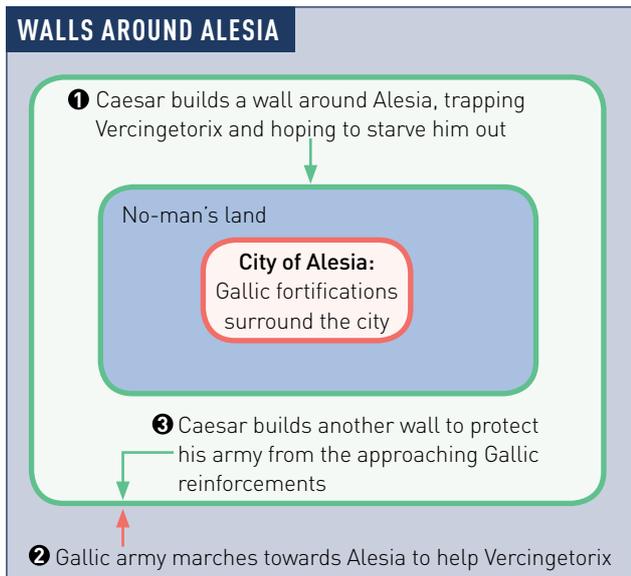
Then, in 52 BCE, a widespread Gallic revolt occurred that seriously tested Caesar's military capabilities. This rebellion was led by one of Caesar's former Gallic allies, a man named Vercingetorix. Other tribes quickly joined Vercingetorix and the Gallic leader cut off Caesar's armies' access to food by destroying their own towns. To feed their soldiers, the Gauls stored food reserves in a number of fortified cities. Stunned by the speed and force of the revolt, Caesar assaulted a number of the fortified towns but only managed to capture one of them. With time running out and the rebellion spreading, Caesar ordered his legions from northern Gaul to march south to help him. Once they arrived, Caesar was able to corner Vercingetorix and his forces in the hill-town of Alesia.

Caesar knew that his troops could not hope to survive a direct assault on Alesia, so he ordered his men to build a wall around the town, hoping to starve Vercingetorix into submission. The wall they constructed was a massive undertaking, measuring almost eighteen kilometres in length and four metres in height. Despite the sheer scope of the task, the soldiers managed to build it in the space of three weeks, while at the same time fighting back the Gauls who continued to launch attacks from the city.⁷



📍 SOURCE 6.13

Vercingetorix.



Caesar received word that a second army of Gallic warriors was marching towards Alesia to help free Vercingetorix. Remarkably, Caesar then decided to build a second wall, this time facing outwards, to protect the Romans from the approaching enemy. Protected by his walls on both sides, Caesar managed to fight off the second army. After this, the situation grew desperate for Vercingetorix as Alesia was running out of food. To preserve food stores, Vercingetorix expelled the women, elderly and children from the town. These civilian outcasts were then trapped in the no-man's land between the city and the Roman walls. Caesar refused to open his walls to let the women and children out, and many people starved to death. As the siege continued and all options ran out for Vercingetorix, he was forced to surrender to Caesar and bring his rebellion to an end.

➔ SOURCE 6.14

Caesar, The Gallic War VII.88, trans. S. A. Handford, The Conquest of Gaul (London: Penguin Classics, 1982), 199.

THE POWER OF CAESAR'S PRESENCE

The enemy knew that [Caesar] was coming by the scarlet cloak which he always wore in action to mark his identity; and when they saw the cavalry squadrons and cohorts following him down the slopes, which were plainly visible from the heights on which they stood, they joined battle. Both sides raised a cheer, which was answered by the men on the rampart and all along the entrenchments. The Romans dropped their spears and fought with their swords. Suddenly the Gauls saw the cavalry in their rear and fresh cohorts coming up in front. They broke and fled, but found their retreat cut off by the cavalry and were mown down.

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

Examine Source 6.14 and complete the tasks below.

1. Identify the creator of the source.
2. Describe how the creator conveys a sense of superior Roman tactics.
3. Discuss the extent to which the creator's own role in the battle might have affected his perspective on the event.



THE BATTLE OF ALESIA



THE ABANDONED CITIZENS OF ALESIA

After the siege of Alesia, Caesar spent the years 51–50 BCE quelling the last few tribes that had held out against Roman control. Towards the end of 50 BCE, Caesar knew that his command in Gaul was almost over and that he had to start planning for how he was going to face the legal problems the Senate would launch against him when he returned to Rome as a private citizen. Unfortunately for Caesar, the political situation in Rome had deteriorated while he had been busy fighting in Gaul, and very few politicians were willing to help him find another way out.

ACTIVITY

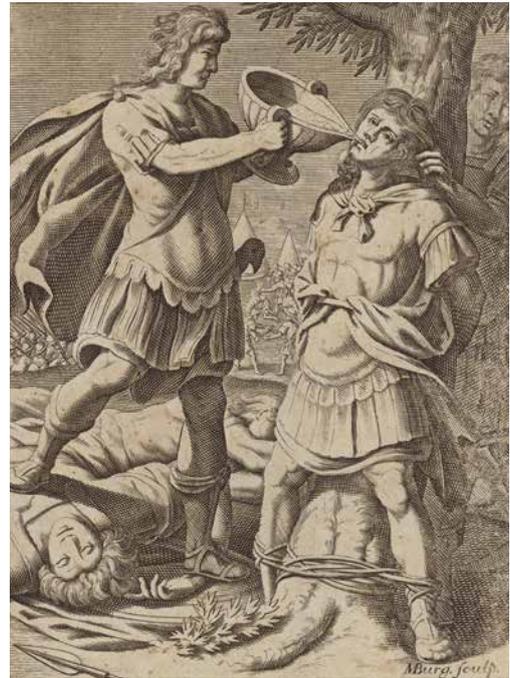
ETHICAL DIMENSIONS

Discuss the 'rights and wrongs' of the following events and identify your own viewpoint on them:

- Caesar's invasion of Germania and Britannia
- the Gauls' attempts to resist occupation
- the treatment of civilians in battle, especially in the siege of Alesia.

THE END OF THE TRIUMVIRATE

After the joint consulships of Pompey and Crassus in 55 BCE, political life in Rome continued its descent into excessive violence and bribery under the consuls in 54 BCE. The situation was so disruptive that the consular elections for 53 BCE failed to occur and, as a result, Rome was without consuls for six months. Also during this time news arrived that Crassus had died during his command in Syria. Pompey's long-time enemy had left Rome after his consulship and taken up his lucrative commission, but had fallen in a battle against the Parthians. To make matters worse for Caesar, his daughter, Julia (who was also Pompey's wife), had died in 54 BCE and Pompey had refused Caesar's invitation to marry one of Julia's sisters. Instead, Pompey chose to marry the daughter of another noble family and Caesar started to fear that Pompey was siding with the *optimates* side of Roman politics. The death of Julia, and the death of Crassus in Asia, essentially ended the agreements that had held the Triumvirate together.



↑ SOURCE 6.15

The death of Crassus—the Parthians pour molten gold down his throat. An engraving from 1703.

COUNTDOWN TO CIVIL WAR

PLUTARCH: 'Caesar had long ago resolved upon the overthrow of Pompey, as had Pompey, for that matter, upon his. For Crassus, ... having now been killed in Parthia, if the one of them wished to make himself the greatest man in Rome, he had only to overthrow the other.'

The year 53 BCE was a tumultuous one for Rome. Violent clashes between competing political groups were a daily reality and, in one such conflict in 52 BCE, Clodius was killed by Milo's mob. In the ensuing chaos, the elections for the consuls did not take place and normal political procedures ground to a halt. As a last-ditch effort to try and save the city, the Senate enacted the *senatus consultum ultimum* (which was a bit like martial law) and made Pompey the only consul for 52 BCE. His job was to use everything in his power to restore political and civil order in Rome.

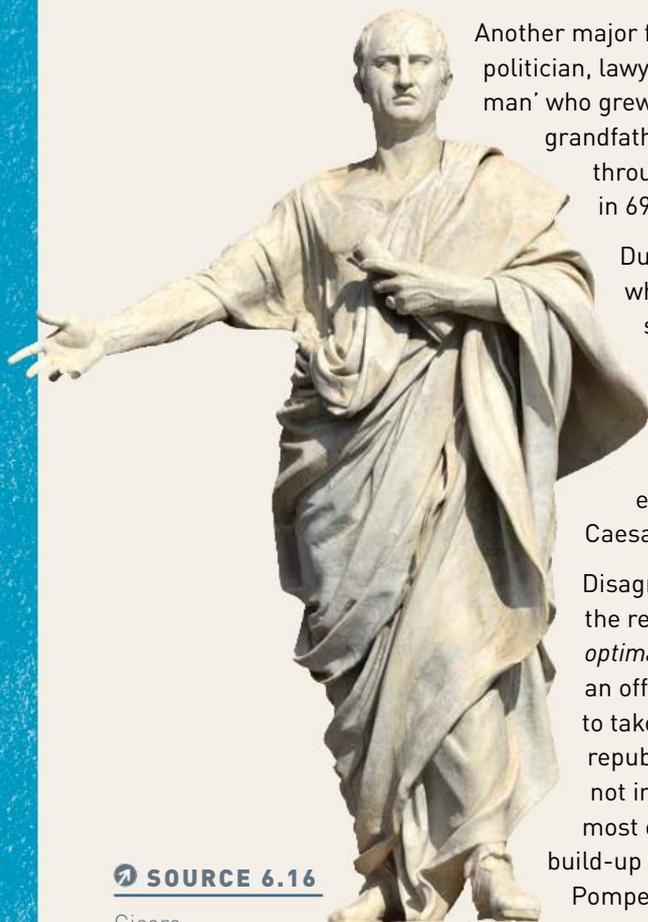
Pompey worked hard to fulfil his task. First, to put an end to the street violence, he brought in his soldiers to act as a police force, which was a successful strategy. Next, he enacted new laws to curb corruption and re-establish order in the political system, which also worked well. By the end of 52 BCE, the Senate was very pleased with how Pompey had brought Rome back to a sense of normalcy. Most importantly, the *optimates* praised Pompey's efforts in restoring the Republic to its orderly state and began championing Pompey as the ideal *optimatis* leader (leader of the *optimates*).

By this stage, it was becoming clear that Pompey had no need for further agreements with Caesar, as he had the adoration of the people and of the *optimates*. Pompey had become the most powerful man in Rome. However, as news filtered into Rome about Caesar's continued success against the Gauls, Pompey noticed that his former triumvir colleague had growing support among the people and among many *populares* politicians. He became increasingly wary of Caesar's popularity.

DID YOU KNOW?

According to the Roman historian Cassius Dio, Crassus met a rather fitting end. Following his defeat by the Parthians at the Battle of Carrhae, Crassus was taken prisoner and killed by having molten gold poured down his throat. This was seen as a just punishment for a man who had an insatiable desire for wealth.

CICERO



Another major figure in Caesar's era was Marcus Tullius Cicero, a Roman politician, lawyer and writer who lived between 106 and 43 BCE. He was a 'new man' who grew up outside of Rome and served in the Social War under the grandfather of Pompey the Great. After Sulla's death, Cicero progressed through the *cursus honorum*, becoming quaestor in 77 BCE, aedile in 69 BCE, praetor in 66 BCE and eventually a consul in 63 BCE.

During his consulship, Cicero fought to suppress another senator who was secretly planning an armed revolution against Rome, similar to Sulla. That senator was Catiline. When Cicero heard about Catiline's plot, the Senate gave him the power of the *senatus consultum ultimum*—effectively martial law—and he stopped the revolt before it reached Rome. During the discussion about what to do with the captured revolutionaries, every senator voted for the death penalty—apart from Julius Caesar. Despite Caesar's views, the conspirators were killed.

Disagreements between Cicero and Caesar would continue for the rest of their lives, as Cicero was, on principle, one of the *optimates*. It is believed that Caesar approached Cicero with an offer to join the First Triumvirate, but that Cicero declined to take part in an agreement that went against his traditional republican principles. During the period 60–44 BCE, Cicero was not influential in the powerplay between the triumvirs, and spent most of his time engaged in legal cases and writing. During the build-up to civil war, Cicero tried to become a close supporter of Pompey and the *optimates* Senate, but was largely ignored.

When civil war finally broke out between Pompey and Caesar, Cicero sided with Pompey and the *optimates*. However, he soon realised that Caesar had the overwhelming support of the people, and was shocked at how quickly the Roman citizens turned against Pompey. His dismay can be seen in a letter he wrote to a friend on 1 March 49 BCE.

➔ SOURCE 6.16

Cicero.

➔ SOURCE 6.17

Cicero, Ad Atticus VIII.13, trans. E. O. Winstedt (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1912), 161-3.

LETTER FROM CICERO

Do you see the kind of man into whose hands the state has fallen [i.e. Caesar]? What foresight, what energy, what readiness! Upon my word, if he refrains from murder and rapine [plunder], he will be the darling of those who dreaded him the most! ... And see how public opinion has changed. They fear the man they once trusted, and adore the man they once dreaded.

After Pompey's defeat and death in 48 BCE, Cicero returned to Rome and was allowed to remain alive during Caesar's dictatorships. Cicero would eventually outlive Julius Caesar, but would be forced to choose political sides in the aftermath of the dictator's assassination.

Cicero is an important figure during the era of Julius Caesar because much of his writing remains for modern scholars to read. The most valuable of all his works are the letters he wrote to his friends, which provide private and honest insights about the people and events of his time.



THE LIFE OF CICERO

STANDOFF BETWEEN CAESAR AND POMPEY

By 51 BCE, the *optimates* in the Senate started calling for Caesar's return to Rome so that he could stand trial for his misconduct during his consulship in 59 BCE. Pompey did not publicly support the calls for Caesar's early return, instead indicating that such trials would be more appropriate when Caesar's command in Gaul was over in 49 BCE.

In the last year of his Gallic command, Caesar sought to gain a new command and wanted to put his name forward for the consulship for 48 BCE. He hoped that if he could make it to Rome and lodge his candidacy, he would still be able to avoid becoming a private citizen. However, to enter Rome, the *optimates* senators declared that he had to disband his army, surrender his *imperium* and travel to Rome as a private citizen. Caesar knew that to follow this course of action would guarantee his arrest by his enemies before he could make it to Rome. Therefore, he asked the Senate for special permission to lodge his candidacy while he was absent from Rome. Such special exemptions from the normal rules had been offered before by the Senate to other Romans—but on this occasion it was refused.

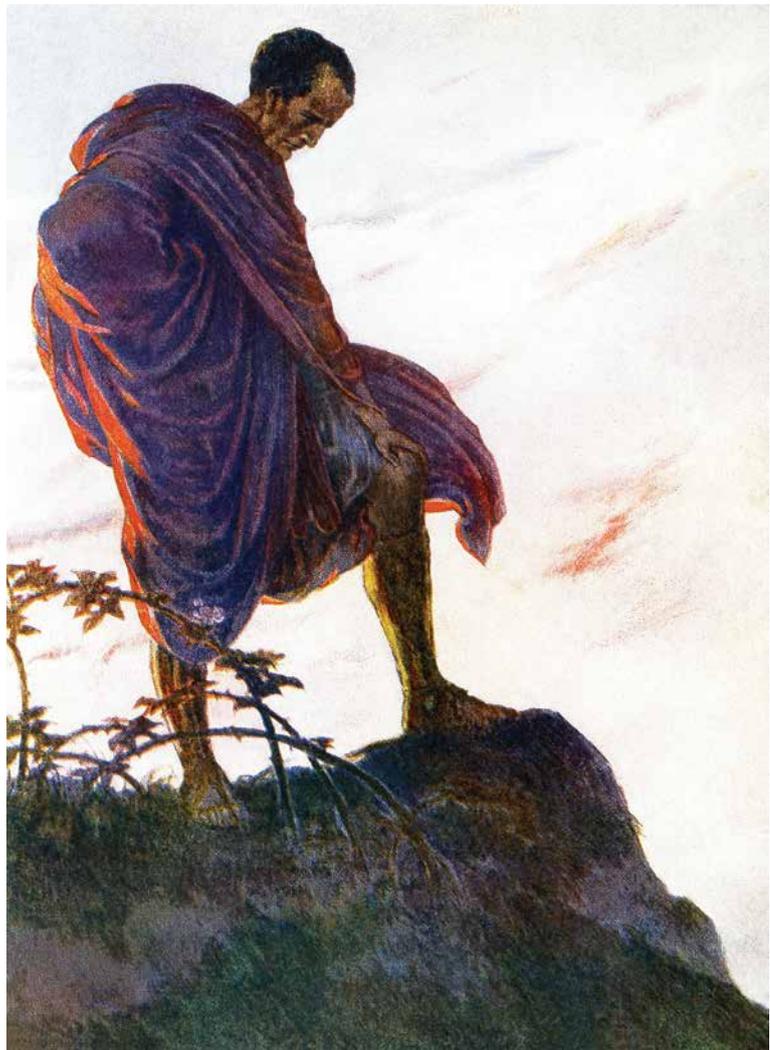
Caesar began to fear that Pompey would not protect him any longer than he needed to, so he sought another politician to help him in Rome. Caesar formed an alliance with one of the Plebeian Tribunes for 50 BCE, a man named Curio. Caesar may have promised to pay off Curio's personal debts in exchange for the tribune's promise that he would veto any attempt to recall Caesar from Gaul early.⁸ With Curio supporting Caesar in Rome against the *optimates*, a stalemate arose between Pompey and Caesar.

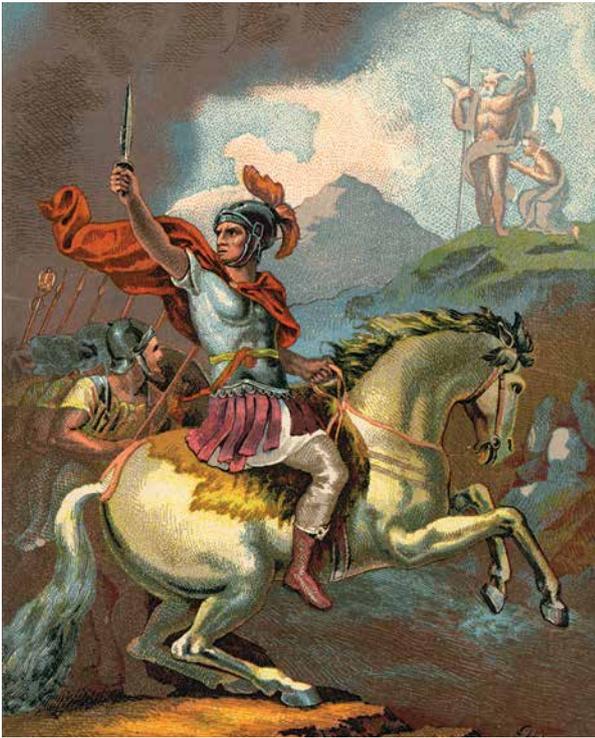
At that time, both Pompey and Caesar were in command of armies. Pompey's army was stationed in Rome and Caesar's armies were amassed on the southern border of his territories in northern Italy. The senators feared that Caesar would copy Sulla's example of marching his army against Rome, but were confident that Pompey's army would stop Caesar from attempting to do so. To gauge Caesar's intentions, the *optimates* ordered Caesar to surrender his *imperium* and his armies, but he refused. As a result, the two sides were in a standoff—and it became clear to the Roman people that another civil war was a possibility.

In an attempt to avoid potential conflict, Caesar asked Curio to propose an alternate solution: that both Pompey and Caesar surrender their *imperium* and armies at the same time. Caesar waited

▼ SOURCE 6.18

Caesar looks down at the River Rubicon contemplating what action he should take.





to see if Pompey was open to this new option before he released his own troops. However, when Caesar heard that Pompey refused the proposal, he also refused. As 50 BCE began to draw to an end, rumours began circulating throughout Rome that Caesar had begun marching his troops towards the city. In a panic, the Senate declared the *senatus consultum ultimum* and asked Pompey to defend the Republic, to which Pompey agreed. However, Caesar had not left his territories, but stood poised with his troops at the River Rubicon, which formed the southern border of his territories.

As Pompey began making his preparations for a potential war, Curio and two other tribunes who had been supporting Caesar fled north to warn him of the new developments. It became clear to Caesar that he had run out of options, so he decided to follow in Sulla's footsteps. On 10 January 49 BCE, Caesar marched his forces across the Rubicon River and began heading south. Another civil war had begun—but this one would be more widespread and last longer than any previous civil wars.

📍 SOURCE 6.19

Caesar crossing the River Rubicon with his army in 49 BCE.

➔ SOURCE 6.20

Appian, The Civil Wars II.35, trans. John Carter, The Civil Wars (London: Penguin Classics, 1996), 87–8.

➔ SOURCE 6.21

Tom Stevenson, Julius Caesar and the Transformation of the Roman Republic (London: Routledge, 2015), 12.

CAESAR'S THOUGHTS BEFORE INVADING ITALY

Coming at a fast pace to the river Rubicon, which is the frontier of Italy, [Caesar] stopped and gazed at the stream ... to his companions he said, 'If I refrain from this crossing, my friends, it will be the beginning of misfortune for me; but if I cross, it will be the beginning [of misfortune] for all mankind'. And speaking like a man possessed, he crossed quickly, quoting the proverb, 'Let the die be cast'.

CAESAR'S PERSONALITY

[Caesar] was hardly a model leader for present world tensions. His way was a way of violence, death, and repression that did nothing to provide security for the inhabitants of Rome's empire. In fact, it condemned all of them to ongoing civil and foreign war.

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

1. What criticisms does Tom Stevenson (see above) make of Julius Caesar?
2. Identify an alternative interpretation of Caesar.
3. To what extent do you think Caesar acted in the best interests of Rome? What other course of action could he have taken in January 49 BCE?

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Why did the Senate want Caesar to disband his army and enter Rome as a private citizen?
2. Why had Pompey decided not to support Caesar as he had done as part of the First Triumvirate?
3. Why does the phrase 'crossing the Rubicon' suggest reaching a point of no return?

THE CIVIL WAR

CICERO: 'Never has the state been in greater danger, never have wicked citizens had a leader more ready for action ... This is happening through the authority and enthusiasm of our friend Pompey, who has begun, rather late, to be afraid of Caesar.'⁹

CAESAR INVADES ITALY

Once Caesar had decided to march his forces into Italy, he knew that he had to march upon Rome as quickly as possible and defeat his enemies before they were able to prepare their defences against him. Caesar's strategy relied upon the element of surprise that he had used with continued success during his Gallic campaigns—and it had honed his men into effective shock troops. His soldiers were used to constant movement and, as a result, he had every confidence of achieving similar success in Italy.

POSSIBLE REASONS FOR THE CIVIL WAR

Pompey's comment was that, because Caesar had insufficient capital [funds] to carry out his grandiose schemes or give the people all that they had been encouraged to expect on his return, he chose to create an atmosphere of political confusion. Another view is that he dreaded having to account for the irregularities of his first consulship, during which he had disregarded auspices and vetoes; for Marcus Cato had often sworn to impeach him as soon as the legions were disbanded ... Asinius Pollio records in his History that when Caesar, at the Battle of Pharsalus, saw his enemies forced to choose between massacre and flight, he said, in these very words: "They brought it on themselves. They would have condemned me regardless of all my victories—me, Gaius Caesar—had I not appealed to my army for help." It has also been suggested that constant exercise of power gave Caesar a love of it; and that, after weighing his enemies' strength against his own, he took this chance of fulfilling his youthful dreams by making a bid for the monarchy.

SOURCE 6.22

Suetonius, Deified Julius, 30, trans. Robert Graves, The Twelve Caesars (London: Penguin Classics, 1989), 26–7.

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 6.22 and complete the tasks below.

1. What is one theory as to why Caesar created 'political confusion' upon his return to Rome?
2. What is an alternative theory?
3. What evidence is there that the creator of this source believes that one side is clearly to blame for the civil war?

ACTIVITY

Once Pompey received confirmation of Caesar's invasion, he considered his best chance of survival to be the evacuation of the Senate and his soldiers from the Italian peninsula. He knew that he was not secure in Italy and that his forces were unprepared for battle, since his only experienced troops were located in Spain and most of his other military support was in the East. Pompey knew that his closest strategic strength lay in his navy, which, according to Plutarch, boasted over 500 warships.¹⁰ Therefore, Pompey began organising his army to evacuate and sent orders to Greece to begin recruiting new troops in preparation for a reinvasion of Italy. The *optimates* senators who had actively opposed Caesar knew that it would be suicidal to remain in Rome where Caesar would soon arrive, so they chose to flee with Pompey. Pompey hoped that his evacuation strategy would leave Caesar trapped between Spain and the East—two regions that were loyal to Pompey.

CAESAR AND THE TREASURY

When Caesar marched into Rome, he intended to seize the money that was sitting in the treasury. The treasury was located under the Temple of Saturn in the Forum, and was traditionally controlled by the Senate. Since most of the Senate had fled with Pompey, Caesar decided that his authority was enough to justify the use of the money to fund his armies. However, one of the Plebeian Tribunes confronted Caesar at the door of the treasury and used his veto, intending to stop Caesar. In response, Caesar threatened him with death unless he took back his veto, which the tribune promptly did. Caesar then broke down the locked doors of the treasury and took the money. This event provides conflicting evidence about how Caesar really felt about the citizens of Rome. On one hand, Caesar claimed to be a *populares* politician, a group that championed the rights of the people. On the other hand, he threatened to kill a Plebeian Tribune, a political figure who was attempting to do the same. It is unclear to what degree Caesar cared about the people of Rome—or whether he just said so in the interests of political advancement.



↑ SOURCE 6.23

The Temple of Saturn in the Forum. The treasury was located beneath the temple.

As Pompey started moving towards the south-eastern Italian port-town of Brundisium to escape, Caesar was experiencing early success in the propaganda war for the hearts of the Roman people. A number of Italian towns had already welcomed him with open arms and even offered to supply his men with food and provisions. In contrast, Pompey was beginning to be treated with indifference by the towns he passed through on his way out of Italy. Surprised by the lack of popularity he encountered, Pompey sped up his evacuation.

↓ SOURCE 6.24

After hearing that Julius Caesar had crossed the Rubicon, Pompey fled Rome.



The first major conflict of the civil war took place about 150 kilometres east of Rome, at the town of Corfinium. The city was controlled by the *Pompeian* commander Domitius Ahenobarbus, who seemed unprepared for Caesar's rapid approach. Domitius had also underestimated the significant difference between Caesar's battle-hardened troops and the new recruits that Pompey had left him with. Furthermore, Domitius seemed uninformed of Pompey's planned evacuation of Italy, since he sent requests to Pompey for reinforcements that never came. Deserted by Pompey and convinced that his new recruits would stand no chance against Caesar's Gallic veterans, Domitius surrendered Corfinium to Caesar. Much to the surprise of the defeated troops,

Caesar spared their lives. His merciful treatment of his enemies was announced throughout Italy, which improved popular opinion in Caesar's favour. Cicero reported that Caesar said: 'Let us try to see whether in this way we can regain everyone's good will and enjoy a long-lasting victory ... with clemency and generosity.'¹¹ In contrast to Caesar's clemency, Pompey and the *optimates* were very harsh. They had declared that anyone who did not flee Rome with them was to be regarded as their enemy.¹² This apparent contrast between the two sides motivated many Italians to side with Caesar instead of Pompey.

As Corfinium surrendered, Pompey's forces were boarding ships in Brundisium. Caesar marched rapidly in an attempt to intercept them, but when he arrived on 9 March 49 BCE, he found that most of Pompey's army had already left. By sheer chance, Pompey was still in the city but despite Caesar's best efforts, he failed to stop him escaping as well. While Caesar was unlucky not to capture Pompey and bring a quick end to the war, he had still achieved a great success by capturing all of Italy in only 66 days.¹³ However, the rest of his campaign against Pompey did not go as smoothly.

SOURCE 6.25

CAESAR'S ROUTE TO BRUNDISIUM TO BRUNDISIUM AS HE CHASED POMPEY



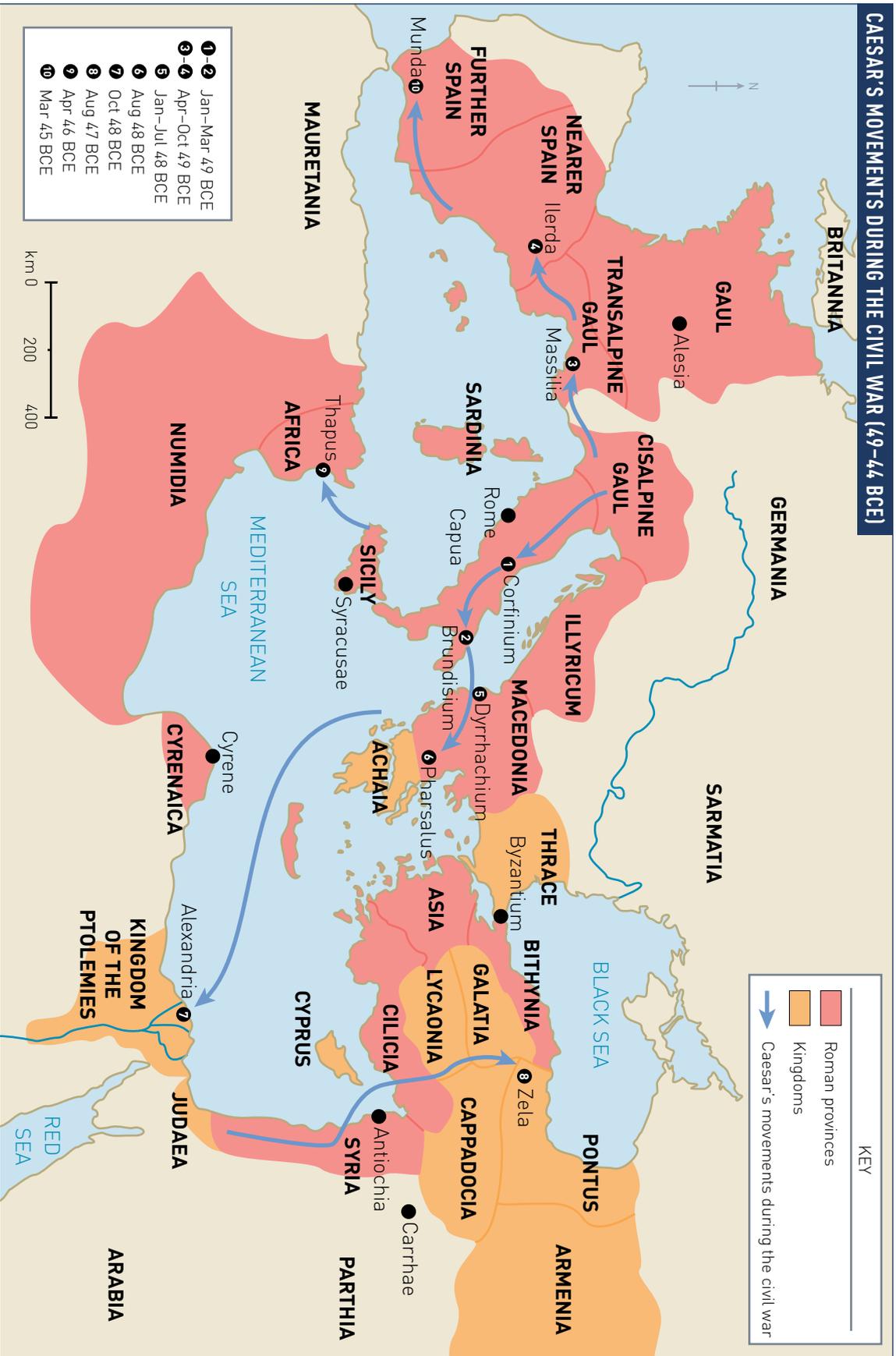
➔ SOURCE 6.26

CAESAR'S MOVEMENTS DURING THE CIVIL WAR AGAINST POMPEY



CAESAR DURING THE CIVIL WAR: MAP TASK

CAESAR'S MOVEMENTS DURING THE CIVIL WAR (49–44 BCE)



CAESAR'S STRIKE ON SPAIN

Following Pompey's evacuation, Caesar had to decide whether to follow Pompey to Greece or deal with the veteran Pompeian armies that were waiting to strike from Spain. Deciding that Spain was the most immediate threat, he chose to attack there first. Upon arrival on Spanish soil, Caesar encountered Pompey's two commanders, Afranius and Petreius, who were camped near the city of Ilerda. Caesar once more relied upon his strategy of rapid marching in order to exhaust Pompey's army by constant movement.¹⁴ While trying to manoeuvre quickly around his enemies, Caesar was caught between two rivers that flooded when an unexpected storm hit. Trapped and without food, Caesar knew he had to act quickly. He ordered his men to continuously attempt to build bridges over the water and, despite their hunger, the disciplined troops finally succeeded in crossing the river. Once free from the flooded rivers, Caesar began pursuing the Pompeian forces again.

