

UNIT 4

People, power and authority

UNIT DESCRIPTION

In Unit 4, students investigate an ancient society in an important historical period, with a particular emphasis on the nature and exercise of power and authority in that society, and how it was challenged in times of conflict. Students also study an individual who had a significant impact on that society. Students develop an understanding of the importance of human agency, as demonstrated by the possible motivations and actions of individuals. This unit requires a greater focus on a range of written source material and an evaluation of the significance of the selected individual. It examines the key phases by which power and authority are challenged by conflict – causation, course, and consequences – and, through these, the important concepts of historical continuity and change. Other key conceptual understandings include: usefulness and reliability of sources; perspectives, interpretations and contestability; evidence; significance; and empathy.

(Ancient History 2019 v1.2 General Senior Syllabus, © Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority)

UNIT OBJECTIVES

1. Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to people, power and authority in the Ancient World.
2. Devise historical questions and conduct research in relation to people, power and authority in a particular period in the Ancient World.
3. Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the nature of power and how it was exercised in the Ancient World.
4. Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument about a powerful individual, group or society in the Ancient World.
5. Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about people, power and authority in the Ancient World.
6. Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose in relation to people, power and authority in the Ancient World.

(Ancient History 2019 v1.2 General Senior Syllabus, © Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority)

KEY CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDINGS

- usefulness and reliability of sources
- perspectives
- interpretations and contestability
- evidence
- continuity and change
- cause and effect
- significance
- empathy.

(Ancient History 2019 v1.2 General Senior Syllabus, © Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority)

KEY INQUIRY QUESTIONS

- How was power and authority gained, maintained and challenged in the Ancient World?
- How does this understanding inform our modern perspectives on power?

(Ancient History 2019 v1.2 General Senior Syllabus, © Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority)

CHAPTERS IN THIS UNIT

CHAPTER

Powers *Material on the Persian Wars and the Peloponnesian War can be found in the downloadable resources. This can be used in conjunction with sources in Chapter 19 (Themistokles) and Chapter 20 (Alkibiades) for full study of these topics.*

Chapter 16 Ancient Rome: civil war and the breakdown of the Republic

Individuals

Chapter 17 Thutmose III (DIGITAL CHAPTER)

Chapter 18 Rameses II

Chapter 19 Themistokles

Chapter 20 Alkibiades (DIGITAL CHAPTER)

Chapter 21 Scipio Africanus (DIGITAL CHAPTER)

Chapter 22 Julius Caesar (DIGITAL CHAPTER)

Chapter 23 Augustus

CHAPTER 16

Ancient Rome: civil war and the breakdown of the Republic

JENNA HAYWOOD

TOPIC DESCRIPTION

Contextual study

In this contextual study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to:
 - the nature of power and authority, what is meant by the term 'power', how power has been viewed over time, and the kinds of groups and individuals who have exercised power over time.
 - the historical and geographical context of the Roman Republic.
 - an overview of key developments.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about:
 - key archaeological and written sources for the period.
 - the nature and range of sources for the period and the identification of key issues related to the investigation of sources; for example, authentication, excavation, reconstruction and/or conservation, and incompleteness and/or fragmentary nature.

Depth study

In this depth study, students will:

- comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to how power was exercised, and the change and development that led to civil war and the breakdown of the Republic.
- analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding.
- synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument.
- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
 - the limitations, reliability and usefulness of sources.
 - changing interpretations of sources over time and their influence on understanding of the period.
- devise historical questions and conduct research, and create a response that communicates meaning to suit purpose by presenting a historical essay based on research.

KEY DATES

753 BCE	509 BCE	Fifth century BCE	Mid-fifth century BCE	108 BCE
According to legend, Rome founded by Latin prince Romulus	Last king of Rome, Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, is expelled	Deep antagonism develops between patricians and plebeians – patricians had economic and social control of society while plebeians had virtually no rights. Beginning of Struggle of the Orders	The Twelve Tables are written. These were the first codified (written) laws and were publically displayed for all to read. The laws aimed to address class inequality	<i>Lex Villia Annalis</i> law establishes the <i>cursus honorum</i>

Concluding study

In this concluding study, students will:

- evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about:
 - how historians and theorists have debated the nature of power and the way it is exercised.
 - the historical significance of the study of power during the civil war and breakdown of the Republic.

(Ancient History 2019 v1.2 General Senior Syllabus, © Queensland Curriculum & Assessment Authority)

SIGNIFICANT INDIVIDUALS

- Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus
- Gaius Marius
- Sulla
- Pompey the Great
- Julius Caesar
- Crassus
- Cicero
- Catiline
- Lepidus
- Octavian
- Mark Antony
- Cleopatra.

133 BCE

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus elected Tribune of the Plebs. He is assassinated as he attempts to stand for re-election (a second consecutive term was unprecedented and likely illegal)

123 BCE

Gaius Gracchus (younger brother of Tiberius, together they are known as the Gracchi) elected Tribune of the Plebs. Serves two consecutive terms, but dies in 121 BCE

111–89 BCE

Rome engages in successive wars against foreign powers, including Jugurtha, Germanic tribes in southern France and alpine Italy, and other allied cities in Italy

88 BCE

Civil war between Marius and Sulla

86 BCE

Marius dies

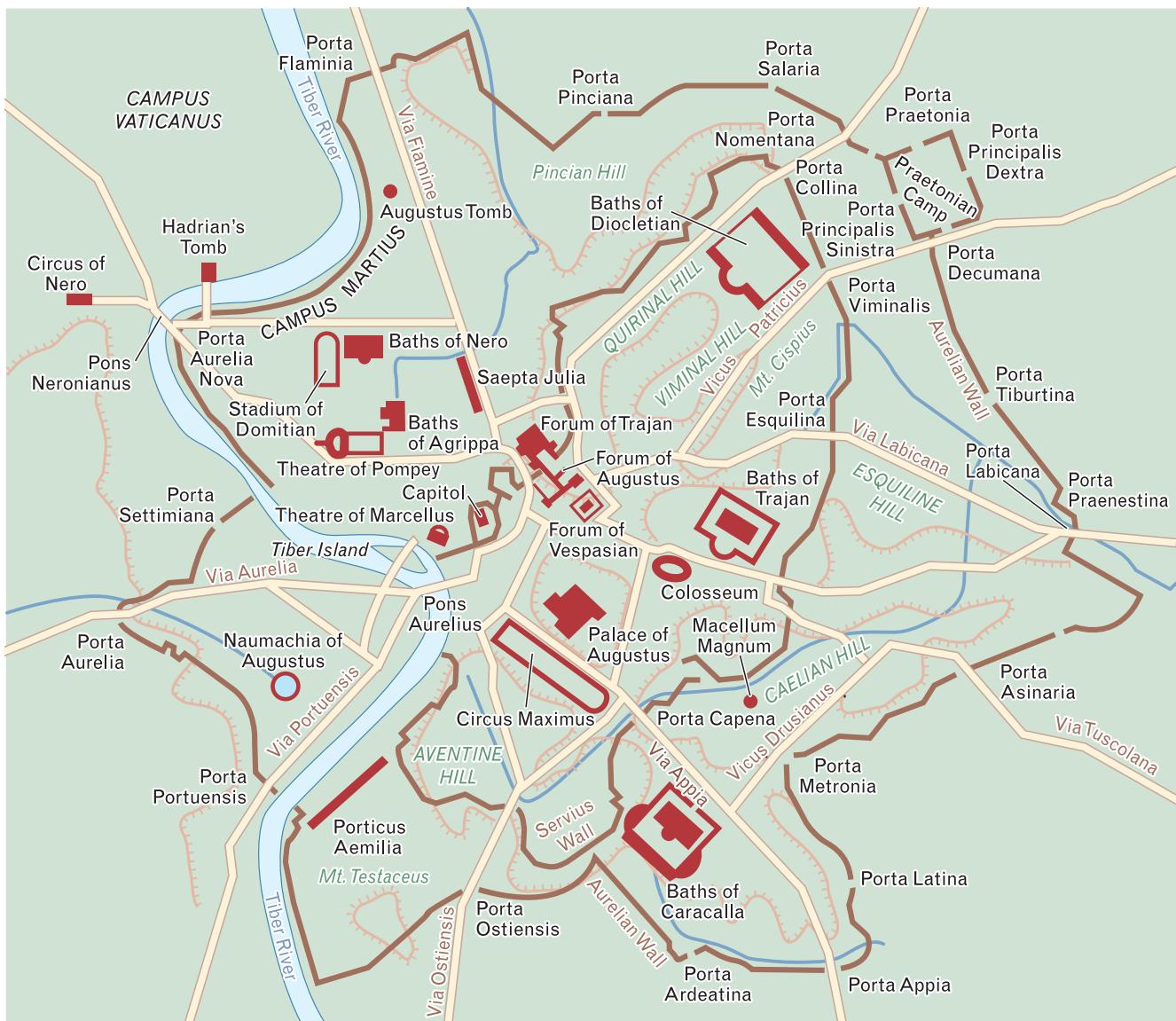


MAPS



SOURCE 16.2 Roman expansion. What facilitated the rapid expansion of territory under Roman control?

83–82 BCE	78 BCE	70 BCE	67–66 BCE	60 BCE
Continuation of civil war between Sulla and Marian supporters	Sulla dies	Pompey elected consul after successful military career and rise in popularity	Pompey wages successful wars against Mithridates (King of Pontus in Northern Turkey) and piracy in the Mediterranean	First Triumvirate between Caesar, Pompey and Marcus Crassus. Caesar elected consul the following year. Crassus dies in 53 BCE



SOURCE 16.3 Map of Rome. What features on this map can you identify on modern satellite imagery?

60–51 BCE

Caesar wages successive campaigns in Gaul (France) against the Germanic tribes. He is also the first to invade Britain. Gaul is firmly in Roman control by 51 BCE with the surrender of Vercingetorix at Alesia. Caesar's success sees his popularity with the people and his soldiers skyrocket. During Caesar's absence, Pompey emerges as the sole power in Rome

50 BCE

Pompey given command over all Italian forces to march against Caesar, who refused to disband his army at the conclusion of Gallic campaign

49 BCE

Caesar crosses the Rubicon River (the traditional border between Rome and her provinces where legions were disbanded and *imperium* held by generals ceased) with his army intact, effectively declaring war on Rome



KEY TERMS AND DEFINITIONS

TERM	DEFINITION
assemblies	various groups which held voting authority in the Republic; membership of assemblies varied; the Senate was the only one with authority to make laws
client	a freeman who made an agreement with a patron (man of wealth) for protection (financial and legal assistance); by the first century BCE, the system had become hereditary
consul	most powerful position of the <i>cursus honorum</i>
cursus honorum	structure of magistracies (positions) within the Republican political system; set out minimum standards of experience and age for each position
dictator	magistracy position enacted by the Senate in times of crisis, for a limited term; the dictator had <i>imperium</i> over all other magistracies
equites	a middle class that grew during the second and third centuries BCE as provision was made for plebeians who could afford to equip their own horse to enlist in the cavalry
imperium	Latin for power to command; applied to magistracy positions that had ultimate control and authority at their level
legion	largest unit of soldiers within the army; approximately 4500 men
Lex Agraria	land and property reforms introduced in 133 BCE by Tiberius Gracchus intended to address the economic and social gap between classes
magister equitum	Latin for master of the horse; lieutenant appointed to serve a dictator
mos maiorum	ancestral customs; Roman traditions that informed social behaviour and etiquette; separate but complementary to the legal law
novus homo	Latin for new man; applied to men who were the first in their family to serve as consul; the definition later widened to include the first man in a family to serve the Senate

48 BCE

45 BCE

44 BCE

44–42 BCE

Caesar defeats Pompey at Dyrrachium and Pharsalus. Pompey flees to Egypt but is murdered soon after his arrival

Caesar consolidates power, effectively taking sole control of the Roman world

Caesar declared dictator for life, along with multiple other honours. On the 15th (Ides) of March, he is assassinated by a conspiracy led by Brutus and Cassius (ex-supporters of Pompey who had been pardoned by Caesar)

Civil war between supporters of Caesar's and the conspirators ends with defeat of Brutus and Cassius at the Battle of Philippi



TERM	DEFINITION
optimates	Latin for best men; a political faction that included most of the aristocracy. They wanted to maintain traditional Roman values and the power of the Senate
pater familias	Latin for father of the family; the eldest male within a family group held absolute authority over their wife, children, certain other relatives, clients and slaves; his responsibilities were guided by <i>mos maiorum</i>
pater patriae	Latin for father of the country
patria potestas	Latin for power of a father; the power and authority held by the <i>pater familias</i>
patrician	wealthy social class; small group of privileged elite who came from old aristocratic families
plebeian	lower social class; the majority of Rome's population
pontifex maximus	chief priest of Rome
populares	political faction that believed success could be achieved by working with the people
sacrosanctity	the declaration that something is sacred or under religious protection; at this time, the position of tribune was sacrosanct
Senate	oldest and most powerful assembly in the Republic. It had the legislative power to make laws but its membership was dominated by the patricians
Senatus Populusque Romanus (SPQR)	The Senate and People of Rome; used in reference to the government of the people
Struggle of the Orders	series of conflicts between plebeians and patricians in the second and third centuries BCE due to increasing social, economic and political disparity between the classes
tribune	magistracy position representing the plebeian class; an annual term
tribunicia potestas	tribune's power to veto decisions
Triumvirate	joint rule between three individuals; termed <i>triumvirs</i> . The first century BCE saw two Triumvirates: a) Julius Caesar, Pompey the Great, Crassus b) Octavian, Marc Antony, Lepidus.

