

INTRODUCTION BY JOHN F. DRINKWATER



A CHRONOLOGY OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE

EDITED BY TIMOTHY VENNING

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Edited by
Timothy Venning



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Maps



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Map 2 Early Latium.



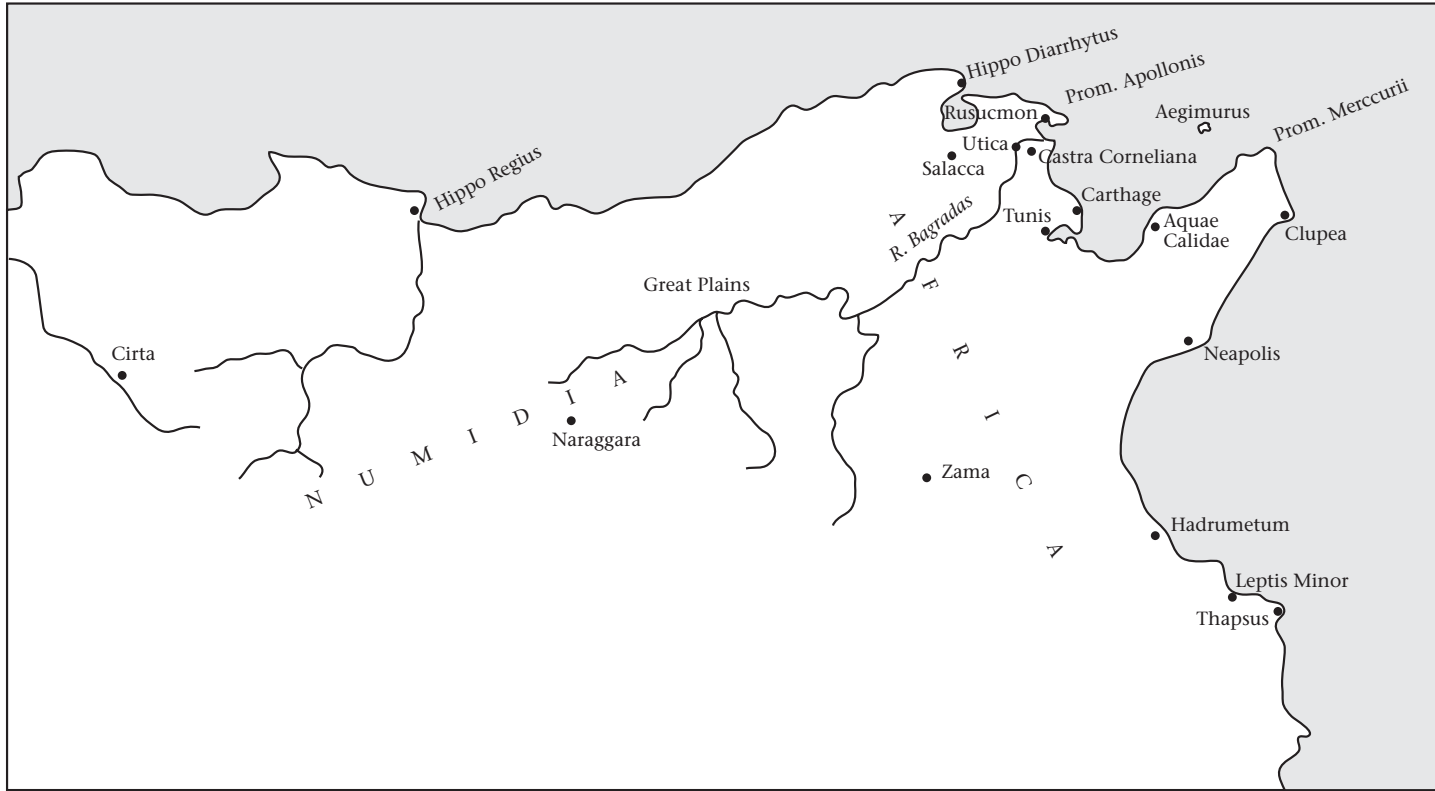
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Map 6 Africa and Numidia.



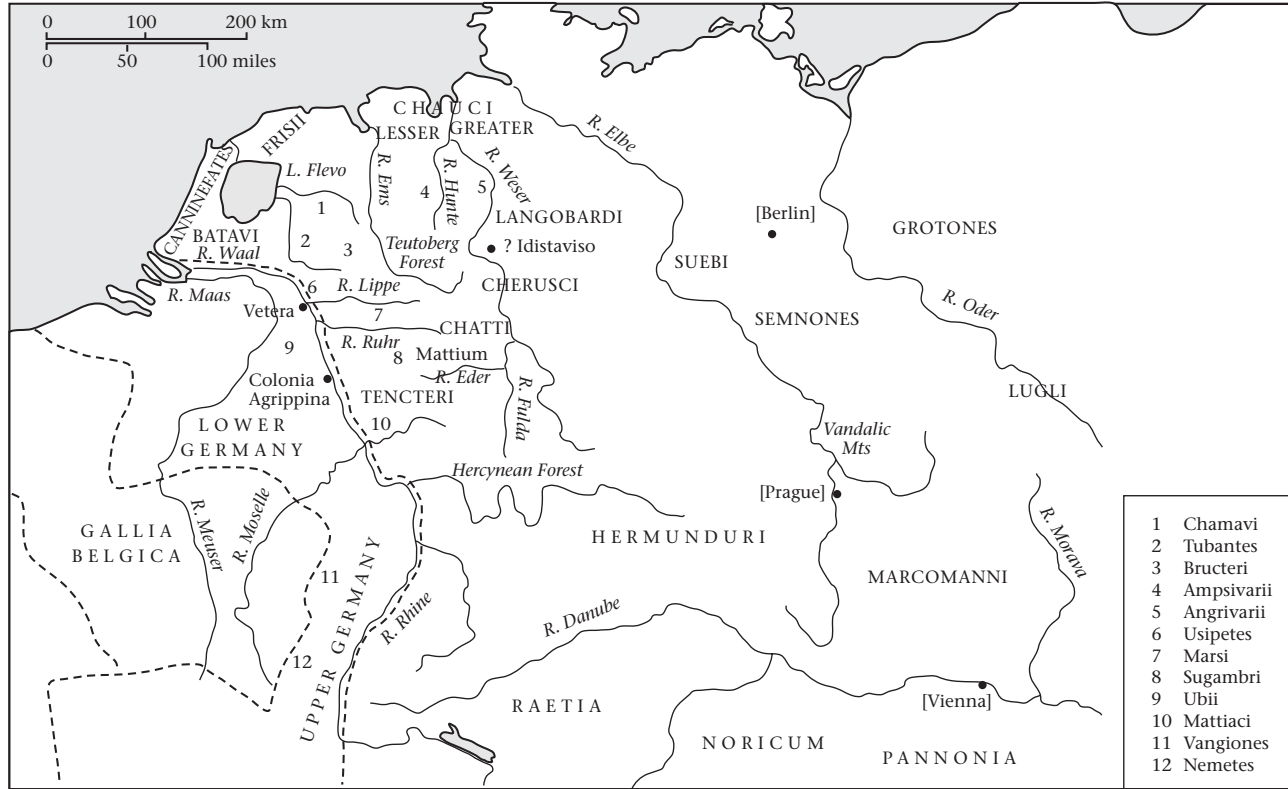
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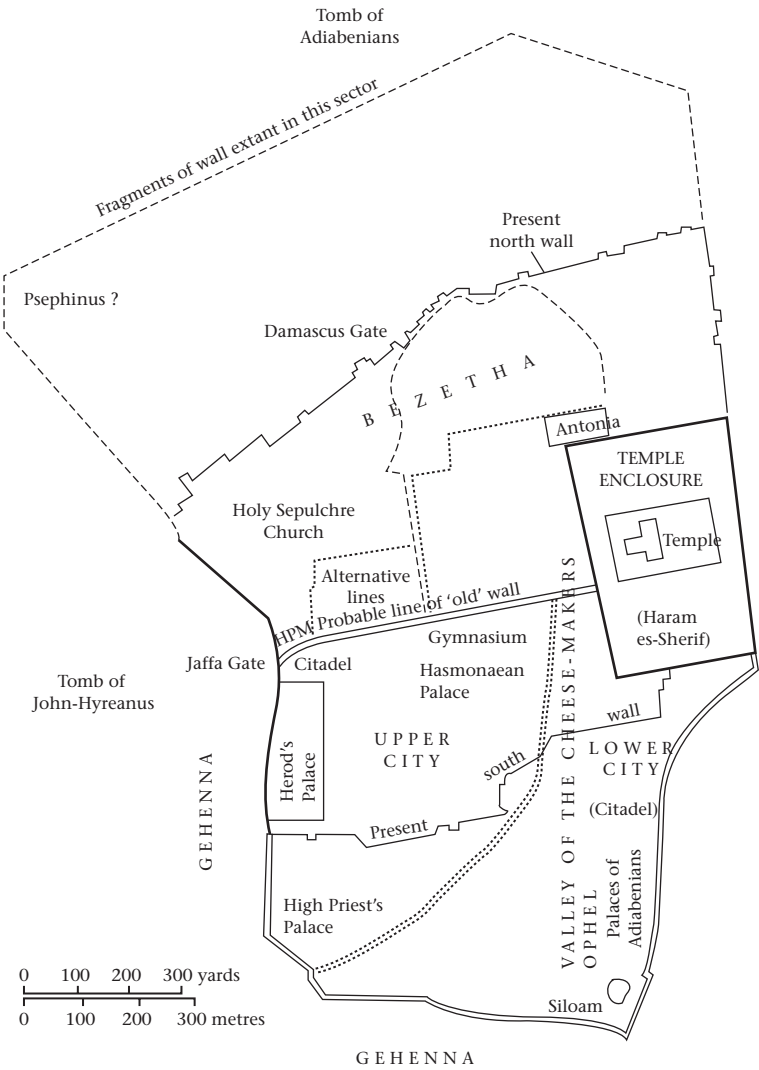
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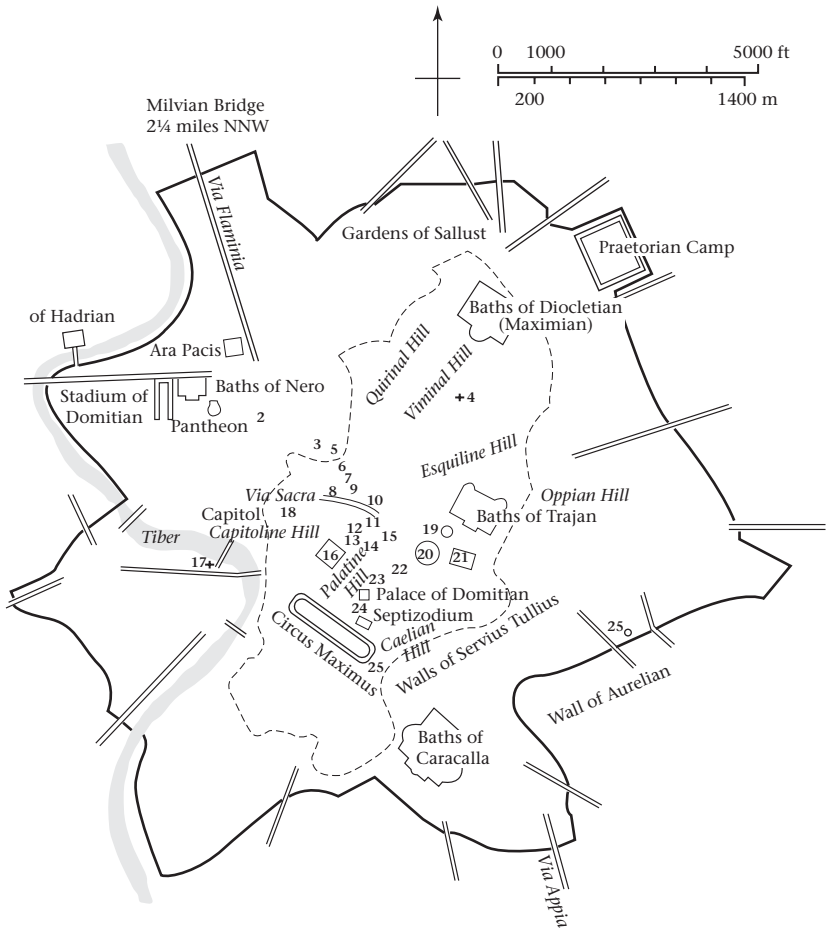


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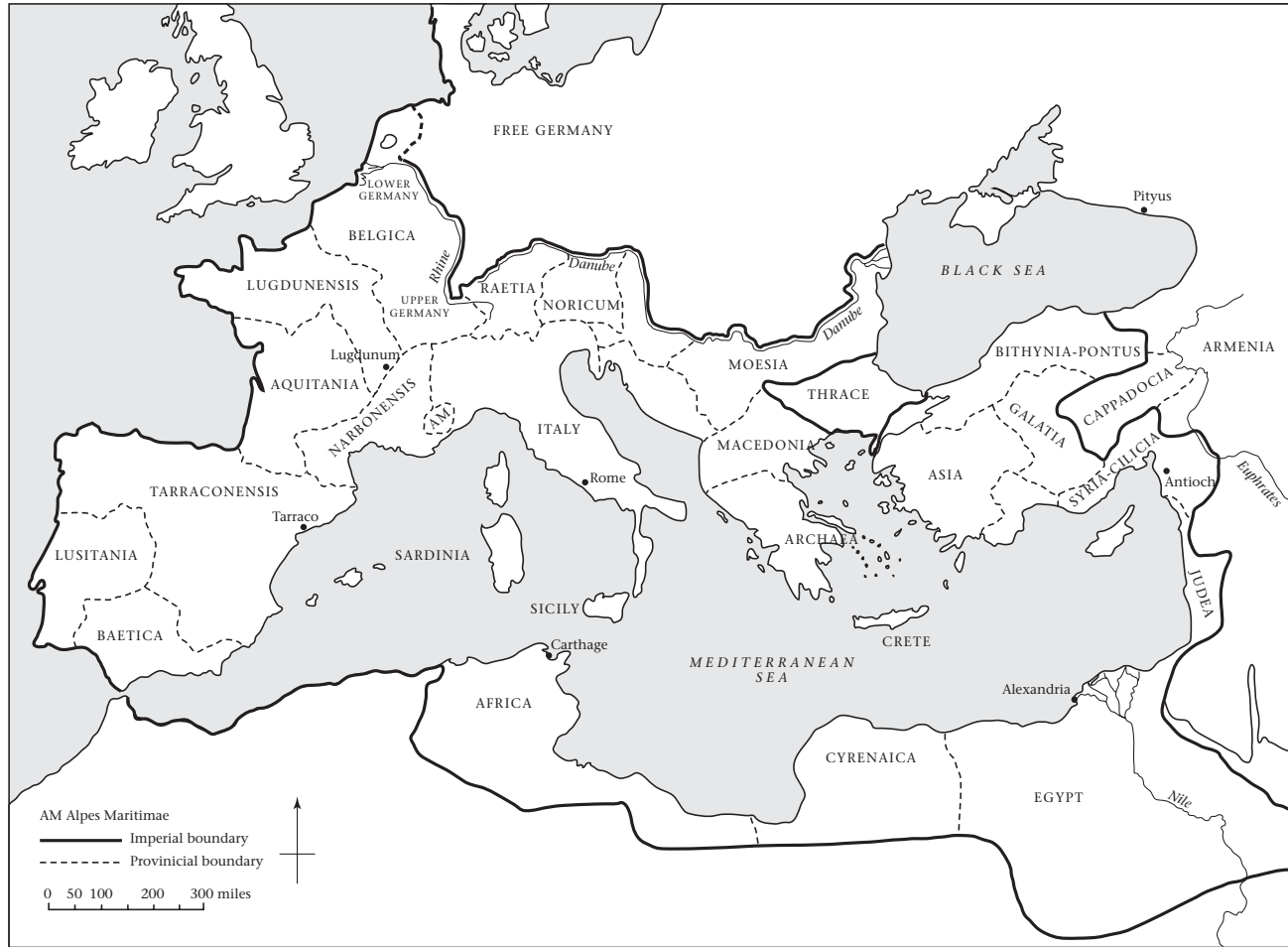
- HPM Herod's towers Hippicus, Phasael and Mariamne
- Possible line of the second north wall, if the third followed roughly the line of the present north wall
- Possible line of the second north wall, if the third wall followed the more northerly line
- Wall inferred

Map 12 Jerusalem in AD 70.

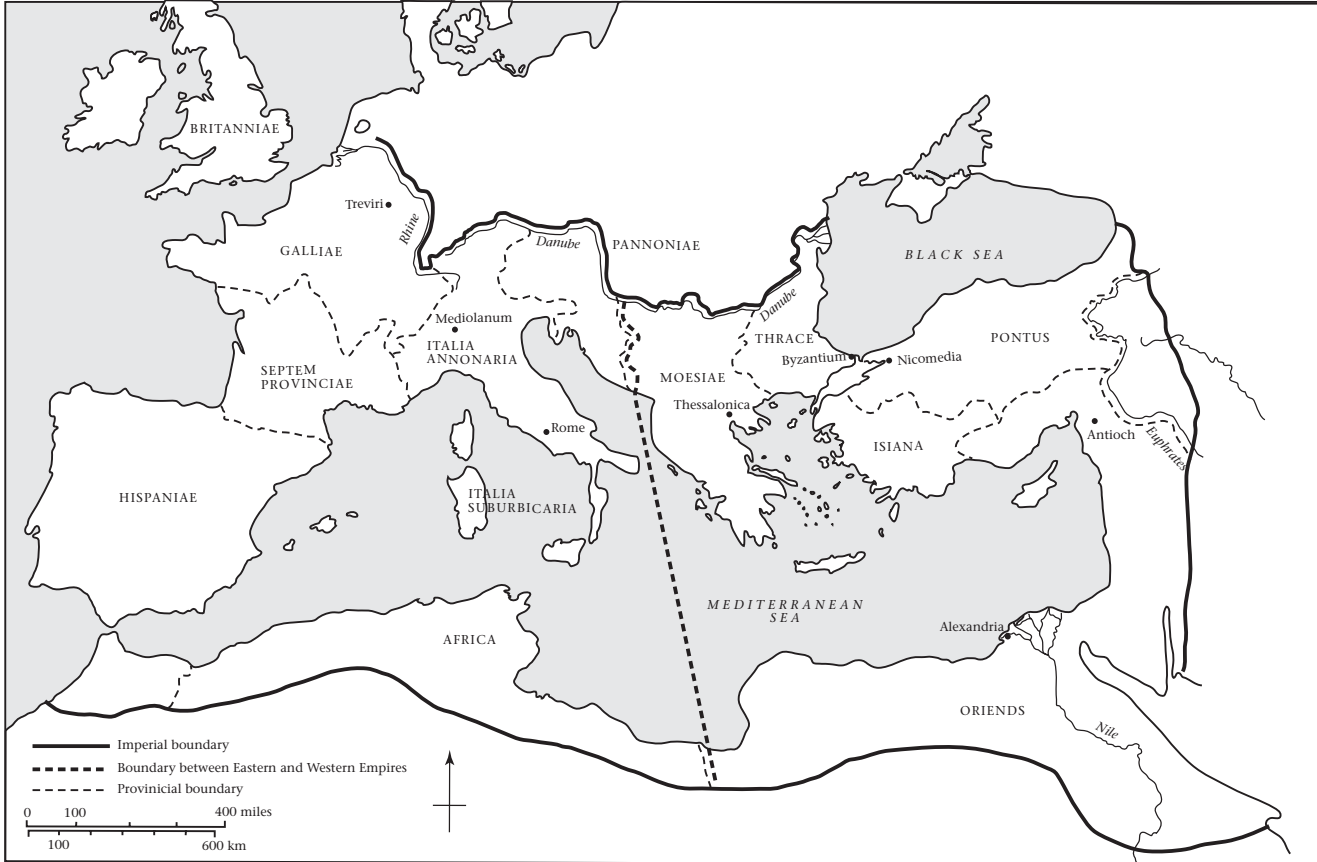


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Introduction by John F. Drinkwater

Ancient Rome remains firmly anchored in the public imagination. Few in the Western world are totally ignorant of her existence and achievements. In history and politics 'the rise' of the Roman Empire continues to be cited as an example of greatness, and its 'fall' as a measure of catastrophe. More popularly, Rome is a rich source of material for the entertainment industry in the shape of innumerable plays, films, novels and, most recently, computer games.¹ Rome is not forgotten, but she is remembered very obscurely. Most would be hard put to give dates for Caesar, Cleopatra and Constantine the Great, or explain their place in Roman history. Dramas offer little help. HBO/BBC's *Rome* (2005) was a commendable attempt to explain the rise of Caesar and Octavian, and the latter's destruction of Mark Antony; and, even more ambitiously, the BBC's *Ancient Rome: The Rise and Fall of an Empire* (2006) tackled the complexities of the long period from the Gracchi to Honorius (second century BC – fifth century AD). Both, however, left many loose ends and created confusions. Far worse was Ridley Scott's *Gladiator* (2000) which, in addition to a myriad particular inaccuracies, minor and major, grotesquely misrepresented the course of Roman history by suggesting that the killing of the tyrannical emperor Commodus in AD 192 led to the restoration of the old Republic. Nothing could be further from the truth: by then the Republic had been dead for centuries, and soon after Commodus came the even more autocratic Severan emperors and the open display of 'military monarchy'.² A detailed and solidly source-based timeline, such as this presented by Timothy Venning, is an indispensable handbook for all those wishing to gain a proper understanding of what occurred. In many fields of history the division of narrative by distinct periods is frowned upon:

emphasis is on 'continuity'. However, in the case of Roman history periodicization is well established, as much as anything because it was devised by the Romans themselves. The great Latin historian Tacitus opens his *Annals* with a deft summary of the evolution of the Roman state, beginning with the words 'The city of Rome was, from the start, ruled by kings'.³ As his words suggest, Roman periodicization of Roman history was based on forms of government, basically: immediately after Rome's foundation (traditionally, in 753 BC), rule by kings (the 'regal' period); next (traditionally, from 509 BC) rule by a Republic (aristocratic, not democratic, but nonetheless obedient to regularly elected officials: 'magistrates'); and finally (from 27 BC) rule by emperors (*principes*).⁴ Modern historians follow suit, and subdivide both Republican and imperial history into 'early', 'middle' and 'late' periods, thus referring to the 'Early' Republic, the 'High' Republic and the 'Late' Republic, and to the 'Early', 'High' and 'Late' Empire. The distinction between 'Republic' and 'Empire' can be a little confusing to newcomers, because Rome's empire was for the most part a Republican creation. However, it works well enough, and is here to stay. A further complication is that there is lively debate as to the specific dates of some of these periods: when did the Early Republic end, or the Late Empire begin? Here, Timothy Venning combines the regal period with the Early Republic, which he takes down to 265 BC, by which time Rome was supreme in peninsular Italy, having defeated Pyrrhus of Epirus, and ready to face Phoenician (*Punicus*) Carthage in Sicily, Spain and North Africa (Part One). His High Republic runs from 264 to 146 BC. This was when Rome, in a series of 'Punic' and Macedonian wars, destroyed Carthage and Macedon, and so became undisputed mistress of the western Mediterranean, while beginning to interfere decisively in the affairs of Greece, Asia Minor, Syria and Egypt (Part Two). He dates the Late Republic from 145 to 30 BC, the period in which Rome effectively took control of the eastern Mediterranean, but which saw Republican replaced by autocratic rule, and which ended with the suicides of Antony and Cleopatra (Part Three). He has the Early Empire running from 30 BC to AD 68, when the first, 'Julio-Claudian', dynasty

of emperors came to an end with the fall of Nero (Part Four). His High Empire lasts from 69 until 235, and the destruction of the Severan dynasty (Part Five). He deals with the Late Empire in two parts. The first of these (Part Six) takes the story from 235 to 330, the date of the formal inauguration of Constantinople, the 'New', Christian Rome by Constantine the Great. This is where, in his view, 'Roman' history ends and 'Byzantine' history begins.⁵ For a full Byzantine timeline, readers should consult his companion volume, *A Chronology of the Byzantine Empire* (2006). However, in the event Constantinople failed to hold on to the West, and in Part Seven he offers a chronology of the last years of the old united Roman Empire, from AD 331 down to the fall of the last Western emperor, Romulus Augustulus, in 476.

Without chronology there can be no history. The correct ordering of events ('relative chronology') and their dating ('absolute chronology') allow the reconstruction of the precise relationship between these events, and the deduction of their causes and effects. However, in considering the chronology of history as distant as that of the Romans we have to distinguish carefully between what *they* knew and what *we* know. A culture with little or no chronological awareness is unlikely to have left dependable records, which is bad for the historian. But equally bad is culture with acute chronological awareness which has left no records at all.

With regard to Roman chronological awareness, we have little reason for concern. The Romans had unusually long memories. They were immensely proud of their history, and took great care to keep it alive – through myth and ceremonial and formal recording of events. Perhaps the most bizarre example of this is their treatment of the wax death-masks (*imagines*) of the great men of Rome. These, normally on public display in the homes of the aristocratic descendants of their models, were weird enough in themselves. However, even more weirdly, at the funeral of an important relative they were worn by living members of the family wearing appropriate dress.⁶ Beyond this, every educated Roman was expected to identify and appreciate the force of the host of historical references to be found in every form of Latin literature, and

in the architecture and decoration of all but the meanest settlements. Romans were helped in their remembering by their compilation of written calendars. On these they noted not just the days and months of the year but also – crucial for the survival of a subsistence farming community – the run of annual religious festivals that marked the progress of the agricultural year and, more broadly, which dates were propitious (*fasti*) for conducting important public business. This habit of notation was extended to recording the election of state officials, and extraordinary events such as wars, natural disasters, portents etc. Such recording spawned new types of chronological documentation. There were general running ‘chronicles’ (*annales*) of the events of each year. The best known are the *Annales Maximi*, kept by the chief priest (*Pontifex Maximus*) on whitened boards and maintained down to the end of the second century BC. When these were collected and published they amounted to 80 books.⁷ More significant in the long term was a series of lists also, by extension, called *fasti*. The most important were those of the chief magistrates of the Roman state, the consuls, usually two each year (*fasti consulares*), and of men who had been accorded the supreme honour of the Roman state, that of holding a triumph (*fasti triumphales*). The consular *fasti* are crucial because these were the bedrock of Roman chronological reckoning: events were recalled as having happened ‘in the consulships of *m* and *n*’. Though this may seem strange to modern eyes, this form of dating was common in the Ancient World with, for example, dating by archons at Athens and by ephors in Sparta.⁸ Consular dating was, however, of course, only relative. The first attempts at the absolute dating of Roman history, i.e. at synchronising it with events elsewhere, were made by Greeks, increasingly conscious of the rise of Roman power. A crucial link was the synchronization of the Gallic sack of Rome with the Peace of Antalcidas between Sparta and Persia and with the siege of Rhegium by Dionysius I of Syracuse, putting the sack in 387/6 BC. The association was made in the second century BC by Polybius in his ‘Histories’ (who also put the Gallic sack 19 years after the battle of Aegospotami and 16 before that of Leuctra). However, the link may have been calculated

much earlier by Philistus of Syracuse (c. 430–356 BC) or Timaeus of Tauromenium (c. 350–260 BC).⁹ This correlation, and others, allowed events in Roman history to be given ‘international’ Greek dates, based on Olympiads. For a long time, however, the process was piecemeal, leading to contradiction and confusion. It was not until the first century BC that Roman chronology was dealt with in a comprehensive and scientific manner, allowing not only the synchronization of Roman and Greek chronologies, but also eventually the synchronization of Roman and modern time systems. A number of scholars were involved, but the one given most credit is M. Terentius Varro (116–27 BC). In his lost ‘Chronicles’ (*Annales*) Varro laid out the course of Roman history down to his day, dated both by consulships and a new, Roman absolute dating, in years ‘from the foundation of the City’ (*ab urbe condita*, abbreviated *AVC*). This put the foundation of Rome, in our terms, in 753 BC, the foundation of the Republic in 509 BC, and the Gallic sack in 390 BC.¹⁰ The ‘Varronian’ chronology quickly became the norm, being adopted for Augustus’ new monumental publication of the consular (to AD 13) and triumphal (to 19 BC) *fasti* on an arch in the Forum, the so-called *Fasti Capitolini* (the term is modern).¹¹ Roman dating spread throughout the Roman Empire, extending its synchronization with Greek Olympiads to all local systems and gradually replacing these.¹² With this, of course, the Roman calendar, as reformed by Julius Caesar in 46 BC and introduced on 1 January 45 BC, revised by Augustus (who accepted the renaming of the month of Sextilis as ‘August’ in his honour),¹³ and readjusted by Pope Gregory XIII in 1582, took its first step to today’s world dominance. This, with its year of 12 familiar months beginning on 1 January (moved from 1 March, the beginning of the campaigning season, in 153 BC), is a living fossil, and an everyday reminder of the might of Rome. In the imperial period, Roman chronological consciousness remained as strong as ever. Consular dates continued to be published on inscriptions in Rome, and the consular *fasti* were made available in all the provinces.¹⁴ Likewise, traditional calendars continued to be compiled and published. As can be seen in Ovid’s *Fasti*, as well as transmitting the traditional agricultural and

religious information, these now made much of the emperor and the ruling house. Alongside the calendars were more specialized almanacs of public festivals (*feriae*) and farming. A famous instance of the former is a military version, the so-called *Feriale Duranum*, issued to a regiment of native infantry, the *Cohors XX Palmyrenorum*, stationed at Dura-Europus on the Euphrates in the early third century, which lists religious festivals and imperial birthdays and anniversaries.¹⁵ With regard to the latter, Columella's (*fl.* c. AD 65) 'On Agriculture' is notable for the attention it pays to astronomical phenomena – for example, the rising and setting of constellations – as key indicators of when to begin vital tasks around the farm. Roman imperial consciousness of the past is seen in the great celebrations for the 1000th birthday of the city under the emperor Philip the Arab in AD 247–8.¹⁶

The existence of monarchical rulers, principes, generated other reliable dating systems. Constitutionally just the 'first men' of the state, these were not 'emperors' in the modern sense, and certainly not kings. However, Romans soon fell into thinking of their periods of office as reigns, and dating events accordingly. This was most evident in the writing of biographies of emperors in chronological order – most famously those of Suetonius – and, later, of condensed histories (*breviaria*) by reign, e.g. those of Aurelius Victor and Eutropius (both *fl.* mid-fourth century AD). Furthermore, though emperors were not kings, there was even a sort of official counting by 'regnal' years, providing a date such as 'in the second year of the emperor Claudius'. This was made possible by the fact that imperial power was, in essence, a permanent amalgamation of the powers of Republican magistrates. One of the most important civil powers was that of a 'tribune of the people', which comprised, among other privileges, the right to initiate and veto legislation, and exemption from arrest. Under the Republic aspiring tribunes had to stand for election, and held office for just one year. Emperors simply assumed 'the power of a tribune' (*tribunicia potestas*) each year. These periods of 'tribunician power' ran from 10 to 9 December of succeeding years. They were marked on inscriptions and coins as *TRIB POT* (or just *TP*) *I, II, III* etc. A similar system existed

in Egypt, where the emperor was regarded as a pharaoh, and where there was a strong tradition of dating by regnal years, in this case by the Egyptian calendar year. As reformed by Augustus, this began on 29 August, with a leap year, ending on 30 August, every four years.¹⁷ Also, with the emergence of an imperial family there was more interest in their activities. So the 'Arval Brotherhood' (*Fratres Arvales*), priests of an ancient state cult for the *Dea Dia*, came to take a particular interest in the well-being of the imperial family and recorded their comings and goings in their records, the 'Arval *Acta*'. Used with care, the *Acta* provide much valuable chronological data for the period 21 BC to AD 241.¹⁸

Fresh interest in chronology came from growing numbers of Christians. These felt a need to connect Christianity to its Old Testament roots and to synchronize these with Greek and Roman dating, thereby demonstrating that the new religion had a pedigree as good as the old. The production of such universal histories ('chronicles') began early in the third century. The most important was that of bishop Eusebius of Caesarea (c. AD 260–339), as translated into Latin and expanded by Jerome (c. AD 347–420) and then by Hydatius (c. AD 400–c. 470) and others. Also important is the world-history, in Greek, of John Malalas (c. AD 480–570) and the 'Easter Chronicle' (*Chronicon Paschale*) of the early seventh century, which recorded events from the Creation (dated to 21 March, 5509 BC).¹⁹ Christians also took up and Christianized the traditional Roman calendar with, for example, that of Polemius Silvius (mid-fifth century AD). And Christians of the early Christian Roman Empire wrote valuable church histories. The genre of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* was invented by Eusebius of Caesarea and continued by Socrates Scholasticus and Sozomen (both *fl.* mid-fifth century AD), and Theodore (c. AD 393–466). It focused on ecclesiastical matters, but gave close attention to related secular events, and made good use of archival material. The genre died out as Church and State become one under the Byzantine emperors. Christianity was also, of course, responsible for the invention of 'AD' dating: *Anno Domini*, 'in the year of our Lord', i.e. 'in the *n*th year following the birth of Christ'. This was the work of a Scythian monk, Dionysius Exiguus, early in the sixth century. His

aim was to displace an established eastern Christian system of dating by the 'era of Diocletian', which counted years from the accession of this emperor in 284 and so, ironically, perpetuated the name of one of Christianity's most notorious persecutors. Dating by years 'BC', 'before the birth of Christ', is found in the medieval period but was popularized in the Renaissance by Denis Pétau (Dionysius Petavius: 1583–1652).²⁰

With regard to what *we* know of Roman chronology, the situation appears equally promising. Romans began to write their own history towards the end of the third century BC, with the works of Gnaeus Naevius (c. 270–c. 199 BC), Q. Fabius Pictor (born c. 254 BC: writing in Greek), Quintus Ennius (239–169 BC) and M. Porcius Cato (234–149 BC: his 'Origins' were the first true Latin history). Sadly, very little survives of these and their imitators of the following century or so. However, down to the later second century BC this gap can be filled to some degree by Polybius' 'Histories' – a detailed account of developments in the Mediterranean world from 220 to 146 BC. Polybius (c. 200–120 BC) was a conscientious and methodical scholar, careful with his chronology, which he based on Greek Olympiads.²¹ Furthermore, for the later first century BC, apart from Varro, we have historical information available from the memoirs, speeches, tracts and letters of active politicians. Important here are Julius Caesar's (100–44 BC) subtle 'commentaries' on the war in Gaul (*Bellum Gallicum*) and on his defeat of Pompey and his supporters (*Bella Civilia*). Also significant are the historical monographs of Caesar's younger supporter, Sallust (86–35 BC): 'The Histories', 'The War against Jugurtha' and 'The War against Catiline', which deal with important political events of the late-second and mid-first centuries BC. However, the richest source of historical and chronological information is, without doubt, the great lawyer and politician Cicero (106–43 BC), whose writings, above all his speeches and letters (especially the collections published as 'To Atticus' and 'To His Friends'), at times detail the course of political events virtually day by day.²²

Then, from the reign of Augustus, we have the great historians of Rome, writing within established dating systems, and dating carefully themselves. Thus Livy (59 BC – AD 17), writing describing the regal period

and the Republic down to 9 BC in his 'From the Foundation of the City' (*Ab urbe condita*), sets events into a regular framework of consular and absolute dates. In this he was followed by Tacitus (c. AD 59–c. 118), in his 'Agricola', 'Histories' and 'Annals', Cassius Dio (c. AD 164–c. 230), writing in Greek, in his 'Roman History', and Ammianus Marcellinus (c. AD 330–c. 395), in his 'History'. These writers also knew the value of original documents, had access to them, and used them: least so in the case of Livy, but famously so in that of Suetonius (c. AD 70–c. 130). Since Suetonius was a biographer, not a historian, he does not appear in the above list. However, as an administrator of the highest rank under Trajan and Hadrian he could read important records and, in writing his 'Caesars', the lives of the rulers from Julius Caesar to Domitian, he drew on these extensively until interrupted by sudden dismissal from office. The 'Caesars' certainly illuminates how much was available in the imperial archives.

But here we have to acknowledge the existence of important problems. Even if the great historians had survived in their entirety, there would still be pitfalls for the unwary.

First, in general terms, Greek and Latin historians did not, like modern historians, write to provide a full and balanced picture of events, but to dazzle their readers with their wide knowledge and literary skills, and to win them over to particular moral and political interpretations of what had occurred: in modern terms, they 'spun' the past. So, for example, their accounts of wars and battles can be vague and fanciful; and, as in the case of Ammianus Marcellinus on Christianity, they were quite capable of ignoring topics that, for various reasons, did not interest them. Furthermore, even conscientious annalistic history can confuse, since events do not always fall neatly into years. A classic example of this is Tacitus' account of the opening of the Armenian war under Nero, which makes it difficult to decide when precisely what is being described happened in the period 57–60. Next, with regard to 'BC/AD' dating, it always has to be borne in mind that there is no 'year zero': 1 BC is followed by AD 1. One result of this is that all centuries and millennia AD are one year short: the 'first century' is only 99 years

long, and the 'first millennium' only 999. It was for this reason that purists wanted to celebrate the beginning of the second millennium on 1 January 2001, not 2000. Finally, despite their interest in the calendar, the Romans were to begin with not good at handling some of its finer aspects. The constant problem of the Roman calendar, down to Pope Gregory, was how to devise a system able to cope with a solar year that very awkwardly averages 365.242 days.²³ Instead of a 365-day year with leap years, the original 'Calendar of Numa' (named after the legendary second king of Rome) had a basic 355-day year, to which were added 22 or 23 days to February every other year.²⁴ This system worked if used methodically. However, it was subject to periodic neglect and abuse, and could get significantly out of step with the 'real' year. By the middle of the first century BC there was considerable slippage. So, for example, though Julius Caesar officially crossed the Rubicon on 10 January 49 BC, the calendar had crept so far ahead of the solar year that he did so not in the middle of winter but in mid-autumn. To bring the calendar year back into line with the solar year, and the months back in line with seasons, Caesar had to add 90 days to the year 46 BC. Differences between calendrical and solar dating need always to be taken into account in writing Republican history.²⁵

The chronology of the Early Republican and Regal periods has particular problems. There are clear signs that even the earliest Roman historians had difficulty in dealing with them because of lack of evidence.²⁶ Available records were, for various reasons, deficient and unreliable. We know that the original bronze plaques promulgating the first Roman law code, the 'Twelve Tables', were destroyed in the Gallic sack of 390 BC; and it is likely that history was manipulated to promote personal and family interests.²⁷ Some regularization of the consular lists may have resulted from reforms of 367/66 BC, but current thinking is that these lists are unreliable down to c. 300.²⁸ Different attempts by ancient scholars to rectify faults and fill in gaps, and to bring the Rome system into line with Greek chronologies, caused further confusion. Gap-filling had to be done from myths and tendentious aristocratic family legends. One result of this was the

complex and often conflicting accounts of the foundation of Rome, which also betray patriotic ignorance and denial of early Etruscan influence and domination.²⁹ The 'orthodox' (Aeneas/Romulus/seven kings) version was in fact not fixed until the end of the first century BC, under Augustus. Synchronization was difficult. Varro's dating-system is inaccurate in places, and others were also in use. So Livy dates the foundation to 751/50 BC, the first consuls to 507/6 BC and the Gallic sack to 386 BC, in line with earlier Greek synchronizations. Probably most accurate is that of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (c. 60–c. 6 BC) who, in his 'Roman Antiquities', put the foundation in 752/1 BC, the first consuls in 508/7 BC and the Gallic sack in 388/7 BC.³⁰ By convention modern scholars keep to the Varronian system. The differences of a few years are usually not critical, and synchronization can be achieved by cross-checking consular dates.³¹ However, this expedient is awkward, and all the more so because Livy's consular dating is not always consistent with that of the extant lists.³² And the great historians have not survived in their entirety. None of their works has come down to us unscathed. Large sections of their text survive only in necessarily suspect summaries, or in stray references in other writers, or are simply missing. Only the first five of the 40 books of Polybius' 'Histories' are intact. We have just 35 complete books of Livy's 'From the Foundation' from a total of 142. Of Tacitus' 'Histories' are left just 4.25 books of 14, of his 'Annals' just 10 books of 18. Dio's 'Histories' have lost 55 of their original 80 volumes, Ammianus' 'Histories' 13 of their 31. Furthermore, to make the best sense of these authors' annalistic dating we should refer to the original official consular lists, but none of these has survived intact.

How can we deal with these problems? The answer is to fill in the gaps and attempt to solve the historical and chronological problems by referring to other sources. The most important in this respect are other writers providing historical details and information useful for establishing relative and absolute chronologies. These include lesser Latin historians such as Velleius Paterculus (c. 19 BC – c. AD 30) and the biographer Suetonius, and writers of abbreviated histories such as Aurelius Victor and Eutropius noticed above. Also important are Greek

works touching on Roman history, such as the Dionysius Halicarnassus' 'Roman Antiquities', the 'Parallel Lives' of Plutarch (c. AD 46–126), and the 'Roman History' of Appian (c. AD 95–c. 165). In a category of their own in this respect are the 'Jewish Antiquities' and 'Jewish War' of Flavius Josephus (AD 37–c. 100). Though both, as their titles suggest, are focused on Jewish history, they are full of references to Rome. Josephus' long account of the assassination of the emperor Gaius (Caligula), the following brief interregnum, and the accession of Claudius, all in January AD 41, is unique in the extant literature for its close timetabling of imperial regime change.³³ Valuable chronological material is also available from essentially non-historical writings, such as the 'Natural History' of Pliny the Elder (AD 23–79), and the 'Letters' of his nephew and adopted son, Pliny the Younger (c. AD 61–c. 114), the most famous of which are the two describing the eruption of Vesuvius and the resulting pyroclastic flows that destroyed Pompeii and Herculaneum in AD 79.³⁴ In the later Empire, when emperors were peripatetic, their activities may be reconstructed from speeches made in their honour in various cities, the 'Latin Panegyrics',³⁵ and, especially, geographical and chronological information embedded in their legislation, collected in the 'Theodosian Code' of AD 438.³⁶ Crucial are literary works preserving the consular fasti. The most important of these are the 'Calendar of Philocalus', which gives consular dates from 44 BC to AD 354, and Hydatius' version of a consul list from Constantinople (his *Consularia Constantinopolitana*) which runs from 509 BC to AD 468.³⁷ Considerable late-imperial material is available from, of course, the Church historians, and from later Greek historians such as Zosimus (late-fifth/early sixth century AD) and Zonaras (twelfth century AD). In addition to these are other important late Christian authors, such as Bishops Ambrose of Milan (c. AD 338–97) and Sidonius Apollinaris of Clermont Ferrand (c. AD 430–c. 485). It should be said that not all literary works are to be trusted. The 'History' of Herodian (AD 165–c. 255) is far from reliable; and much of the biographical 'Augustan History', especially its lives of co-rulers, usurpers and later-third century emperors, is pure fiction. Beside the literary sources, we can call on material remains, principally

inscriptions, papyri, coins and objects from general archaeological research. Many of these give precise dates; others may be dated from their context, style or composition. Often of little significance individually, together they form patterns that can add considerably to the history and chronology of the age.