When they finally engaged with the enemy troops, Caesar's legions were exhausted and starving. By chance, Caesar happened to capture some enemy troops who informed him of a planned night-time attack by the Pompeian armies. Using this information, Caesar responded swiftly and managed to turn the tables on his opponents, isolating them on a hill without food or water. Surrounded, the enemy reluctantly surrendered to Caesar, which ultimately handed him control of Spain. If Caesar had not learned of the Pompeian plan, he would most likely have had to surrender—and the outcome of the civil war might have been very different.

DID YOU KNOW?

During the ups and downs of the Spanish campaign, Caesar attributed his continued good luck to the goddess Fortuna, who he even claimed travelled with him.¹⁵ Caesar seems to have believed that had it not been for the goddess 'tipping the scales' in his favour, he would have been defeated in Spain and, as a consequence, lost the civil war.¹⁶

THE SHOWDOWN IN GREECE

After returning from Spain, Caesar learnt that his grip on Italy had become increasingly fragile due to Pompey's fleets. Pompey had ordered his ships to blockade the Italian ports, cutting off food supplies. The blockades worked well and large numbers of people were beginning to starve. Pompey hoped that public opinion would place pressure on Caesar to surrender. Unfortunately for Caesar, winter was about to set in—and he knew that the civilian population would not hold on for much longer. Caesar decided to invade Greece, where Pompey was in the process of recruiting and training his new armies in preparation for an invasion of Italy the following year.

However, attempting a crossing of the Adriatic Sea between Italy and Greece in winter was incredibly dangerous, as ships often sank and entire crews drowned in the unpredictable winter seas. Appian states that Pompey did not think Caesar would attempt such a precarious crossing until after winter.¹⁷ Fortunately for Caesar, Pompey was so confident that Caesar would wait that he failed to scout the seas sufficiently, allowing Caesar to transport his troops to Greece with little resistance.

▼ SOURCE 6.27

An artist's impression of Caesar crossing the Adriatic Sea in 48 BCE.



DID YOU KNOW?

During the siege at Dyrrachium, Caesar's men were suffering from extreme hunger and resorted to making bread made from local plants. According to Appian's account, when Pompey saw that Caesar's troops were able to survive on such poor food, he exclaimed: 'Look at what kind of wild beasts we are up against!'.¹⁸ This was a powerful form of psychological warfare.

Once he had landed in Greece in 48 BCE, Caesar marched his men towards the town of Dyrrachium in order to cut off Pompey's supply line. However, when Pompey realised this, he attempted to reach Dyrrachium first. The two opposing armies met just south of the town and began building siege works against each other. The construction of the siege lines produced a stalemate, so Pompey launched a major assault on Caesar's fortifications in the hope of securing a clear victory. Pompey managed to break through Caesar's wooden barricades and inflicted heavy losses. Caesar was forced to withdraw his surviving troops from the fight. Surprisingly, Pompey chose not to pursue them and instead focused on protecting his own lines of supply. This decision allowed Caesar to remain in Greece, where he was able to reorganise his men and prepare for another assault on Pompey.

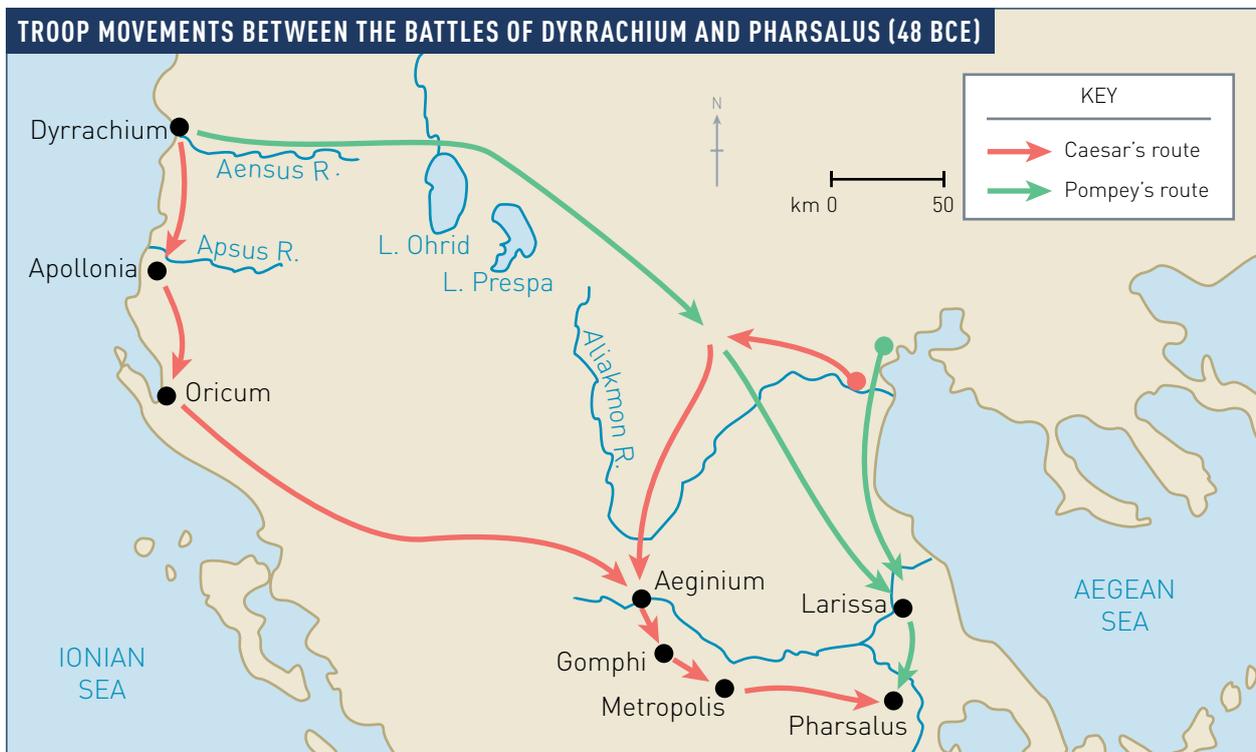
POMPEY'S DEFEAT AND DEATH

After Dyrrachium, Pompey had to decide between ignoring Caesar and invading Italy or trying to face Caesar's troops in a pitched battle. Pompey preferred the option of the reinvasion, but the *optimates* senators—who were acting as his advisers—pressured him into facing Caesar in Greece. Despite Pompey's reservations about how prepared his new troops were for an open battle against Caesar's hardened veterans, he finally gave in to the *optimates'* demands and engaged Caesar in battle near the city of Pharsalus on 9 August 48 BCE.

Pompey decided that his best chance of winning the battle was to rely on his cavalry, which outnumbered Caesar's. He set up his forces accordingly, but when Caesar observed Pompey's strategy, he reorganised some of his infantry to support his small cavalry division. This strategy worked well and Pompey's cavalry panicked and fled, reducing Pompey's chances of victory. During Caesar's subsequent infantry charge, Pompey ordered his legionnaires to stand their

SOURCE 6.28

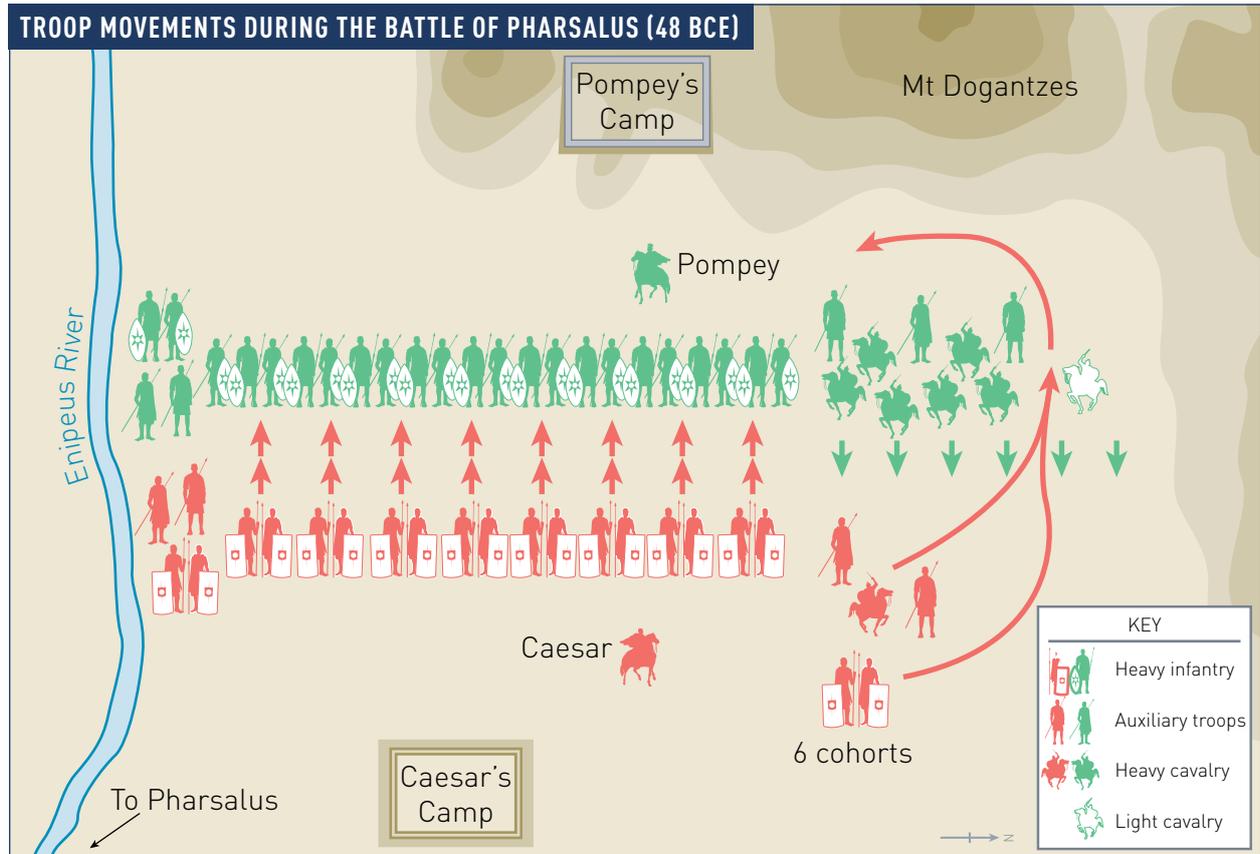
TROOP MOVEMENTS OF POMPEY AND CAESAR BETWEEN THE BATTLES OF DYRRACHIUM AND PHARSALUS



ground, reasoning that they would easily defeat Caesar's over-exerted soldiers. However, Caesar's veteran legions were more experienced and confident than Pompey's new recruits and did not flee as Pompey had been expecting. Caesar's troops were able to hold on long enough for their unit, with its supporting infantry, to circle behind Pompey's legions and cut the enemy down. Despite having the larger army, Pompey lost the Battle of Pharsalus.

SOURCE 6.29

TROOP MOVEMENTS DURING THE BATTLE OF PHARSALUS



After his defeat, Pompey fled Greece for Egypt, where he hoped to find refuge with the young pharaoh Ptolemy XIII. As Pompey stepped off his boat in Alexandria in September 48 BCE, he expected to be warmly welcomed. Instead, he was stabbed to death by the pharaoh's advisors, who were hoping to impress Caesar with their act of loyalty. A few days later, when Caesar arrived in Egypt in pursuit of Pompey, he was dismayed to find out that his opponent had been assassinated. Caesar expressed sadness that such a great man died in such a brutal manner.

SOURCE 6.30

The death of Pompey.



➔ SOURCE 6.31

Caesar gives Cleopatra the throne of Egypt by Pierre de Cortone, 1637.

DID YOU KNOW?

It was in the wake of his victory over Pharnaces at Zela in 47 BCE that Caesar wrote the famous Latin phrase: *veni, vidi, vici* ('I came, I saw, I conquered'). These three Latin words were sent back to Rome as a way of summarising Caesar's victory.¹⁹



Poor weather prevented Caesar from leaving Egypt immediately and, while waiting for conditions to change, he became involved in a civil war against Ptolemy XIII. Caesar helped Ptolemy's sister, Cleopatra VII, overthrow him as pharaoh in 47 BCE. Cleopatra and Caesar became romantically involved and, as a

result, she gave birth to his son, who was named Ptolemy Caesar (Caesarion).

When Caesar was finally ready to depart Egypt, another threat distracted him from hunting down the rest of Pompey's supporters. The threat came from Pontus, the kingdom that had been ruled by Mithridates VI. After Mithridates' death, his successor, Pharnaces II, had used the civil war between Caesar and Pompey to invade Roman-controlled areas of Asia Minor. Caesar did not want to risk a major foreign power growing in the area, so he took his troops to Asia Minor after he departed from Cleopatra. In a decisive battle at Zela in 47 BCE, Pharnaces was defeated and the Pontic threat was nullified.

However, even though Pompey was dead, resistance against Caesar had not ended. Pompeian troops were still gathering in North Africa. When Caesar finally returned to Italy in September 47 BCE, the threat from the Pompeian armies in Africa was very real. Caesar gathered his troops and launched an attack on them. In 46 BCE he finally had victory over them at the city of Thapsus. However, two of Pompey's sons escaped to Spain and raised a new resistance there. Once more, Caesar set out from Italy to confront his enemies and, in 45 BCE, defeat them. Julius Caesar returned to Rome in October 45 BCE having finally wiped out Pompeian resistance in the Republic. He was now the most powerful man in the Roman world—but he would not stay that way for very long.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What were the two different strategies employed by Pompey and Caesar at the start of the civil war?
2. What were the main reasons that Caesar won the Battle of Pharsalus?
3. What are some possible reasons that Caesar did not celebrate the news that Pompey had been assassinated in Alexandria?

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

THE CIVIL WAR

That Pompeian troops continued to fight against Caesar for three years after Pompey's death indicates that the civil war was not really about individual personalities. The factors that led to the conflict were fundamental differences in the political ideologies of the *optimates* and *populares*. All of the social and military problems that had been growing since the days of the Gracchi brothers created volatile conditions that were just waiting for a final spark to set them off. The clash between Caesar and Pompey therefore can be seen as an inevitable war. Even after the death of Caesar, the fundamental political divisions among senators continued to throw the Roman world into turmoil.

CAESAR'S DICTATORSHIP

PLUTARCH: 'What made Caesar most openly and mortally hated was his passion to be made king. It was this which made the common people hate him for the first time, and it served as a most useful pretext for those others who had long hated him but had up to now disguised their feelings.'²⁰



↑ SOURCE 6.32

Julius Caesar.

BRINGING ORDER BACK TO ROME

During the brief times that Caesar spent in Rome between his campaigns against the Pompeians in Africa and Spain, he worked hard to reorganise the political and civil life of the Republic. The normal running of politics and the economy throughout the provinces had been severely disrupted by the civil war and many solutions had to be implemented by Caesar in order to return stability to Rome. The order in which his changes were instituted is quite unclear from the ancient sources, but the causes and effects of Caesar's solutions are relatively straightforward.

THE BENEFITS OF CAESAR'S DICTATORSHIP

The Civil War was over, and problems long neglected were being addressed so that large numbers of people were better off than they had been for a long time. Rome itself now enjoyed a peace and stability that had rarely been its lot for more than a decade. Yet the scars of war were deep. So many had died—especially amongst the famous names of the Senate—and some of those who lived had to cope with the consequences of their decisions during those turbulent years.

↻ SOURCE 6.33

Adrian Goldsworthy, *Caesar: The Life of a Colossus*, (London: Phoenix, 2006), 595.

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

1. According to Adrian Goldsworthy (see above), what were the positive and negative consequences of Caesar's victory in the civil war?
2. To what extent do you think Goldsworthy believes that Caesar's dictatorship was beneficial for the people of Rome? (As you read on, develop your own view.)

ACTIVITY

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL REFORMS

One of the most important issues Caesar had to deal with was what he was going to do with the large number of military men that had participated on both sides of the civil war. Growing numbers of Caesar's own troops were due to retire from military life and—as was always the case with armies at that time—they were expecting farm allotments for their loyal service. Since land was growing scarce in Italy, Caesar founded new colonies in other parts of the Republic. More significantly, he ordered the rebuilding of the two great cities that had been destroyed in 146 BCE: Carthage and Corinth. He sent his veterans to settle in these colonies, along with other poverty-stricken citizens from Rome. This not only provided land for people, but also reduced the population pressure on Rome.

Caesar once more extended a gracious hand of forgiveness to the soldiers and commanders who had fought against him in the civil war. He did not punish or execute them, but gave them options to settle in new colonies around the Republic. Caesar was equally generous to the senators and members of the nobility who had served under Pompey. He allowed them back into the political structure of Rome and even included a few of them in his inner circle.

DID YOU KNOW?

The rebuilding of Carthage as a Roman colony was originally proposed by the Roman tribune Gaius Gracchus in 122 BCE but he was killed before he could achieve it. Caesar, on the other hand, succeeded and the new colony eventually became an influential city again.

After this, Caesar attempted to reorganise the Senate, as it had been thrown into turmoil by the conflict. First, he increased the number of senators from 600 to 900. To fill up the required number of new senators, Caesar used people who had shown loyalty to him over the years. In this way, he tried to ensure that he would not have to face the same obstructions from the Senate that he had suffered while in Gaul. Since having more people in the Senate would mean that there would be fiercer competition in annual elections, Caesar also increased the number of political positions available each year. These changes were generally well received, as it meant that more Romans had the chance of finding long-term careers in politics.

As well as organising settlements for soldiers and reorganising the Senate, Caesar invested heavily in the physical remodelling of Rome in an effort to clear away areas that had become urban slums. The suburbs of Rome were so crowded that it was common for small housefires to quickly spread and burn down large sections of the city. To solve this, Caesar cleared out whole town blocks and rebuilt new housing. With many of the urban poor being relocated to his new overseas colonies, the impact of these changes was minimised. Further, Caesar attempted to simplify the roadways to allow ease of access to public places and ordered the construction of impressive new buildings where the people of Rome could meet, trade and share in the political life of the city. The most famous of these building projects was an extension to the Forum, which was called the Forum Julium, after Caesar himself.

Finally, Caesar tackled a particularly difficult task by reordering the Roman calendar. By the 40s BCE, the traditional Roman calendar had become incredibly inaccurate and was about three months ahead of the solar calendar—an entire season! This error created problems with trade and with the timing of political and religious events. To sort out the problem, Caesar called upon an Egyptian astronomer to come up with an improved version of the calendar that Romans could use. It became known as the Julian calendar, and it allowed the civil life of the Republic to run in a much more regulated manner than it had done before.

DID YOU KNOW?

The Julian calendar was so effective and accurate that it remained in use across Europe until 1582 CE, when minor errors had accumulated to the point that it was necessary for the Pope to reset the year by ten days.

➔ SOURCE 6.34

Matthias Gelzer, *Caesar: Politician and Statesman* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1968), 282.

A MODERN APPRAISAL OF CAESAR

As a result of [Caesar's] victory the Empire had at last passed into the hands of a man of genuine political ability, who no longer followed selfish party or class interests, but who intended to shape the Empire as a whole in the way that circumstances required.

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

1. To what extent does Matthias Gelzer (see above) have a positive or negative opinion of Caesar? Support your response with evidence.
2. To what extent do you agree that Caesar 'no longer followed selfish party or class interests'?

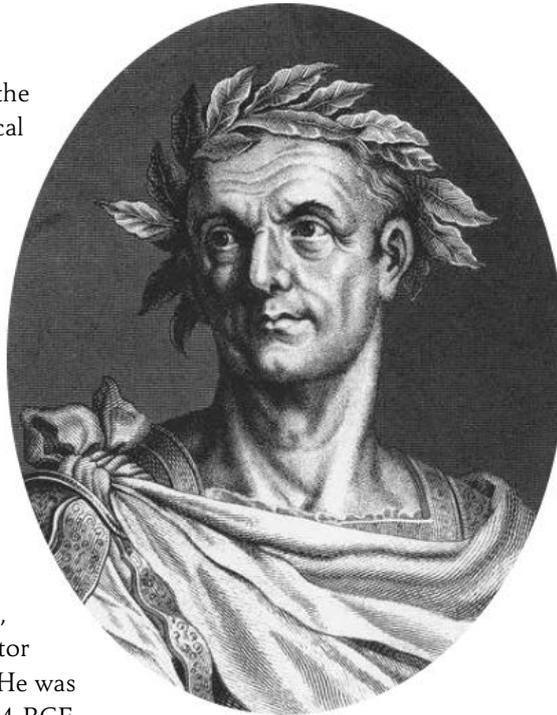
➔ SOURCE 6.35

All that remains of Caesar's Forum Julium is a series of central pillars, but it was an impressive structure in its era.



CAESAR'S POWERS

With each passing year that Caesar remained the undisputed leader of the Roman world, the number of political positions and powers he held continued to grow. After his victory at Pharsalus in 48 BCE, the Senate made him dictator for the year. In 47 BCE he was elected to his second consulship, followed by a third in 46 BCE. After he had defeated the Pompeians in 46 BCE, the Senate offered him the position of dictator again, along with the honour of being the sole consul for 45 BCE. In fact, they kept offering him the position of dictator every year until, in 44 BCE, he was offered the position of dictator forever (or *dictator in perpetuum*). He was also elected consul once more for 44 BCE.



SOURCE 6.36

Caesar wearing a laurel leaf crown.

As dictator, Caesar continued to gain additional powers that no other individual Roman had ever enjoyed. For example, he had the power to overturn any veto used by tribunes. He was considered to be the most important man in the Senate and his opinion could override all other senators. More than this, he had the power to specifically assign governorship of provinces to particular people without elections having to be held. In 45 BCE, he was given the same sacrosanctity that Plebeian Tribunes had, making his body a holy object. Furthermore, he was allowed the honour of sitting in a specially decorated chair that resembled a throne and, on special occasions, was allowed to wear a band of laurel leaves on his head, which resembled a kingly crown. If this semblance of kingship was not enough, the Senate also allowed him to set up a temple dedicated to the personification of his mercy, which had its own group of priests called the Julian Luperci. As a final honour, he was allowed to make his own coins with his face printed on them, which was the equivalent of Caesar declaring himself to be either a king or a god.



THE LIFE OF CAESAR

DID CAESAR WANT TO BE KING?

The list of special honours and powers that Caesar received over the last years of his life were truly extraordinary in the eyes of his fellow Romans. Each of these powers was technically offered to him by the Senate. However, it is unclear how many of these powers and honours were offered by the Senate of its own volition and how many were given to Caesar because the dictator wanted them. If the Senate offered the honours freely, this might have been motivated by a desire among senators to thank Caesar for sparing their lives or giving them the chance to join the Senate. If they were forced by Caesar himself to give them, it may be evidence that Caesar was intentionally seeking the powers of kingship. Unfortunately, the ancient sources are often unclear or contradictory about how these events occurred—and it may never be completely clear what really happened.

GROWING CONCERNS ABOUT CAESAR'S POWER

By 44 BCE, many senators who were secretly opposed to Caesar genuinely feared that he was effectively becoming a king over Rome. His reforms, while admirable, were not enough for the senators to overlook the autocratic manner in which one man controlled everything in the Republic.

When Caesar started outlining his plans for his next military expedition, his opponents' concerns increased. For the new campaign, Caesar was preparing to march an army to the far east where he would confront the Parthian Empire—the same empire that had defeated and killed Crassus. His enemies argued that if they let Caesar leave Rome with another army and gain further power and prestige in the East, he would one day return and demand the only honour he was still lacking: the official title of king.

CAESAR'S ASSASSINATION



FIVE THINGS TO KNOW
ABOUT CAESAR'S
ASSASSINATION

DID YOU KNOW?

Marcus Junius Brutus was chosen as one of the leaders in the conspiracy to assassinate Caesar because he claimed as an ancestor Lucius Junius Brutus, who supposedly deposed the last king of Rome and established the republic in 509 BCE.

SUETONIUS: 'More than sixty joined the conspiracy against [Caesar], led by Gaius Cassius and Decimus and Marcus Junius Brutus.'

In 44 BCE, sixty senators decided that they needed to act before Caesar left Rome. Among these senators were men who had served Pompey but had accepted Caesar's offer of pardon after the Battle of Pharsalus. The ringleader of the senators was Gaius Cassius Longinus, who persuaded the others that killing Caesar was the best and only option to save the Republic from another king. A younger member of the conspiracy was Marcus Junius Brutus (who was related to the ancient Lucius Brutus who famously helped rid Rome of its last and worst king, Tarquinius Superbus).

Caesar announced that he would discuss his finalised plans for his Parthian campaign on 15 March, 44 BCE, three days before he planned to depart with his forces. The conspirators decided that this was their best chance of carrying out the assassination. Caesar planned to hold the meeting with the Senate in a theatre built by Pompey. After Caesar arrived at the theatre, the senators approached him, acting as if they were greeting him, but instead, they drew out hidden daggers and stabbed

Caesar over twenty times, leaving him to bleed to death. He died at age 56. Plutarch highlights the irony that Caesar's body finally fell down at the base of a statue of Pompey, indicating that, in a way, Pompey had the last laugh over his rival.²¹



SOURCE 6.37

A nineteenth-century depiction of Caesar's assassination.

THE REASONS FOR CAESAR'S ASSASSINATION

[The] deeds and sayings of Caesar's may ... justify the conclusion that he deserved assassination. Not only did he accept excessive honours, such as a life-consulship, a life-dictatorship ... the title 'Imperator' put before his name, and the title 'Father of his Country' appended to it, also a statue standing among those of the ancient kings, and a raised couch placed in the orchestra at the Theatre; but took other honours, which, as a mere mortal, he should certainly have refused. These included a golden throne in the Senate House, and another on the tribunal; a ceremonial chariot ... temples, altars, and divine images; a priest of his own cult ... and the renaming of the seventh month as 'July'. Few, in fact, were the honours which he was not pleased to accept or assume.

SOURCE 6.38

Suetonius, *Deified Julius 76*, trans. Robert Graves, *The Twelve Caesars* (London: Penguin Classics, 1989), 46

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 6.38 and complete the tasks below.

1. Divide the list of honours that Suetonius supplies into two groups: things that made Caesar look like a king, and things that made Caesar look like a god.
2. Why might these honours have motivated the Romans to assassinate Caesar?
3. What evidence is there in the source that Suetonius was critical of Caesar's honours?

ACTIVITY

A NINETEENTH-CENTURY OPINION ON CAESAR

[Caesar was a] unique man, whom it seems so easy and yet so infinitely difficult to describe. His whole nature is transparent clearness; and tradition preserves more of pious and vivid information about him than about any of his peers in the ancient world ... [He was] filled with republican ideals and yet born to be a king; a Roman in the deepest essence of his nature ... Caesar was the entire and perfect man.

SOURCE 6.39

Theodor Mommsen, *The History of Rome* (London: Macmillan, 1884), Book 5, 313.

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

1. What evidence is there that Mommsen (see above) held an excessively positive opinion of Caesar?
2. Do you agree with Mommsen's view that Caesar was 'filled with republican ideals'? Give reasons.
3. Why do you think Mommsen's opinion about Caesar might have differed from that of Suetonius in Source 6.38?

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

CAESAR'S LIFE

Caesar expanded the size of the Roman Republic. He was the first Roman commander to invade Britain; this was such a momentous task that it would be a century before another commander, the Emperor Claudius, would be able to do the same thing. The example of sole leadership and dedicated political reform of the Senate set the stage for the Roman Empire, which would replace the Republic during the life of Caesar's adopted son, Octavian (known as Augustus). Caesar's example was so profound that all Roman emperors would refer to themselves as 'Caesar'. Thousands of years after Caesar's era, his name would be used by various cultures to designate kingship, as seen by German *kaisers* and Russian *czars* (tsars).



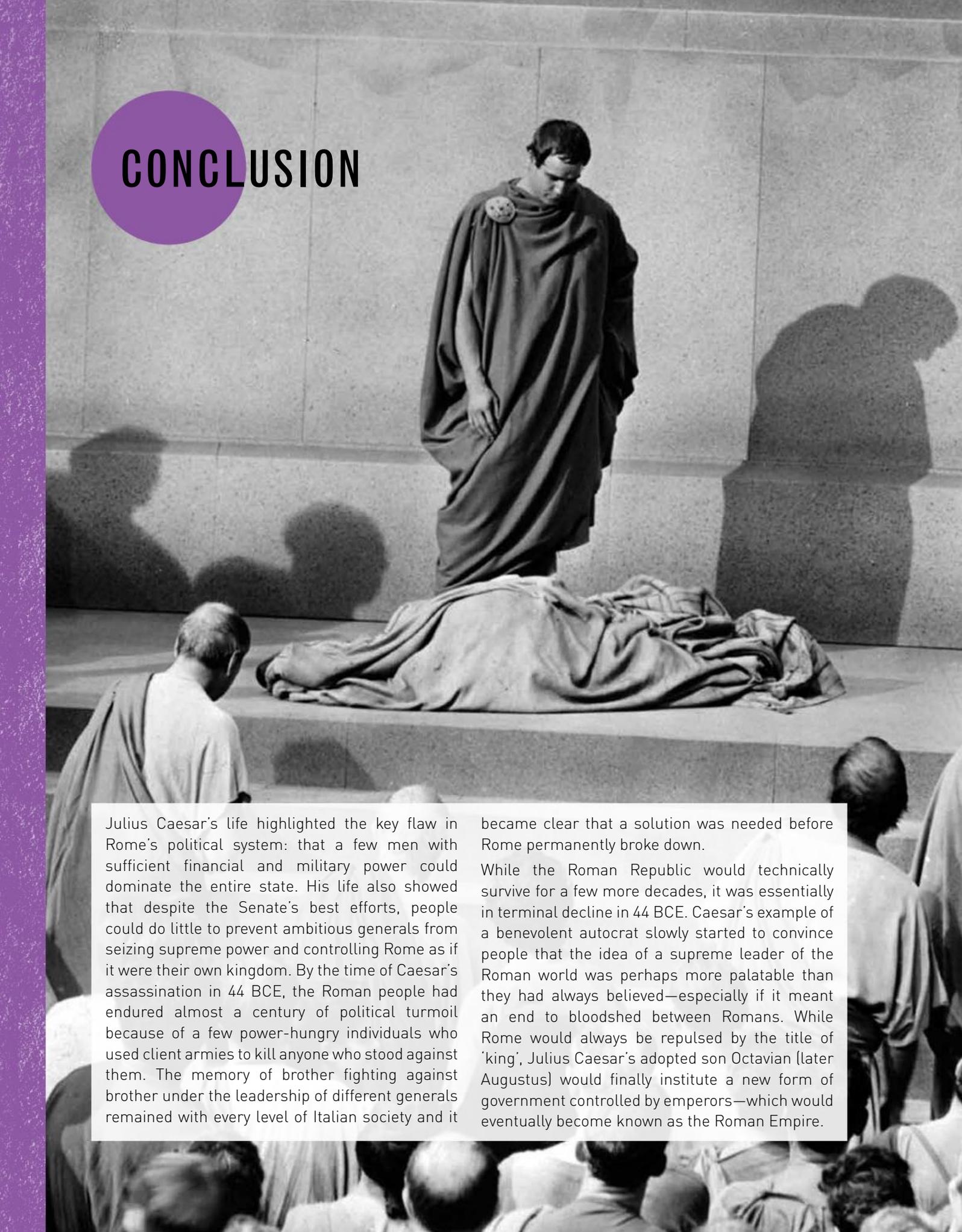
SOURCE 6.40

Modern oil painting of Julius Caesar, based on an ancient bust held at the British Museum.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. List the powers and honours that Caesar received, and why they were granted.
2. What motivated the senators to kill Caesar?
3. To what extent do you think the senators' fears about Caesar's desire for kingship were justified?