43 BCE

40 BCE

32 BCE

31 BCE

Second Triumvirate between Octavian, Mark Antony and Lepidus

Treaty of Brundisium, dividing control of Roman territory between Antony and Octavian. Mark Antony begins relationship with Cleopatra, despite marriage to Octavian's sister

Rumours spread that Mark Antony is going to make Cleopatra Queen of Rome. Senate declares war on Mark Antony and Cleopatra

Octavian defeats Mark Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium. Both commit suicide on their return to Egypt. Octavian returns to Rome a hero

Introduction

When Rome expelled her last king in 509 BCE, a republic was established with the intention that it should represent all of the people within Rome through a system of assemblies and magistracies. However, as Rome grew in power and controlled more of the regions around the Mediterranean, the system failed to adapt and change with this growth. Consequently, a large social, political and economic disparity emerged between the two main social classes – the patricians and plebeians. Beginning in the middle of the second century BCE, a succession of individuals began to expose the flaws in the system as they sought power for themselves, rather than using it for the public good. This resulted in 100 years of civil war between various powerful generals and the aristocratic Senate. Arguably, the Republic collapsed due to the combination of actions of key individuals and the socio-political climate at the time. Sources from the period form a valuable account of the vast difference in opinion held by those at the time.

Objective 1: Comprehend terms, concepts and issues in relation to people, power and authority in the Ancient World

When examining the breakdown of the Roman Republic, it is important to understand how the Roman political system was designed to work to see its weaknesses and later failures. This will enable you to identify causes and consequences, along with continuity and change over time.

16.1 Nature of power and authority

Power tends to corrupt and absolute power corrupts absolutely.

SOURCE 16.4 Dalberg Acton, J., 1st Baron Acton, April 5 1887, Letter to Bishop Creighton

Classical history features many stories of the strong and powerful. In a time when military prowess was a key means of getting further in life, having power and authority enabled individuals to achieve fame and glory.

In the decline of the Roman Republic, it is important to distinguish between power and authority. German sociologist Max Weber defined power as the ability to exercise one's will over others, and authority as power that is accepted by others who agree to follow it. He argued there were three types of authority: charismatic (deriving from strength of personality), bureaucratic (given to a person by the law) and traditional (from established customs, such as inherited positions).

As you explore the complex reasons behind the collapse of the Republic, you will see that investing power or authority in the hands of individuals, rather than keeping the balance between all elements of the system, had serious repercussions. The people of the Republic did not realise this lesson and it eventually led to the downfall of the Republic itself. The powerful individuals in this chapter all had some combination of authority and power.

ACTIVITY 16.1

Read Source 16.4. How does this understanding inform our modern views on power? You may like to consider current social and political conflicts in Australia and globally in your response.

ACTIVITY 16.2

1. How would you explain the difference between power and authority?
2. Can you identify any personalities in history who you believe had power and authority? (Extension question: Was the combination of both essential to their success? Why or why not?)
3. Can you identify any personalities in history who had only power or authority?
4. How did the lack of one affect their leadership or position?

16.2 Historical and geographical context of the Roman Republic

Historical context

The foundation of Rome is steeped in legend, and was a source of pride to the Roman people.

The most common story centres on the Trojan hero Aeneas. Ancient Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus says:

Aeneas, coming from the land of the Molossians, founded Rome with Odysseus.

SOURCE 16.5 Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 7 BCE, *Roman Antiquities*, Book 1, 72.182–3

The Greek victory at Troy sent the Trojan people wandering, and some of them, including Aeneas, settled in the area of Lavinium.' The story of Aeneas's arrival in Italy is recorded in Livy's poem *The Aeneid* (29–19 BCE). These people came to be known as the 'Latins'.

Later, two descendants of Aeneas, the princes Romulus and Remus, were spared a death sentence ordered by King Amulius and set adrift on the River Tiber. The river god ensured they were carried safely downstream where they were discovered and cared for by a female wolf. This part of the story is immortalised in the iconic Capitoline Wolf sculpture. Eventually, a local shepherd discovered Romulus and Remus and raised them as if they were his own sons. When they had grown, the two set out to found their own city, but argued over the location. Romulus wanted to build their city on the Palatine Hill, but Remus preferred the Aventine Hill. This is described by Livy in his *History of Rome*:



SOURCE 16.6 The Capitoline Wolf (Lupa Capitolina): the wolf statue dates from the eleventh and twelfth centuries CE and is cast in bronze, the two twins were a fifteenth century addition. Why would the two twins have been added in the fifteenth century?

Romulus and Remus ... were suddenly seized by an urge to found a new settlement on the spot where they had been left to drown as infants and had been subsequently brought up. There was, in point of fact, already an excess of population at Alba ... For this purpose Romulus took the Palatine Hill

SOURCE 16.7 Livy, 27 BCE, *History of Rome*, Book 1, 6.3–4

After much argument, Romulus killed Remus. The date of Remus's death marks the foundation of Rome – generally acknowledged as 21 April 753 BCE.

ACTIVITY 16.3

1. Why might the Romans be happy to accept these myths about the foundation of their city?
2. What parallels can you see between the legend of Romulus and Remus, and any other stories you know?

Archaeological evidence suggests that by the eighth century BCE, a series of small villages were scattered over the seven hills of modern Rome. These villages grew and blended into a distinct community, which came into contact with travelling Greeks and the Etruscan people to the north. By the end of the seventh century BCE, a marketplace (the Forum) was added after part of the marshy site was drained.

Geographical context

The central geographic location of Rome within Italy and the wider Mediterranean played a large part in its rise to dominance. At its height, the Roman Empire included land that today covers more than 25 countries.

ACTIVITY 16.4

1. Using a copy of Source 16.9 (see the next page), mark the locations of the following:
 - a. rivers: Po, Arno, Tiber
 - b. seas: Adriatic, Tyrrhenian, Ionian
 - c. plains: Etruria, Latium, Campania
 - d. mountain ranges: Alps, Apennine
 - e. islands: Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica
 - f. cities: Rome
2. Where do you think most of the settlement in Italy occurred? Why? (Consider the position of rivers, plains, mountain ranges and so on.)
3. In which direction do you think it would have been most natural for the Romans to expand?
4. In the first century BCE, Roman statesman Cicero wrote the following.

How, then, could Romulus have acted with a wisdom more divine, both availing himself of all the advantages of the sea and avoiding its disadvantages, than by placing his city on the bank of a never-failing river whose broad stream flows with unvarying current into the sea? Such a river enables the city to use both the sea for importing what it lacks and for exporting what it produces ... and by means of it likewise the city can ... obtain from the land, carried on its waters, whatever is the most essential for its life and civilisation. Consequently, it seems to me that Romulus must have had a divine intimation that the city would one day be the seat and hearth-stone of a mighty empire

SOURCE 16.8 Cicero, 54 BCE, *De re publica*, Book 2

- a. Why does Cicero believe Romulus made the right choice in placing Rome where he did?
- b. How far do Cicero's comments appear to agree with the geographical features indicated on the map?



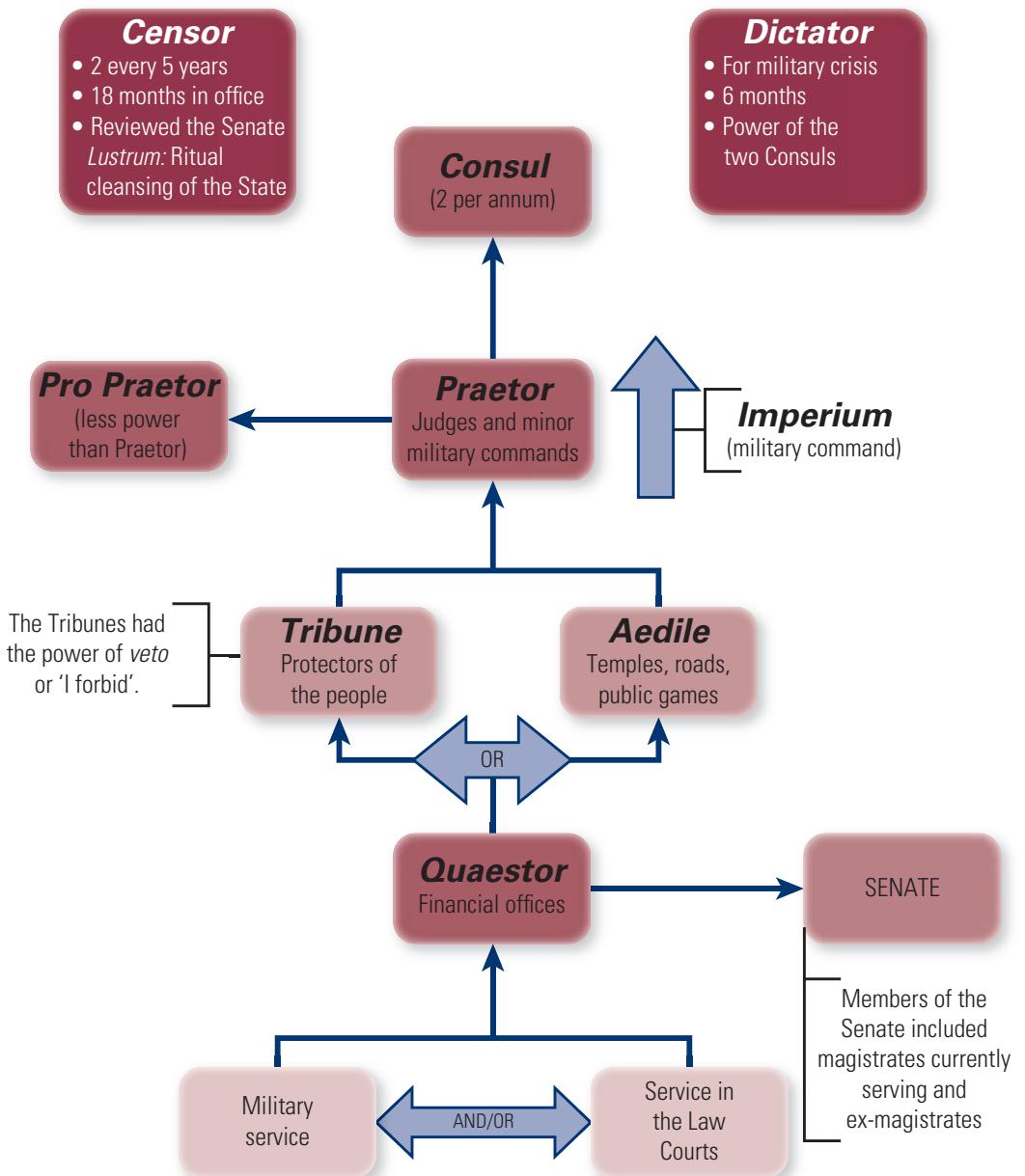
SOURCE 16.9 A relief map of Italy

16.3 Political structures in the Republic

When the last king of Rome was expelled in 509 BCE, a constitution was developed that aimed to represent the unified and independent mindset of the new Republic. As the system developed in the centuries following 509 BCE, the constitution created new institutions so that the Republic would fulfill the driving concept of *Senatus Populusque Romanus* or ‘SPQR’ – The Senate and People of Rome. The people would work with the Senate through various elected magistracies and assemblies to collectively govern Rome. Power would be invested in the hands of many, not few or one. After their experiences of being ruled by a monarchy, Romans feared the threat that overwhelming power vested in one person, such as a king, presented.