Inscriptions are records, public and private, on stone, metal, ceramics, and even on plaster, wood and glass. Their study is known as 'epigraphy'. Inscriptions were produced in ever greater numbers from the second century BC – reflecting the developing prosperity of the Roman Empire. They decline in number from the third century. At the top of the range is what has been called 'the queen of Latin inscriptions': Augustus' boastful account of his stewardship of the Roman state, known as the *Res Gestae* ('Accomplishments'). This was originally published on a great inscription set up before his tomb in Rome. However, it has come down to us mainly from an official copy discovered in Ankara, Turkey, which explains its other name, the *Monumentum Ancyranum* ('Ankara Monument'). Not far behind is a Republican inscription, preserving a precious date for the climax of the great 'Bacchanalian scandal' of 186 BC.³⁸ At the bottom of the range of inscriptions are the furtive – folded, nailed through and hidden – leaden 'cursing tablets' of bitter men and women expressing grudges against their fellows. In the middle is a great mass of documents of every kind, touching on the lives and careers of communities and individuals great and small, from decrees of the Roman Senate at the height of its power in the second century BC,³⁹ through epitaphs of prosperous Romanized Gallic tradesmen on the Moselle in the third century AD,⁴⁰ to a building-inscription honouring one Masuna, who, styling himself 'king of the Moorish and Roman peoples', may have ruled a Romano-Moorish enclave in post-Roman (fifth century) North Africa.⁴¹ With regard to chronology, inscriptions include very useful fragments of documents already mentioned. Literary copies of the consular *fasti* may be checked against what survives of the 'Fasti Capitolini'. The best evidence we have for the nature of the pre-Julianic calendar comes from an inscription found at Anzio in 1915. And the 'Acts' of

the Arval Brotherhood survive only in epigraphic form. In addition, career inscriptions of leading men of the Roman state – emperors, senators and equestrians – found on monuments and on tombstones, provide invaluable information as to the sequence of political developments and military campaigns, and the date before (*terminus ante quem*) or after (*terminus post quem*) which a particular event must have occurred. Though most of these come from the Imperial period, there are interesting Republican examples. One of the earliest celebrates the victory of Gaius Duilius over Carthage in 260 BC; and another, in Greek, preserved at Delphi, is a formal record of Roman diplomatic representations against Macedon in 172 BC.⁴² A particularly interesting class of inscriptions is that of military *diplomata* – two-leaved certificates of honourable discharge, carefully dated, in bronze, of retiring members of the armed forces, which provide information about the composition and movements of their units. Like the *Monumentum Ancyranum*, these were in fact of master-inscriptions in Rome. Inscriptions are still coming to light that recount and date events of which we were previously totally ignorant. Thus, for example, an inscription on an altar found in Augsburg, Bavaria, in 1992, tells, in remarkably few words, of a barbarian incursion into Italy, the withdrawal of the raiders with their booty, including many prisoners, their destruction at the hands of the local provincial governor, the revolt of this governor from the ruling emperor, Gallienus, and his declaration for a usurping rival, in the period AD 260–2.⁴³

After inscriptions, the second most important non-literary source for chronological data are documents written on the crude paper of the period, papyrus, and so referred to as ‘papyri’. Their study is called ‘papyrology’. Papyrus paper was an invention of ancient Egypt, where the heat and dryness of the climate helped conserve the very fragile writing medium that was just one of many items made from the native papyrus reed. Thus papyrus documents are found mainly in the eastern Mediterranean region: in ancient Syria and, of course, in Egypt. Here, for millennia, they enabled and encouraged the development of a highly sophisticated bureaucratic administration – Egyptian, then Greek,

then Roman. Like inscriptions, papyri were used for all sorts of documents, from the grandest public to the humblest private. And, again like inscriptions, some papyrus documents are intrinsically important for the historian and the chronologer of Rome. The *Feriale Duranum*, for example, has come down to us on papyrus. However, the papyrus archive as a whole possesses a characteristic that is of immense use for establishing a general chronology. The Egyptians were scrupulous in dating their documents – by the day of the month and the regnal year of the current ruler. A nice example of this is a papyrus reflecting the excitement caused by a visiting Roman dignitary a century before Egypt, still under the Ptolemaic royal family, became a Roman possession. It is dated ‘Year 5’ (the regnal year of king Ptolemy IX); Xandicus 17 (the Greek month and day); ‘Mecheir 17’ (the Egyptian month and day): in our terms, 5 March 112 BC. Under the Empire the regnal years were, of course, those of the reigning Roman emperor or emperors. Thus, almost 400 years later, an arrest warrant for a Christian is dated ‘during the third year of Valerian and Gallienus, Phamenoth 3’: 28 February AD 256.⁴⁴ When an emperor changed, the regnal year had to change, and the authorities took pains to register this as soon as they could. However, it took time for the news of a change of ruler to reach the capital, Alexandria, and to percolate up-country along the Nile and into desert oases. Helped by the number of papyri available for study, scholars have been able to calculate the different lengths of time this process took, from region to region.⁴⁵ For well known historical periods this exercise tells us more about communications in Egypt than about imperial chronology. For lesser known periods, in particular that of the third-century ‘Crisis’ (c. AD 250–84), dated papyri are a major means of determining the sequence of emperors and the approximate dates of their accession and death. In this same desperate period, such papyri also indicate periods when Egypt was under the control of usurping emperors or invaders. The evidence has been made easily accessible by Michael Peachin.⁴⁶

The many material and chronological voids of third-century history can also be filled from information available from coins, and the

science of 'numismatics'. The Romans adopted the idea of issuing coins from the Greeks in the late fourth century BC. The Greeks had already hit upon the idea of using coins as a means of state-advertisement and communication, but, beginning in the late Republic, the Romans took coin-propaganda to its limits. The emperors established the standard coin design (still with us on British coins, so another living fossil) of a main ('obverse'/'heads') side bearing the ruler's portrait and titles, and a subsidiary ('reverse'/'tails') side with a design proclaiming, in words and pictures, his general or particular aims, activities and achievements. For periods when our historical and chronological knowledge is good the coins, like the papyri, are a complementary source, giving depth to what we already know rather than providing new knowledge. On the other hand, again like the papyri, the coins help shed light on the murky years of the third century. Produced in huge quantities due to high war-related price-inflation, they can be sorted by emperor and, within each reign, by explicit dates and by changes in the techniques of their production. This reveals the sequence – year by year and sometimes month by month – in which they were produced in various mints scattered through the Empire. On this basis, numismatists are able to identify the emperors of the period, the order in which they ruled, and for how long. They can also indicate who challenged them, and where and when such challenges were made. It is mainly from the coins, for example, that we can be sure of the names and dates of a series of rebel rulers who controlled the west at the height of the crisis, the so-called 'Gallic' emperors: Postumus, Marius, Victorinus and Tetricus (AD 260–74).⁴⁷ These usurpers faced their own challengers: the coins also corroborate accounts in the scanty literary sources that Postumus was challenged by one Laelianus; and a very rare coin, found only recently (2003) in Britain appears to confirm the existence of another, even more ephemeral challenger to Victorinus or Tetricus, one Domitianus.⁴⁸ But coin evidence may work the other way. Though the historian Ammianus Marcellinus declares firmly that Silvanus rebelled against Constantius II in Cologne in 355, the absence of coins minted in his name hints that this may be incorrect.⁴⁹

Inscriptions, papyri and coins may generally be classed as the products of archaeological investigation, but archaeology proper, the broad investigation of a structure or site, also adds to the historical and chronological picture. In recent years, for example, tree-ring dating – ‘dendrochronology’, the science of establishing *termini post quem* for the construction of buildings by the dating of their constituent timbers – has greatly refined its techniques. It has been used, for example, closely to date the speedy growth of the town of Xanten, on the Rhine, and the building of boats on the Danube.⁵⁰ However, older – in some cases very old – archaeology remains important. Great excitement was caused by the discovery of three primitive eighth-century dwellings on the Palatine in 1948, because this raised the possibility that one was ‘Romulus’ hut’ (*tugurium Romuli*), known to have been venerated *in situ* throughout Roman antiquity, and now, apparently, confirming the traditional foundation-date. Sadly, this has been disputed, with scholars pointing out that other archaeological evidence shows that there were scattered settlements on the Palatine and Forum well before ‘753 BC’ – in fact from no later than the tenth century. However, modern interpretation still leaves open the possibility that some such settlements may have coalesced in the area during the eighth century.⁵¹ Even earlier was the finding, in 1857, of fourth/third century BC wall-frescoes in the ‘François’ tomb at the now-vanished Etruscan town of Vulci, Tuscany, Italy. These depict a number of warriors in violent conflict. One is labelled ‘Macstrna’. He may represent ‘Mastarna’, confirming the historical authenticity of a leading figure of the regal period. In the Roman tradition, Mastarna (which may be a title: ‘leader’) is identified with Servius Tullius, the sixth (out of seven) canonical king of Rome. However, his graphic depiction in the François tomb has been used to argue that he may have been a ‘non-canonical’ Etruscan ruler in his own right, air-brushed out of history to suit Roman patriotic sentiments.⁵²

Finally, one should not forget the importance of astronomical phenomena mentioned in the sources, from which we can deduce precise dates. Thus, for example, Tacitus’ reference to a major eclipse of the sun

conclusively confirms that the year dated by the consulships of Gaius Vipstanus and Gaius Fonteius is, in our terms, AD 59.⁵³

Overall, the task of establishing a comprehensive chronology of Roman history is massive and difficult, but it also worthwhile and fruitful. What we have is incomplete and patchy – there is a palpable falling-off of circumstantial detail in the late-first century as we lose the accounts of Josephus and Tacitus – and has great weaknesses. But it is growing wider and becoming stronger. Chronology makes real progress because, like all good science, it is self-correcting. Hypotheses advanced from the study of one type of evidence may be refuted or confirmed from the study of others. The whole is far greater than the sum of its parts, and such synthesis can open up whole new areas of understanding of Roman history. A prime example of this is Halfmann's classic *Itinera Principum*, which draws upon all the material outlined above to reconstruct in remarkable detail – in space and time – the travels of emperors of the Early and High Empire, and all that these involved.⁵⁴

Notes

- 1 For a recent survey of these see D. Lowe and K. Shahabudin (eds) (2009), *Classics for All: Reworking Antiquity in Mass Culture*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- 2 Below pp. 000 [TV 5.143–51], cf. p. 000 [TV 5.157].
- 3 Tacitus, *Annals* 1.1 (*Urbem Romam a principio reges habuere . . .*). For Tacitus see below p. 620–1 [10].
- 4 See below p. 000 [5 c. n. 9] for the traditional dates.
- 5 For an alternative categorization, see the titles of the various volumes of the second edition of the *Cambridge Ancient History* listed below under Further Reading.
- 6 Pliny the Elder, *Natural History* 35.ii [4–8]; cf. below 000 [TV 3.90].
- 7 Servius, Commentary on Virgil, *Aeneid*. 1.373; *Cambridge Ancient History*, 2nd edn (henceforth *CAH*), VII.2, 6.
- 8 H. Bengtson (1965), *Einführung in die Alte Geschichte*. Munich, p. 29.
- 9 Polybius 1.6.1–2; *CAH* VII.2, pp. 348–9. For Polybius see below p. 000 [9 c. n. 18]. Cf. further below p. 000 [TV 1.47–9].
- 10 *CAH* VII.2, pp. CACcAD 10, 65, 347–8.
- 11 *CAH* VII.2, p. 348.

- 12 D. Kienast (1996), *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie* (2nd edn). Darmstadt, p. 14.
- 13 Cf. below 000 [TV 4.28].
- 14 Kienast (1996), p. 2.
- 15 R. O. Fink, A. S. Hoey and W. F. Snyder (1940), 'The *Feriale Duranum*', *Yale Classical Studies*, 7, 1–222.
- 16 Below pp. 000 [TV 6.9].
- 17 Kienast (1996), p. 16; cf. below p. 000 [17 c. n. 40].
- 18 Kienast (1996), p. 3.
- 19 Kienast (1996), p. 8.
- 20 Bengtson (1965), p. 30.
- 21 Cf. above p. 000 [5 c. n. 8].
- 22 Cf. below p. 000, on the final uncovering of the Catilinarian conspiracy. [TV 3.108].
- 23 Bengtson (1965), p. 23.
- 24 Bengtson (1965), p. 26.
- 25 Bengtson (1965), p. 26; cf. below pp. 000, 000, 000 [TV 3.1, 3.39, 3.183–5].
- 26 CAH VII.2, pp. 5–6.
- 27 See below p. 000 [TV 1.34].
- 28 Bengtson (1965), p. 30; CAH VII.2, p. 347.
- 29 Below pp. 000, 000 [TV 1.1, 1.22].
- 30 CAH VII.2, p. 626.
- 31 CAH VII.2, p. 348.
- 32 Cf. below pp. 000, 000, 000. [TV 1.64, 1.68–9, 1.71].
- 33 Josephus, *Jewish Antiquities* 19.1–273; T. P. Wiseman (1991), *Death of an Emperor*. Exeter; below p. 000 [TV 4.98–100].
- 34 Pliny the Younger, *Letters* 6.16, 20; below p. 000 [TV 5.42–3].
- 35 On which see most recently R. Rees (2000), *Layers of Loyalty in Latin Panegyric AD 289–307*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- 36 Kienast (1996), p. 19. O. Seeck's (1919), *Regesten der Kaiser und Päpste für die Jahre 311 bis 476 n. Chr.* Stuttgart, was the first comprehensive exploitation of this aspect of the laws.
- 37 Kienast (1996), p. 2; R. W. Burgess (1993), *The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana*. Oxford: Clarendon Press. The standard work of reference for the imperial consuls remains A. Degraffi (1952), *I fasti consolari dell'impero Romano dal 30 avanti Cristo al 613 dopo Cristo*. Rome. For a list of the earliest (509–220 BC) consuls see CAH VII.2, 628–44.
- 38 *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum* [CIL] 1.581.
- 39 E.g. *Inscriptiones Graecae* 7.2225.
- 40 E.g. CIL 13.4206; J. F. Drinkwater (1982), 'The wool textile industry of Gallia Belgica and the Secundinii of Igel', *Textile History*, 13, 111–28.
- 41 CIL 8.9835.

- 42 *CIL* 1.25; W. Dittenberger, *Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae* 643.
- 43 J. F. Drinkwater (2007), *The Alamanni and Rome 213–496: Caracalla to Clovis*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 53–6.
- 44 Oxyrhynchus Papyri 42. 3035.
- 45 Kienast (1996), p. 17.
- 46 M. Peachin (1990), *Roman Imperial Titulature and Chronology, A.D. 235–284*. Amsterdam: J. C. Gieben.
- 47 Below pp. 000 [TV 6.24].
- 48 J. F. Drinkwater (1989), *The Gallic Empire: Separatism and Continuity in the North-Western Provinces of the Roman Empire AD 260–274*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, pp. 132–88; I. Leins, 'Domitianus II – the forgotten usurper?', *Current Archaeology*, 194, 76–9.
- 49 J. F. Drinkwater (1994), 'Silvanus, Ursicinus and Ammianus: fact or fiction?', in C. Deroux (ed.), *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History VII*. Brussels: Latomus, pp. 68–76.
- 50 J. D. Creighton and R. J. A. Wilson (eds) (1999), *Roman Germany: Studies in Cultural Interaction*. Portsmouth RI: JRA Supplementary Series, 32, pp. 20, 166.
- 51 *CAH* VII.2, pp. 35, 67; cf. below p. 000 [TV 1.9].
- 52 *CAH* VII.2., pp. 94–6; cf. below p. 000 [TV 1.13].
- 53 Tacitus, *Annals* 14.12.3. (It was on 30 April.) Cf. below pp. 000 [TV 2.99]: eclipse of moon in 168 BC; and 000 [TV 4.31]: the 'star of Bethlehem' of 5 BC.
- 54 H. Halfmann (1986), *Itinera principum. Geschichte und Typologie der Kaiserreisen im Römischen Reich*. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner.

Further reading

General work of reference:

Oxford Classical Dictionary (Oxford, 3rd edn, 1996).

Concise overviews of the entirety of Roman history:

T. Cornell and J. F. Matthews, *Atlas of the Roman World* (London, various editions from 1982).

M. LeGlay *et al.*, *A History of Rome* (Oxford, several editions from 1996).

C. Freeman, *Egypt, Greece and Rome* (Oxford, 2nd ed. 2004).

More detailed surveys (in the 'Fontana History of the Ancient World' series):

R. M. Ogilvie, *Early Rome and the Etruscans* (London, various editions from 1976).

M. Crawford, *The Roman Republic* (London, various editions from 1978).

C. Wells, *The Roman Empire* (London, various editions from 1984).

Standard work:

Cambridge Ancient History, 2nd edn:

VII.2: *The Rise of Rome to 220 BC* (ed. F. W. Walbank *et al.*, 1989).

VIII: *Rome and the Mediterranean to 133 BC* (ed. A. E. Astin *et al.*, 1989).

IX: *The Last Age of the Roman Republic, 146–43 BC* (ed. J. A. Crook *et al.*, 1994).

X: *The Augustan Empire, 43 BC–AD 69* (ed. A. K. Bowman *et al.*, 1996).

XI: *The High Empire, AD 270–192* (ed. A. K. Bowman *et al.*, 2000).

XII: *The Crisis of Empire, AD 193–324* (ed. A. K. Bowman *et al.*, 2005).

XIII: *The Late Empire, AD 337–425* (ed. Averil Cameron and P. Garnsey, 1998).

XIV: *Late Antiquity: Empire and Successors, AD 425–600* (ed. Averil Cameron *et al.*, 2000).

Detailed chronology of Roman emperors from Augustus to Theodosius I (27 BC–AD 395):

D. Kienast, *Römische Kaisertabelle. Grundzüge einer römischen Kaiserchronologie* (Darmstadt, 2nd edn, 1996).

Recent specialist works on the later periods:

D. S. Potter, *The Roman Empire at Bay AD 180–395* (London, 2004).

S. Mitchell, *A History of the Later Roman Empire AD 284–641* (Malden, MA and Oxford, 2007).

Original sources in translation

Standard texts and translations of the main Greek and Latin texts:

‘Loeb Classical Library’ series (Cambridge MA: English); Budé series (Paris: French).

Online texts and translations of a large number of works (including many in the Loeb series) are now available on several websites, e.g.:

LacusCurtius: <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/home.html>

Most accessible hard-copy English translations:

Penguin Books, ‘Penguin Classics’ series (various editions and dates, listed by chronological order of authors):

Polybius:	<i>The Rise of the Roman Empire</i>
Cicero:	<i>Selected Works</i> <i>Selected Political Speeches</i> <i>Selected Letters</i> <i>Murder Trials</i>
Caesar:	<i>The Conquest of Gaul</i> <i>The Civil War</i>
Sallust:	<i>Catiline's War, The Jugurthine War,</i> <i>Histories</i>
Livy:	<i>The Early History of Rome</i> <i>The History of Rome from its Foundation (Books</i> <i>21–30)</i> <i>The War with Hannibal</i> <i>Rome and the Mediterranean</i>
Ovid:	<i>Fasti</i>
Josephus:	<i>The Jewish War</i>
Plutarch:	<i>Fall of the Roman Republic</i>
Pliny I:	<i>Natural History</i>
Pliny II:	<i>The Letters of the Younger Pliny</i>
Tacitus:	<i>The Annals of Imperial Rome</i> <i>The Histories</i> <i>Agricola and Germania</i>
Suetonius:	<i>The Twelve Caesars</i>
Cassius Dio:	<i>The Reign of Augustus</i>
Eusebius:	<i>The History of the Church from Christ to</i> <i>Constantine</i>
Ammianus Marcellinus:	<i>The Later Roman Empire</i>
Augustan History:	<i>Lives of the Later Caesars [Hadrian to</i> <i>Heliogabalus, AD 117–222]</i>

Other important English translations:

Ambrose:	<i>Ambrose of Milan. Political Letters and Speeches</i> (trans. J. H. W. G. Liebeschuetz and Carole Hill, Liverpool, 2005).
Aurelius Victor:	<i>Caesares</i> (trans. H. W. Bird, Liverpool, 1993).
Eutropius:	<i>Breviarium</i> (trans. H. W. Bird, Liverpool, 1994).
Chronicon Paschale:	<i>Chronicon Paschale 284–628 AD</i> (Liverpool, 1989).
Hydatius:	<i>The Chronicle of Hydatius and the Consularia Constantinopolitana</i> (trans. R. W. Burgess, Oxford, 1993).
Latin Panegyrics:	<i>In Praise of Later Roman Emperors</i> (trans. C. E. V. Nixon and B. Saylor Rodgers,

- Berkeley CA, 1994).
- Socrates: *Church History*, in P. Schaff and D. Wace (eds), *The Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers* (2nd series, vol. 2, repr. Grand Rapids MI, 1978).
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- Theodosian Code: (trans. C. Pharr, Princeton NJ, 1952).
- Zonaras: *The History of Zonaras* (London, 2009).
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Monarchy and Early Republic, to 265 BC

Roman monarchy

Origins

Eighth century BC The traditional date given to the foundation of Rome by the time of the historian Marcus Terrentius Varro in the mid-first century BC was 753 BC, though alternative dates have been given such as 748 BC. It is not clear what credibility can be given to this, though archaeological evidence would suggest the existence of small settlements on some of the ‘seven hills’ – including the traditional original settlement, the Palatine – at this date.

Similarly, the reality of a reign by Romulus, alleged founder of Rome and the first king, from c. 753 to c. 721 BC is now largely discounted by historians as a typical artificial ‘creation myth’ explaining the name of the city using an eponymous hero.

The stories surrounding him, such as his foundation of the Senate and the original tribes and his descent into tyranny, bear all the hallmarks of later tradition rationalizing a haphazard process of evolution into a precise account, and he is confused with the mysterious ancestral god ‘Quirinus’. Nor was there one coherent, reasonably immutable ‘creation legend’ for Rome, emerging early and remaining the same throughout its early history, which might suggest a kernel of truth at the back of it.

The name of Rome’s founder was not agreed upon by early historians, and we possess a detailed account of their confusion in the (probably fourth century AD) Roman work *Origo Gentis Romanae*, now

regarded as less likely to be a Renaissance forgery. It was earliest cited as 'Romus', evidently derived from the name, or even as the refugee Trojan prince Aeneas (until it became apparent that the fall of Troy c. 1200 BC was several hundred years too early to be matched with the founding of Rome). This was probably linked to the other early Italian creation-legends for ancient cities that credit Trojans with their foundation, e.g. stories linking Antenor and the head of the Adriatic. Rome, as the emerging leader of the Italian cities, had to have an appropriately prestigious pedigree. Aeneas was recorded as being the only major Trojan hero to escape the sack of the city in the *Iliad*, though the story of his flight to Italy is less clearly ancient. He certainly had local Latin connections independent of Roman stories, being regarded as the founder of the nearby city of Lavinium; his escape carrying his father Anchises at the fall of Troy is celebrated on sixth century BC Etruscan pottery. The 'Penates' or household gods of Troy, sacred relics rescued by Aeneas, were supposed to be at Lavinium by c. 300 BC, and their shrine may be the 'Sanctuary of the Thirteen Altars' in the town which is far older and has Greek architectural influences. The Roman priesthood, whose rituals went far back into the times of the monarchy, were still attending ceremonies there in the Late Republican era, citing the town as the ancient home of their cults.

Aeneas, regarded in the Greek 'Trojan War' legends that early Italians would have known as a virtuous and honourable Trojan prince who was a suitable object of veneration for the Romans, was believed to have founded a new Trojan dynasty in the west by the Greeks in Thucydides' time (end of the fifth century BC). He is first declared to have been the founder of Rome by the Greek historian Hellanicus, writing as early as the late fifth century BC. An alternative Greek legend connected the city to Odysseus on his Italian voyagings – events in the *Odyssey* like the encounter with the enchantress Circe could be placed on the Latin coast – or else his 'Italian' son Latinus. The legend of Odysseus' son Latinus ruling a realm in 'Tyrennia', i.e. Italy, was already extant in the sixth century BC when it is referred to in the appendix to Hesiod's *Theogony*.

It was unclear to what extent Rome was a 'planned' foundation or a gradual development. The Augustan-era Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in Book II of his *Roman Antiquities*, went the furthest in positing a 'creation' of a model city and constitution by Romulus. But he used his work throughout to stress Rome's model, balanced constitution as a superior contrast to its Greek contemporaries, and thus had a political motive for his deductions rather than seeking out the evidence. The alternative scenarios for Rome's civic origins by the first century BC were basically 'creation' at one stroke, as in Dionysius' story, versus gradual 'evolution'. The former was the normal Greek literary approach to the establishment of a new town, i.e. *ctisis* with one eponymous founder establishing every aspect of the constitution; the latter was the preferred indigenous Roman historians' approach, as in Cato's *Origines*. (He argued that it was precisely the accumulated wisdom of generations which made Rome's evolving constitution preferable to Greek city-states' experiences.)

Indeed, Livy in the reign of Augustus also presented the physical creation of the city on 'seven hills' (actually four distinct hills and three 'spurs') as the accumulated work of the kings, each of them adding on a new area to the original settlement. In archaeological terms, there is probably some truth in the theory – though it is too neat to assign the development to precise foundations of new areas of the city by 'kings' in a coherent plan. There were early (eighth to sixth century?) farming villages on most of the city's hills, but the earliest and largest would appear to be on the two 'original' hills allegedly settled by Romulus, the Capitol and the Palatine. The theory that the *Caelian* owed its name to its first settler, an expatriate Etruscan, may also be correct. It is noticeable that the seven names mentioned in Festus' account of the archaic festival of the *Septimontium* are not the later seven hills of tradition – the Capitoline, Palatine, Aventine, Caelian, Quirinal, Viminal and Esquiline – but include the two divisions of the Palatine and the three of the Esquiline. This discrepancy may accurately name the 'original' seven, from a time of several distinct villages on the Palatine and Esquiline which later merged. The Quirinal is known from

archaeology to have been settled early but is not in the list, so perhaps it and the also-excluded Viminal were not in the original 'city'. Archaic survivals in Roman religious ritual seem to suggest this, as the ancient priesthood of the Salii were divided into two divisions for the Palatine and the Esquiline; the latter also had a distinct identity in the priesthood of the *Luperci* who carried out the fertility rituals of the *Lupercalia*.

The special status of Rome's constitution to Classical historians reflected its importance as a world-conqueror. But the nature of Rome's early society was also unusual, with the established version of events having its founder bring in 'outcasts' from all over Latium not the usual body of disciplined settlers from one geographical location. It is unlikely that this story of Romulus' creation of a 'sanctuary' for refugees, outlaws and other social undesirables of low birth at Rome – or the legend of their rape of the Sabine women to acquire wives – was merely slander by disgruntled Greek-Italian victims of Roman expansion in the later fourth century BC, as the Romans made no attempt to 'tidy up' or excuse it in their days of glory. In contrast, it seems that Roman historians extolled the moral advantages of their humble, rough and unorthodox origin and contrasted the city's primitive roots to later 'decadent' luxury.

Evidently, there was some disagreement over whether Rome should be linked in origin to the other 'Greek'-founded cities of Italy or to the Greeks' Trojan rivals. Some form of connection to the early Hellenic world was considered plausible enough for justificatory legends of a suitable 'heroic' founder to be constructed. The 'Trojan' link was taken seriously across the region by 263 BC, when the Sicilian city of Segesta allied itself to Rome, citing their common Trojan origin. But the modern contention that this was invented for political reasons, perhaps at the time when Rome was fighting Pyrrhus of Epirus in the 270s, is unrealistic. The notion of a link to the Early Greek world, if not precisely to the royal house of Troy, was already in local Etruscan culture by the sixth century BC. One theory indeed had the Etruscans themselves emigrating to Italy from Lydia, in Asia Minor, to the south of Troy. It was known to Herodotus in the fifth century BC, though

by the first century BC Dionysius preferred to regard the Etruscans as Italian natives. (The unusual status of the Etruscan language, lacking local or indeed Greek/Asia Minor connections, has deepened the still insoluble mystery.)

There was also an anomalous story about a settlement of Arcadians from Greece, led by Evander, on the site centuries before 'Romulus' that was persistent enough to be incorporated into Roman tradition. In the time of Augustus, Dionysius of Halicarnassus argued for a whole series of Greek settlements in the region, especially by two waves of Arcadians (the second led by Evander); he had the 'Latin' race which existed before Rome's founding emerge from a racial mix of natives, Arcadians and Trojans. A very early cult of the Greek hero Heracles/Hercules on the site of the city, possibly introduced by early Greek traders, also had to be accommodated, and it would appear from findings of pottery that there were Greek residents in the area by the eighth century. Dionysius made Heracles/Hercules the father of Latinus, king of the Latins at the time when Aeneas the Trojan landed. Rationalizing historians suggested that Heracles/Hercules had led a military expedition to the far west on the occasion of his search for the cattle of Geryon, one of the 'Twelve Labours', and had left a garrison on the site of Rome. By the time of Vergil, who incorporated the story in the *Aeneid*, it was a commonplace story that the hero had had some of the cattle stolen by the local brigand/giant Cacus, who lived in a cave on the Palatine; the alleged cave was a first century BC tourist site.

The legend that Romulus was the son of a princess of Alba Longa can also be discounted, not least as the 'city' of Alba did not exist in the eighth century. It was rather a sanctuary sacred to the local Latin peoples who gathered there for the annual festival of the *Feriae Latinae*. A similar cult-centre rather than town existed at Lavinium, the other local centre later associated with Romulus' ancestors (in this case Aeneas). The notion of the founder as the unusually sired son of a princess also appears with such founding heroes as Perseus of Mycenae and Sargon of Akkad; his casting-out on the orders of a tyrannical relative fearing overthrow is common with the stories of Perseus, Cypselus of

Corinth and the Persian founder Cyrus. Perseus and the Jewish lawgiver Moses were placed in a container in the sea/a river like Romulus and Remus. Cyrus, cast out on the mountainside, was rescued by a shepherd and brought up as a herdsman as the twins were by the herdsman Faustulus; like them his identity was discovered once he was adult and he overthrew his wicked grandfather. In the post-Homeric legends of Troy, Paris was cast out and brought up by a shepherd before being recognized and fulfilling the prophecy that he would ruin his family.

The first verifiable references to Romulus having a twin called Remus and to their suckling by a wolf are fourth-century, and the latter legend may have been invented to account for early Rome's possession of a venerated statue of a wolf (to which the famous 'twins' appear to have been added, possibly in the 290s BC). The statue of the wolf itself, now in the Capitoline Museum, may be as early as the sixth century BC and so reflect an ancient story told about the 'founder'. But even in Roman times it was believed by some historians that the 'wolf' story arose out of a mistranslation of the slang word *lupa*, i.e. prostitute, for Romulus' foster-mother. The myth that the latter, Rhea Silvia, was impregnated by the god Mars was on a par with other stories of divinely sired founders, not only Greek ones (e.g. the Babylonians Sargon and Semiramis.) It used a suitable divinity for a people who were to be so successful in war. Alternatively, one story had it that Rhea Silvia was impregnated by a spark from the sacred fire that she tended as a priestess. It has parallels with other Italian myths, though also with the Greek legend of the similarly imprisoned and magically impregnated Danae – mother of Perseus, 'founder' of the archaic Peloponnesian military power Mycenae. It is notable that not all the early Roman historians were agreed that Remus was killed by his twin in a dispute over where to site the city, as was stated in the later version of the legend. But the notion of situating Romulus' proposed town on the Palatine and Remus' on the Aventine, with the former as the victor in the contest, probably reflects memories of the Palatine being the more important site in the new 'city'. The steeper and more defensible Capitol may have been the citadel for times of refuge from attack, as in the legend of the war with

the Sabines. The idea that the commander's daughter Tarpeia betrayed it to the attackers and was then thrown off the 'Tarpeian Rock' as her punishment would have arisen from a legend about that site's naming.

There does now appear to have been a very early wall on the Palatine Hill, site of Romulus' supposed first settlement, so there may be some truth behind the legend of an eighth-century 'foundation'. But there were buildings on several other hills at the time, some of them dateable to earlier centuries, and the existing story of an orderly foundation of a state by one leader probably 'tidies up' a far more haphazard and complex process. It is more likely that there was a 'union' of several existing villages, probably for defence and involving the creation of a joint urban centre in the Forum Romanum (whose earliest buildings can be dated to the late seventh century). The traditional conflict and then union with the Sabines following Romulus' seizure of their womenfolk and the resultant dual kingship of Romulus and the Sabine leader Titus Tatius may also reflect some real events, particularly given that it is so confused a story. It is likely that some physical record of Tatius' existence required later Roman historians to have to write him into the legend of Romulus. There are certainly traces of Sabine influence in Roman Latin terminology, and there was some sort of tradition in early Roman times of Sabine connections with the Quirinal Hill.

Traditionally, Romulus, the founder of the Senate as well as the city, turned into a tyrant and after acquiring an oppressive bodyguard was secretly murdered by the senators on the Campus Martius after a reign of around 30 years, c. 721 BC. His disappearance was thus due to the murderers cutting up his body 'in situ' and smuggling the bits away, not his apotheosis in a cloud to the heavens to become the god Quirinus. But this story bears too many hallmarks of later interpolation and retrospection to be considered reliable.

It is possible that the names and very early dating of the first three 'tribes' of the Roman citizenry are genuine. The local *Ramnes* (allegedly called after Romulus), Sabine *Tities*, and Etruscan *Luceres* were supposed to represent the three distinct peoples who had settled early Rome, living respectively on the Palatine, Quirinal and Caelian Hills.

The foundation of the 30 *curiae*, a form of organization by family for religious/ceremonial purposes probably based on ten subdivisions of each tribe – was also ascribed to Romulus. The system was of unclear purpose and origin even to the writers of the Late Republic, when an archaic *Comitia Centuriata*, an assembly organized by *curiae*, met to confer commands but many citizens did not know their *curia*. It was virtually unique to Rome and had no obvious Republican political purpose, so it probably did originate in some obscure tribal arrangement of monarchic times that became ‘fossilized’ as tradition.

The monarchy

Early seventh century BC If there is any truth behind early Roman tradition, the most probable time for the reign of **Numa Pompilius**, a Sabine and founder of the basic Roman religious observances and their calendar. Numa’s reign, if it occurred, was too early for there to be truth behind the story that his philosophy was influenced by Pythagoras. The Pythagoras story may be dated from the late fourth century BC, when Aristoxenus of Tarentum wrote that he had Roman pupils. The precise dates of 716–678 given for Numa’s reign by the first century BC are unverifiable, and the length of several royal reigns are perhaps unfeasibly long. But it is probable that sceptical modern historians (e.g. the Swedish archaeologist E. Gjerstad, who dates the Forum to c. 575) who have sought to compress the reigns of all seven kings into the sixth century to complement physical evidence of urban building in Rome are also inaccurate. That would give the successive kings far shorter reigns than the oral traditions about them agreed.

c. ?670–?640 BC Reign of **Tullus Hostilius**, a warlike leader and erroneously claimed to be the conqueror and annexer of the state of Alba Longa. By the time of Livy, it was believed that the conflict was settled by an archaic, Homeric-style ‘duel of champions’ between the three Roman Horatii brothers and the three Alban Curatii. In fact, Alba was not even a city at the time.

It is, however, possible that this story reflects Rome's militarily based assumption of the leadership of the local league of Latin settlements which used Alba as a common cult-centre.

Tullus was also supposed to have settled the Caelian, according to Cicero; this is at odds with Dionysius (who named Ancus Marcius as the founder) and Emperor Claudius (who placed the eponymous settler Caeles Vibenna as a patron of Servius Tullius).

c. 635–610 (Tr. 641–617) BC Reign of **Ancus Marcius**, alleged grandson of Numa; supposed annexation of land as far as the coast and foundation of port of Ostia. Ancus was remembered as 'the Good' in the Late Republican time of Lucretius, and was supposed to have built the first bridge over the Tiber (the *Pons Sublicius*).

c. 610–?578 (Tr. 616–578) BC Reign of **Lucius Tarquinius Priscus** (Lucumo), an immigrant from Tarquinii in Etruria and son of exiled Greek Demaratus of Corinth, assisted by his wife Tanaquil. Around 600 the first substantial stone buildings in Rome appear, including the *Regia* palace in the Forum and the first Senate House (*Curia Hostilia*). Traditionally, successful campaigns were fought against the Latins, Sabines and Etruscans.

In reality there was political conflict in Corinth in the 650s which led to the overthrow of the rule of the 'Bacchiad' aristocratic oligarchy by the new 'tyranny' of Cypselus. Accordingly, the exile of Lucumo's father around this time is regarded as historically plausible. It has been suggested by modern historians that the civic institutions and buildings ascribed to the dynasty of the Tarquins and Servius Tullius, i.e. from the time of c. 600, reflect a vague historical memory of the transformation of a loose alliance of villages on the Roman hills into a proper 'city' designed on the pattern of the Greek foundations in Southern Italy, logically by the Greek emigrant Tarquinius Priscus.

?578 BC Assassination of Tarquinius by the sons of Ancus Marcius who want the throne, but Tanaquil conceals his death from the people until

she has secured the succession of Servius Tullius who she pretends her husband nominated.

?578?–?534 BC Reign of **Servius Tullius**, probably son-in-law of Tarquinius Priscus and agreed by Roman historians to be a freed slave and son of a prisoner-of-war. There is a possibility of identification with a former mercenary captain, the Etruscan ‘Mastarna’ who brought the force of his late commander Caelius Vibenna to Rome to settle the ‘Caelian’ Hill, according to Emperor Claudius’ researches in ancient records. The reigns of the sixth-century kings are more likely to have been accurately remembered than those in the seventh century, though with literary embellishments. We cannot know how much of the existing tradition was transcribed rather than embellished by Livy at the end of the first century BC, given the non-survival of his sources.

Supposed building of ‘**Servian Walls**’ around all seven hills. No early wall of this extent has been traced, and it is evident that the Gauls in 390/86 were able to penetrate the city fairly easily. Accordingly, it is more likely that there was a shorter defensive rampart from the Esquiline to the Quirinal, protecting the city from attack from the east.

Division of Rome into seven urban districts, coupled with reorganization of the citizen body to replace the three original ‘tribes’ with 21 (?) new ones based on locality of residence not family. It is more likely that Servius created the four urban tribes and not all of the 17 rural ones; some of the latter (e.g. the Claudii) are traceable to the early years of the Republic. Fabius Pictor confusingly claimed that there were 30 tribes from the time of Servius; this and the statement in Varro that Servius divided up the city’s rural land into two sections have led to claims that Servius’ Rome possessed some land and peoples lost after c. 509. But the subdivisions of the rural land, the *pagi* (fields), may not have been done to give one area to each tribe.

For the record, the four urban tribes were: Palatina, Collatina, Esquilina, Suburana.

The 17 rural tribes were:

Aemilia

Camilia
 Claudia
 Clustumina
 Cornelia
 Fabia
 Galeria
 Horatia
 Lemonia
 Menenia
 Papiria
 Pollia
 Pupinia
 Romilia
 Sergia
 Voltinia
 Voturia

(The only one not connected to a family ‘clan’ name was ‘Clustumina’, which probably has a geographical origin linked to the town of Crustumerium. Rome conquered this in c. 499 according to Livy, and he has this tribe being formed in 495 to make the total thenceforward 21.)

Supposedly, the ‘classes’ of citizens, based on wealth, were also created and divided into ‘centuries’; each class was to bear a particular form of weaponry for military service. The details of the divisions and the weaponry required of them are virtually identical in Livy and Dionysius, except regarding the lowest classes; their lists probably came from ancient records which did not specify all the details about the latter’s weaponry. But it is anachronistic to assign the organization back into the sixth century BC, and it probably represents the ‘definitive’ requirements for soldiers’ equipment of a later date. What is more likely is that the ‘Servian origin’ of the centuries is genuine. It was arranged for military purposes, and had a logical political role for an ambitious monarch in replacing the earlier arrangement of the soldiery on a

tribal/family basis by one under State patronage.

In 1930 Plinio Fraccaro pointed out that the Roman legion – a word originally meaning ‘levy’ (*legio*), i.e. the whole army of citizen-soldiers – was designed to consist of 6,000 men, divided into 60 centuries (of mainly heavy infantry). Thus it could have been set up contemporaneously with the creation of the centuries. The usual Roman Republican legion from the fifth century had only 3,000 heavy infantry, supplemented by other lightly armed troops to bring the total up to 4,200. The original Roman army of one legion could thus have been of 3,000 men based on 30 divisions of men each of which was originally supplied by one curia before the centuries were created. But by the fifth and fourth centuries Rome had two legions in service. The expansion of Rome in the sixth century would have led to the doubling in size to two armies, totalling 6,000 men in all. This then became the accepted ‘official’ size for a later legion.

The resulting army may have adapted the Greek institution of the *phalanx* of *hoplites*, which was based on a similar levy of citizens with their military functions and required equipment divided according to their financial capacities. As in Greece, the creation of a ‘citizen army’ could have had a political motive in decreasing the power of the wealthy aristocrats.

7534–7509 BC Reign of **Lucius Tarquinius Superbus**, traditionally son but more logically grandson of Tarquinius Priscus (as suggested by L. Calpurnius Piso in the second century BC, at variance with the earlier version related by Fabius Pictor). His wife is supposed to have organized her father Servius’ overthrow and then driven over him in her chariot – but this may be a mythical explanation of the name of the street where the incident supposedly occurred.

Conquest of Gabii and Pometia; traditionally Tarquinius carried out the former by a ruse, with his son pretending to flee Tarquinius’ tyranny and being taken in by Gabii which he then betrayed to his father. (The story bears suspicious similarities to a Greek legend about Corinth). Colonization of Signia and Circeii; alliance with Tusculum

whose ruler Octavius Mamilius marries Tarquinius' daughter; construction of grand monumental stone complex of Temples of Jupiter 'Optimus Maximus', Juno, and Minerva on Capitoline Hill. The Temple of Jupiter is supposed to have involved the employment of master-sculptors from Veii; the start of work was variously ascribed to both of the two Tarquins but the construction of one building is unlikely to have taken the decades from Priscus' reign to c. 509.

Roman Republic

From expulsion of the kings to the sack of Rome

?509/8 BC Alternatively, Dionysius of Halicarnassus dates it to 508/7 and Polybius to 508; an inscription in Rome dated to Flavius' aedileship in 303 dated that year as being 204 since the expulsion of the king.

Tarquinius and family are expelled, probably by a group of the leading noble 'patrician' clans and supposedly after the rape of Lucretia by Tarquinius' son Sextus; revolt led by the king's nephew Lucius Iunius Brutus and his ally Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus. The official story has the new Republic exiling all royals and banning the names of Tarquinius and King – which is at odds with the leadership of the new state by one consul with that name and the other related to the exiled ruler.

