

ANCIENT ROMAN CIVILIZATION

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HISTORY 4322/6322

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MOST ANCIENT ROME: ORIGINS AND BEGINNINGS

Legend of Trojan origins: dates back at least to 5th century BCE, when Greek historian Hellanicus refers to it. Trojan hero Aeneas, in flight from Troy, lands on Italian coast and intermarries with Latin ruling family. His descendants are Romulus and Remus. Aeneas himself was worshipped in Rome under the label *Iuppiter Indiges* (“native Jupiter”).

She-Wolf Legend: current in Italy by late 5th or earlier 4th century, though not clearly with reference to Rome. A statue of babies Romulus and Remus with she-wolf is known to have been set up in Rome as early as 296 BCE.

“Latial”/ “Villanovan” settlement on Palatine Hill, which Romans regarded as site of Romulus’ original settlement

Sabine component of Roman population: (1) early inhabitants of Quirinal Hill
(2) Term for people “Quirites,” originally referring to Sabines, later used for Romans as group.
(3) Legend of Sabine women probably is ex-post-facto explanation of Sabine component in Roman makeup.

Foundation of Rome: traditionally agreed as being April 21, 753; Roman time-reckoning was generally in terms of so many years “since the founding of the city” (*ab urbe condita*, abbreviated AUC)

Etruscan kings of Rome: Tarquinius Priscus (# 5) and Tarquin the Proud (# 7). The traditional date of his expulsion is 509 BCE. The Republic was believed to have begun immediately afterwards, but this is complicated by

Lars Porsenna (of Clusium): attacked, and probably took Rome after Tarquin the Proud was expelled, but did not reinstall him.

Supposed sources for Roman history: (1) “Whiteboards” (*tabulae dealbatae*) posted by Pontifex Maximus every year until c. 130 BCE. Thereafter compiled into *Annales Maximi*, which had reached a length of 80 books by the time of the Emperor Augustus.
(2) *Fasti Capitolini*: lists of chief government officials

Etruscan influences on later Roman practices include:

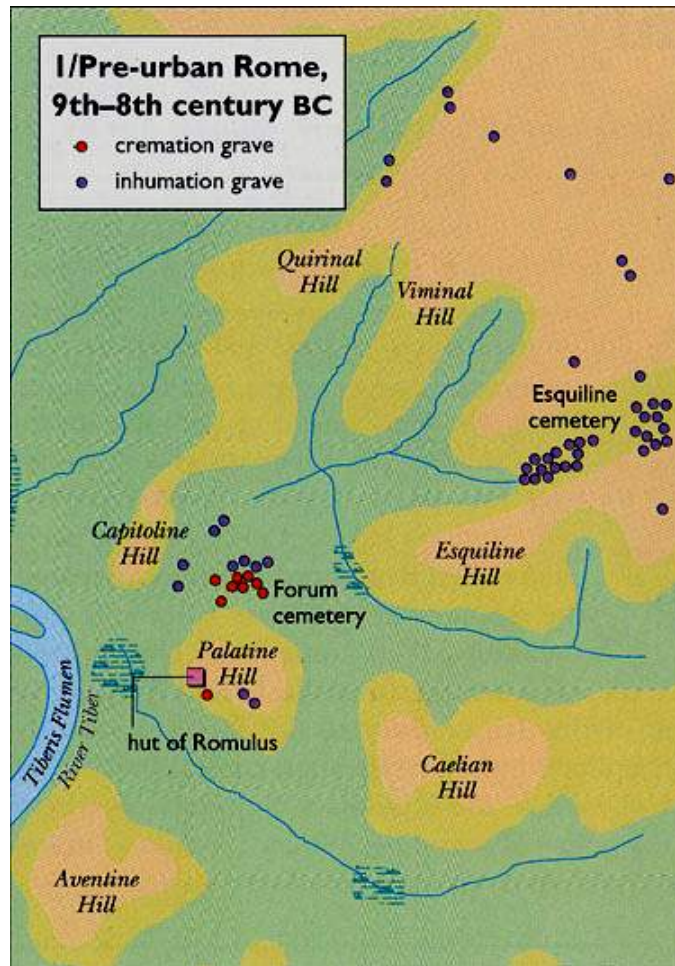
- (1) Requirement that consuls take “auspices” (=omens to ensure that the day is not unfavorable for business)
- (2) Priestly colleges: Augurs, Flamens, Pontiffs.
- (3) Blood sacrifices and gladiatorial games.



Early Burial Urn shaped like a wood and wattle hut



Reconstruction of a prehistoric settlement on the site of Rome



Prehistoric Settlements at the site of Rome

“THE ETRUSCAN PROBLEM” REVISITED

(A) Tradition

Believed by many Greek writers to have emigrated from the eastern Mediterranean area: identified with *Tyrsenoi*, which could be a hellenized version of *Tiwresh* (name of one of the groups of “Sea Peoples” that attacked Egypt c. 1205 BCE). A plausible etymology can be worked out from *Turs* to *Tursci* (“those of Turs”) ending up with the name *Etursci/Etrusci*. Trouble is, all this might be ex-post-facto theorizing, to account for a people entrenched in North Italy who were so different from their neighbors in language (non-Indo-European) and culture.

Herodotus (I 94) says the Etruscans were brought to Italy from Asia Minor by a Lydian named Tyrrhenus, and that they adopted the name “Tyrrhenians” in his honor. This sounds suspiciously like other stories which trace a people back to an ancestor who brought the stock from somewhere else (like Aeneas for Rome) and obviously it cannot be verified. It is reflected, however, in the name “Tyrrhenian Sea” which was later given to that part of the Mediterranean which lies between Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica and the west coast of Italy.

The Etruscans called themselves “Rasenna” and told the historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus (middle-to-late first century BCE) that they had always been native to Etruria.

(B) Archaeology

There appears to be a cultural continuity between the Late Bronze Age culture in Etruria (called “Proto-Villanovan,” 12th to 10th centuries BCE) and the Iron Age “Villanovan” culture (9th-8th centuries) which is definitely the precursor of “Etruscan” civilization. While this would support Dionysius’ theory of a native Etruscan people, the evidence might be compatible (or not, depending on whom you read) with a foreign takeover between the “proto” and “full” Villanovan periods, c. 900 BCE -- but to make that work you have to assume that these immigrants brought in very little that was distinctively new and that they adopted many customs, particularly burial customs, of the “proto-Villanovans” whom they replaced: such evidence seems to me inconclusive. Similarly dicy is the theory that the (Proto) Villanovans were taken over by a tiny ruling elite from the east who brought the distinctive “orientalizing” features of later Etruscan culture but otherwise didn’t disturb the mainstream culture which they found: this solution may “save” the tradition but it has its own problems -- both logistical (how would such a tiny elite have won?) and evidentiary (where’s the positive proof?). Most scholars today tend to regard Villanovan culture, at least, as the early Iron Age precursor of fully developed Etruscan civilization. Etruscan “orientalizing” (c. 720-580) may have happened through the Greeks with whom the Etruscans were in contact, or possibly through Carthage -- or maybe these features are just peculiar to the native culture and only resemble comparanda further east.

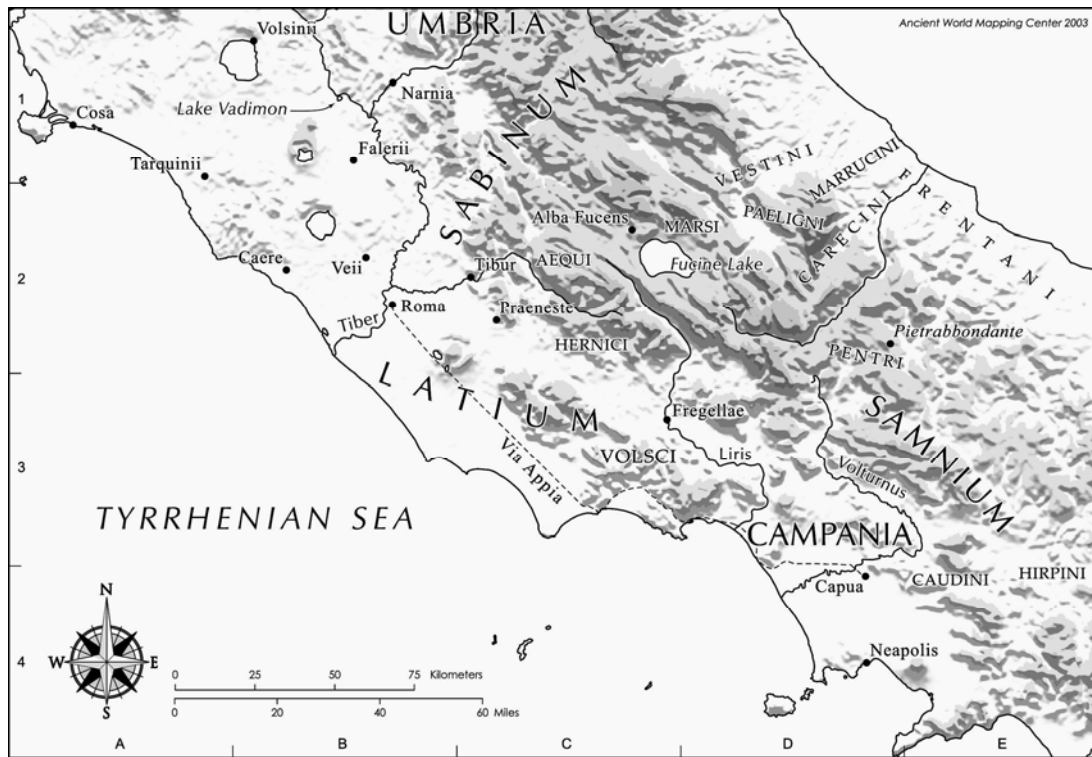
Prof. Africa points to a tombstone on Lemnos, opposite the Troad in Asia Minor, written in a non-Indo-European language which resembles Etruscan: this, he thinks, might lend credence to the idea that the original Etruscan stock came from the eastern Mediterranean. Since he wrote this,

however, the language has been more conclusively identified as a form of Etruscan; and since the stela is late (perhaps earlier 5th century according to the recent *CAH*, as opposed to 7th or 6th century by others) it could reflect, not a pocket of proto-Etruscan speakers on Lemnos, but an isolated Etruscan mercenary from one of the fringe communities of Etruria.

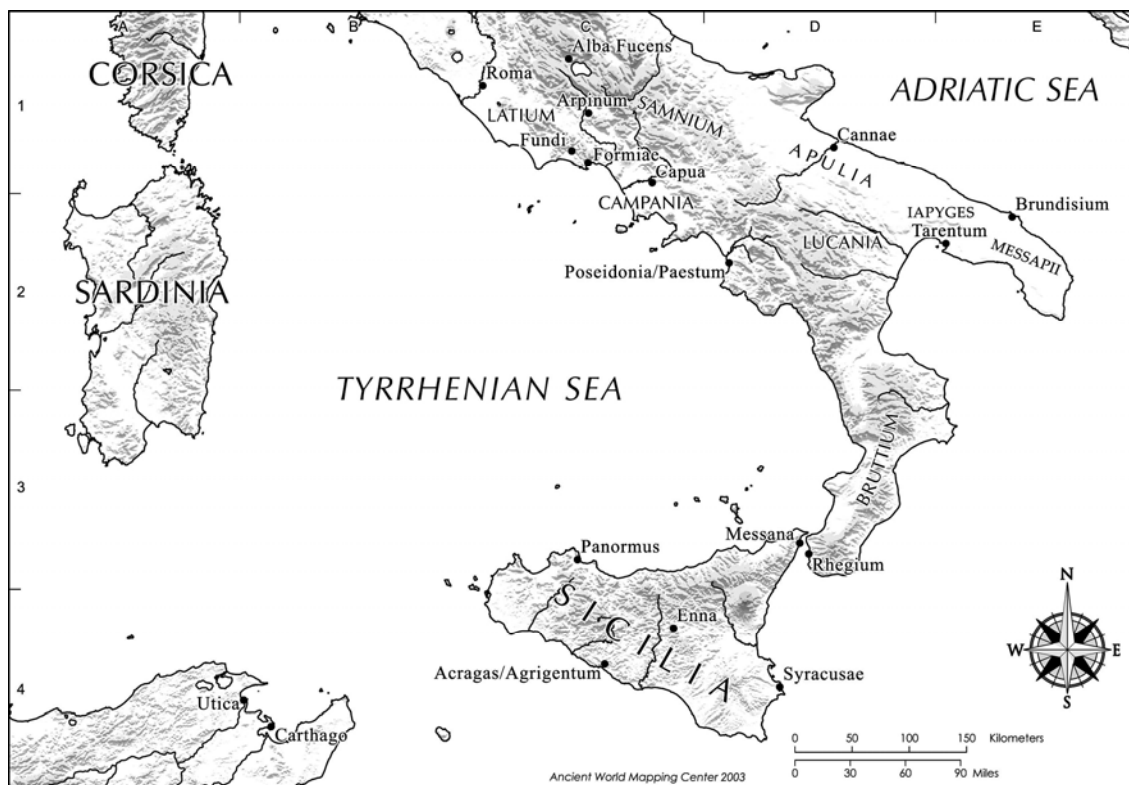
In conclusion, right now there seems to be no convincing reason to honor the “ancient model” for a proto-Etruscan migration into Italy, and rather more reason to believe the just-as-ancient model which makes the Etruscans native to Italian soil.



Topographical & Regional Map of Italy



Central Italy



South Italy & Islands of Corsica, Sardinia & Sicily

EARLY ROME: LEGAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS

Patria potestas (“father’s power”) over wife and children was absolute, including the power of life and death, and even the right to sell one's children into slavery (although this was limited by the Law of the Twelve Tables).

Manus: a wife’s subjection to her husband, figuratively under his “hand”: notice the provision which modifies this in the Twelve Tables.

Usucapio: right of ownership based on long-term use.

Provocatio: citizen’s right of appeal against arbitrary treatment by magistrates.

Proletarii: lowest economic class, who have only their offspring (***proles***) to contribute.

Curiae: archaic “clans” = more-or-less related groups of extended families which made up the ***Comitia Curiata***, the assembly which elected the king under the monarchy and later conferred ***imperium*** (=power to command) on republican magistrates.

Legio: “levy” = hence “Legion” of 6000 men = 60 “centuries.”

