

Appendix 4A, Attachment 1

Roman Imperial Rulers and Associated Data¹

[Resumed from Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 2.]

I. Summary of Events Through the Reign of Julius Caesar.

In 133 b.c.e., the last will of Attalus III of Pergamum left his kingdom to Rome. By 132 b.c.e. Rome possessed the provinces of Sicilia, Sardinia with Corsica, Hispania Citerior, Hispania Ulterior, Gallia Cisalpina, Illyricum, Africa, Macedonia, and Achaea.²

Rome's expansion "led ultimately to the corruption of both Senate and people, to the creation of a financial group—the *equines*, interested in imperialism—and to opportunities for self-aggrandizement on the part of generals and governors. In consequence, the equestrian class became a possible rival to the Senate, and the way was opened for the domination of the state by military commanders" who—often autonomously—waged battles on many fronts.

"[I]t is worthwhile to add even though briefly the following account," wrote Strabo of the Romans, who, in his time, had "acquired the whole of Italy through warfare and statesmanlike rulership, and that, after Italy, by exercising the same superior qualities, they also acquired the regions round about Italy. And of the continents, being three in number, they hold almost the whole of Europe, except that part of it which lies outside the Ister/[Danube] River and the parts along the ocean which lie between the Rhenus/[Rhine] and Tanais/[Don] rivers. Of Libya, the whole of the coast on Our Sea is subject to them; and the rest of the country is uninhabited or else inhabited only in a wretched or nomadic fashion. In like manner, of Asia also, the whole of the coast on Our Sea is subject to them [except narrow and sterile nomadic districts]; and of the interior and the country deep inland, one part is held by the Romans themselves and another by the Parthians and the barbarians beyond them; and on the east and north live Indians and Bactrians and Scythians, and then ["on the south"] Arabians and Aethiopians, but some further portion is constantly being taken from these peoples and added to the possessions of the Romans. ...[S]ome parts are indeed ruled by kings, but the Romans retain others themselves, calling them Provinces, and send to them prefects and collectors of tribute. But there are also some free states, of which some came over to the Romans at the outset as friends, whereas others were set free by the Romans themselves as a mark of honor. There are also some potentates and phylarchs ("tribal chiefs") and priests subject to them. Now these live in accordance with certain ancestral laws."
Strabo, vol. VIII, pp. 211-213.

In 133 b.c.e. one Tiberius Gracchus (son of Cornelia, daughter of Scipio and of distinguished twice-consul Gracchus T. Sempronius), a person of character, resolved to regenerate "the deplorable condition" of the Roman society and became a tribune of the plebs. His proposed reforms included re-enactment of former agrarian laws ... [and] by substituting independent peasants for slaves, to lay anew and solidly the economic foundation of society." Gracchus appealed to the rich of the tribes to make some sacrifice for the good of the republic. When his measure was vetoed the plebs deposed the opposition, "and the revolution of a hundred years began"—its aim, "to substitute the assembly for the senate."

Two colleagues turned coat and killed Gracchus; reforms came to a standstill. The democratic movement, however, gained strength over the next several years; and in 123 b.c.e. Gaius Gracchus, brother of Tiberius Gracchus, became tribune in an overflowing election in which he was supported by "all Italy."³

Gaius made some mistakes of organization but concentrated all resources and labored indefatigably toward "the one measure on which he had set his heart—the enfranchisement of all the Italians"—and effected passage of several humane reforms. "[T]he office of tribune, once so insignificant, bec[a]me for a time the controlling power of the state and empire."

Aristocratic senators, however, did not "have the virtue necessary for the support of his reforms. ... When the senate tried to prevent Gaius from planting a colony at Carthage, both parties resorted to violence. The consul Opimus, armed by the senate with absolute power, overthrew the Gracchus party and killed Gaius, with 3000 of his followers. But the aristocracy was broken forever..." While "the death of Gaius restored the senate to power [it was] not, to its former independent position, for henceforth it could maintain its leadership only by feeding the rabble."

Botsford pp. 151-159.

Gaius Gracchus' successor was Gaius Marius, himself a "peasant." Commercial interests drew Rome into the African "Jugurthine" war (112 - 106 b.c.e.), waged between cousins for control of government in Numidia (112-106 b.c.e.). Rome initially was humiliated somewhat in its involvement—the strongest contender, Jugurtha, corrupted Roman military in Africa with bribes and even visited Rome openly—until Metellus, with Marius as his lieutenant, took command and defeated

¹ The primary source for this segment is *Botsford* (pages are cited at regular intervals), with *Ency.* pages 105-107 as a secondary reference. (In this, as other book four sections, "b.c."/"a.d." may be found, instead of "b.c.e."/"c.e.")

² Pertinent ensuing Roman involvements are included in the 3A, VI (narrative) and its Attachment 1 (timeline).

³ It is recounted that brother Tiberius appeared to Gaius in a dream and said, "Why hesitate, Gaius? It is your destiny, as mine, to live and die for the people."

Jugurtha. Marius ended the war, his quaestor, Lucius Cornelius Sulla, capturing Jugurtha, who perished in prison in Rome.
Botsford pp 160-162.

Marius, "reelected consul year after year,...busied himself with reorganizing and training the army to combat "two powerful German tribes, the Cimbri and Teutons." The Cimbri and Teutons, moving west from the Danube region into Transalpine Gaul, had "assailed the new province Rome had established on the coast between the Alps and the Pyrenees" and successively defeated six Roman armies. "[A] delay of three years, during which they wandered about in Gaul and Spain, gave the Romans time to prepare." Two "decisive victories saved...the Roman empire from being overwhelmed...." First, Marius prevented the Teutons from crossing the Alps into Italy in a battle at Aquae Sextiae in southern Gaul, "and annihilated their great host." The following year, the Cimbri—who had succeeded crossing the Alps—"were slaughtered...at Vercellae in northern Italy," by Roman forces under Marius and his colleague, Catulus.