A dual supreme magistracy, the consulship, is created with its duration limited to one year. Power is now in the overall hands of the Senate, the former advisory body of noblemen supposedly created by Romulus. This is dominated by the 'patrician' families, a closed hereditary elite of senior dynasties who dominate the early consulship. However, there were other families represented in the Senate of non-patrician rank, who some historians have assumed to be the *conscripti* in the traditional formula for addressing the Senate, '*patres et conscripti*'. Indeed, there were a number of non-patrician consuls in the first years of the Republic – among them the 'liberator' Marcus Junius Brutus.

It is not certain if the non-patricians were brought in individually on

an individual basis by vote of the others – a ‘life peerage’ element on the British parallel. What is clear is that, as in Greece, tension between the social classes (and between the patrician and non-patrician rich) stoked a ‘Conflict of Orders’ in the following century and a third, reaching peaks in the 490s and 360s. Arguably, the increase in the percentage of senior offices held by patricians (79 per cent in the years 509–483, 99 per cent by the years 427–401) suggests a move by the latter to exclude those of *plebeian* origin from power and a reason for those excluded to ally with the lower orders against them.

509/8 or 508/7 BC Consuls: Lucius Iunius Brutus and Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus; latter replaced by Publius Valerius. Brutus executes his sons for treasonous contacts with the Tarquins’ envoys who are in Rome to request return of the family property; Brutus killed in battle with forces of Veii invading on Tarquinius’s behalf.

Popular suspicion of intentions of the sole consul Valerius are reassured, supposedly by his public-spirited demolition of his ostentatiously grand new house, and he wins the title of ‘*Publicola*’ (‘People’s Friend’); Spurius Lucretius, replacement second consul, dies and is succeeded by Marcus Horatius.

The dedication of the first Temple of Jupiter ‘*Optimus Maximus*’ on the Capitoline Hill, centre of Roman religious ceremonial, is supposed to have taken place in this year, the first of the Republic, and may well have been reckoned accurately if some sort of record (traditionally, the annual driving in of a nail by the year’s consuls) was kept; traditionally, the ceremony was carried out by Marcus Horatius. The annual ceremony of the nail occurred on the Ides of September, which thus may have been the date of dedication.

The king’s religious functions seem to have passed not to the chief priest (*pontifex maximus*) but to a separately chosen *rex sacrorum*. He was barred from the Senate and other political roles unlike the *pontifex maximus* and the members of the priestly colleges (*flamines*), a presumed move to neutralize the former royal joint political/religious role. One modern theory has it that the royal role had already been reduced

to that of a powerless rex sacrorum before the fall of the Tarquinii, and that the latter were not traditional, 'sacral' kings in the manner of Numa and Ancus but popularly supported 'life magistrates' in the manner of the contemporary Greek 'tyrannies'. Their magisterial role was thus the target of the 509/8 'revolution', and the supreme magistracy was thereafter limited to one year and divided between two men. It is also debatable if the home of the pontifex maximus in the Forum, the *Regia* (i.e. 'Palace'), where he carried out religious ceremonies and the tutelary cults of the 'Lares and Penates' were based, was the original residence of the Tarquinii or of the rex sacrorum. Later legend has some kings living elsewhere, e.g. Tullus on the Velia, Ancus on the *Sacra Via*, and Priscus on the *Nova Via*.

The first treaty with Carthage may also have taken place in this year as was later reckoned, and is certainly historically plausible given Carthage's current interest in the Tyrrhenian coast and rivalry with the Greek city-states further south. Polybius dates it at this consulship, though in the year 507/6 not 508/7, and reproduces its terms from an inscription; Livy says that the Romano-Carthaginian treaty of 306 BC was the third but only mentions that of 348 (the second?) explicitly.

507/6 BC Consuls: P. Valerius and Titus Lucretius. Attack on Rome by Lars Porsena of Clusium, overlord of most of the Etruscan city-states and ally of the Tarquins; Marcus Horatius 'Cocles' defends the wooden Tiber bridge alone until it can be demolished. Porsena fortifies the Janiculum and besieges Rome; Caius Mucius attempts to assassinate him and on his capture allegedly thrusts his hand into a brazier to show his scorn for death or torture, winning the name of 'Scaevola' ('Left-Handed'). The Senate makes a treaty with Porsena, admitting him as overlord, but are not required to accept Tarquinius back; Porsena goes on to Latium to attack Aricia, but is defeated and Tarquinius' son Arruns is killed.

The legendary account of these events rationalized by Livy 500 years later may reflect a true story in that Roman tradition was clearly awkward at having to admit to some sort of submission to Porsena, an

embarrassing episode which the Romans would never have invented voluntarily. Horatius' exploit was probably remembered due to the statue erected to him which Livy records, but Mucius more likely reflects an attempt by his family to explain their traditional *cognomen* 'Scaevola'. Cicero and Pliny both believed that Porsena had occupied Rome, but in that case he certainly did not restore Tarquinius as his client.

506/5 BC Consuls: Spurius Lartius and Titus Herminius.

505/4 BC Consuls: Publius Lucretius and Publius Valerius Publicola. Porsena's final request to Rome on Tarquinius's behalf is refused, and he agrees a new treaty with the Senate returning land he took three years earlier; Tarquinius flees to his son-in-law Mamilius of Tusculum.

504/3 BC Consuls: Marcus Valerius and Publius Postumius. Successful war with Sabines; consuls celebrate *triumph*. Attius Clausus leads the clan of the Claudii to Roman territory, where they are later made an additional rural 'tribe'.

503/2 BC Consuls: Menenius Agrippa and Publius Postumius. Death of Publius Valerius Publicola. Roman 'colonies' of Pometia and Cora unsuccessfully revolt with aid of the Aurunci who are invaded; triumph held.

502/1 BC Consuls: Opiter Verginius and Spurius Cassius. Pometia stormed and inhabitants enslaved.

501/00 BC Consuls: Postumus Cominius and Titus Lartius. Lartius or Marcus Valerius appointed first 'dictator' due to threat of invasion from Mamilius and the 'Latin League' on Tarquinius' behalf.

500/499 BC Consuls: Servius Sulpicius and Manlius Tullius.

499/8 BC Consuls: Titus Aebusius and Gaius Vetusius. Siege of Fidenae;

capture of Crustumera; Praeneste leaves 'Latin League' to join Rome. Aulus Postumius dictator, with Titus Aebutius as deputy, 'Master of the Horse'; Tarquinius inspires Mamilius and the 'Latin League' to attack Rome, but they are defeated at battle of Lake Regillus near Tusculum where Marcus Valerius, Mamilius and Tarquinius' surviving son Sextus are among the casualties; triumph celebrated. The foundation of the Forum Temple of the Divine Twins, Castor and Pollux, is ascribed in Roman legend to their helping the Roman forces at the battle and announcing the news to Rome.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus has the dictator Postumius found the Temple of Ceres, the nature-goddess (thus connected to the populist issue of adequate supplies of grain), on the Aventine after the battle and endow it with loot. The temple and its sanctuary became a cult-centre for the plebeians, while the worship of the Divine Twins in the Forum was run by patricians; a Greek cultural inspiration is possible.

498/7 BC Consuls: Quintus Cloelius and Titus Lartius. Traditional date for fall of Crustumrium to Rome; their inhabitants formed the final one of the early rural 'tribes', the 'Clustumina'.

497/6 BC Consuls: Aulus Sempronius and Marcus Minucius. Temple of Saturn dedicated and the December holiday of *Saturnalia* first celebrated.

496/5 BC Consuls: Aulus Postumius and Titus Verginius.

495/4 BC Consuls: Appius Claudius and Publius Servilius. Death of Tarquinius Superbus at court of Aristodemus of Cumae. Number of 'tribes' traditionally raised to 21.

Colony of Signia consolidated; Temple of Mercury dedicated. Threat of war with the Volscian hill-tribes East of Latium, who gain support of their neighbours the Hernici but fail to interest the Latins to whom the grateful Romans return prisoners-of-war.

Discontent in Rome over the plight of debtors at the mercy of

patrician landholders, with leader of the Claudii later held to have led the uncompromising party in Senate, though this may be because of later reputation of the family; Volscian attack defeated.

494/3 BC Consuls: Aulus Verginius and Titus Vetustius. Continuing discontent over plight of debtors leads to appointment of dictator Manlius Valerius; Valerius fights the Sabines while Vetustius drives off an Aequian attack on dependent Latin territory.

The Senate still refuses any legislation to relieve debtors and threatens to use troops against mutinous meetings of the rest of populace, the 'plebs'; 'Aventine Secession' of the 'plebs' who withdraw from the city en masse, probably to the 'Sacred Mount' near the River Anio; Menenius Agrippa leads mission to the Mount to negotiate and measures of relief are conceded and two special officials, 'tribunes' immune from arrest, created to represent the people's interests. Caius Licinius and Lucius Albinus are the first tribunes.

493/2 BC Consuls: Spurius Cassius Vicellinus and Postumus Cominius Auruncus. Treaty with the Latins (known as the 'Foedus Cassianum' after its negotiator, consul Cassius); Volsci are defeated at Antium, and Longula and Polusca are captured; the heroism of Caius Marcius in the capture of Corioli leads to his nickname of 'Coriolanus'.

492/1 BC Consuls: Titus Geganius and Publius Minucius Augurinus. Shortage of grain leads to its importing from Sicily; epidemic prevents Volscian attack.

491/0 Consuls: Marcus Minucius Augurinus and Aulus Sempronius. Caius Marcius 'Coriolanus' opposes the proposed sale of cheap corn and wins popular hatred; after conflict with the tribunate he is exiled and joins the Volsci; Attius Tullius, their leading opponent of Rome, joins a Volscian party visiting Rome for celebration of 'Great Games' and warns the Senate that his countrymen are planning to seize city so they are expelled, and then works on their resentment to have war declared.

He and Marcius lead the invasion and Rome is besieged; traditionally the Senate sends out Marcius' mother Veturia and wife Volumnia to persuade him to withdraw after official negotiators are rejected.

Marcius withdraws the Volscian army and goes into exile, but Volsci later invade again with the Aequi; the two end up fighting each other.

(The dating by Livy for the period from the Coriolanus episode, placed at 491/0 using his reckoning from the time of the 'Aventine Secession' in 494, to the consulship of Cassius in 486 is imprecise.)

487/6 BC Consuls: Titus Siccus Sabinus and Caius Aquillius Tuscus. Hernici defeated.

486/5 BC Consuls: Spurius Cassius Vicellinus and Proculus Verginius. Peace with Hernici, who surrender half their territory (Livy; the Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus says they did not.) It is divided between Rome and the Latins by a proposal from Cassius; he attempts to include allegedly illegally held private land in Rome in this annexation, thus creating a body of land for popular distribution in Rome's first agrarian law. He also proposes to repay the money made from a sale of grain to Sicily to the public. His fellow-consul Verginius organizes defeat of this legislation, on the grounds that its populism implies a political threat to the constitution from Cassius.

485/4 BC Consuls: Servius Cornelius and Quintus Fabius. Ex-consul Cassius tried and executed and house demolished, supposedly for fear of his populist measures which might imply intention to seize power.

484/3 BC Consuls: Fabius Caeso and Lucius Aemilius. Defeat of a revolt by the Volsci and Aequi.

15 July: Dedication of Temple of Castor (and Pollux) in Forum, built following battle of Lake Regillus.

483/2 BC Consuls: Caeso Fabius and Lucius Valerius. War with Veii and later with Volsci.

482/1 BC Consuls: Quintus Fabius and Caius Julius.

480/79 BC Consuls: Caeso Fabius and Spurius Furius. Campaigns against Veii and Aequi; agitation among the ‘plebs’ for a redistribution of land leads to tribune Spurius Licinius encouraging refusal of military service.

479/8 BC Consuls: Marcus Fabius and Cnaeus Manlius. Tribune Tiberius Pontificius introduces legislation for land reform and threatens recruitment for army but aristocratic party persuades other tribunes to veto his bill. Battle with Veii where the Fabii lead Roman victory and consul Manlius and ex-consul Quintus Fabius killed.

478/7 BC Consuls: Caeso Fabius and Titus Verginius. Caeso defeats Aequi but Verginius defeated by Veii; Fabii army wiped out in private attack on Veii at battle of the Cremera.

477/6 BC Consuls: Caius Horatius and Titus Menenius. Veii army advances as far as the Janiculum and Horatius has to be recalled from Volscian war to confront them.

476/5 BC Consuls: Verginius and Servilius. The latter drives Veiians off the Janiculum.

475/4 BC Consuls: Nautius and Valerius. The latter defeats a Sabine army that has come to assist Veii in a new war.

474/3 BC Consuls: Lucius Furius and Caius Manlius. Forty-year peace with Veii.

473/2 BC Consuls: Lucius Aemilius and Opiter Verginius. Amid renewed political strife, tribune Cnaeus Genucius is murdered after summoning ex-consuls Furius and Manlius for trial.

472/1 BC Consuls: Appius Claudius and Titus Quinctius. A measure proposed by tribune Volero for tribunes' election by the 'Tribal Assembly' (less open to aristocratic manipulation) passed; ?number of tribunes increased from two to three. Volero passes a new law to reorganize voting in the Assembly on the basis of tribes. Claudius fights the Volsci and Quinctius the Aequi.

471/0 BC Consuls: Lucius Valerius and Titus Aemilius. ?Claudius dies during trial by the tribunes as leader of 'hard-line' aristocratic party. Valerius attacks the Aequi and Aemilius their Sabine allies.

469/8 BC Consuls: Titus Numicius Priscus and Aulus Verginius. Volscian attack during renewed conflict over land legislation; Numicius pursues retreating enemy to their base at Antium and negligent Verginius has to escape Aequian ambush.

468/7 BC Consuls: Titus Quinctius and Aulus Servilius. Sabine raid up to the walls of Rome; capture of Antium by Quinctius ends lowland Volscian base.

467/6 BC Consuls: Titus Aemilius and Quintus Fabius. Land at Antium granted to needy 'plebs' at Fabius' suggestion, heading off a more controversial attempt by Aemilius to hand over private Roman land to them which the tribunes back. Fabius attacks Aequi and grants truce which is soon broken.

466/5 BC Consuls: Quintus Servilius and Spurius Postumius.

465/4 BC Consuls: Quintus Fabius and Titus Quinctius. Major Aequian raid on Rome; Quinctius holds census and 104,714 citizens recorded as registered.

464/3 BC Consuls: Aulus Postumius Albus and Spurius Furius Fuscus. War with Aequi renewed and they attempt to suborn Roman colonists

at Antium; consul Furius is besieged in camp and during the emergency the Senate issues first ‘ultimate decree’ – that all necessary steps be taken by consul(s) to restore situation; Quinctius relieves the camp with Latin and Hernici help.

463/2 BC Consuls: Lucius Aebutius and Publius Servilius. Plague in Rome; Aebutius dies, followed by Servilius, and the Volsci raid the Hernici and on around Rome and have to be defeated by Latins; **August:** *interrex* Publius Valerius Publicola organizes new elections for consuls: of Lucius Lucretius Tricipitinus and Titus Vetustius Geminus; Lucretius successfully ambushes overconfident Volscian plunderers after another raid around Rome and celebrates triumph.

Renewed political strife over tribune Caius Terentillus Arsa’s call for codification of law to stop aristocratic abuses.

462/1 BC Tricipitinus and Vetustius complete term of office.

461/0 BC Consuls: Publius Volumnius Amintinus Gallus and Sulpicius. Conflict in the city over constitutional reform leads to riots; exile of young aristocratic leader Caeso, son of Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, after trial for murder during riots.

460/59 BC Consuls: Appius Claudius and Publius Valerius Publicola. Appius Herdonius the Sabine and a group of exiles and slaves seize the Capitol in unsuccessful attempt at coup; Tusculum sends troops to aid the Senate regain control but during attack Valerius is killed; succeeded by Cincinnatus.

459/8 BC Consuls: Quintus Fabius Vibulanus and Lucius Cornelius Maluginensis. Fabius defeats Volscian attack on Antium, and then hurries to evict an Aequian force that has seized citadel of Tusculum.

Census: 117,319 citizens registered.

458/7 BC Consuls: Lucius Minutius and Caius Nautius. War with Aequi,

who are aided by Sabine raids; Nautius defeats Sabines, but Minucius is besieged in his camp by Aequi and Cincinnatus is appointed dictator to raise troops to relieve him; traditionally, the latter is called from his small farm and is found ploughing, to which he returns after victory – this is later regarded as a fine example of the simplicity of ancient Roman leadership.

457/6 BC Consuls: Quintus Minucius and Caius Horatius Pulvillus. Aequi take Corbio and Ortona and are defeated by Horatius at Algidus.

456/5 BC Consuls: Marcus Valerius and Spurius Verginius. *Lex Icilia* on the distribution of illegally held land on the Aventine; it is to be distributed by lot among the plebeians. The law is named after a tribune, and apparently enacted by the Assembly (i.e. by plebiscite) not by the consuls in the Senate as usual; its historicity and significance has thus been debated. There was a column in existence commemorating it by the time of the Greek historian Dionysius of Halicarnassus, arguing for its historicity.

455/4 BC Consuls: Titus Romilius and Caius Veturius. Aequi defeated again as they raid Tusculum.

454/3 BC Consuls: Spurius Tarpeius and Aulus Aturnius Varus Fontinalis.

453/2 BC Consuls: Publius Curiatius and Sextus Quinctilius. Famine and plague in Rome.

452/1 BC Consuls: Caius Menenius and Publius Sestius Capitolinus.

451 BC Board of *Decemvirs*, allegedly after commission sent to Athens to investigate alternative forms of government: Appius Claudius, Titus Genucius, Publius Sestius, Lucius Veturius, Caius Julius, Aulus Manlius, Publius Sulpicius, Publius Curiatius, Titus Romilius, Spurius Postumius. Publication of first series of the ‘Twelve Tables’ of law, namely the first ten.

Plebeian agitation for a formal codification of the law seems to have been the reason for this venture; the tradition that the Tables was the time of the formal creation of a 'balanced' constitution carefully mixing monarchy, oligarchy and democracy was extant by the time of Polybius' history in the mid-second century BC.

450 BC Second Board of Decemvirs: Appius Claudius, Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis, Marcus Sergius, Lucius Minucius, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, Quintus Poetilius, Titus Antonius Merenda, Caeso Duellius, Spurius Oppius Cornicerius, Manlius Rabuleius.

The Decemvirs allegedly fail to lay down office on traditional date for new appointments, 15 May, and supposedly maintain rule by intimidation. This at any rate was the interpretation by Livy's time.

(The historicity and/or membership of this second board are disputed by some historians; its 'misrule' and descent into self-serving tyranny may be a legend devised to explain unwelcome elements of the later section of the 'Twelve Tables' laws. Appius Claudius' malign role may have been inflated by first century BC anti-Claudian sentiment, the family then being leading anti-populists.)

Later legislation of the Decemvirs includes a ban on intermarriage between patricians and plebeians.

Defeat of Roman armies by the Sabines at Eretum and the Aequi at Algidus adds to popular discontent.

Traditionally, misrule of the Decemvirs with Appius Claudius chiefly to blame, brought to a head by the latter's attempt on the virtue of Verginia who he falsely claims to be the daughter of a slave in his friend Marcus Claudius' house and thus under the latter's control. Her father Lucius Verginius is taken to court to hand her over, but when Appius Claudius as the presiding magistrate orders him to do so he kills her to save her chastity from the lecherous official and then raises revolt among the army which popular riots assist; the army leads a second secession of angry citizens to the 'Sacred Mount' and the Senate has to negotiate a settlement.

Appointment of ten 'Military Tribunes' headed by Verginius, with

his daughter's betrothed Icilius, Publius Numitorius, Caius Sicinius, Marcus Duellius, Marcus Titinius, Marcus Pomponius, Caius Apronius, Publius Villius, Caius Oppius.

New consuls elected: Senate's negotiators Valerius and Horatius chosen. Motions by the 'Tribal Assembly' accepted as binding on the Senate, and persons of tribunes and aediles declared inviolate from prosecution. Decisions of the popularly assembled 'plebs' in the Tribal Assembly are granted full validation as law (third *Lex Valeria*); thus the institution of a *plebiscite* is created. (The accuracy of this dating for it in Livy has been challenged; it was definitely in operation from one of its next two affirmations, the *Lex Publilia* of 339 BC or the *Lex Hortensia* in 287 BC.)

?Confirmation of the right of appeal from judicial decisions, a *Lex Valeria* reinforcing an earlier one ascribed to consul Valerius Publicola in c. 508.

Decrees of the Senate are entrusted to the plebeian aediles, to be kept at the Temple of Ceres; ?an attempt to prevent patricians keeping their legal decisions secret from plebeians.

The historicity of these 'Valerio-Horatian Laws' has also been challenged; the Greek historian Diodorus suggested a more informal agreement between patricians and plebeians.

General amnesty except for Appius who is imprisoned, and Valerius defeats raiding Volsci and Aequi at Algidus before Horatius successfully tackles their Sabine allies.

449/8 BC Same consuls re-elected.

448/7 BC Consuls: Spurius Herminius and Titus Verginius Caelimontanus.

447/6 BC Consuls: Marcus Geganius Macerinus and Caius Julius.

446/5 BC Consuls: Titus Quinctius Capitolinus and Furius Agrippa. Political strife continuing to block arrangements for raising troops, the

Volsci and Aequi take the opportunity to raid to the walls of Rome; Quinctius persuades contending parties into truce and raises army which pursues and routs the raiders near Corbio.

445/4 BC Consuls: Marcus Genucius and Caius Curtius. Revolt of Ardea after Rome seizes a piece of territory over which they and Aricia are contending; tribune Canuleius successfully proposes law removing ban on intermarriage between patricians and plebeians, but political deadlock over attempts to admit plebeians to consulship. Appointment of 'Military Tribunes' with consular power, to include both patricians and plebeians: Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Atilius and Titus Cloelius.

444/3 BC Dispute over whether consuls or military tribunes are to hold office resolved temporarily in favour of the former, and interrex Titus Quinctius Barbatus holds elections; consuls Titus Quinctius Barbatus, Lucius Papirius Mugilanus and Lucius Sempronius Atratinus. Treaty with Ardea renewed.

443/2 BC Consuls: Marcus Geganius Macerinus and Titus Quinctius Capitolinus. Dispute between popular and aristocratic parties in Ardea leads to civil war and the latter call in Volsci; the town is besieged but Geganius relieves it and surrounds the besiegers until they agree to leave; Volscian leader Cluilius handed over to Rome and paraded in Geganius' triumph.

442/1 BC Consuls: Marcus Fabius Vibulanus and Postumus Aebutius Cornicen. Roman commissioners Menenius Agrippa, Titus Cloelius Siculus and Marcus Aebutius Helva infuriate the tribunes by allowing local Rutulians rather than Romans to predominate in new land grants at depopulated Ardea.

441/0 BC Consuls: Caius Furius Pacilius and Marcus Papirius Crassus.

440/39 BC Consuls: Proculus Geganius Macerinus and Lucius Metenius Lanatus. Famine; Lucius Minucius appointed to organize grain supplies.

439/8 BC Consuls: Titus Quinctius Capitolinus and Menenius Agrippa Lanatus. Conspiracy of Spurius Maelius to seize power; he is arrested and killed by order of Cincinnatus who the alarmed Senate call in as dictator.

438/7 BC Consuls: Marcus Geganius Macerinus and Lucius Sergius (Fidenus). Fidenae revolts in alliance with Lars Tolumnius, king of Veii, and executes Roman envoys; Mamercus Aemilius is made dictator for war against Fidenae which is captured; Aulus Cornelius Cossus kills Tolumnius in single combat in battle.

437/6 BC Consuls: Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis and Lucius Papirius Crassus. Expeditions against Veii and ally Falerii.

436/5 BC Consuls: Caius Julius and Lucius Verginius. Epidemic, during which the Veiians and Fidenaeans advance to near the walls of Rome and Aulus Servilius is made dictator to repulse them; he captures Fidenae.

435/4 BC Either Julius and Verginius re-elected consuls, or else Valerius Antias and Quintus Tubero. Mamercus Aemilius dictator to meet unrealized threat of joint Etrurian action to support Veii; he curtails period allowed for censorship from five to one and a half years; census is held.

434/3 BC Military Tribunes elected in place of consuls in new political confrontation; Military Tribunes chosen are: patricians Marcus Fabius Vibulanus, Marcus Fostius, Lucius Sergius Fidenus; tribunes' plebeian candidates rejected.

433/2 BC Military Tribunes: Lucius Pinarius Mamercus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Spurius Postumius Albus.

432/1 BC Consuls: Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus (Pennus) and Cnaeus Julius Mento. Aulus Postumius Tubertus dictator to deal with a Volscian attack; he drives off a night-time assault on his camp at Algidus and captures the enemy camp to celebrate triumph, and reputedly executes his son for disobeying orders. Dedication of Temple of Apollo.

430/29 BC Consuls: Lucius Papirius Crassus and Lucius Julius. Law issued on fines for misconduct (*Lex Papiria Iulia*). Armistice with Volsci and their Aequian allies.

429/8 BC Consuls: Lucius Sergius Fidenus and Hostius Lucretius Tricipitinus.

428/7 BC Consuls: Aulus Cornelius Cossus and Titus Quinctius Pennus. Raids from Veii.

427/6 BC Consuls: Caius Servilius Ahala and Lucius Papirius Mugilanus.

426/5 BC Plebeian agitation prevents consular elections so Military Tribunes chosen instead for war with Veii; Military Tribunes elected are: Titus Quinctius Pennus, Caius Furius, Marcus Postumius, Aulus Cornelius Cossus. Mamercus Aemilius dictator. Battle with Veii and Fidenae near the latter town; the Romans win despite Fidenaeans with burning brands charging out of town to assist their enemies.

425/4 BC Military Tribunes: Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Lucius Horatius Barbatus. Twenty-year truce with Veii and three-year truce with Aequi.

424/3 BC Military Tribunes: Claudius Crassus, Spurius Nautius Rutilus, Lucius Sergius Fidenus, Sextus Julius Julus.

423/2 BC Consuls: Caius Sempronius Atratinus and Quintus Fabius Vibulanus. Sempronius is defeated in battle by the Volsci due to poor

leadership, and he and commanders from the battle against Veii three years before are prosecuted by tribunes for incompetence; Sextus Tempanius, the only senior officer in the recent battle to acquit himself successfully, is among next batch of tribunes.

422/1 BC Military Tribunes: Lucius Manlius Capitolinus, Quintus Antonius Merenda, Lucius Papirius Mugilanus.

421/0 BC Consuls: Cnaeus Fabius Vibulanus and Titus Quinctius Capitolinus. Quinctius is successful in renewed Aequian war.

420/19 BC Succession of interreges with delayed elections; Lucius Papirius Mugilanus as interrex finally arranges the latter.

419/8 BC Military Tribunes: Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Marcus Manlius, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus.

418/7 BC Military Tribunes: Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, Publius Lucretius Tricipitinus, Spurius Nautus Rutilus. Unsuccessful plot by slaves to start fires and seize the Capitol; Labici revolts in league with Aequi.

417/6 BC Military Tribunes: Lucius Sergius Fidenus, Marcus Papirius Mugilanus, Caius Servilius. The tribunal army marching on Labici is defeated by Aequi and Quintus Servilius Priscus is appointed dictator; Aequi defeated and Labici sacked and resettled by Romans.

416/5 BC Military Tribunes: Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, Lucius Servilius Structus, Publius Lucretius Tricipitinus, Spurius Veturius Cassius.

415/4 BC Military Tribunes: Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Marcus Papirius Mugilanus, Spurius Nautius Rutilus.

Strife over tribunes Mecilius and Metilius' unsuccessful bill to

confiscate all land conquered from Rome's enemies for general settlement by the people, which would include much land taken since it was annexed for aristocratic estates.

Capture of Bola.

414/3 BC Military Tribunes: Publius Cornelius Cossus, Caius Valerius Potitus, Quintus Quinctius Cincinnatus, Marcus Fabius Vibulanus.

413/2 BC Military Tribunes: Cnaeus Cornelius Cossus, Lucius Valerius Potitus, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, Marcus Postumius Regillensis.

The last is murdered by his troops, supposedly over his resistance to populist land measures.

412/11 BC Consuls: Aulus Cornelius Cossus and Furius Medullinus. Furius captures Ferentinum.

411/10 BC Consuls: Quintus Fabius Ambustus and Caius Furius Pacilus. Agitation by tribune Lucius Icilius over land reform. Pestilence and poor harvest.

410/9 BC Consuls: Marcus Aemilius and Caius Valerius Potitus. Carventum captured by Aequi, and its recapture is delayed by tribune Menenius holding up the levying of troops to blackmail the patricians.

409/8 BC Consuls: Cnaeus Cornelius Cossus and Lucius Furius Medullinus. The first plebeian *quaestors* (financial officials) are elected; Carventum falls to Volscian attack and cannot be retaken; Verrugo recaptured.

408/7 BC Popular pressure leads to election of Military Tribunes rather than consuls; Military Tribunes chosen are, however, all patricians – Caius Julius Julus, Publius Cornelius Cossus, Caius Servilius Ahala.

Antium leads revolt in alliance with Volsci; Publius Cornelius appointed dictator for campaign.

407/6 BC Patrician Military Tribunes elected again – Lucius Furius Medullinus, Caius Valerius Potitus, Cnaeus Fabius Vibulanius, Caius Servilius Ahala.

Expiry of truce with Veii. Volsci capture Verrugo.

406/5 BC Military Tribunes: Publius Cornelius Cossus, Cnaeus Cornelius Cossus, Cnaeus Fabius Ambustus, Lucius Valerius Potitus.

Fabius sacks Anxur/Tarracina in war with Volsci.

405/4 BC Military Tribunes: Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, Quintus Quinctius Cincinnatus, Caius Julius Iulus, Aulus Manlius, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Manlius Aemilius Mamercus.

Start of siege of Veii.

404/3 BC Military Tribunes: Caius Valerius Potitus, Manlius Sergius Fidenas, Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, Cnaeus Cornelius Cossus, Caius Fabius Ambustus, Spurius Nautius Rutilus. Campaign against Volsci and capture of Ardea.

403/2 BC Military Tribunes: Manlius Aemilius Mamercus, Lucius Valerius Potitus, Appius Claudius Crassus, Marcus Quinctilius Varus, Lucius Julius Iulus, Marcus Postumius, Marcus Furius Camillus, Marcus Postumius Albinus.

402/1 BC Military Tribunes: Caius Servilius Ahala, Quintus Servilius, Lucius Verginius, Aulus Manlius, Manlius Sergius. Anxur captured by Volsci; a force from Falerii comes to Veii to break into the town and aid besieged.

401/0 BC Military Tribunes: Lucius Valerius Potitus, Marcus Furius Camillus, Manlius Mamercus Aemilius, Cnaeus Cornelius Cossus, Caeso Fabius Ambustus, Lucius Julius Iulus.

Date for entering office altered to 13 October. Potitus fails to retake Anxur; commanders Sergius and Verginius are tried and fined for the previous year's defeat at Veii. Colony is set up at Velitrae.

400/399 BC Military Tribunes: Publius Licinius Calvus (sole plebeian), Publius Manlius, Lucius Titinius, Publius Maelius, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Lucius Publilius Vulscus.

Anxur retaken.

399/8 BC Military Tribunes: Marcus Veturius (sole patrician), Marcus Pomponius, Cnaeus Duillius, Publilius Voleto, Cnaeus Genucius, Lucius Atilius.

Falerii and Capena unsuccessfully attempt to relieve Veii. First holding of the religious rite of *lectisternum* – a banquet for the gods' statues – in Rome to appease the deities.

398/7 BC Military Tribunes: elected are all patricians – Lucius Valerius Potitus, Marcus Furius Camillus, Marcus Valerius Maximus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Quintus Servilius Fidenas, Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus.

?Mission sent to the oracle at Delphi to investigate prophecy that Veii will never fall until the overflowing Alban Lake is drained off.

397/6 BC Military Tribunes: Lucius Julius Iulus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Lucius Sergius Fidenas, Aulus Postumius, Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, Aulus Manlius.

Resignation of Military Tribunes after rites of election held to be improper, and rule of interreges pending fresh elections; Etruscan meeting at the shrine of Voltumna agrees to allow volunteers to go to aid of Veii.

396/5 BC Military Tribunes: Publius Licinius Calvus, Lucius Titinius, Publius Manlius, Publius Maelius, Cnaeus Genucius, Lucius Atilius.

The 'Latin Games', assembly of the states of Latium, are held by (now properly elected) Roman magistrates and the Alban Lake is drained to satisfy the prophecy.

Genucius and Titinius are defeated by forces of Falerii and Capena;

Marcus Furius Camillus is appointed dictator and captures Veii, which is sacked and annexed; ancient shrine to *Mater Matuta* in Rome is rebuilt according to his vow.

(Diodorus puts the fall of Veii in the fourth year of the ninety-sixth Olympiad, i.e. 393/2. Livy's account seems to date it at six years before the sack of Rome which he dates at 390, so the alternative dating of the sack at 387/6 would fit in with Diodorus' alternative date for the fall of Veii six years before that.)

Volsci and Aequi sue for peace.

395/4 BC Military Tribunes: Cornelius Cossus, Cornelius Scipio, Marcus Valerius Maximus, Caeso Fabius Ambustus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Quintus Servilius.

Capena sues for peace but Falerii resists.

394/3 BC Military Tribunes: Marcus Furius Camillus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Caius Aemilius, Lucius Valerius Publicola, Spurius Postumius, Publius Cornelius.

Camillus besieges Falerii and successfully concludes peace whereby they pay tribute, reputedly impressing the defenders by refusing offer from a treacherous schoolmaster to accept his pupils as hostages for forcing their parents to organize surrender. Envoys are sent with golden bowl to Temple of Apollo at Delphi as a gift was promised in return for fall of Veii. Postumius defeats Aequi.

393/2 BC Consuls: Lucius Lucretius Flavius and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus.

392/1 BC Consuls: Lucius Valerius Potitus and Marcus Manlius Capitolinus.

Temple of Juno vowed by Camillus during attack on Veii is completed and inaugurated; Valerius is awarded triumph for Aequian campaign. Camillus interrex after consuls are required to resign due to illness; Lucius Valerius Potitus finally oversees elections. Censorship

carried out: Dionysius of Halicarnassus dates this as being in the 119th year from the expulsion of the kings.

391/0 BC Military Tribunes elected are: Lucius Lucretius, Servius Sulpicius, Marcus Aemilius, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Furius Agrippa, Caius Aemilius, taking up office on 1 July. Campaigns against Volsinii, which wins 21-year truce, and Sappinum.

?390/89 BC This is the date supported by Livy, following Varro, for the year of the Gallic invasion and sack of Rome; it is alternatively dated at 387/6 following Polybius (or his sources, such as Philistus of Syracuse) who synchronize the sack with the ‘Peace of Antalcidas’ between the Greeks and Persia. If the latter are correct, then Livy’s estimate of the dates for events of the 390s may also be about three years too early – thus Veii falls in 393/2 as Diodorus claims, and Falerii in 391/0.

390/89 or 387/6 BC Military Tribunes: Quintus Sulpicius Lagus, Quintus Servilius, Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, three of the Fabii. Migration or raid of Gallic tribe of the Senones under ‘Brennus’ (possibly corruption of the Celtic word for ‘King’) into Etruria leads to siege of Clusium, which appeals to Rome for help; allegedly a clash between Gauls and the Fabii sent from Rome to investigate the siege leads to Gallic march on Rome, which as the largest city in Latium is anyway a promising source of plunder.

18 July: defeat of Romans at the battle of the Allia; Rome is left undefended as the remnants of army flee to Veii, and garrison holds out on Capitol (probably the ‘Servian’ Walls do not cover full length of circumference of city at this time despite later legend); Gauls sack Rome; Marcus Manlius successfully defends the Capitol with the help of the geese at the Temple of Juno Moneta who alert defenders to Gauls climbing up rocks, but has to pay ransom before the Gauls leave; Camillus is appointed dictator by the refugee civic leadership, brings troops from Ardea, and supposedly defeats the retreating invaders as

they are leaving with their loot; he assumes power as interrex; defeat of proposal to move capital to Veii.

Alternative, possibly earlier, traditions, did not mention Camillus or his victory over the retreating Gauls (which Polybius does not record); either the family of the Livii Drusii or Rome's ally Caere were supposed to have recovered the gold by defeating a Gallic army. Lucius Albinus is recorded as having evacuated the Vestal Virgins and their treasure to the safety of Caere; he is probably the 'Lucius' mentioned by Aristotle (quoted by Plutarch) as saving Rome.

From this point, dating is taken to regard the sack of Rome as occurring in 387; thus 20 years elapse between the sack and the accurately dated events of 367/6. This, however, poses some problems with Livy's list of 'Military Tribunes' for the 380s and 370s, who are all listed here for the sake of completeness.

From the sack of Rome to the First Punic War

389/8 (Livy) or 386/5: year after sack of Rome Military Tribunes: Lucius Valerius Publicola, Lucius Verginius, Pubius Cornelius, Aulus Manlius, Lucius Aemilius, Lucius Postumius. Marcus Furius Camillus appointed dictator to campaign against potential enemies encouraged by Rome's weakness. Camillus recaptures Roman ally Sutrium from Etruscans.

388/7 (Livy) (Second year following the sack of Rome) or 385/4 BC Military Tribunes: Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus, Quintus Servilius Fidenas, Lucius Julius Iulus, Lucius Aquilius Cossus, Lucius Lucretius, Servius Sulpicius Rufus.

387/6 (Livy) (Third year following the sack of Rome) or 384/3 BC Military Tribunes: Lucius Papirius, Cnaeus Sergius, Lucius Aemilius, Licinius Menenius, Lucius Valerius Publicola.

386/5 (Livy) or 383/2 BC Military Tribunes: Marcus Furius Camillus,

Servius Cornelius Maluginensis, Quintus Servilius Fidenas, Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus, Lucius Horatius, Publius Valerius. Camillus and Fabius defeat an alliance of rebel Latins, Hernici and Volsci at Sutrium. Nepete recaptured and anti-Roman faction punished for surrendering it.

Foundation of colony of Sardinia – first off Italian mainland – according to Diodorus.

385/4 (Livy) or 382/1 BC Military Tribunes: Aulus Manlius, Publius Cornelius, Titus and Lucius Quinctius Capitolinus, Lucius Papirius Cursor, Caius Sergius.

Aulus Cornelius Cossus appointed dictator to fight renewed assault on Latium by Volsci and Hernici, but the campaign is disrupted by need to deal with new political disturbances over debts and land distribution ?in which Marcus Manlius, hero of the defence of the Capitol, adopts the populist cause.

New colony is set up at Satricum to ease popular demands for more land; Velitrae remains in revolt.

384/3 (Livy) or 381/0 BC Military Tribunes: Servius Cornelius Maluginensis, Publius Valerius Potitus, Marcus Furius Camillus, Servius Sulpicius Rufus, Caius Papirius Crassus, Titus Quinctius Capitolinus.

Marcus Manlius arrested and executed for alleged plot to seize power from patricians.

Plague and dearth of corn.

383/2 (Livy) or 380/79 BC Military Tribunes: Lucius Valerius, Aulus Manlius, Servius Sulpicius, Lucius Lucretius, Lucius Aemilius, Marcus Trebonius.

Lanuvium involved in new Latin revolt.

382/1 (Livy) or 379/8 BC Military Tribunes: Marcus Furius Camillus, Aulus and Lucius Postumius, Lucius Furius, Lucius Lucretius, Marcus Fabius Ambustus.

Praeneste calls in Volscian aid for Latin revolt, and Satricum is captured; Camillus defeats Volsci and marches into potentially disloyal Tusculum which is pardoned.

Roman colonies at Sutrium and Nepete, traditional date.

381/0 (Livy) or 378/7 BC Military Tribunes: Lucius and Publius Valerius, Caius Sergius, Publius Papirius, Licinius Menenius, Servius Cornelius Maluginensis.

Caius Sulpicius Camerinus and Spurius Postumius Regillensis (who dies) censors; civil strife over debts delays recruitment for army to fight rebel Praeneste whose troops advance on Rome.

380/79 (Livy) or 377/6 BC Appointment of dictator Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, who defeats the Praenestines at the ill-omened River Allia and captures Praeneste and Velitrae; end of Latin revolt.

379/8 (Livy) or 376/5 BC Military Tribunes: Publius and Cornelius Manlius, Lucius Julius, Caius Sextilius, Marcus Albinus, Lucius Antistius.

The Manlii are ambushed by Volsci, and Praeneste revolts again.

378/7 (Livy) or 375/4 BC Military Tribunes: Spurius Furius, Quintus Servilius, Publius Cloelius, Licinius Menenius, Marcus Horatius, Lucius Geganius. Spurius Servilius Priscus and Quintus Cloelius Siculus censors to investigate debt crisis; the tribunes force temporary measures of relief by holding up the levying of troops before campaign to repulse Volscian frontier-raids.

377/6 (Livy) or 374/3 BC Military Tribunes: Lucius Aemilius, Publius Valerius, Caius Veturius, Servius Sulpicius, Lucius, Caius Quinctius Capitolinus.

Aemilius and Valerius defeat alliance of Volsci and rebel Latins near Satricum, after which rebel Antium expels its allies and surrenders; Tusculum relieved from rebel attack.

376/5 (Livy) or 373/2 BC ?Tribunes Caius Licinius and Lucius Sextius propose measures to end political/debt crises – relief from payment of larger debts, ban on possession of more than 500 *iugera* of land, end to Military Tribunate, and at least one plebeian consul each year. Patrician resistance causes deadlock and resulting failure to elect new magistrates, though it is uncertain how many years this persisted and Diodorus' estimate of one year is more likely than Varro's estimate of five years which Livy follows. If Diodorus is correct, it is possible that the correct dating for the events which Livy places in 376/5 is 373/2, and hence that the events of the years which Livy dates as 389/8 to 373/2 can be redated as occurring in 386/5 to 373/2. This would enable the lists of 'Military Tribunes' and consuls which Livy reports for the period after the sack of Rome to be accommodated more easily.

371/0 BC Military Tribunes elected: Lucius Furius, Aulus Manlius, Servius Sulpicius, Servius Cornelius, and Publius and Caius Valerius. Rebel Velitrae is besieged after their attack on loyal Tusculum.

370/69 BC Military Tribunes: Quintus Servilius, Caius Veturius, Aulus and Marcus Cornelius, Quintus Quinctius, Marcus Fabius. Velitrae is besieged.

368/7 BC Military Tribunes: Titus Quinctius, Servius Cornelius, Servius Sulpicius, Spurius Servilius, Lucius Papirius, Lucius Veturius. Licinius and Sextius' legislation continues to be blocked by patricians, who arrange appointment of Camillus as dictator; deadlock continues under Camillus and successor Publius Manlius.

367/6 BC Military Tribunes: Aulus and Marcus Cornelius, Publius Manlius, Marcus Geganius, Lucius Veturius, Publius Valerius. Licinius and Sextius are elected tribunes for ?tenth successive year; Marcus Furius Camillus dictator for fifth and final time and defeats Gauls; after a final bout of civil struggle a compromise is agreed over the 'Sexto-Licinian' legislation including consulship and debt-relief; offices of

urban *praetor* (magistrate – initially for patricians) and curule *aedile* (in charge of civic buildings) created; special Games are held to celebrate the agreement, probably the first *Ludi Romani*. From this date, a new body of aspiring rich dynasts of technically plebeian rank start to share the consulship with the old patrician families; the opening of the consulship to plebeians does not reflect any extension of it to ordinary citizens without clients and influence.