CONCLUSION

Julius Caesar's life highlighted the key flaw in Rome's political system: that a few men with sufficient financial and military power could dominate the entire state. His life also showed that despite the Senate's best efforts, people could do little to prevent ambitious generals from seizing supreme power and controlling Rome as if it were their own kingdom. By the time of Caesar's assassination in 44 BCE, the Roman people had endured almost a century of political turmoil because of a few power-hungry individuals who used client armies to kill anyone who stood against them. The memory of brother fighting against brother under the leadership of different generals remained with every level of Italian society and it

became clear that a solution was needed before Rome permanently broke down.

While the Roman Republic would technically survive for a few more decades, it was essentially in terminal decline in 44 BCE. Caesar's example of a benevolent autocrat slowly started to convince people that the idea of a supreme leader of the Roman world was perhaps more palatable than they had always believed—especially if it meant an end to bloodshed between Romans. While Rome would always be repulsed by the title of 'king', Julius Caesar's adopted son Octavian (later Augustus) would finally institute a new form of government controlled by emperors—which would eventually become known as the Roman Empire.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

Using the information presented in this chapter, write a paragraph in response to one or more of the questions below.

1. What were the reasons that Caesar, Crassus and Pompey decided to create the First Triumvirate?
2. Why was it important for Caesar to maintain his Gallic command after the events of his consulship in 59 BCE?
3. What were the main reasons the First Triumvirate ended?
4. What were the decisive factors that led to Caesar's victory in the civil war against Pompey?
5. In what ways did Rome benefit during the time of Caesar's dictatorship?

EXAM PREPARTION

In 60 minutes, write an essay of 600–800 words on one of the questions below. Support your argument with evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations.

1. 'Julius Caesar was an excellent military leader but an inept politician'. Discuss.
2. 'Pompey and the Roman Senate left Julius Caesar no choice but to begin the civil war'. Discuss.
3. Why did some Roman senators believe Julius Caesar wanted to be king, and why did they assassinate him?

EXTENSION

With a partner, research and discuss the topics below.

1. Why was the battle of Gergovia a significant event in Vercingetorix's revolt?
2. Describe the Battle of Carrhae, when Crassus invaded the Parthian empire, and the events that led to his death.
3. Why did Cicero and Clodius become political enemies?

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 6

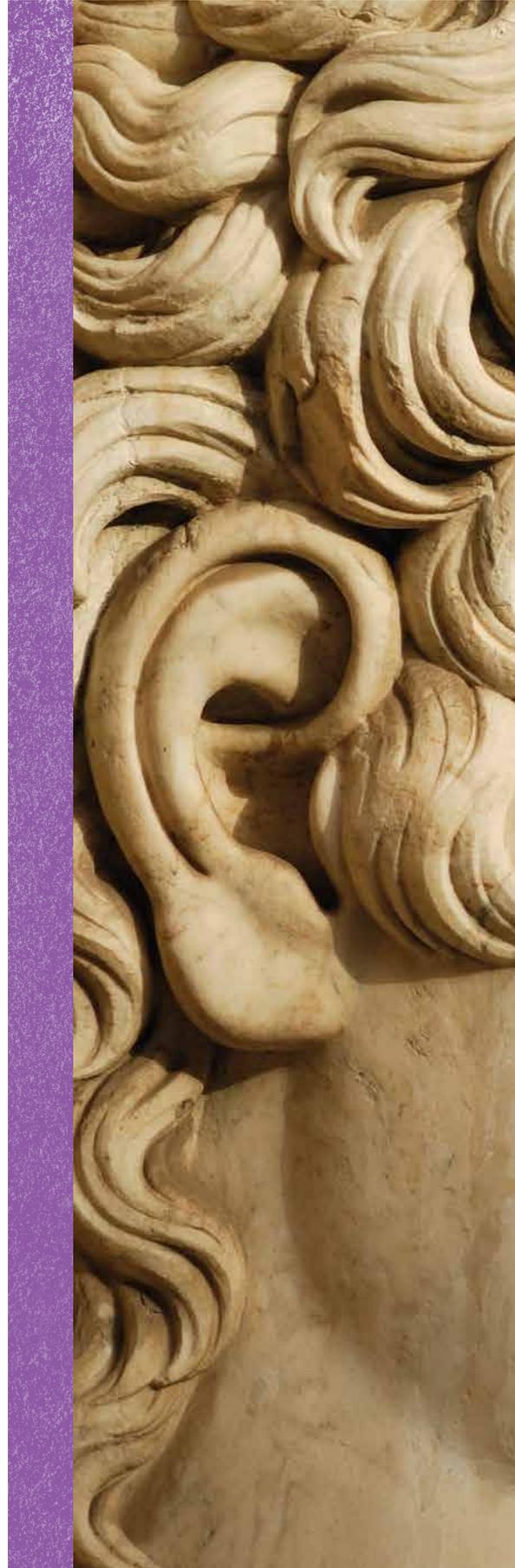
CHAPTER

7

THE RISE OF OCTAVIAN / AUGUSTUS

'At the age of nineteen, on my own initiative and at my own expense, I raised an army by means of which I restored liberty to the republic, which had been oppressed by the tyranny of a faction.'¹

AUGUSTUS, *RES GESTAE*





Giant bust of Augustus in the Cortile della Pigna, Vatican Museums

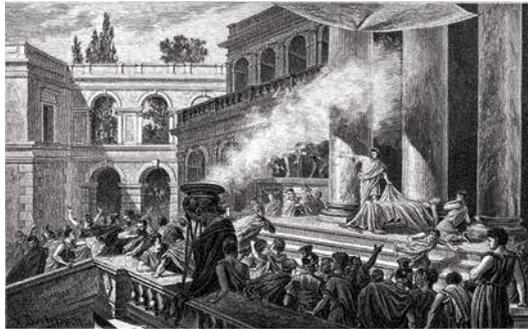
OVERVIEW

THE REPUBLIC BREAKS DOWN

- Civil wars break out after Caesar's assassination in 44 BCE
- Second Triumvirate (Octavian, Antony and Lepidus) divides up territories before ending in 33 BCE
- Caesar's heir, Octavian, becomes undisputed ruler of Rome as princeps.

CAESAR'S FUNERAL ORATION

Mark Antony, Julius Caesar's ally and general, speaks to the Roman crowd at Caesar's funeral, cleverly contrasting Caesar's virtues with the betrayal of the conspirators who assassinated him. In the speech made famous by Shakespeare ('Friends, Romans, countrymen...'), Antony claims that he is Caesar's heir, and provokes a riot in which suspected conspirators are hunted down by the crowd.



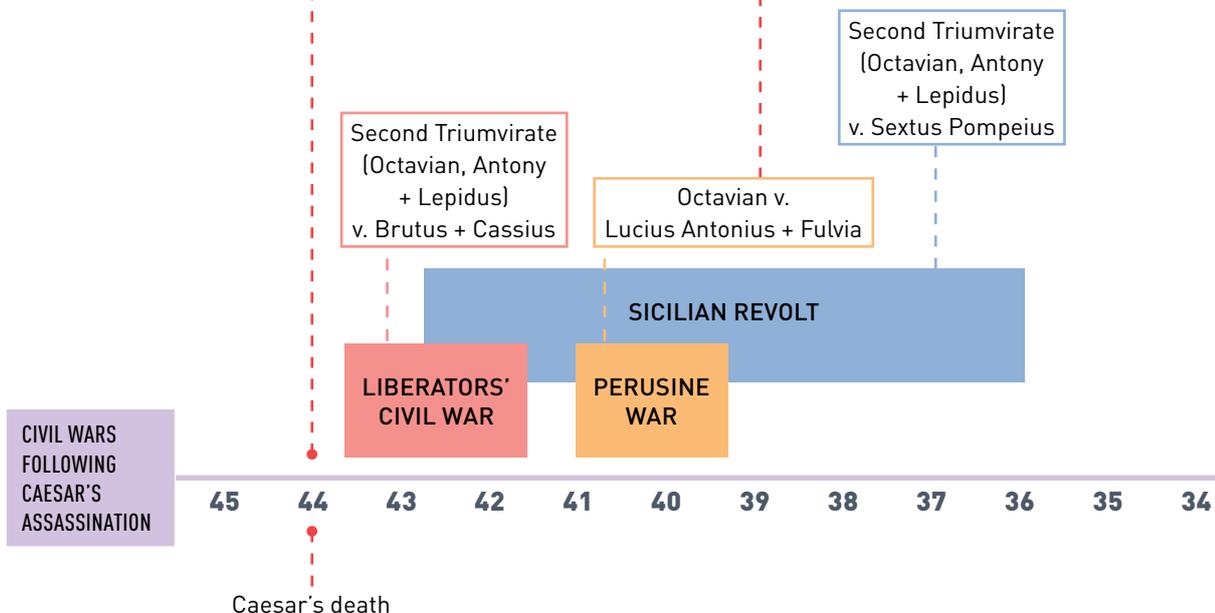
MARCUS ANTONIUS (MARK ANTONY)

Caesar's relative and general. Mark Antony took a leading role in Roman politics after Caesar's assassination in 44 BCE. Allied with Cleopatra, he eventually came into conflict with Octavian.



FULVIA

Powerful Roman aristocratic woman who, with Lucius Antonius, raised legions to fight for Antony's rights against Octavian in Perusine War. Married to significant men, including Antony.





MARCUS AEMILIUS LEPIDUS

Military commander and ally of Caesar who became part of the Second Triumvirate with Antony and Octavian.



CLEOPATRA VII

Ptolemaic Queen of Egypt, possibly a descendant of Alexander the Great. Cleopatra VII exploited her relationships with Caesar and Mark Antony for the cause of Egyptian independence.



SEXTUS POMPEIUS MAGNUS PIUS

Pompey's son, whose piracy caused problems for Octavian and Antony by threatening the grain supply. Led Sicilian Revolt.



GAIUS OCTAVIUS THURINUS / GAIUS JULIUS CAESAR OCTAVIANUS / AUGUSTUS



Caesar's nephew and adopted heir. After avenging Caesar, he came into conflict with Mark Antony for control of the Roman Empire. Became undisputed ruler of the Roman world in 31 BCE after defeating the armies of Mark Antony and Cleopatra VII at the Battle of Actium.

Octavian v. Antony + Cleopatra

WAR WITH EGYPT
(FINAL WAR OF REPUBLIC)

33 32 31 30 29 28 27 BCE

Octavian's 'reign' begins

KEY EVENTS

44 BCE

Caesar assassinated; Octavian named his heir

43 BCE

Octavian assumes *imperium*; he, Antony and Lepidus become Second Triumvirate

42 BCE

Antony and Octavian defeat Marcus Brutus and Cassius

41 BCE

Antony summons Cleopatra to Tarsus; Antony's brother Lucius Antonius opposes Octavian in Italy

40 BCE

Octavian defeats Lucius Antonius at Perugia

36 BCE

Octavian and Agrippa defeat Sextus Pompeius; Antony invades Parthia with support from Cleopatra

31 BCE

Octavian and Agrippa defeat Antony at Actium; Antony and Cleopatra flee to Egypt

30 BCE

Octavian invades Egypt; Antony and Cleopatra commit suicide; Egypt conquered by Octavian

28 BCE

Octavian and Agrippa serve as consuls and reform the Senate

27 BCE

In First Settlement, Octavian becomes 'Augustus' and takes control of most of the army

23 BCE

In Second Settlement, Augustus gains expanded *imperium* and control over all provinces

DID YOU KNOW?

There were rumoured to be sixty conspirators involved in Caesar's murder, but we only have sixteen certain names. Cicero is not generally considered to have been a conspirator.



THE AFTERMATH OF CAESAR'S MURDER

CICERO: 'I was a fool, I now see, to be consoled by the Ides of March [the date of Caesar's assassination]. The fact is, we shewed the courage of men, the prudence of children. The tree was felled, but not cut up by the roots.'²

According to ancient historian Cassius Dio, the conspirators who assassinated Julius Caesar on 15 March 44 BCE did not know what to do once he was dead.³ Discovery of the murder was met with chaos; the senators 'burst out of doors and fled ... filling the people with confusion and helpless fear.'⁴ The assassins had planned to make an explanatory speech in the Senate, but in the chaos they ran, crying out that they had slain a 'king' and 'tyrant' and calling upon the people to restore the government of their fathers. They are said to have invoked the memory of Lucius Junius Brutus who, according to tradition, had deposed the ancient kings.⁵

Lepidus, Caesar's *magister equitum* filled the Forum with troops and spoke against the assassins.⁶ The assassins attempted to explain their actions, hoping they would get support from those who had suffered under Caesar's *tyranny*. Other supporters joined them that night. Cassius Dio reports that, to explain their actions, the assassins talked of *libertas*—they believed that Caesar's regime had interfered with their freedom to have political and military careers.

On 17 March 44 BCE, Mark Antony assembled the Senate. Cicero took a leading role in attempting to reconcile the different parties. He called for 'peace, harmony and friendship' and cautioned against 'vengeance' for a 'justifiable act.' He called for immunity for the assassins Cassius and Brutus. The Senate agreed,⁷ and allowed Mark Antony to carry a motion that informed veterans that all Caesar's acts would stand.⁸

📖 SOURCE 7.01

A 'libertas' coin struck by Marcus Brutus, commemorating Caesar's death. One side shows Lucius Junius Brutus, who Marcus Brutus claimed was his ancestor.

CAESAR'S 'HEIRS'

After Caesar's death in 44 BCE, there were five men positioned to 'inherit' his wealth and power. They were Mark Antony, Octavian, Decimus Junius Brutus, Lepidus and Caesarion.



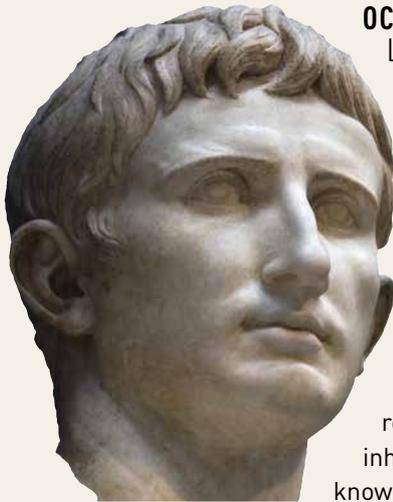
📖 SOURCE 7.02

Mark Antony.

MARK ANTONY (MARCUS ANTONIUS)

Mark Antony was Caesar's relative, and the son of a Roman commander. Antony distinguished himself as cavalry commander in Syria and Egypt in 57 BCE, when serving with Gabinius. In 54 BCE he joined Caesar's staff in Gaul. Mark Antony was questor in 51 BCE, and in 50 BCE went to Gaul again. In 49 BCE he was tribune of the plebs and defended Caesar's interests in the Senate. Antony commanded the left wing of Caesar's army in his decisive victory over Pompey at Pharsalus in 48 BCE.

When Caesar was declared dictator in 48 BCE, he appointed Mark Antony *magister equitum*, and he became Caesar's consular colleague in 44 BCE.⁹ After Caesar's death, Mark Antony was best placed to assume Caesar's power. To widespread surprise, his conduct immediately after the assassination was conciliatory and peaceful. However, this was short-lived.



OCTAVIAN (BORN GAIUS OCTAVIUS THURINUS; LATER KNOWN AS AUGUSTUS)

Octavian was Caesar's great-nephew. He was sponsored in his early career by Caesar¹⁰ and was expected to serve as Caesar's *magister equitum* once the Parthian campaign was underway. Octavian was studying in Apollonia in northern Greece (modern Albania) when he received the news of Caesar's assassination.

In Caesar's will, Octavian was named as his adopted son and primary heir. Octavian returned to Italy after Caesar's death to claim his inheritance. (Later, after 27 BCE, Octavian became known as Augustus, 'the revered one' or 'the wise'.)

🔍 SOURCE 7.03

Octavian.

DECIMUS JUNIUS BRUTUS

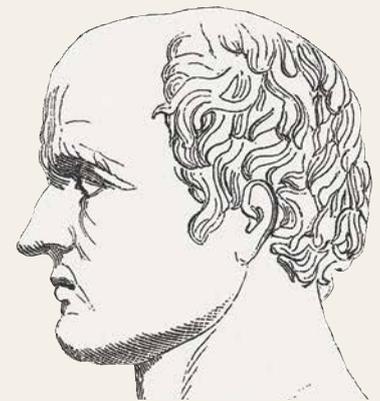
Decimus Brutus served with Caesar in Gaul, and commanded a fleet during the civil war with Pompey in 49 BCE. Brutus was named as one of Caesar's heirs—in case Octavian (the primary heir) were to die. Despite this, Decimus Brutus was one of the conspirators responsible for Caesar's assassination in 44 BCE. After the assassination, he left for Cisalpine Gaul, where he had an army at his disposal. (Not to be confused with Marcus Brutus, who was one of Caesar's assassins.)

MARCUS AEMILIUS LEPIDUS

An accomplished military commander, Lepidus had been praetor in 49 BCE and governor of Nearer Spain in 48–47 BCE. He served as *magister equitum* to Caesar in 46–44 BCE. Although not mentioned in Caesar's will, Lepidus had troops at his disposal in and near Rome and was in a position to oppose the conspirators.

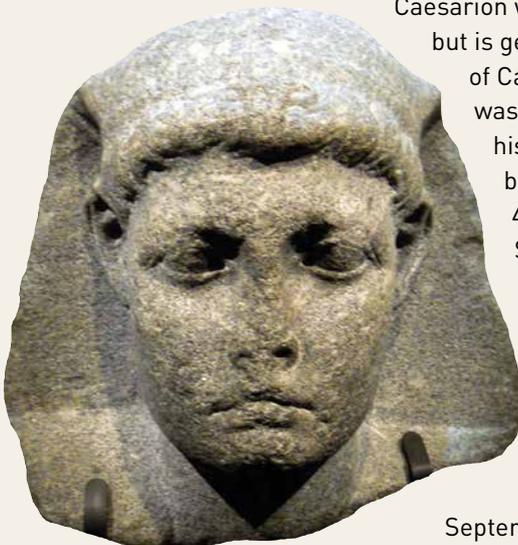
🔍 SOURCE 7.04

Lepidus.



CAESARION (LATER PTOLEMY XV PHILOPATOR PHILOMETOR CAESAR)

Caesarion was not mentioned in Caesar's will, but is generally accepted as being the son of Caesar and Queen Cleopatra VII. He was a potential heir to Caesar—and his name and family links could have been exploited. He lived in Rome from 46 to 44 BCE, and ancient historian Suetonius implies that during this time Caesar acknowledged Caesarion as his son.¹¹ Cleopatra fled Rome after Caesar's assassination and returned to Egypt with Caesarion. Caesarion became co-ruler of Egypt as Ptolemy XV with his mother in September 44 BCE, at the age of three.



ACTIVITY

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

Discuss or note down what you know about Caesarion and about Caesar's other potential 'heirs'. Who was best placed to replace Caesar? What errors had the assassins made?

🔍 SOURCE 7.05

A bust of Caesarion excavated from Alexandria harbour, Egypt.

DID YOU KNOW?

The spot in the Forum where Mark Antony lay Caesar's body for his funeral oration was immediately treated as a holy site and became the altar for the temple later dedicated by Augustus to *Divus Julius*, 'Caesar the God'.



SHAKESPEARE'S
DEPICTION OF
ANTONY'S SPEECH

▼ SOURCE 7.06

Mark Antony displaying the body of Julius Caesar during his funeral oration.

CAESAR'S WILL AND FUNERAL

Caesar's will was read out on 18 March 44 BCE. There was a provision for Mark Antony and Decimus Brutus to play the role of 'second heirs' and guardians to Octavian.¹² Caesar gave his lavish gardens across the River Tiber to the people of Rome for their leisure and recreation, and made significant donations to each citizen. This was greeted with much excitement.¹³

Two days later, Mark Antony delivered the funeral oration for Caesar in the Forum. Mark Antony's display of Caesar's shrouded but bloodied body, and his use of a wax model showing the wounds, stirred the crowd. In his speech, described by ancient historian Cassius Dio as 'brilliant', Mark Antony called himself Caesar's heir. The speech outlined Caesar's career and virtues: his ancestors, his all-round abilities, his liberality, his public service, his military service, his clemency, his goodness, his incorruptibility and the honours he was awarded by the Senate and the people of Rome; these were in stark contrast to the criticisms of Caesar made by Marcus Brutus and Cassius when they justified his murder. Cleverly, Mark Antony drew a distinction between Caesar's virtues and his treatment at the hands of the assassins, speaking of an ambush by men who had been rewarded and honoured by Caesar, and who had sworn an oath to protect him.

The reaction to Mark Antony's speech was immediate. There was a riot in the Forum. A mob scoured the city in pursuit of his assassins and their friends and associates. There are reports of indiscriminate killings and cases of mistaken identity. A shrine appeared almost immediately on the spot where Mark Antony had displayed the body. Offerings to Caesar's divinity continued to be made on



that spot even after they were officially discouraged.¹⁴ Caesar's body was cremated and his remains buried in the centre of the Forum.

Some assassins fled the city, but Cassius and Marcus Brutus remained in Rome in their official capacity as praetors.

APPIAN ON CAESAR'S FUNERAL

Marc Antony ... had been chosen to deliver the funeral oration ...

'It is not right, my fellow-citizens, for the funeral oration in praise of so great a man to be delivered by me ... instead of by his whole country. The honors that all of you alike, first Senate and then People, decreed for him in admiration of his qualities when he was still alive, these I shall read aloud and regard my voice as being not mine, but yours.'

He then read them out with a proud and thunderous expression on his face ... calling him 'sacrosanct', 'inviolable', 'father of his country', 'benefactor', or 'leader', as they had done in no other case ...

'... Caesar himself [did not] snatch these honors by force like a despot [tyrant], indeed did not even ask for them. Evidently we are the most unfree of people because we give such things unasked to those who do not deserve them. But you, my loyal citizens, by showing him such honor at this moment, although he is no more, are defending us against the accusation of having lost our freedom.'

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 7.07 and complete the tasks below.

1. Outline Mark Antony's views on how Caesar should be viewed by the people and by the Senate, according to the source.
2. Explain what Mark Antony meant by suggesting that Romans had not lost their freedom. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate Caesar's leadership of Rome. Use evidence to support your response.

SOURCE 7.07

Appian, *The Civil Wars* 2.144, trans. John Carter (Livius.org) <http://www.livius.org/sources/content/appian/appian-caesars-funeral/>

DID YOU KNOW?

According to Plutarch, Mark Antony's funeral oration for Caesar successfully united Caesar's supporters under his leadership. However, Plutarch also said Antony still had potential rivals—particularly Cicero.

ACTIVITY

THE RISE OF MARK ANTONY

After Caesar's murder, Mark Antony was ideally placed to head the Caesarians (the party associated with Caesar). He treated Marcus Brutus and Cassius with respect, and abolished the office of dictator. But Mark Antony was also using Caesar's *acta* (his papers—whether real or not) and Caesar's fortune to extend his patronage throughout Italy and the *provinces*. He was most likely supported by the other leaders of the Caesarian party.¹⁵

But another leader, Cicero, did not trust Mark Antony and was aware that there were more radical elements among Caesar's supporters. Cicero was disillusioned with the assassins when they failed to take his advice and consolidate their position. He was aware that the assassins were becoming isolated from political power—as was Cicero himself.

In frustration, Cicero left Rome for Campania. In his absence, the Senate allotted the consuls for the provinces, with Mark Antony receiving Macedonia and Syria for five years. This signalled the returning influence of the Caesarians, as these were the same provinces that Marcus Brutus and Cassius had previously chosen as their respective power bases.

ACTIVITY

CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

Identify one aspect of Roman politics that experienced either change or continuity following Mark Antony's succession of Caesar.

DID YOU KNOW?

There is doubt whether Caesar's adoption of Octavian was legal. Octavian was already the head of his family in 44 BCE, having lost his birth father in 58 BCE. This would normally have prevented his adoption by another person.

OCTAVIAN'S RETURN TO ITALY

In early April 44 BCE Octavian landed in Italy from Macedonia. Ancient historians Plutarch¹⁶ and Suetonius¹⁷ noted Octavian's determination to claim his inheritance and avenge his 'father' Caesar. Octavian learned that he had been named in Caesar's will as his adopted son, so he changed his name from Gaius Octavius Thurinus to Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus (known as Octavian). However, it appears that Octavian acted cautiously, making his presence known to Caesar's troops and veterans in Brundisium while he reached out to the leaders of the Caesarian party. Octavian went to Rome in early May, visiting Mark Antony and inquiring about the money that Mark Antony was holding for him. Mark Antony treated eighteen-year-old Octavian with contempt and ignored his complaints, claiming that his adoption by Caesar had not been official.

DID YOU KNOW?

In July 44 BCE, Octavian paid for the staging of the Victory Games that Caesar had promised to the people of Rome.¹⁹

MARK ANTONY'S WAR WITH THE SENATE

CICERO: 'Here at Rome we are waging war with the most abandoned gladiator in the world, our colleague Antony, but not on equal terms, for it is words against arms.'¹⁸

In June 44 BCE, Mark Antony made a number of decisive moves. He enacted a law to give himself provinces in Gaul and northern Italy for five years. He also prepared to transfer Caesar's army from Macedonia to his new provinces.

However, Decimus Brutus had been given Cisalpine Gaul and refused to abandon it. In December, the Senate instructed Decimus Brutus to hold out against Mark Antony, but he was eventually besieged in Mutina.²⁰ The consuls Hirtius and Pansa were ordered to Mutina to drive out Mark Antony. Octavian was granted the status of praetor and shared a command with Hirtius.²¹

With the consuls away in Mutina, Cicero was now in control of Rome. Cicero realised that if Mark Antony succeeded in Gaul, he would become Caesar's natural successor, and that the best chance of supporting the Republic was to back Octavian. He made speeches, held assemblies and attacked Mark Antony's supporters. In one of his later *Philippics*, he even persuaded the Senate to declare Mark Antony a public enemy.

The armies of Mark Antony and those of Octavian, Hirtius and Pansa fought near Mutina. Mark Antony was defeated—but both Hirtius and Pansa were killed, leaving Octavian in command of the armies. However, the Senate decided to make Decimus Brutus a consul so that he would command the armies against Mark Antony.



SOURCE 7.08

Cicero using his skill as a speaker to persuade the people of Rome. Nineteenth century engraving.

CICERO'S PHILIPPICS

Cicero, fearing Mark Antony's ambition in the months following Caesar's assassination, postponed a visit to Greece and returned to Rome. When Octavian arrived to claim his 'inheritance', Cicero saw an opportunity to embarrass Mark Antony and check his growing influence by supporting Octavian. Plutarch mentions Cicero's 'natural craving for power' as a motive for opposing Mark Antony.²²

On 2 September 44 BCE, when Mark Antony was absent from the Senate, Cicero delivered the first of fourteen speeches against him that are referred to as *Philippics*, in memory of Demosthenes' famous warnings against Philip II of Macedon.

CICERO'S FOURTH PHILIPPIC

I praise you,—yes, I praise you greatly, O Romans, when you follow with the most grateful minds the name of that most illustrious youth, or rather boy [Octavian]; for his actions belong to immortality ... For, when we were weighed down with slavery, when the evil was daily increasing, when we had no defense, while we were in dread of the pernicious and fatal return of Marcus Antonius from Brundisium, this young man adopted the design which none of us had ventured to hope for, which beyond all question none of us were acquainted with, of raising an invincible army of his father's soldiers, and so hindering the frenzy of Antonius, spurred on as it was by the most inhuman counsels, from the power of doing mischief to the republic.

SOURCE 7.09

Cicero, The Orations of Marcus Tullius Cicero 4.3
trans. C. D. Yonge (London:
George Bell & Sons, 1903).



CICERO'S
PHILIPPICS:
FULL TEXT

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES

1. Identify Cicero's point of view on both Mark Antony and Octavian, according to his Fourth Philippic.
2. Why might it have been in Cicero's interests to express such views to the Senate?
3. Why might Cicero have seen Antony as a threat to the 'republic'? Was there any evidence for this?

After the Battle of Mutina, Mark Antony retreated into Gaul, where his forces were joined by those of Lepidus, which had been sent to attack him. Together, Mark Antony and Lepidus crossed into Italy with seventeen legions and 10 000 cavalry. When news of Mark Antony and Lepidus joining forces reached Rome, the Senate postponed the consular elections.

Octavian now stirred anti-Senate feelings among his troops—and among Caesar's veterans—by claiming that their benefits were at stake. When Octavian entered Italy with eight legions, the Senate panicked and allowed him to have the vacant consul position (as the two consuls, Hirtius and Pansa, had died).



THE BATTLE OF
MUTINA

SOURCE 7.10

Battle of Mutina, 43 BCE.
As depicted on an early
twentieth century playing
card.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Who did Mark Antony make an alliance with after the Battle of Mutina?
2. Why did Octavian seek reconciliation with Mark Antony?
3. What was the Second Triumvirate?

When he arrived in Rome, Octavian paid his troops and organised elections. After being elected consul, a law was passed to punish Caesar's assassins.

On discovering that Cassius and Marcus Brutus had raised twenty legions in their provinces, Octavian decided to reconcile with Mark Antony. He sent one of Caesar's veterans to Mark Antony with a message of reconciliation, and wrote to Lepidus in a similar vein.

Shortly afterwards, Octavian met with Mark Antony and Lepidus at Bononia (now Bologna). Over three days, the three men drew up an agreement to join forces and seize power, thus forming the Second Triumvirate.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

CAESAR'S LEGIONS

Caesar's legions and veterans played a decisive role in the events that followed Caesar's assassination—ignoring their influence and interests was to invite disaster. This can be seen in the ease with which Octavian raised legions from among Caesar's veterans.

Maintaining the loyalty of the legions was paramount. Both Mark Antony and Octavian exploited their reputations to encourage legions to defect from one commander to another. Decimus Brutus lost his life in Gaul when his legions deserted him. Defection was a common theme during the struggle among Caesar's heirs.

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Discuss why Caesar's legions and veterans were important to Caesar's heirs.

DID YOU KNOW?

Mark Antony's wife Fulvia was a powerful and wealthy woman with a pedigree as a political activist. Her first husband, Publius Clodius was a prominent politician. She had also been married to Curio, another famous agitator of the plebs.

THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE

PLUTARCH: 'So the three men came together on a small island in the midst of a river, and there held conference for three days ... they divided up the whole empire among themselves as though it were an ancestral inheritance; but the dispute about the men who were to be put to death gave them the greatest trouble ... Their injustice was greater towards their friends, whom they slew without so much as hating them.'²³

The combined forces of Mark Antony, Lepidus and Octavian overwhelmed the opposition of the Senate. On 27 November 43 BCE, the People's Assembly appointed them as *Triumviri Rei Publicae Constituendae Consulari Potestate* ('Three men with consular power to confirm the Republic') for five years. The title implies that they were to bring an end to civil strife. The triumvirs also intended to deal with Caesar's assassins—particularly Cassius and Marcus Brutus, who had gathered their supporters in the East.

The appointment of *triumviri*—in the form of a three-man board or committee—was quite common in Roman politics, and was used for matters such as land distribution. But the Second Triumvirate was unique. The three men held consular power without office. They were empowered to appoint city magistrates and dispose of the provinces as they saw fit. Lepidus' possession of Spain and part of Gaul was confirmed. He agreed to hand over seven legions to Octavian and Mark Antony so that they could fight against Marcus Brutus and Cassius in the East. Mark Antony kept Cisalpine Gaul and control over Gaul itself. Octavian held Africa

and had nominal authority over Sicily and Sardinia. Octavian commanded twenty legions, the same number as Mark Antony. In exchange for seven legions, Lepidus would assume control of Rome while Mark Antony and Octavian were away pursuing Caesar's assassins.

THE PROSCRIPTIONS

Lepidus, Antony and Octavian ('the triumvirs'), possibly motivated by both revenge and the need for money to finance a war, declared a proscription. This was a list of 'public enemies' who were outlawed and had their estates confiscated, with a fixed scale of rewards for killing or betraying them. Most of the 300 Senators and 2000 *equites* (knights) on the list had either opposed the triumvirs or come into conflict with them. Many of the people on the list—as well as people who *thought* they might be on the list—fled to Sicily to join Sextus Pompeius, Pompey's youngest son.

One result of the proscriptions was the demise of many of the old families that had governed the Republic—and Cicero was one of the first killed.

DID YOU KNOW?

Cicero was killed in 43 BCE under the proscriptions of the triumvirs. Because of Cicero's many written and spoken attacks against Mark Antony, it is said that his severed hand and tongue were nailed to the speaker's platform of the Rostra.

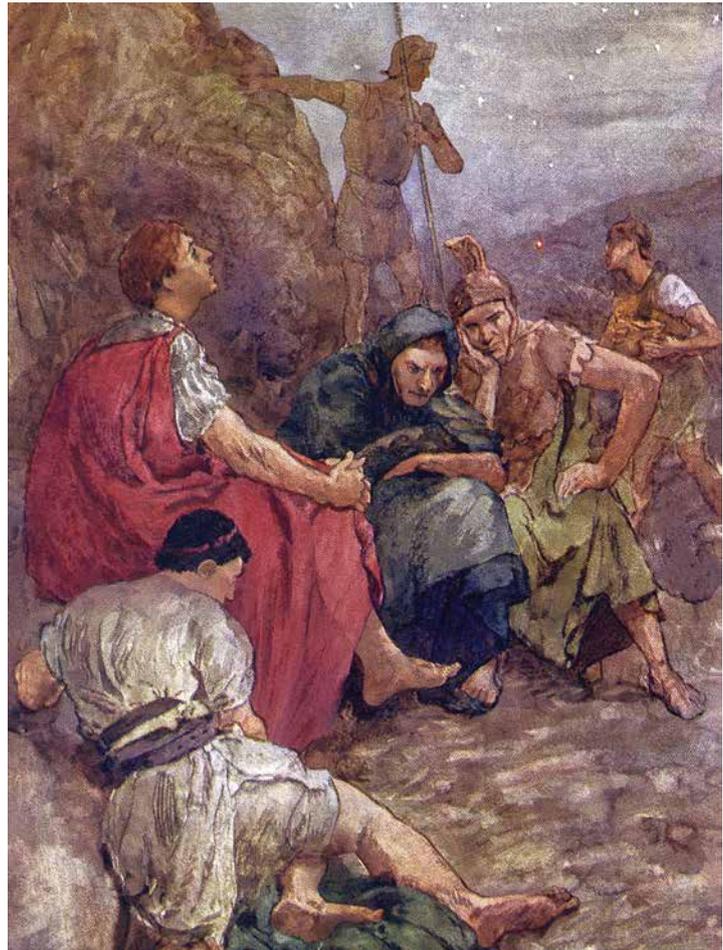
CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What were the proscriptions and what kinds of people were listed in them?
2. Why was Cicero proscribed?
3. How strong was Octavian's position in the Second Triumvirate?

ACTIVITY

SOURCE 7.11

Marcus Brutus sits after the Battle of Philippi before he commits suicide. Early twentieth century painting.



WAR BETWEEN TRIUMVIRS AND CONSPIRATORS

After the triumvirs had established their position, they were ready to deal with Marcus Brutus and Cassius.

Mark Antony and Octavian fought two battles against Marcus Brutus and Cassius, the two chief conspirators in Caesar's murder, in Macedonia, near Philippi, in October and November 42 BCE. Although Brutus and Cassius had a better strategic position, they could not agree on strategy or tactics. Brutus' legions had been stationed in Macedonia for Caesar's war with Parthia. Both Cassius and Brutus were defeated, and committed suicide. After Philippi, the survivors of Brutus and Cassius's legions—as well as those stationed elsewhere—joined with Mark Antony and Octavian.



THE BATTLE OF PHILIPPI

OCTAVIAN, ANTONY AND LEPIDUS DIVIDE UP TERRITORIES

After their victory over Marcus Brutus and Cassius, Mark Antony and Octavian worked together to ease Lepidus out of the Second Triumvirate when they drew up the Agreement of Philippi in 42 BCE. They charged Lepidus, probably unjustly, with collusion to aid Sextus Pompeius in his piracy around Sicily and Sardinia.

Under the Agreement, Antony would govern the East (Greece, Asia, Egypt), and another region in Gaul; Octavian retained Sardinia and Sicily, as well as gaining Spain from Lepidus, and Lepidus would acquire Africa—provided he could clear his name.

Antony was the senior and dominant partner at this point, and dictated terms. He would go east to pursue Caesar’s plans for war against Parthia. Octavian was given the job of finding land to be given to veteran soldiers on *coloniae* (‘colonies’) on confiscated land in Italy. This made him very unpopular with the evicted Italians. However, the veterans settled on the colonies would become his future supporters.

MARK ANTONY IN THE EAST (41–33 BCE)



ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA MEET IN TARSUS

PLUTARCH: ‘On [Cleopatra’s] arrival, Antony sent to invite her to supper. She thought it fitter he should come to her.’

Mark Antony had gained control of the provinces in the East and wished to conquer the Parthian Empire (now Iran, Iraq and surrounding areas). But before he could begin his conquest he needed to raise money. He also had twenty-eight legions to pay.

▼ SOURCE 7.12

Arrival of Cleopatra at Tarsus to Meet with Mark Antony by Charles Joseph Natoire, 1756.

GLEOPATRA

In 41 BCE Mark Antony summoned Queen Cleopatra VII of Egypt to Tarsus, in the Roman province of Cilicia (now Turkey). He wanted to know why, after Caesar’s assassination, she had supported Cassius. He also knew that Egypt, as

one of Rome’s powerful client-states, was indispensable to Rome’s planned invasion of the Parthian Empire. There is also the possibility that, in his efforts to maintain Caesar’s legacy, he envisaged himself successfully invading the Parthian Empire with Cleopatra at his side.

It is possible that Mark Antony had met Cleopatra when he was in Egypt with Gabinius in the late 50s BCE; certainly he would have been aware of her relationship with Caesar when he served as Consul in 44 BCE. Appian claimed Antony was immediately a slave to her wit and good looks.²⁴ Plutarch describes the progress of Cleopatra to Tarsus in 41 BCE and Antony’s reaction.²⁵



CLEOPATRA'S ARRIVAL IN TARSUS

[Cleopatra] 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 ... 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 ...

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 7.13 and complete the tasks below.

1. Outline Plutarch's account of the meeting of Cleopatra and Mark Antony.
2. Explain why Mark Antony wanted to meet with Cleopatra. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the significance of alliances for Mark Antony and the Caesarians. Use evidence to support your response.

ACTIVITY

SOURCE 7.13

Plutarch, Lives. Life of Antony, trans. John Dryden and Arthur H. Clough (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1902).

DID YOU KNOW?

Cleopatra was the first member of the Ptolemies (a Macedonian Greek dynasty) to learn to speak Egyptian. Plutarch said Cleopatra could speak nine languages. However, Cicero complained that Latin was not one of them.

After meeting in Tarsus, Cleopatra and Antony became allies as well as lovers. They went together to Alexandria in Egypt; as a consequence, Antony delayed his Parthian campaign. That year, Cleopatra gave birth to Antony's twins.

THE PERUSINE WAR AND OCTAVIA

Mark Antony's preparations in the East were interrupted by events in Italy in 40 BCE.

Octavian decided to divorce his wife, Clodia. Clodia was the daughter of Fulvia (Antony's wife) from a previous marriage. Octavian hoped to replace Clodia with another woman (Scribonia) to forge an alliance. However, in the process, Octavian broke the alliance that existed between himself and Antony (via Clodia). To support Mark Antony against Octavian and to fight against Octavian's land resettlement policies, Fulvia raised an army with the help of Antony's brother Lucius Antonius.

When the army of Lucius and Fulvia marched on Rome, Octavian returned to the city. Lucius and Fulvia fled to Perugia, where Octavian put them under siege until they surrendered. Fulvia escaped to Athens, where she met up with Antony who, as a consequence, had to put off his Parthian campaign again so that he could return to Rome to secure his position. Fulvia died suddenly of an unknown illness.

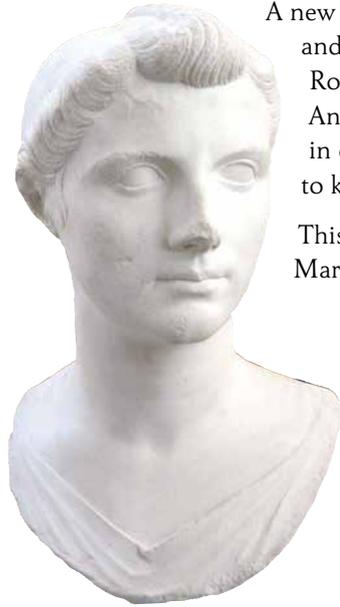
Antony sailed to Brundisium but was denied access. He landed his troops and surrounded the town. When Octavian arrived to lift the blockade another civil war appeared imminent. However the soldiers of both armies refused to fight. This refusal, along with the sudden death of Fulvia, allowed Antony and Octavian to reconcile—and to blame all their troubles on Fulvia.

DID YOU KNOW?

Cleopatra was believed to be descended from an illegitimate child of Philip II of Macedon, who was the father of Alexander the Great. This made her a relative of Alexander the Great—and both Julius Caesar and Mark Antony were admirers of Alexander the Great.



THE LIFE OF OCTAVIA



A new agreement was brokered between Antony, Octavian and Lepidus in 40 BCE: the Treaty of Brundisium. The Roman possessions were divided in two parts, with Antony in command of eastern provinces and Octavian in command of western provinces. Lepidus was allowed to keep Africa.

This new arrangement was sealed with the marriage of Mark Antony to Octavian's sister, Octavia.

ACTIVITY

SIGNIFICANT WOMEN

1. Why did Mark Antony send for Cleopatra in 41 BCE?
2. Who was Fulvia and why was she significant in 40 BCE?
3. What did the marriage of Antony to Octavia hope to achieve?

➔ SOURCE 7.14

Octavia.

ANTONY'S WAR WITH PARTHIA

In 40 BCE, while Mark Antony was occupied with events in Italy, Parthian forces invaded Syria, under the command of a Parthian prince, Pacorus I, and a former Roman general, Quintus Labienus, who had fled Rome because of the proscriptions. The Parthians soon occupied most of Rome's Asiatic possessions or territories.

Antony, occupied with Fulvia in Italy, handed command of the army to Publius Ventidius. Ventidius went to the East, surprised Labienus and executed him, halting the Parthian advance. Ventidius quickly restored Roman fortunes in Syria and pushed into Armenia. Publius Canidius and Gaius Sosius won further success in Armenia and Judea.

In 36 BCE Mark Antony finally launched his invasion of Parthia; it was financed by Cleopatra. He followed Caesar's plan and struck successfully through Armenia and Media Atropatene at the head of about 200 000 men. However, the failure of his artillery to traverse Armenia delayed his final assault and forced him to withdraw, with the loss of about 20 000 troops.

➔ SOURCE 7.15

Christopher Pelling, 'The East, 39–37 BC' in The Cambridge Ancient History, second edition, ed. Alan K. Bowman et al. (CUP, 1996), 32–33.

MARK ANTONY'S RETREAT

Antony was ... accused of wrecking the campaign for Cleopatra's sake. He had begun it too late in the season, they said, because he had dallied too long in Alexandria [Egyptian city]; then he had conducted the invasion itself too hurriedly, eager to return to her side. But the points were hardly fair Antony's strategy made sense. But it went wrong.

➔ SOURCE 7.16

Plutarch, Lives, cited in William Stearns Davis, Readings in Ancient History vol. 1 (1912).

PLUTARCH ON ANTONY

[Antony was] ...carried away by [Cleopatra] to Alexandria, there to keep holiday, like a boy, in play and diversion, squandering and fooling away in enjoyment that most costly of all valuables, time.

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

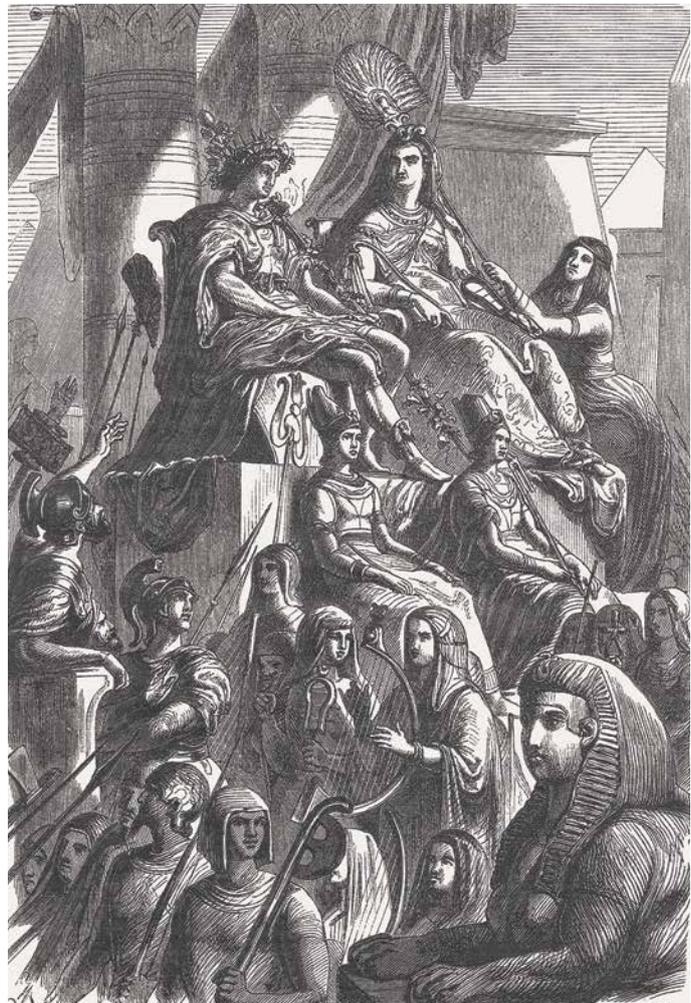
1. What accusation does Christopher Pelling (Source 7.15) say was levelled against Mark Antony?
2. Why does Pelling think the accusation was unfounded?
3. Compare Pelling's view with that of Plutarch, which was written in the first century BCE.

ACTIVITY

When Mark Antony was preparing for his second invasion of Parthia, Octavia arrived on Octavian's behalf to offer 2000 men. The offer was treated with scorn, as Antony had requested 20 000 men under the terms of the Treaty of Tarentum in 37 BCE. Plutarch suggests that this was a planned move by Octavian—he expected his assistance to be scorned.²⁶ In this second invasion, again financed by Cleopatra, Antony annexed Armenia. The control of Armenia and influence in its affairs was crucial to the relationship with Parthia and became an essential part of Roman imperial policy in the coming decades. Antony returned to Alexandria in triumph.

TRIUMPH IN ARMENIA AND THE 'DONATIONS OF ALEXANDRIA'

In Alexandria in late 34 BCE, Mark Antony and Cleopatra celebrated Antony's triumph over Armenia. They appeared as the gods Isis and Dionysus, seated on golden thrones. Their three children accompanied them, dressed as kings and a queen. In what could be considered a direct challenge to Octavian, Antony announced to the world the legitimacy of Caesar and Cleopatra's 13-year-old son, Ptolemy XV (Caesarion), who was described as 'King of Kings'. The children of Cleopatra and Antony were declared rulers of various parts of Rome's eastern territories. These proclamations are known as the 'Donations of Alexandria', and strained Antony's relations with Rome. A coin was issued to celebrate the 'donations' of the lands.



↑ SOURCE 7.17

Antony and Cleopatra dressed up as the gods Dionysus and Isis.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What did Mark Antony achieve while campaigning against Parthia?
2. What were the 'Donations of Alexandria'?
3. Why were the donations a source of concern in Rome?

ACTIVITY

SEXTUS POMPEIUS AND THE SICILIAN REVOLT

Pompey's youngest son Sextus Pompeius, an anti-Caesarian who lived off piracy, gathered a formidable naval force and his operations off Sicily and Sardinia threatened Rome's supply route for grain from Egypt and Africa. Sextus avoided or defeated the forces sent against him, and was reinforced by the survivors of the proscriptions, and by the remnants of the forces of Brutus and Cassius seeking refuge after their defeat at Philippi. Another source of manpower comprised the disgruntled Italians recently evicted from their towns to make room for veterans of the civil war.

In 40 BCE Octavian married Sextus's relative Scribonia—perhaps in an effort to win him over—but Sextus seems to have supported Mark Antony instead.

In the same year, Sextus' piracy cut off the grain supply to Rome and caused a famine. Antony and Octavian entered into an arrangement with Sextus (the Pact of Misenum) to lift the grain embargo—but neither side kept its part of the deal and hostilities began anew. With the help of Lepidus and Antony, as negotiated in the renewal of the Triumvirate at Tarentum in 38 BCE, Octavian and Agrippa finally defeated Sextus and destroyed his fleet near Naulochos in August 36 BCE.



SOURCE 7.19

Sextus Pompeius.

DID YOU KNOW?

Lepidus contributed troops and ships to the force that defeated Sextus Pompeius. But after the war, Lepidus attempted to occupy Sicily. Octavian stripped him of his powers as a triumvir but allowed him to remain as *pontifex maximus*.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. How was the threat posed by Sextus Pompeius eliminated?
2. To what extent did Antony's actions in Italy suggest that he wanted to dissolve the Second Triumvirate?
3. In what way had Octavian increased his power and authority during the triumvirate?

ACTIVITY



SOURCE 7.20

A coin depicting Sextus Pompeius as the god Neptune.

BREAKDOWN OF THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE (33 BCE)

AUGUSTUS: '[A]fter I had extinguished the civil wars, having been put in supreme possession of the whole empire by universal consent, I transferred the Republic from my own power into the free control of the Senate and the Roman people.'

The second five-year term of the Triumvirate between Antony, Octavian and Lepidus came to an end in 33 BCE and it was not extended. By that time the propaganda war that Octavian had waged against Antony had effectively destroyed his reputation. Antony's relationship and eventual marriage to Cleopatra VII had proved to be a liability.

MARK ANTONY THE 'DEGENERATE'

In 37 BCE Mark Antony had married Cleopatra under Greek law. It was illegal for a Roman citizen to marry a *peregrinus* ('foreigner'). Octavian used the xenophobia of the Roman people in a propaganda campaign against Antony and Cleopatra. He did this by pointing out how 'un-Roman' Antony had become through associating with Cleopatra. It was considered inappropriate for a Roman man to publicly express love for a woman, and Antony's reported public displays of affection were portrayed as unmanly—signs of his degeneracy. In Egypt, the portrayal of Antony and Cleopatra as the gods Dionysus and Isis was a powerful icon, but in Rome it was a political and religious liability.

ACTIVITY

BELIEFS AND VALUES

Discuss Roman beliefs about how men should behave in relation to women. Why was Mark Antony perceived to be unmanly or suspect because of his relationship with Cleopatra?

DID YOU KNOW?

The Alexandrians compared Mark Antony to Dionysus because of his physical resemblance to the god.

Antony was also at a major disadvantage because he was away from Rome. His supporters in Rome tried to counter Octavian's propaganda, and Antony himself responded with complaints about Octavian's conduct after 38 BCE.²⁷ His reactions to Octavian's attacks were often reported to the Senate out of context.

The 'Donations of Alexandria'—Antony's distribution of kingdoms among his children—were reported in Rome and, according to Plutarch, were very unpopular, generating hatred of Antony.²⁸ There were rumours that he would install Cleopatra as Queen of Rome and move the capital of the Republic to Alexandria.

Antony continued to use the title of 'triumvir' after the Triumvirate ended in 33 BCE, when he held no formal office of the Roman state, and was easily portrayed as a 'bandit' in the pay of a foreign enemy. Octavia's situation—abandoned by Antony when she was pregnant with their child—was also reported by Octavian to further discredit Antony.

In 32 BCE Octavian obtained a copy of Antony's will and read clauses from it in the Senate. Octavian claimed that Antony had married and now endowed a foreign woman. He was treating his foreign children the same as his Roman children. He wanted to be buried in a foreign country. He intended to hand over Roman territory to foreigners. There are indications that Octavian doctored the will beforehand but nonetheless it showed that Antony was behaving in ways that were considered un-Roman.²⁹

After Octavian read Antony's will in the Senate, spontaneous oaths of personal allegiance to Octavian as *dux* (military leader) were sworn in towns in Italy and then across the Western provinces.³⁰ Mark Antony divorced Octavia, which only reinforced the belief that he was no longer behaving like a true Roman. At the end of 32 BCE, Mark Antony moved significant forces, both land and sea, to Greece. Plutarch reported that Antony's preparations worried Octavian. He suggested that Antony missed the opportunity to strike while Octavian was unprepared. In 31 BCE, Octavian was elected consul. Antony had been denied the right to stand for election; Octavian organised a vote in the Senate to deprive Antony of all authority, since he had surrendered it to a woman, and to pass an official declaration of war on Egypt and Cleopatra. Mark Antony was declared a public enemy of Rome.³¹

THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM AND ITS AFTERMATH

PLUTARCH: 'Here, indeed, Mark Antony made it clear to all the world that he was swayed neither by the sentiments of a commander nor of a brave man, nor even by his own, but, as someone in pleasantry said that the soul of the lover dwells in another's body, he was dragged along by the woman as if he had become incorporate with her and must go where she did.'³²

SOURCE 7.21

The Battle of Actium, as visualised by an early twentieth-century painter.



The Roman forces moved into the East in 31 BCE under the command of Marcus Vispanius Agrippa, Octavian's life-long friend. While Mark Antony could match Octavian and Agrippa's land forces, they had an advantage over him at sea. Antony set up his base at Actium, on the west coast of Greece. He had 500 ships and 70 000 soldiers. His choice of harbour proved to be a liability when Agrippa took control of the supply routes by sea and Octavian's land forces surrounded the bay by land.

Plutarch suggests that Antony was forced into a naval battle by Cleopatra, against his better judgement.³³ However, it is arguable that Antony had no option but to fight at sea. He had been outmanoeuvred by Agrippa and was surrounded. His legions realised they were surrounded—and began defecting to Octavian. Antony feigned an attack on Agrippa's fleet to open the bay so that most of his fleet could escape. He sent Cleopatra and her treasury first and followed at the head of his fleet—but Agrippa recognised what was happening and plugged the gap, leaving much of Antony's fleet cut off and trapped in the bay, where they fought for about ten hours until rising seas forced their capitulation.³⁴



THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM

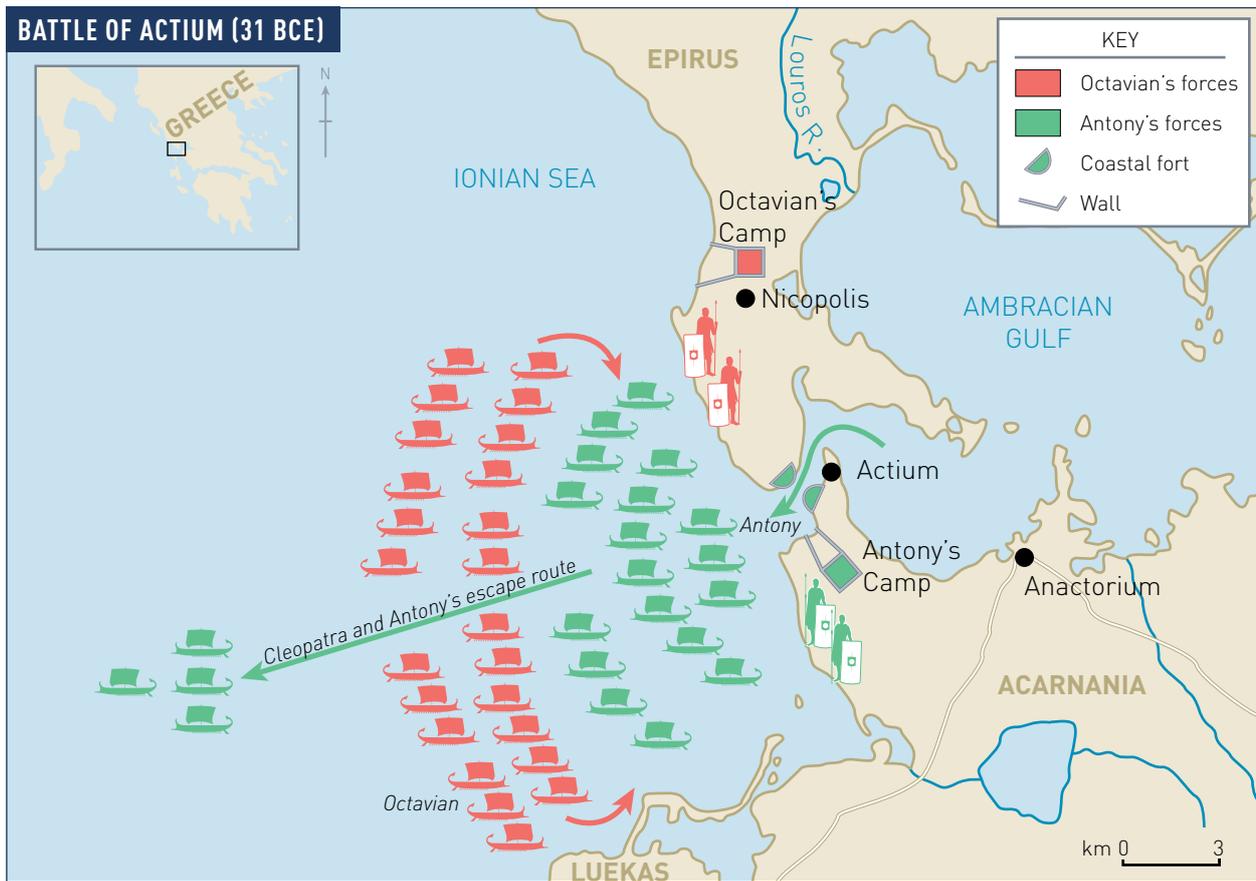


THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM: ANNOTATED MAP

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Discuss why there might be different interpretations of why Mark Antony engaged in a naval battle rather than a land battle.



SOURCE 7.22

THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM

At Actium, Mark Antony lost about 5000 men and 300 ships.³⁵ This defeat—and Antony's 'cowardly' flight—was further exploited by Octavian. Antony had escaped with the treasury intact but his legions camped at Actium ignored their commander and defected to Octavian. Antony sent Cleopatra to Egypt with the treasury while he landed in Libya to rally his forces. These forces also defected when faced with Roman legions.

SOURCE 7.23

A.D. Nock, *The Augustan Restoration*; *The Cambridge Ancient History, Vol. X (CUP: London, 1971)*, 476.

GLORIOUS VICTORY

The princeps himself [Octavian] and his loyal friends Agrippa and Maecenas managed with great skill to convey to the writers at the time the ... conviction that their support was of real value. So one and all they glorify Actium as a victory of Roman culture, of the Roman spirit; one and all they extol plain living and patriotic thinking.

SOURCE 7.24

Pat Southern, *Augustus (Routledge: London, 2001)*, 97.

ODDS STACKED AGAINST ANTONY

The surviving record is very brief, much too obscure to retrieve the details of a campaign that occupied several months but ultimately it is certain all the odds were stacked against Antonius [Mark Antony] when he failed to achieve anything very rapidly against Octavian. It was all or nothing, instantaneously, and Antonius lost by his delay. In the ensuing stalemate desertions began.

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

According to A.D. Nock (see above), how was the Battle of Actium written about at the time? What does Pat Southern believe lost Mark Antony the battle?

VIRGIL, *THE AENEID*

And here in the heart
of the shield: the bronze ships, the battle of Actium,
you could see it all, the world drawn up for war,
Leucata Headland seething, the breakers molten gold.
On one flank, Caesar Augustus [Octavian] leading Italy into battle,
the Senate and People too, the gods of hearth and home
and the great gods themselves. High astern he stands,
the twin flames shoot forth from his lustrous brows and
rising from the peak of his head, his father's star.
On the other flank, Agrippa stands tall as he steers
his ships in line, impelled by favoring winds and gods
and from his forehead glitter the beaks of ships
on the Naval Crown, proud ensign earned in war.
And opposing them comes Antony leading on
the riches of the Orient, troops of every stripe—
victor over the nations of the Dawn and blood-red shores
and in his retinue, Egypt, all the might of the East
and Bactra, the end of the earth, and trailing
in his wake, that outrage, that Egyptian wife!

SOURCE 7.25

Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans.
Robert Fagles (New York:
Penguin, 2016).

DID YOU KNOW?

Virgil's *Aeneid* shares some similarities with Homer's *Odyssey*, such as the narrative of a long adventure at sea, and creatures such as the Cyclops and Charybdis.

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Source 7.25 and complete the tasks below.

1. Outline the action described in the source.
2. Explain what was contested in the Battle of Actium. In your response, use your own knowledge and the source.
3. Evaluate the extent to which the Battle of Actium reflected a changing power balance in the Roman Republic. Use evidence to support your response.

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

THE BATTLE OF ACTIUM

Most historians agree that the Battle of Actium was a major turning point for Octavian, Mark Antony and Cleopatra, as well as for Rome and the Roman Republic.

Octavian's victory at Actium effectively won the war against Cleopatra and Antony. Antony's forces were diminished, his navy captured. Egypt was at Octavian's mercy. He proceeded without haste, securing the eastern provinces to his command. Time was on his side; the desertion of Antony's demoralised legions in the aftermath of Actium could only work in his favour, and it did.

Later, Octavian's success at Actium became a significant motif of his regime.

His adoption of the praenomen *imperator* would be a constant reminder of his victories. The slogan *Aegypto Capta* and the site of the battle would be important elements in his propaganda around the victory of Western civilisation over the decadent East. Much about his regime could be overlooked and forgiven because of the benefits that the 'peace' won at Actium brought to Rome and the Republic.



SOURCE 7.26

A baroque painting of the Battle of Actium by Laureys a Castro, 1672.

DID YOU KNOW?