The successes of Marius and Catulus were won, however, "by an important departure from republican principles." A lack of qualified soldiers secured by ownership of at least a small amount of property prompted Marius to enlist "volunteers from the lowest class of rural laborers, including those who were entirely without property," and whose entire livelihood depended on military service. Additionally, Marius replaced the aristocratic Roman cavalry with "more efficient and more obedient horsemen of the allies." In Marius' new organization "all the soldiers were now equipped alike, and depended for their rank and honor...on the favor of the commander"—in short, "an army which would support its commander[s] in any ambitious design, even against the senate and the people." Marius—who, elected to consulship six times in a row, had absolute command of the army—possessed "power little less than that of a king."

Marius in his sixth consulship, c. 100 b.c.e., allied with tribune Saturninus and praetor Glaucia to pass a law to plant colonies of army veterans in the provinces. The law carried, but not without illegalities. On the following election day for new consuls, Glaucia was candidate of the rural plebeians, who had favored the measure; and "a fight between them and the city rabble broke up the assembly." Marius, as chief magistrate, was called upon by the senate and knights to put down the sedition, and "reluctantly he armed some of his forces to defend the constitution against Saturninus and Glaucia, his former associates," who "after some time...surrendered." Marius' intentions of treating with them in a "legal manner" was unacceptable to the mob: it tore the tiles off of the roof of the senate house, where the prisoners had been put, "and stoned them to death, including a quaestor, a tribune, and a praetor, who were still wearing their insignia of office."

"Freedom, democracy, laws, reputation, official position were no longer of any use to anybody...." "[T]hough revolutionary," the rural plebeians "were the only morally sound party in the state, while the senate depended upon the unprincipled city rabble. The revolutionary leaders, although baser and more violent than the Gracchi, were carrying out the work of those reformers. Had Marius been as great a statesman as a general, he would have cast his lot with them, and from the sedition of the Forum he would have emerged a king."

Marius "missed his destiny; and the fate of Rome passed into other hands. The senate found itself encompassed on all sides by enemies: the knights, who controlled the courts, terrorized it with their prosecutions; the mob breathed jealousy and hatred while it clamored for bread; the rural plebeians threatened at any moment to invade the Forum and trample upon the government; at the same time the oppressed Italians were on the point of rebellion." In 91 b.c.e. "Marcus Livius Drusus, a young man of great wealth and illustrious family, became tribune of the plebeians, and led a movement by which some more-liberal aristocrats thought to win the support of Italians by granting them Roman citizenship. Drusus "proposed cheap corn, colonization, the division of the courts between an equal number of senators and knights, and the enfranchisement of the Italians. His measures met with difficulty, sparking mixed reactions from all classes, but were passed, only to be annulled by the senate. "[S]oon afterward Drusus was murdered. A law was then passed which threatened with prosecution any one who dared aid the Italians in acquiring the citizenship." That act, and the passing of Drusus, "deprived the Italians of their last hope of obtaining their rights by peaceable means," heralding the "Social War, 90 - 88 b.c.e."

Far and above voting at Rome (most Italians lived too far away to make it feasible), the Italians "needed the protection which citizenship gave...humane treatment [by] commanders...[and] the same rights of property and trade which the Romans had always enjoyed; but most of all [...a cessation of Roman citizens'] insulting, scourging, and killing them for amusement or spite." In 90 b.c.e. the Italian allies—chiefly Sabellians—revolted and formed a new state. As its capital they chose "Corfinium in the country of the Paelignians" and renamed it "Italica. In the main they patterned their government after that of Rome; they gave the citizenship to all who took part with them in the war; and they aimed to annex the whole of Italy."

The Italian army, a band of several small forces, was pitted against great odds; their successes over the first year, however, that consul Lucius Julius Caesar (father of the renowned Julius) gave citizenship to persons who did not possess it but remained faithful supporters of Rome. Shortly thereafter another law offered citizenship also to any Italian allies "who would return to their allegiance. 'Accordingly, the gates of Roman citizenship...so long closed...suddenly opened when the sword knocked at them.'" The concessions both kept the revolt in check and weakened the opposition; "in another year the Romans broke the strength of the allies."

Botsford 162-166.

The Italians, as Roman citizens, had self-government of their *municipia*, but little else. Moreover, "they were degraded by being enrolled in eight new tribes, which voted *after* the old thirty-five." Hostility remained between the city

⁴ On Marius' return from Africa, he married one [undesigned] "Julia of the illustrious house of the Caesars."

⁵ See Appendix 4A, Attachment 1, Detail A chart at item (4).

plebeians and the rural plebeians, the latter being too distant to enjoy equal privileges. The Italians "still regarded the senate and the rabble [city plebs] as their oppressors...they therefore welcomed the strong man.... Hence the idea of a monarchy grew apace. Accordingly politics took a new turn....

In 88 b.c.e. there came to the consulship one Sulla[Sylla]. Sulla, "patrician though poor," had been Marius' quaestor in the Jugurthine War and a successful general, also, in the Social War. Senate conflict arose when Sulla received what Marius, himself, wanted: command in "the East, where Mithridates [VII], the able and ambitious king of Pontus ...had rapidly extended his power, and was driving the Romans from Asia Minor." Sulpicius, tribune of the plebs and supported by the Italians, "violently forced through the assembly a resolution for the appointment of Marius. Sulla, still consul, led his army to Rome and settled the question with the sword. Sulpicius was killed; Marius fled to Africa. This was the first time the army appeared on the political stage...a crisis in the history of the republic. The leadership of the revolution passed from the tribunes to the generals. Henceforth the sword was to arbitrate between political rivals; and the successful commander was to rule the Roman world."