366/5 BC Consuls: Spurius Furius Camillus and (the first plebeian consul) Lucius Sextius, under the new ‘Sexto-Licinian Law’ rules that one consul each year may be a plebeian; first elections to new urban praetorship and aedileship.

365/4 BC Consuls: Lucius Genucius and Quintus Servilius. Plague in Rome, with M. Furius Camillus the most distinguished victim.

364/3 BC Consuls: Caius Sulpicius Peticus and Caius Licinius Stolo.

363/2 BC Consuls: Cnaeus Genucius and Lucius Aemilius Mamercus. Lucius Manlius dictator, allegedly for performing religious rites to abate plague.

362/1 BC Consuls: Quintus Servilius Ahala and Lucius Genucius. War with Hernici, during which Genucius is killed in ambush; Appius Claudius is appointed dictator and Hernici are defeated; appearance of chasm in earth in the Forum at ‘Curtius’ Pool’, which name one legend ascribes to Marcus Curtius sacrificing himself there by riding his horse into it to appease the gods and close it.

361/0 BC Consuls: Caius Sulpicius and Caius Licinius Calvus. Titus Quinctius Poenas dictator; raiding Gauls reach the third milestone from Rome on the Via Salaria, and Roman army confronts them; during the battle Titus Manlius defeats a Gallic champion in single combat and takes his gold neck-ring (torque), from which he wins the nickname ‘Torquatus’; Gauls march on into Campania.

360/59 BC Consuls: Caius Poetilius Balbus and Marcus Fabius Ambustus. Quinticius Servilius Ahala appointed dictator to punish Tibur for aiding Gauls, while Fabius fights the Hernici.

359/8 BC Consuls: Marcus Popilius Laenas and Cnaeus Manlius. Tibur attacks Roman territory. Censors: Caius Fabius and Caius Plautius. War with Tarquinii in Etruria in retaliation for raid, while dictator Caius Sulpicius fights Gallic incursion near Praeneste and receives triumph after victory.

358/7 BC Consuls: Marcus Fabius Ambustus and Marcus Popilius Laenas. Plautius defeats Hernici but in Fabius' war with Tarquinii the latter sacrifice Roman prisoners. Creation of new Pomptine and Petilian 'tribes'.

357/6 BC Consuls: Caius Marcius and Caius Manlius. Tribunes Duillius and Menenius carry through law to fix rate of interest and aid debtors. Ex-tribune Licinius prosecuted under his own legislation of 367 for owning too much land.

356/5 BC Consuls: Marcus Fabius Ambustus and Marcus Popilius Laenas. Caius Marcius Rutulus appointed first plebeian dictator to drive off an invasion by Etruscan towns in support of Tarquinii. Elections of consulship are held up and a succession of interreges appointed.

355/4 BC Consuls: Caius Sulpicius Peticus and Marcus Valerius Publicola. Campaigns against Tibur and Tarquinii.

354/3 BC Election of two patrician consuls – Marcus Fabius Ambustus and Titus Quinctius – despite popular protests which lead to boycott of voting. Tibur surrenders after capture of Sassula; Tarquinii sues for peace and massacre of prisoners avenges Roman losses; Samnites send envoys and treaty is agreed.

353/2 BC Consuls: Caius Sulpicius Peticus and Marcus Valerius Publicola. Titus Manlius appointed dictator to fight Caere, which has intervened in support of Tarquinii but sues for peace.

352/1 BC Delayed consular elections over patrician resistance to a plebeian candidacy and debtors' relief; eventual election of patrician Publius Valerius Publicola and plebeian Caius Marcius Rutulus. Caius Julius dictator.

351/0 BC Consuls: Caius Sulpicius Peticus and Titus Quinctius Poenas – both patricians, but accepted by populace after debts relieved. Marcus Fabius dictator, and Falisci and Tarquinii granted 40-year truce after campaigns against them. Marcius Rutulus and Manlius censors.

350/49 BC Consuls: Marcus Popilius Laenas and Lucius Cornelius Scipio. Cornelius fights Gallic invasion of Latium, and despite his victory some of them stay on there and winter at the Alban Mount; Lucius Furius Camillus appointed dictator and arranges consular elections of patrician candidates.

349/8 BC Consuls: Lucius Furius Camillus and Appius Claudius Crassus (dies in office). (The Greek historian Diodorus has Marcus Aemilius and Titus Quinctius as consuls.) Gauls continue to plunder Latium, and Camillus drives them out; Rome uses a massive army of ten legions for extended campaigns.

348/7 BC Titus Manlius Torquatus dictator; Marcus Valerius Corvus, aged only 23 (normal minimum consular age 42), and plebeian Marcus Popilius Laenas elected consuls. Greek (?Syracusan) fleet plunders Latin coasts.

347/6 BC Consuls: Titus Manlius Torquatus and Caius Plautius. Rate of interest for repayment of debts halved and time for repayment extended.

346/5 BC Consuls: Marcus Valerius Corvus and Caius Portelius. Valerius defeats alliance of Antium and the Volsci in revolt and sacks Satricum.

345/4 BC Consuls: Marcus Furius Dorsuo and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus. War with the Aurunci; Lucius Furius appointed dictator and vows temple to Juno 'Moneta' in return for success; it is constructed on the Capitol on site of the disgraced Marcus Manlius' house.

344/3 BC Consuls: Caius Marcius Rutulus and Titus Manlius Torquatus (or Quintus Servilius Ahala).

343/2 BC Consuls: Marcus Valerius Corvus and Aulus Cornelius Cossus. War between the Sidicini and the Samnites on the borders of Campania leads to the former appealing for aid to the Campanians; the Samnites invade Campania and threaten Capua, a Roman ally, and nearby Roman colonists; Campanian envoys visit Rome for support; the Senate asks Samnites to leave Campania, and on refusal Valerius marches to assist the Campanians – outbreak of first Samnite war. Valerius defeats Samnites in Campania, but Cornelius has more trouble in difficult hilly terrain in Samnium; award of first 'grass crown' for heroism in saving fellow-citizens' lives to Publius Decius for saving fellow-soldiers' lives in this campaign. Valerius relieves Samnite attack on Suessula. Success leads to peace with rebel Falisci in Latium and a congratulatory embassy from Carthage. Roman garrisons are set up in Campania to defend it from Samnite raids.

342/1 BC Consuls: Caius Marcius Rutulus and Quintus Servilius. Mutinous illegally discharged soldiers in Campania set out for Rome to demand justice and force ex-consul Titus Quinctius to serve as their leader, but are confronted by dictator Marcus Valerius Corvus and their grievances are redressed. Tribune Lucius Genucius passes proposals to ban lending money with interest, prohibit concurrent tenure of several civic offices, and establish a ten-year gap between tenures of the same office. A *Lex Genucia* also leads to regular system of one patrician and

one plebeian consul each year; it is unclear if this division was now obligatory. If the law allowed both consuls to be plebeians, this was still not carried out in reality until 172 BC. More likely, the law only made it obligatory to have one plebeian consul.

341/0 BC Consuls: Caius Plautius and Lucius Aemilius Mamercus. Plautius defeats Latin revolt led by Privernum and Antium. Samnite envoys are granted peace, but then Rome's Latin and Campanian allies attack Samnites in revenge for past raids and Rome does not intervene; Latins plot revolt against Rome and Campanians object to Roman garrisons.

340/39 BC Consuls: Titus Manlius Torquatus and Publius Decius Mus. Latin envoys arrive in Rome to complain about Roman misrule but no success; a rebel army of Latins joins Campanians; Manlius executes his son for disobeying orders in engagement during the Roman campaign that follows; Decius is heroically killed in victory over the Latins and Campanians near Mount Vesuvius, sacrificing himself to inspire troops and to fulfil prophecy that one side will lose its general and the other its entire army. Torquatus wins a second victory and rebels surrender; Latin lands, especially that of Privernum and Falerii, and Capuan territory as far as the River Volturnus is confiscated and divided among the Roman 'plebs' for settlement. Loyal Campanian *equites* are granted Roman citizenship but their towns have to pay tribute.

339/8 BC Consuls: Tiberius Aemilius Mamercinus and Quintus Publilius Philo. Philo defeats Latin revolt but Aemilius fails to take rebel Pedum.

338/7 BC Consuls: Lucius Furius Camillus and Caius Maenius. Pedum stormed; inhabitants of Lanuvium, Aricinum, Nomentum and Pedum are granted Roman citizenship and Tusculans' citizenship is confirmed; the senate of Velitrae are deported and their land seized, and land of Tibur and Praeneste seized for their aid to Gauls; Latin states are deprived of their right to hold councils independent of Roman control,

thus dissolving the 'Latin League'. Citizens of Campania, Fundi and Formiae are granted Roman citizenship without the vote (known as 'Latin rights').

337/6 BC Consuls: Caius Sulpicius Longus and Publius Aelius Paetus. Quintus Publilius Philo is elected first plebeian praetor; consuls delay in aiding the Aurunci against attack by the Sidicini, and Caius Claudius Inregillensis is appointed dictator.

336/5 BC Consuls: Lucius Papirius Crassus and Caecilius Duillius.

335/4 BC Consuls: Marcus Valerius Corvus and Marcus Atilius Regulus. War with and capture of Cales by Valerius, who celebrates third triumph.

334/3 BC Consuls: Titus Veturius and Spurius Postumius. War with Cales' Sidicini allies; Publius Cornelius Rufinus appointed dictator but disqualified due to supposed improper religious rites after plague breaks out, and rule by interreges follows.

332/1 BC Interrex Marcus Valerius Corvus; consuls Aulus Cornelius and Caius Domitius. Marcus Papirius Crassus appointed dictator due to unfulfilled threats of wars with Gauls and Samnites; the latter are distracted by the invasion from Greece of Alexander of Epirus (uncle and brother-in-law of Alexander 'the Great'), called in by southern Italian Greek colonies.

331/0 BC Consuls: Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Caius Valerius (Potitus or Flaccus). Outbreak of plague is rumoured to be due to poisoning, and Cnaeus Quinctilius appointed dictator to carry out religious rites of appeasement to gods.

330/29 BC Consuls: Lucius Papirius Crassus and Lucius Plautius Venox. Volsci of Fabreteria and Lucania successfully seek Roman protection

against Samnite incursions, and Rome warns the latter; war with Privernum and their allies at Fundi. Alexander of Epirus is killed at Pandosa during Southern Italian expedition.

329/8 BC Consuls: Lucius Aemilius Mamercinus and Caius Plautius, entering office on 1 July. Privernum surrenders or is stormed, and refugee Fundi commander Vitruvius and anti-Roman leaders in the town are executed but other citizens granted Roman citizenship; colony at Anxur.

328/7 BC Consuls: Publius Plautius Proculus and Publius Cornelius Scapula. Colony established at Fregellae, in former Samnite territory to the annoyance of the latter.

327/6 BC Consuls: Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Quintus Publilius Philo. War with the Greek colony of Paleopolis on the Bay of Naples, with the Samnites suspected of encouraging the latter; hostile exchanges with Samnite envoys to the Senate about Roman 'interference' in Samnium's affairs leads to outbreak of hostilities.

326/5 BC Postponed consular elections finally arranged by fourteenth interrex, Lucius Aemilius; consuls Caius Poetelius and Lucius Papirius Mugillanus. Lucanians and Apulians, the Samnites' southern and eastern neighbours, gain Roman alliance; Roman campaign into Samnium captures Allifae, Callifae and Rufrium; ex-consul Publilius, allowed to continue his siege of Paleopolis after expiry of consular term with special powers, secures surrender of the city before Tarentum can send promised fleet to relieve it; with the help of Tarentine Greeks alarmed at Roman advances, the Lucanians are forced to defect to Samnites and admit garrisons.

325/4 BC Consuls: Lucius Furius Camillus and Junius Brutus Scaeva. Brutus is sent to punish the Vestini/Marsi for allying with the Samnites; Furius, in Samnium, falls ill and is replaced by dictator Lucius Papirius

Cursor; Papirius' victories lead to temporary truce at Samnite request.

324/3 BC The *Fasti Capitolini*, a list of officials put up on the Capitol in Augustus' time, has a dictator and no consuls in office this year, but Livy continues his narrative from the previous year's consuls to those of 323/2 as if there was no gap.

323/2 BC Consuls: Caius Sulpicius Longus, Quintus Aemilius Cerretanus. War resumes with the Samnites, and also with Apulians; tribune Marcus Flavius fails to have the Tusculans punished and their land seized for their alleged plot with Velitrae and Privernum during the latter's revolt.

322/1 BC Consuls: Quintus Fabius and Lucius Fulvus (or Lucius Furius Camillus and Decimus Junius Brutus). Aulus Cornelius Arvina dictator for campaign, to march into Samnium and pre-empt gathering of large mercenary army there; either Fabius or Cornelius wins victory and celebrates triumph; unsuccessful Samnite mission to Rome for peace.

321/0 BC Consuls: Titus Veturius Calvinus and Spurius Postumius Albinus (Livy). A Roman army entering Campania is trapped and forced to surrender at the pass of the 'Caudine Forks' by Pontius' Samnites who block both exits and starve them out. Romans have to pass under yoke as sign of humiliation and the consuls agree to peace before they are allowed to leave minus their weapons and armour; the humiliation is notorious for centuries, and the treaty is soon rejected by Senate as the consuls' disgraceful action should not be regarded as binding on them even though it means violating the consuls' oaths to Pontius. Public mourning in Rome; Marcus Aemilius Papus appointed dictator for failed attempt to hold elections, followed by interreges.

320/19 BC Consuls: Quintus Publilius Philo and Lucius Papirius Cursor. The ex-consuls, as responsible for the Caudine treaty, are sent to the Samnites as prisoners to excuse the renewal of the war; Publilius defeats

one Samnite army and Papirius campaigns successfully in Campania, defeats a Samnite army after Tarentum fails to mediate, storms Luceria, and regains hostages and standards seized at Caudium.

319/8 BC Consuls: Lucius Papirius Cursor (or Lucius Papirius Mugillanus) and Quintus Aulius Cerretanus. Satricum is recaptured after defecting to Samnites and admitting garrison.

318/7 BC Consuls: Marcus Foliu Flaccinator and Lucius Plautius Venox. Samnite envoys succeed in gaining two-year truce, and Teanum and Canusium in Apulia surrender to Plautius; tribes of Ufentina and Falernia are added to the list of Roman tribes, bringing total to 31.

317/6 BC Consuls: Caius Junius Bubulcus and Quintus Aemilius Barbula. Roman conquest of Apulia completed, and the armies move on to Lucania.

316/5 BC Consuls: Spurius Nautius and Marcus Popilius. Lucius Aemilius dictator, and besieges Saticula which the Samnites attempt to relieve.

315/4 BC Consuls: Lucius Papirius Cursor and Q. Publilius Philo. Dictator Quintus Fabius defeats Samnites outside Saticula, which surrenders; Roman defeat at Lau(s)tulae during siege of rebel Sora.

314/3 BC Consuls: Marcus Poetelius and Caius Sulpicius. Sora captured, and campaign against the Aurunci; Luceria seized by Samnites, recaptured and colonized; unsuccessful plot to hand over Capua to Samnites; plebeian Caius Maenius appointed dictator, and unsuccessfully prosecuted for abuse of power in his investigations of Capuan plot at instigation of patrician opponents; consuls defeat the main Samnite army, waiting to benefit from revolt in Capua at nearby Caudium, and pursue survivors to Beneventum; Bovianum is besieged by Romans.

313/2 BC Consuls: Lucius Papirius Cursor and Caius Junius Bubulcus. Caius Poetelius appointed dictator, and recaptures revolted Fregellae and takes Nola; colonies at Suessa Aurunca and Pontiae Islands (Latium).

312/11 BC Consuls: Marcus Valerius and Publius Decius. Bubulcus appointed dictator on threat of Etruscan war; Interamna Sucasina colonized (Latium). Censorship of Appius Claudius Caecus, with Caius Plautius; Claudius starts work on the *Via Appia* from Rome to Capua in Campania and on the aqueduct *Aqua Appia*. Claudius opens the membership of all the urban tribes to the *humiles*, i.e. the lower classes, thus increasing their political power in voting; this is regarded as dangerously populist and his introduction of some unexpected new members to Senate is resisted; his fellow-censor Caius Plautius resigns. Both Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy present Claudius' measures as being regarded as politically subversive and populist. Claudius carries out reorganization of religious ceremonies, possibly with some political implications.

311/10 BC Consuls: Caius Junius Bubulcus and Quintus Aemilius Barbula. ?Claudius fails to resign his sole censorship after the usual 18 months; it is unclear how long he stays in office (to 309?). The pipe players who normally perform at religious ceremonies go on strike over ban from Temple of Jupiter and go off to Tibur, but are lured back; Junius retakes Cluviae after Samnites seize it, and storms Bovianum; Aemilius relieves Etruscan siege of Rome's ally Sutrium.

310/09 BC Consuls: Quintus Fabius and Caius Marcius Rutulus. Fabius relieves second Etruscan attack on Sutrium and marches successfully through the Ciminian Forest into Etruria to defeat Etruscans; Perugia, Cortona and Arretium, leading Etruscan towns, gain 30-year truce. Rutulus recaptures Allifae from Samnites and Publius Cornelius brings Roman fleet to Campania to raid Nuceria; Papirius Cursor elected dictator in Fabius' absence in order to assist wounded consul Marcius in

Samnium and defeats Samnites; Fabius defeats and garrisons Perugia after truce in Etruria is broken.

309/8 BC A year with a 'dictator' and no consuls, according to the Augustan-era *Fasti Capitolini*, but not treated as such by Livy.

308/7 BC Consuls: Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus and Publius Decius Mus. Marcus Valerius praetor. Fabius takes Nuceria and defeats Samnites and their new allies, the Marsi, while Decius defeats Tarquinii and Volsinii in Etruria; Umbrians come to aid of Etruscans but are routed on surprise arrival of Fabius from Samnium.

307/6 BC Consuls: Appius Claudius Caecus and Lucius Volumnius. Fabius, as *proconsul* with extended command, wins battle with Samnites near Allifae.

306/5 BC Consuls: Publius Cornelius Arvina and Quintus Marcius Tremulus. The Hernici revolt but are suppressed by Marcius, who then joins Cornelius in Samnium in time for successful battle; Marcius celebrates triumph; Anagnina and other Hernici towns are granted 'Latin rights'; treaty with Carthage renewed (the third treaty, according to Livy). Caius Junius Bubulcus and Marcus Valerius Maximus censors; new roads are built and Temple of Salus ('Safety') commenced. Publius Cornelius Scipio runs the consular elections as dictator as the current consuls are still on campaign.

305/4 BC Consuls: Lucius Postumius and Tiberius Minucius. Samnites raid the Stellatae area of Campania; Postumius is sent to campaign around Tifernum and Minucius to Bovianum. Battle with Samnites? where Minucius is mortally wounded and succeeded by Marcus Fulvius as consul; fallen Bovianum is recaptured along with Sora and Arpinum.

304/3 BC Consuls: Publius Servilius Saverrio and Publius Sempronius Sophus. Samnites send envoys to Rome for peace, who are sent on to

attend Sempronius as he leads army through Samnium checking that all is quiet; on his favourable report peace is agreed and the 354/341 treaty is renewed; both consuls are sent to punish the Aequi after disaffection is reported, and their countryside is ravaged and 31 towns taken; the example set to potential enemies persuades the Marsi, Marrucini and Paeligni to send envoys to reaffirm alliance with Rome. Cnaeus Flavius, son of a freedman (the first such to hold high office), in office as a reforming *curule aedile*; a client of Appius Claudius ‘Caecus’, he is bitterly opposed by the patrician families. He publishes an account of legal proceedings and the official calendar of the *dies fasti* when public business is permitted, both hitherto kept private by the Senate. The censors, Quintus Fabius Rullianus and P. Decius Mus., reverse Claudius’ opening of all the urban tribes to plebeians. Dedication of Temple of Concord by Flavius; the Senate enacts a law banning all dedications without their permission or that of majority of the tribunes.

303/2 BC Consuls: Lucius Genucius and Servius Cornelius. Colonies sent to Aequian Alba (Fucena) and Sora; citizenship granted to Arpinum and Trebula without voting rights.

302/1 BC Consuls: Marcus Livius Denther and Marcus Aemilius Paullus. War with the Aequi over the new Roman colony; Cnaeus Junius Bubulcus appointed dictator for successful campaign against them; Cleonymus the Spartan leads fleet to southern Italy, captures Thurii, and raids the Sallentini but is expelled by a Roman army called in by the locals; he goes north to raid the Patavini (around Pavia). Marcus Valerius Maximus dictator to deal with Marsian attack on new colony at Carseoli, and then moves on to Arretium to deal with Etruscan disturbances; he either mediates or wins battle and Etruscans renew treaty. Dedication of Temple of Salus (‘Safety’).

301/00 BC A year with a dictator in office but no consuls according to the Fasti Capitolini, but not Livy who continues the narrative from one consular year to the next without a break.

300/299 BC Consuls: Marcus Valerius Maximus (Corvus) and Quintus Appuleius Pansa. Plebeians are admitted to enlarged pontifical and *augurate* ‘colleges’, after a plebiscite arranged by Ogulnius; in effect this only admits members of ‘new rich’ families of non-patrician origin, not the lower classes, and the ‘patrician’ and ‘plebeian’ sections of the dynastic elite divide up the priesthoods between them. Siege of Nequinum in Umbria.

299/8 BC Consuls: Marcus Fulvius Paetus and Titus Manlius Torquatus; Fall of Nequinum; local colony set up at Narnia as check on Umbrians. Gallic horde enters Etruria and the Etruscans form alliance with them against Rome; Rome agrees treaty with Picenum so they do not join the attack. Torquatus is sent to open campaign in Etruria but is killed in accident and Marcus Valerius elected suffect consul (*consul suffectus*). The number of tribes is increased to 33 with the creation of the rural tribes Aniensis and Terentina.

298/7 BC Consuls: Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus and Cnaeus Fulvius. War renewed with Samnites after they invade Rome’s Lucanian allies and refuse to return seized territory; Scipio sent to Etruria and fights battle near Volterrae; Fulvius sent to Samnium, wins battle near Bovianum, and takes Bovianum and Aufidea. Foundation of the colony of Carseoli (Apennines).

297/6 BC Consuls: Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus and Publius Decius Mus. (A repeat of their holding office in 308/7; probably reflects a long-term family alliance.) Both consuls campaign in Samnium as Etruria is quiet and council for peace with Rome is being held; Fabius wins battle near Sora as Samnites panic on false rumour that Decius has arrived during the fighting, while Decius defeats their Apulian allies near Beneventum. Trouble at the consular elections as the popular choice is the current consul and presiding officer, Fabius Rullianus, who is ineligible; Appius Claudius Caecus, one of those standing, proposes

that the rules be waived to allow the two of them to be elected; Fabius stands down in Claudius' favour.

296/5 BC Consuls: Appius Claudius Caecus and Lucius Volumnius. Fabius and Decius continue ravaging Samnium as proconsuls. Decius storms Romulea, Murgantia and Ferentinum after the Samnite army departs for Etruria to seek alliance for joint attack on Rome; Samnite commander Gellus Egnatius' Samnite-Etruscan alliance is disrupted by swift arrival of the consuls with large army in Etruria. The Samnite-Etruscan armies are defeated, and some Etruscan towns think better of joining the war; on return to Samnium Volumnius defeats a Samnite raid into Campania. Minturnae and another Roman colony (Sinuessa) are founded near the River Liris to defend the area from further raids. Aediles Cnaeus and Quintus Ogulnius, brothers, set up the bronze statue of the wolf and the twins Romulus and Remus on the Capitol.

295/4 BC Consuls: Quintus Fabius Maximus Rullianus and Publius Decius Mus. (Third joint consulship by these two men.) Volumnius continues command as proconsul and large army is raised against Egnatius' Samnite-Etruscan-Gallic-Umbrian alliance. Gallic army (Senones tribe) arrives at Clusium and defeats praetor Lucius Scipio's attack on their camp in consuls' absence; consuls lead four legions and 1,000 Campanian horsemen across the Apennines to confront the Gauls closer to their own territory while two more armies block the way to Rome. Samnites and Gallic allies, without Etruscans or Umbrians, meet the consuls' army at Sentinum and are heavily defeated; Decius deliberately courts death to follow his father's sacrifice and inspire Romans. Fabius then puts down Etruscan revolt by the Perusini (Perugia), while Appius Claudius and Volumnius defeat Samnite raid on the lowlands.

294/3 BC Consuls: Lucius Postumius Megellus and Marcus Atilius Regulus. During Postumius' delay in Rome due to illness, Regulus has difficult campaign in Samnium with his camp being attacked and struggles to relieve Luceria where ?Roman army suffers serious losses in

battle; Samnites fail to take Interamna; Postumius defeats the Etruscans of Volsinii and Rusellae, and Volsinii, Perugia and Arretium appeal for peace; he celebrates triumph. ?Romans suffer losses in Apulian campaign. Dedication of temple of the goddess of Victory (Victoria).

293/2 BC Consuls: Lucius Papirius Cursor and Spurius Carvilius. Both consuls are sent into Samnium; en route to attack the Samnite army (gathering at Aquilonia) Carvilius takes Amiternum and Papirius takes Duronia; Carvilius besieges Cominium, close to where Papirius confronts the Samnites at Aquilonia, and both Roman armies are victorious in coordinated assaults on the enemy; Carvilius takes Velia and Papirius takes Saepinum before winter closes in, while renewed Etruscan raids on Rome's allies leads to renewal of that war. Papirius celebrates triumph; Carvilius takes Troilum in Etruria and grants truce to Falisci. Census held in Rome by Publius Cornelius Arva and Caius Marcius Rutulus: 262,321 citizens counted. Dedication of the Temple of Quirinus (the deified Romulus).

292/1 BC Consuls: Quintus Fabius Gurgus and Decimus Junius Brutus Scaeva. Plague; following oracle, Rome sends envoys to bring a sacred snake of the medicine-god Aesculapius from his sanctuary at Epidaurus to Rome to secure good health and a shrine is set up on the Tiberine Island in the city.

291/0 BC Consuls: Lucius Metellus and Caius Junius Brutus. Rome founds colony of Venusia to guard against Apulian rebellions.

290/89 BC Consuls: Manius Curius Dentatus and Publius Cornelius Rufinus (ancestor of the dictator Sulla). Samnites are finally forced to peace treaty after loss of all their allies.

289/8 BC Consuls: Marcus Valerius Messala Corvinus and Quintus Caecidius Noctua. Foundation of colony of Hadria (Apennines). (Sometime around 289 to 287 a new crisis over debtors leads to the

Lex Hortensia, a new addition to the powers of the Assembly granting or confirming the full legal force of their enactments. The enactor, dictator Quintus Hortensius, is a plebeian.)

288/7 BC Consuls: Aulus Tremulus and Publius Cornelius Arvina.

287/6 BC Consuls: Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Caius Nautius Rufus.

286/5 BC Consuls: Marcus Valerius Messala Potitus and Caius Aelius Paetus.

285/4 BC Consuls: Caius Claudius Canina and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus.

284/3 BC Consuls: Caius Servilius Geminus and Lucius Caecilius Metellus Denter. The Gauls besiege Arretium in Etruria and kill praetor Lucius Caecilius; they are defeated by Manius Curius and the Roman colony of Sena Gallica is founded on land seized from the Senones to protect Picenum from Gallic invasions.

283/2 BC Consuls: Publius Cornelius Dolabella and Cnaeus Domitius Calvinus. The Boii tribe, Gauls from the Po valley, invades northern Italy in response to Roman seizure of their Senone allies' land; they enter Etruria but are defeated at Lake Vadimon.

282/1 BC Consuls: Caius Fabricius Luscinius and Quintus Aemilius Papus. Rome sets up a garrison at Rhegium on the straits dividing Italy and Sicily; Rome assists the Greek city of Thurii against local tribes and then introduces a garrison to the city, alarming their neighbours at Tarentum; the Tarentines attack and sink Roman warships which enter their harbour and send an army to expel the Romans from Thurii, and Rome prepares for war.

281/0 BC Consuls: Lucius Aemilius Barbula and Quintus Marcius

Philippus. Tarentum and other Greek cities in southern Italy send envoys to King Pyrrhus of Epirus, greatest military commander of the era and their neighbour across the Adriatic, to come to their aid against Rome in the tradition of his predecessor Alexander of Epirus' intervention in Italy in 330s, and promise him Lucanians and Samnites as allies; he decides to lead army to Italy and reaches agreement with his rival Ptolemy Ceraunus in their dispute over Macedonia.

280 BC Pyrrhus sends his envoy Cineas the Thessalian to Tarentum with advance army of 3,000 troops, and assembles Tarentine navy in Epirus to bring allegedly 20,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry across the straits together with elephants which Rome has never faced before.

March: Consuls Publius Valerius Laevinus and Tiberius Coruncanius take office.

May: Pyrrhus and his main army sail to Tarentum, surviving shipwreck en route; he marches out to meet advancing consul Valerius Laevinus and sends a herald to request Rome's withdrawal from all Greek cities, in which matter he is prepared to mediate, and is told that he is not acceptable as mediator or feared as an enemy; he defeats Roman army under Laevinus at battle of Heraclea, with Roman losses variously described as 7,000 or 15,000 but serious Greek losses too. Pyrrhus marches as far as Latium, 40 miles from Rome, while Romans avoid battle and rebuild army; he sends envoys led by Cineas to Rome with gifts to demand their abandonment of southern Italy, but his terms are refused, traditionally on advice of the aged Appius Claudius Caecus, and he is told he can have treaty only when he leaves Italy; he retreats into southern Italy as consul Coruncanius returns to Rome from campaign against Vulci and Volsinii in Etruria.

Rome sends Caius Fabricius on mission to Pyrrhus concerning prisoners of war, accompanied by his fellow ex-consuls Aemilius Papus and Dolabella; Pyrrhus traditionally tries to win him over with money and then frighten him with display by elephants, both without success. Pyrrhus winters at Tarentum; his troops who are stationed in Rhegium mutiny.

279 BC Consuls: Caius Fabricius and Quintus Aemilius Papus; they refuse offer from Pyrrhus' physician to poison him and tell his peace envoys that he must leave Italy before any treaty. Tiberius Coruncanius celebrates triumph for his Etruscan victory. Pyrrhus invades Apulia, besieges Venusia, and defeats Romans again at battle of Asculum, with heavy losses on both sides; he unsuccessfully sends Cineas again to Rome. Syracuse, having evicted its tyrant Theonon who still controls the island fortress of Ortygia in its harbour, asks Pyrrhus to lead a campaign against Carthage.

278 BC Consuls: Quintus Aemilius Papus and Caius Fabricius Luscinius. (Their second term in office, following 282/1.) Carthage sends ambassador Mago to Rome with a fleet, and a treaty of alliance against Pyrrhus is signed with Carthage promising troops.

Autumn: Pyrrhus answers appeal from Sosistratus of Acragas in Sicily for aid against Carthage and sails to Sicily, postponing Italian campaign; he lands at Catana and is received warmly in Syracuse, where Theonon leaves Ortygia and Pyrrhus is elected as commander-in-chief.

277 BC Consuls: Publius Cornelius Rufinus and Caius Junius Bubulcus. Pyrrhus overruns most of Carthaginian Sicily, capturing the mountain-top fortress on Mount Eryx, rejects an offer by Carthage to hand over all their possessions except the fortress of Lilybaeum on the west coast, and besieges the latter unsuccessfully for two months. The Romans attack Pyrrhus' southern Italian allies, are defeated at Mount Cranita, but take Croton; they also fight the rebel Samnites and their Bruttian and Lucanian allies.

276 BC Consuls: Quintus Fabius Maximus Gurgus and Caius Genucius Clepsina. Successful completion of the Samnite and Lucanian wars. Pyrrhus returns to Italy, being defeated by Carthaginian navy as he crosses the straits of Rhegium; he attacks Rhegium, loots the temple treasures of Locroi, and is harassed on his march northwards by the 'Mamertines', mercenaries who have seized Messina.

275 BC Consuls: Manius Curius Dentatus and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus. Pyrrhus crosses Apulia, and invades Samnium with his main army while second force is sent to Lucania; he confronts consul Manius Curius Dentatus near Beneventum, but fails in surprise night march on Roman camp and is defeated in battle as the Roman javelineers shower his elephants with missiles and cause them to panic and trample their own troops; his second army, including his Lucanian allies, is defeated by other consul, Lentulus; he abandons campaign and leaves Italy to renew campaigns in Macedonia, but his son Helenus holds Tarentum for him with his general Milo in case he decides to return.

273 BC Consuls: Caius Fabius Dorso Licinus and Fabius Claudius Canina. Ogulnius and Fabius lead first Roman embassy to Egypt, to the court of Ptolemy II 'Philadelphus' (r. 283–246); probably aimed at encouraging Ptolemy, who has ambitions in Greece, to keep Pyrrhus occupied there so he does not return to Italy.

Rome defeats Samnites, Bruttians and Lucanians and founds colony at Paestum (Posidonia).

272 BC Consuls: Lucius Papirius Cursor and Spurius Cornelius Maximus. Pyrrhus invades the Peloponnese and is killed in street fighting in Argos. Rome conquers Tarentum and the adjacent tribes of Calabria.

271 BC Consuls: Lucius Quinctius Claudius and Lucius Genucius. Decius is sent to Rhegium on appeal of citizens to deal with the renegade garrison of Roman mercenaries there who are plundering neighbourhood.

270 BC Consuls: Caius Genucius Clepsina and Caius Cornelius Blaesio. Roman army takes Rhegium, destroying the mercenary garrison; 300 Campanian survivors are taken in chains to Rome and executed in Forum.

269 BC Consuls: Quintus Ogulnius Gallus and Caius Fabius Pictor. Campaign against the Bruttians. The conquest of Picenum commences (into 268).

268 BC Consuls: Publius Sempronius Sophus and Appius Claudius Russus. Rome founds colony at Ariminum in northern Picenum, to guard the main route into Italy used by raiding Gauls, and colony at Beneventum to watch the Samnites.

267 BC Consuls: Marcus Atilius Regulus and Lucius Junius Libo.

266 BC Consul: Fabius Pictor; his colleague Marcus Fulvius Flaccus defeats Vulci in Etruria and celebrates triumph.

265 BC Consuls: Maximus Gurgus and Lucius Mamilius Vitulus. The piratical 'Mamertine' mercenary garrison at Messina, across the straits from Rhegium, are defeated during plundering raid in Sicily by King Hiero of Syracuse (acceded 269), who goes on to besiege the town; they send appeals to both Rome and Carthage for assistance.

264 to 146 BC

264 BC Consuls: Appius Claudius Caudex and Marcus Fulvius Flaccus.

Fulvius campaigns against rebel Volsinii in Etruria. A Carthaginian naval force under Hannibal arrives at Messina, installs a garrison, and forces Hiero of Syracuse to withdraw from the siege; they keep their garrison there to control the straits. The Senate decides to respond to appeals for assistance against Carthage from the 'Mamertine' mercenaries in Rhegium. They promise Sicilian loot to the people to win vote for expeditions; while the main Roman army is mustering and local Greek cities assist in preparing naval force to cross the straits, advance force under Caius Claudius crosses, evading Carthaginian ships; they assist citizens in driving Carthaginians out of Messina. Carthaginians execute evicted commander Hanno. Appius Claudius informs Carthage and Hiero that he is only keeping faith with Mamertine allies not invading their territory, but Carthage and Hiero combine forces to besiege the Romans in Messina. Claudius sallies from Messina to defeat Hiero, who withdraws from siege, and then defeats Carthaginians; siege is abandoned but full war between Rome and Carthage follows. Rome founds colony of Firmum in Umbria.

263 BC Claudius makes raiding expedition into Syracusan territory before his term of office expires. Marcus Valerius Maximus and Manius Otacilius Crassus consuls, and are both sent to Sicily; Valerius marches into Hiero's territory to besiege Syracuse, while the presence of both Roman armies leads many Carthaginian- or Syracusan-allied towns to defect to Rome; the siege fails, but Hiero is overawed into joining Rome against Carthage, returning all prisoners and paying 100 talents

to Rome; Syracuse retains independence but is now used as Roman base for advance into southern Sicily.

262 BC Summer: The new consuls, Lucius Postumius Magellus and Quintus Mamilius Vitulus, cross Sicily to the southern coast to besiege Agrigentum, the principal Carthaginian base in area, which is defended by Hannibal son of Gisco. Hannibal has initial success in sudden sally against the Roman siege lines and penetrates as far as their camp, but is starved out in a five-month siege with a network of Roman fortifications preventing any supplies being smuggled in from Carthaginian base at Heraclea Minoa. Hanno, in command at Heraclea Minoa with force including elephants, captures Herbesus and advances to relieve Agrigentum, using his advance-guard cavalry to feign retreat in initial contact and lure Romans into ambush; he encamps at Torus near the Roman siege camp and two-month stand-off follows with Romans running short of supplies.

262 or early 261 BC Romans defeat Hanno in hard battle, and as he retreats Hannibal and the garrison escape at night to join him; Agrigentum surrenders; ?according to Polybius, the Senate decides to extend campaign to take all of Sicily and orders building of a fleet to end dependence on smaller force of local Greek shipping.

261 BC Consuls: Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Titus Otacilius Crassus. As the main struggle in Sicily becomes bogged down in a series of minor sieges, there is a failed seven-month Roman siege of Mytistratus.

260 BC Consuls: Cnaeus Scipio Asina and Caius Duillius. Scipio Asina leads first Roman naval expedition into Sicilian waters to complement land-advance on the Carthaginian bases in western Sicily, while *novus homo* consul Duillius campaigns on land. Scipio is overconfident of his untested fleet and, sailing to the Liparae Islands to secure their main harbour after local offer of help as an 'offshore' base to watch Panormus, is trapped by arriving Carthaginian fleet from Panormus

under Boodes. Scipio is defeated and captured; Hannibal, now commanding at Panormus, is defeated attacking Roman fleet off the 'Cape of Italy'. Duillius with the main Roman fleet defeats Hannibal's 130/200 Carthaginian ships at battle of Mylae, using the tactic of *corvus* ('raven') boarding-bridges that attach themselves to Carthaginian ships in order to 'hook' and board them; 33 or 50 Carthaginian ships taken but most escape.

Duillius relieves Hamilcar's siege of Segesta, and at end of campaign celebrates Rome's first naval triumph with captured ships' prows placed on the new *rostra* at the Forum. Carthaginian general Hamilcar Barca, father of the famous Hannibal, inflicts major defeat on Syracusans at Thermae.

259 BC Consuls: Lucius Cornelius Scipio and Caius Aquilius Florus. Hamilcar, campaigning in central Sicily, takes Camerina and Enna.

258 BC Consuls: Aulus Atilius Catalinus and Caius Sulpicius Paterculus.

257 BC Consuls: Caius Atilius Regulus and Cnaeus Cornelius Blaesio. Regulus leads naval expedition to raid the island of Melita (Malta); he ambushes passing Carthaginian squadron off Tyndaris; he is overconfident and his first ships to make contact are mostly captured, but as his main force arrives the battle turns and he sinks ten and captures eight ships.

256 BC Consuls: Marcus Atilius Regulus (Caius' brother) and Lucius Manlius Vulso.

The consuls lead a large Roman fleet, allegedly 330 vessels, to invade Africa and attack Carthage, following the tactics used by Agathocles of Syracuse in 310, to force the enemy to withdraw from Sicily; they sail via Messina and Syracuse to the south coast of Sicily to pick up invasion force, with 140,000 troops and marines according to Polybius. Carthaginian fleet of ?350 ships, based at Heraclea Minoa and led by Hamilcar, is defeated in battle of Cape Ecnomus where Hamilcar

arranges for his 'centre' to withdraw from the Roman attack in order to lure the enemy forward so that his 'wings' can close in from the sides but the Romans break through; the Roman *corvus* is probably the decisive factor in victory.

The Romans land in Africa and take Aspis as base; Carthaginian territory is ravaged, and Manlius leads part of forces back to Sicily for winter while Regulus commands the rest; Hasdrubal and Bostar command Carthage, and Hamilcar recalled to assist them.

Regulus advances, defeats Carthaginians outside Adys, and winters at Tunis.

255 BC Consuls: Servius Fulvius Paetinus and Marcus Aemilius Paullus. Regulus refuses Carthaginian peace proposals, and requires them to surrender all Sicily and Sardinia, ransom their prisoners but release all Romans, pay tribute and indemnity, and retain only 50 warships for use with Rome's permission; Carthaginians are reinforced by Spartan mercenary-commander Xanthippus who organizes defence of capital and retrains the army.

Regulus is defeated at battle of the river Bagradas or Tunis, the enemy elephants and cavalry proving decisive, and is taken prisoner while survivors flee to Adys.

Summer: New consuls, Servius Fulvius Paetinus Nobilior and Marcus Aemilius Paullus, lead relief fleet of ?350 ships which defeats Carthaginians' smaller fleet at the battle of Cape Hermaeum and evacuates their retreating army from the coast at Aspis, but is severely damaged in storm off Camerina as it cruises along south-western coast of Sicily.

254 BC Consuls: Cnaeus Cornelius Scipio and Aulus Atilius Catalinus. Atilius and the ransomed Scipio Asina besiege and take Panormus (Palermo) on the northern coast of Sicily, refusing battle to Carthaginian relief army despite resulting long stalemate in order to avoid their elephants. Dedication of Temple of Fides (the personification of 'Faith') in Rome.

253 BC Consuls: Cnaeus Servilius Caepio and Caius Sempronius Blaesus. Both consular armies in Sicily, as in succeeding years; Sicilian campaign settles into minor sieges and skirmishes in centre of island as both sides avoid major battles.

252 BC Consuls: Caius Aurelius Cotta and Caius Furius Pacilus. Romans capture the Liparae Islands.

251 BC Consuls: Lucius Caecilius Metellus and Caius Furius Pacinus.

250 BC Consuls: Caius Atilius Regulus and Marcus Valerius Longus. After one consular army ends campaign for winter, Hasdrubal besieges the other under Lucius Caecilius Metellus in Panormus; Metellus keeps most of army within the walls, lures his opponents up to the city with bombardment of missiles as they cross intervening river, and then sallies; the Carthaginians suffer severe losses, including 60 to 140 elephants which amounts to most of their strength in Sicily, and Hasdrubal retreats. Carthage destroys Selinus.

249 BC Consuls: Publius Claudius Pulcher (grandson of Appius Claudius 'Caecus') and Lucius Junius Pullus.

Rome plans to attack Drepana and Lilybaeum, Carthaginian bases controlling western Sicily, and huge combined consular force sent by land and sea (110,000 men according to Diodorus); Hannibal brings 10,000 mercenaries by sea to aid defence, evading Roman fleet; the towns are closely invested and Himilco at Lilybaeum mounts a particularly vigorous defence, his men fighting underground combats for control of mines under the walls; Hannibal the Rhodian brings men and supplies by sea in daring manoeuvres that outwit Roman ships.