Comitia Centuriata: assembly based on military levy of centuries, but grouped by wealth, with “horsemen” on top, then 5 classes of infantry “centuries,” from richer to poorer, and with the few poorest auxiliary centuries on bottom.

Tribes: originally 21 (4 urban, rest rural), but eventually raised to 35; based on local groupings from which army was levied. Tribal organization was the basis of two later assemblies:

Concilium Plebis (“Council of Plebeians”), whose resolutions (“plebiscites”) eventually acquired the force of law, binding on whole community.

Comitia Tributa, including both Patricians and Plebeians

Roman names:

- Praenomen*** = personal name, e.g., Lucius, Cnaeus
- Nomen*** = name of ***gens*** (=extended family or clan), e.g., Aemilius, Fabius
- Cognomen*** = name, often a nickname, attached to immediate family, to distinguish from other families within the ***gens***, e.g., Publicola (“People’s Friend”)

THE ROMAN CONSTITUTION (EARLY AND MIDDLE REPUBLIC)

For legislative bodies, see additional handout from L. R. Taylor's *Roman Voting Assemblies*.

Other significant bodies:

Senate: originally appointed by the king, later by the consuls; in later Republic, members appointed by censor from the ranks of past office-holders. Originally 100 members, raised to 300 before fall of monarchy and remained at this level until late Republic, when its numbers were drastically increased at various stages of the Roman revolution (finally stabilized at 600 members by Augustus). Senatorial rank was held for life unless a member was expelled by the censor. Duties: (1) supervision of religion; (2) supervision of state property and finances; (3) supervision of foreign policy -- diplomacy, assigning governors to provinces, and conduct of war; (4) helps draft legislation in proper form and "consults" on all legislation passed by the assemblies -- had the right of annulling laws passed by people and of issuing its own opinion (= "Senatus Consultum") which, though formally advisory, had considerable influence.

Equestrian Order (Equites): originally the wealthiest component of the Roman population under arms, it eventually came to include 1800 "equestrians with a public horse" (i.e., paid for by the state) -- this group originally chosen by the consuls, later by the censors, who reviewed the members on parade and had the right to expel for improper upkeep of horses and to create new members. In late Republic, when the equestrian order had ceased to be a significant military force, it became a straightforward census class based on wealth, standing just below the senatorial order and enjoying the right (previously confined to members of the Senate) of sitting on juries.

Magistrates:

Consuls: two chief executives of Republic, elected by the Comitia Centuriata and receiving imperium (=power to command) from the Comitia Curiata. Each consul had equal imperium, but ordinarily they exchanged duties in administering the city every month. Were supreme commanders of army in war time, and in peace had sweeping coercive powers, limited only by the laws, the citizen's right of appeal to people, and by tribune's veto. Claimed as the exclusive right the patricians in the early Republic, was eventually thrown open to plebs in 367/6 (one of two offices being assigned to each of the orders). In time, many of the consuls' duties passed to other magistrates, and by middle Republic their powers were virtually confined to summoning the Senate and the comitias and presiding over their meetings. The two consuls held office for one year: if one died in office, a suffect consul was elected to fill in until the next election. In times of emergency, the senior consul, with the Senate's concurrence, nominated a Dictator.

Dictator: usually chosen from ranks of past consuls for a specific purpose, at conclusion of which he gave up office. During term, replaced the consuls and held absolute power, without right of appeal, for up to six months (term not subject to extension). Not answerable for acts committed during term of office.

Praetor (“leader,” originally the consul's title): one magistrate, elected by the Comitia Centuriata after the consul's office was thrown open to plebs in 366. At first reserved to patricians, it was opened to plebs in 337. Took over the consuls' judicial responsibilities (hearing court cases) -- called “urban praetor” because his jurisdiction was within the city. Owing to press of business as empire grew, a second praetor created in 242 to hear cases between citizens and foreigners.

Quaestor (“investigator”): originally two, legal assistants appointed by the kings and later the consuls. Had charge of the state treasury and routine management of finances. In 447 were made elective officials chosen by Comitia Tributa. In 421, when office was thrown open to plebs, number increased to four -- two acting within city, two others in charge of finances on campaigns. Number doubled again in 267 after conquest of Italy, and went up in later Republic, when quaestors were regularly employed in administering provinces. Was regarded as the first major office in a public career.

Censor: office created in 444 BCE to take over the consuls' traditional responsibilities in conducting census (every 5 years). Two officials, elected by Comitia Centuriata, for a term of 18 months, were chosen from among the ranks of former consuls: originally confined to patricians, it was thrown open to plebeians in 351, and after 339 BCE one of the positions was reserved by law for a plebeian. In addition to conducting census and registering citizens, censors had a general oversight over citizens' conduct (e.g., neglect of property, celibacy, bad treatment or upbringing of children) and could impose a “stigma,” valid until the next census, with penalties extending beyond public disgrace to expulsion from Senate or from equestrian order, loss of voting rights, and even fines. This general oversight was later extended (in 312) to empower the censors to recruit Senators from former magistrates who had left office since the last census.

Tribunes of the Army (“Military Tribunes”): originally the highest officers in the army, appointed by the consuls and serving under them. Between 444 and 367 BCE “military tribunes with consular power” functioned in the place of consuls: presumably they were chosen and received their imperium as the consuls did. With the return of consular government the military tribuneship lost its political character, and as of 207 BCE military tribunes were chosen partly by the Comitia Tributa and partly by the army commanders (=the consuls).

Tribunes of the Plebs: technically not magistrates because chosen by plebs (in Consilium Plebis), not by entire people. Originally two, but by middle of fifth century BCE increased to statutory number of ten. Enjoyed personal inviolability, originally by oath sworn by all plebs, later under law. Duties were originally confined to the “right of assistance” (ius auxilii) to citizens whose civil rights were at risk from any magistrate (except the Dictator); but in time this right of interference (intercessio) with magistrates' imperium was extended to almost any official business, which could be stopped by one tribune's veto (with some exceptions, e.g., censors' activities). Although the tribunate never lost its confrontational character, it was gradually neutralized by the ruling oligarchy: during the war with Hannibal the tribunes were given the right to claim admission

to the Senate during the census following their terms of office; and by the late Republic sitting tribunes had gained seats inside the Senate chamber (instead of their traditional seats just outside the open door), and they could even call meetings of the Senate and make proposals.

Aediles: two sets of officials, two each, entrusted with the well-being of the city of Rome.

(I.) **Plebeian**, originally not considered magistrates (like the tribunes) because chosen by Consilium Plebis and only from among the plebs. Duties: (a) Enforcing tribunes' orders; (b) routine management of markets and public entertainments; (c) as of 447, keeping archives of the Senate's resolutions (Senatus Consulta). The plebeian aedileship was made part of the *cursus honorum* in 180 BCE.

(II) **Curule**, chosen by Comitia Tributa, initially as a patrician office in 366, but in the end indifferently from either order. Superior in rank to the Plebeian Aediles, they had similar responsibilities, including (a) superintendence of trade; (b) care of streets and buildings; (c) superintendence of health and of public morals; and (d) organization and superintendence of public games.

In the later Republic, the aedileship's power to enliven the Romans' daily lives was often exploited by men who were aiming at higher office and used it to advance their popularity. Two more aediles, in charge of grain supply, were added by Julius Caesar.

The "*Cursus Honorum*" (=career ladder for magistrates) during the late Republic was the following: quaestor, tribune, aedile (curule and plebeian), praetor, consul, censor. Plebeians who entered the system as tribunes were not expected to have served first as aediles; and the curule aedileship was not compulsory for anyone -- so in practice, a former quaestor or tribune was immediately eligible for election as praetor.

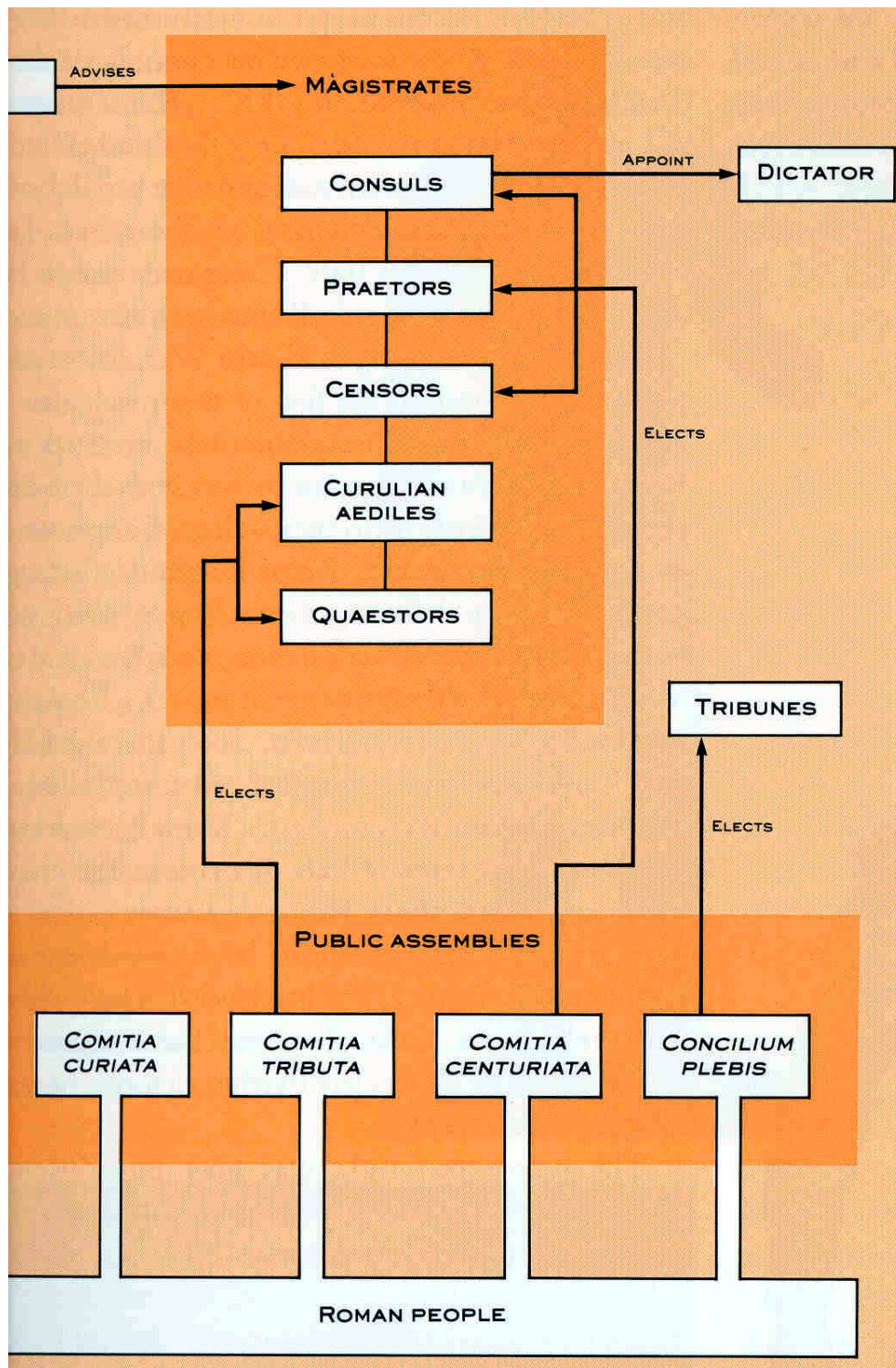
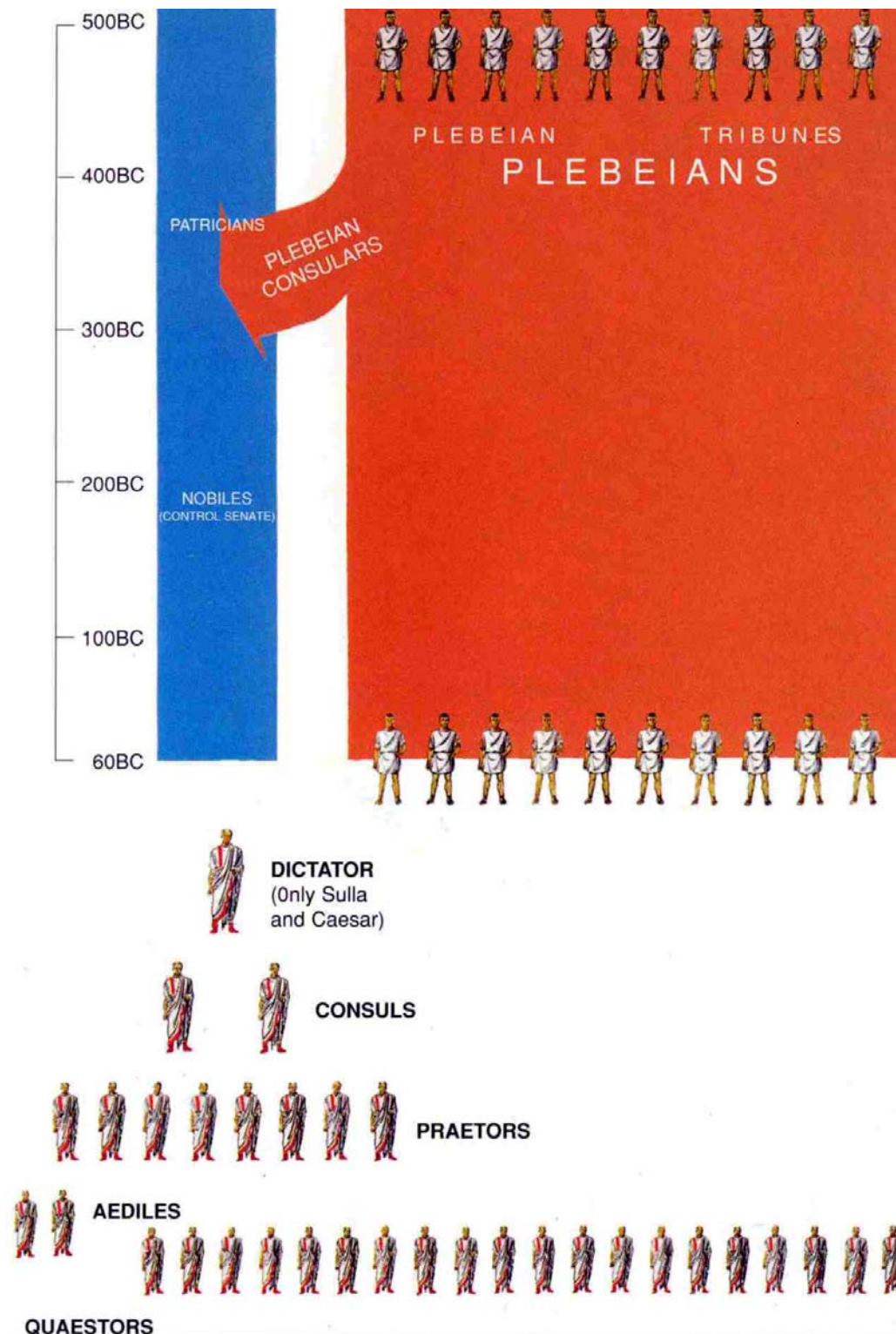