Sulla restored senate authority and gave it total power over acts of tribunes. He then took his army to war against Mithridates. "No sooner had Sulla left Italy than an armed conflict broke out between the consuls Octavius [leader of the aristocracy] and Cinna [champion of the Italians], over the enrolment of...Italians in the old tribes.... 10,000 men lost their lives," as Octavius drove Cinna, deposed from consulship, from the city. "But Cinna quickly gathered an army of Italians, recalled Marius...and marched against Rome." Cinna and Marius entered the city with their bands of Italians, foreigners, and runaway slaves. They killed Octavius and all the eminent aristocrats; for five days they hunted down their opponents, massacred them, and plundered their property. They gave the Italians their rights." But in the culmination of events--from the murders of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus and their supporters, and Rome's murderous policies during the Jugurthine war--the Cinna/Marius episode seemed like "the last act of a terrible drama."

Meanwhile, "the province of Asia welcomed Mithridates as a saviour...." (On his order, "80,000 Italians throughout that country were murdered in a single day. Greece revolted to him; his armies occupied Thrace and Macedonia. Sulla then took the field; and 'within less than three years he had killed 160,000 men, recovered Greece, Macedonia, Ionia, Asia, and many other countries that Mithridates had previously occupied, taken the king's [Mithridates'] fleet...and...restricted him to his paternal kingdom alone."

Back at Rome, "civil war broke out between Sulla and the democratic party, which still held the government." Cinna was killed in a mutiny early on; "command of the popular forces passed to Carbo and the son of Gaius Marius as consuls. "Sulla gained ground" through treachery, corruption and diplomacy as well as force. "Carbo fled to Africa; the young Marius was blockaded in Praeneste. Then Pontius, leader of the Samnites...in unison with the popular party, with 70,000 hill-men, swooped down upon Rome." They were met by Sulla outside the Colline Gate, "in the fiercest battle of the war. Here the aristocratic cause triumphed; and Rome gained her last victory over Samnium." Carbo and Sertorius continued the struggle, respectively, in Africa and Spain; but "in Italy Marius committed suicide and his party collapsed."

Once Sulla's army had made him master of Rome, he recklessly butchered opponents of his party, posting daily lists of "the proscribed"--whom any one might slay...for a reward." Nearly 5000 were thus murdered, many of them senators and knights--as many murdered in sheer hatred or for their wealth as for political attachments. "At the same time, murder and confiscation were carried on over all Italy."

"After a time Sulla assumed the dictatorship...and put his hand to...restoring the aristocratic constitution." He returned control over the assemblies to the senate, in that no matter could be brought before the people without its consent. Another measure disqualified a tribune from holding higher office, which "rendered the tribunate impotent and unattractive to the ambitious. As a consequence the assembly of tribes became insignificant as compared with that of the centuries." "Sulla settled his 120,000 devoted veterans" "on lands made vacant in Italy by war, massacre, and proscription." "For his personal security he enfranchised 10,000 slaves of the proscribed, and named them all, after himself, Corneli." Then, Sulla abruptly abdicated the dictatorship and retired.

Sulla died not long after his retirement. Under his legislation--which had been "in the interest of his party"--"aristocracy and democracy were now alike impossible." Whether Sulla anticipated the temporality of the reformed constitution and banked only on "a few years of quiet enjoyment," he was not yet in his grave when his artificial government, built upon so much blood, began to totter." *Botsford 167-174.*

⁶ Commencing the 'Mithradetic wars'--refer to Appendix 3A, VI, Attachment 5, Detail A, "Mithridates and Ariarathes Dynasties (Pontus and Cappadocia)."

⁷ Marius received his seventh consulship, but died soon afterward from drinking." (It is not said what happened to wife Julia or children.)

⁸ Among others of Sulla's reforms were: (a) the office of quaestor was the the stepping-stone to the senate; (b) eight praetors (an increase of two), two of whom had civil jurisdiction while six presided over criminal courts, of which several new ones were created and their juries composed wholly of senators (as it was, before Gaius Gracchus); (c) one had to be quaestor before praetor and praetor before consul, and could not hold the same office more than once every 10 years; (d) praetors and consuls could hold military commands only in exceptional cases, their primary authority being civil and limited to Italy south of the Rubicon; (e) when a praetor's or consul's term of office expired, he was eligible for a one-year term as a promagistrate with military authority in one of the provinces.

[Here commences *Botsford* Chapter VIII, "The Revolution--(II) The Military Power in Conflict with the Republic. Pompey, Caesar, and Octavius (79 - 27 b.c.e.)" -- *Third Period of The Republic--Second Epoch.*]

Sulla had effected military power over the constitution. Political parties and government fell to powerful generals. Rising army officer Gnaeus Pompey proved well-fitted to inherit Sulla's policies and defend his constitution. As a young man Pompey "raised an army by his own means and...joined Sulla in war against the democrats." Pompey enforced Rome's laws by the sword; he went to Sicily, suppressed that island's popular party and returned victorious.

After Sulla's death, a consul Lepidus in 78 b.c.e. tried to do away with the Sulla constitution; unsuccessful, he resorted to arms the following year. "Pompey distinguished himself still further as a champion of the aristocracy against the democrats," by helping suppress the Lepidus rebellion. The senate, in need of a good general for Spain, gave proconsulship to Pompey (despite his not having been, as required, a consul first, nor even a quaestor).

Sertorius, successor in Spain of the democratic magistrates overthrown by Sulla, showed himself over several years as the first Roman empathetic with the governed: "From love and admiration the natives called him Hannibal. With the small forces at his command he routed...Roman armies sent against him, including that of Pompey. Sertorius allied with Mithridates, who again was at war in the east; it was not until "Sertorius was murdered by one of his own generals" that Pompey was able to put an end to the civil warring in Spain.