Publius Claudius Pulcher, arriving for the campaign, decides to tackle the Carthaginian fleet at Drepana, but is a poor commander and is heavily defeated by Abherbal and loses 93 ships out of 123; he is subsequently tried for incompetence at Rome. Carthage brings Carthaginian naval reinforcements to Sicily and is sent to the southern

coast by Adherbal and ambushes convoy under consul Lucius Junius Pullus bringing supplies to siege of Lilybaeum; Junius sails close inshore at Cape Pachynus to avoid battle but most of his ships are then wrecked as gale blows up, and the Roman commanders decide to avoid open battle.

Carthage sends hostage Regulus to Rome with peace proposals, but the Senate rejects them; according to Roman legend Regulus persuades them to fight on and then returns to Carthage as he promised to do if unsuccessful, despite resulting execution.

The *Ludi Saeculares* are celebrated in Rome for the first time, with a mixture of religious sacrifices and hymns to honour the gods – probably as marking the approximate 500th birthday of the city.

248 BC Consuls: Caius Aurelius Cotta and Publius Sulpicius Geminus. Treaty between Rome and Hiero of Syracuse renewed; Hanno ‘the Great’, Hamilcar’s political rival in Carthage, leads successful expedition into Numidia to defeat rebel chieftains.

247 BC Consuls: Lucius Caecilius Metellus and Fabius Buteo. Hamilcar launches campaign in central Sicily, based at fortress on Mount Eryx at north-western corner of island, which successfully holds up Roman advance.

246 BC Consuls: Titus Otacilius Crassus and Marcus Fabius Licinus. Rome establishes a colony at Brundisium at the promontory of southern Italy opposite Epirus, commanding the straits at mouth of the Adriatic.

245 BC Consuls: Marcus Fabius Buteo and Caius Atilius Balbus. Indecisive campaigning in central Sicily.

244 BC Consuls: Aulus Manlius Torquatus and Caius Sempronius Blaesus. Indecisive campaigning in central Sicily.

243 BC Consuls: Caius Fundaninus and Caius Sulpicius Gallus.

Autumn: Rome starts to construct a large new fleet of *quinqueremes* to face the Carthaginians at sea, using design of captured ship belonging to Hannibal the Rhodian; groups of citizens band together to raise funds for a massive financial loan to the state to pay for it and 200 ships built.

242 BC Consuls: Aulus Postumius Albinus and Caius Lutatius. Albinus cannot leave Rome due to holding a prohibitive priesthood, but colleague Caius Lutatius leaves with the new fleet to besiege Drepana and cut off the landing of supplies for Hamilcar's army in central Sicily; Lutatius ensures that his crews are constantly trained ready for major battle, but Carthage has trouble raising a substantial fleet to match him.

241 BC Consuls: Aulus Manlius Torquatus Atticus and Quintus Lutatius Cerco. Hanno leads around 250 Carthaginian ships to bring supplies to Mount Eryx and then take on Hamilcar's men to assist in battle; his fleet awaits a favourable wind at the Aegates Islands, and **10 March** as they sail Roman fleet under Catulus arrives.

Battle of the Aegates Islands: around 117 Carthaginian and 30 Roman ships (Diodorus) sunk in Roman victory, and Carthaginian survivors flee; Catulus awarded triumph.

Hamilcar's army is stranded short of supplies; Carthage cannot assist him and instructs him to open negotiations; he rejects Roman demand to hand over all his men's weapons and insists that they be allowed to retire to Africa unmolested, peace is negotiated via his envoy Gesgo.

Terms agreed: Carthage to evacuate all Sicily, and pay indemnity of 2,200 Euboean *talents* over 20 years; neither side to make war on or subvert the other's allies, or recruit soldiers or raise money for public buildings in other's lands; Carthage to ransom its own prisoners but freely release its Roman prisoners.

Catulus refers the terms to Rome where Senate and popular *Comitia Centuriata* need to vote in approval; the latter decides terms are too

lenient so senatorial commission sent back to Sicily for new negotiations; indemnity raised to 3,200 'talents', 1,000 payable immediately and the rest over ten years, and islands between Sicily and Africa to be evacuated. Carthage agrees to terms; disappointed Hamilcar brings army as far as Lilybaeum and then sails home, leaving their demobilization to Gesgo who sends the mercenaries back to Carthage in small groups to be paid and dispersed; the government in Carthage quibbles over payment, and a large and angry mercenary force ends up rioting in the city and later mutinies in base at town of Sicca; 20,000 men led by the Libyan Mathos and the Campanian Spendius spread out plundering around the African countryside, many of them local Libyans so that they have allies in the countryside and Carthaginian army recruitment is affected.

Temple of Flora is built in Rome, and the festival of *Floralia* in honour of the goddess is celebrated for the first time.

240 BC Consuls: Caius Claudius Centho and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus. Hamilcar leads Carthaginian expeditions to put down the mercenary revolt, and prolonged fighting with Numidian princes aiding rebels; troops in Sardinia also mutiny and send appeal to Rome which keeps to treaty and refuses to aid them (or to assist rebel Utica on mainland). At some date between now and c. 225, Romans establish first 'province' in that part of Sicily not ruled by Hiero and send out governor.

?Livius Andronicus, Rome's first native dramatist, performs his first production in the city.

239 BC Consuls: Caius Mamilius Turrinus and Quintus Valerius Falco. ?Hanno, Hamilcar's fellow-commander against the rebels in Africa, is forced to resign due to disputes between the two impeding prosecution of campaign.

238 BC Consuls: Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Publius Valerius Falco. Boii instigate formation of a Gallic tribal alliance around the

Po valley to invade Roman lands and besiege Ariminum, but internal disputes break up the alliance and they are defeated.

237 BC Consuls: Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus. Carthaginians overcome African rebels; the Sardinians expel the rebel troops from their island, but they take ship to Italy and appeal to Rome for aid; Rome decides to annex Sardinia and sends forces to occupy the island under consul; Carthage's protests are ignored and 1,200 more talents are added to the war indemnity they are paying; however, local resistance to the Romans necessitates sending annual expeditions to subdue Sardinians for next six years or so. Hamilcar Barca is sent to Spain to strengthen Carthaginian military presence and expand the colony there from the coastal strip around Gades (Cadiz) south of the Guadalquivir river; he is accompanied by his ten-year-old son Hannibal, who traditionally swears oath of eternal enmity to Rome before departure.

236 BC Consuls: Publius Cornelius Lentulus and Caius Licinius Varus.

235 BC Consuls: Titus Manlius Torquatus and Caius Atilius Bulbus. Torquatus completes the conquest of Sardinia.

234 BC Consuls: Lucius Postumius Albinus and Spurius Carvilius Maximus.

233 BC Consuls: Quintus Fabius Maximus 'Verrucosus' (later 'Cunctator') and Manlius (or Marcus) Pomponius Matho. Fabius defeats the Ligurians.

232 BC Consuls: Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Marcus Publicius Malleolus. Tribune Caius Flaminius successfully proposes law to divide up the *Ager Gallicus* public lands in Picenum for settlement by the poor of Rome. Both consuls sent with armies to Sardinia.

231 BC Consuls: Marcus Pomponius Matho and Caius Papirius Maso.

Both consuls campaign in Sardinia; alarmed at Hamilcar's expansion of Carthaginian territory in Spain, Senate sends envoys to him to demand explanation; they are told that the war is only to acquire enough wealth to pay the 241 war indemnity to Rome.

230 BC Consuls: Marcus Aemilius Barbula and Decimus (or Marcus) Junius Pera.

229 BC Consuls: Cnaeus (or Lucius) Fulvius Postumius Albinus and Cnaeus Fulvius Centumalus. Hamilcar killed in battle with the Oretani tribe; his army entrusts the leadership to his second-in-command and son-in-law Hasdrubal, which the authorities in Carthage confirm, and over next two years his mixture of campaigning and treaties with tribes brings Carthaginian power north-eastwards to the River Ebro to the alarm of Rome. Roman naval expedition is sent to the Illyrian coast and islands to drive out local pirates at the request of Italian traders whose ships in the Adriatic are being preyed upon, having failed to secure action from the kingdom of Illyria under Queen Teuta. A permanent naval base is established at Corcyra (Corfu), with other garrisons on the Illyrian coast such as Apollonia.

228 BC Consuls: Spurius Carvilius Maximus and Quintus Fabius Maximus 'Verrucosus'. Roman envoys are sent to the Greek 'Isthmian Games' to announce that the Adriatic is free of pirates.

227 BC Consuls: Publius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Atilius Regulus. Roman envoys sent to Hasdrubal, who agrees that Carthaginians will not expand their colony north across the River Ebro; however, Rome either has already or soon establishes a form of alliance with the independent city of Saguntum, south of the river.

226 BC Consuls: Marcus Valerius Messala and Lucius Apustius Fullo.

225 BC Consuls: Lucius Aemilius Pappus and Caius Atilius Regulus. Boii

and Insubres in the Po valley are joined by a large army of 'Gaesatae' from north of the Alps for new attack on Roman Italy; a horde of 70,000 marches into Etruria and Aemilius Papus leads expedition against them while Atilius Regulus is recalled from Sardinia; the Gauls retreat, laden down with loot, and Aemilius catches up with them at Telamon where Regulus luckily arrives just then to block the Gauls' line of retreat; Regulus is killed and head is carried off as a trophy by the Gauls in early stage of a ferocious battle, but the more disciplined Romans prevail and enemy are slaughtered.

224 BC Consuls: Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Titus Manlius. Consular armies jointly invade the territory of the Boii and force them to sue for peace.

223 BC Consuls: Caius Flaminius and Publius Furius Philus. The consuls invade Gallic lands in the Po valley again; Flaminius defeats the Insubres and their Cenomani allies in major battle; one tradition has it that the military tribunes are responsible for victory with innovation of using new form of spears to aid defensive formation in withstanding enemy charge until the Gauls are exhausted.

222 BC Consuls: Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Cnaeus Cornelius Scipio. Consuls persuade Senate to reject Gallic peace overtures and press on for total victory, and lead new invasion of Gallic territories; Marcellus relieves siege of Clastidium where he kills the enemy commander, King Britomart, in single combat and carries off his armour to win rare *spolia optima* honours. Roman army takes Mediolanum (Milan) to conquer Gallic lands as far as the Alps.

221 BC Consuls: P. Cornellus Scipio and Marcus Minucius. Hasdrubal assassinated in Spain; his troops elect Hannibal to succeed him; Hannibal initially campaigns in western Spain to reach the Salamanca area, but soon starts to plan invasion of Italy to cause Rome's allies to revolt and cripple her military power.

220 BC Consuls: L Veturius Philo and C. Catulus. Dispute between Saguntum and a raiding Spanish tribe, allies to Carthage, leads to Hannibal supporting the latter; Saguntum appeals for Roman support; **?autumn** Rome sends embassy to Hannibal to call on him to leave Saguntum alone and remind him not to cross the Ebro; they proceed to Carthage to repeat demands, while Hannibal requests instructions from home on how to proceed. Consecration of the *Via Flaminia*, the main road out of Rome northwards towards Cisalpine Gaul, and the Flaminian Circus in Rome.

219 BC ?Spring: Hannibal marches to support his tribal allies and besieges Saguntum, which Rome does not assist; Lucius Aemilius Paullus and Marcus Livius Salinator consuls, and are sent with second naval expedition to Illyria, presumably before news of the siege reaches Rome; ?second embassy sent to Hannibal without effect. Second Roman naval expedition to the Illyrian coast, following attack on their local bases by King Scerdilaidas and his pirate ally Demetrius of Pharos; the latter is defeated and driven out of his bases, and new Roman forts are set up on the coast.

?Winter: Fall of Saguntum to Hannibal.

218 BC Establishment of two new anti-Gallic colonies in Po valley, at Placentia and Cremona.

?Early spring: Paullus and Livius are sent to Carthage in embassy headed either by Quintus Fabius Maximus (consul in 233) or by Marcus Fabius Buteo; they denounce Hannibal, demand his arrest and hand-over, and demand to know whether he is acting with approval of the Carthaginian Senate; despite efforts of peace party led by Hanno the Carthaginians resist and claim that the Ebro treaty of ?226 was a private agreement with Hasdrubal which they never ratified and Saguntum is none of Rome's business.

March: New consuls, Publius Cornelius Scipio and Tiberius Sempronius Longus; Scipio is sent to Spain to confront Hannibal with two legions (8,000 infantry and 600 cavalry), 14,000 allied infantry

and 1,600 cavalry, and Sempronius is sent to Sicily to prepare invasion of Africa with two legions, 160 quinqueremes and 20 smaller ships; praetor Lucius Manlius Vulso and the other two legions in current year's army are sent to 'Cisalpine Gaul' south of the Po, where a new local Gallic rising led by the Boii leads to evacuation of Placentia and Cremona and the fleeing settlers are besieged in Mutina; Vulso is ambushed trying to relieve them and is besieged at Tannetum. Praetor Caius Atilius with one of Scipio's legions relieves Tannetum and defeats the Gauls, but this means a delay to Spanish expedition while Scipio raises a new legion to bring his troops up to strength; Sempronius prepares invasion of Africa at Lilybaeum.

Hannibal raises and receives new troops, and appoints his brother Hasdrubal to command in Spain while he marches to Italy; **late spring** he leads 90,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry to subdue the tribes between the Ebro and the Pyrenees in slow advance, leaving Hanno as the new governor of the area with around 20,000 infantry.

?**Late summer:** Hannibal crosses the Pyrenees with the remaining troops, living off the local harvests and advancing more swiftly to the Rhone where a large Gallic tribal force blocks his crossing; he sends Hanno son of Bomilcar with force upriver to cross the Rhone some distance away, and when signal informs him that they are approaching the Gauls from the latter's rear he leads rest of his army across river on rafts; the Gauls are defeated and Hannibal manages to transport his elephants across the river before rallying men with parades and reception of Italian Gallic-allied envoys promising assistance on the Carthaginians' arrival there.

Scipio and army arrive by sea at Massilia to find Hannibal encamped nearby, and Romans march to secure confrontation; the opponents' scouts clash, and Romans are encouraged that Hannibal's Numidian cavalry withdraw; Hannibal hastily retreats up the Rhone, and Scipio sends his brother Cnaeus with part of his army on to Spain while he returns to Italy to confront Hannibal if he arrives.

Hannibal wins support of local Gallic chieftain Brancus in war with his brother, and gains supplies and scouts to assist him as he heads into

the Alps; **?November** he crosses the passes with successful skirmishes against the local Allobroges, reaching the summit on the ninth day but having difficulty descending the steep paths through icy snow; he arrives in Italy 15 days from the start of the crossing, with c. 20,000 infantry and 6,000 cavalry. Hannibal storms the chief fortification of the Taurini tribe (Turin area) who are fighting his Insubres allies and block his advance.

?Late November: Scipio confronts Hannibal on the north bank of the Po, and encamps at the River Ticinus; a preliminary cavalry skirmish develops into full battle, mainly involving the cavalry, and the outnumbered Romans are routed by Numidian cavalry charges on their flanks with Scipio being wounded and **?rescued** by his 17-year-old son Publius Scipio (later 'Africanus'); Scipio withdraws and succeeds in destroying his boat-bridge over the Ticinus to hold up Hannibal.

Senate recalls Sempronius from Sicily to aid Scipio; he returns swiftly, allegedly reaching Ariminum in 40 days from Sicily, while his lieutenant Pomponius remains defending Tyrrhenian coast.

Cnaeus Scipio lands at Emporiae in Spain, and defeats Hanno's force at Cissa to conquer much of the territory taken by Hannibal during his march; Hannibal's brother and commander in southern Spain, Hasdrubal, arrives and secures minor successes against scattered Roman forces north of the Ebro before withdrawing; Scipio winters at Tarraco.

Consul Scipio encamps at the River Trebia outside Placentia, but when Hannibal arrives thousands of Gallic allies desert to the latter and Romans have to retreat, abandoning camp which the Numidians sack; Roman supply depot at Clastidium is handed over by its commander Dasius of Brundisium; **?late December** Sempronius joins Scipio at the Trebia, and 'stand-off' develops until a skirmish between Gallic/Numidian foragers and Roman cavalry sent to intercept them leads to Roman pursuit to Hannibal's camp; escalation into battle is halted by Hannibal establishing defensive lines and refusing to engage further; Scipio is equally cautious, but Sempronius seeks early battle **?to pre-empt glory going to next consuls in the spring.**

217 BC Hannibal explores the terrain properly, and when he is ready sends Numidian cavalry to raid Roman lines, withdraw, and lure the enemy up to his main army; Sempronius falls into the trap and orders his army to cross the Trebia and advance into battle, but they are picked off by skirmishers en route and winter conditions hinder them; Sempronius' exhausted army of c. 16,000 Romans and 20,000 allies is engaged in close action and attacked from the rear by Mago's ambushers, and the 'wings' eventually give way; the 'centre' breaks Carthaginian line and escapes to Placentia, but cavalry and allies are destroyed; Sempronius is unable to stop Hannibal's advance. Sempronius returns to Rome for consular elections; Caius Servilius Geminus and Caius Flaminius elected; Geminus sent to Ariminum and Flaminius to Arretium to guard the expected invasion routes, and Flaminius proceeds to his headquarters **15 March** to take up office there rather than in Rome in defiance of usual convention and traditional rites, which is subsequently claimed as a reason for his defeat.

Hannibal marches on Arretium, but bypasses it to avoid the Roman army and starts devastating Etruria to lure Flaminius after him onto a battle site of his choosing; he forces Flaminius to march after him through devastated territory to affect morale and supplies and **20 June** encamps on the shores of Lake Trasimene but leads most of his forces up into the hills above the shore rather than waiting in camp as Flaminius expects.

21 June, Battle of Lake Trasimene: as Flaminius advances along the main road on the lake's shore towards the Carthaginian lines waiting at their camp, the enemy charges down from the hills into his flanks to trap his troops against the shore; the Romans are broken up into groups and driven into the lake, but the vanguard manages to break the Carthaginian line at camp and c. 10,000 troops escape leaving (according to Fabius Pictor) c. 15,000 killed including Flaminius and (Polybius) c. 15,000 prisoners.

Geminus hurries to assist Flaminius, but arrives too late and his advance-guard cavalry under Caius Centenius are ambushed by Maharbal and destroyed; he returns to Ariminum to confront expected

Gallic revolt. In Rome, left without effective defence, Quintus Fabius Maximus is appointed dictator with Marcus Minucius Rufus as 'Master of the Horse'; Marcus Atilius Regulus (son of the consul of 256) is replacement consul. Fabius raises more troops and takes over Geminus' army on their arrival at Narnia, while Hannibal fails to take Spoletium (Spoleto) and marches through Picenum into Marsi territory and thence Apulia to raise Rome's allies in revolt.

Hasdrubal on land and a fleet under Hamilcar advance northwards towards Cnaeus Scipio's army in Spain; Cnaeus' fleet, with Massiliote naval help, ambushes Hamilcar near the Ebro and two ships are sunk and 25 taken; the Spanish war turns into prolonged minor campaigning by the two main armies and allied tribes.

Hannibal takes Luceria; Fabius, with c. 40,000 men, confronts him at Accae but avoids battle and pursues him at a distance as he moves across the Apennines through Samnium to Beneventum; Hannibal devastates the Campanian plain without Roman military response; **autumn** Fabius blocks the pass Hannibal is expected to use to retire into Apulia, but Hannibal sends a small force with a herd of cattle festooned with torches against him at night to simulate the main army and then attacks out of the darkness; Fabius refuses to engage fully in the dark, and avoids likely rout but is resented by overconfident subordinates as Hannibal marches on unhindered to take up winter quarters at Gerunium; he is nicknamed 'Cunctator' ('the Delayer') or more critically Hannibal's 'pedagogue' for trailing after him like a schoolboy's attendant slave.

Responding to criticism of Fabius, tribune Metilius passes new law during Fabius' temporary return to capital giving equal power over army to his deputy, Minucius, whose hopeful winning of skirmish at Gerunium has just been reported; however, before Fabius returns to army Minucius is lured into an attack and is routed, so Fabius' tactics are proven correct.

Late: Publius Scipio sent to Spain with 20–30 warships and 8,000 men; he and brother Cnaeus have command as proconsuls, and advance to Saguntum; some of the local tribes start to desert to Rome, assisted by treacherous Carthaginian Spanish officer Abilix who hoodwinks a

Carthaginian commander into handing him a batch of hostages taken to secure their tribes' loyalty and hands them back to their tribes before touring Carthaginian allies to encourage defections.

Geminus with fleet raids Africa and the offshore islands such as Cercina. **?c. 24 December:** At expiry of six-month term of dictatorship, consuls Geminus and Regulus take control of armies.

216 BC Caius Terentius Varro and Lucius Aemilius Paullus elected consuls and **15 March** take up office; they are given an army of four legions each (i.e. around 20,000 infantry and 1,200 cavalry each) to fight Hannibal, plus an approximately equivalent number of allied infantry and cavalry units; ex-consul Lucius Postumius Albinus sent with another army to fight the rebellion in Cisalpine Gaul.

Envoys are sent to Ligurian tribes to protest at their aid to Hannibal and to Macedonia to protest at King Philip V giving sanctuary to refugee Illyrian pirate Demetrius of Pharos.

Hiero of Syracuse sends grain and other aid to Rome, and unsuccessfully advises an invasion of Africa to force Hannibal's recall.

?May: Hannibal leaves Gerunium to march south and loot the ripening crops en route, followed at a safe distance by ex-consuls/proconsuls Geminus and Regulus; he captures Roman supply base at Cannae, on the River Aufidus in Apulia, and the consuls seek out battle confident in their large army which with Fabius' former army added now amounts to c. 80,000 men; **late July** the consuls arrive near Cannae, commanding combined force on alternate days, and Varro chooses to ignore cautious Paullus and move closer to Hannibal when he is commanding despite harassment as they move up to the river.

1 August: Hannibal deploys in the open plain in front of Roman camp, and Paullus refuses to attack on his day in command; **2 August** when Varro takes over, the latter does respond and moves his army across the river to establish positions on a narrower plain that enables him to safeguard his flanks better. Varro's intention is to use the powerful infantry 'centre' to break through the enemy lines and offset the threat from cavalry attack on sides.

Battle of Cannae: the Romans advance and concentrate on the Gauls and Spanish in the centre of Hannibal's convex battle-front, who hold out better than expected, and the Carthaginian cavalry routs the Roman cavalry under Varro and leaves the pursuit to launch charges inwards against the Romans from their rear; Romans are surrounded and ground down in hours of fighting, and (Livy) Romans lose c. 45,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry killed (29 out of 48 military tribunes and 40 other senators) (Polybius puts total of casualties at 70,000) with Hannibal's losses including 4,000 Gauls and 1,500 Spaniards; Paullus and Geminus are killed but Varro escapes with cavalry survivors to Venusia as c. 3000 infantry and 1,500 cavalry are captured; **3 August** c. 17,000 more Romans surrender as their camps are surrounded.

Varro commands c. 10,000 survivors at Venusia, but Hannibal does not march on Rome and when his envoy Carthalo arrives to ransom c. 8,000 prisoners the Senate refuses to do so and let Hannibal execute or enslave them; Cannae survivors are enrolled in two legions and sent to Sicily for rest of the war, and a huge levy of troops is made including under-age volunteers and slaves and criminals offered their freedom; 30 days of mourning declared.

Most of Apulia, Bruttia, Samnium and Campania, led by Capua, joins Hannibal – Campania revolts against Rome after failure to extort harsh terms from it for alliance including a Campanian as consul. Hannibal secures Capua in person after intrigues by his sympathizer Calavius results in his admittance, but he fails to take loyal Neapolis (Naples) or Nola which is defended by Marcus Claudius Marcellus; he takes Nuceria.

Hasdrubal fights rebel Tartessii in Spain and tells Carthaginian envoys sent to order him to march to Italy and reinforce his brother that he does not have enough troops to risk leaving his province.

Autumn: Dictator Marcus Junius Pera and 'Master of Horse' Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus leave Rome with new army of c. 25,000 men; Hannibal besieges Casilinum on the River Volturnus, commanded by Marcus Anicius with 500 Praenestines; Hasdrubal receives reinforcements from Carthage under Himilco and prepares to leave Spain for Italy. Hannibal winters at Capua.

215 BC Hannibal starves garrison of Casilinum out, while Gracchus does not dare confront him and resorts to smuggling barrels of food down the river to town until they are stopped; he ransoms the garrison and installs Campanians. Lucius Postumius is killed fighting rebels in Cisalpine Gaul; the Gauls use his head as ceremonial trophy.

Attempts to get Senate to grant citizenship to representatives of all the Latin communities to strengthen their alliance and increase number of citizens after recent losses are defeated by Fabius and the conservatives. Marcus Fabius Buteo as dictator revises senatorial list to admit new members, and then commands the army in winter quarters at Teanum.

Early: Sempronius Gracchus elected consul with absentee Lucius Postumius; on news that Postumius is dead, Marcus Claudius Marcellus is elected to replace him but **?14 March** election invalidated on technicality and Fabius Maximus 'Cunctator' elected instead; the consuls campaign in Campania, while Marcellus commands at Nola.

Gracchus attacks and destroys Campanian force at Hamae and relieves Cumae, and campaign then concentrates around Capua area where Hannibal is encamped; Sempronius Longus defeats Hanno and a force of Lucanians at Grumentum. Bomilcar lands Carthaginian reinforcements at Locroi, and Hanno collects them for Hannibal; Marcellus ravages Samnium, and Hannibal comes to the Samnites' rescue with his reinforcements; Marcellus defeats the Carthaginian attack in first victory over their main army since Cannae, killing c. 5,000; significant numbers of Hannibal's Numidian cavalry desert.

?Early: Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal is met at Ibera south of the Ebro by the Scipio brothers as he sets out for Italy; the Roman infantry secures victory by crushing the Spanish centre of the Carthaginian army, and the Punic cavalry flee leaving camp to be plundered; Hasdrubal is later sent more troops under his brother Mago but makes no more attempts to leave Spain.

?Early: Death of the aged Hiero of Syracuse, after 54-year reign; he is succeeded by his inexperienced 15-year-old grandson Hieronymus; as political faction disputes revive, the latter seeks to auction his services

to Carthage and sends envoys demanding increasingly high terms including acceptance of his rule of all Sicily once Romans evicted. Thraso, the most pro-Roman of his ministers, is executed after false implication in a plot and praetor Appius Claudius' Roman envoys to renew treaty are ignored.

Titus Manlius Torquatus defeats Hampsicora's rebel force in Sardinia, but is prevented from finishing the war as a Carthaginian expedition which the rebels were promised, led by Hasdrubal 'the Bald', belatedly arrives to help them; Otacilius, commander in Sicily, raids the African coast and on return journey defeats Hasdrubal's squadron; Torquatus completes his reconquest of Sardinia.

Philip V of Macedonia sends orator Xenophanes of Athens with mission to Hannibal to secure alliance and promises to attack Roman allies in Illyria; on return journey they are intercepted by Roman ships near Cumae and captured, and Xenophanes claims to be en route from Philip to Rome but his Punic escorts are identified and his letters between Hannibal and Philip are taken and opened; later a second Macedonian embassy reaches Hannibal and returns unhindered, and **autumn** praetor Marcus Valerius Laevinus is sent with two legions from Sicily to Brundisium to guard the crossing to Italy from Epirus.

Hanno leads force to Bruttium to aid the locals in attacking pro-Roman Greek cities; the town of Locroi is besieged but negotiates alliance with Hannibal and the right to control neighbouring territory as his ally in return for surrender, annoying the Bruttians who looked forward to looting it. Hannibal winters near Arpi in Apulia, while Fabius ravages Campania.

214 BC March: Fabius Maximus and Marcellus consuls; Otacilius sent with enlarged fleet to Sicily as war is expected with Syracuse; propraetor Quintus Mucius is sent to Sardinia, and Gracchus at Luceria and Varro in Picenum have their commands from 215 extended.

Hannibal fails in surprise attack on Puteoli.

Marcellus relieves Hannibal's attack on Nola, and covers Fabius' army while he besieges and takes Casilinum; Gracchus destroys c. 15,000 of

Hanno's army of c. 17,000 Carthaginians and Bruttians in battle at Beneventum. Citizens of Arpi in Apulia come to Fabius offering to assist in evicting their Carthaginian garrison, and Fabius marches there; he pretends to mount a formal siege, then launches sudden night attack in thunderstorm and storms the town where the citizens soon surrender and turn on Hannibal's men who are allowed to depart unmolested; 1,500 Spanish among them desert to Rome.

?Early spring: Hieronymus of Syracuse murdered by faction at vassal city of Leontinoi, and republic is restored as plotters Theodotus and Sosis arrive in Syracuse to rally support; Hieronymus' uncle Adranodorus holds the citadel but agrees to accept the republic and is among new elected magistrates; he and ally Themistus are assassinated as they plan to regain power in subsequent political conflict, and their royally related wives and other relatives are murdered in political massacre; the new ruling faction includes anti-Roman brothers Hippocrates and Epicydes, two of the Syracusan envoys to Carthage in 215, and when Hippocrates is sent to command at Leontinoi he proclaims its independence of Syracuse, kills Roman residents and starts to raid the Roman province aided by deserters.

Marcellus is sent to Sicily, agrees to let Cannae survivors join his army, though the Senate insists that these 'cowards' receive no honours after the war however successful they are, and advances on Leontinoi as Syracusan government insist its garrison's depredations are nothing to do with them; he storms Leontinoi and executes deserters, but Hippocrates and Epicydes escape, win over a Syracusan contingent sent to assist Marcellus in return for his promise of Leontinoi's return, and lead them back to seize Syracuse; Marcellus prepares to attack Syracuse and retakes revolted Helorus and Megara.

Hannibal is approached during unsuccessful siege of Cumae by five Tarentine nobles, ex-prisoners from Cannae, who promise the defection of their city when his army arrives; he marches to Naples and Nola and then quickly on to Tarentum, but finds that the Roman fleet from Brundisium has joined enlarged garrison; the city does not revolt so he returns to Campania.

Laevinus, commander of fleet and army at Brundisium against Macedon, receives reports that Philip's fleet has attacked Apollonia on the Epirot coast and on failure there moved on to storm Oricum; he sails across the Adriatic, retakes Oricum, and relieves Apollonia where he then sallies to drive off Macedonian besiegers; he establishes base at Oricum but no more fighting.

In Spain, Hasdrubal and brother Mago defeat a large Spanish force before the Scipios can cross Ebro; Cnaeus saves Illiturgis from attack and fights battle at Munda.

213 BC Consuls: Fabius Maximus (junior) and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus.

?March/April: Marcellus, continuing command as proconsul, launches attack on Syracuse; he attacks the city by land and sea, with Roman galleys lashed together in pairs to carry scaling ladders which can be lifted up masts and placed against the sea-walls of the city at appropriate height; however, the philosopher Archimedes develops defensive engines to aid the besieged, including catapults to sink ships, giant 'claws' to lift them out of the water, and probably some sort of giant mirror to focus the rays of the sun and concentrate them on particular points to start fires; with the help of these machines all attacks are defeated, and the Romans are too nervous of the machines to approach the sea-walls again.

Leaving ex-praetor Appius Claudius in charge of siege, Marcellus takes part of his army off to reduce Syracuse's dependent towns; Himilco lands with 25,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry at Heraclea Minoa and marches to Agrigentum, and Marcellus fails to reach there first but catches Hippocrates bringing a Syracusan force to assist Himilco and destroys it; Marcellus returns to Syracuse, and Bomilcar brings 55 Carthaginian ships into the harbour with men and supplies; Himilco arrives on land, but Marcellus avoids battle and he later withdraws to try to capture or win over pro-Roman towns inland; Roman commander massacres populace at Enna on suspicion of plot; in Syracuse a pro-Roman conspiracy is detected and suppressed.

Scipio brothers in Spain receive appeal for assistance from Numidian co-king Syphax who has quarrelled with Carthage, and send three centurions to train his army; however, he is defeated and forced to flee kingdom by his rival Gala's son Masinissa, backed by Carthage.

In Bruttium, Consentia and Taurianum return to Roman alliance and 'prefect of the allies' Titus Pomponius Veientanus carries on guerrilla war against Hannibal's general Hanno.

212 BC Caius Claudius Centho, dictator, holds consular elections – his 'Master of Horse' Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Appius Claudius Pulcher are elected. Publius Licinius Crassus elected Pontifex Maximus; a commission of six is established to run large new military call-up.

Early: During negotiations concerning prisoner exchange outside Syracuse, a Roman officer calculates the height of nearby wall by Galeagra tower so that scaling ladders can be brought up; while the inhabitants are celebrating festival of Artemis and getting drunk the Romans scale the wall at night, kill guards, and open the nearby Hexapylon gate; the main army is admitted and gains control of the main part of the 'new' city on the Epipolae heights overlooking the harbour, forcing Epicydes' defenders to withdraw into the older quarter of Achradina downhill by the harbour; the citadel of Euryalus, left isolated at the western end of the 'new' city, soon surrenders.

?February/March: Resentment against Rome in Tarentum after some hostages from the city are executed in Rome for attempted escape; Philemenus and Nico lead new conspiracy and go to Hannibal's winter camp during hunting expedition to offer the city to him; negotiations secure Tarentum's right to self-government, freedom from garrison, and no tribute, while the conspirators move to and from Hannibal's camp bringing cattle and gifts into the city without arousing suspicion of Roman garrison; Hannibal forms a force of 10,000 cavalry and infantry which he leads swiftly from the camp to Tarentum while supposedly out foraging; Roman commander Livius fails to realize what the spotting of some Numidian cavalry in the vicinity means, and at night while conspirator officers are distracting him with a party Hannibal

moves up to the Temenid gate which other plotters seize; Philemenus arrives at another gate with a boar after another supposed hunt and on his admission spears the guard, and the Carthaginians storm into the city and join conspirators at the forum; the populace is summoned and submits, but Livius holds the citadel and the Roman garrison at Metapontum evacuates that town to join them; sporadic fighting continues over attempts to blockade the harbour to Roman relief ships and isolate citadel. Himilco and Hippocrates return with the main Carthaginian army too late to save most of Syracuse, and blockade the Romans while their ships break blockade at sea and reinforce the Ortygia citadel, the seat of power in the city, in the harbour; however, plague breaks out in the Carthaginian camp on unhealthy marshy ground by harbour and the many casualties include both Himilco and Hippocrates; the survivors withdraw.

The rebel Campanians send to Hannibal for supplies as the consular armies head for Capua, but the force he sends is attacked in camp near Beneventum by consul Flaccus in their general Hanno's absence; cautious Flaccus falters in assault but his disobedient troops ignore him and succeed in storming the camp, killing c. 6,000 and taking much booty. Ex-consul Gracchus is killed in an ambush during his march from base in Lucania to join the consuls' siege of Capua, and his army of enlisted ex-slaves breaks up.

The consuls launch ambitious joint siege of Capua, Hannibal's main base in Campania; Hannibal sends 2,000 cavalry to assistance, but does not march to relief until later; on his belated arrival he offers battle, and the consuls engage his army but both sides break off as a dust column is feared to indicate reinforcements for their opponents; the consuls withdraw from Capua and move off separately to lure Hannibal away, and in the pursuit Hannibal runs into and mauls a small Roman force under ex-centurion Marcus Centenius.

The consuls return to the siege of Capua, and start close blockade; they are joined by force under praetor Claudius Nero, and six legions are involved in the siege while attempts are made to suborn the inhabitants including pardons for defectors; Hannibal fails to tempt the consuls

into battle but manages to inflict a severe defeat on the praetor Cnaeus Fulvius Flaccus at Herdonea, killing 16,000 Romans; Fulvius is prosecuted in Rome for endangering the state and exiled, and the survivors of his force are sent in disgrace to Sicily to join those from Cannae.

Autumn: Bomilcar brings 700 merchantmen and 150 warships to relieve Syracuse, and is confronted by Marcellus' navy off Cape Pachynus; both fleets avoid battle while sheltering from gale, but Bomilcar then loses his nerve and sails direct to Hannibal at Tarentum leaving Syracuse to its fate; the garrison starts to lose hope and Epicydes flees to Agrigentum.

211 BC Cnaeus Futo Centumalus and Servius Sulpicius Galba consuls. The mercenary troops at Ortygia citadel prevent surrender of Syracuse, which Greek residents want, due to fear of execution by Romans, but Spanish officer Moericus arranges to admit a party of Roman soldiers; while Marcellus attacks Achradina to distract the garrison they are taken across the harbour by merchant ship and admitted to citadel through a gate, and the citadel is stormed and its royal treasury seized; soon afterwards Achradina surrenders, and during the Roman plundering of the 'old city' Archimedes is killed, unrecognized by a soldier despite Marcellus' orders to secure him alive.

Otacilius' fleet from Sicily raids Utica and carries off the supplies due to be sent to Carthaginian army in Sicily.

Marcellus moves against Hanno's Carthaginian army at Agrigentum, who have been joined by Muttines the Libyan and a force of expert Numidian raiders from Hannibal in Italy; encouraged by Muttines' successes against Roman-allied towns, Hanno moves up to the River Himera and the armies skirmish; Muttines wins some clashes, but is recalled to Heraclea Minoa after a Numidian mutiny there and in his absence Hanno and Epicydes are defeated by Marcellus.

(or late 212?) BC In Spain, the Scipio brothers decide to attack Hasdrubal (brother of Hannibal) at Amtorgis; the joint Carthaginian forces of Mago (his brother) and Hasdrubal Gisgo are camped some miles away;

Publius Scipio and two-thirds of the Roman legionary forces advance on the latter while Cnaeus tackles Hasdrubal with the other third of the Romans and c. 15,000 Celtic allies; the Celts are induced to desert, while Publius is harassed by his opponents' Numidian horsemen under Prince Masinissa and, leaving camp to intercept the Suessetani tribal force which is hastening to join Mago and Hasdrubal Gisgo, is fighting them when the Numidians arrive to join in; he is killed and the enemy massacres the fleeing survivors, but Cnaeus notices the reinforcements arriving at his opponents' camp after battle and hastens retreat; he manages to gain initial lead but is caught up, surrounded in hastily erected hilltop camp, and defeated and killed; with the main Roman army in Spain destroyed, Carthaginians regain all territory south of the Ebro while Lucius Marcius holds onto remaining lands.

The consuls and Claudius Nero continue siege of Capua, and Hannibal arrives from southern Italy but is unable to force a battle; he assaults the Roman camps while the Capuans sally, but the Romans repulse all attacks; Hannibal, running short of supplies, marches northwards towards Rome to lure the consuls after him, but they refuse to follow; he raids Latium and camps at the River Anio as the first Roman reinforcements under proconsul Fulvius arrive at the capital and some Roman Numidian mercenaries riding through city to aid defence are taken for Carthaginian invaders and attacked; Hannibal reaches the city walls, the first enemy to do so since the Gauls in 390/86, at the Colline Gate, but the city is well-defended and the walls are too strong for assault. After a successful Roman cavalry sortie Hannibal draws up his army for battle and dares the Romans to fight, but on two successive days heavy rain prevents him from clashing with Fulvius' emerging defenders from the city. He has to retreat to friendly territory in Samnium before his army starves, looting Temple of Favonia at Capena en route; he abandons attempts to relieve Capua and stays in Samnium before marching to Apulia and Bruttia, and the city authorities negotiate surrender; the anti-Roman leaders kill themselves and the city is handed over and its Carthaginian garrison surrenders; 53 senators are identified as hostile to Rome and arrested and executed by Roman proconsul Fulvius, and

the Roman Senate dissolves the civic institutions of Capua to end its role as city-state and install a Roman governor.

Ludi Apollinares in honour of Apollo are instituted in Rome in response to enquiry to oracle of Apollo in 212 about new measures to appease divine disfavour, and duly become annual.

Roman alliance with the Aetolian League in Greece, Philip's opponents, organized by mission under Galba: Rome to supply a naval force of 25 quinqueremes to campaign, and Aetolians to have any territory conquered south of Corcyra; neither side to make peace without the other's permission. Sparta, Elis, and Mantinea join alliance with Rome.

Late: Marcellus leaves Sicily to celebrate *ovation* and campaign for consulship, bringing a huge haul of plunder from Syracuse and allied cities including art-works; after his departure 8,000 Carthaginian infantry and 3,000 cavalry arrive in Sicily.

?Late (or early 210): Valerius Laevinus' fleet, based at Corcyra, aids Aetolian campaign against Philip and takes island of Zacynthus.

Caius Claudius Nero is sent to Spain with 12,000 infantry and 300 Roman and 800 Latin cavalry.

210 BC Early: Laevinus' fleet in Gulf of Corinth to aid Aetolians, and takes Anticyra.

March: Marcellus and Laevinus (in absence) elected consuls; Marcellus is originally granted Sicily for command, but this is changed after Sicilian complaints to the Senate over his rapacity and Laevinus goes there instead; the charges of Syracusan delegates against Marcellus are investigated but rejected by Senate. The rebel citizens of Capua are banished to Etruria and their leadership has their property sold. Laevinus advances on Agrigentum, where Hanno has dismissed Muttines from command of the Numidian cavalry and given the post to his own son; Muttines angrily opens secret negotiations with Laevinus, and on his arrival the Numidians open a gate to Roman army; Hanno and Epicydes flee by sea leaving city and most of troops to be captured. Marcellus recovers Marmorae and Meles in Samnium from Carthaginians.

Cnaeus Fulvius Centumalus is defeated by Hannibal near Herdonea with losses of c. 10,000 men, and Hannibal burns the town and evicts its inhabitants for plot to revolt; Marcellus writes to the Senate telling them not to panic and marches to confront Hannibal in Lucania; he offers battle at Numistro and fights drawn engagement, but Hannibal declines battle on second day.

Claudius Nero crosses the Ebro and defeats Hannibal's brother Hasdrubal in minor action. Roman and Aetolian fleet takes the island of Aegina, which is handed to Rome's new ally, Philip's opponent King Attalus of Pergamum (Asia Minor), and lands troops in Elis in the western Peloponnese.

Late: Publius Cornelius Scipio, son of the consul of 218, aged 25, is sent to Spain with 10,000 infantry to take over the command at expiry of Claudius' period in office; he lands at Emporiae and winters at Tarraco, rebuilding the Roman army to c. 28,000 men, though still only around a third of the size of the Carthaginian forces.

209 BC March: Fabius Maximus and Quintus Fulvius Flaccus consuls; Fabius commands around Tarentum and Fulvius in Lucania. Fabius leaves four legions to watch Hannibal and leads his other ten against Tarentum while Bruttian irregular troops and soldiers from Sicily raid northwards from Rhegium against Hannibal's rear; Marcellus, left in command near Canusium, fights indecisive actions against Hannibal and in one of them loses c. 2,700 men due to bad manoeuvring by troops.

Marcus Cornelius Cethegus and Publius Sempronius Tuditanus serve as censors.

Carthalo's Carthaginian garrison of Tarentum are undermined by infiltration of a Tarentine pretended deserter from Fabius' army who persuades his sister's Bruttian lover, a Carthaginian officer, to desert with his men when Fabius arrives; the Romans attack the walls, and the Bruttian and his men help them to scale their stretch of wall and enter Tarentum; the town is stormed and sacked, Carthalo is cut down trying to reach Fabius to surrender, and 30,000 inhabitants are sold

as slaves as an example; Hannibal arrives too late, and unsuccessfully tries to tempt Fabius to march south into an ambush by sending him pretended traitors from Metapontum offering the town to Rome.