Cleopatra's palace is now underwater in the harbour at Alexandria. In recent excavations, several statues of notable Romans have been discovered.



INTERPRETATIONS
OF CLEOPATRA

THE CONQUEST OF EGYPT

Octavian invaded Egypt in 30 BCE, bolstered by Antony's prior 'allies' in Syria and Judaea. Cleopatra sent an envoy to Octavian seeking terms—but nothing was offered in return unless she had Antony put to death.³⁶ Octavian's main concern seems to have been to ensure that none of the treasure of Egypt should escape him.³⁷ The last chance of victory for Mark Antony was lost when his fleet defected on the eve of battle in the harbour of Alexandria—and his cavalry followed soon after.³⁸

DEATH OF ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA

In August 30 BCE, Cleopatra reportedly fled to her mausoleum to hide from the Roman invaders. Mark Antony, believing that Cleopatra was dead, stabbed himself with his sword; he was carried to Cleopatra and died shortly afterwards. Octavian is said to have wept when he heard of Antony's death and read some of his letters to his friends justifying his conduct and Antony's death.³⁹ At this point he made arrangements to capture and guard Cleopatra to ensure that she did not copy Antony and commit suicide. He may have intended to keep Cleopatra alive so that he could exhibit her in his triumph when he returned to Rome.



📌 SOURCE 7.27

Mark Antony, believing that Cleopatra is dead, kills himself, to Cleopatra's distress.

Cleopatra was probably aware of Octavian's intentions and of her eventual fate.⁴⁰ How she died is uncertain except that it was suicide due to poisoning of some sort. The popular story is that Cleopatra died after being bitten by an asp. Octavian honoured her last wish and buried her with Antony.

Antony's statues were torn down when Egypt was annexed as part of the Roman empire. However, Egypt's status was unique; it was governed by a procurator (an agent) appointed by Octavian from the *equite* class. Octavian took personal possession of large parts of Egypt that had belonged to Cleopatra's family and

counted the wealth from these landholdings as part of his personal property. Octavian also gathered significant treasure from Egypt.

Octavian put Antony's eldest son to death. Antony's other children were put in the care of his former wife Octavia and raised in Rome. Ptolemy XV (Caesarion, son of Caesar), who had been sent to India by Cleopatra, was eventually tracked down and killed.

Octavian's victory was the most complete of the long series of civil wars that had racked Rome since 133 BCE. The challenge now was to consolidate his victory and make the peace lasting.

CAUSE AND CONSEQUENCE

Identify three or more likely reasons why Mark Antony and Cleopatra took their own lives.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Write a paragraph explaining the significance for Octavian of Rome's conquest of Egypt.

EXTENSION

Compare two or more popular historical interpretations of Mark Antony and Cleopatra in film or theatre.

ACTIVITY

THE END OF THE REPUBLIC

AUGUSTUS: 'By a senate decree, ... I was called Augustus From that time my influence exceeded all, but I had no greater power than my colleagues in each magistracy.'

Octavian returned to Rome in August 29 BCE at the head of sixty legions. The people of Rome came out of the city to greet him in an unprecedented display of gratitude and appreciation.⁴¹ The Senate closed the doors of the Temple of Janus Quirinus in the Forum to signal that Rome and its territories were at peace. Octavian celebrated a triple triumph for his victories in Dalmatia, Actium and Egypt. He paid his soldiers, reduced his army to twenty-eight legions and settled his veterans in *coloniae* (colonies).

Octavian and Agrippa assumed censorial powers and purged the Senate of some 200 members, to about 800 senators.⁴² Octavian was placed at the head of the list of senators as *princeps senatus* (leader of the Senate).

Cassius Dio claimed that there was major discussion in 28 BCE between Octavian and his colleagues Agrippa and Maecenas, as he pondered what his next move should be.⁴³ There were examples for him to work from: both Sulla and Caesar had failed to find a permanent solution to the question of how to resolve a civil war. Cassius Dio gives the impression that a solution was worked out as they argued the merits and evils of autocracy and 'democracy'.

Their discussion centred on how Octavian could have sole rule yet live well and in safety. Agrippa and Maecenas advised Octavian to take the opportunity that fortune had made available to him to 'enjoy the reality of kingship' without the 'odium'⁴⁴. He was advised to enter into a partnership with the 'best men'.

DID YOU KNOW?

Aegypto Capta ('Captured Egypt') became an important 'slogan' for Augustus's regime.



SOURCE 7.28

A coin minted to commemorate the conquest of Egypt.

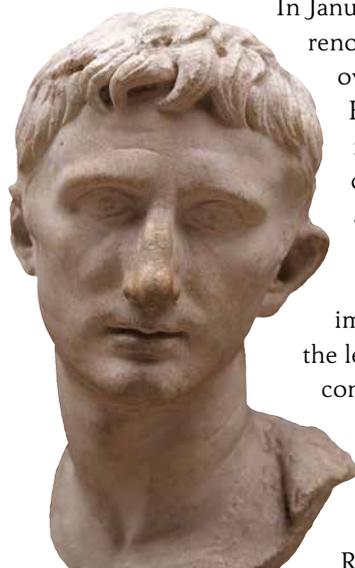
'AUGUSTUS' AND THE FIRST SETTLEMENT

➔ SOURCE 7.29

A bust of Augustus.

DID YOU KNOW?

Mark Antony and Cleopatra's daughter, Cleopatra Selene, was raised in Rome by Octavia, Antony's former wife. Cleopatra Selene later married King Juba of Numidia and was installed as ruler of Mauretania in North Africa. She was given a huge dowry by Augustus and became a firm ally of Rome.



In January 27 BCE Octavian announced that he was renouncing all his powers and handing his provinces over to the Senate and the people of Rome.

Feigning reluctance, he agreed when the Senate insisted he become their partner and take control of a large *provincia* that included most of Spain and all of Gaul, Syria, Cyprus, Cilicia and Egypt. Octavian would govern these lands under a special proconsular *imperium* for ten years. Most importantly, this gave him command of most of the legions of the Roman Army. He would also be consul and would be able to nominate and approve most city magistrates. This was in addition to being *princeps senatus*, the first speaker in any Senate debate. He was granted various honours to signify his role as saviour of the Roman people.

Octavian was granted the new name of Augustus, meaning 'the revered one', and the month Sextilis in the Roman calendar was renamed Augustus in his honour. Augustus in the role of princeps ('first man') was effectively the first emperor of Rome in all but name.

➔ SOURCE 7.30

Augustus, Res Gestae, in Velleius Paterculus, Compendium of Roman History. Res Gestae Divi Augusti, Loeb Classical Library 152, trans. Frederick W. Shipley (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1924), 401.

AUGUSTUS ON HIS NEW TITLE

[W]hen I had extinguished the flames of civil war, after receiving by universal consent the absolute control of affairs, I transferred the republic from my own control to the will of the senate and the Roman people. For this service on my part I was given the title of Augustus by decree of the senate, and the doorposts of my house were covered with laurels by public act, and a civic crown was fixed above my door, and a golden shield was placed in the Curia Julia whose inscription testified that the senate and the Roman people gave me this in recognition of my valour, my clemency, my justice, and my piety. After that time I took precedence of all in rank, but of power I possessed no more than those who were my colleagues in any magistracy.

➔ SOURCE 7.31

Cassius Dio, Roman History, Volume VI: Books 51–55, trans. Earnest Cary and Herbert B. Foster, Loeb Classical Library 83, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1917), 237.

CASSIUS DIO ON AUGUSTUS' POWER

In this way the power of both people and senate passed entirely into the hands of Augustus, and from his time there was, strictly speaking, a monarch; for monarchy would be the truest name for it, no matter if two or three men did later hold the power at the same time. The name of monarchy, to be sure, the Romans so detested that they called their emperors neither dictators nor kings nor anything of the sort; yet since the final authority for the government devolves upon them, they must needs be kings. The offices established by the laws, it is true, are maintained even now, except that of censor; but the entire direction and administration is absolutely in accordance with the wishes of the one in power at the time. And yet, in order to preserve the appearance of having this power by virtue of the laws and not because of their own domination, the emperors have taken to themselves all the functions, including the titles, of the offices which under the republic and by the free gift of the people were powerful, with the single exception of the dictatorship.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. When and why did Octavian become 'Augustus'?
2. What new powers did Augustus enjoy?
3. Why is 27 BCE considered to have marked the end of the Roman Republic?

ACTIVITY

THE SECOND SETTLEMENT

In June 23 BCE it became necessary to renegotiate Augustus's position. It had become apparent that opposition, in the form of 'plots' against him, was gathering because of his monopolisation of the consulate. He resigned the consulship and only held it on two further occasions during the next thirty-seven years. As compensation, he was granted *tribunicia potestas*, the power of a tribune, which included sacrosanctity. The granting of an expanded imperium, *imperium maius proconsulare*, gave Augustus the right to exercise his power in all provinces—including those controlled by the Senate—when it became necessary. He was also given responsibility for ensuring the grain supply, a commission that effectively won him the city plebs as his clients.

Augustus led Rome through the early period of the Roman Empire and died in 14 CE. According to Suetonius, Augustus 'could justly boast that he had found [Rome] built of brick and left it in marble'.



THE LIFE OF
OCTAVIAN /
AUGUSTUS

TACITUS, *ANNALS*

[F]ilial duty and the critical position of the state was merely a cloak for [Augustus's] lust for power ... he excited the veterans by his promises, raised an army while still a youth and a subject, seduced the legions of a consul ... pretended to support the Pompeians ... fooled the Senate into making him praetor, and on the deaths of the consuls ... he took both their armies, wrung a consulship from the unwilling Senate, and turned against the state ...

SOURCE 7.32

Tacitus, The Annals, trans. John Jackson, (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1979), Bk 1.viii–ix.

AUGUSTUS' LEGACY

Octavian's most important programme of artistic patronage [support for the arts] ... followed his assumption in 27 BC of the title 'Augustus' ... and with it effective monarchic power. Artistic patronage was a vehicle by which Augustus sought to legitimate [justify] his new position in terms of traditional Roman values. He rebuilt 82 temples in order to demonstrate his piety [faith] and to restore the *pax deorum* ('peace of the gods') disrupted by the civil wars of the late Republic.

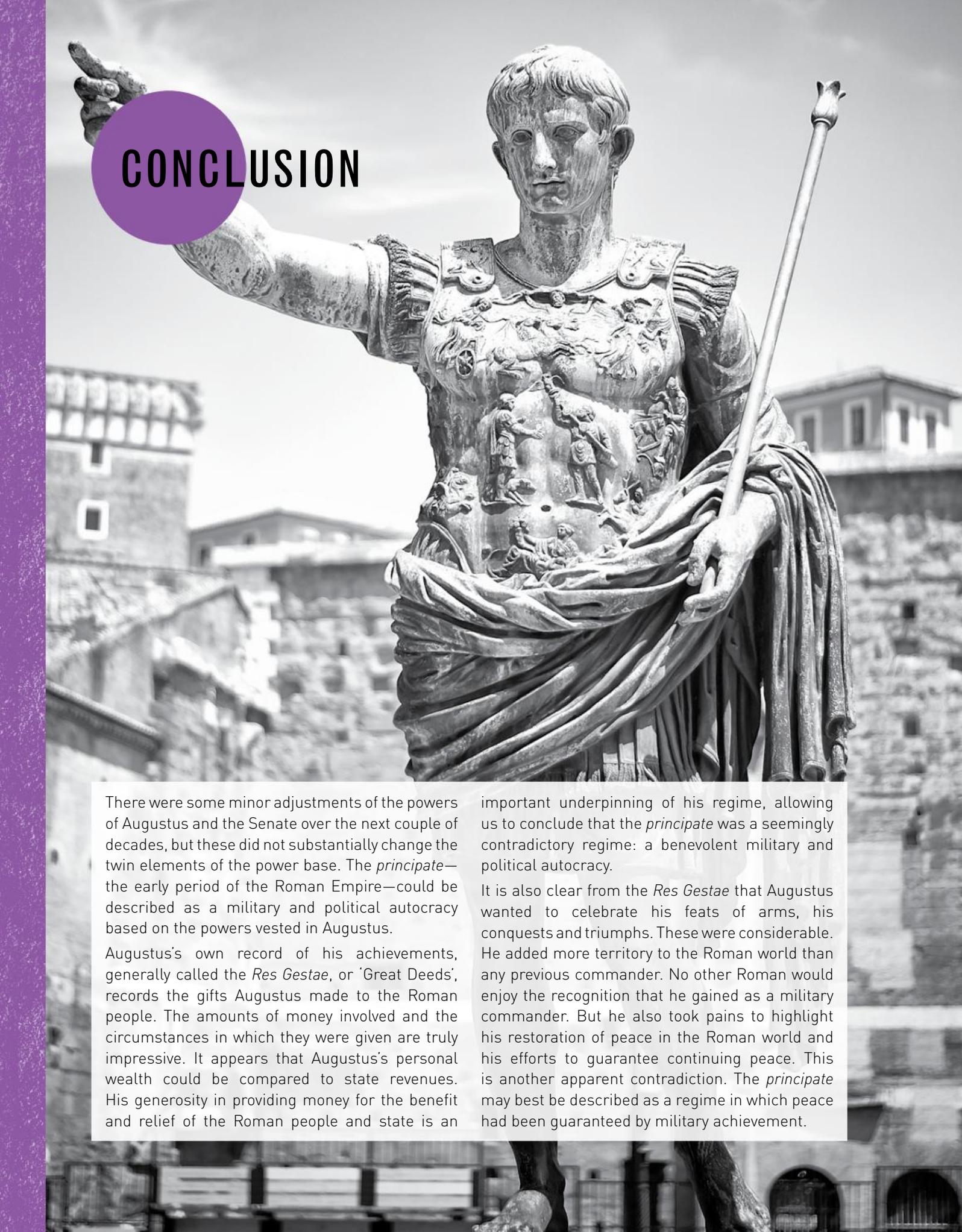
SOURCE 7.33

Jane Turner, ed., The Dictionary of Art, Vol. 26 (1996), 72.

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Discuss the views of Tacitus and of Jane Turner (see above) regarding Augustus. To what extent did Augustus act out of self-interest, and to what extent did he seek to bring peace to Rome after the civil wars? Were the two mutually exclusive?

ACTIVITY



CONCLUSION

There were some minor adjustments of the powers of Augustus and the Senate over the next couple of decades, but these did not substantially change the twin elements of the power base. The *principate*—the early period of the Roman Empire—could be described as a military and political autocracy based on the powers vested in Augustus.

Augustus's own record of his achievements, generally called the *Res Gestae*, or 'Great Deeds', records the gifts Augustus made to the Roman people. The amounts of money involved and the circumstances in which they were given are truly impressive. It appears that Augustus's personal wealth could be compared to state revenues. His generosity in providing money for the benefit and relief of the Roman people and state is an

important underpinning of his regime, allowing us to conclude that the *principate* was a seemingly contradictory regime: a benevolent military and political autocracy.

It is also clear from the *Res Gestae* that Augustus wanted to celebrate his feats of arms, his conquests and triumphs. These were considerable. He added more territory to the Roman world than any previous commander. No other Roman would enjoy the recognition that he gained as a military commander. But he also took pains to highlight his restoration of peace in the Roman world and his efforts to guarantee continuing peace. This is another apparent contradiction. The *principate* may best be described as a regime in which peace had been guaranteed by military achievement.

CHAPTER SUMMARY

- How did Octavian/Augustus come to be so powerful by 23 BCE? Copy out the following table and label the events as if they were traffic lights:

- **Green** = An advantage for Octavian/Augustus
- **Yellow** = Neutral for Octavian/Augustus
- **Red** = A disadvantage for Octavian/Augustus

EVENT	YEAR	GREEN, YELLOW OR RED?
Public reading of Caesar's will	44 BCE	
Antony's address at Caesar's funeral	44 BCE	
Cicero's Philippics	44–43 BCE	
Agreement of Philippi	42 BCE	
Octavian's divorce of Clodia	c. 40 BCE	
Sicilian Revolt	44–36 BCE	
Proscriptions	43 BCE	
Antony's triumph over Armenia	34 BCE	
Donations of Alexandria	34 BCE	
Battle of Actium	31 BCE	
First Settlement	27 BCE	
Second Settlement	23 BCE	

- List the key offices given to Octavian/Augustus by 23 BCE. Why might the Senate have been willing to give one person such authority?
- Brainstorm the ways in which Cleopatra, Fulvia and Octavia influenced political and military affairs in the period 44–23 BCE.

TURNING POINTS

Explain why the Battle of Actium was a turning point for:

- Mark Antony
- Augustus
- Mark Antony's army
- The Roman people
- Cleopatra
- Western civilisation.

EXAM PREPARATION

In 60 minutes, write an essay on one of the topics below. Support your argument with evidence from primary sources and historical interpretations.

- 'After Caesar's assassination, Rome descended into a period of civil war and jostling for power.' Discuss.
- How did Octavian manage to make himself the most powerful man in Rome?
- What errors of judgement did Mark Antony make during the Second Triumvirate?
- To what extent did the Senate and republican institutions of Rome control events in the final years of the Republic?

EXTENSION

Using this chapter and other sources, respond to the following inquiry question: Did Lepidus make a mistake by yielding legions to Antony and Octavian?

TEST



QUIZ – CHAPTER 7

IN FOCUS

JULIUS CAESAR

Few would dispute Caesar's claim to greatness, but it is much harder to say that he was a good man, or that the consequences of his career were unambiguously good.

ADRIAN GOLDSWORTHY¹

KEY POINTS

- Caesar demonstrated talent and tenacity from an early age
- Caesar overcame a range of challenges to succeed in politics
- Caesar risked everything to attain the highest honours during his lifetime.

RISE TO PROMINENCE

FAMILY BACKGROUND

Gaius Julius Caesar (100–44 BCE) was born into a family that claimed royal and divine descent. It was claimed that his aunt Julia was descended from one of the ancient kings of Rome—Ancus Marcius—and that the Julii clan were descendants of the goddess Venus.² While this lineage sounds impressive, by the time of Caesar's birth, the Caesars were struggling financially and had failed to produce a successful senator for generations. However, Julius Caesar was dedicated and talented enough to overcome these shortcomings.

SOURCE 1

Tom Stevenson, *Julius Caesar and the Transformation of the Roman Republic*, (London: Routledge, 2015), 35.

CAESAR'S POLITICAL PROSPECTS

As a young noble, Caesar's career was governed by a number of imperatives. It was his duty to attempt to surpass the achievements of his ancestors, forge a distinguished public career, display bravery and leadership in war, and ultimately gain *Gloria* ('military glory') and the vote of a triumph from the senate. Yet each of these steps was obviously a challenge of huge proportions. Although nobles were meant to strive for pre-eminence, with the consulship as a kind of golden prize, any thoughts about a consulship on the young Caesar's part would hardly have been realistic.

SOURCE 2

Cornelia Cinna.



In the first twenty years of life, Caesar saw Rome torn apart by the Social War and the power struggle between Marius and Sulla. During the tumultuous years of 82–81 BCE, when Sulla and Marius were at war over Rome, Caesar found himself in a dangerous situation. When he was 16 years old, Caesar had married a girl named Cornelia, who was the daughter of a consul who supported Marius. When Sulla seized Rome and became dictator, he ordered Caesar to divorce Cornelia as a sign of his loyalty to Sulla. Caesar refused Sulla's demands, even when threatened with death. Luckily, with the intercession of Caesar's mother and some powerful friends, Sulla decided to forgive Caesar's disobedience.³ However, Caesar did not feel safe in Rome and left Italy to pursue his military career.

DID YOU KNOW?

In Spain, Caesar saw a statue of Alexander the Great. It made him regret that he had failed to achieve a fraction of what Alexander had done, even though he had been alive longer.⁴

EARLY CAREER

In 80 BCE, Caesar served as quaestor under the Roman commander Minucius Thermus who was on campaign in Asia Minor. After one particular siege against the city of Miletus, Caesar was awarded the high honour of the *corona civica* ('civic crown') for saving the life of Thermus. When word arrived that Sulla had died in early 78 BCE, Caesar returned to Italy where he took up a career as a lawyer. He was involved in a number of high-

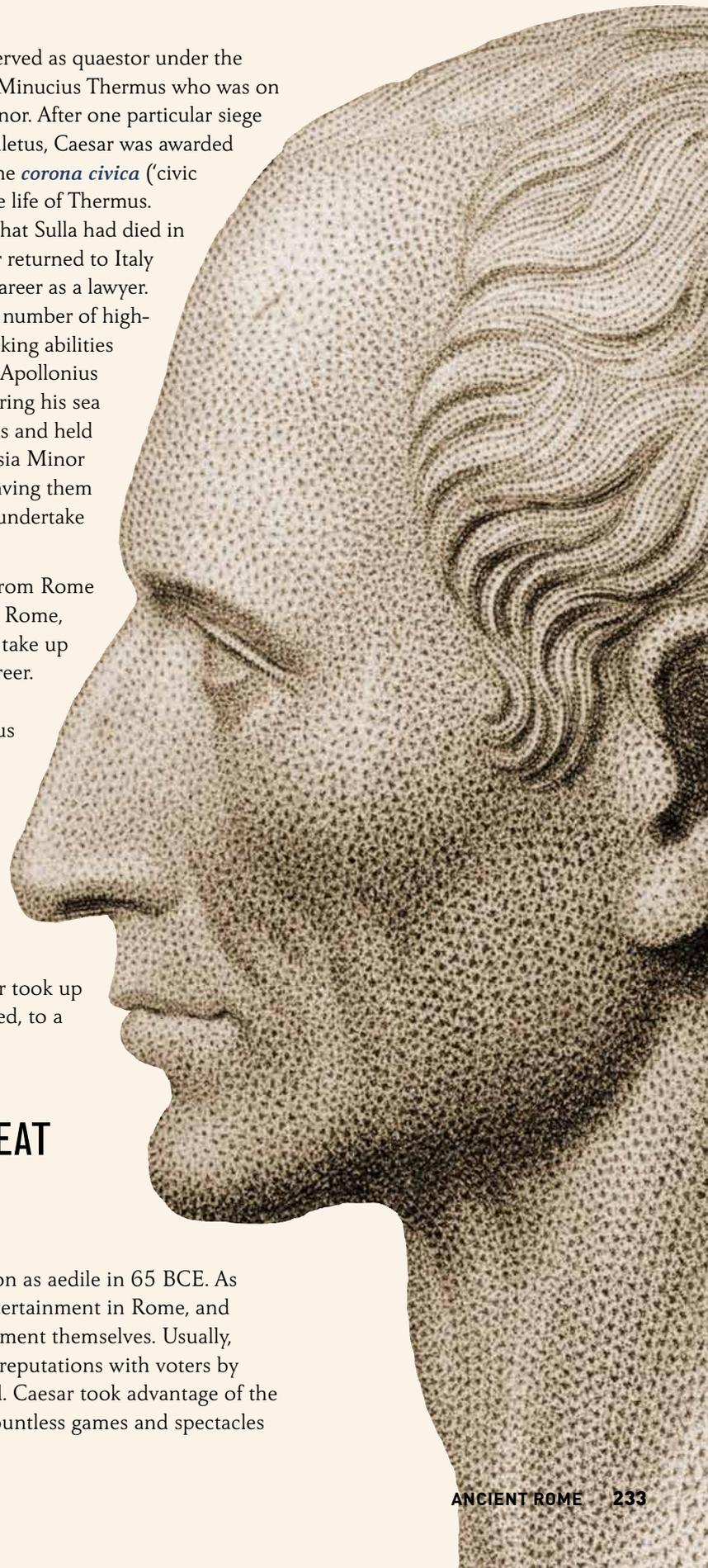
profile cases, but then decided to improve his speaking abilities by travelling to the island of Rhodes to learn from Apollonius Molon, a gifted teacher of rhetoric. In 76 BCE, during his sea voyage to Rhodes, Caesar was kidnapped by pirates and held to ransom. The ransom was paid by the cities of Asia Minor and, once freed, Caesar punished his captors by having them crucified. Caesar then continued on to Rhodes to undertake his studies.

Several years later, in 73 BCE, he received word from Rome that he had been assigned as one of the priests in Rome, known as a *pontifex*. Caesar returned to Rome to take up the new honour and to also begin his political career. His first political appointment was as a military tribune in 71 BCE, the same year in which Crassus crushed the slave uprising of Spartacus. His next appointment came in 69 BCE, when Caesar became quaestor for Spain. However, before he left for his appointment, Caesar was faced with a double family tragedy. Both his aunt Julia—who had been General Marius' wife—and his wife, Cornelia, died. Caesar presented the eulogies at both women's funerals, receiving praise for his eloquence. After the funerals, Caesar took up his quaestorship in Spain. In 68 BCE, he remarried, to a woman named Pompeia.

BECOMING A POLITICAL THREAT

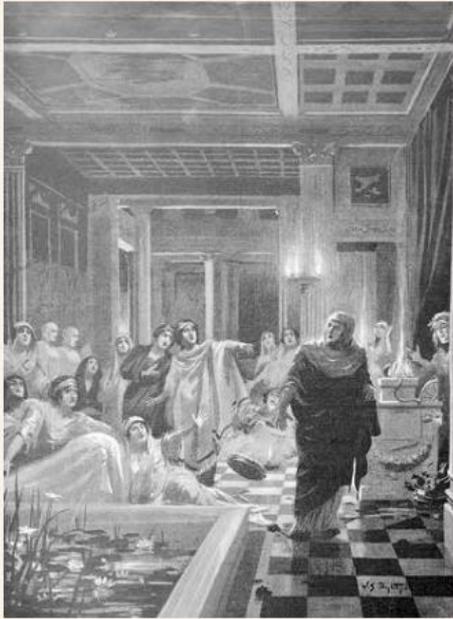
BRIBING HIS WAY TO POWER

Caesar's next political achievement was his election as aedile in 65 BCE. As part of this role, he was responsible for public entertainment in Rome, and it was expected that aediles paid for any entertainment themselves. Usually, this role was used by politicians to improve their reputations with voters by putting on the most memorable shows they could. Caesar took advantage of the opportunity, spending huge sums of money on countless games and spectacles



▼ SOURCE 3

The Sacrilege of Clodius, by
W. S. Bagdatopulos.



for the people of Rome. He was so intent on impressing them that he ended up going into extreme debt. His investment seemed to have the desired effect as the people responded with overwhelming gratitude. Caesar's actions as aedile clearly demonstrated his *popularis* tendencies.

Caesar did not have to wait long to make the most of his new popularity with the people. In 63 BCE, he sought election to two different positions: one political and one religious. He wanted to become a praetor, but he also sought the highest religious position in the Republic, known as the *pontifex maximus*. To ensure that he won as many votes as possible, Caesar went further into debt by bribing additional voters. He ultimately won both elections—an impressive achievement for someone who was not yet 40 years old.

However, a major scandal broke out during Caesar's praetorship in 62 BCE that put his position as *pontifex maximus* in jeopardy. During a special women-only religious festival to celebrate the goddess Bona Dea—which was held in Caesar's house—a politician named Publius Clodius was discovered disguised as a woman. The *optimates* members of the Senate used this scandal to accuse Caesar's wife, Pompeia, of having an adulterous relationship with Clodius. Such an accusation against the high priest was of grave concern and, despite Caesar's oath that his wife was innocent, he decided to divorce Pompeia anyway so that no one could challenge his integrity.

By the end of 62 BCE, Caesar's creditors placed pressure on him to pay back the mounting debts from his successive election campaigns. He gained a military command in Spain for 61 BCE but the people he owed money to would not allow him to leave Rome. Then Crassus, the richest man in Rome, stepped in and paid bail for a quarter of Caesar's debts. Caesar headed off to Spain, intent on waging war and capturing enough loot to pay off his loans. He used the pretence of minor civil unrest to seize several Spanish towns, which he looted, before also capturing several silver mines. By the time Caesar returned to Rome, he

CLUDIUS, CICERO AND THE BONA DEA SCANDAL

The same Publius Clodius who created the Bona Dea scandal played an important role in Caesar's later life. In 59 BCE Caesar seems to have held no grudges for what had occurred in 62 BCE because he used his powers as *pontifex maximus* to help Clodius become a Plebeian Tribune. Clodius was then expected to use his new position to help Caesar achieve his political goals. Instead, Clodius used his influence to harass another senator who had refused to back up his alibi during the Bona Dea scandal: Cicero. While Clodius had been found innocent of any charges over the scandal, he had never forgiven Cicero for failing to support him. However, Clodius' grudge would eventually result in his own death when he was fatally beaten by thugs who resented his harassment of Cicero.

➔ SOURCE 4

Assassination of Clodius.



had amassed sufficient funds to pay off his debts. However, he was not content with what he had achieved and aimed to win the highest political position in the Republic: the consulship.

ALLIANCE WITH POMPEY AND CRASSUS

By the time Caesar returned from Spain, he was already distrusted by the *optimates*-controlled Senate. They feared that he was gaining too much power and popularity. So when the Senate received word that Caesar wanted their permission to celebrate a triumph for his wars in Spain, and was also seeking to put his name forward for the consulship in 59 BCE, the Senate made him choose between the two.

The decision was difficult for Caesar. Triumphs were meant to be the ultimate reward for Roman generals—and senators went their whole lives seeking one. To celebrate a triumph, the Senate gave the victorious general permission to march his troops through the streets of Rome. Without the Senate's approval, it was illegal. However, only a private citizen could nominate for a new political position like the consulship—which meant that a general had to surrender active military command. Caesar could not enter Rome with his men to celebrate his triumph while also being a private citizen. Therefore, the Senate told Caesar that if he wanted to enter the election race for the consulship, he had to give up the opportunity to have a triumph.

The Senate probably assumed that Caesar would prefer the rare honour of a triumph—because he could run for the consulship in any year. However, Caesar chose to run for consul. He knew his chances of success were slim, so he arranged a secret alliance (the First Triumvirate) with Crassus and Pompey the Great—two of the most powerful men in Rome. Through their highly illegal alliance, Caesar successfully became consul and gained a special five-year command in Gaul.

THE BENEFITS OF THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE

[Caesar] felt that without the help of [Pompey and Crassus] his own prospects would be hopeless. He therefore set to work to reconcile them ... and brought them both over to his own side, thus forming out of this triumvirate a force that was irresistible and which he used to overthrow both the senate and the people. For it was not the case that by getting Crassus to support Pompey or Pompey to support Crassus he made either of them greater than before; instead, by using them he made himself greater than anyone.

THE GALLIC WARS

Caesar was able to use his nine-year campaign in Gaul, 58–50 BCE, to boost his reputation. The people of Rome heard stories about Caesar's victories over the Gallic tribes, which convinced many people that he was the champion of Rome. His battles also generated vast personal wealth for Caesar, which he used to reward the loyalty of his troops and to pay for impressive building projects in Rome. His growing popularity with the people only fuelled the hatred that his *optimates* enemies felt for him and they managed to draw Caesar's former ally, Pompey, to their cause. Caesar was then accused of illegal practices during his time as consul, particularly the use of violence to undermine the Roman political system, and was ordered to return to Rome for trial. Caesar



THE EMPIRE OF
CAESAR 50–44 BCE



THE LIFE OF JULIUS
CAESAR



QUIZ – JULIUS
CAESAR

SOURCE 5

Plutarch, Lives. Life of Crassus 14, trans. Rex Warner, Fall of the Roman Republic, [London: Penguin Classics, 2005], 127.

SOURCE 6

A statue of Vercingetorix, one of the Gallic leaders Caesar fought against in Gaul.



was faced with another decision: surrender to the Senate or fight for his survival. He chose to lead his armies against the armies of Pompey.