The magistracies

Various magistracies (or political positions) were responsible for ensuring the effective day-to-day running of the Republic. The *cursus honorum* provided the structural framework for these positions. All positions were re-elected annually with the exception of censor (18 months) and dictator (a position only created and filled in times of crisis for a maximum of six months). Minimum ages and levels of prior military or legal experience were also set to ensure that those holding such positions had the capability to do what the job required.



SOURCE 16.10 The ladder of honours (*Cursus Honorum*)

TABLE 16.1 The Roman magistrate

The Roman magistrates							
	Consuls	Praetors	Aediles	Quaestors	Tribunes	Censors	Dictator
Number	2	1 > 2 > 6 > 8 > 16	4	2 > 4 > 8 > 20 > 40	Originally 2 – later 10 by mid-fifth century BCE	2	1

TABLE 16.1 (continued)

The Roman magistrates							
	Consuls	Praetors	Aediles	Quaestors	Tribunes	Censors	Dictator
Origin	Replaced king in 509 BCE	366 BCE: created by patricians to offset opening of consulship to Plebeians	Plebeian in 494 BCE	One of the earliest officials – probably dated back to kings. Helped the consuls	494 BCE: after the First Secession of the Plebs	443 BCE: to cope with increasing business of magistrates	First dictator supposedly in 501 BCE
Functions	Chief officials. Commanded army, summoned the Senate, conducted elections and became governors of provinces upon retirement	Judicial officials. City praetor was the supreme civil judge. Usually went on to govern the provinces	Local government officials. Regulation of markets, care of streets and buildings, police duties, organisation of games and festivals	Financial officials. Managed taxes, treasury, army pay and all monetary matters	People's officials. Defended the interests of the plebeians	Registrars. In charge of census and public morals, superintended various public works	Emergency appointment only. Had complete power while in office

ACTIVITY 16.5

Using Table 16.1, which details functions of various magistrate positions and the *cursus honorum* diagram, complete the following questions.

1. In small groups, develop a game to test your knowledge of the *cursus honorum*. You could use online resources (for example, Quizlet, Kahoot) or base your game on an existing one.
2. Why do you think the number of praetors and quaestors increased but the other magistracies remained constant?
3. Decide which magistrate would have dealt with the following situations:
 - a. collecting taxes from a new province
 - b. keeping a register of contracts
 - c. paying the soldiers and generals in the army
 - d. allocating work gangs to fix holes in the road
 - e. accepting the responsibility of governing a province
 - f. selecting participants for the gladiatorial games

(continued)

ACTIVITY 16.5 continued

- g. registering the birth of a new baby
- h. appealing against a proposal not in the best interest of the people
- i. judging civil disputes between citizens
- j. leading the army in times of military crisis
- k. implementing senatorial decisions
- l. expelling a senator for lax morality
- m. nominating an older person for a position as senator
- n. classifying people in order to determine political rights and military duties.

Those in the highest positions were vested with *imperium* and were recognised by the *auctoritas* (authority) that they held. This prestige filtered through to the holder's family – descendants of consuls were called *nobiles*. The elevation in social status of an entire family assisted in the development of a social elite. Voters often preferred *nobiles* because of the respect and prestige conferred on the family. This meant that elections were more about an individual's family connections rather than the individual themselves. Thus the creation of a public image through carefully orchestrated friendships and marriages became key to political success. The expectation of success was so high that should a son fail to achieve similar levels of prestige as his ancestors, it would be akin to bringing shame upon the family. This disparity between families, and eventually social classes, contributed to the collapse of the Republic.

The Assemblies

Four main assemblies were part of the Republic's political system. Every male citizen was eligible to vote on legislation and the election of magistrates, the assemblies met only to vote – not to discuss or initiate action. Legislation was initiated by an individual magistrate, developed in the Senate, and then taken to the respective assembly for voting. No amendments were permissible. The task of the assembly was simply to vote yes or no. For further details on the individual assemblies and how they interacted with the various magistracies, see Source 16.11.

The Senate

Before the expulsion of the last king of Rome, the Senate was a body comprising local clan leaders who advised the monarch. They were an advisory body only. All legislative and judicial powers rested entirely with the king. Once the Republic was established, the Senate considered itself the guardian of the new constitution. It grew in prestige during the Second Punic War (218–201 BCE) thanks to its authority to grant military commands. When commanders were successful, it reflected positively on the Senate. The source of the Senate's power lay in the ancestral custom of *mos maiorum*. This unwritten code of values, whereby supreme authority lies in the hands of the elders, gave the Senate an informal ability to make decisions without the formal legal authority to do so. As the Republic grew, the appointment of individuals to the Senate began to follow less stringent guidelines.

Inherent problems

In theory, the system of assemblies established in the Republic was equitable. As Rome expanded its influence a variety of inherent problems emerged:

The Constitution of the Roman Republic

Comitia Curiata: Sole legal body representative of the entire Roman populace in the early decade of the Republic. By the late Republic, its role had become mostly ceremonial.

Comitia Centuriata (Century Assembly)

Assembly of soldiers divided into blocs called centuries. Each century gets one vote before the assembly. Each soldier is assigned to a century according to how much property he owns. Since the wealthiest soldiers are grouped into a majority of centuries, the assembly is very aristocratic.

Senate

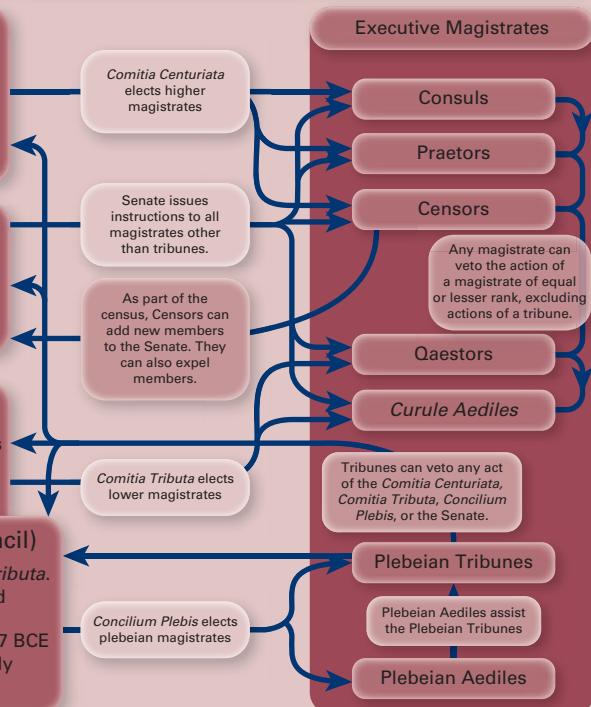
In practice, plays the central role in the day-to-day functionality of the constitution. It is a board of the most experienced politicians. It makes foreign and military policy, and directs domestic policy.

Comitia Tributa (Tribal Assembly)

Assembly of citizens divided into blocs called tribes. Each tribe gets one vote before the assembly. Both patricians and plebeians vote in this assembly. Since each citizen is assigned to a tribe according to their geographical location, rather than property classification, this assembly is less aristocratic than the *Comitia Centuriata*. The *Concilium Plebis* is a subset of this assembly.

Concilium Plebis (Plebeian Council)

Council almost identical to the *Comitia Tributa*. The only differences are that it is presided over by a Plebeian Tribune, and its tribes are only composed of plebeians. After 287 BCE any act passed by this council would apply to all of the Senate and People of Rome.



SOURCE 16.11 The Constitution of the Roman Republic

1. In order to vote, an individual had to be physically present. The expanding Republic often drew people away on campaign or business. If they could not attend, their vote was not counted.
2. Senators and patricians often used their influence to sway the voting, essentially monopolising political decisions.
3. Senators controlled what legislation came before the assemblies. In that sense, the Republic was arguably more oligarchic than truly democratic.

The Struggle of the Orders

The growing domination of the patricians over political affairs caused resentment and tension between the patricians and plebeians. The patricians had economic and social control over society, and as the plebeians had virtually no rights, their economic situation was steadily becoming more desperate. From 500 BCE, the plebeians began to challenge patrician control, and aimed to reduce the widening gulf between the privileged few and the majority. This series of conflicts has been termed the Struggle of the Orders.

Without access to legal and political processes, the plebeians had little chance of improving their economic, social or religious status. During Rome's wars of expansion, the plebeians were the ones away from home on unpaid military service (landowners were obliged to serve when called upon). They often returned home after years abroad to discover their lands and homes in ruin. The main grievances of the plebeians are outlined in the table below.

TABLE 16.2 Grievances of the plebeians

Injustice	Description
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – patricians monopolised government – only active political role was to vote in <i>comitia centuriata</i>
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – no plebeian could marry a patrician, perpetuating social divisions – even if financially prosperous, they were regarded as inferior – patricians wore distinguishing clothes
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – many plebeians were poor and ran the risk of being enslaved for debt – excluded from sharing in public land
Religious	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – plebeians were excluded from (politically important) priestly offices
Legal	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> – laws were unwritten and plebeians subject to whim of patricians with no right of appeal

One of the plebeians' first moves was to establish their own assembly, the *Concilium Plebis*. The assembly was only officially recognised in 471 BCE, due to the sheer weight of public support for it. Decrees passed by the *Concilium Plebis* were initially only binding on its members, but this changed in 287 BCE when they became applicable to the Senate and people. Patricians were excluded from participation in the plebeian assembly, and it had the right to veto any legislation passed by the Senate.

The next task the plebeians tackled was the codification of laws. Until the mid-fifth century BCE, laws were not written down or published for the information of all people. Magistrates could make any decisions they liked, and plebeians did not have the knowledge or evidence to argue their case. The first codification of Roman laws became known as the Twelve Tables. The twelve bronze tablets were displayed publicly in the Forum for all people to read and theoretically they remained the basic law of Rome for 1000 years. In reality, many laws were forgotten and ignored.

Gradually, access to public office was granted to the plebeians, and laws banning intermarriage between plebeians and patricians were changed. The execution of insolvent debtors was also outlawed. Wealthy plebeians benefitted the most from these changes. Many accrued more wealth than patricians thanks to their business acumen as merchants. These plebeians' wealth made them eligible for recruitment into the cavalry. Consequently, their involvement in the cavalry saw the emergence of a new middle-class in Rome – the *equites*.

The Struggle of the Orders did not eliminate the plebeians' main grievance: the privileged position of the patricians. The patricians retained control over most government institutions, and land ownership continued to be the key to political power and office. The wars of expansion made the rich wealthier as they gained control of more land, and the poor continued to be excluded from power.

16.4 Tiberius Gracchus

The situation in 133 BCE

When Tiberius Gracchus was elected Tribune of the Plebs in 133 BCE, Rome was suffering from significant internal struggles. While the Republic had grown substantially, the internal governing structures had not been adapted to suit the new conditions.