Meanwhile, "pirates swarmed...over the whole Mediterranean" and "the Roman world was drifting into anarchy." "In Italy, more than 100,000 slaves were in revolt," an insurrection led by "Spartacus, a gladiator, who had escaped from a 'training school' in Capua." Spartacus overthrew Roman armies for two years, until "praetor Marcus Licinius Crassus, with eight legions, defeated and killed him and dispersed his army." Pompey, just returned from Spain, lent Crassus, "at the last moment, slight aid."

Crassus "had amassed a colossal fortune, chiefly by buying up the estates of the 'proscribed,'" as a partner with Sulla in the earlier civil war. The political influence he achieved by his wealth and defeat of Spartacus "made him a rival of Pompey;" both were eager for the consulship. The senate asked the people to support appointment of Pompey, despite his lack of requisite prequalifications, and promised the plebs that in return Sulla's constitutional laws would be repealed. In 70 b.c.e. he and Crassus were elected.

Pompey and Crassus "restored the power of the tribunes; they divided the juries equally among the senators, knights, and tribal officers; and under their influence the censors of the year purged the senate of some of the worst partisans of Sulla. Thus the aristocratic government, after standing but ten years, was overthrown by the man its founder had styled 'the Great.' This was a victory, not so much of the democracy, as of the army; for the tribunes when restored began to attach themselves to the service of the great military leaders." Pompey had helped the new democratic government without taking the lead.... Hence...he had no party at his back," and had no choice when his consulship ended but to retire to private life. He represented, however, "the military power now sleeping, but soon to awaken at the call of a tribune."

Mediterranean piracy now reached a peak--cities were seized and officials held for ransom; the cutting-off of Rome's grain supply threatened it with famine.⁹ "Gabinus, a tribune, proposed to give Pompey a three-year absolute command of the Mediterranean, together with a strip of its coast 50 miles wide as far [north and south] as the Roman empire extended." The "Gabinian Law" also provided Pompey with "a vast number of ships and men" and permission to "draw on the treasury without limit." The senate opposed making one man all-powerful but the people approved it enthusiastically.

Pompey swiftly "cleared the sea of pirates. He destroyed their hive in Cilicia and made it a Roman province. By his appointment the senate admitted its inability even merely to put down piracy. "A temporary monarchy had to be created for the purpose, or rather, a division of power between the senate and the commander." That arrangement, a *dyarchy*--"rule of two"--was to become the chief principle of the imperial government."

One "Lucullus, a luxurious noble," for some years had realized "moderate success" against Mithridates, king of Pontus--"a remarkable person," who "left no avenue of attack against the Romans untried." Mithridates had sent legates to Sertorius and made alliances with Samnites and Gauls. He was "so strong...he rode horseback and hurled the javelin to the last, and could ride a thousand furlongs a day, changing horses at intervals. He used to drive a chariot with 16 horses at once." "[O]ften wounded by enemies and conspirators, he never desisted from anything on that account, even when he was an old man.... He was bloodthirsty and cruel to all--slayer of his mother, his brother, three sons and three daughters." Lucullus, however, had not yet been able to conquer Mithridates [VII]; now "a law of the tribune Manilius gave the command in the East to Pompey, in addition to the power he already had."

A dangerous conspiracy unraveled at Rome during Pompey's absence. Its leader was one Lucius Catiline, a man of noble birth and substantial endowments but (according to contemporary writings) of "a vicious and depraved disposition." Catiline was associated with desperate men--"the remnant of the Marian party" (who sought justice for the acts of Sulla), Sulla's unemployed "tools" and veterans, and criminal elements as well. The anarchists laid plans for killing magistrates and nobles and seizing the government.

⁹ Egypt at some point had become supplier of nearly all of Rome's wheat.

The Catiline conspiracy was detected by Cicero, who had been made consul in 63 b.c.e. Cicero "denounced Catiline before the senate. The arch-conspirator fled to the army he had been preparing in Etruria, where he was soon afterward defeated and killed. Cicero arrested a few of Catiline's chief associates...and by virtue of the dictatorial power given him by the senate, put them to death without a trial." Cicero's success brought senate recognition of him as their leader. He "was strongly attached to the republic form of government...[and] attempted to strengthen it by restoring to the knights and the senators the harmony Gaius Gracchus had broken." However, "such a remedy, even if practicable, could not long have saved the corrupt aristocracy. ... [F]or the age of generals had come, they were the only strong men and managed the politicians as their puppets. It was in vain, therefore, that Cicero hoped to make Pompey a defender of the constitution."

Off in the East, Pompey "easily drove" Mithridates from Pontus and joined most of its territory to the new province of Bithynia." He "then annexed Syria as a province to the empire, thus extending the dominion of Rome to the Euphrates. Taking advantage of a civil war in Judea, he subdued that country," leaving a few small kingdoms undisturbed in and about Asia Minor, who were allies in name but really vassals of Rome. Pompey also made a treaty of friendship with the Parthian empire, beyond the Euphrates, and, "like Alexander the Great he founded many cities. ... His careful organization of the newly acquired territory remained the basis of future arrangements." Rome, "with her dependent allies and her provinces,...now occupied the entire circuit of the Mediterranean." During Pompey's absence important events took place.

Botsford 175-182.

Rome waited anxiously for Pompey's return. "While both parties claimed him, some feared he might overthrow the government by means of his army and make himself dictator, as Sulla had done." Waiting in the wings was Gaius Julius Caesar, "still a young man, but powerful...daring...ambitious...and profuse beyond his means.... While yet aedile and praetor he had made himself wonderfully agreeable to the multitude, who always sing the praises of those who are lavish in expenditures." "One of the noblest of the patricians, he was leader of the people, and in that capacity he restored to honor his uncle Marius.... While advocating the rights of the governed, however, he aimed to secure a military command like that of Pompey. ... For the present he joined himself to Crassus...."