Diagram of the Roman Constitutional System During the Republic

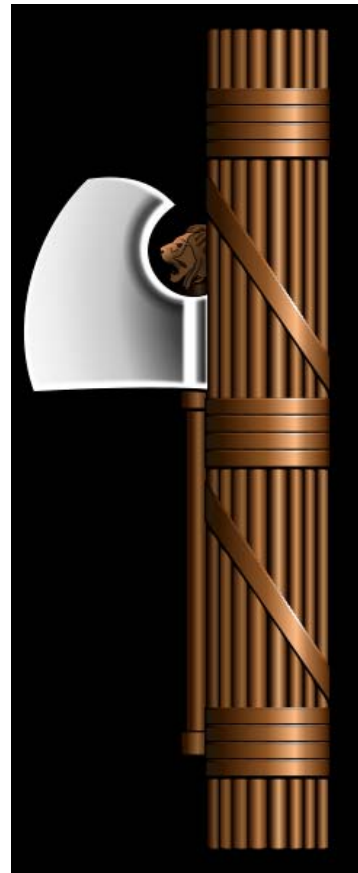


Patricians & Plebians in the Republican Constitution

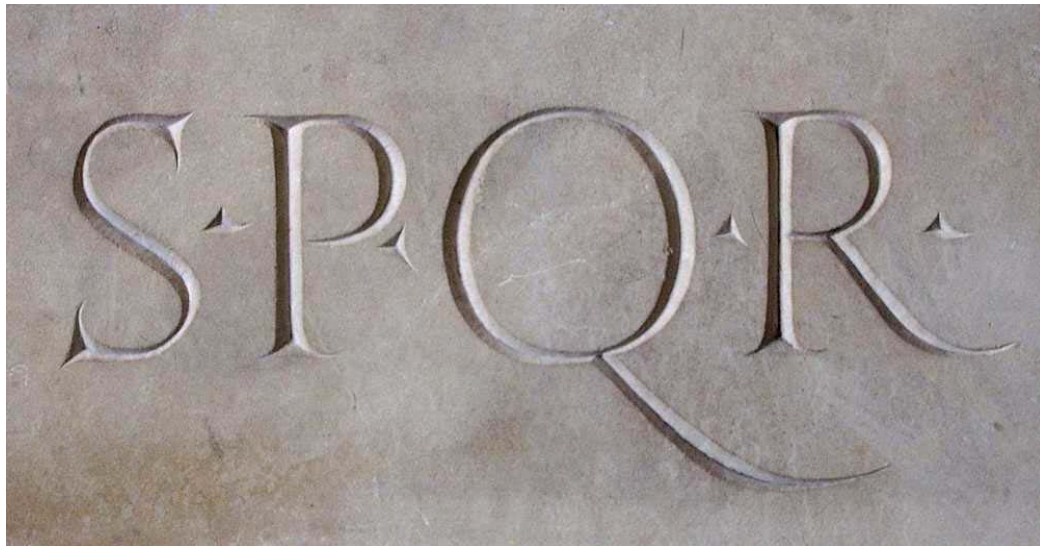
THE “STRUGGLE OF THE ORDERS”

- 509 (?) Subsequent to the expulsion of the king and the start of republican government, laws were passed limiting the consul’s right to order the execution of a Roman citizen without getting this sentence validated by the people. It was also stipulated that normal military authority would not apply within the city limits of Rome (to forestall a general’s usurping control over legitimate civil authority).
- N.B. The law safeguarding the civil rights of citizens was repeatedly renewed (449, 229, 200), which implies it was generally ineffective.
- 501 First Dictator appointed.
- 494 First “Secession of the Plebs”: first plebeian ombudsmen (later called “tribunes”) and also 2 Aediles (plebeian officers supervising the markets) were chosen around this time.
- (The 20 “tribes” -- 4 urban, rest country -- had been first created in the period of the monarchy, under Servius Tullius.)
- 471 ***Lex Publilia Voleronis***: tribunes (now raised from 2 to 5 in number) and “Concilium Plebis” are both recognized.
- 457 Number of tribunes raised to definitive number of ten.
- 451-50 The Decemvirate: “Law of the Twelve Tables” published.
- 449 Second Secession of the Plebs: rights of tribunes defined.
- 447-6 Quaestors (patricians), previously chosen by consuls, elected by people.
- 445 ***Lex Canuleia***: ban on intermarriage between patrician and plebeian reversed. But in the same year military tribunes with consular power replace consuls for next 78 years.
- 443 First censors (patricians, ex-consuls) chosen.
- 421 Quaestorship opened to plebeians, and number increased to four. (By 409 three of the quaestors could be chosen from plebeians.)
- 367-6 Licinio-Sextian Laws. Consulship restored, and the first plebeian consul was elected in 366. Office of Curule Aedile created for patricians (but soon opened up to plebeians on an alternating basis every two years). The Praetor, a chief judicial officer also chosen from the patricians, was also created.

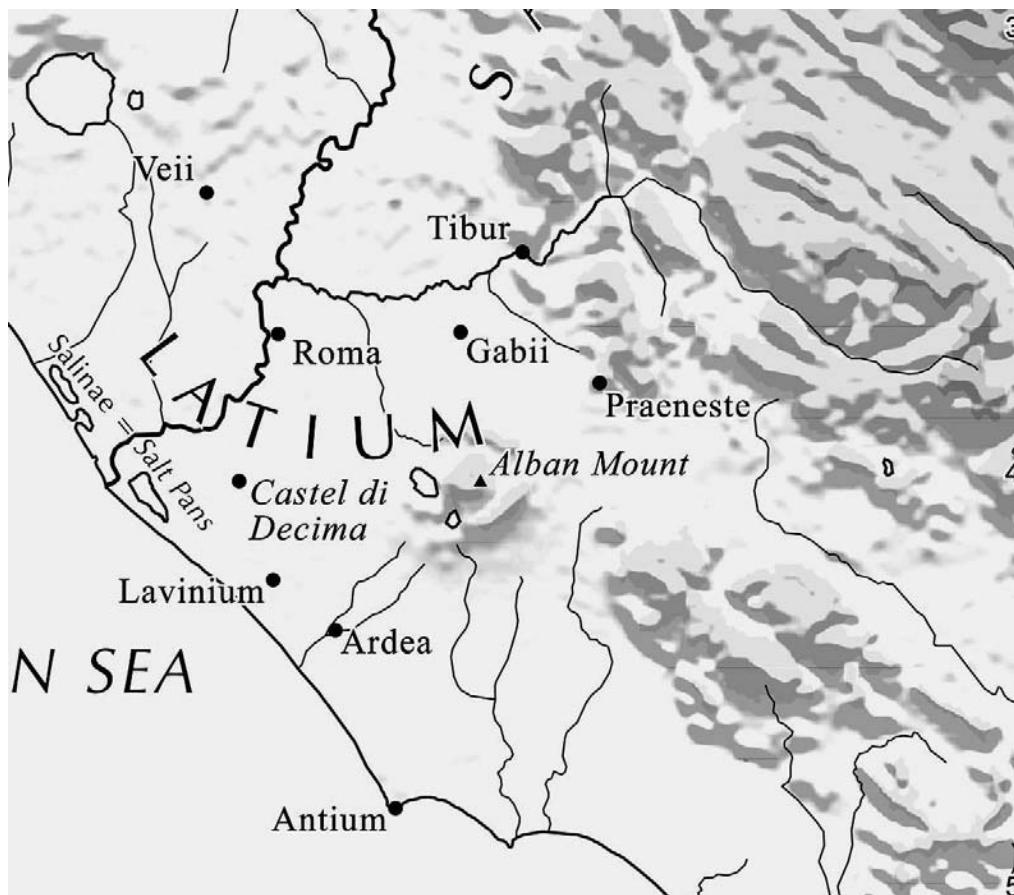
- 356 First plebeian dictator.
- 351 First plebeian censor.
- 337 First plebeian praetor.
- 300 *Lex Ogulnia* opens priestly colleges to plebeians.
- 287 *Lex Hortensia* gives plebiscites the force of law.



The Fasces or “bundles”: Symbol of official authority in Ancient Rome



Senatus Populusque Romanus: The Senate and the People of Rome



Map of Latium and its major settlements

ROME'S GROWTH AS AN ITALIAN POWER

Regal Period (Before 509 BCE)

Rome subjects a number of Latin states (e.g., Tarquin the Proud vs. Gabii), which receive “isopolity” (=mutual guarantees of legal and rights, including right to intermarry, plus full citizenship to any citizen of either who emigrates to the other city).

Latin League (under “supervision” of Rome).

Republic

- | | |
|-------------|---|
| 509 | first treaty with Carthage |
| 494 onwards | successive wars against Volci and/or Aequi. |
| 493 | treaty (<i>Foedus Cassianum</i>) between Rome and the Latins, turning the league into a mutual defense mechanism with no leader recognized. |
| 477 | annihilation of Fabian client army in war with Fidenae and Veii, followed by 40-year truce with Veii in 474. |
| 467 | Romans subject Aequians (although not permanently). |
| 426 | Romans capture Fidenae, followed by 20 year truce with Veii. |
| 396 | Latins, spurred by Rome, capture Veii, turn it over to Rome. |
| 390 | “Gallic disaster”: Gauls defeat Romans at Allia and occupy the city, leaving on payment of a ransom. Tradition of their subsequent defeat by Camillus is probably patriotic smoke, but repeated wars with Etruscans, Latins and others follow. |
| | Reorganization of primitive Phalanx into a more flexible formation based on “maniples” of 60-120 men, as well as adoption of oblong shields and throwing spears, probably dates to the time of Rome’s wars with the Samnites, who used similar weapons. |
| 389 | Camillus defeats Volscians, Aequians and Etruscans; Roman alliance with Greek colony of Massalia (=Marseilles); surviving inhabitants of Veii and other conquered territory in Etruria given Roman citizenship. |
| 386 | Camillus defeats Volscians, Latins and Hernicans; Roman colony sent to Sardinia. |

- 377 Tusculum recovered from Latins.
- 367 Camillus defeats raiding Gauls. Similar raids and result take place in 360, 350, 349.
- 348 Rome's second treaty with Carthage.
- 341-343 First Samnite War.
- 341-338 Rome's war with Latins, Volsci and Campanians, ending with the Roman absorption of Latium, followed by further campaigns against Volsci and other peoples.
- 326-304 Second Samnite War, during which Rome is also engaged in Etruria.
- 298-290 Third Samnite War, which also involves Etruscans, Umbrians and Gauls.



Early Rome & its Neighbors

ROME'S ALLIES AND SUBORDINATES: TYPES OF RELATIONS

Colonies:

- (1) Latin: become separate Latin cities in League;
- (2) Roman: legally extensions of city of Rome, under the authority of the urban praetor through his "prefects," acting as circuit judges; citizens must go to Rome to vote.

Latin "Municipalities" (*munus* = "privilege"):

- (1) Communities with full citizenship: citizens must go to Rome to vote.
- (2) Communities possessing "citizenship without suffrage" = "Latin rights" of intermarriage, civil & legal rights before Roman courts and (progressively restricted) privilege for individuals to become full citizens if they move to Rome.

Other "Associates" (*Socii*), a term you will often find translated loosely as "allies": a German scholar has defined *socius* status as encompassing everything which is neither *civis*, "citizen" nor *hostis*, "enemy"):

Foederati: socii possessing a treaty (*foedus*)

Amici ("friends"): usually independent, well-disposed *foederati* (such as Carthage or Hellenistic Egypt down into 3rd century BCE), but also can include

Other *socii* without treaties ranging from powers with whom Romans have diplomatic relations (e.g. Hellenistic Egypt) to peoples defeated by Rome whose status was kept undefined.

ROMAN EXPANSION INTO THE MEDITERRANEAN: FROM THE INVASION OF PYRRHUS TO THE END OF THE FIRST PUNIC WAR (280-241 BCE)

- 326 Roman *foedus aequum* (=treaty with equal rights on both sides) with Neapolis (=Naples).
- 316-289/8 Reign of Agathocles, tyrant (and later king) of Syracusan “empire” on Sicily and adjoining south Italy: includes war vs. Carthage in Africa (310-307) and assistance to Tarentum against south Italians (290’s).
- 306 “Treaty of Philinus”: named after south Italian Greek historian and attested also in other sources, despite skepticism of Polybius. It forbade Carthaginian interference on Italian mainland in exchange for Roman non-interference in Sicily.
- 283-280 Last substantial war between Rome and north Etruscan cities.
- 282 Romans rescue Greek city of Thurii from native attack, install garrison to protect oligarchs and maintain security. Roman squadron, trespassing contrary to earlier treaty in Tarentine waters, is attacked by forces of Tarentum, who follow up victory by expelling Roman garrison from Thurii.
- 281 Tarentines invite assistance from Pyrrhus, “king of the Molossians” and ruler of Epirus (also Agathocles’ sometime son-in-law).
- 280-275 Roman war with Pyrrhus and his Greek allies, including P.’s invasion of Sicily (278-275), ended by Romans’ defeat of P. at Beneventum, after which P. went home.
- 279 Fourth (=Polybius’ third) treaty of Rome with Carthage, renewing earlier treaties and adding mutual defense clauses.
- 272 Death of Pyrrhus at Argos; Carthaginians dispatch fleet to assist Tarentines, then think better of it and withdraw.
- 270 Romans recover Rhegium from Campanian mercenaries and execute the survivors at Rome.
- 265 Hiero of Syracuse defeats Mamertines of Messana, who call in a Carthaginian garrison; Hiero withdraws.
- 264 Mamertines at Messana appeal successfully to Rome for assistance in expelling Carthaginian garrison: First Punic War begins.