When civil war broke out between Pompey and Caesar in 49 BCE, Caesar's battle-hardened soldiers loyally followed him across the Roman world, defeating his *optimates* enemies. Caesar's Gallic campaigns had given him the military and economic resources he needed to achieve ultimate victory. Pompey was defeated and killed in late 48 BCE, but Caesar took three more years to defeat other armies that had stayed loyal to Pompey's cause.

➔ SOURCE 7

Cicero, Letters to Atticus, VII.13 in Matthew Dillon and Lynda Garland, Ancient Rome: From the Early Republic to the Assassination of Julius Caesar (New York: Routledge, 2005), 646.

DID YOU KNOW?

The site of Caesar's death, Pompey's portico, was also the site of the first permanent stone theatre in Rome. The Senate feared the spread of Greek language and culture so made it illegal to build theatres in stone. Pompey got around the law by incorporating a temple to Venus into the structure.

➔ SOURCE 8

Plutarch, Lives, trans. John Dryden, Internet Ancient History Sourcebook, <http://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/ancient/plutarch-caesar.asp>



SHEDDING NEW LIGHT ON THE DEATH OF CAESAR

CICERO CRITICISES CAESAR

You see what kind of a war it is: a civil war, true, but one originating not from conflict from among the citizens, but from the recklessness of one desperate citizen. He, however, is strong in his army, has won many to his side by hopes and promises, and has coveted every man's entire possessions. The city has been delivered to him without protection, full of resources. What might you not fear from a man who considers our temples and homes not as his native land but as plunder?

DICTATORSHIPS AND ASSASSINATION

With the death of Pompey, Caesar became the undisputed leader of the Roman world. Between 49–44 BCE, he received a wide range of special powers from the Senate to reward his great achievements. However, Caesar's unrivalled control over the entire political system in Rome angered the senators, who felt that they had to surrender their own political futures to please Caesar's ambitions. Many of these senators claimed that Caesar was seeking to return the Republic to the days of the monarchy, with Caesar acting as their king. The growing resentment against Caesar resulted in a group of sixty senators deciding to assassinate him. They claimed that they were saving Rome from a tyrant. So on 15 March 44 BCE, Caesar was surrounded by the senators and stabbed to death.

CAESAR'S ASSASSINATION

Now when the senate was gone in ... [the conspirators] placed themselves close about Caesar's chair ... Trebonius ... engaged Antony's attention at the door, and kept him in talk outside. When Caesar entered, the whole senate rose up to him ... Tillius with both hands caught hold of [Caesar's] robe and pulled it off from his shoulders, and Casca ... drawing his dagger, gave him ... a slight wound, about the shoulder. Caesar snatching hold of the handle of the dagger, and crying out aloud in Latin, 'Villain Casca, what do you' he, calling ... to his brother, bade him come and help. And ... finding himself struck by a great many hands, and looking around about him to see if he could force his way out, when he saw Brutus with his dagger drawn against him, he let go Casca's hand ... and ... covering his head with his robe, gave up his body to their blows. And they so eagerly pressed towards the body, and so many daggers were hacking together, that they cut one another ... and all of them were besmeared with the blood.

ACTIVITY

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

1. Outline the events surrounding Julius Caesar's murder, according to Source 8.
2. Explain why Caesar was assassinated. In your response, use your own knowledge and Source 8.
3. Evaluate the historical significance of Caesar's assassination. Use evidence to support your response.

EXTENSION

Read Act III, Scene 1 of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, in which Caesar is murdered. Compare this with the descriptions of the same event in this book. To what extent does Shakespeare give an accurate historical interpretation of the event?

ACTIVITY

SHAKESPEARE'S
JULIUS CAESAR:
FULL TEXT

EVALUATING CAESAR

Caesar's journey from the insignificant son of a poor noble family to the unrivalled dictator of the Roman world was remarkable. Even though Caesar spent his early life following the correct manner of progressing through the *cursus honorum*, as competition for political appointments became more cut throat, he turned to less traditional means of gaining power: secret alliances and civil war. Caesar used his popularity with the citizens of Rome to justify his conflict against a Senate that he considered to be his enemies. Regardless of his methods, Julius Caesar was clearly gifted and intelligent, excelling in military, political and civil matters. His ability to inspire men in the Senate as well as on the battlefield was exceptional. As dictator, however, his accumulation of exceptional political powers might show that he was naïve about how far he could exercise his autocracy in a Roman world that despised kings.



A MODERN ASSESSMENT OF CAESAR

Caesar's ambition, talent, determination and his much vaunted good fortune led him on as he rose to supremacy, and prevented him from ever giving up or backing down. Had he been born in another, less troubled age, his reputation might easily have been far less controversial ... Whatever the rights and wrongs of his actions, it is hard to imagine that in any way his life could have been more dramatic.

SOURCE 9

Adrian Goldsworthy, *Caesar: The Life of a Colossus* (London: Phoenix, 2006), 628.

SOURCE 10

Julius Caesar by Nicolas Coustou.

KEY INDIVIDUALS

1. What evidence is there in Caesar's early life that he was not willing to submit to another's authority?
2. Why did Caesar get himself into debt, and how did he pay off his loans?
3. Based upon the information provided in Section B, what evidence is there that Caesar was a gifted military commander?
4. Why had key people turned against Caesar by 44 BCE?

ACTIVITY

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Referring to the interpretations of Julius Caesar provided by Tom Stevenson (Source 1, p. 232) and Adrian Goldsworthy (Source 9, above), write a paragraph outlining your own view of Caesar and his achievements. What qualities allowed him to overcome obstacles, and why was he so controversial?

DID YOU KNOW?

The Romans calculated the date for their calendar from the founding of Rome, *ab urbe condita* (auc), in 753 BCE. Caesar was murdered in March 710 auc.

IN FOCUS

For her beauty, as we are told, was in itself not altogether incomparable, nor such as to strike those who saw her; but to converse with her had an irresistible charm, and her presence, combined with the persuasiveness of her discourse and the character which was somehow diffused about her behaviour towards others, had something stimulating about it. There was sweetness also in the tones of her voice; and her tongue, like an instrument of many strings, she could readily turn to whatever language she pleased ...

PLUTARCH¹

CLEOPATRA VII

KEY POINTS

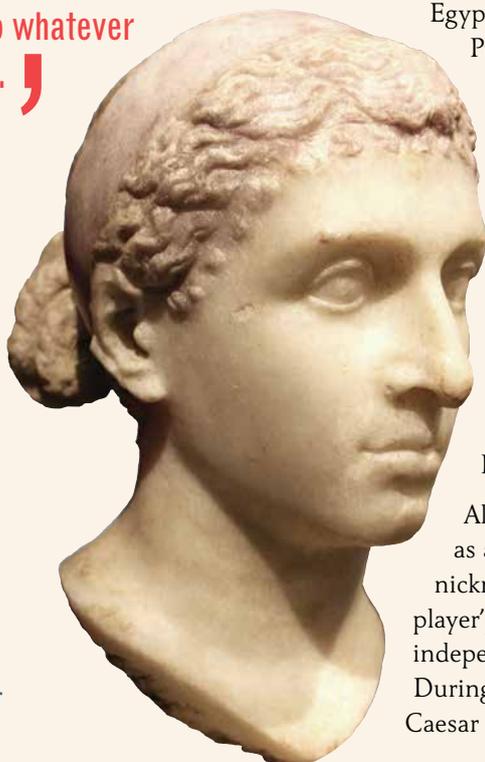
- Cleopatra was the last active ruler of the Ptolemaic dynasty in Egypt
- She was romantically involved with both Julius Caesar and Mark Antony, having a son to Caesar and three children to Antony
- Unable to repel the Roman invasion of Egypt, she committed suicide in 30 BCE.

THE PTOLEMIES

Cleopatra VII Thea Philopater ('Cleopatra of the Father-loving goddess') (69–30 BCE) was a descendant of Ptolemaeus (Ptolemy), a Macedonian general who was a friend of Alexander the Great. Ptolemy was possibly an illegitimate son of Philip II of Macedon. He took control of Egypt in 304 BCE after the death of Alexander the Great and the disintegration of his empire, and ruled as Pharaoh Ptolemy I Soter ('Saviour').

Egypt had an uneven history under the Ptolemaic dynasty, as its fortunes and territory expanded and shrank relative to the power and ambition of its neighbours—particularly the other Hellenistic kingdoms that emerged from Alexander's empire. By the time of Cleopatra VII, Egypt was struggling with internal and external problems. Dynastic conflict—including Rome's intervention—brought Ptolemy XII (Cleopatra's father) to the throne in 80 BCE. He was the son of Ptolemy IX and a mistress.

Although Ptolemy XII is often described as a weak man—he was disparagingly nicknamed Auletes (meaning 'the flute player')—he did manage to keep Egypt independent of Rome as it expanded in Asia. During the *amicitia* between Pompey, Julius Caesar and Crassus (often called the 'First



➔ SOURCE 1

Cleopatra as Hellenistic queen.

Triumvirate'), Ptolemy XII used his country's great wealth to cultivate the support of Rome. He helped fund Rome's activities in return for a guarantee of independent status. This explains why both Pompey and Caesar came to Egypt during the civil war in 48 BCE—they needed money.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Who were the Ptolemies?
2. Why did Pompey and Caesar go to Egypt during their civil war?
3. How had Ptolemy XII kept his kingdom independent of Rome?

ACTIVITY

DID YOU KNOW?

Cleopatra was the first of the Ptolemies to speak Egyptian (rather than Greek).

THE ALLURE OF CLEOPATRA

The traditional story is that Cleopatra seduced Caesar with her youthful beauty, as she was about twenty years old and he was over fifty. However, in that era she would not have been considered young. Cleopatra had to be secretly smuggled into Caesar's quarters rolled in a carpet, as Ptolemy XIII had blocked all entries to Alexandria to prevent his half-sister from entering the city.

Cleopatra's daring arrival may have impressed Caesar, who was also in a difficult situation. He had come to Egypt with only a small number of his troops and was now, to some extent, at the mercy of Ptolemy XII and his officers, who had murdered Pompey in 48 BCE. Caesar's alliance with Cleopatra VII, who was herself in conflict with her brother/husband Ptolemy XIII, may have been one of convenience.



SOURCE 2

A silver denarius coin featuring Cleopatra (and her Ptolemaic nose). A prominent nose was considered to be a sign of character and strength. The Ptolemaic nose was emphasised on coins as a mark of the dynasty and its power.

The traditional version of Caesar's 'seduction' is part of Plutarch's depiction of Cleopatra as the evil Asiatic queen. However, he has little to say about Cleopatra's beauty, and says more about her cleverness as a linguist. Cicero doesn't mention her looks, only her arrogant manner. Later writers tend to put more emphasis on Cleopatra's beauty and charm. There may be an explanation for this. Appian remarks on the 'beautiful image' of Cleopatra in the form of the statue that



➔ SOURCE 3

The Esquiline Venus, which is believed to be a statue of Cleopatra.

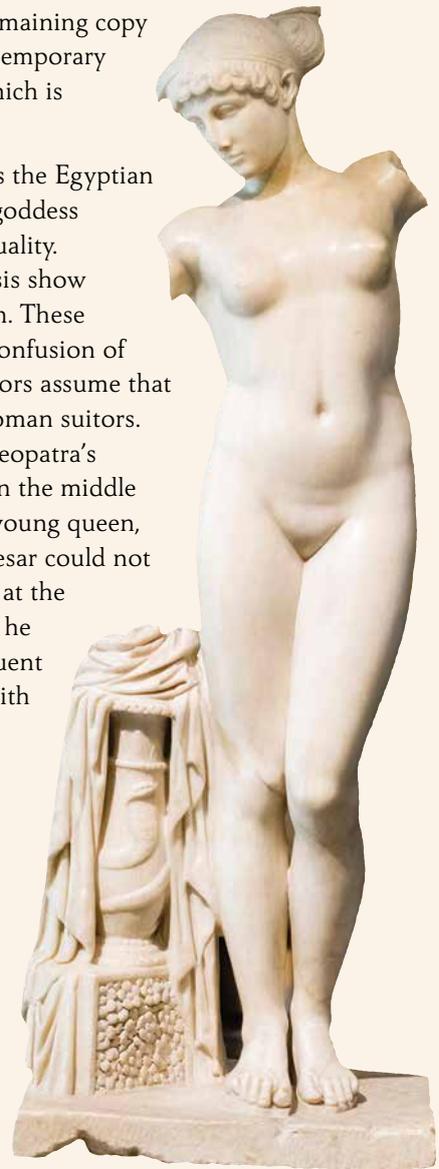
⬇ SOURCE 4

Detail of the Esquiline Venus.



appeared in the Julian forum.² There is no remaining copy of this statue. However, there is another contemporary Roman statue, called the Esquiline Venus, which is thought to be a depiction of Cleopatra.

In the Roman world, the role of Cleopatra as the Egyptian goddess Isis is often fused with the Roman goddess Venus, who was the goddess of love and sexuality. However, Egyptian statues of Cleopatra as Isis show her in the role of mother to Horus/Caesarion. These are mother and child representations. This confusion of goddesses may explain why later commentators assume that it was Cleopatra's looks that attracted her Roman suitors. Another incident that is used to argue for Cleopatra's 'seductiveness' is that Caesar took time out in the middle of a civil war to cruise on the Nile with the young queen, neglecting the affairs of Rome. However, Caesar could not have spent more than a few days, two weeks at the most, in Egypt after the Battle of the Nile. If he had, he would have been late for the subsequent victory at Zela. We know of only two men with whom Cleopatra had relationships—Caesar and Antony.



ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What image do most people have of Cleopatra? Why?
2. What might have attracted Caesar to Cleopatra?
3. Why might a Roman man like Cicero have taken an immediate dislike to Cleopatra?

CLEOPATRA AND MARK ANTONY

Beautiful or not, seductive or not, Cleopatra was attractive to her Roman companions. What made her so? These Roman men were soldiers. Like all Roman soldiers they were ambitious for glory and fame. In that era, the greatest soldier of all time was Alexander the Great—who just happened to be a Macedonian 'ancestor' of Cleopatra. Through Cleopatra and Egypt, both Roman commanders had expectations that they might emulate Alexander the Great and forge a great empire in the East.

Both Caesar and Mark Antony prepared invasions of Parthia with Cleopatra's support. Cleopatra had some military background herself. She had raised an army, and was preparing for war against both her younger sister Arsinoe IV and brother Ptolemy XIII when Caesar came to Egypt. The common theme of Cleopatra's relationship with both Caesar and Antony is their need for resources with which to wage war. When Antony needed funds to settle the provinces of the East he



summoned Cleopatra to attend him in Tarsus. Later, when he became aware that Octavian was displacing him as the dominant partner in the Triumvirate, he turned to Cleopatra and began a partnership with her.

If Cleopatra used her femininity to keep Antony 'interested', she also had motives of her own. Cleopatra was the first Ptolemaic ruler to identify fully with the Egyptian population. She spoke Egyptian and honoured the native Egyptian religion. The sources agree that her father had educated and prepared his daughter for the eventuality that she might rule Egypt. Cleopatra was a determined Egyptian patriot and wanted to keep Egypt independent of Rome. Her intelligence is attested to in the sources, even from her enemies. It is a reasonable conclusion that she decided that forging an alliance with men such as Caesar and Antony was a reasonable tactic if it allowed her to maintain Egypt's independence.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Who was Cleopatra's distant relative?
2. Why might Cleopatra have wanted an alliance with Mark Antony?
3. Why was the possibility of a Parthian victory important to Mark Antony?

ACTIVITY

CLEOPATRA AND OCTAVIAN



When Egypt was threatened by Octavian, Cleopatra attempted to do a deal with him to have Egypt remain as a client kingdom under the rule of her children—but without success.

Cleopatra's last public appearance in the city of Rome was in the form of a wax model, complete with model asp. Along with the wagonloads of war booty, paintings of battle scenes and hordes of defeated troops, the wax model was carried in front of Octavian's chariot at his triumphal parade for the battles at Actium and Egypt.

It is possible Octavian had her murdered; he certainly did nothing to stand in the way of her suicide. The Egyptian queen—Rome's most dangerous enemy since Hannibal—was

potentially dangerous. It was convenient for Octavian to have her off the scene. Her presence might have reminded the Roman people that Caesar's son, Caesarion, could raise questions about Octavian's 'legitimacy'. Once Cleopatra was dead, Octavian was treated as a pharaoh by the Egyptians, as shown on a Roman victory stele from a temple in Philae. He became the first of a line of Roman emperors who were also pharaohs of Egypt.

SOURCE 5

Silver denarius depicting Mark Antony, victor in Armenia.

SOURCE 6

Cleopatra and Octavian.

DID YOU KNOW?

In a display of contempt for Greek learning, Romans in Egypt often used papyrus copies of famous Greek literature as toilet paper.

CLEOPATRA'S DEATH

In 30 BCE, Cleopatra is said to have fled her mausoleum (tomb building) to escape the invading Roman army.

SOURCE 7

Plutarch, Lives. Life of Antony, trans. John Dryden and Arthur Hugh Clough (New York: P. F. Collier & Son, 1909-14).

CLEOPATRA'S DEATH

Cleopatra sent to [Octavian] a letter which she had written and sealed; and, putting everybody out of the monument but her two women, she shut the doors. [Octavian], opening her letter, and finding pathetic prayers and entreaties that she might be buried in the same tomb with [Mark] Antony, soon guessed what [she] was doing. At first he was going himself in all haste, but, changing his mind, he sent others to see. The thing had been quickly done. The messengers came at full speed, and found the guards apprehensive of nothing; but on opening the doors, they saw her stone-dead, lying upon a bed of gold, set out in all her royal ornaments.



SOURCE 8

The Death of Cleopatra, by Pierre Mignard, c.1635.

ACTIVITY

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Sources 7 and 8 and complete the tasks below.

1. Outline what occurred when Octavian received a letter from Cleopatra, according to the sources.
2. Explain why Cleopatra wished to die and why she wanted to be buried with Mark Antony. In your response, use your own knowledge and the sources.
3. Analyse the significance of the Roman invasion of Egypt for the Roman Republic. Use evidence to support your response.

HISTORICAL SIGNIFICANCE

CLEOPATRA

There is considerable debate amongst historians today over Cleopatra's historical significance. Joann Fletcher describes her as 'one of the most dynamic figures the world has ever seen',³ whereas Adrian Goldsworthy states, 'Whether we like it or not, Cleopatra was not really that important.'⁴

Historians writing closer to the time tended to take a negative view of Cleopatra. Horace, writing in the late first century BCE, described her as 'a crazy queen ... plotting ... to demolish the Capitol and topple [Rome]'. Nearly a century later, Lucan said she was 'the shame of Egypt, the lascivious fury [lustful and vengeful goddess] who was to become the bane of Rome.'

Traditional accounts of Cleopatra have focused intensively on her appearance and sexual and romantic relationships, whereas more recent accounts, most notably that of Joann Fletcher, have tried to imagine what life was like from her perspective. Due to the difficulty of finding primary sources, Adrian Goldsworthy and others warn us to take such 'imaginative' accounts with a grain of salt.⁵



HISTORY VS.
CLEOPATRA



THE LIFE OF
CLEOPATRA



QUIZ – CLEOPATRA

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

ADRIAN GOLDSWORTHY ON CLEOPATRA

There is much we simply do not know about both Antony and Cleopatra ... The gaps should not be filled by confident assertions drawn from the author's own mental picture of Cleopatra as she ought to have been ... The story of Antony and Cleopatra is one of love, but also one of politics, war and ambition. The ... events were intensely dramatic – hence the appeal to novelists, dramatists and screenwriters ... A closer look at the truth exposes an episode of human history more remarkable than any invention ...

↶ SOURCE 9

*Adrian Goldsworthy,
Antony and
Cleopatra (New
Haven: Yale University
Press, 2010).*

MARY BEARD ON CLEOPATRA

[Modern interpretations of Cleopatra] draw on an ancient mythology that goes back ... to the propaganda campaigns of the emperor Augustus, whose own reign was founded on the defeat of the 'Egyptian' Cleopatra (in truth, she was almost certainly Greek) and Mark Antony. It was irresistible for Augustus to demonise Cleopatra as a dangerously seductive Oriental despot [tyrant], living a life of extravagance entirely at odds with the down-to-earth traditions of Rome.

↶ SOURCE 10

*Mary Beard,
'Cleopatra: The
Myth', The New York
Review of Books,
13 January 2011.*

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

Compare the approaches of Goldsworthy and Beard (see above) in regard to assessing Cleopatra's life. Why should we be careful of drawing too many definite conclusions about Cleopatra, and why should we be cautious of traditional accounts of her?

ACTIVITY

OCTAVIAN / AUGUSTUS

‘Wars, both civil and foreign, I undertook throughout the world, on sea and land, and when victorious I spared all citizens who sued for pardon. The foreign nations which could with safety be pardoned I preferred to save rather than to destroy. The number of Roman citizens who bound themselves to me by military oath was about 500,000.’

AUGUSTUS¹

➔ SOURCE 1

Augustus as *Pontifex*.



OCTAVIAN/
AUGUSTUS



THE LIFE OF
OCTAVIAN/
AUGUSTUS



QUIZ – OCTAVIAN/
AUGUSTUS

KEY POINTS

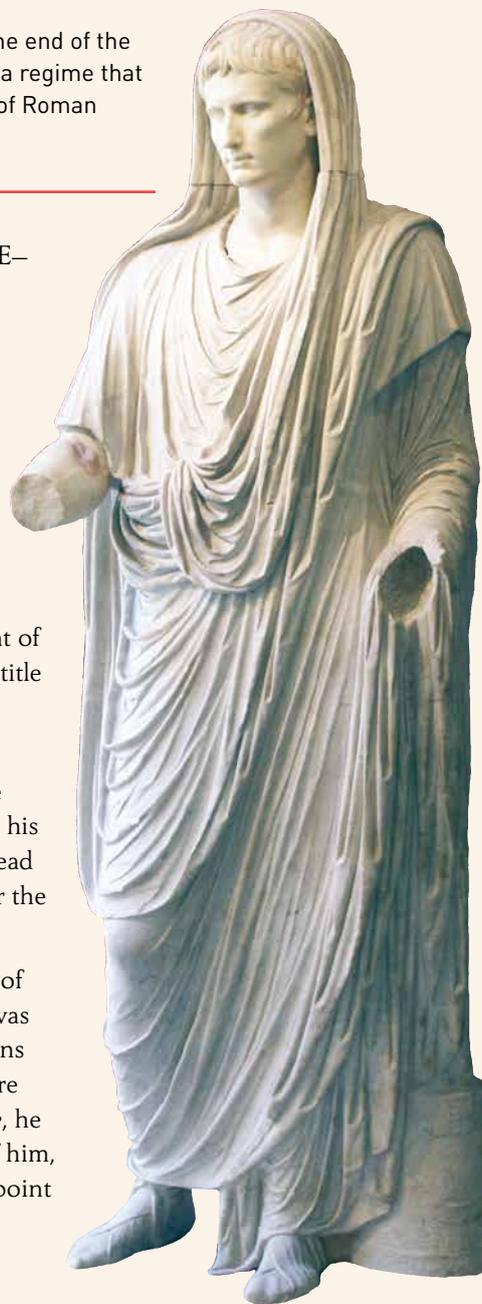
- Octavian/Augustus was the great-nephew of Julius Caesar
- Augustus worked within the established Roman systems but in a way similar to a monarch
- Augustus presided over the end of the Republic and established a regime that culminated in a long line of Roman emperors.

Octavian/Augustus (63 BCE–14 CE) is one of the most interesting characters of the ancient world—yet he is also something of an enigma. His was the most unconventional career of

all during the Roman Republic, yet he often appears to be very conservative in his outlook, and his stance on Roman customs and practices was ‘old style’. The image most people have of Augustus is that of military leader, as *imperator*. (After all, the title *imperator* eventually defined his regime.)

But there is also Augustus as *pontifex*, particularly after 12 BCE when he became *pontifex maximus* and began to emphasise his piety. Altars depicting Augustus with his head draped as a priest have been found all over the Roman world.

There is also Augustus as *Divi filius* (‘son of the god’), a title he adopted after Caesar was declared a god in 40 BCE. The implications of the title and its value for propaganda are obvious. In Augustus’ memoir, *Res Gestae*, he mentions that silver statues were made of him, implying his divinity, but he is careful to point out that he refused such divine honours when they were offered. However, he did



build his house next to the Temple of Apollo on Palatine Hill, and he used iconography on various monuments that associated himself and his sister with the god Apollo and the goddess Diana respectively. He was portrayed as Apollo, and there is at least one inscription that names him as the god Jupiter.

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. What was an *imperator*?
2. What are the implications of statues of Augustus made from silver?
3. How did Augustus exploit the names and titles available to him?

ACTIVITY

AUGUSTAN PROPAGANDA

RICHARD HOLLAND: ‘He [Augustus] did not invent stories but he shamelessly embroidered them like a modern spin doctor.’²

It is hard to make a clear estimation of Augustus’ achievements. The sources from that era—whether buildings, monuments or written records—are likely to be influenced by Augustus’ ‘hand’, as he was aware of the importance of controlling his regime’s record. This propaganda can easily be seen in the ‘record’ of events that was included on the *lorica* (body armour) of the Prima Porta statue that relates the ‘surrender’ of military standards from Parthia in 20 BCE in a celestial scene that speaks of a new dawn of fertility and peace guaranteed by Apollo and Diana. On the *Ara Pacis Augustae* (or ‘Altar of Augustan Peace’, an altar dedicated to Pax, the Roman god of peace), the scene showing the procession of the Augustan ‘royal family’ is surrounded by a scene of universal fertility and fecundity linked to the icons of Rome’s foundation and divine origins.



📍 SOURCE 2

Ara Pacis Augustae.

Perhaps the greatest work of propaganda from his regime—intentional or not—is Virgil’s *Aeneid*, in which the origins of the Julian family and the *Pax Augusta* (‘Peace of Augustus’) are woven into the foundation legends of Rome, of Aeneas and Romulus, and the ancestors of the Julian family are linked to the goddess Venus and the god Mars.

➔ SOURCE 3

Virgil, *The Aeneid*, trans.
Robert Fagles (New York:
Penguin, 2016).

VIRGIL, *AENEID*

Just as, all too often, some huge crowd is seized by a vast uprising, the rabble runs amok, all slaves to passion, rocks, firebrands flying. Rage finds them arms but then, if they chance to see a man among them, one whose devotion and public service lend him weight, they stand there, stock-still with their ears alert as he rules their furor [agitation] with his words and calms their passion. So the crash of the breakers all fell silent once their Father, gazing over his realm under clear skies, flicks his horses, giving them free rein, and his eager chariot flies.

➔ SOURCE 4

C. Suetonius *Tranquillus*,
The Lives of the Twelve
Caesars II.8, trans. J. C. Rolfe,
Loeb Classical Library 31
(Cambridge, MA: Harvard
University Press, 1914)..

Augustus’ military achievements were also celebrated in a range of ways, particularly his success in the war against Mark Antony and Cleopatra.

SUETONIUS ON AUGUSTUS

To extend the fame of his victory at Actium and perpetuate his memory, he [Augustus] founded a city called Nicopolis near Actium, and provided for the celebration of games there every five years; enlarged the ancient temple of Apollo; and after adorning the site of the camp which he had occupied with naval trophies, consecrated it to Neptune and Mars.

⬇ SOURCE 5

Detail of a processional scene from a Roman monument commemorating the Battle of Actium.

AUGUSTUS’ VICTORY MONUMENT



ANCIENT ROMAN DENARIUS, 29–27 BCE



SOURCE 6

Both sides of this coin refer to Octavian's victory over Antony and Cleopatra. Victoria on a ship's prow (left) refers to Octavian's defeat of Antony's fleet in the Battle of Actium. The depiction of Octavian on a triumphal chariot (right) indicates the coin dates from his triple triumph after victories in Illyricum, Egypt and the Battle of Actium.

SOURCES AS EVIDENCE

Examine Sources 3–6 and complete the tasks below.

1. In Source 3, the poet Virgil compares Augustus to a god. What does this suggest about the poet's beliefs about Augustus as a leader?
2. How did Augustus 'perpetuate' the memory of his victory at Actium, as suggested by Sources 4, 5 and 6?
3. Describe how the sources show Augustus as a:
 - powerful leader
 - successful general
 - hero connected to the gods.

ACTIVITY

AUGUSTUS AND THE CITY OF MARBLE

A popular statement attributed to Augustus is that he found Rome a city of (mud) brick and left it a city of marble.³ This is not a reference to architectural achievements or improvements in the Roman construction industry. He was making a statement that was fundamentally important to his personal estimation of his reign, and it goes to the heart of Augustus' regime. When the Romans came into contact with the Hellenistic kingdoms of the East during the third century BCE, their culture was immediately put under pressure. All things Greek became fashionable. The Senate tried to restrict the use of the Greek language by Romans. Greek drama became very popular and, in response, the Senate banned the building of permanent stone theatres until Pompey found a way around the law in the first century BCE.

The war between Rome and Cleopatra was fuelled to some extent by Roman xenophobia towards the Egyptian queen and her Hellenistic background and kingdom. The dress, religion and social customs of the East were characterised as decadent and 'luxurious'. Roman disdain for these practices contributed to the belief that Mark Antony had been degraded and debased by his association with the Greek culture. However, one thing was inescapable for anyone who visited the East. The cities of the Hellenistic world—Athens, Alexandria, Ephesus and Pergamon—were vast, and their monuments and buildings were magnificently adorned in marble. By comparison, Rome looked like a backwoods town. There were rumours that Antony and Cleopatra aimed to make Alexandria the capital of the Roman world when they were victorious over Octavian. During the

DID YOU KNOW?

Augustus encouraged his close associates to endow the city of Rome. For instance, Agrippa was an architect as well as a prolific builder. Titus Statilius Taurus, originally a supporter of Mark Antony, became a supporter of Octavian after his triumph in Africa and built an amphitheatre on the Campus Martius. Its foundations were stone and its upper structure wooden. Prior to this, amphitheatres were temporary wooden structures that were dismantled after use. Combining stone and wood allowed Taurus to get around the Senate's law against permanent arenas.



📍 SOURCE 7

The Theatre of Marcellus, Rome, was begun under Julius Caesar and completed under Augustus.

DID YOU KNOW?

According to Suetonius, on the last day of Augustus' life, he called in his friends and asked them how they thought he had played the 'comedy of life', saying:

*'Since well I've played my part, all clap your hands
And from the stage dismiss me with applause.'*

princinate (the early period of the Roman Empire), Augustus and Agrippa spent immense sums of money rebuilding and restoring many older temples and public buildings.

When Augustus died he could rightfully claim that he had transformed Rome into a city that would rival any of the cities of the Greek world, and a city worthy of being the capital of a world empire.

ACTIVITY

CHECK YOUR UNDERSTANDING

1. Why did the Senate fear Greek culture?
2. What role did anti-Greek sentiment play in the defeat of Mark Antony?
3. What was the purpose of Augustus' building program?

BUILDING ON CAESAR'S LEGACY

There is always likely to be a question about the relative careers of Augustus and his famous grand-uncle Julius Caesar. What Augustus achieved would not have been possible without Caesar before him, but Augustus did manage to find a solution to the question that brought about Caesar's death. How could you rule Rome without appearing to be a king? It was obviously possible to exploit the offices and to avoid the checks and balances built into the political structures of the Roman Republic. There were many great men during the Republic who worked the system to their own advantage, made themselves indispensable to the Roman state and went on to hold multiple consulships or commands. Interestingly, it was many of these very men that Augustus celebrated in bronze and marble with dedicatory inscriptions (called *elogia*) in the Temple of Mars Ultor, which he built in the Forum of Augustus after his victory over Mark Antony and Cleopatra. He seems to have displayed and demonstrated elements of these unconventional careers as a way of justifying his own, and of connecting his own unconventional action to the acknowledged heroes of the Republic.