Hirpini tribe and the Lucanians defect from Hannibal back to Rome and are reprimanded but not punished.

Scipio leads 25,000 infantry and 2,500 cavalry against New Carthage, a leading Carthaginian coastal position not protected by any nearby armies, while Hasdrubal is fighting the Carpetani in central Spain, Mago is near Gibraltar, and Hasdrubal Gisgo in Lusitania (Portugal); Caius Laelius leads parallel fleet; Scipio launches immediate attack on arrival, and commander Mago's garrison of 1,000 are assisted by c. 2,000 citizens who sally from the main gate facing the isthmus to mainland and Roman camp to meet Scipio's advance; the defenders are routed and Scipio assaults the main gate area while the Roman fleet moves in to assault the sea-walls, but the Romans fail to storm the walls; Scipio launches second attack before relief can arrive, and 500 men wait by the lagoon on north side of the city until the tide drops enough to enable them to wade over to the walls as fishermen have indicated; they wade to the lightly defended northern walls and storm them, and Scipio's main force then breaks open the main gate; the city is put to the sack while Scipio advances to the citadel where Mago surrenders; 10,000 prisoners and Carthaginian treasury are taken, and Scipio enrolls the local sailors in his fleet and sends Carthaginians' Spanish tribal hostages back to their tribes with messages to induce their kinsmen to come over to his side. Laelius is sent to inform Rome, while Scipio trains army at New Carthage before wintering at Tarraco again.

Marcellus is accused of shirking battle by tribune Publicius Bibulus and is tried but acquitted, reminding the populace of Rome in court that he is the one general who Hannibal avoids fighting.

Twelve out of 30 Latin 'colonies' warn Rome that they cannot supply new troops for future campaigns.

208 BC March: Marcellus and Titus Quinctius Capitolinus consuls.

Marcellus averts threat of revolt in Etruria with military demonstration there.

Spring: Scipio marches on Hasdrubal (brother of Hannibal) and confronts him near Baecula, where the Carthaginians entrench themselves on defended hill; Scipio attacks before other armies can join his opponents, with him and Laelius leading two columns up the hill to drive back the enemy and seize the summit; Hasdrubal withdraws, losing c. 8,000 men and 10,000 prisoners, and marches up the Tagus valley unhindered to prepare for move to Italy to reinforce his hard-pressed brother.

Marcellus and Quinctius march against Hannibal who is camped near Venusia; Hannibal's men ambush their party of c. 220 cavalry during their reconnaissance of his positions, and Marcellus is killed (aged around 63) and general Crispinus mortally wounded though only c. 40 casualties; Hannibal gives Marcellus an honourable funeral and sends his ashes back to his son, but fails in attempt to trick garrison of Salapia with Marcellus' captured seal into admitting Latin deserters in his army in Roman uniforms as supposedly Marcellus' men.

5 July: First regular staging of the Ludi Apollinares on this date, arranged by praetor Varus.

Philip leads Macedonian army through Greece to aid the Achaean League against Sparta, defeating Pyrrhias' Aetolians en route; he addresses Achaean Council at Aegium and gains presidency of Nemean Games, but the Roman fleet based at Naupactus under Publius Sulpicius raids Achaean coast; Sulpicius then aids Aetolians and Elis in successful battle with Philip and joins Attalus of Pergamum with his fleet at Aegina.

Autumn: Massilia warns Rome as Hasdrubal's army passes through the Rhone valley en route to cross into Italy early in 207, and measures are taken to meet the Carthaginian threat.

207 BC March: Marcus Livius Salinator and Tiberius Claudius Nero consuls. Livius is sent north to wait for Hasdrubal, where praetor Lucius Porcius Licinus and two denuded legions wait at Ariminium and Varro and two legions wait in Etruria; Licinus hears of Hasdrubal's arrival in

the Po valley and sends to the consuls, while Hasdrubal advances to besiege Placentia but has to abandon attempt; Hasdrubal's envoys are captured near Tarentum as they try to reach Hannibal, so Rome knows that the brothers are to join up in Umbria.

Claudius, near Hannibal's army in the south, hastens with 6,000 infantry and 1,000 cavalry to join Livius who is on the east side of the Apennines marching to intercept Hasdrubal; the reinforcements arrive in Livius' camp, now close to Hasdrubal's, under cover of darkness and deploy secretly; next day battle is offered, but Hasdrubal notes strange shields in the Roman line and his scouts report two trumpets sounding at daybreak in Roman camp indicating presence of two consuls so he retreats along the River Metaurus; he misses intended route and is caught and forced to fight.

Battle of the River Metaurus: Hasdrubal attacks Livius on the Roman left, while Claudius on the right fights the Gauls; after hard struggle without clear advantages to either, Claudius leads troops round the battle to attack the Spanish on Carthaginian right flank and drives them in against the centre; the Carthaginians are destroyed, many of their Gallic allies allegedly being useless, and (Polybius) c. 10,000 Carthaginians and 2,000 Romans are killed; Hasdrubal is either killed or kills himself, and his head is taken south by returning Claudius and thrown into Hannibal's camp in Apulia; three days of celebrations are held in Rome, and Livius is granted triumph as the commander in charge of the battle but Claudius supposedly receives more cheers during the victory procession; Hannibal has now lost serious hope of reinforcement and is forced into defensive positions in Bruttia.

Summer: Sulpicius with 25 and Attalus with 35 ships establish new Aegean base at Lemnos ready to raid Macedonian coasts, while Philip defends Macedonia against their expected raids; he raids Aetolia and burns crops after they invite Attalus to address their council; Sulpicius and Attalus sack Oreus in Boeotia, but Attalus leaves for Asia Minor on news that Philip's ally Prusias of Bithynia is invading his territory.

Philip invades Aetolia and takes Thronium, while his Achaean allies in the Peloponnese, led by general Philopoemen, defeat Rome and Aetolia's ally Sparta at Mantinea.

Scipio's officer Marcus Silanus defeats Carthaginian general Mago and his new Celtiberian levies in central Spain before they can join the main army under Hasdrubal son of Gisco which is based at Gades.

Scipio manoeuvres against Hasdrubal son of Gisco in Baetica (southern Spain), but the latter avoids battle and sends troops to reinforce garrisoned cities; Scipio sends his brother Lucius to capture the town of Orongis as a gesture of success before retiring to Tarraco.

Aetolians agree to peace with Philip after mediation by Egypt and Rhodes, but Rome prepares for new offensive now that more troops can be spared from Italy.

206 BC March: Quintus Caecilius Metellus and Lucius Veturius Philo consuls; they base themselves at Consentia in Bruttium to raid Hannibal's local allies. Carthage sends reinforcements to Hasdrubal son of Gisco to drive Scipio out of Spain; an army of c. 70,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry (Polybius) or 50,000 infantry and 4,500 cavalry (Livy) is collected and Hasdrubal seeks out battle, and encamps at Ilipa near Seville; Scipio leads c. 45,000 infantry and 3,000 cavalry, about half of them Italian and the rest Spanish allies, to confront him and both deploy on hills above a plain; in initial skirmishes the Roman cavalry at last gets the better of Masinissa's Numidians.

Battle of Ilipa: after seeming nonchalance about a quick battle to lull Carthaginians into deploying late each morning, Scipio suddenly deploys his troops at dawn and uses the additional time to secure positions before a complex series of manoeuvres carried out confidently close to the enemy line and an assault on their flanks by picked bodies of troops; the Romans take the initiative throughout and drive the Carthaginians back until it turns into a rout, with unknown but heavy casualties; next day rain and Spanish desertions hasten Hasdrubal's retreat.

Hasdrubal retreats to Gades as his army breaks up, and takes ship

for Carthage; Mago, brother of Hannibal, remains in command and suppresses attempt to seize the town by mutineers as most of Spanish garrisons fall to Scipio and tribal allies desert; Scipio sends expeditions to ravage lands of those chiefs hesitating about defecting to Rome, with due effect, but later in year the campaign is delayed by his serious illness and Indibilis of the Ilergetes tribe leads revolt on rumour that he is dead; 8,000 Roman soldiers at Sucro revolt over failure of their pay to arrive, but Scipio marches in, executes ringleaders and issues pay, and leads army against Indibilis who is defeated and escapes; Roman control of all Carthaginian province of Spain but Gades is slowly secured, and a colony of Italian settlers is founded at 'Italica'; Scipio also sends to negotiate with the Numidian rulers, particularly useful commanders such as Masinissa, and sails to Numidia to meet Roman ally, King Syphax of the Maesasuli, at whose court he runs into Hasdrubal seeking the latter's renewed aid to Carthage; Syphax marries Hasdrubal's daughter Sophonisba in renewed alliance.

?Late: Scipio returns to Rome to campaign for the consulship; he is treated as a hero but not given triumph as has never held a senior magistracy.

205 BC February/March: Scipio elected consul after promoting idea of invasion of Africa despite opposition led by Fabius Maximus who wants Hannibal to be expelled from Italy first; rumours claim that he is prepared to arrange tribunes' law in Assembly to grant him Africa as his province if the Senate denies it to him; he is granted Sicily with permission to cross to Africa if he deems it necessary, with Pontifex Maximus Publius Licinius Crassus as colleague; ?after Scipio's political opponents try to restrict his actions (and resultant credit) by not granting him a formal new army to add to the men in Sicily he raises an army of c. 7,000 new volunteers; between c. 12,000 and 35,000 troops are eventually in his command.

Proconsul Publius Sempronius Tuditanus is sent with 11,000 men and 35 quinqueremes to Epirus on new expedition to fight Philip of Macedon, and lands at Dyrrachium; Philip's army advances on

Apollonia, and the Romans hasten to its defence but reject his attempt to force battle; with no new allies likely to fight in Greece, Sempronius later opens negotiations with Philip and 'Peace of Phoenice' is agreed whereby *status quo* is accepted and Rome secures new possessions on Illyrian coast.

Mago, brother of Hannibal, sails with tribal reinforcements from the Balaeric Islands, an army of c. 12,000 infantry and 2,000 cavalry, to Genoa to open new campaign and raise tribes in northern Italy; he gains local Ligurian tribal aid and is sent c. 6,000 reinforcements. Scipio reorganizes his army in Sicily, replacing the older veterans of the two Cannae legions there with new troops, and sends Laelius and around 30 ships to raid the African coast, alarm Carthage, and make contact with Masinissa.

Late: Roman prisoners from Hannibal's ally Locroi offer to help betray the town; Scipio sends tribunes Marcus Sergius and Publius Matienus with 3,000 men overland from Rhegium, and Locroi is captured and the Carthaginians in the citadel are allowed to rejoin Hannibal; however Scipio's *legate* Quintus Pleminius, the new commander of garrison there, proves a tyrannical plunderer of the town and neighbourhood and after he has the tribunes flogged for insubordination he is beaten up by their men; Scipio has to sail to Locroi to restore order but he keeps Pleminius in charge and after Scipio leaves the latter has the tribunes executed.

204 BC Early: The Locrians send delegation to complain to Senate, and Scipio is accused of failing to control his subordinates with enemies in Sicily adding complaints about his luxurious and 'un-Roman' Greek lifestyle there – army quaestor Marcus Porcius Cato (Cato 'the Elder') is among the complainers. Fabius Maximus tries to have Scipio removed from his command, but Senate sends a commission of ten senators to Sicily to investigate and they are satisfied with Scipio's military manoeuvres by which he shows that he is not neglecting preparing the army for attack on Africa; Pleminius is arrested and tried in Rome.

March: Marcus Cornelius Cethegus and Publius Sempronius

Tuditanus consuls; their supporters fail to get them allocated lucrative commands in Africa.

Spring: c. 40 warships and 400 transports take Scipio's army to Africa; they land, probably at Cape Bon near Utica, and as locals flee into the walled towns the Romans ravage the countryside and Carthaginian cavalry commander Hanno is killed in skirmish; Masinissa arrives with 200/2,000 cavalry, albeit after being defeated and driven out of his territory by his neighbour King Syphax at the instigation of Hasdrubal son of Gisco.

Hanno, either brother of Hannibal or son of Hasdrubal son of Gisco, arrives with reinforcements at Salaeca, but Scipio arranges for Masinissa's Numidians to lure his men out with feigned retreat and then ambushes them; Hanno and c. 3,000 Carthaginians are killed in battle and resultant pursuit, and Scipio ravages unhindered and **?summer** opens siege of Utica.

Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, and Syphax arrive with a large army, but do not offer battle; prolonged stand-off between the Romans and their probably numerically superior enemy.

203 BC Early: During negotiations with Syphax who is offering mediation, Scipio's disguised centurions reconnoitre the Numidian camp and note buildings made of flimsy reeds; Scipio pretends to be favourable to Syphax's proposal that Romans leave Africa and Hannibal leaves Italy but to need time to deal with opposition among his officers, and then launches night-time attack on the enemy camps; Laelius and Masinissa attack the Numidian camp and set fire to the reed huts before assault, and as Carthaginians start to hurry to assist their allies Scipio attacks them too; the wooden Carthaginian huts are torched, and Hasdrubal escapes with c. 2,000 infantry and 500 cavalry survivors.

March: Scipio's supporters secure continuation of his command for duration of war so that no new consul can take over the command and the benefits of victory; Cnaeus Servilius Caepio and Geminus consuls; Marcus Aurelius is sent as envoy to Macedon for talks with Philip.

Syphax flees back to his capital and starts to raise new army; Utica

is left to be starved out but the Carthaginian Senate rejects efforts of 'peace party' and Hasdrubal assembles 4,000 Spanish tribal reinforcements and Syphax joins him; c. 30,000 men camp on the 'Great Plains' and Scipio leaves part of his army at Utica and marches to confront them. On fourth day of confrontation battle is joined, and the Roman and Masinissa's cavalry defeat their opponents whereupon most of the Punic infantry flees leaving the Spaniards to be surrounded and cut down.

Scipio marches close to Carthage itself, and government orders preparations to resist siege and sends their new fleet to break the siege of Utica at sea; Carthage also sends to Italy ordering Hannibal to return. Scipio sees the enemy fleet putting to sea towards Utica, realizes what is going on, and gallops back to siege to take command of his fleet; next day the Carthaginian fleet belatedly attacks but is repulsed and retires with some captured transport ships.

Laelius and Masinissa defeat and capture Syphax, and his capital of Cirta surrenders; Sophonisba succeeds in captivating Masinissa into marrying her amid Roman suspicion of their intentions towards Rome, but Scipio declares that she is a Roman captive and he refuses permission for marriage so Masinissa helps her commit suicide.

Numidia is overrun by Roman army and Laelius delivers information of successes to the Senate.

?Autumn: Praetor Publius Quinctilius Varus and proconsul Marcus Cornelius Cethegus defeat Mago's Carthaginian army and their Gallic allies in the territory of the Insubres in Cisalpine Gaul, Mago being severely wounded and having to retreat into Liguria with survivors.

Carthaginian towns in Africa, left unprotected, start to surrender to Rome.

Autumn: Carthaginian Senate sends its 30 senior leaders to Scipio to negotiate peace, and they blame Hannibal and his supporters for the war; Scipio's proposed terms probably require return of all deserters and escaped slaves, evacuation of Italy and Liguria, surrender of all but 20 warships, supplies for the Roman army in Africa, and a massive indemnity. The Carthaginians agree, armistice is declared in Africa, and

delegation is sent to Rome; according to Polybius the Senate accepts treaty and Carthaginian delegates' quibbles with Scipio in Africa later ruin the talks, but Livy maintains that Senate refuses to listen to delegates and tells them to negotiate with Scipio who is granted full authority to decide terms.

?Late: Hannibal and his army are evacuated from Bruttia to Carthage; Mago dies of wounds as he returns from Liguria. Death of Fabius Maximus, aged probably in early seventies.

202 BC Early: Cnaeus Octavius' fleet of transports bringing supplies to Scipio is driven by the wind onto Carthaginian coast, and the Carthaginians send out Hasdrubal with fleet to plunder the ships and secure supplies; Scipio sends a shipload of delegates to Carthage to complain that this violates armistice/treaty, but the newly confident Senate rejects and insults them and they have narrow escapes from patriotic mob in the city and pursuit by Hasdrubal's ships as they flee; Scipio declares that the peace is at an end and starts to seize surrendered towns and enslave inhabitants.

February/March: Scipio's supporters in Senate secure the continuation of his proconsular command for duration of the war; new consul Marcus Servilius Claudius Nero, cousin of victor of the Metaurus in 207, is sent with fleet of 50 quinqueremes to support him.

Hannibal encamps near Hadrumentum away from the Romans to raise troops including 2,000 more Numidian cavalry under Tychaeus, and **?summer** advances to Zama nearer Carthage, while Scipio camps at Magaron/Nagarra; Scipio allows Hannibal's captured spies to look at his camp, possibly to pretend that he is weaker than he really is in advance of Masinissa's arrival; Hannibal marches up to hill opposite the camp and on the second day of confrontation battle is joined.

Battle of Zama: figures of armies are unclear, but Hannibal's is probably larger (?c. 40–50,000); Hannibal's elephants charge prematurely after they are upset by the cheers of rival armies, and are showered with javelins and allowed to blunder harmlessly through opened Roman lines or are panicked into stampeding back into Hannibal's cavalry

wings which the Romans defeat and chase from the field. The infantry struggle in close combat until the Romans break the newer Carthaginian troops, but Hannibal's veterans hold firm and Scipio reforms his lines to halt the pursuit, rest, and then engage the veterans; eventually, Laelius and Masinissa's cavalry return from their pursuit of Carthaginian cavalry to take Hannibal's veterans in the rear, and the Carthaginians are surrounded and ground down; c. 20,000 Carthaginians killed and 20,000 more captured and c. 1,500 Roman casualties (Polybius).

Hannibal retires to Hadrumentum and Scipio, more supplies now arriving, sends Laelius to Rome and sails up to Carthage with fleet, rejecting officers' proposals for a formal siege as the city walls are so extensive; the Carthaginian Senate's first embassy is sent away, but they are so demoralized that they have no option but to agree to the terms he announces.

Peace terms are proposed by Scipio and later ratified by Senate: all Roman prisoners and deserters and all elephants handed over; Carthage loses all territory outside Africa and surrenders all but ten *triremes* of fleet; Masinissa is given the extended kingdom of Numidia; Carthage is to pay 10,000 talents' reparations in annual instalments over 50 years, and make no war outside Africa and there only with Rome's permission; prominent hostages to be surrendered as surety for terms being carried out.

Early: The Senate ratifies the peace terms and sends delegation to Carthage; all the proscribed Carthaginian warships are towed out of the harbour and burnt, and mass executions of surrendered Roman deserters; Scipio returns to Rome for a grand triumph, assuming the sobriquet 'Africanus', and Hannibal probably commands what is left of the Carthaginian army and reputedly puts them to farming to help restore prosperity to the ravaged countryside.

March: Cnaeus Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Aelius Paetus consuls. Rhodes, the leading independent island in the Aegean and naval power, and Attalus of Pergamum send envoys to Rome to warn against Philip's aggression in Aegean and the Propontis area and seek military aid, and the Senate sends three envoys, including Sempronius Tuditanus,

to Ptolemy IV of Egypt (currently facing invasion by Antiochus III the Seleucid, ruler of Syria, Eastern Anatolia, Mesopotamia, and Persia) for alliance.

Aelius fights the Boii in Cisalpine Gaul, and enrolls two new legions which his subordinate Caius Ampius leads into tribal territory to start plundering; **?July** they are ambushed while gathering the local harvest at Mutilum and Ampius is among c. 7,000 killed; the survivors flee to Aelius whose campaign secures treaty with the Ingauni (Liguria) but no major success; on his return the Senate orders him to take naval measures against Philip, and he sends Laevinus to take over the Sicilian fleet from Octavius and bring it to Dyrrachium; at the latter, Laevinus consults with Aurelius who is returning from talks with Philip in Macedonia and brings details of Philip's armies.

200 BC March: Publius Sulpicius Galba and Gaius Aurelius Cotta consuls; **15 March** as they assume office the Senate declares war on Philip, and Athens sends appeal for aid against Philip's invasion; Sulpicius is granted command against Philip, with two legions and volunteers from Scipio's campaigns; Ptolemy IV sends envoys promising troops for Greece if Rome desires it; Attalus of Pergamum sends ships to assist defence of Athens.

Boii, Insubres, Cenomani and other Gallic tribes take one of Mago's officers, Hamilcar, as commander and sack Placentia; as they threaten Cremona local Roman commander, Lucius Furius Papurius at Ariminum, outnumbered, sends to Rome and consul Aurelius Cotta is despatched to aid him; envoys are sent to Carthage to demand recall of Hamilcar and handover of remaining fugitives in Carthage which both breach treaty, and cavalry for Macedonian war are sought from Masinissa; Syphax's son Vermina, having lost much of kingdom to Masinissa, sends request to be granted status of Roman ally and protection and the envoys are told to visit him as well.

Sulpicius arrives in Epirus, and sends Caius Claudius Cento with 20 warships and 1,000 men to relieve Philip's army's siege of Athens while Philip is at Abydos on Hellespont attacking Ptolemy's local garrisons;

Philip ignores visiting Roman envoy Marcus Aemilius, en route back from Egypt, and outrages neutral Greek opinion by brutal sack and slaughter at Abydos.

Masinissa sends 1,000 cavalry; Roman peace with Vermina is confirmed, and Carthage promises to hunt for remaining Roman deserters but claims Hamilcar is beyond their control and will be formally exiled; Lucius Cornelius Lentulus, proconsul commanding Spain since Scipio left, returns and is granted an ovation, not the full triumph that he desires.

Lucius Furius Purpurio relieves Cremona and destroys the Gallic army, who suffer 35,000 casualties (Livy) including Hamilcar, to end the rebellion; Claudius, at Athens' port Piraeus with his ships, raids and destroys Macedonian base at Chalcis on the Euboean straits, and in revenge Philip hastens south from Thessaly and nearly takes Athens by surprise; he besieges the city again and ravages countryside, but fails to lure the Achaean League's council at Argos into sending troops to assist him in return for his attacking their enemy Nabis of Sparta.

Philip ravages Attica but withdraws; Sulpicius, based near Apollonia in Epirus, sends Lucius Apustius to attack the Macedonian frontier, and Antipatreia is taken and Codrio surrenders; the Dardani tribe on Macedonian frontier and Pleuratus, leader of the Illyrians who were Roman allies in earlier war, send envoys to Sulpicius to join Roman coalition, and Roman envoy Purpurio and others from Philip and Athens all fail to secure favourable decision on alliance by the council of Aetolian League. Sulpicius marches into the Pindus Mountains towards Macedonia, plunders the territory of the Dassaretti, and skirmishes with Philip's army; he defeats Philip in confused battle where the king is unhorsed and nearly killed, but fails to follow up pursuit, enabling him to get away, and campaigns into Orestis (south-western Macedonia), taking Celytrum and Pelion; meanwhile Pleuratus' Illyrians and the Dardani raid Macedonia in support of Rome, and Aetolians belatedly decide to join the latter after hearing of Philip's reverses.

The Aetolians and their Athamanian allies sack Cercinium, and raid into Thessaly but are caught unexpectedly by Philip and routed.

Apustius' Roman fleet joins Attalus and his navy at Hermione, the eastern tip of Peloponnese near Epidaurus, and they storm the island of Andros and other pro-Philip garrisons in the Aegean but fail in raid on Cassandreia in Chalcidice; **autumn** Oreus, on north coast of Euboea, taken with Aetolian help.

Purpurio secures a triumph for his victory over the Gauls, despite senatorial complaints that he did not wait for consul Aurelius to arrive and fought with troops of another commander's army so he technically did not meet the usual conditions for grant of the honour.

199 BC March: Lucius Cornelius Lentulus and Publius Villius Tapulus consuls; Villius is sent to Macedonia and Lentulus is to remain in Italy.

Villius deals with mutiny of troops who were sent directly from Sicily at end of wars with Hannibal and want to end service after years abroad, and campaigns indecisively in the Pindus against Philip who has fortified the passes around Antigoneia to block the frontier; Philip strengthens his alliance with Achaea.

Villius eventually moves up the Aous valley avoiding Macedonian defences, and ?wins a battle with Philip; however, he cannot enter Macedonia.

Scipio Africanus serves as censor.

198 BC March: Sextus Aelius Paetus and Titus Quinctius Flaminius consuls; Flaminius is granted command in Macedonia, and Aelius in Cisalpine Gaul. Attalus sends delegation to warn that he is being attacked by Antiochus III in Asia Minor and would like his auxiliaries returned as soon as possible; the Senate sends envoys to Antiochus to request him to leave Rome's allies alone, and ?**April** Flaminius arrives with reinforcements in Corcyra, earlier than expected, to take over Villius' army.

As the Romans and Macedonians confront each other, Philip offers talks and he and Flaminius meet on the banks of the River Aous where Flaminius requires removal of Philip's garrisons in Greek cities,

evacuation of Thessaly, and return of plunder and Philip will only accept what arbitrators judge he should do not Roman terms; Flaminius uses a local shepherd with knowledge of the mountain paths to send picked force to circumvent Philip's defences and when they signal that they are in place launches a frontal attack which they assist; Philip is taken by surprise and flees to safety in the mountains, and with the road clear Flaminius advances through Lyncestis into Thessaly; the Aetolians and Athamanians join Romans in ravaging Thessaly, and Philip retires into Macedonia.

Flaminius' brother Lucius Quinctius with fleet arrives in Athens and joins Attalus for assault on Euboea; Eretria is taken without Philip's commander Philocles (at Chalcis) intervening, and Carystus surrenders; Flaminius fails to take Atrax, near Larissa in Thessaly, and moves into Phocis to secure coastal towns for landing of supplies from Corcyra; he takes Anticyra but is held up at Elatia.

After the Achaeans expel Cycliadas, leader of their pro-Philip faction, Flaminius is hopeful of securing alliance and, arriving at Cenchrae to attack nearby Corinth, sends envoy Lucius Calpurnius to Achaean council with Pergamene and Rhodian assistance; Achaeans vote to ally with Attalus and Rhodes, and for treaty with Rome subject to its acceptance by the votes of Senate and Assembly; Achaean troops join Flaminius and Attalus to besiege Macedonian garrison in Corinth, but the garrison holds out and Philocles' Macedonian fleet brings reinforcements to Corinth so siege abandoned; Argos deserts to Philip, but Elatia finally falls to Flaminius.

Winter: At Philip's request, Flaminius and Attalus, with representatives of their allies, meet him for peace talks on the shore of the Malian Gulf; Flaminius requires evacuation of Macedonian garrisons in Greece, surrender of prisoners and deserters, and return of Illyrian areas seized from Rome since 205 peace, and his allies put in claims for other places; a two-month truce is agreed, and Philip's proposals of which places he will cede (not all of those demanded) are relayed by a Roman/allied delegation to the Senate to obtain their reaction; the allies convince Senate that as long as Philip holds his current garrisons at key positions

of Demetrias (Thessaly), Chalcis (Euboea) and Corinth, the 'fettters of Greece', he can advance elsewhere and intimidate Greece at will.

Philip sends envoys to Nabis of Sparta against Achaea, offering him Argos; Nabis is admitted to the city by Macedonians but at a subsequent truce meeting with Flaminius and Attalus deserts to them instead.

Twelve thousand Latin and Italian inhabitants are required to leave Rome.

197 BC March: Caius Cornelius Cethegus and Quintus Minucius Rufus consuls; due to tribunes' advice, the Senate agrees to continue Flaminius in command in Macedonia until such time as the consuls, allocated Italy for new Gallic campaign, have finished war and one of them can go out to replace him.

The number of annual praetors is increased to six.

Reinforcements are sent out to Greece; Cornelius fights Insubres in Cisalpine Gaul and Minucius suppresses revolt in Liguria and ravages Boii territory to draw them off from the combined Gallic army; as a result the Insubres and Cenomani fight Cornelius on their own and are destroyed.

Flaminius advances from Elatia into Boeotia, and joins Attalus at Thebes to secure alliance with the Boeotian League at their council meeting in the city, while Philip receives his unsuccessful envoys back from Rome and raises levies; Flaminius advances to Thermopylae and thence into Pthiotis, and Philip marches into Thessaly; Flaminius reaches Pherae, and the two armies manoeuvre in southern Thessaly until accidental confrontation at Cynoscephalae where the darkness of storm hides how close they are to each other.

Battle of Cynoscephalae: Philip has possession of advantageous position on ridge and drives initial Roman attack back, but his men descend into plain and their rigid phalanx tactics are outmanoeuvred by skilful Roman and Aetolian attacks with the help of Rome's elephants, particularly when a tribune attacks Philip's right wing from the flank; c. 8,000 Macedonians are killed and 5,000 prisoners (Polybius/Livy), and Philip flees north. Flaminius receives Philip's

envoys at Larissa, and rejects Aetolian demands to depose him and seize his kingdom with irritation at their claims to have played major role in the victory, warning that if Macedonia is destroyed the northern tribes will pour through it into Greece; truce is granted, and at peace conference held at the Vale of Tempe the Aetolians fail to secure their claim that the terms of their alliance with Rome in 211 mean that they should obtain the territory Rome has taken in war (i.e. Boeotia and Thessaly) and Rome should just have the loot; Philip surrenders his son Demetrius and other hostages and proposed terms, centring on Macedonian evacuation of Greek garrisons, are sent to the Senate.

The Rhodians send envoys to Antiochus, who is now besieging Coracesium during campaign along southern coast of Asia Minor against remaining Ptolemaic garrisons and allies there, and successfully threaten him into not sending his fleet west, thus preserving the independence of Caria and Lycia.

?Autumn: Death of Attalus of Pergamum after 44-year reign; succeeded by son Eumenes. Caius Sempronius Tuditanus, *propraetor* and commander in Spain, is mortally wounded in battle.

196 BC Antiochus winters at Ephesus to threaten independent cities and rival powers' garrisons in western Asia Minor.

March: Lucius Furius Purpurio and Marcus Claudius Marcellus consuls; Marcellus' manoeuvres for command in Macedonia are defeated and Flaminius' command is continued, while the proposed terms of peace with Philip are accepted in votes by Senate and Assembly; it is agreed that Philip should evacuate all garrisons in Greece and some also in Asia Minor, surrender all deserters and all but five warships, reduce army to 5,000 (no elephants) and not wage war without Roman permission, and pay 1,000 talents, half immediately and the rest in annual instalments; ten commissioners are sent to Greece to carry out the terms and decide on what to do about Demetrias, Chalcis and Corinth. Both consuls are granted Italy as province.

Greek states ratify the treaty, with exception of the angry Aetolians;

Flaminius joins commissioners and persuades them to return Corinth to Achaea but keep the other two positions in question until threat of invasion by Antiochus is sorted out; his heralds announce the ‘freedom of Greece’ from occupation or tribute at the Isthmian Games, amid enthusiastic scenes.

Antiochus’ envoys are warned that he must not attack lands of Philip, Ptolemy, or Greek states; the commission’s settlement of Macedonian frontiers grants independence to the subordinate tribes of Orestis, Perrhaebia, and Dolopians who are in revolt, together with Thessaly, and on the western frontier Lychnidus is given to the Illyrians; on commissioner Cnaeus Cornelius’ advice Philip sends envoys to Rome for alliance. Antiochus besieges Lampsacus and Zmyrna and **spring** crosses the Hellespont where he rebuilds the ruined city of Lysimacheia (ex-capital of Alexander’s general Lysimachus’ state from c. 320–281), once capital of Macedonian Thracian realm.

Marcellus, entering Cisalpine Gaul, suffers losses in sudden Boii attack on his camp; he defeats the Insubres near Comum and is joined by Purpurio for joint ravaging of Boii territory; the tribesmen hide in forests, and consular armies then raid Liguria and catch the Boii on return from raid.

Lucius Cornelius, Senate’s envoy to mediate between Antiochus and Ptolemy, arrives at Lysimacheia with some of the commissioners from Greece; they demand that Antiochus evacuate places taken from Philip and Ptolemy and accuse him of intending to invade Europe, but he rejects them; a rumour that Ptolemy has died sends him off to Ephesus to prepare for possible attack on Egypt, and on discovering that story is false he returns via Cyprus to Syria.

Hannibal is elected one of the two annual senior magistrates (*suffetes*) at Carthage, institutes reforms in favour of popular assembly against the Senate, and accuses senior figures of corruption that is hindering the collection of funds to pay indemnity to Rome.

195 BC March: Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Porcius Cato (‘Cato the Elder’) consuls; Cato is granted Spain and Valerius Cisalpine Gaul.

Quintus Minucius Thermus, current commander in Spain, reports success in battle against Spanish tribal commanders Budares and Baesadines, and the Senate receives report of the returning commissioners from Greece who warn that Antiochus and Nabis are both serious threats – as Antiochus is back in Syria Nabis is the more immediate threat, and it is left to Flaminius to decide what to do.

Commissioners are sent to Carthage, supposedly due to disputes between the government there and Masinissa but really to investigate complaints that Hannibal is in touch with Antiochus offering him support; **?June:** Hannibal flees to the port of Cercina and takes ship secretly to Tyre, en route to join Antiochus as he arrives at Ephesus, while the commissioners warn the Carthaginian Senate to take measures against him if they wish to have their peace treaty continued and they promise to do so.

Flaminius holds conference of Greek states at Corinth where general opinion agrees with him about the need to curb Aetolians and Nabis, tells Antiochus' envoys to him to go to Rome, and leads army against Argos with Aristaenus' Achaean army joining him; Flaminius' arrival fails to lead to revolt in Spartan-garrisoned Argos, so he invades Laconia with assorted Spartan exiles (including the expelled legitimate king Agesipolis) joining him and Philip sending troops; Roman fleet moves in on the coast as Rhodian ships and Eumenes' Pergamene fleet arrive, and Nabis summons Cretan aid to assist his mercenaries; Flaminius defeats Spartan sally at town of Sellasia, encamps at Amyclae outside Sparta, and devastates Laconia, and then he joins his brother Lucius Quinctius' fleet and the Pergamenes to besiege the port of Gytheum which surrenders; Nabis sues for truce and unsuccessfully appeals to Flaminius on the grounds that Sparta has a treaty with Rome and Argos was Philip's ally against Rome, and is told that the treaty was with legitimate kings who he displaced; Rome's Greek allies are unwilling to launch siege of Sparta, and terms are agreed whereby Nabis evacuates Argos and all his other garrisons outside Laconia, returns deserters, runaway slaves and loot, and loses the Laconian coast and his navy; Nabis recovers his nerve and decides to reject terms and await aid from

Antiochus, so Sparta is besieged and nearly falls in Roman attack on walls until Nabis' general Pythagoras sets buildings near the walls afire to halt Roman advance; Argos is seized by revolt of citizens from those Spartans Nabis has left garrisoning it, and Nabis surrenders and accepts the peace terms. The Aetolians object that Rome has left the tyrant in power and ignored his legitimate rival Agesipolis.

Cato opposes tribunes Fundanius and Valerius' proposal to repeal of the *Lex Oppia* of 215 which bans displays of wealth by women except during religious rites, using the issue to illustrate his opposition to the decline of ancient Roman virtues and modesty and the spread of corrupting luxury; the law is repealed by vote of Assembly, with the assistance of public demonstrations by women against the threat of veto by other tribunes. Cato leaves for Spain, landing near Emporiae where **summer** he bases himself in loyal Greek part of the town, and ravages enemy lands.

Autumn: Responding to an appeal from Rome's Illegites allies for aid against enemy attacks, Cato advances from his camp near Emporiae and defeats the rebels in close-fought battle where he manoeuvres to attack the enemy rear and personally stops panic caused by the rout of his cavalry; the disloyal Spaniards in Emporiae and other places return to allegiance, and Cato secures lands north of the Ebro and disarms the local tribesmen; praetor Publius Manlius tackles the Turdetani and their Celtiberi allies, and Cato marches to assist him, leaves part of the army to assist him, and takes the rest against the Lacetani with the Suesetani and others returning to Roman allegiance; his strict discipline adds to his reputation for harshness and austerity.

194 BC March: Scipio Africanus consul, with Tiberius Sempronius Longus. Proconsul Lucius Valerius Flaccus fights the Boii as they invade Cisalpine Gaul and rouse the Insubres to join them; Cato celebrates triumph for victories in Spain.

Sempronius is granted Cisalpine Gaul, and invades the territory of Boii under Boiorix; the Gauls blockade and try to storm his camp before he is joined by Scipio, and hard-fought battle ensues but Gauls are

eventually driven off and retire into countryside as Sempronius (?and Scipio) ravage their lands and proceed into Liguria.

Flaminius, having wintered at Elatia, holds Greek conference at Corinth and announces that he is leaving the country, evacuating Chalcis and Demetrias, and returning Corinth to Achaea; he proceeds via the two evacuations to Thessaly to install new local government by cities to replace the long Macedonian rule, and marches on to Epirus and Brundisium; back at Rome he holds three-day triumph, with Philip's (younger) son Demetrius and Nabis' son Armenes among the parade of hostages.

193 BC Early: Praetor Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica, son of Cnaeus Scipio (k. 211) and cousin of Africanus, rescues the situation in Spain after incompetence of his fellow-praetor Sextus Digitus encourages rebels, and takes large number of rebel towns; **spring** after end of his praetoral command he campaigns successfully in Lusitania as propraetor.

March: Lucius Cornelius Merula and Quintus Minucius Thermus consuls; the Senate receives delegation from Antiochus, which refuses to give up his claims to the European provinces of Lysimachus' former realm (i.e. the Chersonese and Thrace) of which Antiochus has taken the Asian part or to liberate formerly independent cities in Ionia; the envoys of Greek and Ionian states complain to Senate about Antiochus' threat to their independence, and a delegation is sent to him to demand evacuation of European lands; envoys from Carthage warn Rome that Antiochus is preparing war with the aid of refugee Hannibal, and Rome is suspicious of how the city allowed Hannibal's detected agent Aristo to escape rather than arresting him at once; Scipio Africanus is among commissioners sent to Africa to adjudicate in border dispute between Carthage and Masinissa.

Aetolians, led by Thoas, send envoys to Philip, Nabis and Antiochus urging alliance against Rome and the Achaeans warn Rome as Nabis tries to cause revolt in his former Laconian coastal possessions; Roman envoys Publius Sulpicius and Publius Villius arrive at Pergamum to

consult Eumenes, and while illness delays his colleague Villius goes to Ephesus to meet Antiochus and (?accompanied by Africanus) meets Hannibal; talks are delayed by the death of Antiochus' son Antiochus, and when Sulpicius arrives negotiations resume but meet no success; the Seleucid claim to European territories is maintained and Antiochus decides for war.

Flaminius takes reinforcements via Sicily to Spain to replace Digitus; continued fighting in Liguria, where Minucius halts tribes' advance at Pisa, and fellow-consul Cornelius Merula marches on the Boii who at first avoid battle and then ambush him near Mutina to be routed; Cornelius is accused of incompetence that resulted in the high number of Roman casualties in battle, in letters by officer Marcus Claudius Marcellus that nearly cause his early recall. Flaminius fights the Oretani in Spain, and Marcus Fulvius defeats the Vaccaeii, Vettones, and Celtiberi near Toletum (Toledo).

192 BC Early: Scipio Nasica, supported by Africanus, and Flaminius' brother Lucius Quinctius, contend for the patrician consulship; Flaminius' brother elected, with Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus defeating Africanus' candidate (and former lieutenant) Caius Laelius in the plebeian consular election.

Numidian cavalry save the consular army in Liguria from being trapped in a pass by two rebel forces.

Praetor Atilius is sent to Greece with fleet, followed by Flaminius and other envoys to secure troops from allies, while troops muster at Brundisium; Attalus, brother of Eumenes of Pergamum, brings the news that Antiochus has crossed into Europe; Flaminius' delegation secures adherence of the Thessalians, and then persuades the Magnesians' meeting at Demetrias to reject overtures from the Aetolians who are claiming that Rome intends to return Demetrias to Philip; Thoas brings Antiochus' delegate Menippus to the Aetolian conference which is debating war and secures alliance with his master despite appeal by Flaminius, and Aetolians seize Demetrias; the Aetolians send Alexamenus with troops to supposedly aid Nabis at Sparta, but then to assassinate him and seize

the city; Alexamenus kills Nabis at a military review, but furious Spartans slaughter him and his men and Philopoemen arrives from Achaea to secure alliance with his state and Rome.

Failing in sieges of Lampsacus and Alexandria Troas on the Hellespont, Antiochus is told that Demetrias is in Aetolian hands and sails there with his army; he meets the Aetolian leadership at Lamia and is elected their commander, unsuccessfully attacks Chalcis, and sends delegates to the Achaean congress at Aegium; Flaminius persuades the Achaeans to stay loyal to Rome, but Chalcis falls to second attack and the rest of Euboea deserts to Antiochus.

191 BC March: Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica and Marcus Acilius Glabrio consuls. War with Antiochus is voted by the Senate, and Glabrio is granted Greece and Nasica the war with Boii in Cisalpine Gaul; Flaminius' command in Spain is extended, and Aemilius Paullus (future conqueror of Macedonia) is among his praetors. Antiochus visits Thebes to secure adherence of the Boeotians; Epirus and the Athamanians send delegates for alliance with him; he marches into Thessaly, fails to seduce the local cities or Philip from Rome, successfully attacks Pherae, and besieges Larissa until approach of Roman force under Appius Claudius and bad weather forces his withdrawal to Lamia.

May: Glabrio leaves Rome for assembly of army at Brundisium, while Philip of Macedonia promises money and troops and Ptolemy V promises money and grain; more grain is secured from Carthage and Masinissa, and cavalry and elephants from the latter.

Spring: Antiochus' troops muster at Chaeronea after a winter of lax discipline; he marches to Naupactus to invade Acarnania, but Cnaeus Octavius' arrival at Leucas off the coast inspires locals to resist and he abandons siege of Thyrraeum and retires; Marcus Baebius' army from Illyria and Philip with the Macedonians retake towns in Thessaly.

Glabrio arrives in Thessaly, and Antiochus' Athamanian allies are defeated and surrender garrisons, after which Philip marches into and recovers Athamania as King Amynder flees; Glabrio marches south, and Antiochus moves up from Chalcis with an army of c. 10,000

infantry and 500 cavalry (Livy) but fewer local allies than he expected; he camps at Thermopylae with aid of c. 4,000 Aetolians who garrison the town of Heraclea and are told to seize the heights of Callidromus above the pass but do not do so in full strength as ordered; Glabrio moves to Thermopylae, and sends lieutenants Cato and Lucius Valerius Flaccus to storm the heights.