(There is a good year-by-year chart of events during the war in the revised *Cambridge Ancient History*, VII.2.)

- 248 Mutiny of Carthaginian mercenaries on Sicily, suppressed.
- 242/1 Final defeat of Carthaginian fleet by consul Lutatius off Aegetes islands.
- 241 Hamilcar Barca and Lutatius negotiate treaty which ends the war; Romans occupy Sicily.
- 241-238 “Truceless War” between mercenaries and Carthaginians in North Africa
- 239 Rome declines mercenaries’ appeal to occupy Sardinia.
- 238 Romans occupy Sardinia, warn off Carthaginians.
- 236-231 Roman campaigns against native peoples on Corsica and Sardinia.

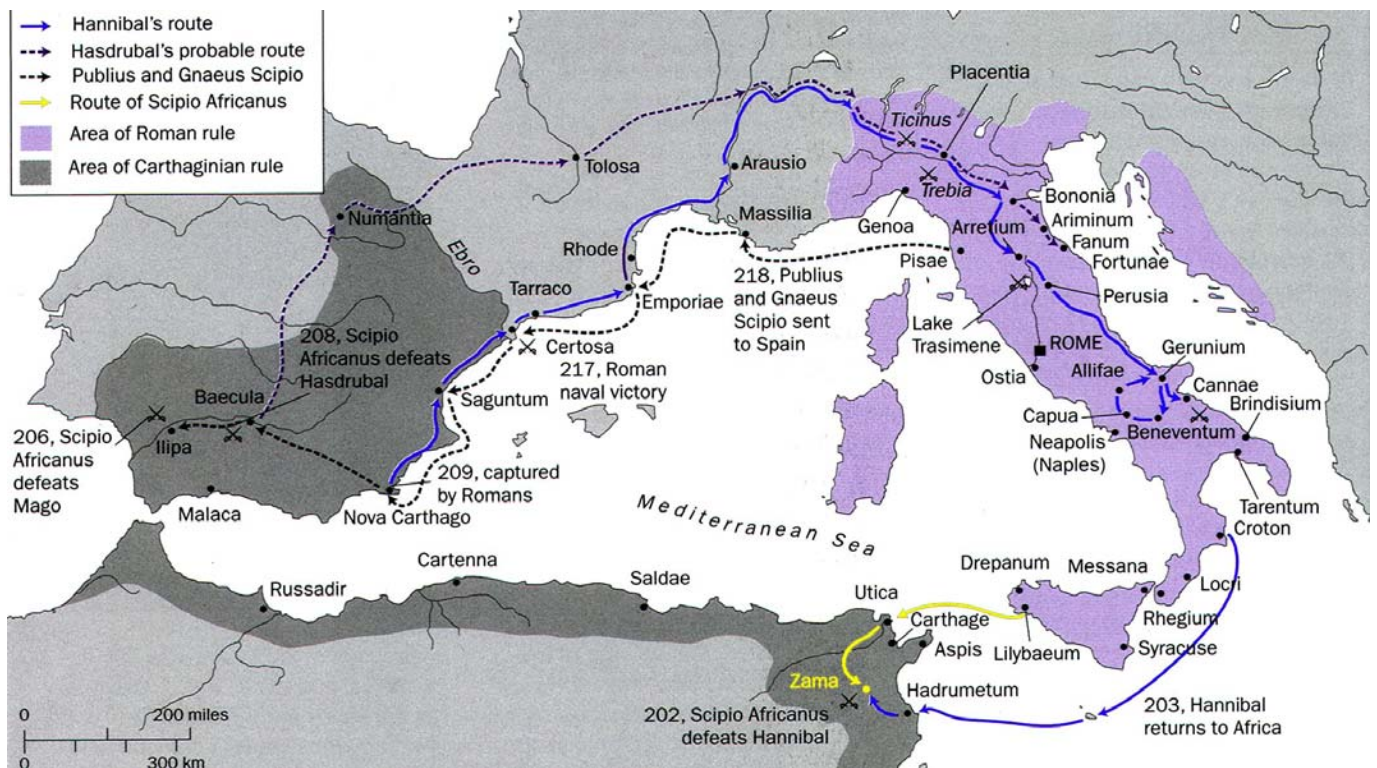


Roman Italy

THE CARTHAGINIANS IN SPAIN AND THE WAR WITH HANNIBAL (237-201 BCE)

237-229	Hamilcar Barca's tenure as general (in effect, viceroy) in Spain.
229-221	Hasdrubal as general/viceroy in Spain.
226 227	"Ebro Treaty" between Hasdrubal and Romans.
Sometime before 221	Saguntum enters the "trust" (Gk. <i>pistis</i> = Latin <i>fides</i>) of Rome, probably by <i>deditio in fidem</i> ("surrender into the trust") of Roman people, rather than by a formal treaty (<i>foedus</i>).
221	Hannibal becomes general/viceroy in Spain. Late in this year Saguntum appeals for Roman help in an internal matter and is ignored. Hannibal begins consolidating Carthaginian possessions up to Ebro River.
Winter 220/219	Romans warn Hannibal away from their client Saguntum.
Late 219	Hannibal takes Saguntum.
218	Senatorial embassy to Carthage fails to cow Council; Second Punic War begins. Hannibal crosses Ebro, then crosses Alps into Italy, while a Roman army under Cn. Scipio gains control of Spain north of Ebro.
217	Romans defeated at Lake Trasimene.
216	Romans defeated at Cannae, followed by defections in southern Italy.
215	Rome recovers some towns in Campania and Samnium, but Syracuse defects to Carthage (captured by Rome after long siege in 212). Philip V of Macedonia makes treaty with Hannibal.
211	Rome recovers Capua, but elder Scipios killed in Spain.
210	Scipio (Africanus) arrives in Spain; Roman successes in Apulia and Samnium.
208	Both consuls killed near Venusia; Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal crosses the Alps into Italy.
207	Hasdrubal is killed at Battle of the Metaurus.

- 206 Rome recovers Lucania; King Massinissa of Numidia defects from Carthaginian to Roman side.
- 205 Another Carthaginian army, under Mago, lands in Italy, at Genoa.
- 204 Scipio invades Africa; Roman successes in Bruttium.
- 203 Mago defeated; Carthaginian reverses at home, followed by peace negotiations with Rome; Hannibal and Mago return to Africa.
- 202 Hannibal offers peace terms, rejected by Rome; Roman victory at Zama; peace agreed to on Roman terms.
- 201 Peace treaty with Carthage ratified at Rome: Second Punic War ends.



Second Punic War 218-202 BC

CARTHAGINIAN GOVERNMENT

Executive: *Sufete* (often called “king” in Greek sources), elected for an unknown term by popular assembly.

Military: generals, also elected by popular assembly.

Legislature: Council of 300, headed by steering committee of 30; method of selection not known; but it was competent to settle most issues, and only those which divided this group were referred to the popular assembly.

Judiciary: “Court of 104 Judges,” its members chosen by elite “Boards of 5,” had powers to oversee activities of the *sufete* and the generals.

Factions at Carthage: (1) Old commercial aristocracy, headed in late 3rd century by Hanno “the Great.”
(2) “Popular” faction, headed by Hasdrubal and affiliated with Barca family.

House of Barca: Hamilcar Barca (d. 229)
Hasdrubal (his son-in-law, d. 221)
Hannibal, son of Hamilcar
Hasdrubal, brother of Hannibal (killed 207 at Battle of the Metaurus)

MACEDONIA, GREECE AND ROME (229-188 BCE)

- Before 230 Kingdom of Epirus goes out of existence, replaced by Epirote federal republic; rise of Illyrian kingdom.
- 229 Rome fights “First Illyrian War.”
- 228 Rome declares freedom of Greeks in northwest at Isthmian Games.
- 221 Antigonos Doson of Macedonia is succeeded by Philip V
- 220 Outbreak of “Social War” against Aetolian League by Philip V and allied Achaeans League.
- 219 Illyrian kinglet Demetrius of Pharos, briefly helped by another local kinglet Scerdilaidas, raids Peloponnese and Cyclades, provoking Rome to fight “Second Illyrian War.”
- 217 Philip V makes peace with Aetolians (“Peace of Naupactus”) and, under advice from Demetrius of Pharos, prepares to assert Macedonian hegemony over Illyria. Romans, warned by ally Scerdilaidas, send naval squadron to the Adriatic; and Philip retreats (216).
- 215 Treaty between Philip V and Hannibal discovered by Romans; “First Macedonian War” begins in next year.
- 212/11 Alliance of Rome with Aetolian League and Attalus I of Pergamum.
- 208 Romans recapture Tarentum, decrease involvement in eastern war.
- 206 Aetolians, urged by Rhodes, make peace with Philip V.
- 205 Treaty of Phoenice between Rome and Macedonia; Antiochus III returns from his “Anabasis” in Iran and Bactria (212-205).
- 204 Death of Ptolemy IV, followed by minor, Ptolemy V.
- 202-201 Antiochus III attacks Ptolemaic possessions in Coele Syria; Philip V on warpath against Ptolemaic possessions and assorted independent states in Aegean, setting off protests to Rome by Aetolians, Rhodes and Pergamum, among others. Senate passes resolution warning Philip.
- 200 *Comitia Centuriata* reluctantly votes for war with Philip; outbreak of “Second Macedonian War.”

- 197 Roman victory at Cynosephalae ends war with Philip.
- 196 Flaminius proclaims “freedom of Greece” at Isthmian Games.
- 194 Following war with Nabis of Sparta, Romans evacuate Greece, including fortresses of Corinth, Chalcis, Demetrias (“fettters of Greece”).
- 193 “Cold war” between Antiochus III and Rome.
- 192 Aetolians invite Antiochus III to “liberate” Greece and Rome declares war on Antiochus early next year.
- 190 Antiochus defeated by Romans at Battle of Magnesia.
- 188 Romans secure Seleucids’ evacuation of Anatolia in Treaty of Apamea; Antiochus III dies in following year.

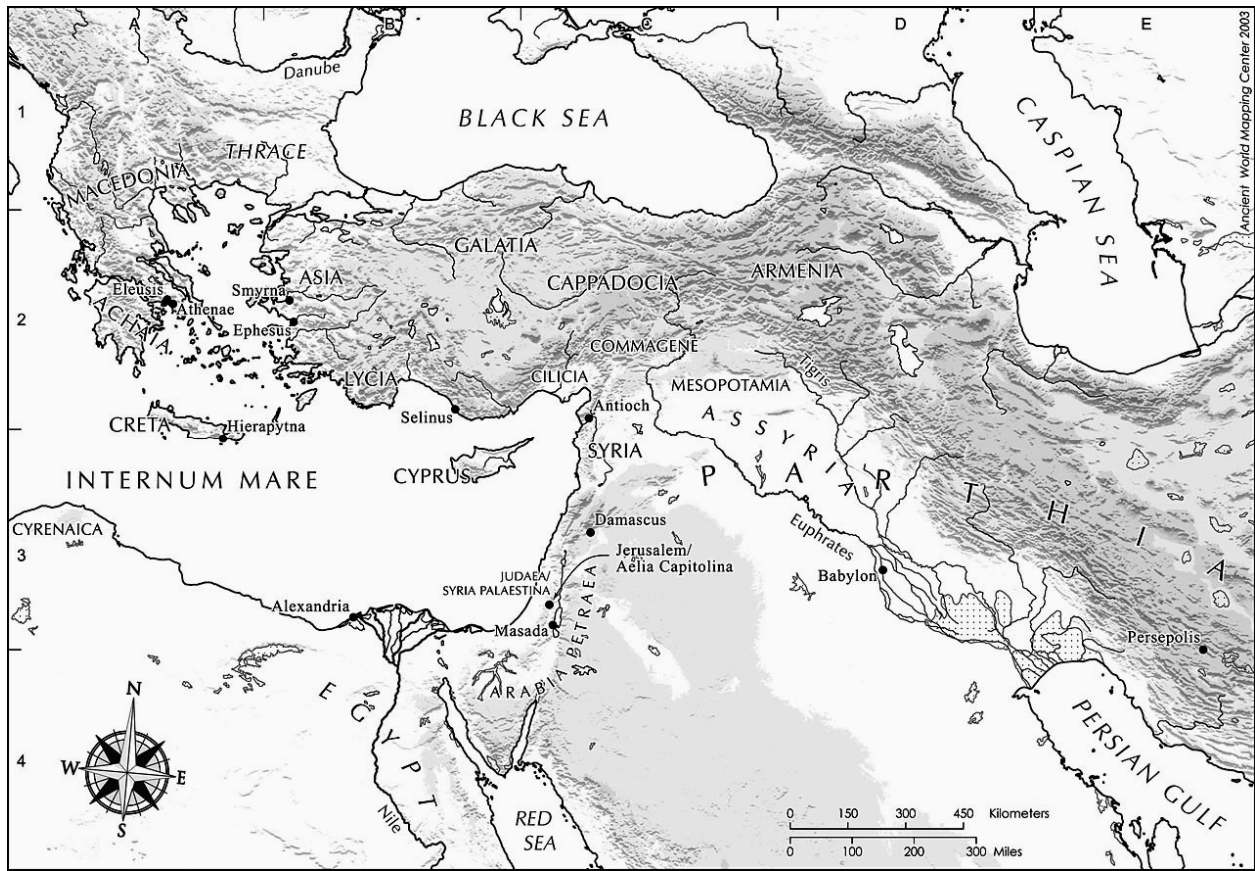


Topographical & Regional of Greece & Western Anatolia

ROME AND THE MEDITERRANEAN (197-146 BCE)

- 197 Spain organized into two separate provinces. Beginning of continuous Roman wars in Spain.
- 193 Carthage's complaint against Massinissa of Numidia is left unresolved after an investigation led by Scipio Africanus.
- 191 Rome refuses Carthage's offer to accelerate payment of her outstanding indemnity from Second Punic War.
- 180 Philip V puts his eldest son Demetrius to death; Philip dies next year, succeeded by younger son Perseus.
- 172 Eumenes of Pergamum, after denouncing Perseus to the Senate in Rome, is nearly murdered by Perseus' agents at Delphi. The "Third Macedonian War" begins in the following year.
- Carthage complains to Rome again about Massinissa.
- 169 Rhodes, Pergamum and Bithynia waver in supporting Rome; and "Sixth Syrian War": Antiochus IV invades Egypt.
- 168 Romans inflict final defeat on Perseus at Pydna; later that year, Antiochus IV leaves Egypt when commanded by Rome.
- 167 Macedonia divided into 4 and Illyria into 3 republics; Greek opponents of Rome removed as hostages (including 1000 prominent Achaeans, the future historian Polybius among them); and in "sack of Epirus" 70 towns are plundered and 150,000 persons enslaved. Pergamum and Rhodes are given cold shoulder by Romans; and in a further punishment of Rhodes, Caria and Lycia are declared free and Delos is given to Athens and opened up as a free port.
- 165-4 Maccabean revolt in Palestine.
- 153-51 Carthage's troubles with Massinissa come to a head; after first appeasing Numidians, "democratizing" faction takes power and launches attack, which is defeated.
- 150 300 surviving Achaean hostages at Rome released; Carthage's attempts to appease Rome are met with evasions, as nearby Utica becomes a Roman client.