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

APPIAN ON OCTAVIAN / AUGUSTUS

[Octavian to Senate]: I know very well that I am accused by Lucius [Antony, Mark Antony's brother] and his friends of weakness ... because I do not fight them ... [But] I am not fond of fighting in civil wars except under dire necessity ... least of all in this civil war [Perusine War], whose horrors ... will take place in Italy itself ... For these reasons I hesitate. And now I do still protest that I do [Mark] Antony no wrong, nor do I suffer any wrong from him, but I beseech you to reason with Lucius ... and to bring [him] to a reconciliation with me.

📖 SOURCE 8

Appian, The Civil Wars Book V, 28.

MARY BEARD ON OCTAVIAN / AUGUSTUS

[Mark] Antony has gone down in history as a dissolute wastrel [lustful good-for-nothing] whose victory would have turned Rome into an Oriental monarchy, and Augustus as the sober founding father of an imperial system that would endure in some guise [form] into the Middle Ages. But if you turn the clock back to 31 BCE and to the end of the civil wars that had followed the assassination of Julius Caesar, the two antagonists [opponents] look almost interchangeable ...

📖 SOURCE 9

Mary Beard, 'Looking for the Emperor,' The New York Review of Books, 8 November 2007

HISTORICAL INTERPRETATIONS

1. What impression does Appian (see above) give of Octavian/Augustus when he was in the midst of the Perusine War against Lucius and Fulvia?
2. How does Mary Beard believe Octavian/Augustus has gone down in history? Why might she say there were similarities between Octavian/Augustus and Mark Antony during the civil wars?
3. Based on what you have read about Octavian/Augustus, what impression do you get of him as a person and a leader?

ACTIVITY



📖 SOURCE 10

Forum of Augustus with the temple of Mars Ultor in Rome.





ADDITIONAL MATERIAL

- Glossary
- Who's Who
- Endnotes
- Index

GLOSSARY

A

AB URBE CONDITA (AUC)

Latin for ‘the founding of the city’. Ancient Romans claimed that Romulus founded Rome in the year 1 AUC (754/3 BCE). They dated all events from that year.

AEDILE

The aediles were a form of magistrate. They were originally assistants to the tribunes and superintendents of a number of temples. Their role changed over time, including keeping the archives of plebeian documents, maintaining streets and public buildings, and supervising marketplaces and the grain supply.

ALLIES

When the Romans defeated an opponent they did not usually completely take over; instead they obliged the conquered people to maintain a connection with the Roman state as an ally. An allied state had to provide troops for the Roman army but was usually otherwise able to operate independently.

AMICITIA

A political ‘friendship’; an arrangement to work to support each other in the political arena. Often included a marriage arrangement.

ARISTOCRACY

The ruling body of nobles.

B

BARCIDS

Leading family of Carthaginians. Their members included Hannibal and Hamilcar.

C

CENSOR

An official elected by the Centuriate Assembly every five years for an eighteen-month term of office. Two censors would be elected and they had the responsibility of taking a census of the Roman population and reviewing the Senate’s membership.

CENTURIATE ASSEMBLY

Called the *comitia centuriata* in Latin, this assembly brought the Roman people together in military units. It is important to distinguish between the strictly military nature of this assembly during the regal period and its later much more developed political role during the Republic.

CIVITAS SINE SUFFRAGIO

Literally meaning ‘citizenship without the vote’, this was a form of citizenship that Rome offered to certain allies. These allies could trade and intermarry with Romans and appeal against legal decisions but not actually vote in Rome.

CLIENT

The client was the subordinate member of a relationship of

mutual benefit with a patron. The client provided military and political support for the patron as well as respectful attention.

COLONIAE

Land given as a reward for military service. Originally awarded after a particular war or campaign, and usually in a potential ‘hot spot’.

COMITIUM

People’s assembly.

COMMERCIIUM

The right of trade between Rome and the member cities of the Latin League.

CONFEDERACY

A loose religious and ethnic alliance of twelve city-states in Etruria and Latium.

CONSUL

The highest ranking official of the Roman Republic (unless a dictator was appointed). Consuls had *imperium* and could overrule lower-ranking officials. They were elected in pairs for one-year terms of office by the Centuriate Assembly.

CONUBIUM

The right of intermarriage between Romans and members of the Latin League.

CORONA CIVICA

A crown of oak leaves rewarded to a Roman that saves the life of another Roman in battle.

CURIA

One of the original thirty voting blocks or curiae from three tribes. The senate's meeting house was called the *curia*.

CURIATE ASSEMBLY

Called the *comitia curiata* in Latin, this assembly brought the Roman people together in groups called *curiae*. A curia was one of thirty communities in the ancient Roman state. The Curiate Assembly listened to announcements from the king and gave their formal approval to important decisions.

CURSUS HONORUM

The typical career path that aspiring Roman politicians followed, with consul as the ultimate aim. The path and the requirements for the various offices along the way became more regulated over time.

CURULE AEDILE

The curule aedile was a minor official elected by the Tribal Assembly; the office was created in response to the creation of the plebeian aedile. The curule aediles were elected for one-year terms of office. Their responsibilities included managing public buildings and supervising markets (essentially the same duties as the plebeian aediles).

D**DICTATOR**

'Dictator' was a special position given to an individual Roman for

a limited time. The dictator would be tasked with restoring order in Rome during a time of extreme crisis, and they would be given ultimate authority over political and military matters so they could do what was necessary to save the city.

DICTATOR IN PERPETUUM

This was a unique power that was given to Julius Caesar by the Senate. It means 'Dictator Forever', and allowed Caesar to have the powers of a dictator over Rome for the rest of his life.

E**EQUITES**

Also known as *equestrians* or 'knights', the equites were one of the social classes in ancient Roman society. Equites were business men who were very wealthy. Traditionally, equites made up the cavalry units in the Roman army because they had the money to afford horses, but during the later centuries of the Republic, the power they held was more political and economic than military.

ETRUSCANS

A race of people who lived in Etruria (now Tuscany).

F**FASCES**

The symbol representing the king's power of *imperium*. It took the form

of a bundle of rods surrounding an axe which implies both unity and the power of life and death.

FORUM AND FORUM BOARIUM

The Forum was originally a marketplace, then it became the religious and civic centre of Rome. The Forum Boarium was the cattle market.

FREEDMAN / FREEDWOMAN

A slave who has been granted freedom.

G**GAULS**

A group of peoples living on either side of the alps in the north of the Italian peninsula. Known for their ferocity, they attacked and largely destroyed the city of Rome in 390 BCE.

GENS

A clan. All Roman freeborn belonged to one. The name of the clan became part of one's name.

GRAIN DOLE

The grain dole was a monthly supply of grain given to Roman citizens by the government. Grain was shipped to Rome from all over the Mediterranean to meet the needs of the city's growing population. To keep the price of food down, the cost of grain was kept at a minimum so that citizens did not starve. The grain dole was

instituted by Gaius Gracchus and it was used by both sides of Roman politics as a way of controlling the voting citizens of Rome.

H

HORTENSIAN LAW

Passed in 287 BCE, this law stated that the resolutions of the Plebeian Assembly would be binding on the whole community, not just the plebeians.

HELLENISTIC

Hellenistic culture spread through the eastern Mediterranean and near Eastern worlds after the death of Alexander the Great. Hellenistic culture was Greek in origin and influential in language, art, science and politics. It remained a strong feature of those eastern societies until the death of Cleopatra in 30 BCE and the dominance of Roman culture.

I

INDO-EUROPEAN

A group of related languages that includes French, English, Latin, Greek and Sanskrit.

IMPERIUM

The power of the king to lead an army and inflict corporal punishment. After the end of the monarchy this power was held by high-ranking officials such as consuls and praetors. They could command military forces and make decisions in their province. Often abbreviated as IMP.

K

KING

The holder of the highest executive, military and religious authority in the earliest period of ancient Rome. This position was not inherited; a king was selected from eligible noble families by the advisory body known as the Senate.

L

LATIN LEAGUE

A loose association of Latin cities connected by language, culture and religious rites but still often fighting among themselves. Over time, the League became more and more dominated by Rome.

LATIN RIGHTS (CONUBIUM, COMMERCIIUM)

These were a set of privileges that an allied state and Rome shared with each other. They were first established between Rome and the cities in Latium, but eventually these rights were extended by Rome to non-Latin peoples as well. Included were the rights of intermarriage (*conubium*), trade (*commercium*) and the right to become a citizen in an allied city.

LATIUM

The area around Rome settled by the Latin-speaking branch of Indo-Europeans. The people are called Latini.

LIBERTAS

Freedom to follow normal pathways to political power and influence.

LICINIAN-SEXTIAN LAWS

Passed in 367 BCE, these laws permitted plebeians to run for the consulship. This accelerated the process by which plebeians would be able to access political power in Rome.

LATIFUNDIA

Latifundia were enormous farming estates. Over time, wealthy landowners bought out smaller farms and combined them into *latifundia*. The wealthy owners would usually live in Rome and entrust the running of these giant estates to groups of paid slaves.

M

MAGNA GRAECIA

'Greater Greece', referring to Greek cities in southern Italy.

MAGISTRATE/MAGISTRACY

A Roman official is a 'magistrate' and the office itself was a 'magistracy'—so a consul was a magistrate and the consulship was a magistracy. These words come from the Latin *magister* ('master'), which the Romans used to describe these offices. It is important not to confuse the Roman use of *magistrate* with our word for a judge.

MAGISTER EQUITUM

Cavalry commander or 'master of the horse'.

MAMERTINES

A group of Italian mercenaries who took over the Sicilian city of Messana in 288 BCE. Their request for help from Rome

in 264 BCE brought Rome into conflict with Carthage.

MANIPULAR LEGION

The Romans adopted the more flexible military formation of the manipular legion from the Samnites, replacing the older phalanx formation. This legion arranged units of soldiers in a checkerboard pattern allowing the units to move past and through each other. The strength of the manipular legion was in its flexibility.

N

NOBLE / NOBLES

The nobles were powerful wealthy patricians and plebeians who were called *nobiles*, meaning 'well known'. Nobles were considered to be 'well known' because a member of their family had at some stage been elected to the consulship. Because of their fame and wealth, the nobles controlled the Senate and attempted to centralise political power within their families.

NOVUS HOMO

Novus homo was Latin for 'new man'. It was used to describe a man who was the first in his family to become a senator. On occasion, some politically savvy 'new men' were even able to reach the office of consul. Two famous 'new men' who also became consuls were Gaius Marius and Cicero.

O

OGULNIAN LAW

Passed in 300 BCE, this law allowed plebeians to join the colleges of

the pontiffs and augurs, further eroding the difference between the patricians and plebeians.

OPTIMATES

The Majority faction in the Senate in late Republican Rome that wished to limit the power of the popular assemblies and Tribunes of the Plebs.

P

PATERFAMILIAS

The leader of the Roman household. This was the oldest male in the family.

PATRIA POTESTAS

Literally the 'father's power', the right of the *paterfamilias* to exercise virtually unlimited power over his children or the descendants of male children.

PATRES

Members of the original council or Senate, who became the patricians or *patricii*.

PATRICIAN

Patricians were the 'nobles' of the ancient Roman state. They had significant social and political power (probably originally based on wealth and land ownership) and over time this power became inheritable, creating a permanent imbalance between the patricians and the plebeians.

PATRON

The patron was the superior member of the relationship with a client. The patron provided benefits such as protecting the client in legal matters.

PHALANX

The phalanx (which was borrowed from a Greek style of fighting) was the first significant way in which the Roman military forces were organised. In the phalanx heavily-armoured citizen soldiers fought side by side in a large block.

PHOENICIANS

Merchants from city-states on the eastern Mediterranean coast of Asia Minor (now Syria and further south). They built colonies and trading posts in western Sicily, Spain and North Africa (Carthage).

PLEBEIAN

The plebeians made up the vast majority of the Roman people. They were usually poor (at least compared to the patricians) and had little access to political power. The struggle between patricians and plebeians over this power was a key feature of the early and middle periods of the Roman Republic.

PLEBEIAN AEDILE

The plebeian aedile was a minor elected official. They were elected in pairs by the Plebeian Council for a one-year term of office. Responsibilities included managing public buildings and supervising markets (essentially the same duties as the curule aediles).

PLEBEIAN COUNCIL

Called the *concilium plebis* in Latin. This council brought the plebeians together to elect the tribunes and plebeian aediles. The council could also pass laws but they would only apply to the plebeians unless the Senate approved the law. In 287 BCE, this changed and the laws of the Plebeian Council affected all Romans.

POMPEIANS

Those who supported or fought for Pompey the Great during the civil war against Julius Caesar. Some Pompeians continued to fight against Caesar even after Pompey's death in 48 BCE.

PONTIFEX

In Latin, it means 'bridge builder' and is the title for a priest in Rome.

PONTIFEX MAXIMUS

In Latin, it means 'the greatest bridge builder' and it is the title of the high priest in Rome.

POPULARES

Minority Group in Senate 'favouring the people' in political matters, led by Julius Caesar and Mark Antony. Opposed to the optimates.

PRAETOR

The praetor was assistant to the consul and would be the highest-ranking official in Rome if the consul was away leading the army. The praetor held *imperium* and was able to command the army—but was more usually involved in resolving civic disputes in Rome.

PRINCEPS SENATUS

Leader of the Senate; the first to speak on every motion. Indicates significance or dominance in the Roman state. Often abbreviated to Princeps.

PROMAGISTRACIES

A promagistracy was the extension of a Roman official's powers for an additional year or more usually so that the official could continue to work for the Roman

state even though his term of office had expired. A praetor, for example, might become a propraetor in order to continue to administer a province.

PROSCRIPTIONS

Published list of 'public enemies' who could be executed and whose goods could be seized.

PROVINCE

A territory controlled by Rome and under the authority of an official assigned to administer it. The first Roman province was Sicily, followed by Corsica and Sardinia.

PUNIC

Relating to the people of Carthage. The Carthaginians were originally Phoenicians (from the eastern Mediterranean); the Latin word for 'Phoenician' was Punicus.

Q

QUAESTOR

A minor official with responsibility for handling finances. Quaestors were elected for a one-year term by the Tribal Assembly.

R

REPUBLIC

'Republic' comes from the Latin *res publica*, meaning the 'business of the people' or more generally the 'state, commonwealth or the public interest'.

S

SACROSANCTITY

Sacrosanctity was a law that protected religious people or places from being harmed. In particular, it was a protection given to the Tribune of the Plebs, which meant that they were considered holy during the time they held the position—which was usually twelve months. Any person who touched, attacked or killed a sacrosanct person could be automatically killed as punishment.

SAMNITES

A powerful people inhabiting Samnium in the Apennine hills around Latium. Rome and Samnium fought three long wars in the second half of the fourth and the early third centuries BCE. Rome was the eventual victor of these conflicts and from the Samnites Rome adopted the manipular legion formation.

SECESSION

A process in which the plebeians refused to cooperate with the patricians. This could include refusing to fight to defend Rome. The plebeians did this to put pressure on the patricians so that the patricians would give the plebeians more rights.

SENATE

Founded in c. 753 BCE, the Senate began as an advisory body to the king and reached the height of its power during the Republic. After the fall of the Republic the Senate lost much of its power; however, the Senate survived until the seventh century CE. Senators were generally patrician Romans.

SENATORIAL ARISTOCRACY

In the late fourth and early third centuries BCE, the Senate increased in prestige and power. The relatively small number of families who dominated the Senate and public offices became the aristocracy of the Republic.

STRUGGLE OF THE ORDERS

Name given to the centuries-long conflict between patricians and plebeians in which the plebeians tried to gain a greater share of political, social and legal power while the patricians tried to hold on to that power. The differences between the two groups had mostly eroded by the early third century BCE.

SENATUS CONSULTUM ULTIMUM

Senatus consultum ultimum means 'the final decree of the Senate'. This decree gave the consuls the powers usually reserved for a dictator in order to deal with an immediate threat to Rome. During the last centuries of the Republic, the decree was often used instead of appointing a single dictator.

T**TRIBAL ASSEMBLY**

Called the *comitia tributa* in Latin, this assembly brought people together in administrative units called tribes. This assembly elected quaestors and curule aediles and dealt with minor legal matters.

TRIBUNES

A tribune was an official who acted as a 'champion of the people', protecting them from

unfair treatment by patricians. The tribunes were elected by the Plebeian Council (two at first, later a total of ten were elected) for one year.

TRIBUNES OF THE PLEBEIANS

This was a political position in the Roman government. Plebeian tribunes were elected to defend the interests of the citizens of Rome in the political sphere. They had the power of veto and were considered sacrosanct. Tribunes of the plebs, who represented the people, were often in conflict with the wishes of the Senate, which was controlled by the nobles.

TRIBUNICIA POTESTAS

Literally 'tribunician power'; the power of a tribune to convene the Senate and assemblies (*comitia*), veto laws and remain sacrosanct while in office. Sometimes abbreviated as trib pot or tp.

TRIUMVIR

One of three men appointed for a specific purpose, such as distributing land to veteran soldiers after a military campaign.

TRIUMVIRATE

A Latin term that means 'three men' and is used to describe two different groups of Roman individuals who worked together in the last decades of the Roman Republic. The First Triumvirate was an informal alliance between Pompey, Crassus and Caesar, while the Second Triumvirate was an official coalition between Octavian, Antony and Lepidus.

TWELVE TABLES

A collection of laws created around 450 BCE. These laws

mostly codified existing social and legal practices but were important because they made it more difficult for patricians to make up laws to suit themselves.

TYRANNY

Absolutist, dictatorial or oppressive rule.

V**VEII**

A powerful and wealthy Etruscan city northwest of Rome. Rome fought a bitter war against Veii but defeated it in 396 BCE. Because Rome captured Veii without help from other Latin cities, Rome did not have to share the spoils and land it acquired in this war.

VETO

Veto was a special political power held by the Plebeian Tribune. Veto is Latin for 'I forbid' and it could be spoken by a tribune when a law that displeased him was being voted on by the Roman people. Once the veto was spoken, the law could not proceed, no matter how many votes it received.

VIA APPIA

The first great road of the expanding Roman state. It originally ran from Rome to Capua but was extended later and helped to unite Rome's territory economically and militarily.

WHO'S WHO

AENEAS*

Legendary Prince of Troy, who led the Trojans to Italy; said to have founded the Roman race and the city of Lavinium.

↓ Mark Antony



MARCUS VIPSANIUS AGRIPPA (63–12 BCE)

Consul, architect and outstanding general of Rome. Agrippa was a close friend and colleague of Octavian/Augustus and was responsible for the Roman victory in the Battle of Actium.

MARK ANTONY (MARCUS ANTONIUS) (83–30 BCE)

Caesar's cousin, and his consular colleague in 44 BCE. Took a leading role in aftermath of Caesar's assassination. Allied with Cleopatra, he eventually came into conflict with Octavian.

LUCIUS ANTONIUS (82–39 BCE)

Younger brother of Mark Antony and Tribune for the year 44 BCE. Unsuccessfully opposed Octavian in Italy while Antony was in the East.

APPIAN (95–165 CE)

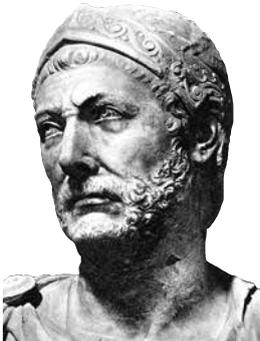
Greek historian with Roman citizenship who wrote during the Roman Empire. Appian of Alexandria is best known for his *Historia Romana* which includes accounts of the civil wars.

AUGUSTUS SEE OCTAVIAN(63 BCE–14CE)

ASCANIUS* (ALSO KNOWN AS IULUS)

Aeneas' son. Ascanius and Aeneas travelled together from Troy. They founded the Julian clan and the city of Alba Longa.

↓ Hannibal Barca



HANNIBAL BARCA (247–183/181 BCE)

Hannibal was a Carthaginian general in the Second Punic War and one of the greatest military strategists in history. He is famous for crossing the alps with an army that included elephants in order to invade Italy, and wiping out a Roman army at the Battle of Cannae. Despite his incredible military successes, he was not effectively supported by Carthage during his invasion of Italy, nor could he persuade Roman allies in Italy to join his side. He led the Carthaginians in their final, doomed battle at Zama in 202 BCE. His family members are collectively known as the 'Barcids' based on their family name 'Barca').

** Note: Information about these people comes from legend rather than the historical record.*

HAMILCAR BARCA (275–229/228 BCE)

The father of Hannibal Barca, Hamilcar was a commander of Carthaginian forces in Sicily during the First Punic War and the commander of Carthaginian forces in Spain between the two wars. Hamilcar did much to re-establish Carthage's presence in Spain, and he died there in 229 BCE.


 Hamilcar Barca
**HASDRUBAL BARCA (245–207 BCE)**

Hasdrubal is a rather common Carthaginian name and it can be unclear which one a text is referring to. One Hasdrubal was the son-in-law of Hamilcar Barca and he took over the management of Spain when his father-in-law died in 229 BCE; this Hasdrubal died in 221 BCE. Hasdrubal Barca was the brother of Hannibal; when Hannibal invaded Italy in 218 BCE, Hasdrubal remained in Spain to fight the Romans until 207 BCE, when he was killed at the Battle of the Metaurus River bringing reinforcements to his brother in Italy. A third Hasdrubal, the son of Gisco, was also a commander in Spain at the same time as Hannibal's brother and a fourth Hasdrubal was a commander of Carthaginian troops during the Third Punic War.

MAGO BARCA (243–203 BCE)

Hannibal's brother. Remained in Spain with Hasdrubal when Hannibal invaded Italy. Headed to Italy in 205 to assist his brother but was then recalled by the Carthaginian senate and died on the way home.

LUCIUS JUNIUS BRUTUS (545–509 BCE)

Semi-legendary founder of the Roman Republic in 509 BCE. Responsible for driving out the last king, Tarquinius Superbus, and becoming the first consul. Known for his stern and ruthless commitment to the Republic, he even had his sons executed when he discovered they were plotting against the state. Brutus died in battle, fighting the son of Tarquinius. He was considered to be the ancestor of the Marcus Junius Brutus, who was involved in the assassination of Julius Caesar.

DECIMUS JUNIUS BRUTUS (C. 85–43 BCE)

Roman politician and general who was one of the instigators of Julius Caesar's assassination, despite being Caesar's potential heir (in the case of Octavian's death). After the assassination, he left for Cisalpine Gaul, where he had an army at his disposal. Not to be confused with Marcus Junius Brutus.

MARCUS JUNIUS BRUTUS (85–42 BCE)

Roman politician originally supportive of Caesar but who became a conspirator ('Liberator') in Caesar's assassination. With Cassius, Marcus Brutus led the unsuccessful Liberators' Civil War after Caesar's assassination.


 Marcus Junius Brutus


Julius Caesar



JULIUS CAESAR (100–44 BCE)

A Roman politician and general. He was one of the members of the First Triumvirate and led a civil war against Pompey the Great. Later, Caesar became the dictator of Rome and held a range of powers greater than any Roman who had come before him. Assassinated by a group of conspirators in 44 BCE.

CAESARION (ALSO KNOWN AS PTOLEMY XV) (47–30 BCE)

The son of Cleopatra and, most likely, Caesar. A potential heir to Caesar, Caesarion became co-ruler of Egypt as Ptolemy XV with his mother in 44 BCE. He was sole ruler after Cleopatra's death until Octavian had him killed.

MARCUS FURIUS CAMILLUS (446–365 BCE)

A heroic Roman of the early Republic. Although responsible for Roman victories against Veii and other Italian cities, he was accused by his political enemies of keeping the plunder from his victories and went into exile. When the Gauls sacked Rome in 390 BCE, Camillus came to the rescue, earning the title of the 'Second Founder of Rome' as if he were another Romulus.

Marcus Tullius Cicero



MARCUS TULLIUS CICERO (106–43 BCE)

Famous and influential republican politician, named 'Father of his Country' after the Cataline conspiracy. He opposed Caesar and later supported Octavian against Antony. Cicero was punished by proscription by the Triumvirs.

LUCIUS QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS (519–430 BCE)

Cincinnatus was a model for the civic duty expected of a leader in ancient Rome—and he has inspired other leaders since then. After Cincinnatus had retired from public life to work on his farm, Rome came under attack (in 458 BCE) and the Senate called on him to become dictator to save the Republic. Cincinnatus did as he was asked, saved the Republic and then gave up his power straight away to go back to work on his farm.

Cleopatra VII



CLEOPATRA VII (69–30 BCE)

Ptolemaic queen of Egypt who allied with Mark Antony in the war between Egypt and Rome (Final War of the Republic). She had a child with Julius Caesar (Caesarion) and two children with Antony. She and Antony committed suicide after losing the Battle of Actium to Octavian in 31 BCE. Possibly a descendant of Alexander the Great, Cleopatra was a fierce patriot who sought Egyptian independence.

CLOELIA (C. SIXTH CENTURY BCE)

A young noblewoman, and the last of the heroes of the Republic's early years, Cloelia had been handed over to the enemy king as a hostage. She escaped, along with the other hostages, and got back safely to Rome, impressing both the Romans and the enemy.

HORATIUS COCLES (C. SIXTH CENTURY BCE)

Like the other semi-legendary heroes of the Republic, Horatius Cocles represents the tough commitment to the state that the Romans valued. Horatius famously stood alone on the bridge leading into Rome, holding back the enemy army while his friends worked to cut the bridge down.


 ↓ Horatius Cocles
**GNAEUS MARCIUS CORIOLANUS (FIFTH CENTURY BCE)**

Coriolanus was a proud and stubborn patrician and a commander in Rome's wars against the neighbouring Volsci highlanders in the 490s BCE. Coriolanus was an opponent of the plebeians and ended up on the wrong side of a plebeian tribune, who forced him into exile. Coriolanus sided with the Volsci and successfully led them in war against the Romans until 488 BCE. Only the intervention of Coriolanus' patriotic mother and wife saved Rome from attack when they reminded Coriolanus of his duty to the state.

CRASSUS (115–53 BCE)

A Roman politician and general who was one of the members of the First Triumvirate. Crassus was considered to be the wealthiest man in Rome, and he used his financial power to gain political friends. He held a long-term animosity towards Pompey the Great and eventually died fighting against the Parthian empire.


 ↓ Crassus
**CASSIUS DIO (C. 155–C. 235 CE)**

Roman statesman and historian of Greek origin. His eighty or so volumes of history cover Rome from the arrival of Aeneas in Italy to 229 CE.

DIONYSIUS OF HALICARNASSUS (B. 60 BCE)

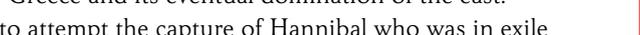
Greek historian who wrote during the Augustan period. His major work, Roman Antiquities, covered Rome from the mythical period to the beginning of the First Punic War.

TITUS QUINCTIUS FLAMINIUS (229–174 BCE)

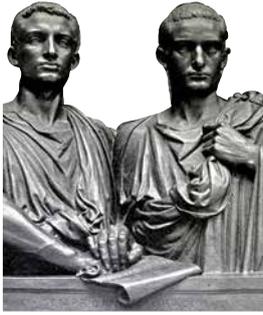
Consul in 198 BCE but retaining proconsular authority after that, Flaminius was crucial in Rome's conquest of Greece and its eventual domination of the east. Flaminius' last major act was to attempt the capture of Hannibal who was in exile in the east but the old Carthaginian committed suicide before this happened.

FULVIA (C.83–40 BCE)

Powerful and influential patrician woman famous ancestors and great wealth... married to a number of famous politicians...Clodius, Curio and Mark Antony.


 ↓ Fulvia


▼ Gaius and Tiberius Gracchus



— — **GAIUS GRACCHUS (154–121 BCE)**

Gaius Sempronius Gracchus was a Roman politician and younger brother of Tiberius Gracchus. He held the position of Plebeian Tribune. He was killed by members of the Senate who opposed the political reforms he proposed.

— — **TIBERIUS GRACCHUS (C.169–C.133 BCE)**

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus was a Roman politician and the older brother of Gaius Gracchus. He held the office of Plebeian Tribune and like his brother, was killed by members of the Senate who opposed his attempted political reforms.

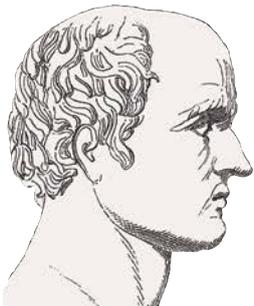
HIERO II OF SYRACUSE (C.306–215 BCE)

King of the Sicilian city-state of Syracuse. Originally working with the Carthaginians to block Roman influence on that island, he was forced to become a Roman ally in 263 BCE. He remained a firm ally to Rome until his death in 215 BCE.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS (710–641 BCE)

The third king was a great warlord, said to be responsible for destroying the Latin city of Alba Longa not far from Rome.

▼ Marcus Aemilius Lepidus



— — **MARCUS AEMILIUS LEPIDUS (C.89–C.12 BCE)**

Roman patrician who was triumvir with Octavian and Antony, and the last Pontifex Maximus of the Roman Republic. Lepidus was at one time an ally of Julius Caesar.

LIVY (59/64 BCE–17 CE)

Key Roman historian best known for his 'Books from the Foundation of the City', (Ab Urbe Condita Libri). Livy wrote during reign of Augustus, often about events in the past. Livy was known to extol Rome's triumphs.

GAIUS CLINIUS MAECENAS (68–8 BCE)

Long-time friend, colleague and adviser of Octavian and a patron of Virgil other writers. He lost favour before his death

MARCUS CLAUDIUS MARCELLUS (268–208 BCE)

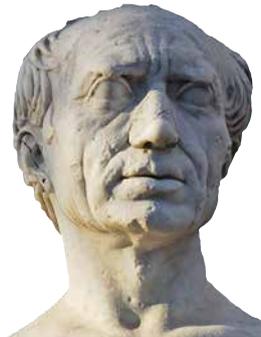
Five-time consul; notable for his success in battle against the Gauls in 225 BCE and his exploits in the Second Punic War. He was responsible for capturing Sicily in 212 BCE which had turned against Rome some years earlier. He died in battle in 208 BCE fighting Hannibal's forces in Italy.

ANCUS MARCIUS (678–616 BCE)

The fourth king was thought to have expanded Roman territory while also developing the city's infrastructure and trade networks.

GAIUS MARIUS (157–86 BCE)

Gaius Marius was a Roman politician and general. He held the highest position in Roman politics—the consulship—seven times and is credited with significant military reforms that set the stage for later civil wars. In his later life, he became the key enemy of Sulla.


 Gaius Marius
QUINTUS FABIVS MAXIMVS (280–203 BCE)

Fabius was appointed dictator in response to the Roman loss at the Battle of Lake Trasimene in 217 BCE. Fabius recognised Hannibal's military superiority and developed the unpopular strategy of harassing Hannibal's forces rather than facing him in a direct fight. When his term as dictator expired, the Romans abandoned this strategy and clashed with Hannibal, leading to the Roman disaster at Cannae (216 BCE). Fabius remained influential in Roman politics for the rest of the war and often advised a cautious and conservative approach.

MITHRIDATES VI OF PONTUS (135–63 BCE)

King of Pontus who achieved early victories against Roman forces in Asia Minor and claimed parts of mainland Greece. Mithridates was a major threat to Rome after the Social War but was defeated by Pompey in 66 BCE.

GAIUS FLAMINIUS NEPOS (c.265–217 BCE)

As consul in 223 BCE he defeated the Gauls and helped to consolidate a Roman presence in Cisalpine Gaul. As consul in 217 BCE his army was ambushed by Hannibal's forces and he was killed at the Battle of Lake Trasimene.