TABLE 16.4 The problems facing Roman society in 133 BCE

The main problems
<ul style="list-style-type: none">Wars of expansion had changed Rome from a simple rural society into a complex imperial state (with all the accompanying problems).Wars of expansion had dramatically increased the numbers of slaves in Rome, damaging existing economic structures.The emergence of <i>equites</i> as an upper-middle class caused a problem for patricians – they could not engage in trade or business, but the <i>equites</i> could. Consequently, the <i>equites</i> became wealthier.Increased contact with Greece saw the arrival of Hellenism, which was particularly influential on religion and education.Men who owned small farms often returned from their time on campaigns with the army to find their farms and homes ruined. The number of volunteers – the backbone of the Roman army – began to decline.Senatorial factions emerged and began to block each other's reforms.

Who was Tiberius?

According to Roman historian Velleius Paterculus, Tiberius Gracchus was:

a man otherwise of complete integrity of life, of brilliant intellect, of great consistency of purpose, in short, equipped with all the qualities as the human condition allows when brought to perfection both by nature and effort

SOURCE 16.12 Velleius Paterculus, c. 30 BCE, *Roman History*, Book 2, 2.2

Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus

Born: c. 169–164 BCE

Died: 133 BCE

- Father: Tiberius Gracchus the Elder, one of the most powerful men in Rome during the second century BCE who had held positions of consul, censor and provincial governor. Many of his opponents considered him a political opportunist.
- Mother: Cornelia Africana (daughter of Scipio Africanus – general responsible for defeating Hannibal at the Battle of Zama in 202 BCE).
- Upbringing: Cornelia carefully supervised his education – a balance of traditional Roman values and the best of Greek learning. His Greek education meant that he often associated with liberal aristocrats and intellectuals.

Tiberius's career in politics didn't begin well. While quaestor, he was sent to Spain as part of a contingent to fight the Numantines. To save the defeated Roman army, Tiberius managed to arrange a treaty with the Numantines. While the Roman people were thrilled, and hailed Tiberius as a hero for returning their loved ones safely, the Senate was angry that he had stepped beyond the boundaries of his position, and refused to ratify the treaty. This experience with the Senate, along with the suffering of the Roman people he had seen while on campaign, motivated Tiberius to run as Tribune of the Plebs. He was successfully elected in 133 BCE.

The Lex Agraria

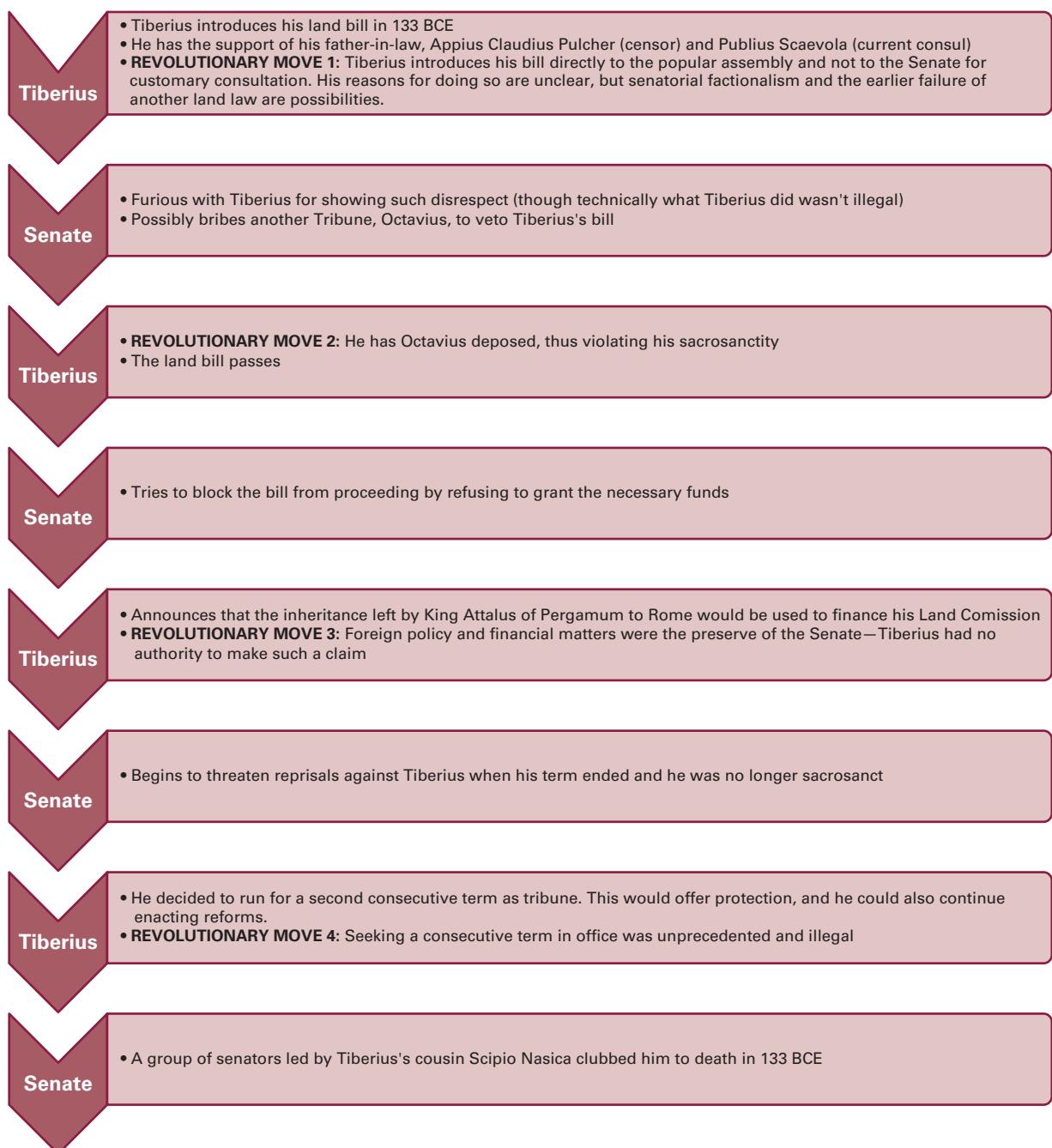
Using his position as Tribune, Tiberius wanted to pass reforms that would alleviate the suffering of the poor. The bill proposed that:

- Small farms would be created out of land acquired after the Second Punic War and given to those who had lost land previously or were unemployed.
- New owners were to pay a small rent, and were forbidden to sell their holdings.
- Present landowners could not keep more than 130 hectares.

The bill aimed to redistribute land to the poor and enable those with no source of income or employment to establish farms. Increasing the number of landowners also made it possible for these people to become involved in politics – reducing the monopoly that the wealthy had on political power and authority – and it also provided more troops for the Roman army. Its provisions further aimed to stop aristocrats, who would have land taken from them, from seeking revenge.

Tiberius vs the Senate

Tiberius's true intentions behind the *Lex Agraria* are widely debated. While they certainly speak of a desire to help the poor and recognition of their need, he was also 'obliged' to achieve something given the reputation of his father but the law would have also made him popular and thus securing support in future elections. However, Tiberius made what would become fatal errors in the methods he employed to achieve his aims. Rather than following convention, Tiberius became increasingly revolutionary in his dealings with the Senate.



Aftermath

After Tiberius was assassinated, the Land Commission that had been established by his *Lex Agraria* continued to function. This has led to the argument that the Senate wasn't opposed so much to the bill itself, rather, the methods Tiberius used to achieve its passing, and the power it would give the Claudian faction in the Senate. It was certainly successful – there was an estimated increase of 76 000 property owners between 131 and 125 BCE.

In creating a crisis of power with the Senate, Tiberius's actions opened wounds that did not heal easily. They set a precedent for what was possible when one individual with power and authority tried to force their own way. The wide support that Tiberius had for the *Lex Agraria* showed the Senate the real and active power that came with being popular among the plebeians. Crucially, it also revealed that the Senate was not all-powerful and invincible. Yet they failed to recognise that their arrogance, pride and condoning of violence also contributed to the crisis of 133–132 BCE, and the years that followed.



SOURCE 16.13 Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus depicted in, *The Gracchi*, Jean-Baptiste Claude Eugène Guillaume, 1853. What other representations of the Gracchi can you find in art? Are they consistent?

16.5 Marius and Sulla

Populares and *optimates*

In the decades after Tiberius's death, political factions began to emerge among the aristocrats. The two main factions, the *populares* and *optimates*, were both concerned with keeping political power. However, they differed in their preferred methods of gaining this power.

TABLE 16.5 Comparing approaches to maintaining power in Rome

Populares	Optimates
<ul style="list-style-type: none">chose to work through the tribunate and popular assembliesbelieved power and authority was to be gained by working with the people (popularity would equal success)the political successors of the Gracchitheir political agenda was designed to appeal to the Roman people as a wholecomprised forward-looking patricians (usually younger men who, like Tiberius, had enjoyed a Greek education)	<ul style="list-style-type: none">chose to work through the Senate and traditional avenues.translates as 'best men'represented the propertied classes and old aristocratic elitesaw themselves as the defenders of tradition – they wanted to maintain the status quo and senatorial powermost senators aligned themselves with the <i>optimates</i>

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106–43 BCE) was a Roman statesman and orator, who introduced elements of Greek philosophy to the Romans. He served as consul in 63 BCE during which time he suppressed an attempted overthrow of the government. He often argued for returning to a traditional republican government, and referred to the *populares* as 'dissident nobles'. However, the division between the *populares* and *optimates* was generally not a class-based one. Both drew predominantly from the aristocracy, and it was not uncommon for men to switch factions when it suited them.

Trouble brewing in the Republic

In the decades before the civil wars between Marius and Sulla, Rome dealt with an ever-increasing number of conflicts:

- 100 BCE: a slave uprising involving 30 000 slaves in Italy
- 112–106 BCE: Jugurthine War in Numidia
- 113–101 BCE: Wars against the Cimbri and Teutones in Cisalpine Gaul and Gallia Narbonensis
- 91–88 BCE: the Social Wars.

These conflicts placed continual pressure on the Republic and made heavy demands on her resources (people and finances). However, the conflicts also resulted in the emergence of powerful generals who were responsible for building the strong army that was to become the backbone of the Roman Empire.

Gaius Marius

Gaius Marius

- Born: c. 157 BCE
- Died: 86 BCE
- He was from the *equite* class, so he was considered a *novus homo* or 'new man'.
- He made his name at the siege of Numantia in Spain under command of Scipio Aemilianus (Tiberius Gracchus's adoptive cousin) who recognised his capabilities.
- He married into the Julian family (his wife was the aunt of Gaius Julius Caesar).
- He was Described by Roman historians Plutarch and Sallust as follows:

He was by nature a virile type, a person devoted to war, whose training had been in the army rather than in civilian life; and when he had power he was incapable of controlling his passions.

SOURCE 16.14 Plutarch, 75 BCE, *Life of Marius*, Book 2.1

He was a hard worker, a man of integrity and an experienced soldier. Indomitable on the battlefield, he was frugal in his private life, proof against temptations of passion and riches, and covetous only of glory.

SOURCE 16.15 Sallust, c. 41–40 BCE, *The Jugurthine War*, Chapter 63.6

Marius's military reforms

Before Marius, the Roman army was a part-time citizen army. Soldiers were all conscripts from small farms who were called up to fight when necessary. Each man was expected to provide his own armour, and those with little or no property (*proletarii*) were only called up in a crisis (in which case the state paid for their armour). By the beginning of the second century BCE, with the rise in conflicts all around their territories, the Roman army was proving to be increasingly inadequate.

TABLE 16.6 Roman army reforms, second century BCE

Marius's army reforms

- Any man who volunteered was accepted regardless of property holdings or qualifications.
- New training methods were introduced; in 105 BCE, Rutullius Rufus used instructors who had previously worked at gladiator schools to train soldiers in the more skilled use of weapons.
- The *maniple* was replaced by the *cohort* as the fundamental tactical unit.
- The iconic Roman eagle became the standard carried into battle before the army.
- Soldiers were now required to carry all their equipment and were consequently nicknamed 'Marius's mules'. By carrying all their equipment, the army became more mobile and could move quickly.
- Various colonies were established as army bases.
- Veterans were promised land on retirement, making them more loyal to the general who could 'push' the Senate to award the land, rather than the State they fought for.