Pompey chose to disband his army and returned to Rome as a private citizen; he believed (as is supposed) that his influence alone would secure his honor and power. "But he was bitterly disappointed. The senate...hesitated to sanction his arrangements in the East." When Pompey "found himself as helpless in politics as Marius had been...Caesar and Crassus came to his relief." They proposed that the three act together for mutual interests, a combination which, "though unofficial, is called the First Triumvirate." According to their agreement, Caesar was made consul in 59 b.c.e., in return for which the people ratified Pompey's arrangements in the East.

At the close of Caesar's term he received the governance of Cisalpine Gaul, Narbonensis (along the southern coast of present-day France), and Illyricum, as proconsul for a term of five years—"the kind of position for which he had long been striving." The triumvirs "renewed their alliance in a conference held in 56 b.c.e. at Luca, in northern Italy. Caesar was to have five more years of command in Gaul; Pompey and Crassus were to be consuls in 55 b.c., after which Pompey was to be proconsul of the two Spains and of Africa for five years, and Crassus was to receive the proconsulship of Syria. In this way these men divided among them the Roman world."

Julius Caesar "found himself confronted by enormous difficulties and dangers" in his proconsulship. North of the province of Narbonensis stretched the still-unconquered Gauls ("chiefly of the Celtic race"); east of the Rhine, there were the beginnings of German migration, as powerful German tribes seized Gallic land; the "Helvetians, a great Celtic tribe of the Alps," meanwhile were making for southern Gaul's fertile ground. Caesar as yet had little military experience; "but the ease with which he overcame everything in his way marked him at once as a great master of the art of war," as he gathered scattered forces, formed new legions and inspired raw recruits. In one summer he both defeated and drove Helvetians back to their former territory and forced Germans back across the Rhine in another great victory. The next year he marched against Belgians in northern Gaul, whom he perceived as a threat. The fiercest battle was with the Nervii, "the most warlike and powerful of the Belgic tribes. ... Few Nervii survived. As a result of the campaign all northern Gaul submitted."

The next to submit to Caesar, in the following year, were the "Veneti," a maritime people occupying a strip of the western coast. "In the remaining years of his command [in Gaul] Caesar drove back another horde of Germans [and made] two voyages to Britain," while dealing with rebellions among new subjects.¹⁰ Despite "desolation and death...in the end his just and humane settlement of affairs attached the subjects loyally to him."

Botsford 182-186.

"Most politicians at Rome thought of a province as nothing but a plundering ground, or, more recently, as a means of acquiring a military command. Accordingly, Crassus, at the end of his consulship, went to Syria, his province, in the hope of raising an army with which to rival Pompey and Caesar." Instead, he was defeated and killed by the Parthians. Pompey administered his provinces through deputies, not personally, as the law required (a means that would become, under the emperors, a rule). Pompey "remained in the neighborhood of Rome to preserve order; and as the senate was of itself unable to prevent anarchy in the city, it made him sole consul in 52 b.c.e. and prolonged his proconsulship five years. The aristocrats now looked to him for protection from the mighty governor of Gaul, who represented the people."

"Pompey had married Caesar's daughter Julia; and as long as she lived the two leaders remained friends. Her death, however, broke the only bond that united them. A clash between them, and between the parties they represented, was inevitable."

¹⁰

Gaul eventually became four provinces...and protected the Rhine frontier.... [Its] new subjects readily learned Latin and adopted Roman dress and customs."

Caesar was willing to make concessions, but “the senate was unbending. As his enemies threatened to prosecute him when he should become a private citizen, he wished to pass immediately from the proconsulship of Gaul, ending 49 b.c.e., to the consulship at Rome, 48 b.c.e. A law of the tribunes gave him permission to become a candidate for the consulship without appearing in person according to custom.” Formerly the tribunes had been inviolate over the senate. “Nevertheless in 49 b.c. the senate ordered Julius Caesar to lay down his command on pain of being declared a public enemy.”

Botsford 186-188.

As noted *en passim*, ascribed years embrace uncertainties which are reflected by variations in years assigned by different sources. The summary of subsequent events, below, offers a demonstrative comparison.

	<u>AUC Year per</u> <u>Lempriere and/</u> <u>Converted Year</u> <u>AUC / b.c.e.</u>	<u>Year as Appears</u> <u>on Appendix 4A</u> <u>b.c.e.</u>
Rise of jealousy between Julius Caesar and Pompey.	703 / 49	
Eruption of competition between their parties.		50-49
Proconsuls Mark Antony and Cassius vetoed the senate action against Julius Caesar, for which the senate “treated them harshly.”		
They “fled” to Julius’ camp.	705 / 47	
Civil warring began.		49-48
Julius Caesar defeated Pompey forces at Pharsalia.	706 / 46	48
Pompey fled to Egypt, where he was assassinated; Julius, on his arrival at Alexandria, received Pompey’s severed head.		
In Egypt, in the interim, Ptolemy XIV had deposed “sister”/co-ruler, Cleopatra the Great.		
Julius Caesar triumphs.	708-709 / 44-43	48-47
Julius established Cleopatra the Great as sole monarch. “While passing through Syria and Asia Minor,” Julius ‘settled affairs of the provinces;’ crushed (Mithridates-) Pharnaces, defeated Thapsus in Africa, and with victory soon after at Munda in Spain he destroyed his last opposition. “For the first time in history the world of the ancients, extending from the Euphrates to the Atlantic, bowed to one will.” Julius became Rome’s first “emperor,” holding “all chief religious and civil offices of the republic... king in all but title.”		
“It is in the administration of the provinces that we find most to commend” of Julius Caesar, in that the “evils of aristocratic oppression...were at their height. No human mind can conceive the brutal tyranny of the ruling class[es] or the woe and misery which the polite aristocrats had spread over the whole civilized world.”		
“Above 60 Romans conspired against...and murdered Julius Caesar.”	710 / 42	44
“...[T]he aristocrats could not yield forever their own title[s] of lords of the earth and their privilege of misrule.” They simultaneously honored Julius Caesar and plotted his murder--there being altogether about 60 conspirators involved--chief among them, Cassius and Brutus. (Cicero approved but took no hand in the actual assassination.)		
Julius’ death left consul Mark Antony as head of government. Antony “managed Rome and the empire with absolute power, which lorded it over the senate.”		
Meanwhile, the chief conspirators in the assassination had hurried away to the provinces they had inherited under [Julius] Caesar’s will. At Rome, Cicero took the senatorial lead against Antony (delivering his “Philippics”); but the republic had perished totally.		<i>Botsford</i> 192, 195.
Julius’ old soldiers flocked to Octavianus, JC’s great-nephew and heir.	710-711 / 42-41	
Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus [later, <i>Augustus</i>], came from his studies at Apollonia in Illyricum and compelled Rome’s aristocrats to make him consul. Then in northern Italy he handed a defeat to Antony, who had allied briefly with Sextus Pompey (son of Pompey the Great). Subsequently, Octavianus and Antony came to an understanding.		
Consul M. Agrippa Vipsanius ¹² was commissioned to assemble a fleet against Sextus Pompey, who, upon his defeat, “delivered himself to Antony, by whom he was put to death.” ¹³		
Civil warring continued, however, on the part of Cassius and Brutus.		
In two battles near Philippi, ¹⁴ Antony and Octavianus defeated the forces of Cassius and Brutus.	712-713 / 40-39	42
M. Agrippa Vipsanius assisted. (Cassius and Brutus each committed suicide, respectively after each battle.		