- 149 Uprising of Andriscus in Macedonia (“4th Macedonian War”); outbreak of
“Third Punic War.”
- 148 Defeat of Andriscus, end of “4th Macedonian War”; Parthian King Mithridates
I takes Media from Seleucids.
- 147 Romans begin disbanding of Achaean League.
- 146 Romans destroy Carthage and annex territory as Roman province of Africa,
with neighboring Numidia as a client kingdom.
- In Greece, Romans crush last Achaean resistance and destroy Corinth;
disbanding of all ethnic leagues, suppression of democracies in favor of
oligarchies; creation of Roman province of Macedonia.
- 141 Mithridates I of Parthia takes southern Mesopotamia away from Seleucids.
- 133 Death of Attalus III of Pergamum, who leaves his kingdom to Rome (though
revolt of Aristonicus and troubles at home keep Romans from possessing
“province of Asia” until 129).
- 96 Romans receive Cyrene as bequest by Ptolemy Apion (initially made over to
Rome in 155 by Ptolemy VIII, who reneged when he recovered Egyptian
throne in 145).



Topographical and Regional Map of the Eastern Mediterranean & Near East



Topographical & Regional Map of the Western Mediterranean & Europe

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE EMPIRE & THE GRACCHI

Publicans: people engaged in public business, through government contracts.

“Equestrian Order”: originally the affluent “cavalry” class in the centuriate assembly, this became the affluent middle and upper class from which publicans generally came, as distinguished from rich members of the senatorial order, and from

Nobiles: Patrician and Plebeian *gentes* whose ancestors had held high office and who were therefore competitive in the race for political power.

***Mos Maiorum*,** “the custom of the elders” -- i.e., traditional decorum which regulated what was and wasn’t done.

Latifundia: large estates run on slave labor.

Cato the Elder, On Agriculture

Slave revolts: on Sicily (134-131 and 104-100 BCE) and on Italian mainland (73-71 = Spartacus’ revolt).

Assidui (“people engaged in an occupation”): term used for Roman citizens whose property qualification made them eligible for army service.

Tributum: emergency capital tax on citizens, suspended 167 BCE.

Licinio-Sextian Laws (367): limited allowance of public land to 500 *iugera* (=5/8 acre) per person.

Tiberius Gracchus: tribune 134-133 BCE.

P. Mucius Scaevola: consul for 133 BCE.

Claudius Pulcher: *Princeps Senatus*, “first man in the Senate,” thus its informal leader; father-in-law of Tiberius Gracchus.

M. Octavius: opposition tribune, removed from office by plebs at the urging of Tiberius Gracchus.

Gaius Gracchus: tribune 123-121 (two terms).

Acilian Law on extortion

***Senatusconsultum ultimum*,** “ultimate senatorial resolution”

TENSIONS WITHIN THE ROMAN BODY POLITIC FROM THE GRACCHI TO SULLA (121-88 BCE)

Novi homines, “new men” – e.g.:

Gaius Marius and M. Appuleius Saturninus (*populares*),
M. Aemilius Scaurus, Lucius Cornelius Sulla (*optimates*)

Negotiatores: businessmen, predominantly the affluent “equestrian” class.

Optimates: “the best people,” a euphemism for the entrenched conservatives in the Senate, though Cicero will later try to include in it all who share his respect for property and decorum, as opposed to the rabble which (he says) support the *Populares*.

Leges frumentariae: grain laws, intermittently passed by Gaius Gracchus and other “popular” politicians.

Q. Caecilius Metellus, later surnamed “Numidicus”: commander in Africa at beginning of war with Jugurtha, replaced by Marius.

T. Turpilius Silanus, a Latin client of Metelli who held a command in war against Jugurtha; executed with dubious legality for his alleged failures, an issue used by *Populares* against Metellus.

Proletarii (“breeders”) or *Capite censi* (“head count”): men of little property, ineligible for regular duty in legions (except in emergencies) until 107, when Marius abolished the property qualification for military service.

Tribunate of Livius Drusus (91). His assassination helped trigger

“**Social War**” with Italians (90-89, though some Samnite and Lucanian communities held out down to late 80’s), resolved by

Julian Law: full citizenship for communities which stayed loyal or surrendered (passed 90).

Plautian-Papirian Law: full citizenship to all citizens of allied communities who applied within a stated interval (passed 89).

Lex Villia de annalis: passed 180, set limits on progress from one office to another in the *cursus honorum*.

Calpurnian Law (149): set up senatorial extortion court.

Acilian Law (122): set up extortion court staffed by “Equestrians.” Significantly altered in 111, then changed back to Equestrian control sometime between 105 and 100.

Saturninus's law on crimes against *Maiestas populi Romani* (103): made possible prosecutions for *minuta maiestas*, “petty offenses against the majesty of the Roman people.”

L. Equitius: masqueraded as the son of Tiberius Gracchus and as such, with support from Saturninus, elected tribune for 99, and killed along with his patron shortly after election.

C. Servilius Glaucia: praetor in 100, illegal candidate for consul for 99; killed along with Saturninus and the “false Gracchus.”

P. Sulpicius Rufus: tribune 88, proposed laws to spread new Italian citizens through all 35 Roman tribes and to transfer leadership of war against Mithridates of Pontus from Sulla to Marius.

PROPERTY AND CITIZEN RIGHTS IN SECOND CENTURY ROME

Census	Number of Assidui	Property Qualification
<Year BCE>	<=property-owning citizens who qualified for military service>	<=value of possessions required for status as an <i>assiduus</i> >
204	214,000 (Drop, compared with the previous census: reflects impact of Second Punic War)	11,000 <i>ases</i> Sometime before the mid-2nd century lowered to
164	337,000	4000 <i>ases</i> In 141 lowered again to
136	317,000	1500 <i>ases</i>

(In other words, the number of *assidui* counted in the census rises in the first half of the second century BCE despite the Romans' heavy involvement in warfare during that period. No doubt the reduced property qualification had something to do with it -- but notice that over the next thirty years the number of property-owning citizens drops by 20,000, even though there is a correspondingly massive drop in the minimum amount of property such "full" citizens must own, and although the level of Roman military activity in this period is lower than it had been between the last two censuses. It seems reasonable to see this drop in the numbers of *assidui* as reflecting the impact of the economy on the poorer land-owning farmers, who had to sell their land to their wealthy neighbors. The same problem very likely affected citizens of Rome's Italian "allies" who, remember, provided the bulk of the manpower in "Roman" armies. As Henry Boren points out, the level of public spending in Rome during the 140's -- most especially on construction projects -- would have provided some sort of temporary living for poor city-dwellers in Rome; but nothing comparable was available to help people in similar circumstances who lived in other parts of Italy. The results of the census of 136 -- showing a drop in the number of *assidui* -- along with the slave revolts of the mid-130's, would also have encouraged measures to restore the citizen-farmer. With depression-like conditions, and rising food prices, there would be even more incentive for the government to do something to defuse social unrest by getting a substantial number of the underemployed "mob" out of the cities and back onto the land.)

THE CONSOLIDATION OF ROME'S EMPIRE IN THE LAST CENTURY OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

- 155 Publication of Ptolemy VIII's will, bequeathing Cyrene to Rome (annulled when Ptolemy VIII returned to Egypt in 145).
- 148 Province of Macedonia added to the Empire.
- 146 Province of Africa added to the empire.
- 129 Province of Asia organized out of lands bequeathed to Rome by Attalus III (133) and recovered after revolt by pretender Aristonicus. Pontus receives territory of Phrygia.
- 122 Conquest of Balearic islands.
- 96 Death of Ptolemy Apion, bequest of Cyrene to Rome.
- 89-82 First and second wars between Rome and Mithridates VI.
- 88 Ptolemy IX (X)* Alexander I, with Roman financial support, tries and fails to recover throne of Egypt.
- 80 Ptolemy XI (XII)* Auletes, illegitimate son of predecessor, takes throne in Egypt. His recognition by Rome is held up.
- 75 Bithynia bequeathed to Rome on death of Nicomedes IV.
- 75-67 Rome's third war with Mithridates VI.
- 74 Cyrene formally made a province of Rome.
- 67 Pompey's sweep against pirates, and final defeat of Mithridates VI (who commits suicide in 63).
- 64 Pompey deposes Antiochus XIII, ends Seleucid dynasty, annexes Syria.
- 63 Pompey organized Bithynia-Pontus, Cilicia and Syria as Roman provinces, and sets up client kings elsewhere in Asia.
- 62 Rome annexes Crete
- 59 Ptolemy XI (Auletes) buys recognition from Rome and is subsequently expelled from Egypt by his own people.

- 58 Rome annexes Cyprus to province of Cilicia.
- 58-51 Julius Caesar's campaigns in Gaul.
- 55 Aulus Gabinius, governor of Syria, restores Ptolemy XI to Egyptian throne; paid for by Roman loan arranged through Rabirius, who becomes Ptolemy's finance minister.
- 53 Crassus defeated and killed in war against Parthians, at Carrhae; this unprovoked attack precipitates Parthian attack on Syria in 50.

*Numbers in brackets are alternative numbers sometimes used for members of the Ptolemaic Dynasty.



Expansion of the Empire in the Middle & Later Republic

POLITICS AND SOCIETY IN THE LATE REPUBLIC

Lucius Cornelius Sulla: “optimatus” champion vs. “popularis” faction led by Cinna and Marius

Mandatory steps in the *cursus honorum* and minimum ages of candidates:

	(Under <i>Lex Villia de annalis</i> , 180)	(Under Sulla’s reforms)
*Quaestor:	27 (after 10 years of military service)	30
Aedile:		36
Praetor:	30	39
Consul:	33	42

(* After Sulla’s reform all ex-quaestors were immediately admitted into the Senate, abolishing the censors’ privilege, held since 312, of nominating senators from ex-office holders.)

Flamen dialis: one of the priests whose duty was to tend the sacrificial fire. As such, he was bound to wear in public clothing distinctive to his office and he was also subject to many restrictions (e.g., he had to be properly married by ancient rite, was forbidden to handle weapons or even to approach a horse; nor could he look upon labor of any kind) -- so to make a *flamen* into a magistrate, as the Optimates did in 87, was a contradiction in terms.

Interrex: a constitutional survival from the regal period, by which a senator served as an “interim king” who under the Republic nominated 2 “suffect consuls” to serve the balance of the term whenever the properly elected consuls were dead or incapacitated -- but the *interrex* for 82 instead nominated Sulla to serve as “dictator charged with writing laws and (re)organizing the commonwealth.”

- 88 Bills proposed by tribune Sulpicius Rufus to spread new citizens throughout all the tribes and transfer eastern command from proconsul Sulla to Marius.

Sulla leads the “first capture of Rome”; Marius flees to Africa.

- 87 After Sulla leaves for the east, the Popularis consul Cinna reintroduces legislation on tribal status of new citizens. This precipitates an Optimate coup, followed by a Popularis counter-coup, led by Cinna and Marius, which leaves the Populares in control of Rome.

- 86 Cinna and Marius elected consuls (for second and seventh time respectively); Marius dies. A popularis general is sent to the east with an army, ostensibly to fight Mithridates but actually as a rival to Sulla.
- 83-82 Civil war between Sulla and elected Popularis government. When both elected consuls are killed in the war, Sulla becomes dictator.
- 81-80 Legislation of Sulla, acting as dictator (81) and consul (80)
- 79 Sulla resigns his position and retires; he is given a state funeral when he dies in the next year.

THE LAST GENERATION OF THE ROMAN REPUBLIC

77-72 Rebellion in Spain led by Popularis rebel Sertorius, who is eventually defeated by Pompey

75 Restoration of tribunes' rights to stand for further office

Cyrene annexed by Rome; and Bithynia left to Rome by its last king

73-2 Slave revolt of Spartacus, put down in the end by Crassus

70 Consulship of Crassus and Pompey. Full powers of tribunes are restored. Cicero successfully prosecutes Verres for his crimes as governor of Sicily.

67-62 Pompey in the east:

Lex Gabinia (67) giving Pompey special imperium against the pirates in the eastern Mediterranean, and ***Lex Manilia*** (66) giving him command vs. Mithridates.

After defeating the pirates (67) Pompey defeats Mithridates and accepts surrender of Armenia (66). He annexes Syria and forces his way into Jerusalem (64), completing his settlement of the east before returning to Rome (at end of 63).

63 Conspiracy of Catiline in Rome. (Cicero is consul, Julius Caesar is ***pontifex maximus***.)

61-60 Julius Caesar campaigns in Spain.

60 "First Triumvirate" of Crassus, Pompey and Caesar, resulting in their faction's triumph at the next election.

59 Consulship of Bibulus and Caesar (presently to be dubbed the "Consulship of Julius and Caesar")

58 Caesar's proconsular imperium in Gaul begins.

Tribunate of Clodius Pulcher (transfers status from patrician to plebeian, sanctioned by Caesar as ***pontifex maximus***). Incidentally, Clodius' profanation of the mysteries of the "Good Goddess" in 62 (when he had joined the festivities, held at the house of ***pontifex maximus***, "in drag") had led Caesar to divorce his then wife on the famous grounds that "Caesar's wife must be above suspicion"!

Cicero exiled (but recalled in 57).

Cato the Younger forced to take an irregular command in Cilicia.