SOURCE 16.16 Modern re-enactment of Roman soldiers. What activities are undertaken by re-enactment groups in your area?

Marius's career

As a *novus homo*, the political ladder was a lot harder for Marius to climb than the military one. Marius's success against the Germanic tribes was crucial in establishing his political career. He also had the advantage of being a client of the powerful Metellus family from the relatively late age of 38. He won his first magistracy in 119 BCE as Tribune of the Plebs and this was followed by the governorship of Hispania Ulterior. His political prospects improved and he caught the attention of the Senate in 111 BCE when he married Julia Maria (who would become the aunt of Julius Caesar). As a patrician woman, marrying someone like Marius who was below her social status could have reflected negatively upon her and her family. However, despite Marius's later downfall, she was always considered a virtuous and faithful woman.

After being elected consul in 107 BCE, Marius convinced the Senate to grant him the command against Jugurtha, King of Numidia (modern Algeria). He then took the unprecedented step of enlisting landless recruits to make up the shortfall in his legions. The war against Jugurtha had already dragged on for years so Marius was charged by the Senate to achieve a quick and decisive victory. He did just that, and it was his quaestor, Sulla, who captured Jugurtha. Marius returned to Rome for a triumph (a public celebration of his victory) and Jugurtha was thrown into prison to starve to death.

In the following years Marius was also part of Rome's victories over the Germanic Cimbri and Teutones. These significant victories explain why Marius was able to serve as consul for five successive years between 104 and 100 BCE. Consuls could not usually serve successive terms. The fact that Marius did so five times is a strong illustration of the power and authority he held over the Senate and People of Rome.

Marius makes a mistake

Marius's career began to decline in 100 BCE when he allied himself with Glaucia (a praetor) and Saturninus (a tribune) in an effort to regain his consulship for yet another successive term. Both Glaucia and Saturninus were notorious and unscrupulous politicians. Glaucia allegedly had a rival to the consulship murdered. Saturninus had attempted to introduce agrarian reforms not dissimilar to those of Tiberius Gracchus, but was known to be violent in his dealings with others. Both were killed late in 100 BCE but Marius's reputation never recovered from association with them. He went into exile in Asia in 98 BCE, but returned to Rome a few years later.

Sulla

Lucius Cornelius Sulla Felix

- Born: c. 138 BCE
- Died: 78 BCE
- His father was Lucius Cornelius Sulla.
- He came from the Cornelius clan (an old, leading family, but relatively poor).
- He had a good education, and developed a lifelong love of Greek and Roman literature.
- He possessed a driving political ambition.
- He was conservative at heart – an *optimatus*.
- He was described by Roman historians Plutarch and Sallust as follows:

He [Sulla] seems to have had a character that was very irregular and full of inconsistencies. He would have a man beaten to death for some inconsiderable offence; yet on other occasions he would meekly put up with really serious misdeeds.

SOURCE 16.17 Plutarch, 75 BCE, *Life of Sulla*, 6.7–8.6

He was eloquent, shrewd and an accommodating friend. His skill in pretense was such that no one could penetrate the depths of his mind ... of his subsequent conduct I could not speak without feelings of shame and disgust.

SOURCE 16.18 Sallust, c. 41–40 BCE, *The Jugurthine War*, chapter 95

Sulla experienced military success against Jugurtha, under Marius's command. He was also involved in ending the Social War of 90 BCE. As consul in 88 BCE, he led the Republic against King Mithridates VI of Pontus (modern Turkey). Sulla experienced some success in Pontus, but his attention was soon recalled to Rome by Marius's return to politics and Marius's attempt to seize the command of the campaign against Mithridates. Motivations for Marius's return to politics may have included jealousy of Sulla's success. By this time, Marius and Sulla were considered the leaders of their respective factions.

Civil war, round one: 88–86 BCE

- Marius uses support from the tribunes to seize the command against Mithridates from Sulla (88 BCE).
- Sulla rallies supporters and marches on Rome.
- Marius is driven out of Rome and flees to Africa.
- Sulla departs Rome again for Pontus.
- During Sulla's absence, the consul Cinna betrays him and helps Marius besiege Rome (87 BCE).
- Marius and Cinna slaughter *optimates* in Rome.
- Marius and Cinna elected consuls in 86 BCE.
- Marius dies unexpectedly two weeks later of poor health (possibly from pleurisy, as suggested in Plutarch).

Civil war, round two: 83–82 BCE

- Sulla returns from the east and defeats the Marian party (83 BCE).
- Sulla follows the example set by Marius and begins to slaughter the *populares*. He offers prizes to assassins and punishes those who conceal wanted men.
 - Plutarch: 'Sulla now devoted himself entirely to the work of butchery' (*Sulla*, 31).
 - Appian of Alexander, a second-century CE Greek historian with Roman citizenship, claims that no one dared speak out against Sulla's treatment of the *populares*.

- Plutarch recounted that sons and grandsons of those he executed have their civil and property rights taken away from them ‘(effectively eliminating their eligibility for office, and stripping families of their wealth and sources of income). (*Sulla*, 31)
- Sallust: ‘Sulla is the only man in history who has ever devised punishments for the unborn’ (*Histories*, 1.48.6).
- Sulla is declared dictator by the Senate, with no set time limit for his term in office (82 BCE). Appian wrote:

Thus Sulla became a king, or tyrant, de facto – not elected but holding power by force and violence ... There had been autocratic rule by dictators before but it was limited to short periods. Under Sulla it first became unlimited and so was an absolute tyranny ... Nevertheless, by way of keeping up the form of the Republic he allowed them to appoint consuls ... But Sulla, like a reigning sovereign, was dictator over the consuls.

SOURCE 16.19 Appian, c.162 CE, *The Civil Wars*, Book 1.99–1.100



SOURCE 16.20 An artist's depiction of the entrance of Cornelius Sulla into Rome, where he was appointed as dictator in the first century BCE. How consistent is this artistic depiction with events recorded in sources?

Sulla's dictatorship

Sulla ruled unopposed for three years, until his unexpected retirement. During that time, a significant number of reforms were made to the magistracy. Through these reforms, Sulla aimed to restore stability to Rome by strengthening the Senate, reducing the power of the tribunes and reorganising the courts.

TABLE 16.7 Sulla's changes to the magistracy

The Senate	The Tribune
<p>Office holding</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Ilex Villia</i> of 180 BCE re-enacted – this meant the <i>cursus honorum</i> had to be strictly observed • increased number of magistrates to improve the efficiency of government • treason laws forbade governors from leaving their provinces or declare war without Senate permission 	<p>Judicial reforms</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • right of veto was limited • tribunes became ineligible for further political office • tribunes lost the power of enacting legislation

ACTIVITY 16.6

1. Appian wrote the following about Sulla:

He [Sulla] forbade anybody to hold the office of praetor, until after he had held that of quaestor, or to be consul before he had been praetor, and he prohibited any man from holding the office a second time till after the lapse of 10 years.

...

(continued)

CHAPTER 16 ANCIENT ROME: CIVIL WAR AND THE BREAKDOWN OF THE REPUBLIC

ACTIVITY 16.6 continued

He reduced the tribunician power to such an extent that it seemed to be destroyed. He curtailed it by a law which provided that one holding the office of tribune should never afterwards hold any other office.

SOURCE 16.21 Appian, c. 162 CE, *The Civil Wars*, Book 1.100

- a. Based on what you have learnt so far in this chapter, how else had these rules been broken in recent years?
2. Velleius Paterculus commented on a change Sulla made to the court system:

The right to sit in judgement in the courts which C. Gracchus had taken from the Senate and given to the knights, Sulla gave back to the Senate.

SOURCE 16.22 Velleius Paterculus, c. 30 BCE, *Roman History*, Book 2, 32

- a. What was the result of the changes in law described in Sources 16.21 and 16.22?
3. Appian writes about reforms to the Senate:

To the Senate itself, which had been much thinned by the seditions and wars, he added about 300 members from the best of the knights, taking the votes of the tribes on each one.

SOURCE 16.23 Appian, c. 162 CE, *The Civil Wars*, Book 1.100

- a. What do you see as the objective behind the reforms in Sources 16.22 and 16.23?
 4. Appian continues:
- To the Plebeians he added more than 10 000 slaves of proscribed persons, choosing the youngest and strongest, to whom he gave freedom and Roman citizenship, and he called them Cornelii, after himself. In this way he made sure of having 10 000 men among the plebeians always ready to obey his commands.

SOURCE 16.24 Appian, c. 162 CE, *The Civil Wars*, Book 1.100

- a. What are your views on Appian's conclusion of why Sulla did this?
5. Aulus Gellius, a second-century CE author and grammarian, writes about a law introduced by Sulla:

A number of wealthy men were notorious *bons viveurs* [people devoted to refined sensuous enjoyment, particularly good food and drink] and squandered their wealth and property, pouring it away in banquets and parties. So the dictator L. Sulla passed a law in the people's Assembly to the following effect: on the Kalends [1st day of month], Ides [15th or 13th day of month] and Nones [9 days before Ides] of each month, on the days public games were held, and on certain regular festivals, people might legally spend up to 300 sesterces on a dinner, but on all other days, no more than 30 sesterces.

SOURCE 16.25 Aulus Gellius, c. 2 CE, *Noctes Atticae*, Book 2.24.11

- a. What do you see as Sulla's motive behind this law? Was he being hypocritical?

16.6 Gaius Gracchus

Information about Gaius Gracchus is available in the Interactive Textbook

The legacy

Gaius Marius and Cornelius Sulla both held positions of authority, and wielded power over those beneath them. Both were responsible for spreading the authority and reach of the Republic throughout the Mediterranean and bringing some significant foreign threats under control. In enacting reforms, both made changes to the fabric of Roman society that facilitated the success of later generals, consuls and arguably, emperors. Both, however, were influenced by their personal desires for power and glory. Marius and Sulla blatantly broke the guidelines set by the *cursus honorum*, yet were not held to account by the people. Their actions went so far as to make the city of Rome itself the focus of military action between them. The social struggles highlighted by Tiberius Gracchus evolved into military power struggles under Marius and Sulla.

16.7 Pompey and Caesar

Gnaeus Pompeius Magnus (Pompey)

- Born: 106 BCE
- Died: 48 BCE
- Father: Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo, who had served as consul but generally was disliked.
- His family were considered *novi homi* (plural of *novus homo*); they were wealthy, but not aristocrats.
- Pompey was a protégé of Sulla. At the age of 23 he raised an army for Sulla. He also married Sulla's stepdaughter.
- He was given the title Magnus ('great') after campaigns against Marius in Sicily and Africa.
- He demanded and was given a triumph. This was illegal on several fronts – he was not a praetor or consul, he was underage, and triumphs were given at the Senate's discretion.



SOURCE 16.26 Bust of Pompey

Pompey's early political career

In 70 BCE, Pompey was elected joint consul with Marcus Licinius Crassus. Crassus had fulfilled all of the requirements of the *cursus honorum*, but Pompey had not. While popularity with the people would have convinced the Senate to pass decrees of exemption for Pompey, it was primarily his alliance with Crassus that ensured his smooth ascent. In accepting Pompey and making exemptions for him, a crucial lesson was given to others who held such aspirations – it showed the Senate was not immune (as they would have people believe) from external control.

Military success

As consul, Pompey had numerous successes leading military campaigns. In 73 BCE, he defeated the remaining anti-Sullan forces, who were holding out in Spain. He gave amnesty to many of them and in doing so, won their loyalty and allegiance. Their allegiance would be crucial in his later war against Julius Caesar. Next, he turned his attention to the slave revolt led by the gladiator Spartacus in Sicily. While the command against the slaves was given to his co-consul Crassus, it was Pompey who arrived at the end and eliminated the remaining rebels. This seeming 'theft' of Crassus's glory created bad feeling between the two colleagues, which gave Pompey a very convenient reason not to disband his army.