¹¹ *Lempriere* AUC years, pages 162-171; refer to Appendix 3A, VI, B, 1(c) regarding “Calendrical Conversions.”

¹² He built “the famous harbor of Misenum,” west of the bay of Naples.

¹³ Another example of the imperfections of datings is *Lempriere*’s assignment of AUC year 717, or 35 b.c.e., as the year of Vipsanius’ appointment to oppose Sext. Pompey, while *Lempriere*’s *Chronology* also differs in one or two instances with the roster of AUC years.

¹⁴ In northern Macedonia near Thrace at the head of the Aegean sea.

<u>AUC Year per Lempriere and/ Converted Year</u>	<u>Year as Appears on Appendix 4A</u>
AUC / b.c.e.	b.c.e.

<p>Octavianus and Antony became “sole masters of the Roman empire and divided its provinces.” “Antony ruled the East and Octavianus the West.” (Lepidus had dropped out of the triumvirate, which had been renewed for another five year-year term.) Octavianus gave his sister, Octavia [A], as wife to Antony to cement their alliance. The Italians supported Octavianus, while Antony proceeded to his involvement with Cleopatra the Great. Octavianus “recalled” M. Agrippa Vipsanius from retirement, gave him his daughter Julia [#4] in marriage, and left him over the empire when Octavianus made a two-year tour of Greece and Asia.</p>	<p>714-720 / 38-32</p>	<p>After 42</p>
<p>Antony married Cleopatra the Great. “Dissensions between [Octavianus/]Augustus and Antony” recommenced civil warring. “The Italians [who] supposed Antony intended to make Cleopatra his queen and himself, despot of an Oriental empire with Alexandria for his capital...willingly followed Octavianus.”</p>	<p>721 / 31</p>	<p>32/31</p>
<p>“Battle of Actium. Octavianus supreme.” M. Agrippa Vipsanius “commanded the ships of Octavianus against the combined squadrons of Antony and Cleopatra.” His “light triremes outmanoeuvred the ponderous galleys of the enemy.... After the [sea] battle [which Cleopatra and Antony abandoned], Antony’s land force surrendered.” Cleopatra the Great and Antony committed suicide at Alexandria.</p>	<p>723 / 29</p>	<p>31/30/29</p>
<p>Commencement of the “Dyarchy.” The republican period ended in 27 b.c.e. when Octavian received the title “Augustus,” although the senate intended it only as reverential, not a grant of absolute power.</p>	<p>17</p>	<p>27</p>

II. Emperors - Octavianus/Augustus to Nero.

Term¹⁸

27 b.c.e. - 14 c.e.

Caesar Augustus (Gaius Julius Octavianus)

Augustus for three decades was left “to protect the civilized world from anarchy and from barbarian invasion.” The ruling class “rapidly yielded to Hellenic influence;” noble’s sons all had Greek tutors and were sent to study at Athens and Rhodes. “Naturally, therefore, Hellenic ideas controlled the intellectual life of Rome.” But Augustus inherited “an old world; and even [his] richly gifted patriotism could not make it young again,” as Mommsen “aptly remarks.” *Botsford 202.*

One of Augustus’ chief aims was protection of frontiers: he humbled the Parthians without war; secured friendship of Armenia—whose kings had wavered twixt Parthia and Rome; converted small kingdoms in the east, like Pontus and Cappadocia, into provinces; placed Judaea under a procurator; set a prefect over Egypt after Cleopatra the Great’s and Antony’s deaths; and had four legions in Syria; one in Nile Valley, and some troops west of there to ward off African tribes. *Botsford 205.*

Augustus was “a son of democracy, who harmonized better with the plain citizens” than with the party which murdered Julius.” Nonetheless, as “chief pontiff,” he came to exercise great authority and became worshipped as a god (“...[as] the paternal Zeus”), in his efforts to restore ancient ceremonies.”