Antiochus' (?smaller) army holds defensive walled positions across the narrows of the pass, and in the resultant battle the Seleucids hold out in the narrows until Cato secures his objective and descends to attack them in flanks and causes panic; Antiochus flees with cavalry via Elatia to Chalcis, leaving most of infantry to be caught by Glabrio during the pursuit. Phocis and Boeotia surrender to Roman advance, followed by Chalcis after Antiochus' departure for Ephesus; Cato is sent to Rome with news of the victory; the Aetolians at Heraclea refuse to surrender to Glabrio so it is stormed, and Philip besieges Lamia until the Romans take over and it surrenders; the Aetolians, having sent envoys to Antiochus to assure they are ready to fight on before they hear of fall of Heraclea, change their minds and send envoys to Glabrio, but are ordered to surrender their anti-Roman leaders and Amynder of Athamania and refuse; Glabrio advances into Aetolia to besiege Naupactus, while Flaminius, as Roman commissioner in Greece, answers appeal from Messene against attack by Achaeans by forcing the latter to withdraw and to hand over seized Zacynthus as well.

Caius Livius brings a new Roman fleet to Aegean to supersede Atilius as commander, while Antiochus sends Hannibal and admiral Polyxenidas to the Hellespont to resist Roman attack from Europe but decides to tackle the Roman fleet, now at Delos, instead.

?Autumn: Flaminius arrives at siege of Naupactus, and the Aetolians inside appeal to him as liberator of Greece to secure their pardon; he intercedes with Glabrio to negotiate their surrender and arrange for Aetolian delegation to go to Rome to negotiate terms, and Senate returns Philip's hostage son Demetrius to him with thanks for his aid in the war.

Consul Scipio Nasica defeats the Boii, who surrender and have half

territory confiscated; he secures a triumph despite objections that he has not assisted his beleaguered colleague Minucius in ending the war in Liguria yet.

Livius' Roman fleet joins up with Eumenes' Pergamene fleet at Phocaea, and defeats Polyxenidas' Seleucid fleet nearby, capturing 13 ships; Antiochus leaves his eldest son Seleucus in command in Aeolis while he raises troops inland in Phrygia including the Celts of Galatia, and Hannibal is sent to Syria for more ships.

190 BC Early: Scipio Africanus' brother Lucius Cornelius Scipio and his ally Caius Laelius are elected consuls to finish the war with Antiochus. The Aetolians' envoys try to negotiate easier terms but are told to choose between accepting whatever the Senate decides and paying 1,000 talents and only having what friends and allies Rome allows; they return home. Lucius Scipio is granted command in Greece thanks to Africanus announcing that if that happens he will assist his brother's campaign, and Laelius is given Italy; the Aetolians seize pass of Mount Corax to hold up Roman advance to Naupactus, but Glabrio captures Lamia and attacks Amphissa.

Spring: Lucius Scipio and his brother arrive in Aetolia, fail to force Hypata to surrender, and join Glabrio at Amphissa where the Athenians intercede with Africanus for the Aetolians; Lucius Scipio repeats the Senate's terms despite Aetolian pleas of poverty concerning amount of indemnity to be paid, and the Aetolians secure a six-month truce while they send envoys back to Rome; the Scipios lead army across Macedonia and Thrace to the Hellespont, aided by Philip, and Livius sails the Roman fleet up there to secure the crossing and attack Sestos; meanwhile Polyxenidas, as a Rhodian exile, approaches the Rhodian fleet-commander Pausistratus pretending to be able to secure Antiochus' fleet for them and Rome if he is helped to be pardoned in Rhodes, and once he has lulled the Rhodians into a sense of security he attacks their fleet and sinks most of it.

Prince Seleucus recovers Phocaea and Cyme for his father once Livius has sailed north.

Livius calls off the surrender talks at Abydus to speed back to Ionia on news of the Rhodian disaster, reaches the survivors at Samos, and raids Ephesus area where the Seleucid navy shuns battle; Aemilius Regillus takes over the fleet and demonstrates against Ephesus again, while Livius and smaller force raid Lycia and win battle outside Patara but fail to take town; Livius returns home.

Seleucus invades Pergamum and besieges the city, and Antiochus brings his Gallic levies down to the coast to camp at Sardes; the Roman and Rhodian fleets land at Elaea, and Antiochus advances to meet them leaving the attempt on Pergamum to Seleucus; his envoys for truce and talks are told that nothing can be done until the consul arrives, and he marches to Adramyttium to intercept the Scipios; Diophanes' Achaean reinforcements drive Seleucus off Pergamum.

Hannibal's fleet, en route from Syria, is intercepted and defeated off Side by the main Rhodian squadron under Eudamus; Antiochus fails to scare King Prusias of Bithynia into joining him against alleged intended Roman enslavement of all the Greek sovereigns, thanks to Africanus' reassurances to Prusias; Antiochus besieges pro-Roman Colophon, close to Ephesus, while Regillus takes his ships to stop the island of Teos giving supplies to the Seleucids, clashes with a squadron of pirates and pursues them to the promontory of Myonessus, and lands on Teos to plunder island until the inhabitants surrender their provisions; Polyxenidas brings his fleet to Teos in hope of trapping the Romans in harbour of Geraestus, but they move out in time and his ships are spotted hiding nearby.

Battle of Myonessus: 58 Roman and 22 Rhodian ships defeat Polyxenidas' 89 Seleucid ships, helped by use of burning torches on prows, and Romans break the enemy line in centre and then assist the Rhodians; 13 Seleucid ships sunk and 13 captured, and Romans lose two ships.

Antiochus abandons his siege of Colophon and withdraws garrison from Lysimacheia in the Chersonese, and while Lucius Aemilius Scaurus' squadron transports the Scipios' army over the Hellespont Regillus recaptures Phocaea; proposals from Antiochus' envoy Hercacides of

Byzantium for a settlement based on Antiochus withdrawing remaining troops from various cities and paying half Rome's expenses are rejected and he is told Antiochus must free all Aeolis and Ionia; the Scipios advance via Ilium (Troy), where Africanus offers sacrifices, to the River Caicus where Eumenes joins them, and Antiochus retires from Thyatira to fortify camp at Magnesia-ad-Sipylum.

Battle of Magnesia: Antiochus' surprise weapon of scythed chariots are negated by Eumenes' Cretan archers showering them with missiles and causing horses to panic, and as neighbouring infantry are exposed by the chariots' flight and flee Roman attack the Seleucid armed *cata-phracts* (cavalry) are exposed too; the Romans charge the disordered enemy line and rout them, though on the wing Antiochus with his cavalry outflanks and drives back the Roman auxiliaries and attacks the Roman camp behind them which commander Marcus Aemilius (Lepidus) saves; Eumenes' brother Attalus brings cavalry to rescue, and Antiochus flees; c. 50,000 Seleucid infantry and 3,000 cavalry killed (Livy) to c. 320 Romans. Magnesia and Ephesus surrender, and Polyxenidas flees to Syria; the Scipios enter Sardes, and Antiochus sends envoys to negotiate terms.

In Rome, the Aetolian delegates refuse to accept whatever the Senate decides and are sent home; Lucius Scipio's lieutenant Marcus Aurelius Cotta and Eumenes of Pergamum bring news of the victory at Magnesia; Eumenes requests the granting of inland Asia Minor west of the Taurus range to him to prevent Antiochus threatening the area again.

Roman army winters at Magnesia-on-the-Maeander and Ephesus.

189 BC ?Early: Senate ratifies Scipio Africanus' proposal that Antiochus pays 15,000 Euboean talents as indemnity, including 1,000 per annum for 12 years, and 400 talents are to go to Eumenes; Hannibal, Thoas the Aetolian, and other leading troublemakers are to be handed over to Rome; all western inland Asia Minor to the Taurus is to be given to Pergamum, and Lycia and Caria to Rhodes; all Asia Minor tributaries of Attalus of Pergamum (d. 197) are to pay the same tribute to Eumenes,

but Seleucid tributaries are to be free; other minor arrangements are made regarding specific cities. A Roman commission is sent out to supervise the arrangements.

March: Marcus Fulvius Nobilior and Gnaeus Manlius Vulso take office as consuls; Fulvius is sent to Aetolia, which has now overrun Athamania and Ambracia, and advances from Apollonia through Epirus to besiege Ambracia; Aetolian commander Nicander fails to relieve Ambracia and instead drives Philip's elder son Perseus back out of Amphilocia; Pleuratus' Illyrian fleet joins the Achaeans to ravage Aetolian coast on Gulf of Corinth; the Aetolians, surrounded with now no hope of rescue by Antiochus, hold a council and send Phaneas and Damoteles to Fulvius to sue for peace, and he tells them to pay 2,000 talents (half at once), disarm, and accept only the same allies as Rome's without further argument. Negotiations at Ambracia are aided by Amynder of Athamania, and the town surrenders; the Aetolians agree to pay 500 talents (200 at once and the rest over six years) and return all prisoners and deserters, and Fulvius advances into Aetolia where their council agrees to peace.

Delegates are sent to the Senate to secure their approval, and terms are agreed despite Philip's complaints of the recent Aetolian attacks on his frontier: Aetolia is to have same friends and enemies as Rome, surrender deserters and prisoners, and give no aid to any army hostile to Rome.

Summer: Manlius Vulso, with army in Ionia, and Eumenes' brother Attalus campaign in Galatia to suppress Antiochus' Celtic tribal allies; various towns are taken, but the Tolistobogii, Tectosages, and Trocmi tribes retire into the mountains; Manlius drives out the Tolistobogii defending the Mount Olympus range and kills c. 10,000 and captures c. 30,000 (Livy), and moves to Ancyra where the other two tribes pretend to open peace talks but use delay to evacuate non-combatants over the River Halys and then ambush the consul; the attack is routed, and the tribes are defeated in another battle in mountains and flee over the Halys.

Fulvius Nobilior arrives in the Peloponnese from supervising

settlement of Cephallonia, and attends Achaean League council at Argos; Achaean leader Philopoemen uses the excuse of alleged Spartan attacks over their new frontier against exiles based in the Laconian coastal towns to demand the extradition of those responsible, and furious Spartans kill pro-Achaean leaders in their city, renounce the alliance with Achaea, and send appeal to Fulvius for Rome to take Sparta under its protection; he refers them to the Senate.

Citizen rights are granted to the inhabitants of Arpinum (later hometown of Marius and Cicero), Formiae, and Fundi.

188 BC ?Early: Roman reply to the rival claims of Achaea and Sparta does not alter status quo, but is regarded as favourable by both sides; Philopoemen marches into Spartan lands to demand the handover of the anti-Achaean leaders, and Spartan negotiators sent to his camp end up being assaulted by aggrieved Spartan exiles in the Achaean army; Philopoemen requires Sparta to demolish its walls, abrogate the ancient laws of Lycurgus that make Sparta a distinctive community, and accept back all exiles; Rome does not intervene.

March: Marcus Valerius Messala and Caius Livius Salinator consuls. In Asia Minor, Manlius receives peace envoys from the Celts of Galatia and from Antiochus' ally Ariarathes of Cappadocia who is told to pay 600 silver talents; he marches into Pamphylia to collect supplies and 2,500 talents promised by Antiochus, then back to Apamea on hearing that Eumenes has arrived from Rome; at Apamea the treaty with Antiochus is finalized. Antiochus is not to allow any armies hostile to Rome across his territory, surrender all his elephants and all but ten large and ten small warships, hand over all territory west of the Taurus Mountains as earlier arranged, pay 12,000 Attic talents to Rome and 350 to Eumenes, hand over 540,000 *modi* of wheat, and surrender Hannibal, Thoas and others. Quintus Minucius Thermus takes the treaty to Antiochus to receive his oath of adherence, and Quintus Fabius Labeo takes the Roman fleet to Patara to receive and burn the Seleucid navy; Manlius and the Roman commissioners sort out the affairs of former Seleucid cities, and once all is settled Manlius leads the

army back into Thrace where he is ambushed near Cypsela by tribesmen and Thermus is killed and some baggage looted; **autumn** Manlius arrives at Apollonia. Hannibal flees to Prusias of Bithynia, a ruler not included in the Treaty of Apamea.

187 BC Consuls: Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Caius Flaminius. Lepidus, blaming Fulvius Nobilior for delay in his consulship, promotes the cause of Ambracian delegation which arrives in Rome to accuse him of sacking and looting their city and enslaving populace when they were at peace with Rome; Flaminius defends Fulvius' actions on the grounds that Ambracia was hostile, but the Senate resolves to restore Ambracian property. Manlius returns to secure a triumph and defeat charges that he had no right to attack the Galatians as the Senate and People had not declared war and that he incompetently allowed himself to be ambushed in Thrace.

Africanus is accused by two tribunes, the Quincti Petilii, of peculation during the Asian campaign and the old charges regarding extravagance in Sicily and supporting the oppression of Locroi; he defends himself on the anniversary of his victory of Zama, reminding the citizens of his services and saying he is about to offer thanks to the gods for giving him the skill to save Rome; the trial is postponed and he retires to his villa at Liturnum, his brother Lucius entering a plea of ill-health for his non-attendance when trial resumes; the Scipios' enemies accuse Africanus of showing arrogance again in contempt of court, but Africanus' political rival Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus (who marries Africanus' younger daughter Cornelia at around this time, the two of them becoming the parents of the Gracchi brothers) leads successful move to call off prosecution on account of his services; Africanus dies either soon afterwards or (less likely) in 185/4, aged from 48 to 50.

Following the death of Africanus, Cato joins the Petilii in resuming attack on the Scipios and demands an enquiry into whether all of the money handed over by Antiochus has reached the Treasury in Rome; praetor Quintus Terentius Culleo, a friend of the Scipios, is appointed

to investigate and Lucius Scipio is accused of accepting a bribe from Antiochus to improve the terms of peace treaty and is fined ?four million *sesterces*; ?he has his property distrained to pay the fine, ruining him, but is saved from prison thanks to plea by his cousin and son-in-law Scipio Nasica for the court to remember the family's services and his friends collect enough funds for him to live on.

Marcus Fulvius Nobilior returns from Greece and is granted a triumph despite attempt to stop it by a tribune, ally of Aemilius Lepidus, who raises the question of the sack of Ambracia again.

Death of Antiochus III, who is killed plundering a temple in Elymais (Persia) in search of treasure to rebuild his denuded Treasury; succeeded by his elder son Seleucus (IV).

186 BC ?Late January: ('15 March' by Roman calendar, but this is by now over a month out of date). Manlius Vulso celebrates triumph for Galatian campaign; Spurius Postumius Alburus and Quintus Marcius Philippus assume consulship.

Postumius leads investigation into the spread of alleged criminal immorality in Rome and Italy by the current craze for the secret orgiastic rites of the Bacchic cult, which are detailed to him by young *eques* Publius Aebutius and the harlot freedwoman Hispala Faecinia, and informers are encouraged to come forward with details; the consuls warn the populace of the dangers posed by such uncontrolled debauchery, particularly to chastity and the proper role of women, and the Senate issues law banning membership of or fund-raising for Bacchic societies and closing down all Bacchic shrines and celebrations except for small, individually licensed rites.

185 BC January: Appius Claudius Pulcher and Marcus Sempronius Tuditanus consuls; complaints reach the Senate about Philip's annexation of Athamania and advances in Thessaly, Perrhaebia and Thrace, to which Eumenes of Pergamum adds warnings, and with the cities of Aenus and Maronea near the Hellespont under new Macedonian garri- sons a senatorial commission goes out to investigate; the commissioners

call a conference of those concerned at Tempe in Thessaly and hear complaints, and Philip defends his annexations on Thessalian and Perrhaebian frontiers as replying to neighbours' aggression but is told to restore the places in dispute; Philip insists on his right to Aenus and Maronea free from Roman interference as they are not covered by any treaties and reminds commissioners of his services to Rome.

184 BC The Senate receives the commissioners' report.

March: Publius Claudius and Lucius Porcius consuls; Appius Claudius is sent out to see that Philip has evacuated the border positions and does so at Aenus and Maronea as well; when Claudius arrives in Macedonia Philip reluctantly evacuates the towns, but has his opponents in Maronea massacred first; Claudius demands that Philip send his agent in Maronea, Cassander, to Rome for questioning but the accused is mysteriously poisoned en route; Philip sends his younger son Demetrius to Rome to win support and hastens to annex more of Thrace.

Claudius goes on to the Peloponnese to meet the council of Achaean League at Clitor and accuses the Achaeans concerning Philopoemen's behaviour at Sparta, whose leading exiles are accompanying the Roman commissioners; Lycortas leads the Achaean defence of their actions.

In Rome, Cato (plebeian) and Lucius Valerius Flaccus (patrician) secure election as censors for 18-month office; Cato dominates through force of character and strictly enforces the ancient sumptuary laws; various senators and equites lose their ranks, and among the senators Cato deprives of their rank is Flaminius' brother Lucius Quinctius for ordering a private execution of a convict to satisfy the curiosity of his prostitute girlfriend at a party; public water is cut off from private land, new sewers and market-halls are built, and revenue collection is farmed out to the highest bidders and public works contracts to the lowest bidders during a memorable censorship (especially for Cato's reputation as Rome's greatest upholder of ancient morals).

Death of Rome's greatest playwright, Plautus.

183 BC January: Marcus Claudius Marcellus and Quintus Fabius Labeo consuls. Foundation of the citizen colonies of Mutina (Modena) and Parma in Cisalpine Gaul.

More complaints from Philip's neighbours, especially the Thracians and Eumenes, are delivered to the Senate and answered by Philip's son Demetrius; Eumenes complains about Prusias of Bithynia (Hannibal's host), and Spartan accusations against Achaea are renewed.

Messene revolts against the Achaean League, and the latter's attacking general Philopoemen is captured and executed.

Quintus Marcius Philippus is sent as commissioner to Macedonia and the Peloponnese; Flaminius goes to Bithynia, and Prusias considers handing over Hannibal to appease Rome and puts his house under guard but Hannibal takes poison and dies, aged 64.

Philip returns the Thracian coastal positions that Rome demands, but as Demetrius returns to popular acclaim as the kingdom's saviour from Roman assault he becomes jealous of his son; he campaigns inland to retake Philippopolis and the Hebrus valley.

182 BC January: Cnaeus Baebius Tamphilus and Lucius Aemilius Paullus (son of the consul killed at Cannae) consuls.

New sumptuary law (*Lex Orchia*) against 'un-Roman' extravagant displays.

Philippus warns the senate about Philip's warlike preparations and hostile intentions on his return, and complaints from Philip's neighbours multiply as he forcibly evacuates suspect inhabitants of coastal cities inland and replaces them with loyal Thracian colonists.

Quarrel between Philip's sons Perseus and Demetrius, the latter being accused of excessive partiality towards Rome the national enemy; Perseus alleges that his brother intends to murder him in concert with Roman agents (with Flaminius in Rome assisting them) to secure the throne.

Prusias (I) of Bithynia, Hannibal's ex-host, dies; succeeded by son Prusias II.

181 BC January: Publius Cornelius Lentulus and Marcus Baebius Tamphilus consuls.

Lex Cornelia Balba against electoral corruption.

Foundation of Aquileia as colony, to protect the north-eastern entrance to Italy.

Philip has Demetrius sent home under escort and later poisoned, after renewed suspicions of him during campaign to Mount Haemus in Thrace.

Spring: Celtiberian revolt in 'Nearer Spain', the eastern of the two new Roman provinces there; Roman commander Quintus Fulvius Flaccus marches into Carpetania with smaller force to attack them and defeats them in battle near Aebura where a surprise Roman attack on the rebel camp during battle helps to throw the latter into confusion; he takes Contrebia before the Celts can relieve it and when their army arrives thinking their allies still hold the town the Romans storm out to surprise them.

180 BC January: Aulus Postumius Albinus and Caius Calpurnius Piso consuls.

Both consuls are sent to Liguria, while praetor Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus takes reinforcements to Spain. Fulvius Flaccus raids into Celtiberia before Gracchus arrives, and defeats ambush in the Manlian pass during the return march.

Foundation of colony of Luca (Lucca) at the mouth of the Arno, with 'Latin rights' for citizens.

179 BC January: Quintus Fulvius Flaccus and Lucius Manlius Acidinius consuls. Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, Pontifex Maximus and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior are elected censors and publicly end their political feud for the good of Rome at appeal of their associates.

Gracchus, as propraeor in Spain, invades Celtiberia and his colleague Lucius Postumius Albinus invades Lusitania; Gracchus defeats the tribes at Alce with 79,000 casualties and ravages their countryside, taking prisoner the family of leading chief Thurrus who surrenders.

?Philip discovers that the letter from Flaminius to Demetrius concerning 'plot' to secure succession which caused him to order his son's murder was forged by Perseus' men; he considers replacing Perseus as heir with his cousin Antigonos but before he can do anything dies at Amphipolis, aged 59; Perseus succeeds amid suspicion of murder, defeats invasion by the Bastarnae tribe, and sends envoys to Rome to renew Philip's treaty of alliance.

178 BC January: Aulus Manlius and Marcus Junius consuls.

177 BC January: Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Publius Pulcher consuls. Consular campaign is ordered in Istria against tribes on north-east frontier of Italy.

Foundation of the 'allied' status colony of Luna in Liguria.

Lycian embassy under Nicostratus is sent to Rome to complain at oppression of local cities, e.g. Xanthus, by Rhodian rulers since 187; Senate orders the furious Rhodians to behave better.

175 BC January: Publius Mucius Scaevola and Marcus Aemilius Lepidus consuls.

Revolt by Ligurians and their Gallic allies suppressed.

Aemilius builds the *Via Aemilia* road from Bononia (Bologna) north-east to Aquileia.

Assassination of Seleucus IV in his capital, Antioch in Syria; succeeded by his adult younger brother Antiochus IV rather than his infant son Demetrius.

174 BC January: Spurius Postumius Albinus and Quintus Mucius Scaevola (Publius' brother) consuls.

Perseus suppresses the Dolopian tribes on his frontier, who are considering approach to Rome for aid, and takes his army on to Delphi which causes alarm among neighbouring rulers such as Eumenes and warnings to the already suspicious Senate; he attempts to seduce the Achaean League by offering to return escaped slaves if they will rescind their law banning Macedonians from entering Achaean territory

(which could enable his armies to enter Achaëa during war with Rome); the Achaëans do not respond.

Roman commission is sent to Aetolia to sort out civil disturbances among the factions in towns. Appius Claudius defeats new revolt by the Celtiberi in Nearer Spain.

173 BC January: Lucius Postumius Albinus and Marcus Popilius Laenas consuls.

Censorship of Quintus Fulvius Flaccus, who strips the tiles off roof of renowned Temple of Juno Lacinia in Bruttium to decorate his new Temple of Fortuna in Rome but is prosecuted for sacrilege; the tiles are returned.

Appius Claudius is sent to Thessaly and Perrhaëbia to sort out factional disturbances; Marcus Marcellus mediates between Aetolians; Eumenes sends warning of Perseus' preparations for war with Rome, and a commission is sent to Pergamum to investigate and then go on to Egypt to renew treaty with regency government for Ptolemy VI (acceded 181); envoys are received from Antiochus IV of the Seleucid kingdom to renew treaty signed with his father.

172 BC Consuls: Publius Aelius and Caius Popilius – the first-ever occasion of there being two plebeian consuls rather than at least one patrician.

Eumenes arrives in Rome and addresses the Senate on a list of Perseus' anti-Roman actions, including overthrow of pro-Roman tribal rulers and attempt to seduce Achaëans, and his preparations for war; Perseus' envoy Harpalus denies it but assures that his master will defend himself if attacked; on his way home Eumenes is attacked on visit to Delphi and nearly killed by stones rolled down the mountainside onto his party, and Macedonian agents are blamed; the returning Roman commissioner to Greece, Caius Valerius, collects evidence of the attack in Delphi and presents it to the Senate together with his findings about Perseus' preparations for war and allegations of Perseus' friend Lucius Rammius of Brundisium that on a visit to Perseus the latter asked him

to arrange poisonings of Roman commanders. War is decided and troops mustered by praetor Caius Sicinius and sent to Epirus.

Returning Roman commissioners who were sent earlier to Perseus, to demand reparations and observe the situation, report that he denied it all, treated them insolently, wants to renegotiate the treaty with Philip which he denounced as unequal, and secretly met Asian delegations; an Illyrian delegation sent to Rome by king Gentius is accused of spying for Perseus on their master's orders.

Commissioners return from Antiochus, Ptolemy, and Eumenes saying that all three kings have rejected anti-Roman offers from Perseus.

Complaints from Carthage against encroachment on their frontier by Masinissa are answered by the king's visiting son Gulussa, and Masinissa is told to send a formal reply to the allegations.

171 BC January: Publius Licinius Crassus and Caius Cassius Longinus consuls; as they assume office they carry out the sacrifices necessary to precede declaration of war, and once the soothsayers pronounce favourable omens for quick action the Senate sends motion for war to the Popular Assembly.

Macedonian campaign is awarded to Licinius and Italy to Cassius, and four new legions are to be raised – two per consul, with Licinius' containing 6,000 not the usual 5,200 men.

Perseus sends envoys who declare that he is at a loss to understand reasons for war, and the Senate is addressed by Spurius Carvilius, sent by their commissioners in Greece, on Perseus' attacks on Perrhaebia and Thessaly and tells the Macedonians that if their king wishes to make reparations he can do so to Licinius when he arrives with his army; commissioners Marcus Philippus, Aulus Atilius, the Corneli Lentuli brothers and Lucius Decimius bring 1,000 troops to Corcyra to tour Rome's allies and seek aid, Philippus and Atilius visiting Epirus, the Lentuli visiting Peloponnese and Geminus visiting the would-be neutral king Gentius of the Illyrians.

The Aetolians rally to Philippus and Atilius, who then go on to Thessaly; Perseus appeals to Philippus as their fathers were 'guest-friends',

secures interview on the River Peneus on frontier, and successfully requests truce with promise to send envoys to Rome, Philippus agreeing to his proposals in order to secure more time for mustering of armies; Boeotia decides to reject offers from Perseus' local supporters and hold to the Roman alliance, and arrests the pro-Macedonian leaders and sends them to the Roman commissioners as prisoners, but Coronea and Haliartus dissent from Theban-led Roman alliance and try to secure troops from Perseus; Achaeans are requested to supply 1,000 troops to Rome. Another commission secures adherence of Rhodes and the other Aegean islands, and Rhodians show them 40 ships ready for war; the only lack of Roman success occurs with Decimius' mission to Illyria.

?Late spring: Perseus' embassy arrives in Rome, and Philippus and Atilius return to report on their commission's work and assure that Greece is ready for war; some senators demur at Rome's bad faith towards Perseus at using delaying tactics but not being prepared to negotiate once Rome is ready, in case he genuinely wants peace, but they are outvoted; the envoys are reminded of Perseus' crimes such as the attack on Eumenes and are sent home. Atilius is sent to garrison Larissa against attack on Thessaly, and Licinius is told to join his army from Italy and sail to Greece while praetor Caius Lucretius takes fleet to Greece to link up with allied navy; Lucretius' brother Marcus impounds some Illyrian ships he finds en route.

Spanish representatives arrive in Rome to complain of extortion by Roman officials, e.g. praetor Marcus Titinius in Nearer Spain in 178, and a board of enquiry is set up; Titinius is acquitted, but ex-praetor Publius Furius of Nearer Spain (in office 174) and ex-praetor Marcus Matienus of Further Spain (176) are forced into exile; Cato is among the counsel for the Nearer Spain complainants, and despite rumours that more senior officials are being protected the Spaniards win senatorial orders preventing further extortion of grain or tribute.

170 BC January: Aulus Hostilius Mancinus and Aulus Atilius Serranus consuls.

Greek envoys bring promises of troops and supplies for the army,

and Carthage promises a million measures of wheat and half a million measures of barley; Masinissa promises 1,200 Numidian cavalry and 12 elephants; the inhabitants of Chalcis, base of the assembling Roman fleet in Greece, complain of extortion, billeting, illegal slavery, and theft of art treasures by praetor Caius Lucretius and his recent replacement Lucius Hortensius, and are promised redress and given presents; Lucretius is recalled, tried and heavily fined.

Appius Claudius is sent with troops to the Illyrian/Epirot frontier at Lychnidus to watch Gentius, while Roman ships proceed to Illyrian coast; Claudius overconfidently tries to secure the Macedonian frontier town of Uscana but is surprised by a sally and driven back with heavy losses.

War between Antiochus IV and Ptolemaic Egypt over Coele-Syria; Antiochus sends Meleager's embassy to Rome to seek support, Ptolemy VI sends Timotheus and Damon.

Hagesander and Agesilochus lead Rhodian embassy to Rome to reassure Senate about Rhodian support as the current struggle between pro- and anti-Perseus parties on the island leads to rumours of imminent Macedonian alliance.

169 BC ?January: Perseus retakes Uscana from a Roman garrison which he promises to free if they surrender but does not; he marches into Illyria to take allied towns and encourage Gentius to join him, and sacks Oaeneum; Gentius refuses to join war, but after Perseus has left Cloelius' Romans unsuccessfully attack Uscana.

January: Quintus Marcius Philippus and Cnaeus Servilius Caepio consuls; Caius Claudius Pulcher and Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus censors. Caius Popilius and Cnaeus Octavius reassure the Greek states that Rome will only accept what aid is voted for by the Senate so no local extortion will be allowed, and tour loyal Achaëa, faction-afflicted Aetolia (which has to surrender hostages as not trusted), and Acarnania.

?March: Perseus marches into Aetolia expecting support, but a Roman garrison under Popilius is hurried into the main town, Stratus, before he can arrive and Diophantus' Aetolian cavalry join them not

Perseus; the King has to give up and return home as supplies low; however, his local allies harass Claudius during the latter's advance to assist Popilius.

?April: Philippus and the fleet commander, Caius Marcius Figulus, cross from Brundisium to Actium with their forces; Philippus marches overland to Thessaly to take over the army there, and when Marcius brings up the fleet from Chalcis they invade Macedonia where Perseus is encamped on coast at Dium; the Roman force manages to cross the mountains near Lake Ascuris on difficult paths, engages Hippias' waiting Macedonian force which Perseus fails to assist, and then struggles down the steep mountains to emerge on the coast near Dium where they are not expected; the Romans are now cut off from their other troops and supplies across the main passes by Perseus' remaining garrisons around Dium, but Perseus panics and flees north to Pydna; Philippus temporarily occupies Dium before moving to Phila to link up with the fleet and receive supplies.

Philippus avoids advance and immediate battle amid grumbling; Popilius storms nearby Macedonian fort at Heracleum; Romans construct new roads for supplies, and Popilius besieges Meliboea on slopes of Mount Ossa but is driven off by Macedonian general Euphranor.

Prusias of Bithynia and the Rhodians send unsuccessful embassies to the Senate for peace with Perseus; the Rhodians' recital of all their services to Rome, complaint at war's disruption of their trade which is Rome's fault for requiring them to break relations with Perseus, and threat to attack whichever party prevents peace annoy their hearers. Eumenes leaves the Roman camp in Macedonia for the winter after developing a bad relationship with Philippus, and suspicion of his lack of support rises.

Envoys of Ptolemy VII ('Physcon' or 'Euergetes'), who has recently deposed his elder brother Ptolemy VI, arrive in Rome to plead for help against Antiochus IV who has invaded Egypt to restore (his sister Cleopatra I's son by Ptolemy V) Ptolemy VI and is besieging Alexandria; Antiochus cannot take Alexandria, but on his retreat he leaves Ptolemy VI at old capital Memphis in control of the rest of Egypt;

Ptolemy negotiates his brother's surrender in return for their becoming joint sovereigns.

Death of Rome's first major poet, the 77-year-old Ennius, a client of the general and ex-consul Marcus Fulvius Nobilior.

168 BC January: Aemilius Paullus and Caius Licinius consuls.

Ptolemy VII's envoys arrive in Rome appealing for help against Antiochus and Caius Popilius Laenas is sent with mission to warn the Ptolemies to agree to mutual peace, the defaulter to be regarded as unfriendly to Rome.

Gentius finally arrives at Dium to aid Perseus, but the latter's attempt to win over Eumenes fails as the Pergamene tries to sell his services to him as peacemaker; Perseus is offered help by the Celts inland from Illyria and marches to the Axios River to meet them, but their demands for pay are too high and they go home.

Aemilius Paullus is granted two legions to take to Macedonia; praetor Cnaeus Octavius is to command the fleet and Lucius Anicius to succeed Claudius at Lychnidus; the levy is held.

Early April: the consular army leaves Rome; the Romans arrive in Epirus, and Anicius joins Claudius and marches against Gentius to relieve siege of Bassania and take Lissus; he chases Gentius up the coast to his base at Scodra, besieges it, and forces him to surrender; Gentius and his relatives and leading nobles are rounded up and deported to Rome.

Paullus and Perseus confront each other on the banks of the River Elpeus near Pydna, where the narrow coastal strip and mountains inland mean that Macedonian defensive position cannot be outflanked; Paullus launches frontal attack to keep Perseus occupied while troops under Scipio Nasica and his own son Quintus Fabius Maximus (so-called as adopted by a childless member of the Fabii Maximi) secretly march inland to cross passes in the Olympus range into Perrhaebia and emerge in Perseus' rear; Scipio's men succeed and take Pytheum to Perseus' rear, and the Macedonians retire to Pydna allowing Roman army to advance.

21 June: Eclipse of the moon precedes **22 June Battle of Pydna:**

the Macedonian phalanx is attacked at different points by Roman 'spearheads' rather than being allowed a straight infantry clash with opposing line which is to its advantage, and the elephants and Latin allies on Roman right rout the Macedonian left wing after which the Second Legion breaks through the phalanx in centre; the Macedonian cavalry under Perseus flee, and c. 20,000 are killed and 11,000 captured (Livy); Paullus' younger son Publius Scipio (Aemilianus) is among the Roman cavalry in the pursuit. Perseus flees to Pella, his capital, and thence Amphipolis whence he sends envoys to ask for terms but goes on to the island of Samothrace, and Pella and the other cities and districts of Macedonia submit; Paullus enters Pella to assume control of all Macedonia and sends his son Fabius to announce the victory to Rome.

Octavius brings the Roman fleet to Samothrace; Perseus, accused of impiety to important shrine there by murdering his friend Evander who was evading trial over the 172 attack on Eumenes at Delphi, has to flee the island; he and his son Philip fail to reach their boat and royal pages, offered amnesty by Octavius in return for surrender, identify their whereabouts; Perseus has to surrender and is taken to Paullus' camp on the mainland and received honourably.

Anicius marches into Epirus, and Phanote and other towns surrender; he takes up winter quarters at Scodra in Illyria.

Popilius' commissioners, en route to Egypt, call in at Rhodes to complain about the hostile behaviour of assorted Rhodian politicians, and the scared island Assembly votes to condemn to death anyone found guilty of conspiring against Rome; they go on to Alexandria, where Antiochus IV is now demanding the surrender of the Pelusium area and Cyprus from the restored Ptolemy VI and sails to Pelusium at the eastern mouth of the Nile to invade the country. Popilius arrives at Antiochus' camp at Eleusis, four miles from Alexandria, and delivers the Senate's decree demanding withdrawal; Antiochus says he will consult council before replying, and traditionally Popilius draws circle in the sand round the King with his staff and demands reply before he steps out of it; Antiochus agrees to withdraw and the commission goes on to Cyprus to send the Seleucid fleet home.

The Senate appoints ten commissioners to settle affairs of Macedonia and five for Illyria.

167 BC January: Marcus Junius and Quintus Aelius consuls; Junius is to have Liguria and Aelius Cisalpine Gaul.

Delegations bringing congratulations from across the east for the downfall of Perseus are received, and it is agreed to install 'free' republics in Macedonia and Illyria, each country to be divided into independent districts under the protection of Rome which receives half the taxes normally paid to the deposed kings; four districts in Macedonia, three in Illyria.

Attalus leads his brother Eumenes' Pergamene delegation to Rome, delivering appeal for commissioners to be sent to Galatia to deal with anti-Pergamene revolt but not requesting part of his suspect brother's lands for himself as a more loyal ally as was rumoured (and which some senators are believed to support).

The Rhodian delegates, Philophon and Astymedes, are refused normal courtesies of 'friends and allies' on account of their countrymen's equivocal behaviour over the war, but praetor Marcus Juvenius Thala's attempt to have war declared on Rhodes is defeated; however, Rhodes loses its formal allied status and is required to evacuate Lycia and Caria which it does.

The commissioners arrive at Scodra to demilitarize and divide up Illyria, and are assisted by Anicius.

Paullus tours through Greece, and **autumn** calls Macedonian conference at Amphipolis where the division of the state into four republics is announced – going from east to west, the areas are to have as capitals Amphipolis, Thessalonica, Pella, and Pelagonia. *Senators* are appointed to run each district and Paullus organizes new administration and laws, but the popular reduction of taxes is offset by the new difficulties for commerce across the formerly unified country. The Greek states send delegations to Paullus to list and accuse their anti-Roman leadership, plus assorted victims of political spite by the triumphant pro-Roman parties, and they are sent on to Rome; Paullus holds celebratory Games

at Amphipolis, and then marches back through Epirus to the Adriatic coast, requiring the leaders of surrendered pro-Perseus towns in Epirus to collect their gold and silver which is then seized before the towns' walls are pulled down.

Returning to Italy with Perseus among the captives, Paullus faces problems over being granted a triumph due to his stinginess in handing over loot to his soldiers and the claim that he merely finished off a war of which his predecessors in command bore the brunt, and demobilized soldiers returned to the capital are mobilized in the Assembly to vote against the award of a triumph by ex-military tribune Servius Sulpicius Galba; however, the triumph is voted and celebrated, and **?December** Anicius holds Illyrian triumph.

Prusias of Bithynia visits Rome to congratulate Senate on victory, hand over his son Nicomedes (effectively as hostage) for Roman education, and appeal unsuccessfully for the lands of Antiochus' former realm in Asia Minor which were not given to anyone by Rome in 187 but have since been seized by Galatians to be given to him.

Caius Claudius Pulcher and Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus are sent to Achaia to deliver Roman terms: Achaia is required to send 1,000 suspected anti-Romans it has named to Rome as hostages; they include the future historian Polybius of Megalopolis, who becomes a friend of Aemilius Paullus and his 'Hellenophile' circle of eminent Romans open to Greek ideas (which includes Paullus' teenage youngest son, who as 'Scipio Aemilianus' later becomes the conqueror of Carthage).

December: Antiochus IV enters Jerusalem with army to install garrison and build Temple of Zeus in the 'Temple' precinct, thus touching off the Maccabean revolt.

Rome accepts King Cotys of Thrace's plea that he only assisted Perseus under compulsion, and returns his hostage son.

166 BC Caius Sulpicius Gallus and Marcus Claudius Marcellus consuls.

Perseus of Macedonia dies under house arrest at Alba Longa.

?Antiochus IV holds grand games at Antioch in imitation of Roman celebrations, and satisfies Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus' mission of

inspection to see that he is keeping to terms of his father's treaty with Rome.

Traditional date for the start of the productions of the plays of Terence (Publius Terentius Afer), an ex-slave using Greek literary models for his subjects and structure, in Rome.

165 BC Consuls: Titus Manlius Torquatus and Cnaeus Octavius. Prusias sends embassy under Python to complain to Rome of encroachments by Pergamum; other Asian embassies also encourage the Senate to believe that Eumenes is treating with Antiochus against them; Astymedes' Rhodian embassy secures restoration of alliance after Gracchus confirms that Rhodes is carrying out treaty terms faithfully.

164 BC Consuls: Aulus Manlius Torquatus and Quintus Cassius Longinus. Paullus and Philippus censors; attempt is made to prosecute Cato for misuse of public funds.

Eumenes' brothers visit Rome and secure senatorial rejection of his enemies' claims, but Caius Sulpicius and Manius Sergius are sent to Greece to check in case Pergamum and the Seleucids are intriguing together as well as to sort out local Achaean disputes.

163 BC Consuls: Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus and Marcus Juventius Thalna. Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus censor.

Early: Ptolemy VI of Egypt, deposed from co-rule by his younger brother Ptolemy VII the previous year, goes to Rome to request moves for his restoration and arrives in ostentatious poverty with a few servants to show his state; with the help of Seleucus IV's son Demetrius, a hostage in Rome for Antiochus IV's good behaviour, he secures grant of a senatorial commission to go to Egypt and mediate but **May** an Alexandrian revolt expels Ptolemy VII before they return with him. The delegation arranges for Ptolemy VII to rule, in Cyrene, as his brother's junior colleague.

Antiochus IV dies and is succeeded by under-age son Antiochus V under regency of minister Lysias; the Senate rejects Demetrius' appeal

to be allowed to return to rule as their client, and sends Cnaeus Octavius, Spurius Lucretius and Lucius Aurelius to 'assist' the regency for Antiochus V.

Caius Sulpicius goes on to Pergamene kingdom and advertises for all who have complaints against Eumenes to bring them to him at Sardes; the new king Ariarathes of Cappadocia and his Galatian enemies both send delegations to Rome in frontier dispute, and Roman commissioners visit Cappadocia.

162 BC Consuls: Scipio Nasica II, son of the consul of 191, with Caius Marcius Figulus; they are replaced quickly by P. Cornelius Lentulus and Cn. Domitrus due to alleged error in their inaugural religious rites, to avoid bad luck for Rome.

Octavius the commissioner is murdered at Laodicea in Syria, and despite the assurances of Lysias' regency that they were not involved Rome suspects them.

Demetrius escapes from Rome with the connivance of Polybius the historian, an exiled Achaean politician living there as hostage, and assistance of Ptolemy VI's ambassador Menyllus who provides a ship, and sails back to Syria where he overthrows Antiochus V; the Senate sends Gracchus, Lucius Lentulus and Servilius Glaucia east to watch the developing situation and report back.

161 BC Consuls: Marcus Valerius Messala and Caius Fannius Strabo.

Consul Fannius' law against extravagant banquets.

?Gracchus reports favourably on Demetrius' loyalty, and the new Seleucid regime is accepted with Demetrius sending gifts and Octavius' killer to Rome.

160 BC Consuls: Lucius Anicius Gallus and Marcus Cornelius Cethegus. Death of Aemilius Paullus, probably in early sixties; his youngest son Publius Scipio Aemilianus, who has been 'adopted' by the childless son of Scipio Africanus and taken his name, generously allows his impoverished elder brother Fabius Maximus to have his inheritance. Attalus

of Pergamum visits Rome to defend his brother King Eumenes against the charges of Prusias and the Galatians.

159 BC January: Cnaeus Cornelius Dolabella and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior consuls. Scipio Nasica (II) and Popilius Laenas censors. Death of Eumenes of Pergamum; succeeded by brother Attalus, who is regarded as more trustable by Rome.

158 BC January: Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Marcus Popilius Laenas consuls. Ariarathes of Cappadocia, deposed in revolt by Orophernes, visits Rome to secure help; Orophernes sends rival embassy. Caius Fannius is sent to report on complaints by the Illyrian coastal towns against raiding Dalmatians; the latter refuse to recognize his right to interfere so on his return to Rome a military campaign is ordered.

157 BC January: Sextus Julius Caesar and Lucius Aurelius Orestes consuls.

The Senate orders division of Cappadocia between Ariarathes and Orophernes; the latter refuses to accept it.

156 BC Marcius Figulus consul, unusually within the normal ten-year interval preferred between consulships; he invades and ravages Dalmatian coast to assist the Illyrians after complaints against the Dalmatians' piracy leads to the Senate sending an embassy which is insulted and threatened; Lucius Cornelius Lentulus is the other consul.