The impact of Spartacus

Despite his popularisation in modern literature and media, very little is known about the historical Spartacus. Many of the surviving accounts are contradictory, leaving historians with a difficult task in determining the truth. The conflict between Spartacus and the Republic (known as the Third Servile War) had several repercussions. First, it showcased the Roman practice of slavery in all its barbarity. Second, Pompey's 'theft' of Crassus's glory permanently damaged their relationship and the two were never at ease with one another thereafter. Third, it demonstrated to the Republic that it had enemies both within and outside its borders. Although the Romans would not like to admit it, the rebellion of slaves led by Spartacus was a serious threat to the Republic.

What other weaknesses of the Republic did Spartacus's rebellion expose?

In 67 BCE, Pompey was given the responsibility for addressing the issue of piracy in the Mediterranean. Years earlier, Rome had destroyed the main naval power in the Mediterranean – the Greek island of Rhodes. Now, without Rhodes to keep them in check, pirates had managed to cut off Rome's supply of corn and other significant imports. Pompey's response showed a shrewd political mind. He realised that many were driven to piracy because of economic depression. By offering them land to settle on, Pompey managed to eliminate piracy almost entirely within three months.

His most significant military victory was arguably his defeat of Mithridates in 64 BCE. After bringing Cilicia, Bithynia and Pontus under firm Roman control, Pompey continued through Syria and Palestine to subdue the remaining rebels. Like Alexander the Great, Pompey took scholars on his campaign with the aim of gathering geographical, cultural and scientific knowledge of the area. This 'progress' to bring Roman law and order through the eastern provinces became known as Pompey's Eastern Settlement. Pompey's arrangement of the various provinces and client kingdoms endured through to the third century CE – a testament to Pompey's skill. The client kingdoms were provinces deemed to be too backward for Roman rule. These were ruled locally and they paid a tribute to Rome.

The emergence of Caesar

Gaius Julius Caesar

- Born: 100 BCE
- Died: 44 BCE
- Father: Gaius Julius Caesar; the Julian family was old and illustrious, but also had numerous connections with the *populares* faction through marriages.
- His mother was Aurelia Cotta.
- He became head of the family at age 16, on his father's death.
- Plutarch alleges that he was subject to epileptic fits – warfare became the treatment for his health. While he spent money recklessly, his ability to secure the affection of his soldiers and get the best out of them was remarkable.
- Suetonius describes him as a brilliant orator, one who was not naturally vindictive, but who could be arrogant.
- He was a skilled swordsman and horseman who balanced caution in battle with daring.

The First Triumvirate

Pompey, Caesar and Crassus each had their own goals when they decided to form the First Triumvirate. Pompey was trying to introduce legislation that would enable him to grant his veterans land as acknowledgement of their service. Crassus represented the interests of wealthy *equites* and had been unsuccessfully trying to get a revision of the tax collection contracts in Asia. Caesar desired election to



SOURCE 16.27 The First Triumvirate: (left to right) Caesar, Crassus and Pompey. How would you describe these men based on their physical appearance?

the consulship in 59 BCE. While Pompey and Crassus still did not get along, Caesar reconciled the two as they all recognised they would gain personal advantages from the alliance. Unbeknownst to them, the First Triumvirate was a catalyst for the civil war that would erupt a decade later. However, at the conception of the First Triumvirate, the three individuals had the support of the army, the Roman people and the *equites*. The ‘Senate and People of Rome’ had begun to crumble.

Publius Clodius Pulcher and Titus Annius Milo

Clodius and Milo were supporters of Caesar and Pompey respectively. Both acted as political agitators during Caesar’s campaigns in Gaul. Clodius used his position as tribune to push through pro-*populares* legislation on Caesar’s behalf. In addition, he successfully exiled Cicero (on the grounds that when Cicero put down a conspiracy initiated by senator Lucius Sergius Catilina, he summarily executed the conspirators rather than giving them a trial) and sent Cato (an enemy of Caesar) to Cyprus. Once he began his personal attack on Pompey, he became a target for *optimates* like Milo. Milo facilitated Cicero’s recall from exile, but Clodius’s gangs attacked him. Milo was unsuccessful in prosecuting Clodius in 57 BCE for this violence. In 52 BCE, the respective gangs met on the Appian Way (the sources are conflicted as to whether Clodius was lying in wait for Milo, or if the meeting was by chance). Fighting ensued and Clodius was killed. Cicero later spoke in defence of Milo at his trial but lost his composure and was intimidated by the Clodian supporters. Milo was exiled to Gaul and died in 48 BCE as part of a rebellion against Caesar.

ACTIVITY 16.7

1. How do you think the violent actions by Caesar and Pompey’s supporters influenced their reputations?
2. How did the actions of Caesar and Pompey influence the breakdown of the Republic?

Caesar’s campaigns in Gaul

The main weakness of the Germanic tribes was a lack of political unity – they were constantly engaged in tribal warfare. This gave Caesar the advantage in the following military actions:

- 58 BCE: campaign against the Helvetii
- 58 BCE: defeated Ariovistus, King of the Suebi
- 57 BCE: campaign against the Belgae; Caesar was given a 15-day thanksgiving in Rome by the Senate to celebrate this victory
- 56 BCE: defeated the Veneti
- 55–54 BCE: further victories against Germanic tribes; Caesar crosses the Rhine (a Roman first)
- 55 BCE: invaded Britain to cut off reinforcements from rebellious Gauls
- 52 BCE: Gauls rose again under leadership of Vercingetorix (Caesar was delayed in leaving Rome); Caesar laid siege to Vercingetorix at his fortress of Alesia until he surrendered
- 51 BCE: Gaul firmly under Roman control.

Caesar’s campaigns against the Gauls showed his statesman-like qualities. He allowed local tribal governments to continue and encouraged their loyalty by giving gifts. Latin language was also gradually adopted by the people. Caesar’s campaigns in Gaul transformed the growing Republic from a purely Mediterranean empire to a continental European one.

16.8 The civil war

During Caesar’s absence in Gaul for almost a decade, Pompey gained significant popularity with the people. So much so, that he was the only consul appointed in 52 BCE. His wife Julia (Caesar’s daughter) had died in 54 BCE and Crassus died fighting the Parthians in 53 BCE, so there were few factors keeping Caesar and Pompey’s alliance together.



SOURCE 16.28 Caesar, 1875, by Adolphe Yvon. Why is Caesar such a popular subject in art throughout history?

defeat Pompey's allies in Spain, because he wasn't yet strong enough to take on Pompey directly. The first encounter between the two was at Dyrrachium (in modern Albania) in 48 BCE. Later, at the Battle of Pharsalus, Caesar's clever tactics won him the battle, despite being heavily outnumbered.

After fleeing the Battle of Pharsalus, Pompey went to Egypt but was murdered on the orders of Egyptian King Ptolemy XIII. Caesar arrived in Egypt soon after, and was presented with Pompey's head and signet ring on his arrival. He reportedly wept at the sight.

Summary of Pompey's political career and character

- Pompey did not fit easily into any accepted category of Roman politics – he never wholly belonged to any specific group and so was never completely trusted.
- He sought power and broke constitutional rules to achieve it, but not via direct force (though he threatened to use his army on more than one occasion).
- Pompey has been described as vain, hypocritical and devious. The sources say that he liked to think his services were indispensable to the State.
- Plutarch captures the essence of Pompey's desires by describing his actions as a 'pursuit of glory'.
- Pompey was remembered as a legend in his time.

ACTIVITY 16.8

Study all the sources in this section relating to Pompey before answering the questions below.

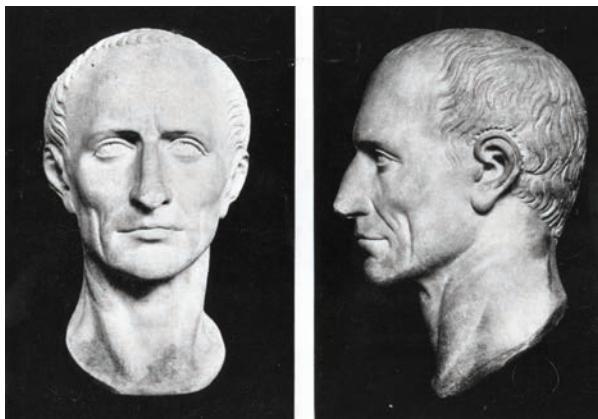
1. Was Pompey a destroyer or defender of the Republic?
2. Why did Pompey acquire the power he did? How do his actions help us understand his motivations?

The dictatorship of Caesar

Caesar had been accumulating titles and positions of responsibility for a number of years before his defeat of Pompey. He was appointed dictator for 12 months in 48 BCE and was reappointed for a 10-year period in 46 BCE. Finally, in 44 BCE, he was named dictator for life and the Senate ordered that an oath of allegiance should be taken in his name. He also served as consul, *pontifex maximus*, augur and *praefectura morum* (giving him the powers of a censor). The most telling illustration of the power Caesar had accumulated was the Senate granting him the sacrosanctity of a tribune, without actually holding the office.

Caesar's honours

- He was named *parens patriae* (father of the country).
- The month Quinctilus was renamed Julius (July).
- His statue was placed in the temple of Quirinus and in other temples.
- In 44 BCE his head appeared on Roman coins.
- His birthday was celebrated by public sacrifice.
- He was given the title *imperator*.
- He was granted a gold chair and garment once used by kings.



SOURCE 16.29 Caesar. Does this representation of Caesar support your understanding of his character?

He pardoned Pompey's soldiers, hoping the act of clemency would bring him universal gratitude and support.

TABLE 16.8 Caesar's reforms

Areas of reform under Caesar	Description
Colonies	mostly for veterans, included Hispania, Corduba, Urso, Carthage, Apameia and Corinth
Senate	enlarged Senate from 600 to 900 members, widening its base
Citizenship	extended citizenship to Transalpine Gaul, a legion raised in Narbonese Gaul, and future doctors and teachers in Rome
Debt	cancelled all interest due since start of civil war – effectively 25% of current debts owed
Agriculture	required at least 1/3 of cattlemen employed by landowners to be free men
Corn dole	reduced number on corn dole from 320 000 to 150 000
Abolition of collegia	abolished all collegia (political, social and trade unions), except for genuine guilds and Jewish religious gatherings
Public buildings and works	new roads and harbour at Ostia; plan to drain Pontine Marshes; new building projects – Basilica Julia and another forum (named after himself)
Calendar	reformed inaccurate Roman calendar, replaced it with one, slightly modified, which still influences the Gregorian Calendar in use today

After Pompey's death, Caesar, captivated by its Queen Cleopatra, stayed on in Egypt. Eventually he left Egypt to her and her younger brother (Ptolemy XIII had been killed). Caesar made his way back to Rome via Pontus to confront Pharnaces I, the son of Mithridates. He defeated him at the Battle of Zela and commemorated the victory with his famous words, 'Veni, vidi, vici' ('I came, I saw, I conquered'). The suicide of Cato in 46 BCE marked the acknowledgement by the *optimates* faction that they had lost. Caesar was now master of the Roman world.

Given he was only in sole power for a short period of time, Caesar achieved a vast amount. He showed his skill as a statesman and a soldier.

Caesar's downfall

Caesar's downfall was a very sudden change in his fortune. Sixty to eighty conspirators were led by Marcus Junius Brutus and Gaius Cassius Longinus, both of whom had been supporters of Pompey previously pardoned by Caesar. They cornered him on the portico of the Theatre of Pompey where the Senate was meeting on the Ides of March (15th) in 44 BCE, stabbing him to death with daggers they had concealed in their togas. He fell mortally wounded at the base of Pompey's statue.