- 57 Street battles between gang organized by Clodius Pulcher, possibly supported behind scenes by Crassus against Pompey) and new “Pompeian” gang led by T. Annius Milo.
- 56 Meeting of Triumvirs at Luca in N. Italy: renewal of triumvirate for next 5 years, sealed by marriage of Pompey to Caesar’s only daughter Julia.
- 55 Second consulship of Pompey and Crassus.
- 54 Julia dies; Pompey refuses Caesar’s offer to marry into his family.
- 53 Death of Crassus at Carrhae leaves power divided between Pompey and Caesar: a wedge is successfully driven between them over the next few years by senatorial conservatives, precipitating the open civil war which came in 49.

THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WARS AND THE DICTATORSHIPS OF JULIUS CAESAR

- 53 Crassus dies at Carrhae in rash campaign against Parthia.
- Rioting by street gangs delays elections at Rome and results in murder of “Popularis” leader Clodius Pulcher.
- Pompey marries into the conservative *gens* of Metelli (having refused Caesar’s offer to marry into P.’s family when P.’s wife, C.’s sister, died the year before); P. loans Caesar a legion.
- 52 Pompey declared sole consul to restore order (until August, when he took his father-in-law as a colleague).
- Trial and exile of Milo.
- “Law of the 10 Tribunes” allows Caesar to stand for consulship of 49 in absentia.
- Pompey’s laws (1) obliging candidates to appear personally, although he later exempted Caesar; and (2) enforcing interval between magistracies and pro-magistracies.
- 51 Conservative agitation against Caesar
- 50 Parthian threat to Syria; Senate votes to detach a legion from Pompey’s and Caesar’s armies: Pompey volunteers legion he’d loaned Caesar, who also loses one of his own.
- 50 Mounting pressure in Senate, backed by Pompey, to force Caesar to disband his forces before he stands for consul: vote on Dec. 1 to disband both Pompeian and Caesarian armies passes 370-22, but it is nullified by tribunician veto.
- 49 January 2: Pompey accepts sole command of armies in Italy; Caesarian tribunes flee (Jan. 7) and Caesar crosses Rubicon River into Italy (Jan. 11).
- Caesar in Rome: takes possession of treasury by force when rump of Senate refuses to sanction his position; later that year praetor Lepidus manages to have Caesar appointed dictator for the purpose of holding elections and Caesar is elected consul for following year.
- 48 Pompey assassinated as he lands in Egypt by agents of Ptolemy XIII; Caesar stays in Egypt to settle civil war between the king and his sister Cleopatra VII in the latter’s favor. At Rome, Caesar elected dictator for next year in absentia.
- 47 After pursuing war in Africa, Caesar returns to Rome late in year and holds late elections; is elected consul for next year (with colleague Lepidus, who stays in Rome while Caesar returns to Africa).

- 46 On Caesar's return from Africa, concurrently with consulship he receives his third grant of dictatorial power, this time for a period as long as ten years, but renewable annually; but has himself elected consul for the fourth time before he leaves for Spain (this time as sole consul). Also during this year he acquires censorial power and institutes the "Julian" calendar.
- 45 On return from Spain, Caesar resigns sole consulship; is elected consul, with Marc Antony as colleague, for fifth time.
- 44 In January or February, Caesar accepts office of "perpetual dictator" and receives sancrosanctity of tribunes; he publicly refuses the crown on Feb. 15 and is murdered on 15 March.

CONTENDING FOR CAESAR'S LEGACY

- 44 Late March: Senate votes amnesty for Caesar's assassins, though riots at Caesar's funeral drive them out of Rome; but "republican" partisans now control armies in N. Italy (D. Brutus), Greece (M. Brutus) and Syria (Cassius) by summer.

Arrival in Rome of Gaius Octavianus, Caesar's great-nephew and heir; tensions between him and Antony encourage senatorial "republicans"; Cicero makes his "Philippics" speeches against Antony.

Antony leaves Rome, moves against Decimus Brutus, while Octavian raises an unofficial force among Caesar's veterans.

- 43 Antony fights with D. Brutus and the two consuls Senate sends against him; he is pushed back into Gaul but the two consuls are killed.

Octavian gets himself elected consul (Aug.), forms second triumvirate with Antony and Lepidus (November).

Proscriptions: murder of Cicero.

- 42 Formal deification of Julius Caesar; Battle of Philippi (Oct.) followed by suicides of Cassius and M. Brutus.

- 41 Uprising of L. Antony and M. Antony's wife Fulvia, put down by Octavian early next year.

Antony resumes acquaintance with Cleopatra VII at Tarsus, spends winter with her in Alexandria.

- 40 Pact of Brundisium between Antony and Octavian (Oct.): Antony marries Octavia.

Parthian invasion of Asia Minor and Syria-Palestine; Jewish high priest Hyrcanus overthrown, but his vizier Herod is recognized as king of Judaea.

- 39 Concordat of Misenum between Octavian, Antony and Sextus Pompey.

- 38 Octavian marries Livia (Jan.); is defeated at sea by Sextus Pompey later that year.

- 37 Triumvirate renewed for 5 years; Antony pursues war with Parthia through legates in east, while Octavian continues war with Sextus Pompey in west. Herod installed as king of Judaea; acting as triumvir, Antony redistributes client kingdoms to his supporters, including Cleopatra VII.

- 36 Octavian defeats Sextus Pompey; Lepidus is deposed as triumvir, and Octavian acquires tribunician sacrosanctity.
- Antony's Parthian campaign and retreat through Armenia.
- 35 Death of Sextus Pompey in Asia; first public rift between Antony and Octavia.
- 34 Antony captures Armenia and celebrates triumph at Alexandria by "donations" to Cleopatra and her children.
- 33 Antony campaigning again in Armenia; in west, Mauretania becomes a Roman province.
- 32 Octavia divorced by Antony; publication of Antony's will at Rome.
- 31 War between Antony and Octavian, culminating in Battle of Actium (Sept.)
- 30 Suicide of Antony and Cleopatra; Octavian adds Egypt to the Roman Empire.
- Parthia again takes Armenia away from Rome.

POWER AND THE PRINCIPATE: SOME USEFUL TERMS

Augustus: “high, revered, holy one” = a new honorific name given to Octavian in 27 BCE, when he “restored the Republic.” (N.B. Augustus numbered the years of his later reign by his “tribunician power.”)

Auctoritas: personal moral authority, claimed in the “Deeds of the Divine Augustus” as the basis for the emperor’s subsequent rule.

Imperium: legal power to command, invested in an office or in the extension (“proroguing”) of a magistracy (i.e., proconsular or propraetorial imperium)

Imperium maius: “superior power to command,” overriding the lower imperium of normal commands.

Imperator: one who is invested with power to command, normally in the military sense. Eventually this becomes the normal title of the “emperor.” Its equivalent in Greek, **autokrator**, implies an even more sweeping personal power.

Princeps: “first citizen,” previously reserved for senior administrators (e.g., **princeps senatus** for the chief spokesman in the Senate) or informally for the pre-eminent figure in public life, but now regularized to define the position of the emperor.

(Tiberius would later insist he was **dominus**, “master,” to his slaves, **imperator** to his troops, and **princeps** to everyone else.)

Senatorial provinces: “pacified,” thus less well armed than

“Imperial” provinces

Trinuncia potestas: “power of the tribunes” which was vested in Augustus in 23 BCE, including

Sancrosanctity: personal inviolability under religious law (held since 36, as earlier by Julius Caesar)

Veto power over legislation

Ius auxilii, “right of assistance” to a Roman citizen.

Pater patriae, “father of the homeland,” title awarded to Augustus in 2 BCE.

Cura Annona, “supervision of the grain supply,” assumed informally by Augustus in 22 instead of offered dictatorship.

THE “PRINCIPATE” AND THE BEGINNINGS OF “IMPERIAL” GOVERNMENT

63 BCE	Octavian is born.
58	Octavian’s father dies, and the boy grows up under the guardianship of his maternal uncle, Julius Caesar.
44	Julius Caesar adopts Octavian as his son: this involved taking his adopted father’s name, so in contemporary accounts Octavian is referred to (somewhat confusingly) as “Caesar.”
43	Octavian consul for first time (at age 19!). Beginning of Second Triumvirate.
33	Octavian consul for second time.
32	Final breach between Octavian and Antony: Octavian’s partisans take a personal oath of allegiance to him.
31	Octavian consul for third time; deafeats Antony and Cleopatra at Actium.
30	Octavian consul for 4th time; death of Antony and Cleopatra, annexation of Egypt.
29-28	Octavian consul for 5th and 6th times; his “triumph” in Rome, his first census and purge of the Senate.
27	Octavian consul for 7th time: he restores the Republic and receives the name “Augustus.”
26-24	Augustus consul for 8th, 9th and 10th times. Wars in Spain, Arabia, and Ethiopia; and annexation of Galatia.
23	Augustus resigns his 11th consulship and receives the tribunician power and a grant of <i>maius imperium</i> outranking power held by all other proconsuls in command of armies. From this point on, his official status is “princes” (first citizen).
	Augustus’ ally Agrippa receives proconsular <i>imperium</i> for 5 years; but Augustus’ nephew Marcellus, groomed as heir apparent, dies.
	Provinces of Cyprus and Gallia Narbonensis are transferred from Augustus to the Senate.
21	Agrippa marries Augustus’ daughter Julia

- 19 Augustus receives the consular *imperium*
- 18 Second purge of the Senate; Agrippa receives proconsular *imperium* and tribunician power for five years.
- 17 Augustus adopts Agrippa's sons Gaius and Lucius.
- 13 Agrippa's powers are renewed.
- 12 Augustus is elected *pontifex maximus*; death of Agrippa.
- 11 Third purge of the Senate; Augustus' adult stepson Tiberius (=Livia's son) marries Julia.
- 6 Tiberius receives the tribunician power for five years, but retires from public life and exiles himself to Rhodes.
- 5 Augustus consul for twelfth time; Gaius is proclaimed "first among young men" (*princeps iuventutis*).
- 2 Augustus consul for thirteenth time; he is proclaimed "father of the homeland" (*pater patriae*); and Lucius is proclaimed *princeps iuventutis*.
Augustus' daughter Julia is exiled for her adulteries.
- 1 AD/CE Gaius is elected consul.
- 2 Lucius dies at Massilia; Tiberius returns to Rome
- 4 Gaius (who has been in the east since 1 BCE) dies in Lycia.
Augustus adopts Tiberius, who receives the tribunician power for 10 years.
- 13 Tiberius' tribunician power is renewed.
- 14 Death of Augustus

CIVIL SERVICE UNDER THE PRINCIPATE

Roman “Triumphs,” as well as “ovations” (in city) and “salutations” (by troops) reserved for emperor or members of his family, although victorious generals might receive *ornamenta* (including right to wear honorific military garb inside pomerium).

Senatorial careers:

A. Lowest magistracies: supervisors, corporately called “26 Men” (some* of whom were eliminated by Augustus, leaving “20 Men”):

(1) “10 Judges” (originally assistants to Tribunes, later in charge of pre-trial arrangements).

*(2) “4 Men for pronouncing judgment” in ten towns of Campania.

(3) “3 Men of Night Service,” eventually acquiring jurisdiction over routine capital crimes.

(4) “3 Men for the Mint.”

(5) “4 Men for cleaning city streets.”

*(6) “2 Men for cleaning streets outside the city.”

B. Beyond these, normal *cursus honorum* for senators follows: quaestor, tribune and/or aedile, praetor, consul.

Censor’s office abolished: emperor “adlects” senators based on family, service and wealth (millionaires only) up to maximum of 600; and he was also ultimately responsible for admissions into larger, apparently unlimited ranks of census class below Senators, the “Equestrians.”

Old state treasury (*Aerarium*) becomes in effect the municipal treasury of Rome and receives for the most part income from the senatorial provinces: initially run by quaestors, it was placed by Augustus under 2 “treasury prefects” appointed by emperor.

Imperial treasury: (1) *Fiscus*: includes *Patrimonium* (=emperor’s personal property) and income from imperial provinces. Paid expenses for wars and for the grain supply at Rome.
(2) “Military Treasury”
(3) In 3rd century (under Severan dynasty) all confiscated properties were put into another treasury, the res privata of the emperor, to be used at his discretion.

Equestrian careers:

(A) “Advocate for the Fisc” (in effect, imperial legal aide).

(B) “Procurators”(financial officers, in charge of collecting funds from civic taxes at Rome and in the provinces).

(C) Imperial “prefects” (in charge of departments: e.g., “Prefect of the City,”

“Praetorian Prefect,” “Prefect of the Grain Supply” and “Prefect of Egypt”).

The imperial bureaus (e.g., correspondence, applications, judicial affairs, foreign affairs), staffed by imperial freedmen in earlier Principate (especially in reorganization under Claudius) were transferred to Equestrians by the time of Hadrian.



The Pax Romana

THE “ROMAN PEACE” OF THE EARLY EMPIRE

Client kingdoms made into provinces (from Augustus to Vespasian):

Galatia
Mauretania
Thrace
Cappadocia
Lesser Armenia
Commagene
Lycia

Palestine: the kingdom of Herod the Great divided at his death (4 AD/CE) as follows:

Judea and Samaria: eldest son Archelaus; liquidated and made into Roman province under Syrian province (6 AD) governed by an equestrian prefect or procurator (under Tiberius, Pontius Pilate)

Northeast: Philip (d. 43 AD)

Peraea and Galilee: Herod Antippos (d. 39 AD)

At death of latter two, Herod Agrippa briefly ruled almost all the territory; but at his death, all Palestine again became part of Syrian province.

Other peoples:

Meroe: in northern Sudan; after earlier clashes with Rome, accepted non-tributary status as Roman *socius*

Sabaeen Arabs (cf. Biblical “Sheba”) = “Arabia Felix”

Nabataean Arabs: territory annexed by Trajan (106) as province of “Arabia Petraea”

Armenia: --Parthian prince becomes Roman client king in 66 AD

--Civil war in Parthia won by Chosroes (113), who awarded throne of Armenia to loser, Parthamasiris, thus precipitating Trajan’s Parthian war (114-117); the brief annexation of “Assyria” and “Mesopotamia” as Roman provinces was reversed by Hadrian.