 Octavia Minor
OCTAVIA MINOR (69–11 BCE)

The youngest of Octavian's sisters and the fourth wife of Mark Antony. Octavia's marriage to Antony in 40 BCE was an attempt to cement the uneasy alliance between Octavian and Antony. Octavia and Antony had two daughters—both were ancestors of later Roman emperors. Octavia was said to have been admired as a model of feminine virtue.

OCTAVIAN / AUGUSTUS (ALSO KNOWN AS CAIVS OCTAVIVS THVRINVS / CAIVS IVLIVS CAESAR OCTAVIANVS) (63 BCE–14CE)

Grandson of Caesar's sister, he inherited Caesar's name. After avenging Caesar, he came into conflict with Mark Antony for control of the Roman empire. He defeated Antony and Cleopatra and became undisputed ruler of the Roman world.


 Octavian / Augustus
OVID (43 BCE–c. 17 CE)

Influential Roman poet best known for his work *Metamorphoses*, a collection of mythological stories told in chronological order from the creation of the world to the death of Julius Caesar. The work is said to have influenced Chaucer, Shakespeare and others.

PLUTARCH (C.46–C.120 CE)

Greek biographer who wrote on Scipio Africanus, Alexander the Great, Pyrrhus, Romulus, Numa Pompilius and others.

SEXTUS POMPEIUS MAGNUS PIUS (67–35 BCE)

The youngest son of Pompey the Great and a vigorous opponent of Pompey's Caesarian rivals. Sextus' piracy caused problems for Octavian and Antony by threatening the grain supply to Rome; after his unsuccessful Sicilian Revolt he was put to death without trial.

▼ Pompey the Great



POLYBIUS (200–118 BCE)

Greek historian of Hellenistic period. His Histories covered 264–146 BCE in depth, including eyewitness account of Sack of Carthage. Polybius' work on Rome's constitution influenced framers of US Constitution.

POMPEY THE GREAT (106–48 BCE)

Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus was a Roman politician and general. He served under Sulla and had a distinguished military career that led to significant territorial expansion for the Republic. He would become one of the three members of the First Triumvirate—along with Julius Caesar and Crassus—and would later fight against Julius Caesar in a civil war.

NUMA POMPILIUS (753–673 BCE)

The second king of Rome, believed to be wise and cultured. Numa was given credit for introducing many civilising aspects of society in the early regal period, such as laws, religious practices and festivals.

▼ King Pyrrhus of Epirus



TARQUINIUS PRISCUS (R. 616–579 BCE)

The fifth king was credited with developing Rome even further, adding new features to the city, both physical and political, while also exerting Rome's military might in Latium.

KING PYRRHUS OF EPIRUS (319–272 BCE)

An ambitious king from the eastern Mediterranean who came to the aid of the Italian Greeks against the Romans in 280 BCE. Despite Pyrrhus' excellent military skills he was unable to defeat the Romans and he eventually returned east.

MARCUS ATILIUS REGULUS (BEFORE 307–250 BCE)

Consul in 256 BCE who led a Roman invasion of North Africa. His forces were defeated and he was taken prisoner by the Carthaginians. This was the first time a Roman consul had been captured.

ROMULUS*

Founder of Rome (according to legend).

PUBLIUS CORNELIUS SCIPIO (AFRICANUS)**(236–183 BCE)**

There are two Scipios by this name—a father and son. The father was the leader of Roman forces in Spain during the Second Punic War and died in 211 BCE. His more famous son (236–183 BCE) then took over command of Roman troops in Spain and was immediately successful. The younger Scipio was Hannibal's match in military skill and the two met at the Battle of Zama. After the Roman victory at Zama, the younger Scipio became known as Scipio Africanus. (Scipio Africanus had a grandson-by-adoption named Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, who is also known as Scipio Africanus. To avoid confusion, the elder Scipio Africanus is sometimes called Scipio Africanus Major and the younger called Scipio Africanus Minor).

Publius Cornelius Scipio (Africanus)

**SCIPIO AEMILIANUS AFRICANUS MINOR****(185/184–129 BCE)**

Grandson by adoption of Scipio Africanus Major. Appointed consul in 147 BCE and responsible for the defeat of Carthage in 146 BCE and victory in the Third Punic War.

SCRIBONIA (68 BCE–16 CE)

Second wife of Octavian/Augustus. In 40 BCE she was forced to divorce her husband and marry Octavian; Octavian in turn divorced his wife and married Scribonia to cement a political alliance with her niece's husband, Sextus Pompey. Octavian divorced Scribonia in 39 BCE so that he could marry Livia.

SULLA (138–78 BCE)

Lucius Cornelius Sulla was a Roman politician and general. He served in his early career under Gaius Marius, and later fought against him. Sulla marched his own armies against Rome on two separate occasions. He became dictator of Rome and oversaw the murder of hundreds of fellow Romans in a program known as the Proscriptions.

Sulla

**TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS (D.495 BCE)**

The seventh and last king was an arrogant and offensive tyrant (at least in the minds of later Romans). Tarquinius Superbus was pushed out of Rome in 509 BCE by Lucius Junius Brutus who went on to become the first consul of the Roman Republic.

SERVIUS TULLIUS (D.539 BCE)

The sixth king is associated with introducing important military and political reforms (such as the Centuriate Assembly) that would be essential features of the Republic.

VIRGIL (70–19 BCE)

Poet who lived in Augustan period. His Aeneid was the key founding narrative of Rome.

ENDNOTES

SECTION A: LIVING IN ANCIENT ROME

CHAPTER 1: THE FOUNDING OF ROME: MYTH AND REALITY

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INDEX

A

Acta Diurna (gazette) 31
Actium, Battle of 223–5, 246, 247
Ad Populum Romanum (Horace) 27
Adherbal, Prince of Numidia 147–8
Aebutius (Titus Aebutius Elva) 64
aediles
 curule 73, 76, 114
 plebeian 66, 72, 114
Aegyptio Capta 225, 227
Aeneas 25, 246
Aeneid (Virgil) 11, 25, 225, 246
Aequi tribe 64, 69
Aetolian League 117
Africa
 Egypt 195–6, 216–17, 221, 222,
 226–7 (*see also* Cleopatra VII)
 Jugurthine War 147–9, 150, 153
 under Lepidus 216
 see also Carthage
agriculture 28, 52–3, 115, 141
Agrippa (Marcus Vispanius Agrippa) 223,
227, 247
Alba Longa 19, 39
Alesia 183–4
Alexander the Great 116–17, 217, 233,
238, 240
allied cities and citizenship rights 79,
153–4
alphabet 16, 23
Altar of Augustan Peace 245
ancient dates 8
Ancus Marcius 39, 40, 43
Antonius *see* Lucius Antonius
Antony *see* Mark Antony
Apollo 23, 245
aqueducts 22, 115
archaeological evidence of early Rome
28–31
arches (Etruscan architecture) 22
aristocracy *see* nobility; patricians
armed forces *see* Roman army
Armenia 218–19
Arsinoe IV 240
assemblies 74–7
 see also Centuriate Assembly;
 Comitium (people's assembly);
 Curiate Assembly; Tribal Assembly
Attalus III of Pergamum 144
auguries (signs) 22
Augustus *see* Octavian (Gaius Octavius
Thurinus)/Augustus
auspex (bird diviner) 22

B

Barcid family 103, 104
 Hamilcar Barca 94, 100, 102, 103
 Hannibal Barca 95, 102, 103–12,
 117
 Hasdrubal Barca 95, 103, 106, 109
 Mago Barca 106, 109
Basilica (Roman Forum) 31
Beard, Mary 10
Belgae tribe 180
Bibulus (Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus) 177
Bocchus, King of Mauretania 150
Bona Dea scandal 234
boys' education 50–1
Britannia 183
Bronze Age 28
Brundisium 191, 217–18
Bruti family
 Decimus Junius Brutus 209, 210,
 212
 Lucius Junius Brutus 41, 48, 59, 60,
 61, 163, 200, 208
 Marcus Junius Brutus 200, 208, 210,
 211, 214, 215
 Tiberias Junius Brutus 61
 Titus Junius Brutus 61

C

Caelian Hill 28, 29
Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar)
 assassination 42, 200–1, 208, 236
 and Augustus 248
 Civil War 189–96, 239
 and Cleopatra 196, 209, 239–40
 countdown to Civil War 185–8
 dictatorship 197–200, 236
 early career 233
 family background 232
 First Triumvirate 174–85, 235
 gens 48
 overview of rise and fall 172–3
 as a political threat 233–6
 in Roman foundation narratives 25,
 27
 and the Senate 177–8, 180–1,
 183–91, 194, 198, 199, 200, 235
 on Sulla 160
 and the treasury 150
 and Vercingetorix 171
 will and funeral 210–11
Caesarian Party 211, 212
Caesaron (Ptolemy XV Caesar) 196, 209,
219, 227
calendars
 Julian 198
 Roman 198, 228
Calpurnian Law 116
Campus Martius (Field of Mars) 45, 113,
247
Cannae, Battle of 107–8
Capitoline, origin of name 30
Capitoline Hill 28, 29, 30
Capitoline wolf statue 26
Capua 108, 109, 164
Carandini, Andrea 28
Carthage
 colony on ruins of 145, 197
 between First and Second Punic Wars
 102
 First Punic War 96–101
 geographical location 16, 17
 Pyrrhic War 88
 Second Punic War 103–12
 slaves from 115
 Third Punic War 119
Cassian Treaty 64
Cassius (Gaius Cassius Longinus) 200,
208, 210, 211, 214, 215, 216
Cassivellaunus 183
Castor and Pollux 64
Catiline (Lucius Sergius Catilina) 186
Cato the Elder 119
censors 73–4, 114
Centuriate Assembly
 as one of Servius' reforms 40
 during Punic Wars 113
 in regal period 45
 in Roman Republic 60, 66, 67, 75–6,
 85
chickens (sacred) 100
childbirth 49
children 48, 50–1
Cicero (Marcus Tullius Cicero)
 and aftermath of Caesar's murder 211
 and Bona Dea scandal 234
 and Civil War 186, 191
 death 215
 Philippics 212, 213
 and Social War 154
Cimbri 151–2, 153
Cincinnatus (Lucius Quinctius
Cincinnatus) 59, 68–9
citizenship rights 78, 79, 153–4
city mob 115
Civil War 189–96, 235–6, 239
Claudii family
 Appius Claudius Caecus 84
 Appius Claudius Caudex 96
 Gaius Claudius Nero 109
Cleopatra Selene 228
Cleopatra VII
 allure of 239–40

Battle of Actium and its aftermath 223–5
 and Caesar 196, 209, 239–40
 death 226–7, 242
 and Hellenistic culture 247
 and Mark Antony 216–17, 218, 219, 221, 222, 240–1
 and Octavian/Augustus 241, 246, 247
 and the Ptolemies 238–9
 significance of 134
 client-patron relationship in Roman society 46–7
 client relationship between Rome and other cities 102, 118
 Clodia 217
 Clodius (Publius Clodius Pulcher) 181, 185, 214, 234
 Cloelia 58, 63
 Cocles (Horatius Cocles) 57, 59, 62, 63
 Collatinus (Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus) 60, 61
 colonies 79, 197
Comitium (people's assembly) 30, 31
 commerce 30–1, 53
 see also trade in the Mediterranean
 constitution of Roman Republic 73
 construction boom 115
 consuls
 and *cursus honorum* 114
 role in Roman Republic 60
 Senate membership 85
 senatus consultum ultimum 145, 163, 185, 186, 188
 and Struggle of the Orders 72, 73
 summoning of assemblies 74
 temporary suspension of 67
 Corfinium 154, 190–1
 Corinth 23, 118, 197
 Coriolanus (Gnaeus Marcius Coriolanus) 58, 68
 Cornelia (wife of Caesar) 232, 233
 Corsica 99, 100, 102, 116
corvus (boarding device) 99
 Crassus (Marcus Licinius Crassus)
 financial assistance given to Caesar 234
 First Triumvirate 174–8, 181–2, 185, 235
 and political divisions in Rome 158, 164–5
 crimes and punishment 42
 Cumae 16
Curia (Senate House) 31, 35, 39, 43
curiae (gathering of people) 44
 Curiate Assembly 44–5, 46, 85
 Curio (Gaius Scribonius Curio) 187, 188, 214
 currency 31
cursus honorum 113, 114–15, 175
 curule aediles 73, 76, 114

D

daily life 48–53
 dates (ancient) 8
 Decemvirate 67
 Demartus 23
 Diana 18, 19, 163, 245
 dictators 60, 72, 114, 211
 Dionysius of Halicarnassus 11
 Dionysus 219, 222
 divine omens 46
 divorce 48, 50
 Domitius (Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus) 140, 190
Domus Regia (King's House) 30
 Donations of Alexandria 219, 222
 Duilius (Gaius Duilius) 98, 99
 Dyrachium, Siege of 194

E

Ebro River treaty 103, 104
 Eburone tribe 183
 education of children 50–1
 Egeria 39
 Egypt 195–6, 216–17, 221, 222, 226–7
 see also Cleopatra VII
 entertainment (public) 233–4
 equites 141, 160
 Esquiline Venus 240
 Etruscans
 Battle of Veii 69–70
 and Caelian Hill 28
 and founding of Rome 18, 20–4, 25
 kings 40–1
 language 16
 and Roman Republic 57, 62–3
 and Romulus 26
 and Third Samnite War 83
 evil spirits, protection against 51

F

Fabius (Quintus Fabius Maximus) 48, 95, 106–7
 fall of Roman Republic
 overview 132–5
 timeline 126–31
 see also Caesar (Gaius Julius Caesar); Octavian (Gaius Octavius Thurinus)/Augustus; political divisions in Rome
 family life 48–9
 farmers as soldiers 52–3, 81, 140–1, 142, 149
 farming 28, 52–3, 115, 141
fascēs (power symbol) 42
fides (good faith) 78
 Field of the Jews 28
 First Secession 65–6, 68

First Triumvirate 174–85, 235
 Flaminius (Gaius Flaminius) 106, 117, 118
 Fordicidia festival 44
 Fornacalia festival 44
 Fortuna 193
 Forum Boarium (cattle market) 23, 24
 Forum Julium 198, 240
 Forum of Augustus 248, 249
 founding of Rome
 archaeological evidence 28–31
 date of 25, 28
 and Etruscans 18, 20–4, 25
 geographical features of Rome 16–17, 23–4
 narratives of 25–7
 overview 14–15
 pre-Roman Italy 18–19
 freedmen and freedwomen 47, 51, 61
 frescoes (Etruscan) 20, 21, 23
 Fulvia 134, 214, 217, 218

G

Gauls
 conflicts with Rome during Punic Wars 102, 106
 Gallic Wars 179–81, 182–4, 235–6
 Sack of Rome 70–1, 72
 and Samnites 81
gens 48
 Genucian Law 85
 Genucius (Lucius Genucius) 72
 geographical features of Rome 16–17, 23–4
 girls' education 51
 gods and goddesses, influence of other cultures 22, 23, 140
 Goldsworthy, Adrian 10
 Gracchi family
 Cornelia (mother of Gaius and Tiberius) 142
 Gaius Gracchus 142, 144–6, 197
 Tiberius Gracchus 142–4, 146
 grain dole 145, 146, 160, 182
 grain supply 221, 229
 Greece
 Civil War 193–4
 colonies of 16–17
 Corinth 23, 118, 197
 gravestones 21
 Hellenistic culture 117, 140, 247–8
 and Hiero II of Syracuse 96
 hoplite warfare 45
 influence on Etruscans 23
 and Macedonian Wars 117–18
 under Mark Antony 216
 Pyrrhic War 86–9
 in Roman foundation narratives 25
 trade 20

H

haruspex (liver diviner) 22
Hellenistic culture 117, 140, 247–8
Helvetian tribe 179
Hernici tribe 64
Hiero II of Syracuse 96, 98
Hirtius (Aulus Hirtius) 212, 213
historians and writers 10
historical interpretations 10
hoplite warfare 45
Horace, *Ad Populum Romanum* 27
Hortensian Law 66, 85
housing 18, 20, 28, 30

I

Illyrian Wars 102, 104, 117
imperium (military power) 42, 45, 60, 73, 74, 85, 102, 109, 178, 187, 229
Indo-European languages 16
interregnum 43–4
interrex (caretaker king) 43
iron-making 18
Isis 219, 222, 240
Italian Peninsula, geographical features 16
Italica 154
Italy and Second Punic War 104–8

J

judicial power of the king 42
Jugurtha, Prince of Numidia 147–9, 150
Jugurthine War 147–9, 150, 155
Julia (aunt of Caesar) 147, 232, 233
Julia (daughter of Caesar) 49, 178, 185
Julian calendar 198
Juno 22
Jupiter 102, 149, 245
 religious festival 18
 Temple of 19, 22, 28, 30, 31, 41
Juvenal 11

K

king, powers of 42
 see also regal period

L

Labienus (Quintus Labienus) 218
Lake Regillus, Battle of 64
Lake Trasimene, Battle of 106–7
land ownership
 position in society and access to 46, 65, 69, 72, 115
 by soldiers and veterans 140–1, 142–3, 149, 153, 177, 197, 216

Lapis Niger (Black Stone) 30, 38
latifundia (agricultural plantations) 115, 141
Latin language 53
Latin League 53, 64, 69–70, 78, 79, 81, 83
Latin people 18, 38, 53
Latin rights 64, 79
Latin War 78
Latium 16, 18, 25, 52–3, 64, 69–70, 78
laws, development of 67, 85
Lepidus (Marcus Aemilius Lepidus)
 aftermath of Caesar's murder 208, 209, 213, 214
 and Mark Antony in the East 218, 221
 Second Triumvirate 214–16, 221–2, 241
 Senate revolt against 162–3
Lex Sempronia Agraria 142
Licinian-Sextian Laws 72, 73, 85
Licinius Stolo (Gaius Licinius Stolo) 72
lictors 22, 42
life expectancy 48
Livia 134
Livius (Marcus Livius Salinator) 109
Livy (Titus Livius) 10
Luceres tribe 28, 44, 45
Lucius Antonius 217
Lucius Sextius Lateranus 72
Lucretia 61
lustrum ritual 73
Lutatius (Gaius Lutatius Catulus) 100

M

Macedonian Wars 117–18
Maecenas (Gaius Maecenas) 227
magistracies 73–4
Magna Graecia 16
male as head of the Roman household 48
Mamertines 96
manipular legion 81–2, 109
Manlius (Titus Manlius Torquatus) 48
manumitted (freed) slaves 47, 51, 61
Marcellus (Marcus Claudius Marcellus) 102, 248
Marius (Gaius Marius) 139, 147–53, 154, 155, 157, 158, 159, 232
Marius (Gaius Marius the Younger) 158
Mark Antony
 aftermath of Caesar's murder 208, 210, 211, 212–14
 and Augustan propaganda 246, 247
 Battle of Actium and its aftermath 223–7
 and Cleopatra VII 216–17, 218, 219, 221, 222, 240–1
 in the East 216–21
 and Hellenistic culture 247
 Second Triumvirate 214–16, 221–2, 241
 and the Senate 212–14

marriage 48, 49
Mars 26, 34, 246
Messana 96
metalworking 18
Metaurus River, Battle of 109
Metelli family 147, 155
 Quintus Caecilius Metellus 148, 149
military forces *see* Roman army
military power (*imperium*) 42, 45, 60, 73, 74, 85, 102, 109, 178, 187, 229
Milo (Titus Annius Milo) 181, 185
Minerva 22
Mithridates VI of Pontus 155–8, 166, 167, 196
Mozia 16
Mucius (Gaius Mucius Scaevola) 58, 62–3
municipalities 78
Mutina, Battle of 212, 213
Mylae, Battle of 93, 98, 99

N

naming conventions of Romans 48, 49, 52
Neolithic people 18
Neptune 23
New Carthage 103, 109
New Shops 31
nobility 42, 44, 85, 113–15, 140, 141, 175
novus homo (new man) 113, 147
Numa Pompilius 38–9
Numidia 111, 119, 147–9, 150

O

Octavia 134, 218, 219, 222, 227, 228
Octavian (Gaius Octavius Thurinus)/Augustus
 aftermath of Caesar's murder 209, 210, 212, 213–14
 Battle of Actium and its aftermath 223–7, 246, 247
 busts of 205, 228
 and Caesar's legacy 248
 character 244–5
 and Cleopatra 241, 246, 247
 and end of Roman Republic 227–9
 and Hellenistic culture 247–8
 and Mark Antony in the East 217–21
 overview of rise of Augustus 206–7
 propaganda 245–7
 Second Triumvirate 214–16, 221–2, 241
 and Virgil's *Aeneid* 25
Octavius (plebeian tribune) 143
Ogulnian Law 84, 85
Old Shops 30–1
Old Stone Age people 18
Opimius (Lucius Opimius) 145

optimates
 and Caesar 178, 181, 185, 186, 187,
 189, 191, 194, 196, 235
 as a faction 138, 146
 and Marius 147
 and Sulla 155, 160
 Ovinian Law 85

P

Pacorus I of Parthia 218
 Palaeolithic people 18
 Palatine Hill 25, 28, 29
 Pansa (Gaius Vibius Pansa Caetronius)
 212, 213
 Parthian empire 182, 185, 216, 217,
 218–19, 240
paterfamilias (father of the family) 48, 49
patria potestas (father's power) 48, 49
 patricians
 as consuls 60
 equites 141, 160
 origin of word 30
 Struggle of the Orders 46, 65–9,
 72–7, 84–5
 patron-client relationship in Roman
 society 46–7
 Paullus (Lucius Aemilius Paullus) 107
 Perpena (Marcus Perpena Vento) 163
 Perusine War 216–17
 phalanx legion 45, 81
 Pharnaces II of Pontus 196
 Pharsalus, Battle of 194–5
 Philip II of Macedon (Ptolemy I Soter)
 213, 217, 238
 Philip V of Macedonia 117
 Philippi, Battle of 215–16
Philippics (Cicero) 212, 213
 Phoenicians 16–17, 20
see also Carthage
 piracy 165–6, 216, 221
 Pithekoussai 16
 plebeians
 aediles 66, 72, 114
 consuls 72
 Plebeian Council 66, 76, 84–5, 144,
 146, 149, 153
 reduction in conflict with patricians
 81
 Struggle of the Orders 46, 65–9,
 72–7, 84–5
see also tribunes of the plebeians
 Plutarch 11
 political divisions in Rome
 consequences of expansion 140–1
 Gaius Marius 139, 147–53, 154,
 155, 157, 158, 159, 232
 Gracchi brothers 142–6
 Lucius Cornelius Sulla 139, 150,
 155–61, 162, 163, 164, 165, 232
 overview 138–9
 Pompey the Great 158, 162–7
 Social War 153–4, 155, 162, 186

political system
 establishment of 30
 exclusion of women 49
 regal period 42–7
 Roman Republic 46, 60, 65–9, 72–7,
 84–5
 politics of Etruscans 21
 Polybius 10
 Pompeia (wife of Caesar) 233, 234
 Pompeius (Sextus Pompeius Magnus Pius)
 215, 216, 221
 Pompey the Great (Gnaeus Pompeius
 Magnus)
 and Civil War 189–96, 235–6, 239
 and countdown to Civil War 185,
 186, 187–8
 First Triumvirate 174–8, 181–2, 185,
 235
 and political divisions in Rome 139,
 158, 162–7
 and the Senate 174, 185
 statue of 200
pontifex maximus (religious position) 181,
 221, 234
 Pontine Marshes 23, 24
 poor-rich divide 115, 140, 141
populares 138, 146, 153, 157, 185, 196
 Porsena (Lars Porsena) 62–3
 Poseidon 23
 Postumius (Aulus Postumius Albus) 64
 pottery (Etruscan) 23
 power symbols 22, 42
 praetors 73, 74, 85, 102, 114
 pre-Roman Italy 18–19
 priesthoods 42, 46, 67, 84, 199, 233,
 234
 Prima Porta statue 245
 primary sources 10
 propaganda 180, 190, 245–7
 proscriptions 158–9, 215
 provinces 102–3, 116
 Ptolemy I Soter *see* Philip II of Macedon
 (Ptolemy I Soter)
 Ptolemy XII 238–9
 Ptolemy XIII 195–6, 239, 240
 Ptolemy XV Caesar *see* Caesarion
 (Ptolemy XV Caesar)
 public entertainment 233–4
 Publilian Law 76
 Punic Wars
 Eastern Wars 117–18
 First 96–101
 overview 94–5, 120–1
 period between First and Second
 102–3
 Rome after Second Punic War
 113–16
 Second 103–12
 Third 119
 punishment for crimes 42
 Pyrrhic War 86–9
 Pyrrhus, King of Epirus 86–8

Q

quaestors 72, 76, 102, 114
 Quirinal Hill 28, 29

R

Ramnes tribe 44, 45
 regal period
 daily life 48–53
 end of 60
 kings after Romulus 38–41
 overview 36–7
 social and political hierarchy 42–7
 Regulus (Gaius Atilius Regulus) 99
 Regulus (Marcus Atilius Regulus) 100
 religious beliefs and practice
 Latin people 18
 places of worship 30
pontifex maximus 181, 221, 234
 priesthoods 42, 46, 67, 84, 199, 233,
 234
 responsibility of the *paterfamilias* 48
 religious power of the king 42
 remodelling of Rome by Caesar 198
 Remus 25–6, 27
 Republic *see* Roman Republic
rex sacrorum (priesthood) 42
 rich-poor divide 115, 140, 141
 River Rubicon 16, 187, 188
 River Tiber 23–4, 25, 28, 42, 62
 roads 22, 23, 24, 84
 Roman army
 and Centuriate Assembly 45
 farmers as soldiers 52–3, 81, 140–1,
 142, 149
 king as commander-in-chief 42
 and nobility 141
 under Octavian 228
 payment of soldiers 69, 102–3
 phalanx legion 45, 81
 reforms under Marius 149
 in voting assemblies 153
 Roman calendar 198, 228
 Roman Forum 30–1, 35, 64, 76, 137,
 143, 210–11
 Roman naming conventions 48, 49, 52
 Roman numerals 22
 Roman Republic
 birth of 60–3
 end of 227–9
 hill tribes conflict 64, 69
 incorporation of neighbouring cities
 78–80
 Latin League conflict 64
 overview 58–9
 Pyrrhic War 86–9
 Sack of Rome 70–1, 72
 Samnite Wars 81–4
 Struggle of the Orders 46, 65–9,
 72–7, 84–5
 Veii conflict 69–70

Roman roads 22, 23, 24, 84
Romulus
 and clients and patrons 47
 laws on women 50
 and *patria potestas* 49
 and patricians and plebeians 47
 and reading of auguries 22
 in Roman foundation narratives
 25–7, 28, 38, 246
 Senate formed by 30, 43, 46
Rostra (Roman Forum) 31, 76, 143
rostral columns 99

S

Sabine tribe 26, 28, 38, 44, 64
Sack of Rome 70–1, 72
sacred chickens 100
sacrosanctity 143, 199, 229
Sagantum, Siege of 104
salt 24, 31, 39
Samnite Wars 81–4
Sardinia 99, 100, 102, 116, 216, 221
Scipiones
 Gnaeus Scipio 106, 109
 Lucius Cornelius Scipio 98–9
 Publicius Cornelius Scipio 95, 104,
 106, 109
 Publicius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus
 119, 142, 147
 Publicius Cornelius Scipio Africanus
 95, 109, 110–11, 119
Scribonia 134, 217, 221
secessions 65–6, 68
Second Triumvirate 214–16, 221–2, 241
Sempronius Longus (Tiberias Sempronius
 Longus) 104
Senate
 after Second Punic War 113
 and birth of Roman Republic 60
 and Caesar 177–8, 180–1, 183–91,
 194, 198, 199, 200, 235
 and Centuriate Assembly 76
 and Cicero 186
 controlled by nobility 140, 141
 and equites 141
 and Gracchi brothers 143, 144, 145
 and Hellenistic culture 247
 and Lepidus 162–3
 and Marius 153
 and Mark Antony 212–14
 membership of 73–4, 85
 and Octavian 222, 227, 228, 229
 and pirate problems 165–6
 and plebeians 146, 149
 and Pompey 174, 185
 in regal period 43–4
 and Social War 154
 and Struggle of the Orders 66, 68, 72
 and Sulla 157, 158, 160
 see also optimates; populares

senatus consultum ultimum 113, 145,
 163, 185, 186, 188
Sertorius (Quintus Sertorius) 163
Servian Wall 40, 54, 55, 71
Servius Tullius 40, 45, 55
Seven Hills of Rome 28–9, 41
shops 30–1
Sibylline books 23
Sicily 88, 98–9, 100–1, 102, 116, 216,
 221
Silo (Publius Silo) 154
slaves
 freedmen and freedwomen 47, 51, 61
 keeping of 46, 115, 141, 145, 165
 revolt under Spartacus 164
social hierarchy in regal period 42–7
social life 48, 49
Social War 153–4, 155, 162, 186
Solus 16
Sons of Mars 96
Spain
 Civil War 193, 234
 Lepidan Revolt 163
 under Octavian 216
 under Pompey 182
 and Second Punic War 103, 104,
 109, 110, 116
Spartacus 164
spolia opima (trophies) 102
stone houses 18
Struggle of the Orders 46, 65–9, 72–7,
 84–5
Suebian tribe 180
Sulla (Lucius Cornelius Sulla) 139, 150,
 155–61, 162, 163, 164, 165, 232
Sullan Restoration 160
Sulpicius (Gaius Sulpicius Paterculus) 99
symbols of power 22, 42
Syria 182, 185

T

Tabularium (Roman Forum) 31
Tanaquil 40
Tarentum 16, 86, 88, 219
Tarquins
 Arruns Tarquinius 61
 Sextus Tarquinius 61
 Tarquinius Priscus 30, 40
 Tarquinius Superbus 38, 40, 41, 60,
 61, 62, 64
Tatius (Titus Tatius, King of the Sabines)
 26
Taurus (Titus Statilius Taurus) 247
tax collectors 116
Temple of Saturn (Roman Forum) 190
Teutones 151–2, 153
Thermus (Minucius Thermus) 233
Thurii 86
Tiber Island 24
timeline of ancient Rome (c.700–
 146 BCE) 2–7

Tities tribe 28, 44, 45
togas 22, 48, 50–1
tombs (Etruscan) 20–1
trade in the Mediterranean 16–17, 20,
 30–1, 53, 97, 165
 see also commerce
treasury and Caesar 190
Trebia, Battle of 106
Treviri tribe 183
Tribal Assembly 76–7
tribunes of the plebeians
 cursus honorum 114
 powers limited and restored 160, 165
 and the Senate 146
 and Struggle of the Orders 65–6, 67,
 68, 72, 74
Troy 25
Tullia (daughter of Cicero) 40, 49
Tullus Hostilius 39
Twelve Tables 67

V

Varro (Gaius Terentius Varro) 107
Veii 21, 26, 69–70
Ventidius (Publius Ventidius) 218
Venus 240, 246
Vercingetorix 171, 183–4, 235
Vesta, Temple of 30
Vestal Virgins 30, 38
Veturia 68
Via Appia 84
Via Salaria 24
Villanovan culture 18, 20
Virgil, *Aeneid* 11, 25, 225, 246
volcanic soil 16, 18, 52
Volsci tribe 64, 65, 66, 68
Volumnia 68
voting in assemblies 74–5, 76, 153
Vulso (Lucius Manlius Vulso) 99

W

wattle and daub huts 18, 28, 30
weaving 49
women 48, 49–50, 63, 68, 134
wool spinning 49

X

Xanthippus 99

Z

Zama, Battle of 111