The conspirators probably acted from a variety of motives from private grudges to a genuine fear that he was destroying the Republic. Despite his positive reforms, Caesar could not hide his contempt for Republican institutions and it is likely this negative attitude was his undoing. At the time of his death, the power and authority he held as dictator were as great as those of any king. Given Rome's traditional abhorrence of kingship, it is a wonder that in elevating Caesar to such heights, they did not realise the consequences of their actions. It is testament to Caesar's political acumen that he was able to rise so high and hold what was effectively absolute power in a nation that prided itself on representing the interests of both the Senate and the people of Rome.



SOURCE 16.30 *Death of Julius Caesar*, Vincenzo Camuccini, 1771. How does Camuccini's painting compare with historical accounts of Caesar's assassination?

16.9 Mark Antony and Octavian

The conspirators who assassinated Julius Caesar believed his death would solve their problems and that the Roman people would welcome it joyfully. Instead, it created a power vacuum that resulted in 13 years of civil war between Caesar's supporters and their opponents. Caesar's two main supporters, his adopted son Octavian and Mark Antony, joined forces to avenge Caesar's death. Once the assassins were dealt with, they still had each other to contend with.

Mark Antony (Marcus Antonius)

- Born: 83 BCE
- Died: 30 BCE
- Father: Marcus Antonius Creticus, who was considered incompetent and corrupt.
- Stepfather: Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura, who was executed for his involvement in the Catiline Conspiracy.
- Mother: Julia Antonia, who was a distant cousin of Julius Caesar.
- His upbringing was characterised by a lack of proper parental guidance and support. By age 20, he had amassed significant debts and was a known member of street gangs.

Gaius Octavian

- Born: 63 BCE
- Died: 14 CE
- Father: Gaius Octavius
- Adoptive father: Julius Caesar
- Mother: Atia Balba Caesonia, niece of Julius Caesar
- His upbringing was characterised by inconsistent parental figures. His father died when he was four, and his maternal grandmother who raised him also died when he was quite young. During his teenage years his mother, stepfather and uncle (Julius Caesar) began to take a more active role in his education.

Stage 1: 44–42 BCE (Antony and Octavian vs the conspirators)

Immediately after Caesar's death, the Roman people were terrified. As consul, Antony took advantage of the situation and stirred up the people against the assassins through a famous eulogy he gave at Caesar's funeral. Fearing for their lives, Brutus, Cassius and other key conspirators fled Rome.

The rise of Octavian

After Caesar's funeral, it emerged that his grand-nephew and adopted son Octavian was his heir. This was a significant disappointment to Antony, who had expected to be named as such. Octavian was only 18 when Caesar died, and he returned to Rome when he heard the news. Given his relatively young age and lack of experience, Octavian had difficulty in forcing Antony to recognise him as the legitimate heir. The name 'Caesar' was his greatest asset in the beginning and he was able to use it to win over two of Antony's legions. This was a significant demonstration of the change that had begun to occur within the Roman army – while officially they took their instructions from the Senate, their true loyalty lay with their general.

While Antony was in Modena pursuing Brutus, Octavian saw an opportunity to make himself the champion of the Roman state. By raising troops to help Brutus, Octavian ensured Antony was defeated. While such actions seem somewhat contradictory (why defend the man who killed your adoptive father?), Brutus and Cassius had arguably done the right thing – they acted in order to protect the Republic. As both consuls at the time had died during the conflict, Octavian demanded the right for himself. The Senate refused since Octavian met none of the criteria for holding the office. In response, Octavian marched on Rome and the Senate acquiesced.

The Second Triumvirate: 43 BCE

Although Octavian had control of Rome, Antony and Lepidus (Caesar's *magister equitum*) both still had armies, and Brutus and Cassius were on the run in the East. Despite their mistrust of each other, they agreed that they alone had the ability to bring peace and stability to Rome. The three united in a joint dictatorship, with the Senate granting them unlimited power for five years. Once this Second Triumvirate was formed, Octavian, Antony and Lepidus set about removing their opponents. Some 300 senators and 2000 *equites* perished as a result of proscriptions, including the famous pro-Republican orator Cicero.

Stage 2: 42–30 BCE (Antony vs Octavian)

The Triumvirate managed to defeat Brutus, Cassius and their supporters at the Battle of Philippi in 42 BCE. In despair at their failure, Brutus and Cassius committed suicide within days of each other. In 40 BCE through the Treaty of Brundisium, Octavian, Antony and Lepidus divided Roman territory between them. Lepidus was granted Africa (the least wealthy region), Antony took the east, and Octavian took Italy and the west. To seal their alliance further, Antony was married to Octavian's sister Octavia. Unfortunately, it was only a few years after their alliance was sealed that Lepidus became disgruntled with his position within the

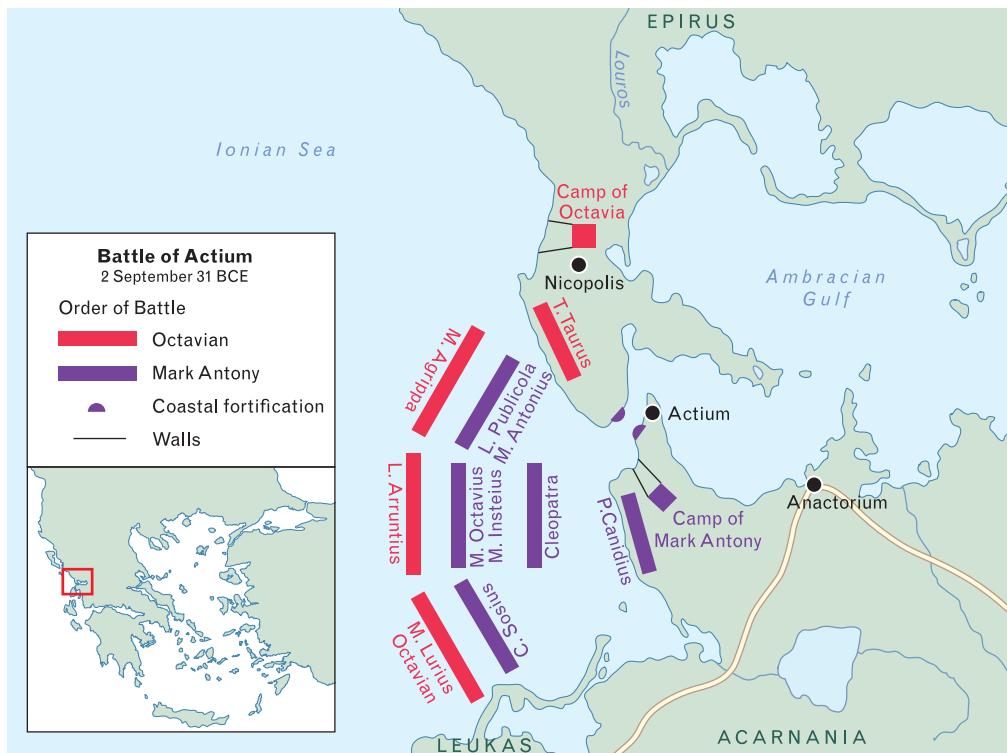


SOURCE 16.31 (left to right) Octavian, Lepidus and Marc Antony.
What was the age difference between them?

Triumvirate and began to move against Octavian, who he felt was treating him like a subordinate, rather than an equal. Embarrassingly, when confronting Octavian's legions in Sicily, Lepidus's troops defected, leaving him little choice but to concede defeat. In 36 BCE, Lepidus was stripped of all his offices except for *pontifex maximus* and sent into exile. Despite his wife and son being caught up in a later conspiracy against Octavian, Lepidus was able to live out the rest of his life in relative obscurity, dying in 13–12 BCE.

The alliance between Antony and Octavian did not last long. Antony was not successful in bringing stability to the east, and his relationship with Cleopatra sealed his doom. For Octavian, Antony's divorce from his sister was unforgivable, while Antony's growing infatuation with and promotion of Cleopatra led many Romans to see him as an 'oriental monarch'. This was aggravated further by his granting Roman provinces to his children by Cleopatra in his will.

In 32 BCE, Octavian and the Senate declared war on Antony and Cleopatra. Octavian used the rumour that Antony was going to make Cleopatra Queen of Rome and transfer the seat of government to Egypt to gain support for his cause. In 31 BCE, Octavian set sail for Epirus in Greece where he defeated Antony and Cleopatra at the Battle of Actium. During the battle, a large portion of Antony's army defected. Realising the scale of their loss, both Antony and Cleopatra committed suicide. Octavian returned to Rome a hero, albeit a hero with a mighty task in front of him. Rome had endured 100 years of civil war. The people craved peace and prosperity. It was his task to deliver that security.



SOURCE 16.32 Map showing the Battle of Actium. What advantages did each party have going into the battle?



SOURCE 16.33 *Battle of Actium*, Lorenzo A. Castro, 1672. Did Roman ships actually look like this?*

Objective 2: Devise historical questions and conduct research in relation to people, power and authority in a particular period in the Ancient World

16.10 Reforms

ACTIVITY 16.9

Research the following laws that aimed to address the divide between plebeians and patricians and match them to the descriptions of reforms listed in the first column of the table. Note that some laws will address multiple issues. Describe the effectiveness that the resulting change would have had on each particular issue.

- *Lex Valeria de Provocatione* or First Valerian Law (509 BCE)
- First Secession of the Plebs (494 BCE)
- *Lex Publilia* (471 BCE)
- The Twelve Tables (451–450 BCE)
- *Leges Valeriae Horatiae* (449 BCE)
- *Lex Canuleia* (445 BCE)
- Licinian-Sextian Laws (367 BCE)
- *Lex Publilia* (339 BCE)
- *Lex Ogulnia* (300 BCE)
- *Lex Hortensia* (287 BCE)

(continued)

ACTIVITY 16.9 continued

Injustice	Description	Reform	Effectiveness
Political	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• patricians monopolised positions in government• plebeians only voted in the <i>Comitia Centuriata</i> in the early Republic		
Social	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• no intermarriage• wealthy plebeians were regarded as inferior• patricians wore distinguishing clothes		
Economic	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• debt laws were very harsh on plebeians• plebeians were excluded from leasing public land		
Religious	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• plebeians were excluded from all priestly offices		
Legal	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• plebeians could not access laws as they were unwritten• plebeians had no right of appeal		

16.11 The contribution of individuals towards the breakdown of the Republic

ACTIVITY 16.10

GO

For each of the seven key individuals discussed in this chapter, construct a key inquiry question and suitable sub-questions that assess the contribution each individual made towards the breakdown of the Roman Republic. Refer to the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 2* for guidelines on how to frame questions.

- a. Tiberius Gracchus
- b. Gaius Marius
- c. Sulla
- d. Pompey
- e. Julius Caesar
- f. Mark Antony
- g. Octavian.

Objective 3: Analyse evidence from historical sources to show understanding about the nature of power and how it was exercised in the Ancient World

16.12 Literary sources about the breakdown of the Republic

Modern historians looking at the time of the Republic's collapse have an advantage in the numerous literary sources available. However, because of the volatile nature of society and politics at the time, and even in later years under the emperors, these sources are clouded by emotion and propaganda.