Augustus saw the deaths of many potential heirs, as well as plottings against him by various nobles as he aged. He revived an old law of treason against conspirators (which would “become infamous under his successor”). *Botsford 214 - 218.*

Strabo described the provinces “as Augustus Caesar arranged them:” he “divided the whole empire into two parts, assigning to himself those regions deemed to need military occupation—consisting of “barbarian” and “neighborhoods” of tribes not yet subdued; or sterile, uncultivable lands where unrest easily brewed—and assigning to the Roman people all the rest “that was peaceable and easy to rule without arms.” The first grouping was called “Provinces of Caesar;” the second, “Provinces of the People.” “And to the ‘Provinces of Caesar’ Caesar sends legates [“propraetors”] and procurators, dividing the countries in different ways at different times and administering them as the occasion requires; whereas to the ‘Provinces of the People’ the people send praetors or proconsuls, and these provinces also are brought under different divisions whenever expediency requires.”

¹⁵ At the east coast of Macedonian Greece.

¹⁶ A ‘double’ rule, in which the senate ruled Italy and the quiet provinces, and “the republic continued in free Italy;” the emperor’s task was to maintain and command the forces in protecting the unsettled exposed parts of the empire. *Botsford 210.*

¹⁷ Though henceforth Octavianus is spoken of as *Augustus*, “we are to bear in mind that all the emperors after him held this title as their chief distinction...nearly equivalent to His Sacred Majesty.” *Botsford 199.*

¹⁸ Dating according to *Botsford, en passim*, and *Ency.* p. 1173.

Term

"At the outset Caesar organized the provinces of the people" as follows:

A. Two consular provinces:

- (1) Libya - except the part which was formerly subject to Juba II, king of Mauretania and [was then] subject to Ptolemy/[Ptolemais] his son [by Cleopatra Selene, daughter of Cleopatra the Great and Antony--Appendix 4B, Attachment 4, (4)].
- (2) Asia "this side" of the Halys River and the Taurus, "except the countries of the Galatians and of the tribes which had been subject to Amyntas, and also of Bithynia and the Propontis."

B. Ten praetorial provinces:

- (1) Iberia Ulterior "in the neighborhood of the Baetis and Anas rivers"
- (2) Narbonetes in Celtica
- (3) Sardo/Sardinia together with Cymus/Corsica
- (4) Sicily
- (5) Macedonia
- (6) In Illyria, the country next to Epeirus
- (7) Achaea, "as far as Thessaly and Aetolia and Arcanania and certain Epeirotic tribes which border on Macedonia"
- (8) Crete along with Cyrenaea
- (9) Cypros
- (10) Bithynia along with the Propontus and certain parts of the Pontus

"But the rest of the provinces were held by Caesar; and to some of these he sends as curators men of consular rank, to others men of praetorian rank, and to others men of the rank of knights. Kings, also, and potentates and decarchies are now, and always have been, in Caesar's portion."

Strabo,¹⁹ vol. VIII, 213-215.

Augustus died in 14 a.d./c.e,

14 c.e. - 37 c.e.

Caesar Tiberius (*Claudius Drusus Nero*)

Tiberius *CDN*, son of Livia [A], succeeded Augustus at age 56.

Tiberius *CDN* honored Augustus' will, not to waste resources in extending boundaries. Thus--once a local mutiny on the west was quelled--no important wars occurred in his reign, as soldiers no longer were able to count on gains by conquests.

Germanicus (who had been appointed consul in 12 c.e.) was commander of forces in Germania/Germany after Augustus' death. In 18 c.e. he was sent to Asia, where he defeated the kingdoms of Cappadocia and Commagena and made them Roman provinces. Germanicus died the following year in Alexandria, Egypt, leaving speculation that he was poisoned by Gnaeus Calpurnius Piso, governor of Syria, on order of Tiberius.

Tiberius *CDN* rebuilt 12 cities in Asia Minor that had been destroyed by earthquake; at home he was criticized for not spending more money on the nobles. The senate gained power; many were tried for treason,²⁰ and the senate "became the court for punishment of misrule in the provinces [,as well,] and of other political crimes." *Botsford* 221.

Tiberius *CDN* eventually grew suspicious of Agrippa [I], who was tutor of Tiberius' grandnephew, Caligula, and imprisoned him.

Upon the death of Tiberius *CDN*, the senate conferred imperial office on Caligula.

37 c.e. - 41 c.e.

Caesar Caligula²¹ (*Gaius Claudius Nero Germanicus*)

Caligula released Agrippa I "and made him king over Judaea," where Agrippa I was "popular" with the Judaeans such that some "were flattering him with the appellation... 'god.'"

Caligula, both extravagant and "with a craving to be a god...demanding worship, was assassinated by some officers of the praetorian guard [/by conspirators led by one Cassius Chaerea].

The Senate, "in the hope of a republic... proclaimed the assassins restorers of liberty" and attempted to revive the Republic--"but of the type run by privileged members." However, the praetorian guard--loyal to the royal family-- "found in the palace a scholarly, neglected brother of Germanicus, Claudius...and imposed him upon the Senate as emperor." (While the senate would have had the imperial government end, the praetorians--which guard depended for its existence on the imperial form of rule, and formed "the conservative power in the capital"--nominated Caligula's uncle, Claudius.) Rule thus passed from the Julian family to the Claudian, although the title of "Caesar" remained. *Botsford* 223; *Ency.* 105.

¹⁹ Strabo, a native of Amasia on Cappadocia's border, he "flourished in the age of [Caesars] Augustus/[Octavian] and Tiberius." Of his many works, there remains his "geography," 17 books in Greek, an account of "the manners, religion, prejudices, government of nations, foundation of cities, celebrated places and history of each separate province" of his world. "He died AD 25." *Lempriere*.

²⁰ Sejanus, prefect of the praetorian guard formed by Augustus, was executed for conspiring against Tiberius *CDN*.

²¹ Reportedly a good-natured soldiers' nickname, "Little Boot."

Term

Note: Internal narratives 4B, I, II and III which form the sources for the timeline of this volume (Appendix 4A) essentially end with the rule of Caligula. However, some information on the subsequent Roman rulers is provided, separately cited, below.