Parthia: --capital at Ctesiphon, on Tigris

--Successfully invaded by Trajan and, later, by Marcus Aurelius, but with little lasting advantage to Rome

--Parthian dynasty (Arsacids) superseded by Persian ruling family (Sassanians) by 227 AD

Jewish revolts: --under Nero-Vespasian, “Great Revolt” (66-73) of Zealots

--revolts of diaspora Jews under Trajan (115)

--revolt in Palestine (under Hadrian): Jerusalem becomes a Roman colony, “Aelia Capitolina”

--Simon Bar Kochba rebellion in Palestine (131-34)

Germany: --Massacre of 3 legions at Teutoburg Forest (9 AD) in “Free Germany”

--“Agri Decumates” between Rhine and Danube annexed by Domitian, evacuated 260

Britain: south conquered (Claudius to Hadrian), briefly extended north (Antoninus Pius), but back to older borders in south by later second century AD

Dacia (=modern Rumania): conquered (Domitian-Trajan), evacuated 271



Expansion of the Roman Empire during the Principate

ROMAN IMPERIAL SOCIETY

Senatorial order: --property qualification: millionaires

--number kept under 600

--careers in republican *cursus honorum*, but also used as imperial prefects (such as City and Praetorian)

Equestrian order: --minimum 400,000 sesterces property qualification

--estimated c. 20,000 members under Augustus, even more under later emperors

--careers in imperial civil service (prefects, procurators, superseding imperial freedmen by early 2nd century AD)

--honorific titles, in ranks: *egregius* ("most excellent"), *perfectissimus*, and highest, *eminentissimus*.

Municipal office holders: called *curiales* or "decurions," recruited from municipal aristocracy; but in time came to include

- (1) military officers (e.g., centurions) who settled on lands given to them on retirement from the army; and
- (2) freedmen

(Freedmen were sometimes rewarded for contributions to public services by being placed in a special order, the *Augustales*, which gave them some public honor but kept them out of municipal offices and thus barred them from further advancement.)

Client-patron relationship: superior/equal/inferior

Morning "greeting" (*salutatio*) at patron's house

Pietas characterized by bond of loyalty and dedication between client and patron

Emperor as super-patron:

Gratitude: --bequests in clients' wills

--emperor's friends (*amici*) recommend their most promising young clients for advancement

LIFE IN THE PROVINCES OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

For **trade and manufacturing**, see the maps provided; noting the following terms and places:

Garum: sauce made from rotten fish, esteemed as a delicacy (closest modern equivalent: Chinese fish sauce) and manufactured in (among other places) Pompeii.

Terra sigillata ware (pottery)

Quseir el-Qadim: on the west (=Egyptian) coast of the Red Sea, opposite Coptos in the Nile Valley, used for import-export trade with India during the early principate

Tax farmers: (1) **Publicani:** bid for contracts to collect taxes, with a minimum return guaranteed (at least part of which had to be prepaid to the government)
(2) **Conductores:** similar, but often residents of the towns in which they did business, and not subject to prepayment of taxes they collected.

Curiales, Decuriones, Augustales: see the handout on Roman society.

Idios logos: the “private account” of the emperor in Egypt

Alimenta: assistance paid to poor children, usually of Italian descent, in Italy and a number of provinces; financed by interest on loans of government funds which were made (sometimes under compulsion) to local landowners

Growth of compulsory public services based on a person’s affluence

ROMAN CIVILIZATION: CULTURE AND LAW

Latin and Greek areas of the Roman empire; bilingualism in educated circles, especially in the west.

Quintillian: Roman educator (1st century CE)

Petronius: Latin author (Satyricon) and socialite, forced to commit suicide under Nero.

Martial: Latin writer of poetry and epigrams (later 1st century CE)

Juvenal: Latin writer of satires (contemporary with Martial)

Tacitus: born in Gaul; Latin writer on oratory, ethnography, history (active c. 75-117 CE)

Lucian of Samosata: author of Syrian origin, though wrote in Greek (active 2nd century CE)

Pausanias: Greek travel writer (*Guide to Greece*), contemporary with Marcus Aurelius

Imperial sponsorship of most philosophical schools (Platonic Academy, Aristotelian Lyceum, Stoics, Epicureans) except for Cynics.

Laws (*leges*) and plebiscites replaced by imperial *constitutiones* and “rescripts”

ius civile: the law of a particular society (“civil law”)

ius gentium: “the law of peoples/nations” = “natural” law

Legal distinction between classes, *honestiores* and *humiliores*

Final codification of Roman law (later called *Corpus Juris Civilis*) by Justinian (6th century CE), consisting of:

- (1) *Code* of currently active legislation based on older laws
- (2) *Novellae*: new legislation added to the above
- (3) *Digest*: collected opinions on points of law by Roman master jurists (e.g., Ulpian, Panian)
- (4) *Institutes*: law textbook assembled by Gaius (2nd century CE) and added to by others.

MAINSTREAM RELIGIONS UNDER THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Rome	Greece	Egypt	Syria	N. Europe
Jupiter	Zeus	Amun,	Hadad/Baal	Odin
("Dios-piter")	("Dios")	Osiris		
Juno	Hera	Isis		Fricka
Terra Mater	Gaia			
Ceres	Kore			
Proserpine	Persephone			
Venus	Aphrodite			Freia
Diana	Artemis		Cybele	

Fortuna (Latin), **Tyche** (Greek): fate, fortune (the emperor's fortuna was considered divine because it embodied the empire's chances to rise above the vagaries of fate which are normal for lower mortals)

Genius of the emperor = his "luck," creative spirit (the emperor's genius was also divine because it was the mechanism which enabled the empire to avoid the harder blows of fortuna)

Apotheosis (emergence as a god of a deceased emperor)

Posthumous deification of most Roman emperors, when they were not subject to

Damnatio memoriae, "cursing of the memory" of bad emperors like Caligula and Nero.

Foreign deities:

Serapis (Greek fusion of Osiris and Apis)
Isis and Horus (pagan madonna & child)

Mithras (Iranian sun god), later called "invincible sun" (*sol invictus*) in 3rd & 4th centuries

Cybele (Syrian goddess of fertility: cf. Diana of Ephesus, whose votaries gave Paul such a hard time)

Haruspicy: Etruscan interpretation of liver omens (“Haruspex” priest)

Astrology: Zodiac (conceived in Babylonia, c. 500 BCE) and personal horoscopes (first attested under Seleucids, late 4th-3rd centuries BCE)

Secular religions:

(Neo-)Platonism: “ideas” are in the mind of the supreme god, manifest in paranormal phenomena by agency of *daimones* (effective spirits)

Epicureanism

Stoicism: Poseidonius (late 1st century BCE)

“Mystery religions”: cults of Mithras, Isis, Cybele from Near East; Eleusinian mysteries in Greece.

“Gurus”: Apollonius of Tyana (later 1st century CE)

Simon Magus (mid-1st century CE)

Alexander of Aboneuticus, and his snake-god “Glycon” (2nd century CE: known mainly from the hostile account written by Lucian of Samosata)

CHRISTIANITY AND THE ROMAN EMPIRE

Criminality of admitting to Christianity: did this lie simply in the “name” (i.e., just being a Christian) or in what was assumed to lie behind it?

“**Apologists**” (defenders) of Christian religion: include Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, Tertullian and Minucius Felix

Pliny the Younger as persecutor of local Christians when he was governor of Bithynia-Pontus province (111 AD, under Trajan)

Songs (*carmina*) and an oath (*sacramentum*), rituals which were sometimes associated with illicit, even evil activities

True religion (*religio*) vs. *superstitio*: cf. Suetonius reference to Christianity as a superstition that is “new and mischievous” (or “malefic” in a magical sense?)

Chrestos (“good”) or *Christos* (“anointed”): spellings (in Greek) often confused, or used punningly, to describe early Christians

Josephus: Jewish writer (late 1st century AD/CE) who reports sympathetic attitude of Nero’s consort, Poppea Sabina, towards the Jewish community in Rome. This is not at all certainly to be connected with Nero’s persecution of Christians after the fire in AD 64.

Gnosticism: not exclusively Christian, and resting on the assumption that true revelation would be attained only by those who possessed a deeper knowledge (*gnosis*) denied to most believers.

Phibionites: Gnostic Christian “libertine” sect (4th century AD/CE) supposedly descended from earlier “Nicholaites.” It is possible that groups like this may have influenced the bad name developed by mainline Christianity among pious pagan writers.

Manichaean dualism, also outlawed in the Roman Empire under Diocletian.

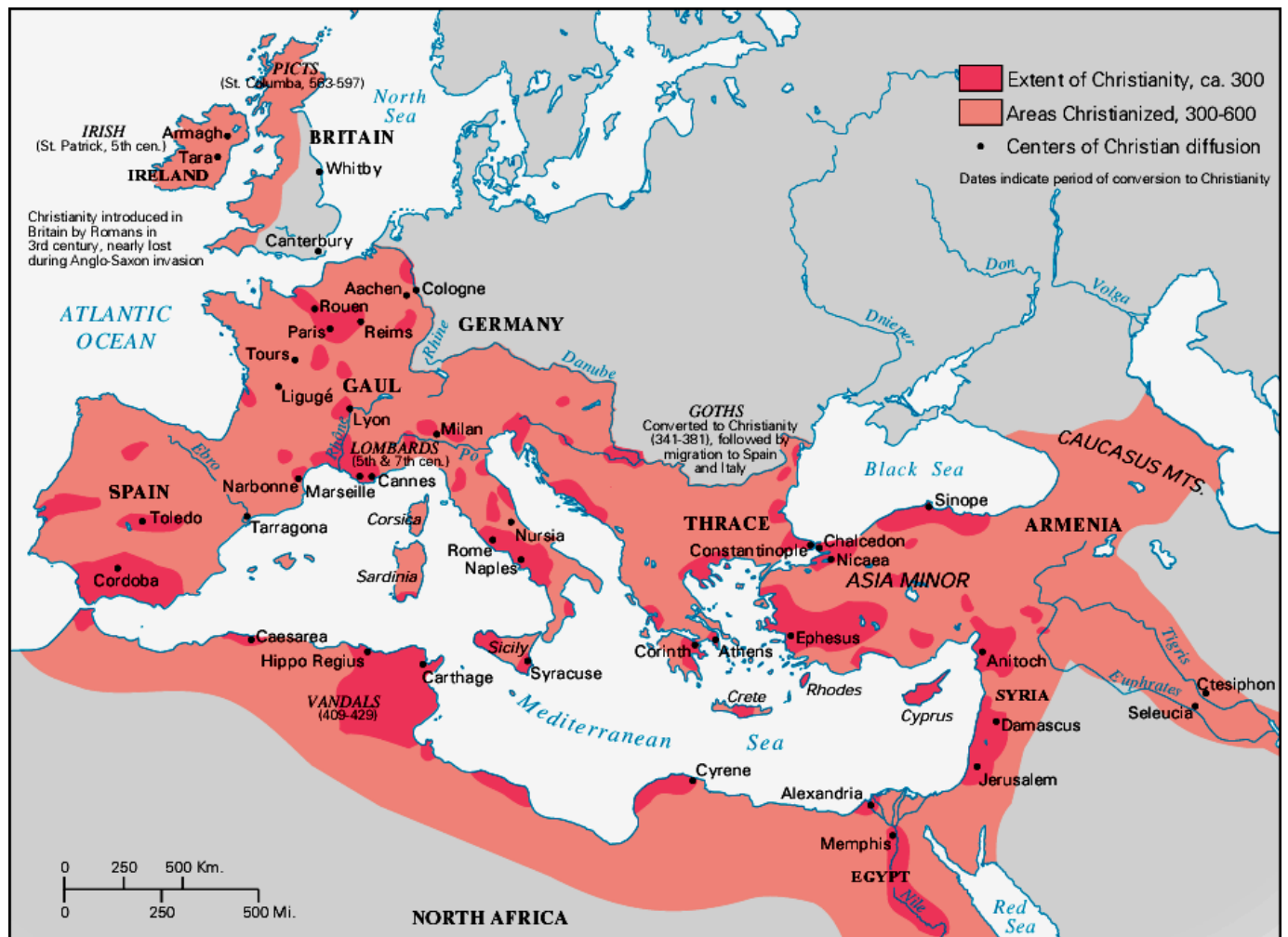
Suggested further reading:

Ramsay MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire*.

Robin Lane Fox, *Paganism and Christians*.

Arthur D. Nock, *Conversion* (older but excellent).

Stephen Benko, *Paganism and the Early Christians*.



Growth of Christianity down to 600 AD

THIRD CENTURY CRISIS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

- 177 Marcus Aurelius makes his son Commodus co-emperor; persecutions of Christians throughout the empire
- 180 Death of Marcus Aurelius; Commodus becomes sole emperor
- 192 Assassination of Commodus
- 193 Pertinax becomes emperor, but is killed; Praetorian Guard auctions the empire, which is “bought” by Didius Julianus; military rebellions of Pescenius Niger and Septimius Severus
- 194 Septimius Severus wins civil war, becomes sole emperor
- 202 Ban on Jewish and Christian proselytism
- 211 Death of Septimius Severus; his sons and coregents, Caracalla and Geta, succeed him, but Caracalla murders Geta soon afterwards
- 212 “Constitutio Antoniniana” of Caracalla makes citizens of virtually everybody in the Roman Empire
- 217 Caracalla assassinated; Macrinus becomes emperor
- 218 Macrinus assassinated; Elagabalus becomes emperor
- 222 Assassination of Elagabalus; accession of Severus Alexander
- 224 Parthian regime in Iran and Mesopotamia is superseded by the Persian Sassanian Dynasty
- Publication of Cassius Dio’s *Roman History* (229/30)
- 235 Assassination of Severus Alexander precipitates period of the “barracks emperors”
- Maximinus Thrax (235-8: Persians attack Roman province of Mesopotamia)
- Civil war (238: Gordian I and II in Africa; Pupienus and Balbinus in Italy)
- Gordian III (238-44)

Philip the Arabian (244-9: makes peace with Persia; during this reign are usurpations by Uranius, Pacatian, Jotapian; “millennium” of the Roman Empire is celebrated on 21 April 248)

Decius (249-51: plague begins to spread through the empire; persecution of Christians who can or will not obtain libelli, certificates attesting to their having sacrificed to the pagan gods)

Trebonianus Gallus (251-3)

Valerian (253-259/60, with usurpations by Postumus [Gaul] and Ingenuus. Oedenathus in Palmyra is recognized as “leader of the orient” in alliance with Valerian; persecution of Christians [257-8] lifted by edict of toleration issued by Valerian’s son Gallienus [260])

Gallienus (259/60-268: his father & coregent Valerian captured by Sassanian emperor Shapur I, died in captivity [260]; *Agri Decumates* in Germany evacuated; in Palmyra Oedenathus dies, replaced by infant Vaballathus [son of Queen Zenobia]; Postumus replaced by Laelianus, then Marius; usurpations by Marcianus, Quietus, Regalianus and Aureolus)

Claudius “Gothicus” (268-70: appearance in empire of the Bagaudes; Victorinus replaces Marius in Gaul; usurpation by Quintillus; Zenobia enters Alexandria in Egypt)

Aurelian (270-5: Dacia evacuated [271], but Palmyra returned to empire [273]; and Tetricus, Victorinus’ successor in Gaul, surrenders [274]; primacy of cult of “Invincible Sun”)

Murder of Aurelian (275), usurpers Tacitus and Florian (276)

Probus (276-82)

Carus (282-3)

Numerian (283-4)

Carinus (284-5)

284 Accession of Diocles

285 Diocles takes the name Diocletian, associates Maximian with himself as “Caesar”

- | | |
|-----|--|
| 286 | Maximian defeats Bagaudae in Gaul, and is promoted to “Augustus” |
| 293 | Constantius and Galerius appointed “Caesars” in west and east respectively: beginning of “Tetrarchy” |
| 302 | Decrees against Manichees and Christians: “Great Persecution” begins |

“Alimentary” system of state support for children (most usually of Italian extraction)

Coloni: tenant farmers

Dediticii, an old term which by now had probably come to refer to habitual criminals

Honestiores (“more honest types” based on wealth, status) having greater legal rights than

Humiliores (“humbler types”), who could be imprisoned, tortured and killed more readily, and whose word as individuals counted less against people of higher status.