Key sources

TABLE 16.9 Ancient literary sources on Rome's decline

Greek authors	Roman authors
Appian	Cicero
Dio Cassius	Julius Caesar
Diodorus	Livy
Dionysius	Polybius
Plutarch	Sallust
	Suetonius

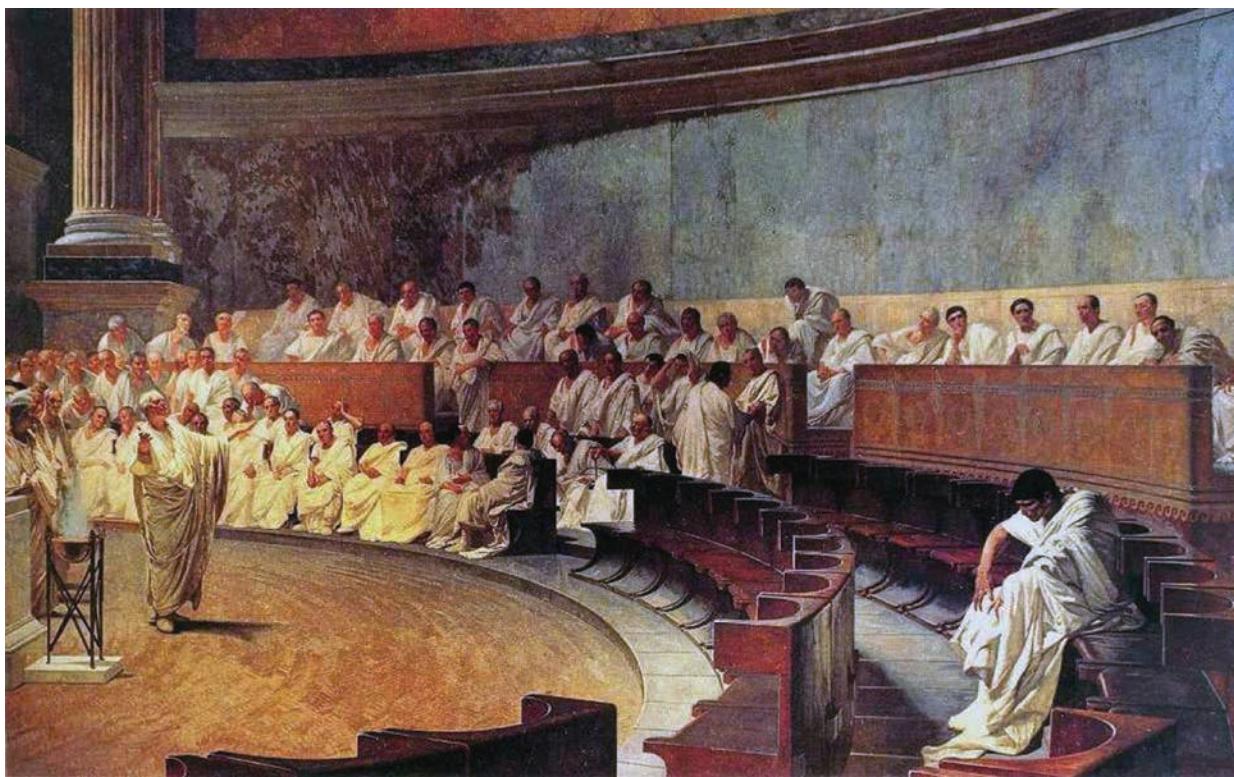
ACTIVITY 16.11

For each of the key sources listed, make notes about the distinguishing features of the author. Use these prompt questions to guide you.

- Origin:** Where was the author born? What was their childhood like? What was their role and place in society? Did they have any privileges? Why or why not?
- Motive:** Why did they write? How did their motive result in the editing of history and did they intentionally leave things out? Why did they present certain people or events in particular ways (i.e. what was their purpose)?
- Audience:** Were their texts addressed to any particular audiences? What type of texts did they write? Did the intended audience have an impact on what they wrote?
- Perspective:** What is their perspective on particular issues? Who do they support? Who do they speak against? Does their point of view represent the views of a social or political group? How?
- Context:** When were they writing? What else was going on at the time that may have influenced them?

ACTIVITY 16.12

- Compare your notes for Activity 16.11 with other students. Did you come to the same conclusions or were there discrepancies? Why do you think this is?
- Using your notes from the last activity, determine which historians would provide a reliable account for the actions of the following people. Why? Which historians would be unreliable? Why?
 - Tiberius Gracchus
 - Gaius Marius
 - Sulla
 - Pompey
 - Julius Caesar
 - Mark Antony
 - Octavian.



SOURCE 16.34 Cicero Denounces Catiline, Cesare Maccari, 1889. What did the Senate house really look like?

Objective 4: Synthesise evidence from historical sources to form a historical argument about a powerful individual, group or society in the Ancient World

16.13 Roman consuls

GO

Full content on this objective is available in the Interactive Textbook.



SOURCE 16.35 Cornelia With Her Sons Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, painting by Josep Garnelo y Alda (1866–1944) this woodcut by P. Fruehauf from *Moderne Kunst (Modern Art)*, illustrated magazine published by Richard Bong, 1891–1892, Year VI, No 4, Berlin. Is Cornelia's clothing historically accurate?

Objective 5: Evaluate evidence from historical sources to make judgements about people, power and authority in the Ancient World

When evaluating evidence from historical sources on the breakdown of the Roman Republic, it is important for you to consider the way theorists and historians have debated the nature of power, and the way it is exercised. You should also reflect on the historical significance of the study of power during this time.

16.14 Tiberius

Full content on this objective is available in the Interactive Textbook.



Objective 6: Create responses that communicate meaning to suit purpose in relation to people, power and authority in the Ancient World

16.15 Creating responses to key inquiry questions

ACTIVITY 16.13

- 1.** Use your own research to create a succinct response to one of the key inquiry questions listed at the start of this chapter.
- 2.** Your response should include the following.
 - a.** A succinct answer to the key question in your introduction.
 - b.** A series of paragraphs where you examine the key issues and provide historical evidence to support your argument.
 - c.** Diversity in primary and secondary sources.
 - d.** Correct referencing of historical sources.

Further information on the construction of extended written responses can be found in the *Historical Skills Toolkit – Objective 6*.



CHAPTER SUMMARY

- Rome abandoned her system of kings in 509 BCE and instituted a system that aimed to fairly represent the interests of the people through a combination of assemblies and magistracies.
- As the Republic grew, its political system failed to adapt to the new social context. The patricians became increasingly wealthy and monopolised political control; the plebeians had no way of improving their station in life.
- By acting against established tradition and procedure to try and address the disparity between social classes, Tiberius Gracchus opened cracks in the Republican system.
- Through his military reforms, Gaius Marius enabled later generals to capitalise on the loyalty their legions had for them personally, rather than to the Republic.
- Despite positive reforms, Sulla's dictatorship was characterised by violence, making the people fearful of individuals with too much personal power.
- Pompey recognised that he could gain more position and power by entering the First Triumvirate. He became more popular while Caesar was in Gaul and the two clashed in a civil war.
- Julius Caesar used the First Triumvirate to achieve his personal ambitions, and by using his legions as a threat he was able to see himself vested in unprecedented personal authority and power. He was later assassinated by a group of *optimates* who feared that he was beginning to model himself as a king.
- Mark Antony and Octavian banded together to avenge Caesar's death, but eventually turned on each other when Antony began to style himself as an oriental 'king' with Cleopatra by his side.
- Octavian emerged from 100 years of civil war as the hero of Rome.

CHAPTER REVIEW

Consolidate

Comprehend

1. How were the plebeians disadvantaged in comparison to the patricians?
2. How did the Republican political system fulfil the concept of SPQR – The Senate and People of Rome?
3. How did the Republic aim to ensure it had capable leaders?

Devise

Construct a research question for each of the seven key personalities discussed in this chapter (Tiberius Gracchus, Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar, Antony and Octavian).

Analyse and synthesise

Choose one of the topics listed below. Using Sources 16.37 to 16.42, provided on pages 425–6, and your own knowledge, respond to the topic in an extended response of 300 words. Ensure you: include a brief introduction where you clearly respond to the question, comment on the reliability of the sources and give a short conclusion.

- Topic 1: How did the career of Marius weaken the hold of the senatorial aristocracy on Roman politics even more than the careers of the Gracchi did?
- Topic 2: To what extent was the violence enacted by Sulla justified, given the significance of the reforms he made once in power?

Marius attempted his sixth consulship ... The need that state had of his services in war gave him power and dignity; but in civil matters ... he was forced to curry favour of the crowd. He was not content to be a good man; he would settle for nothing less than great ... Marius entered the city with his bodyguard ... These men killed many citizens ... even his personal friends ... at his direct orders ... Marius's rage and the thirst for blood increased ... he kept on killing all against whom he had even the remotest grudge ... So Marius was elected consul for the seventh time.

SOURCE 16.36 Plutarch, 75 BCE, *Life of Marius*, Book 28

Marius was welcomed back by a united populace [in 101 BCE]. Offered two triumphs, he was satisfied with but one. The leading men of Rome, who had once detested him as an upstart [*novus homo*] raised to such great honours, maintained that he was the Saviour of Rome.

SOURCE 16.37 Livy, c. 27–9 BCE, *History of Rome: Epitomes*, Chapter 68

Meanwhile, he [Marius] continued to sign on soldiers, not, in accordance with traditional custom, from the propertied classes, but accepting any man who volunteered – members of the proletariat for the most part. Some said he did this because he could not get enough of a better kind; others he wanted to curry favour with men of low condition, since he owed to them his fame and advancement ... The result of this new method of enlistment was that Marius set sail with a force considerably larger than that authorised by decree.

SOURCE 16.38 Sallust, c. 41–40 BCE, *The Jugurthine War*, Chapter 86

Sulla achieved little besides adding to the sum of human misery. His system aggrieved the *equites*, the urban populace, the disposed peasants and the new citizens made no provision for veterans in the future. Social discontents continued, as the senate remained indifferent to the distress of the poor. It was the memory of Sulla's example and methods that proved most enduring.

SOURCE 16.39 Brunt, P.A., 1971, *Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic*, Norton, p. 111

He [Sulla] forthwith proscribed about forty senators and 1600 knights. He seems to have been the first to make a formal list of those whom he punished, to offer prizes to assassins and rewards to informers, and to threaten with punishment those who should conceal the proscribed [i.e. those named on the list]. Some of these, taken unawares, were killed where they were caught, in their houses, on the streets or in the temples. Others were hurled through mid-air and thrown at Sulla's feet. Others were dragged through the city and trampled on, none of the spectators daring to utter a word of remonstrance against him.

SOURCE 16.40 Appian, c. 162 CE, *The Civil Wars*, Book 1.95

He [Sulla] forbade anybody to hold the office of praetor, until after he had held that of quaestor, or to be consul before he had been praetor, and he prohibited any man from holding the office a second time till after the lapse of 10 years ... He reduced the tribunician power to such an extent that it seemed to be destroyed. He curtailed it by a law which provided that the one holding the office of tribune should never afterwards hold any other office ... The right to sit in judgement in the courts which G. Gracchus had taken from the Senate and given to the knights, Sulla gave back to the Senate.

SOURCE 16.41 Appian, c. 162 CE, *The Civil Wars*, Book 1.100

CHAPTER 16 ANCIENT ROME: CIVIL WAR AND THE BREAKDOWN OF THE REPUBLIC

Evaluate

What are the common strengths and weaknesses found in primary sources for this time period? Make mention of specific authors where relevant and explain why such issues are present where possible.

Respond

1. What can be learned from the breakdown of the Republic by modern scholars about power, authority and leadership?
2. How responsible was the Senate for its own decline in power and prestige during the late Republic? (Think about the Senate's traditional attitudes towards the plebeians, how they underestimated individuals and dealt with the problems they created, and why powerful individuals came to power in the first place.)

Assessment

Examination-style questions

Respond to the validity of one of the following statements:

1. The fall of the Republic was a result of the continual and repetitive abuse of power by those in key political positions.
2. The motives of Tiberius Gracchus were honourable in their desire to restore the balance of land ownership. However, the methods he employed to achieve his aims irreparably damaged the political system, paving the way for others to abuse their power and position.
3. Because the Roman political system failed to adapt to suit the changing social and economic context of the first century BCE, the collapse of the Republic was inevitable.
4. The success of powerful leaders during the breakdown of the Republic would not have been possible without the personal loyalty of the legions they commanded.

Investigation tasks

1. Of the seven individuals examined in depth during this chapter (Tiberius Gracchus, Marius, Sulla, Pompey, Caesar, Antony and Octavian), whose actions contributed the most towards ensuring the breakdown of the Republic?
2. What historical evidence supports the conclusion by some historians that Julius Caesar wanted to be a king?
3. How did Marius's military reforms contribute to the success of later generals and political leaders like Pompey and Caesar?
4. In what ways can Tiberius Gracchus's actions in 133–132 BCE be considered the beginning of, or the first stage in the breakdown of the Republic?