41 c.e. - 54 c.e.

Caesar Claudius (Tiberius Claudius Nero Drusus)

Claudius, who turned out not to be the “learned fool” expected, was humane, passing legislation that aided slaves.²²
Botsford 226.

Claudius’ relationship with the senate was characterizable as “armed peace.” He kept himself always surrounded by trusted soldiers and, distrustful of nobles and knights, employed his own freedmen as servants and ministers (only one of the steps he took in the direction of monarchy).

Claudius was permitted to marry his niece, “Agrippina [C Julia] the younger” under a special senatorial enactment, after the execution of (third wife) Messalina.

Circa 41 c.e. Claudius had made [or confirmed] Agrippa I king of Judaea. Agrippa I died in 43 or 44 c.e. His son of the same name did not endure as successor in his kingdom. Subsequently, Claudius forced Agrippa II to exchange his territory for other provinces, and Rome resumed Judaea as a procuratorial province.

Circa 50 c.e. Claudius ousted Messalina’s son, Britannicus, and adopted Agrippina’s son, Ahenobarbus, who took the name *Nero*. Claudius died in 54 c.e.; Agrippina [C] is suspected of killing him, with poison.

54 c.e. - 68 c.e.

Nero (Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus Claudius Drusus)²³

“Agrippina secured the praetorian guard’s recognition of Nero, her son by a former marriage, and the senate had to confer on him the imperial powers.” Nero was 17 when he took office.

Nero married Octavia [B], Messalina’s daughter by Claudius.

Nero reigned truly solely for only his last years. The first 10 years the government actually was in the hands of his tutor, Seneca (a Stoic) and the praetorian prefect, Burrus. Seneca and Burrus may have plundered some provinces but they kept foreigners from doing so, and the empire prospered under them. Burrus died in 62 c.e., allowing Nero to assume more power. Seneca then retired but, accused of sharing in a conspiracy, committed suicide at Nero’s command.

Ency. 105-106; L 25.

Nero murdered Britannicus in 55 c.e., Agrippina [C] in 59, and Octavia [B] in 62, after which he married one Poppaea.

In 59 or 60 c.e. the apostle Paul was brought to trial before Felix, procurator of Judaea, and appealed to the emperor.

Nero was vain and extravagant, but “his acts of cruelty were few” bearing in mind that “Roman society was then a cesspool of impurity.”²⁴ He “usually avoided the bloody shows of the arena and interested himself in harmless arts.” When a fire in 64 c.e. destroyed the greater part of Rome, Nero “sheltered and fed the sufferers and helped rebuild their houses. The worst blot on his reign was the persecution of Christians on the groundless suspicion that they had caused the mischief;” Nero found “convenient culprits in the new...sect of the Christians, already a considerable group in Rome.... They were put to death with refined tortures.”

Nero’s persecutions were “a sudden outburst of ferocity which did not extend beyond the city.” “The tyranny,” however, “reached the provinces, eventually stirring revolt, and the empire drifted from him.”²⁵ “[M]isgovernment by a

succession of Roman procurators culminated c. 66 c.e. with revolts in ‘Judaea’.²⁶ Jotapata fell “in the 13th year of Nero,” while widespread contentions plagued Rome. “[N]oble leaders...were executed or forced to commit suicide.” Nero was declared a public enemy and Galba, governor of Hither Spain, was proclaimed emperor. Nero fled the city and committed suicide.

68 c.e. - 69 c.e.

Galba (Servius Sulpicius Galba)

Within the year, praetorians killed Galba and installed one Otho.

69 c.e.

Otho (Marcus Salvius Otho)

Otho killed himself when the Rhine troops marched with their general Vitellius against Rome.

69 c.e.

Vitellius (Aulus Vitellius Germanicus)

Rome’s governor of Syria had failed to suppress the revolts in Judaea. “Their uprising threw the entire East into a

²² Claudius would remark (as an example, when appointing provincial governors) “that [government] office was not merely an honor, but a trust to be faithfully discharged”—a concept Romans were hearing for the first time.

²³ Additional data in following paragraphs is from *Ency. 106-107.*

²⁴ Wherein, per *Tacitus*, “all things hideous and shameful from every part of the world found their centre and became popular.” *Botsford 230.*

²⁵ “During the first century of our era, the followers of Christ attracted little attention,” “...the persecution under Nero was exceptional(There are appearances that a large reason for persecutions was objection to military services.) “[One]...must not assume they were ideal beings. Many...obstinately defied the authorities and courted martyrdom.” *Botsford 263.*

²⁶ In its wide meaning, *i.e.* not only the part earlier known as “Judah.”

Term

ferment.” Roman general Vespasian was sent there with three legions.

Vitellius was overcome and killed by Vespasian, who had been “offered the imperial purple by his troops of the east.”

69 c.e. - 79 c.e.

Vespasian (*Titus Flavius Vespasianus*)

After Vespasian had been proclaimed emperor he left his son, Titus, to continue the siege [in Judaea] against...John of Giscala (who had removed his rival, Eleazar). Gradually, the Romans “reduced the country...took possession of...Jewish [general and] historian, Josephus, and in 69 laid siege to Jerusalem.” Vespasian, called to suppress a revolt in Gaul, left son Titus to command the Jerusalem siege.

Titus was assisted by Agrippa II. The resisters “refused to accept any terms offered them; no quarter was thereafter given. It was a war to death.” *Botsford 233.*

Jerusalem fell.

“Some of Judea was given to Marcus Julius (‘Herod’) Agrippa II, son of Agrippa I, but most of it became imperial domain. The temple was destroyed, the Sanhedrin...and high priesthood abolished, a legion was quartered in Jerusalem, and the two-drachma tax paid by Jews to the temple was diverted to the imperial treasury.”

A senatorial legate, superior to the procurator, was placed at Jerusalem.