Donatives: cash awards (read “bribes”) paid by emperors to troops.

Curiales: upper class citizens residing in towns and cities of the empire, who are increasingly liable to be forced to assume

Liturgies: obligatory municipal offices and responsibilities, earlier exercised voluntarily by the rich on a *pro bono* basis and for local prestige, now forced on the shrinking class of affluent people to maintain basic services at the grassroots level in times of economic duress and shrinking imperial resources.

THE “PRINCIPATE” BECOMES THE “DOMINATE”: DIOCLETIAN AND CONSTANTINE

Emperor: under Diocletian regularly *dominus et deus*, “lord and god,” with an elaborate court ceremonial to match (including the *adoratio*: prostration and kissing the hem of the emperor’s garment). Hence the term “dominate” rather than “principate” for this regime.

Diocletian’s “Tetrarchy”: 4 emperors = two senior ‘Augusti’ (one in the east, the other in west), each of whom nominated an assistant “Caesar” who was expected to become the “Augustus” on the death or retirement of his senior coregent.

Rank, tied to functions at court (*comitatus*, the “assembly” attending the emperor):

Courtiers: *comites* (from which comes the term “count”), graded in ranks with appropriate titles: *clarissimus* (first), *eminentissimus* (second) and *perfectissimus* (third).

Diocletian’s new direct taxes:

***Iugum*:** old Latin word, roughly “acre,” here referring to what it took to produce a stated amount of yield, based on different qualities of land producing different crops.

***Caput*:** “head” = refers to poll tax paid by each individual, in cash, kind or services.

“Indiction”: Tax assessment period (every 5 years under Diocletian, increased to 15 years after Constantine)

“Crown gold”: special exactions from communities on occasional of emperor’s anniversaries or visits, continued; and under Constantine, two new requisitions:

- (a) 5-year tax in gold and silver on municipal merchants and corporations, and
- (b) Graded surtax on senators’ landed property, paid in cash.

Provincial reorganization under Diocletian:

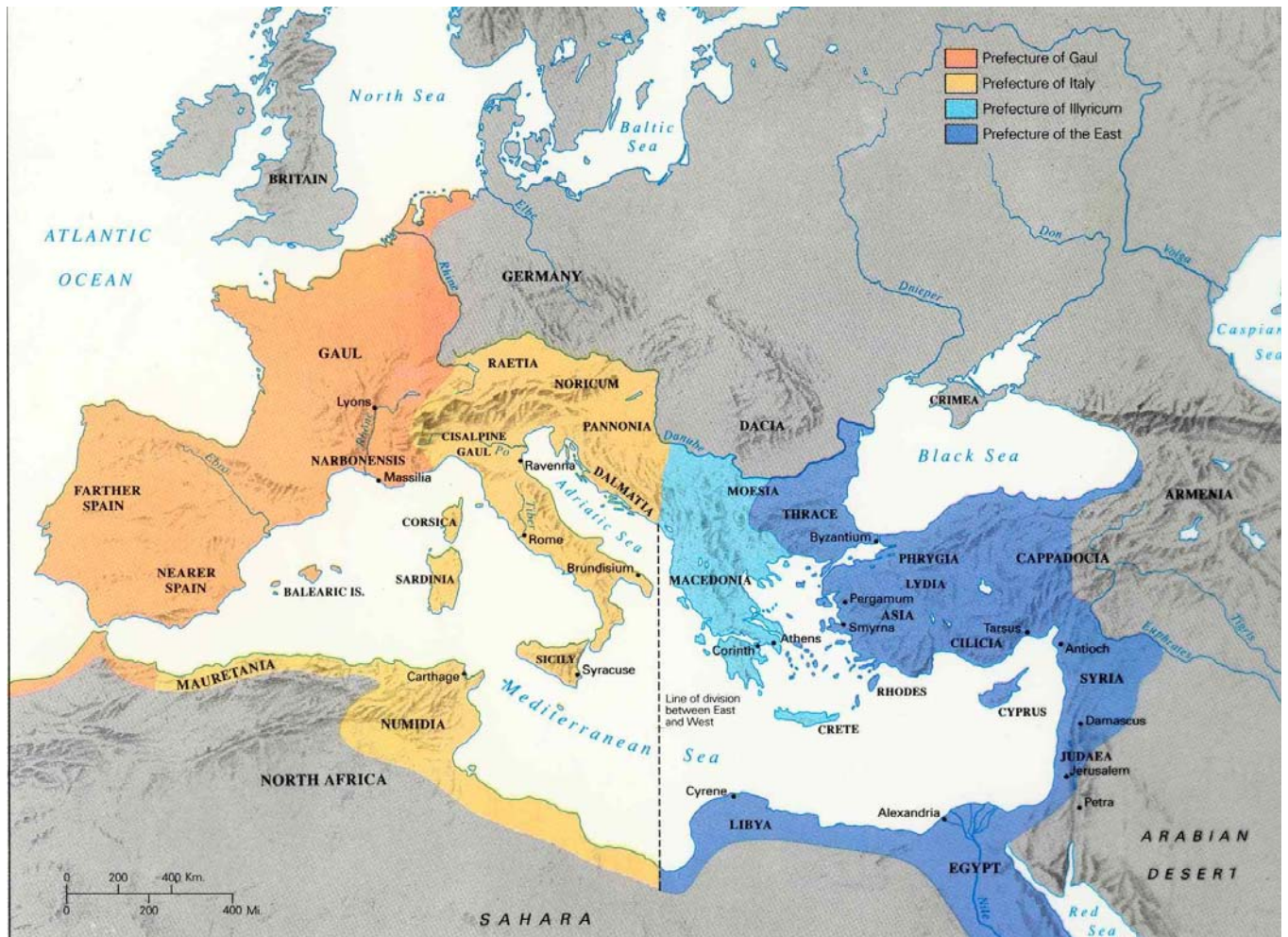
“Provinces”: nearly 100, each under an equestrian *praesides*, or a senatorial *corrector* in Italy (both already found as regional governors earlier in third century). These new provinces were grouped into

“Dioceses”: 12 (or 13, if Italy is divided), each under a “vicar” who is a deputy to the Praetorian Prefect, along with a staff of clerical and financial officers.

The Senate was by this time merely the municipal council of the city of Rome, with its chairmanship transferred at an unknown date from the consuls to the Urban Prefect.

Praetorian Prefects continued to be military adjutants to the emperors until Constantine disbanded the Praetorian Guard; after this the Prefects continued to be the emperor's deputy in judicial and financial matters, as well as presiding over the "vicars" who ruled dioceses. Each "Augustus" had a Praetorian Prefect.

Command of the armies was transferred to *duces* ("leaders") or *magistri militum* ("troop commanders") who were usually not provincial governors, though this was not an invariable rule.

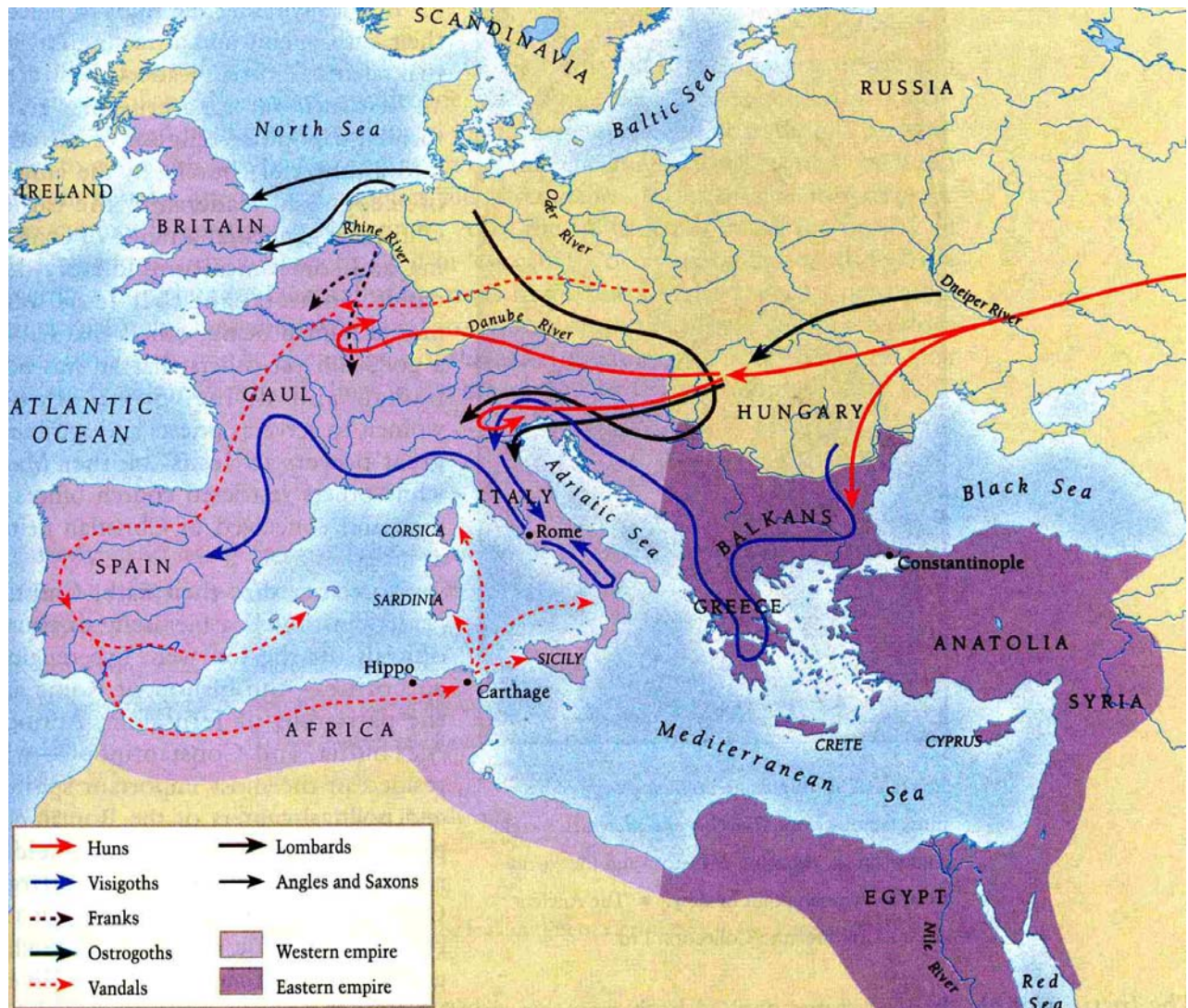


Division of the Roman Empire

THE "FALL" OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

- 302 “Great Persecution” of Christians and Manichees
- 305 Diocletian forces his colleague Maximian to join him in resigning his office as “Augustus”; Constantius and Galerius become “Augusti” in the west and east respectively, with Severus and Maximinus Daia as “Caesars”
- 306 When Constantius dies at York, his troops proclaim his bastard son Constantine as “Augustus” in his place; and Maxentius, supported by his father Maximian, declares himself emperor at Rome
- 307 Alliance of Maxentius and Constantine; defeat and death of Severus
- 308 Galerius confers with Diocletian and Maximian. Licinius is proclaimed “Augustus”
- 310 Death of Maximian
- 311 Galerius “legalizes” Christianity in his territory, but the persecution is resumed after his death later that year
- 312 Constantine defeats Maxentius at Battle of the Milvian Bridge, acknowledges Christian god’s patronage
- 313 Licinius and Constantine meet at Milan, agree to partition empire between them and extend toleration to Christians (“Edict of Milan”). Later that year Licinius defeats his rival Maximinus
- 315 Constantine defeats Licinius, becomes sole emperor
- 316 Death of retired emperor Diocletian
- 325 Licinius killed; Christian Church council at Nicaea
- 330 Constantinople (“New Rome”) becomes official imperial residence
- 337 Death of Constantine, empire divided between his three sons
- 360 Julian “the Apostate” becomes emperor
- 363 Julian killed on Persian campaign (end of Constantine’s dynasty)
- 376 Huns drive Visigoths across Danube

- 378 Visigoths defeat and kill Emperor Valens at Adrianople (in Greece); Theodosius I becomes emperor
- 382 Altar of Victory removed from Senate House
- 391 Theodosius I's edicts against paganism and heresy
- 395 Theodosius I dies; empire is redivided into east and west halves; rebellion of Alaric and the Visigoths
- 410 Alaric and Visigoths sack Rome
- 429 Vandals invade, settle in northwest Africa
- 453 Attila the Hun's retreat from Italy, death
- 455 Vandals sack Rome
- 476 German commander Odoacer deposes last western Roman emperor Romulus Augustulus



Barbarian Invasions in the Late Empire