Orophernes of Cappadocia is murdered; Ariarathes returns home as king with Pergamene military assistance.

Prusias of Bithynia invades Pergamum and loots treasures from undefended rural shrines, but is driven out by Attalus who sends embassy with returning legate Lentulus to Rome to complain; the Senate, which at first believed Attalus was inventing the attack to gain sympathy, sends Lucius Apuleius and Caius Petronius to investigate.

155 BC Marcus Claudius Marcellus consul for second time, with Publius

Scipio Nasica II. The heads of the principal philosophical schools in Athens (excepting the Epicureans) visit Rome with an embassy which is sent to secure remission of a Senate fine for Athens sacking the town of Oropus; Diogenes the Stoic and Critolaus the Cynic are received with enthusiasm by Hellenophile young nobles and teach classes of students, but Carneades the Sceptic is less popular for saying that if the Romans wanted to be truly virtuous they would return their conquests. Achaean mission under Xenon and Telecles fails to have their hostages allowed home; Claudius Cento, Lucius Hortensius and Caius Aurunculeius are sent to Pergamum to halt the war but are unsuccessful and on return they blame Prusias for treating them badly.

154 BC Quintus Opimius Nepos and Lucius Postumius Albinus consuls.

Attalus invades Bithynia but is driven out by Prusias; he takes up the cause of a pretended son of Antiochus IV, Alexander Balas (who has recently had a favourable reception on visit to Rome), to the Seleucid throne against the hostile Demetrius, crowns him at Pergamum, and assists his cause.

Ptolemy VII appeals to Rome for aid against his elder brother Ptolemy VI.

Massilia and neighbouring Greek colonies such as Nicaea (Nice) complain to Rome about attacks by Ligurian tribes; after visiting Roman commissioner Flaminius Popilius Laenas is attacked the Senate decides on war and sends consul Opimius to attack the Oxybii.

Winter: Due to growing threat of tribal revolt in Spain, the Senate votes to advance opening of the official year to 1 January (?mid-November in real calendar) to enable consuls to reach their provinces earlier.

153 BC 1 January: Quintus Fulvius Nobilior consul, with Titus Annius Luscus. Fulvius serves in Spain against Celtiberian revolt and suffers several defeats.

Ten Roman commissioners visit Attalus to warn him against an attack he is planning on Bithynia with aid of Pontus and Cappadocia,

and then go on to Prusias who rejects most of their demands but changes his mind after they leave; the commissioners encourage Bithynia's allied towns around the Bosphorus to revolt but order Attalus not to invade, and after a Rhodian squadron arrives and starts raids the Senate's new envoys Appius Claudius, Lucius Oppius and Aulus Postumius visit both Attalus and Prusias to negotiate. Peace is settled on Roman terms, namely the territorial status quo and Prusias paying Attalus 500 talents in 20 years with 20 warships.

?Alexander Balas visits Rome to secure support with his adviser Heracleides, addresses the Senate, and despite failing to satisfy them is recognized as the legitimate son of Rome's ally Antiochus IV and allowed to recruit mercenaries to attack Demetrius.

152 BC Marcus Claudius Marcellus granted unprecedented third consulship, and is sent out to Nearer Spain; he secures victories and arranges for tribes to send envoys to Rome to propose grant of peace in return for fixed indemnity payment; loyal Spanish tribes complain that their treacherous enemies are being rewarded and senatorial rivals condemn Marcellus as weak, and the proposed settlement is rejected.

Lucius Valerius Flaccus is the other consul.

Roman commission is sent to Africa to adjudicate in another boundary dispute between Carthage and the expanding kingdom of Masinissa; Cato is a member. Masinissa offers to withdraw from disputed land and does so, but Carthage refuses to accept Roman arbitration which they expect will be biased against them. Cato is alarmed at Carthage's growing prosperity, and the commission notes signs of military activity in the city. On Cato's return to Rome he warns the Senate about the threat, reputedly displaying huge 'Carthaginian' figs and warning that their owners are only three days' sail away from Rome; the Senate decides on war only if Carthage refuses to disarm, and Cato starts a campaign to pressurize for the end of threat from Carthage for good, ending all his speeches with the call for its destruction, and is opposed by Scipio Nasica (II) ?who argues that existence of a potential rival is a stimulus to Rome's continued reliance on ancient martial virtues.

Rome lends assistance to Alexander Balas as he invades Syria to fight Demetrius.

151 BC Consuls: Lucius Licinius Lucullus and Aulus Postumius Albinus.

The allied Belli and Titti tribes in Spain send envoys to Rome, who request an annual consular army in Spain to punish rebels and overawe potential troublemakers such as their rivals the Aravacae, a tribe not in treaty with Rome whose own envoys to the city are being treated with disdain.

Difficulties are found in raising volunteers for an army to serve under Lucullus in Spain for new aggressive policy on account of expected hardships on campaign; Publius Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus, Paullus' youngest son, offers to serve as a military tribune and stimulates others to volunteer; by the time the new army arrives the Romans have defeated the Celtiberians (Aravacae), but the disappointed Lucullus is impatient for the loot he expected to win; he uses an excuse to attack the friendly tribe of Vaccae and pillages their territory, carrying out a massacre at surrendering Cauca and failing to take Palantia.

Carthage completes paying its 50-year indemnity to Rome; at around this time renewed self-confidence in Carthage leads to political and public opinion hardening against Numidia, with the 'popular' party under Carthalo largely anti-Numidia and the aristocrats more cautious; some proponents of appeasement of Masinissa are exiled from the city and flee to Masinissa, who sends his sons Gulussa and Micipsa to Rome to complain about this evidence of Carthaginian belligerence.

150 BC Consuls: Titus Quinctius Flaminius and Marcus Acilius Balbus.

Publius Sulpicius Galba, praetor of Further Spain, is defeated by the Lusitanians and proposes peace with them; he offers their tribesmen Roman farmland, and once they have agreed, disarmed and divided up into three groups to move onto the land, he has his legionaries attack them in coordinated massacre; among those survivors who escape to raise new revolt is Viriathus, who becomes its leader in alliance with Celtiberians.

Winter: On returning to Rome, Galba is accused of breach of Rome's honour by going back on his promise to tribes and is tried, with Cato among his accusers before the Senate, but is acquitted after bringing his children into court for an emotional appeal.

Numidians raid Carthaginian territory and besiege the town of Oroscopa; Carthage raises an army of 25,000 infantry and 400 cavalry without waiting for Roman permission and general Hasdrubal leads it to the relief; two Numidian chieftains, Asasis and Suba, defect to Carthaginians after a quarrel with Masinissa's sons, and after skirmishing the Numidians withdraw to hillier territory; Scipio Aemilianus arrives from Lucullus to negotiate loan of some Numidian elephants for the Roman army in Spain as Masinissa offers battle, and, joining Masinissa in his camp in time to watch the resultant indecisive battle, offers to mediate; talks fail after Hasdrubal refuses to return Asasis and Suba, and Masinissa surrounds and starves out the Carthaginian camp; eventually Hasdrubal agrees to pay 50-year indemnity and allow the exiles' return, but as his army leaves they are attacked by Masinissa's son Gulussa and many are killed.

Rome starts preparations for war on this evidence of Carthaginian belligerence, but the Carthaginian Senate has Hasdrubal, Carthalo and other anti-Numidian leaders tried and condemned to death (not carried out) and sends delegation to Rome blaming these men and provocative Masinissa for the conflict; the Senate replies that if Carthage had intended peace it would have tried the warmongers before not after the campaign and it must satisfy the Roman people.

Utica defects from Carthaginian state to alliance with Rome, offering use of harbour. A debate is held in the Senate over whether or not to return the interned Achaean hostages to Greece; it is agreed, largely thanks to intervention by Cato.

149 BC Consuls: Manius Manilius and Lucius Marcius Censorinus.

War is declared on Carthage, and Manilius is to command the army and Censorinus the fleet; another Carthaginian embassy arrives in Rome, and is told that Carthage must hand over 300 children of the

leading aristocratic families as hostages for their relatives' behaviour and send them to Lilybaeum where the Roman forces are assembling; this is carried out.

The consuls lead the expedition of (Appian) 80,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry to Utica, where Carthaginian envoys arrive and are received at a daunting parade of the army and told by Censorinus that Carthage must hand over all weapons and armour in the city; large stocks of weapons are duly taken out to the Roman camp, and Censorinus informs the escort that Carthage must now be evacuated ready for being razed to the ground; the inhabitants will be allowed a new city, at least ten miles from the sea. The Carthaginian Senate votes to reject the ultimatum amid angry scenes by the populace, and a number of pro-Romans and visiting Italian traders are killed in riots; the disgraced Hasdrubal and other commanders are recalled and weapons are hastily manufactured with anything available being pressed into service, with the extensive and formidable walls of the city the inhabitants' main defence.

Carthage is besieged, and Manilius assaults the land walls and Censorinus the walls fronting the lagoon by sea; both are repulsed. Two more land assaults fail, and as the Romans have to set up a formal camp and prepare for a long siege, Hasdrubal brings a new Carthaginian army close to the city on land to harass the besiegers. The Romans fill in part of the lagoon and drag two huge battering-rams up to the walls there, but the resulting breaches in walls are held and are then repaired at night before the next assault; next day the Roman attack manages to cross the damaged wall but is driven back, and Scipio Aemilianus leads a unit that secures the Roman retreat.

Late summer: Censorinus has to move his camp closer to the sea after outbreak of disease, while Manilius' camp on the isthmus between the sea and lagoon is attacked and Scipio Aemilianus leads a cavalry sally to repel the raid; fireships raid the Roman fleet.

Autumn: Censorinus returns to Rome to hold the elections, while Manilius leads a large expedition out to ravage the countryside but slack scouting leads to successful Carthaginian ambushes by a force under

Himilco Phameas; later Manilius unsuccessfully attacks Hasdrubal's force which is encamped at Zepheris beyond Tunis, having to retreat humiliatingly after failed attack over river on hillside camp and leaving a part of his force cut off until Scipio Aemilianus extricates them.

Mamilius returns to camp and is attacked by Himilco and the defenders of city; a visiting senatorial commission concludes that he is incompetent, but reports more favourably of Aemilianus' military capability; Cato speaks in favour of Aemilianus in senatorial debate on the commission's return to Rome, and dies shortly afterwards aged 85.

Invasion of Macedonia by rebel exile Andriscus, the 'Pseudo-Philip' (i.e. claimant to be Perseus' son who died in Italy c. 164), with an army of Thracians; he wins victory over the forces of the easternmost republic on the east side of the Strymon River, and crosses to defeat the scattered forces of the other republics one by one; Scipio Nasica II is sent there by Senate to organize resistance.

Achaean dispute with Sparta over the latter's special legal status leads to proposal from belligerent Achaean demagogue Diaeus for military attack on Sparta, without waiting for permission from Rome which should be consulted as Sparta's protector but is too preoccupied to send immediate reply to Achaea as the latter requested.

Prusias of Bithynia sends his son and heir Nicomedes to Rome on a mission to have the indemnity he was ordered to pay by the Senate in 154 remitted; he sends secret orders to his embassy to kill the Prince so he can appoint another son as heir, but it leaks out and Nicomedes is aided by Pergamum's ambassador Andronicus in declaring himself King on the homeward journey; Nicomedes invades Bithynia with Pergamene troops and Prusias deserts and is killed.

Establishment of a permanent court in Rome to try cases *de pecuniis repetundis*, enabling provincials to bring charges of embezzlement or extortion against their governors and other officials.

148 BC Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus consul with Spurius Postumius Albinus, and is sent to take over command at Carthage with Lucius Mancinus in charge of fleet.

Early: Masinissa dies, aged around 90, appointing Aemilianus to sort out the division of kingdom of Numidia among his many sons; Aemilianus divides kingdom among the three legitimate sons, and brings Gulussa with cavalry to join the Roman expedition at Carthage.

Mamilius attacks Hasdrubal's camp at Nepheris again, with no more success, and waits dangerously long for a chance to fight as his supplies run low, but Aemilianus persuades Himilco Phameas to defect and after 19-day deadlock the Romans give up waiting and retire with Aemilianus, Gulussa and Himilco successfully foraging for supplies. Aemilianus returns to Rome to report to the Senate, present Himilco who pledges loyalty and is rewarded, and start campaign for curule aedileship (he is too young for usual age for consulship at 36) with popular support.

Caesoninus takes over siege, and launches unsuccessful attacks on still loyal Carthaginian outposts at Aspis and Hippagreta; Carthage calls Hasdrubal into the city to take command from another Hasdrubal, a relative of the Numidian royal family who has come under suspicion of links with his cousin Gulussa and is killed by mob.

In Macedonia, Andriscus defeats a Roman army whose praetor commander Juventius Thalna falls in battle; Carthage sends the rebels a delegation.

Winter: As Aemilianus is clearly the most able commander to fight Carthage despite his being under-age and has substantial popular support, the Senate agrees to temporarily annul the law on required age for assuming the consulship (*Lex Villia Annalis*) especially for one year for his benefit.

Aemilianus is elected consul for 147, with Marcus Livius Drusus who seeks the usual allocation of provinces by lots so that he has a chance to go to Africa instead.

The Senate orders Achaea to leave Sparta alone, and requests that their League grant full independence (i.e. in making foreign policy) to two of their most powerful members, Corinth and Argos.

147 BC January: A tribune secures the award of this year's provinces to the Assembly, who duly choose Aemilianus for Africa.

During Caesoninus' absence with the main army inland Mancinus' fleet lands a small body of troops at a weak point in shore defences of Carthage, routs a Carthaginian sally, and chases defenders back through a gate to secure an area of the city; urgent messages are sent to Caesoninus and Utica for aid, and Aemilianus sails into Utica just then to receive the message and brings ships across to the city; however, he can only evacuate the hard-pressed force as he has not enough men to defeat the counter-attack.

Aemilianus restores discipline to the army, and manages to assault the outer walls successfully at night, secure a gate, and temporarily enter the outer city (Megara) before withdrawing outnumbered as the defenders abandon their flight; Hasdrubal rallies the disheartened Carthaginians and executes Roman prisoners and leaders of Senate who advocate surrender to force his countrymen to realize there is no alternative to fighting on.

Praetor Quintus Caecilius Metellus defeats Andrisus, ends rebellion and sets up new unified province of Macedonia under direct Roman rule. The dispute between the Achaean League and Sparta leads to belated despatch of a conciliatory Roman embassy to investigate, suspending the earlier request to the League to 'free' members Corinth and Argos.

Aemilianus moves his main camp onto the isthmus and constructs elaborate new siege fortifications there, and commences to construct a mole from the isthmus across the entrance of the harbour to stop ships slipping in with supplies; however, the defenders cut a new channel from the harbour to the sea out of his view, together with 50 new ships which then sail out along it to frustrate his work; indecisive battle at sea follows, and as the returning Carthaginian ships accidentally cause a jam in the harbour mouth their larger triremes have to moor under the outer walls and the Romans sail in to attack them; some of the triremes hold out until the harbour mouth is cleared and they can reach safety in the harbour, but most are sunk; then the Romans start bombarding the walls above the moorings from the mole, but Carthaginians swim across to set fire to their siege engines and Romans panic at the assault

with Aemilianus ending up cutting down fleers.

Romans return to the attack on the quay with new siege engines, and secure it; Aemilianus orders construction of a new wall facing and higher than the main city walls so that his men can bombard the defenders from above.

Autumn: Aemilianus manages to attack the Carthaginian land forces' camp at Nepheris by surprise, and storms it; he takes the town.

Following a stormy reception given to Roman ambassador Aurelius Orestes at the meeting of Achaean League council where Achaeans accused Rome of wanting to break up the League, Rome sends second embassy under Sextus Caesar; they call discussions with Achaea and Sparta at Tegea, and after hostile behaviour of Achaean representative Critolaus they judge Achaea at fault in dispute with Sparta and send reports to Senate and to Metellus in Macedonia.

Metellus' delegates Cnaeus Papirius, Popilius Laenas the younger, Aulus Gabinius and Caius Fannius go to the Achaean assembly at Corinth but are shouted down by hostile Achaeans, led by Critolaus, who believe Rome is too preoccupied with Carthage to respond aggressively. Critolaus is elected *strategos* and imposes taxes on the richer citizens to help raise an army, including freed slaves.

146 BC Consuls: Cnaeus Cornelius Lentulus and novus homo Lucius Mummius. Mummius is sent to Greece to deal with the Achaean League. Aemilianus is voted continued command in Africa for duration of the war.

Critolaus leads Achaean expedition to besiege revolted member Heraclea-ad-Oetum in Malis, near Thermopylae; Metellus advances to defeat him and relieve the town, and the Achaeans retreat into allied Boeotia where the insurrectionary lower classes have taken up their cause against Rome.

Death of Critolaus, but his successor Diaeus is even more hostile to Rome and organizes an army of freed slaves to assist resistance while disturbances in cities lead to executions of leading pro-Romans.

Metellus marches south and reaches the isthmus of Corinth where

Mummius arrives to take over his army; he defeats the Achaeans outside Corinth, occupies the city and has it demolished as an example to Greece; its inhabitants are enslaved and art treasures are carried off to Rome. Achaean states of the Peloponnese are turned an unofficial Roman province together with Attica, Boeotia, Malis etc. as the Boeotian and Phocian leagues are disbanded – the states are officially autonomous but are dependent on the Roman governor of Macedonia, whose province annexes some nearby areas.

Spring: Aemilianus uses the captured quay for renewed assault on the harbour area of Carthage, and as Hasdrubal sets fire to warehouses around the outer, merchant harbour Aemilianus' friend Caius Laelius leads a secret night-time expedition in through the harbour without detection and seizes the inner, naval harbour; the Romans penetrate to the adjacent *agora* (market-place), and at dawn Aemilianus brings reinforcements; the Roman soldiers pause despite orders to loot the gold from the Temple of Apollo, but Carthaginians do not rally and Aemilianus moves on to head for the 'Byrsa' (citadel); vicious hand-to-hand fighting in the narrow streets ends with the Romans taking buildings one by one and then demolishing them to open spaces for their siege engines to move in on the citadel.

Next day the defenders of the citadel send out delegation under truce to surrender in return for their lives, and 50,000 citizens are captured and enslaved; Hasdrubal, his family and associates, and 900 Italian mercenaries allegedly commit mass suicide in the burning Temple of Aesculapius rather than surrender.

Carthage is plundered, and arriving senatorial delegation has the ruins demolished and bans building on the site (though probably does not sow it with salt as alleged in modern times); Aemilianus holds celebratory Games and returns to Rome for triumph.

145 to 30 BC

The annual consulate opened each year on 1 January by the Roman calendar, and to avoid confusion in the dating is treated as taking place in that calendrical year from January to December. In fact, due to the Roman calendar becoming increasingly out of step with the seasons it commenced on a date increasingly early in the preceding year (being over a month out of step in 146) until Julius Caesar corrected it by introducing the 'Julian' calendar in 46.

145 BC Consuls: Quintus Fabius Maximus ('Aemilianus'), elder brother of Scipio Aemilianus, who has been adopted as heir by last of the male line of the Fabii Maximi, with Lucius Hostilius Mancinus (fleet commander at siege of Carthage).

Defeat of tribune Caius Licinius Crassus' measure to change selection for priestly colleges from co-optation to popular election; success of opposition mainly owed to praetor Caius Laelius, Aemilianus' friend, who proceeds to Nearer Spain as the new governor and defeats incursion by rebel leader Viriathus. Fabius is granted Further Spain to campaign against the main threat from Lusitanii, but due to grant of exemption from military service to veterans of the 149–6 campaigns he has inexperienced army and avoids battle; a subordinate is in command in his absence at Gades when army suffers defeat in sole battle of campaign.

Summer: Alexander Balas, the Seleucid ruler, faces invasion from Egypt by Ptolemy VI in support of his 'cousin' Demetrius II, son of Demetrius I; both Balas and Ptolemy are killed in the campaign. Demetrius II gains the Seleucid realm, and Ptolemy VII arrives in Egypt from Cyrene to depose and murder Ptolemy VI's son (Ptolemy) and take

over the kingdom (and his brother's widow, their sister Cleopatra II).

Revolt against Demetrius and his plundering Cretan mercenaries is led by the officer Diodotus 'Tryphon', who elevates a son of Alexander Balas called Antiochius (VI) to the throne as his puppet in a civil war and wins over most of Syria.

144 BC Consuls: Servius Sulpicius Galba and Lucius Aurelius Cotta. The consuls quarrel over who has which commands in Spain, something which Senate is to decide, and on Aemilianus' expert advice it is decided that neither should go and Fabius should continue command; Fabius defeats Viriathus twice, but the rebel leader moves into Nearer Spain to stir up new Celtiberian rebellion.

Urban praetor Quintus Marcius Rex is instructed to repair the two existing aqueducts in Rome (Appia and Anio) and if necessary to build third one, and constructs the *Appia Marcia*; his office is extended to 143 in order to complete the work.

143 BC Second consulship of Quintus Caecilius Metellus 'Macedonicus', conqueror of Andriscus, with Appius Claudius Pulcher; he is sent to Nearer Spain to fight Viriathus, while Pulcher campaigns against the Salassi in western Cisalpine Gaul near Alps and suffers initial defeat which is investigated by eager enemies in Rome but is blamed on his failure to carry out religious rites not incompetence; on his return he is denied official funds for his triumph, so he pays for it himself out of Macedonian loot.

Lex Didia extends Roman sumptuary legislation to Italy.

142 BC Consuls: Quintus Fabius Maximus Servilianus (a Servilius Caepio adopted into the Fabii Maximii) and Metellus' brother Lucius Caecilius Metellus Calvus; Appius Claudius Pulcher is Scipio Aemilianus' unsuccessful rival for election to the (patrician) censorship for 142–1, with Lucius Mummius (sacker of Corinth) as the plebeian censor.

Scipio Aemilianus and Mummius censors, and the latter adorns Rome with new buildings (including Temple of Hercules Victor to

celebrate victories of 146) and Corinth art treasures; Aemilianus prefers to promote return to strict old Roman virtues as the roots of past military success and to condemn his colleague's ostentation; Aemilianus' protégé Laelius fails to secure plebeian consulship for 141.

Diodotus 'Tryphon', the 'kingmaker' in the riven Seleucid realm who has just disposed of his puppet Antiochus VI, appeals to Rome for aid against his rival Demetrius II; the Senate accepts his gifts but inscribes them with Antiochus' name and refuses him aid.

Servilianus is granted Further Spain (prob. 142 not 141) and marches against Viriathus but is heavily defeated and retires to base at Itucca; Metellus Macedonicus has more success against the Celtiberians in Nearer Spain but some rebel towns, e.g. Numantia, hold out.

141 BC Consuls: Cnaeus Servilius Caepio (Servilianus' brother) (patrician) and Quintus Pompeius (plebeian); Pompeius has command in Nearer Spain but no major success, while in Further Spain Servilianus recovers the Baetis valley.

The Senate grants recognition to Simon Hyrcanus, son of Judas Maccabeus, who has just taken advantage of the Seleucid civil war to evict the Seleucid garrison from Jerusalem, as independent ruler of Judaea and ally – the first known contact between the Roman and Jewish states.

140 BC Consuls: Quintus Servilius Caepio (brother of Cnaeus and Servilianus), with Aemilianus' friend Caius Laelius.

Viriathus defeats and surrounds Servilianus' army; the governor agrees to recognize rebel possession of what territory they currently hold and accept Viriathus as 'friend and ally' of Rome; the Senate accepts treaty, but Caepio is sent out to Further Spain with instructions to find excuse to recommence the war.

Laelius fails in attempt to introduce land-reform bill, to halt the damage caused to the declining class of small farmers who have provided the backbone of the army for centuries by the growth of plutocratic estates staffed by cheap slaves in Italian countryside.

Unsuccessful prosecution of Aemilianus, on unknown charges.

139 BC Consuls: Cnaeus Calpurnius Piso and Marcus Popilius Laenas. Aemilianus visits Egypt, Cyprus, Syria, Rhodes, Asia Minor and Greece on an official embassy, with the philosopher Panaetius among his companions.

Popilius Laenas is sent to Nearer Spain, and during lull in Celtiberian war attacks Viriathus' Lusitani; predecessor Pompeius' abortive, unsatisfactorily lenient settlement with Numantia is investigated and disallowed.

Quintus Caepio is put in command in Further Spain; he suborns some Spanish rebels to murder Viriathus and surrounds the rebel army which has to surrender; most of the Lusitani give in.

Demetrius II is captured by the Parthians under Mithridates who descend from the Persian plain to take Babylon and Seleucia, thus forming the loosely governed Iranian-Mesopotamian state which is to be Rome's principal eastern enemy until AD 224; his rival Diodotus Tryphon, governing the remainder of Seleucid realm in name of firstly Antiochus VI (son of Alexander Balas) and then his supposed brother Alexander II Zabinas, is refused senatorial recognition; Scipio Aemilianus' embassy is probably instructed to weigh up the advantages of recognizing Tryphon's regime or his new rival, Demetrius II's younger brother Antiochus VII.

138 BC Consuls: Scipio Nasica (Serapio) III, son of Scipio Nasica II and descendant of Africanus' uncle Cnaeus Scipio, with Decimus Junius Brutus. Brutus campaigns successfully in Further Spain, but Popilius Laenas in Nearer Spain is defeated attacking Numantia.

Death of Attalus II of Pergamum, Rome's leading ally in Asia Minor; succeeded by Attalus III, illegitimate son of his brother Eumenes II (d. 159).

137 BC Consuls: Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (patrician) and Caius Hostilius Mancinus (plebeian).

Roman army under Decimus Brutus raids Galicia in Further Spain; Caius Hostilius Mancinus is sent to Nearer Spain, with his army including young military quaestor Tiberius Gracchus (27-year-old son of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, consul 177, and Africanus' daughter Cornelia, and son-in-law of Appius Claudius Pulcher). He campaigns against the Celtiberians and besieges Numantia, but is an incompetent commander and ends up defeated and surrounded in his camp by rebels; he sends Gracchus to negotiate, and signs treaty promising to recognize the town's independence on behalf of Rome, which Gracchus notably does not sign with other officers, and is allowed to march back to his base but has to abandon his camp and its contents; Gracchus recovers his looted quaestoral documents from Numantia with personal appeal to the citizens as he has earned the respect of the locals, and Mancinus faces fury when the news of his defeat and unauthorized promise reaches Rome.

136 BC Consuls: Lucius Furius Philus and Sextus Atilius Serranus. Furius is put in charge of enquiry into the Numantine affair, and Mancinus and his officers are accused of disgracing Rome by the treaty and argue that they did what was best in circumstances to preserve the army and did not give up Roman territory; with the advocacy of Gracchus on behalf of the accused officers winning their acquittal, it is decided that it will not disgrace Rome's name and annoy the gods if Mancinus' word to 'rebels' is broken and the treaty is not ratified, as he bears sole responsibility for it; following the precedent of the Caudine Forks treaty in 321, Mancinus is sent back to Spain to be surrendered to the rebels, who send him home unharmed; a move to condemn Quintus Pompeius for his equally unauthorized negotiations earlier is defeated.

Ex-consul Aemilius Lepidus, new commander in Nearer Spain, is recalled for unauthorized attack on the Vaccaeii which led to failed siege of Palantia; he is tried but successfully claims that they were sending aid to Numantia and he received order not to attack them too late to call off his campaign without loss of Roman prestige.

?Eunus of Apamea, Syrian, leads slave revolt in Sicily, centred on

slave herdsmen on large estates; claiming magical powers and impressing his followers with tricks, Eunus leads murder of his cruel master Damophilus and a massacre at the nearby town of Enna and the slaves form regular army and try to secure the entire island; some towns are captured and rebel coinage is issued.

Appius Claudius Pulcher and Quintus Fulvius Nobilior (consul in 154) censors.

135 BC Consuls: Servius Fulvius Flaccus and Quintus Calpurnius Piso. Fulvius is sent to Illyria to fight the Vardaei and Piso to Nearer Spain to resume the attack on Numantia which holds out. A praetor campaigns in Sicily, and his colleague Marcus Cosconius against the Scordisci in Thrace.

Agitation for a competent general to end the Numantian war leads to Aemilianus' successful campaign for his second consulship in 134.

134 BC Consuls: Scipio Aemilianus and Caius Fulvius Flaccus.

Flaccus is sent to Sicily but achieves little; Aemilianus is allocated Nearer Spain, but is refused a new levy for his army and is told he can raise volunteers at his own expense; he assures that his and his friends' resources can cope with the demand, and enrolls 4,000 volunteers, including contingents from allied kings and tribes and 500 of his own 'clients'; he spends the first part of campaign retraining the army in his province, and then **late summer** marches out to seize the harvest and ravage the countryside around Numantia so no tribes can supply it; **autumn** Aemilianus leads an army of c. 60,000 troops to blockade Numantia with complex siege works and starve the inhabitants out, refusing to accept any terms apart from unconditional surrender.

10 December (Roman calendar): Tiberius Gracchus, who is planning a new agrarian law to help the populace, assumes office with the other tribunes.

133 BC Consuls: Publius Mucius Scaevola and Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi. Tiberius Gracchus plans agrarian legislation with encouragement

of the philosophers Diophanes of Mytilene (Lesbos) and Blossius of Cumae; he consults his father-in-law Claudius Pulcher, now in a position of great influence as *Princeps Senatus*, Caius' father-in-law Publius Licinius Crassus Mucianus, and consul and eminent jurist Mucius Scaevola; he drafts law to reinforce the flouted *Lex Licinia* of 366 which forbids any individual from holding over 500 *iugera* of public land and to require all surplus land, thus held illegally, to be surrendered in return for compensation and divided up among those citizens who need it.

There is a furious public debate over Tiberius' legislation, with his oratory winning much popular enthusiasm as landless citizens flock into Rome to lend noisy support but angry landowners accusing him of wanting to undermine the foundations of the state by state interfering in right to own land; opponents secure support of tribune Octavius who interposes veto, so Tiberius withdraws the bill and introduces a second one with change so that this time there is no compensation. He offers to pay Octavius for the amount of public land the latter will lose by the law, but is unable to alter threat of new veto and imposes tribunal order (*iustitium*) to cancel all public business until the law is voted on so that his opponents cannot delay the vote without serious inconvenience.

Amid rumours of conspiracy to murder Tiberius which causes his party to arm themselves for public appearances, the new law is voted on; opposition supporters start to seize the voting urns, and Tiberius' supporters are about to retaliate when ex-consuls Manlius and Fulvius Flaccus persuade him to avert violence by referring the issue to the Senate; despite Tiberius' arguments there, the Senate fails to approve the law due to strong aristocratic opposition so he uses his tribunal power to call a vote in Assembly on his proposal to dismiss his fellow-tribune Octavius; Octavius refuses Tiberius' personal appeal to withdraw veto as the deciding 'tribe' (eighteenth out of the 35 in vote) is about to cast their vote, and loses vote and his post; he is assaulted by mob as he leaves the Forum, enabling Tiberius' enemies to claim that the latter incited attack on the sacrosanct person of a tribune

though Tiberius in fact rescued him, and replaced by amenable Mucius/Minucius/Mummius.

The land bill is passed, and commissioners are appointed to survey and distribute the excess land – Tiberius, his father-in-law Claudius Pulcher and (when he returns from Numantia campaign) his younger brother Caius Gracchus; Scipio Nasica III leads the resentful denuded landowners' opposition in the Senate and cuts the allowance given to them to carry out work.

Death of Attalus III of Pergamum; he allegedly wills his state to Rome, and his minister Eudemus brings the will to Rome to be enacted; Tiberius introduces measure to divide up Attalus' money among the citizens who have been newly granted land to help stock farms, and proposes that the Assembly not the Senate decide what to do with the kingdom with himself to draw up a plan. Tiberius is accused by Quintus Pompeius of receiving a diadem and robe from Eudemus who expects him to restore the monarchy in Rome, and by Titus Annius Luscus of an act of sacrilege by deposing an inviolable tribune; there are threats to prosecute him when he ends his period in office.

July/August: Surrender of Numantia; Aemilianus allows all those who wish to commit suicide sooner than surrender to do so, and then enters to enslave the rest of defenders and raze the town.

Early autumn: In preparation for next year's tribunal elections in which Tiberius' faction insists he must stand to safeguard his legislation and avoid prosecution, he introduces proposals to reduce the period of military service, allow right of appeal to Assembly from verdicts of state juries, and to admit equal number of equites to the juries which have hitherto been filled by Senate.

Voting in the Assembly on the election starts to go against Tiberius due to many of his supporters in the rural 'tribes' being absent at the harvest, so his supporters adjourn the assembly overnight and a crowd camps outside Tiberius' house to protect him amid rumours of assassination plot; next morning, the voting sees disturbances between the rival parties, Tiberius' supporters start to break up election officials' staves ?to arm themselves against attack, and Tiberius is warned by

Fulvius Flaccus that the Senate is in emergency session and a party of his aristocratic enemies is arming their supporters to attack him as the consul Scaevola will not support official break-up of the voting; in the Senate, Nasica demands that Tiberius be dealt with immediately as a tyrant on an inflammatory allegation that a gesture he has made to the crowd indicates that he wants a crown, but Scaevola insists that he will kill no citizen without trial and will merely not accept any illegal Assembly resolutions. Nasica calls on all those who want to save the state to follow him outside as the consul will not do it, and a crowd of senators and their supporters marches into the Forum and assaults Tiberius' party with clubs and stones (indicating that attack is not pre-planned as then they would have proper weapons?); Tiberius is caught while fleeing in melee, knocked down, and killed, aged ?30, along with c. 200 (Orosius)/300 (Plutarch) others and his body is thrown in the Tiber without right to burial.

The Senate allows the distribution of public land to go ahead and appoints Publius Licinius Crassus, Tiberius' younger brother Caius Gracchus' father-in-law, to take Tiberius' place on the commission which continues work.

?Autumn: Revolt of Attalus III's illegitimate brother Aristonicus in Asia Minor, claiming that the will bequeathing kingdom to Rome was a forgery.

With continuing popular anger in the aftermath of the first civil violence and mass killing in the capital, Nasica faces accusations of killing citizens without trial and especially a sacrosanct tribune; a commission is set up including his enemy Scaevola, and with trial threatened he is sent to Asia Minor to help set up the new province of 'Asia' in Pergamene kingdom though the holder of his office (Pontifex Maximus) does not usually leave Rome.

Late: Publius Popilius Laenas and Publius Rupilius elected consuls for 132.

132 BC Popilius and Rupilius, as consuls, hold board of enquiry (*quaestio*) into the actions of Tiberius' supporters in counter-attack against the

Gracchan claims of illegal murders, advised by Aemilianus' ally Laelius; some executions, including of Diophanes, and other banishments but Blossius is acquitted in trial before Laelius and flees to Asia Minor to join Aristonicus.

?Death of Scipio Nasica III in Pergamum; Publius Licinius Crassus Mucianus becomes Pontifex Maximus. Aemilianus arrives back in Rome for triumph, and assumes the title 'Numantinus'.

Consul Rupilius puts down the rebel slave army in Sicily, and issues law (*Lex Rupilia*) on government of the province.

131 BC Consuls: Licinius Crassus Mucianus and Lucius Valerius Flaccus; both want the 'Asian' command against Aristonicus, so Mucianus as Pontifex Maximus claims that Flaccus' priesthood means that he should not leave the city; opponents put up Aemilianus for the command, but Mucianus wins the subsequent 'tribal' vote for the command easily despite the prestige of the victor against Carthage and Numantia; tribune Caius Papirius Carbo reaffirms the right of tribunes to be re-elected after the attempt to stop Tiberius Gracchus' re-election, but is blocked by the conservatives including Aemilianus and Laelius. Metellus Macedonicus and Quintus Pompeius, both plebeians, are elected censors; Metellus removes tribune Atinius Lateo from the Senate, and in retaliation Lateo arrests Metellus for assault on tribunate, tries to have him condemned to death, and has his property confiscated. The censors count 318,823 Roman citizens.

130 BC Consuls: Marcus Perperna, a probable Gracchan ally, and Lucius Cornelius Lentulus.

Cornelius dies in office and Appius Claudius Pulcher, related to Gracchus' father-in-law, replaces him as suffect consul.

Licinius Crassus Mucianus is defeated, captured by rebels near Myrina in Asia province, and killed; his brother Publius Mucius Scaevola becomes Pontifex Maximus, and as Tiberius Gracchus' father-in-law Claudius Pulcher dies the two vacancies on land commission are filled by Marcus Fulvius Flaccus and the populist Carbo.

Perperna is sent out to Asia province and restores Roman fortunes there; he captures Aristonicus and destroys his 'utopian' army of dispossessed malcontents (now claiming in their coinage to be a 'Kingdom of the Sun') at Stratonicea.

Complaints from Italian allies about the commission taking public land from Italians and giving it exclusively to Roman citizens, which Aemilianus takes up on behalf of the anti-Gracchan faction.

129 BC Consuls: Caius Sempronius Tuditanus and Manlius Aquilius.

?Early summer: Aemilianus secures senatorial approval for his proposal that the land commission's interference with estates owned by Italians is breaching their rights under treaties of alliance with Rome, and that such changes in their landholdings should only be carried out by the consul Tuditanus – who cannot approve any until end of his current command in Illyria. Angry demonstrations follow, and a mob confronts Aemilianus shouting for death to the tyrant; the following morning he is found dead, aged ?56, and the cause remains uncertain with a possibility of suicide due to his difficult political position or of murder (Carbo, Caius Gracchus whose sister Sempronia's marriage to Aemilianus has broken down, or Sempronia and her mother Cornelia are all suspected). Aquilius has command in Asia province; he ends the rebellion. Antiochus VII the Seleucid is killed in battle with the Parthians; his exiled brother and predecessor Demetrius II is restored.

128 BC Consuls: Cnaeus Octavius and Titus Annius Luscus.

127 BC Consuls: Lucius Cassius Longinus Ravilla and Lucius Cornelius Cinna.

126 BC Consuls: Marcus Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Aurelius Orestes. Due to continuing agitation by the Italian allies in Rome against the land commission, a law is enacted by Iunius Pennus banning them from entering Rome so that crowds of them cannot intimidate Roman politics in the manner of the Gracchans in 133. Caius Gracchus serves

memorably as quaestor to consul Orestes' army in Sardinia; a severe winter leads to shortage of warm clothing for troops, which Gracchus meets with local requisitioning; the communities affected petition Senate against it and it is banned, so Gracchus tours cities to persuade them into voluntary gifts.

November: Aquillius celebrates triumph for his defeat of Aristonicus in Asia province.

125 BC Consuls: Marcus Plautius Hypsaesus and Marcus Fulvius Flaccus. The latter attempts to secure full citizenship for Italian allies, starting with leading cities nearer Rome such as Fregellae – partly to secure them rights to land under the Gracchan commission's arrangements and circumvent the argument about such grants breaking alliance treaties. It is blocked by the Senate, and as a compromise individuals among the allied communities are granted Roman citizenship – possibly up to 70,000 over next few years.

Flaccus is given a command in Gaul to remove him from Rome and prevent him proposing complete enfranchisement law; popular resentment in Fregellae leads to revolt, which is suppressed by army under praetor (and conservative leader) Lucius Opimius.

Censorship of Cnaeus Servilius Caepio and Lucius Cassius Longinus Ravilla (into 124).

The Senate refuses to accept envoys from King Micipsa of Numidia in offence at their statement that a recent convoy of grain which he sent to Sardinia was despatched out of respect for Caius Gracchus; there are moves to extend Orestes' command in Sardinia to keep Gracchus with him and away from Rome in fear that he is aiming for the tribunate to complete his brother's work, and Gracchus returns without permission to face charges from the censors but succeeds in persuading them that he has right to return after serving for more than full service – 12 years in the army and two as quaestor. He defeats attempt by conservatives to implicate him in the conspiracy at Fregellae.

Campaign against the tribes of Liguria (into 124).

Demetrius II the Seleucid is killed; his son Seleucus V succeeds and

after his murder the latter's younger brother Antiochus VIII 'Grypus' takes the throne in Antioch.

124 BC Consuls: Caius Cassius Longinus and Caius Sextius Calvinus. Caius Gracchus succeeds in election to tribunate amid scenes of immense popular support with crowds of Italians flocking into Rome, though he is only fourth in the poll not the winner as expected due to aristocratic pressure on their 'tribal' clients not to support him; **December** he takes up office.

123 BC Consuls: Quintus Metellus, son of Metellus Macedonicus; he annexes the Balearic islands and is granted the title 'Balearicus'; Titus Quinctius Flaminius is the other consul.

Caius Gracchus proposes that any magistrate deprived of office by the vote of Assembly (e.g. Octavius in 133) should be banned from re-election, and that any magistrate who has banished (or executed) a citizen without trial by a proper court should be prosecuted – aimed at the legality of the senatorial lynching of his brother Tiberius, and at Popilius Laenas for the banishments of 132.

Caius agrees to withdraw the first proposal at request of his mother Cornelia.

Caius proposes new division of the public lands among the poorer citizens, reform of conscription-age and of deductions from soldiers' pay to account for their state-supplied clothing, and law to enfranchise all Italian allies holding 'Latin' rights. The price of grain is to be reduced, and 300 equites are to be added to the senatorial order as the 'pool' of those eligible to serve on public juries. These laws are passed by Assembly, which entrusts Caius with drawing up list of the eligible equites; he secures a motion selling the requisitioned corn that propraetor Quintus Fabius has sent from Spain to Rome and returning the profits to the original owners not keeping them for Rome, and has laws passed to found new 'colonies' (where the poor can have grants of land), build new roads, and construct new public granaries to hold reserves of corn in Rome.

Caius proposes to turn Capua and Tarentum into colonies, thus seizing their public land for Roman settlement.

The grant of citizenship to 'Latin' allies is particularly opposed in Senate, and tribune Marcus Livius Drusus is endorsed as a conservative ally to outbid Caius in gaining popular support, as in founding 12 new colonies to compare with Caius' two and to exempt the new settlers on public land from paying rent to the state treasury.

December: Caius is elected tribune again.

122 BC Consuls: Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and Caius Fannius Strabo. Caius Gracchus' second tribunate.

Tribune Rubrius' proposal to found colony of 'Junonia' on the site of Carthage is passed, and when Caius sails there to oversee the work of allocating land Drusus uses his absence to encourage hostile rumours such as his involvement in Aemilianus' death; Caius returns quicker than expected, after 70-day absence, to rescue his ally Fulvius Flaccus from hostility of the conservatives under Opimius, and introduces the bills for remainder of his legislation not yet passed.

The Senate induces consul Fannius to expel from Rome all those who are not Roman by birth, to remove the crowds of pro-Gracchan Italians gathering in the city; Caius orders that the seats in Circus Maximus which magistrates intend to hire out to public should be taken down so the latter can watch for free, and when his law is ignored by the magistrates has workmen enforce it by removing the seats overnight, thus annoying his fellow tribunes.

Autumn: Caius fails to secure election for third tribunate after alleged vote rigging by colleagues, while his enemy Opimius is elected to consulate and is expected to use powers to reverse Gracchan laws.

121 BC January: Lucius Opimius consul, with Quintus Fabius (son of Aemilianus' brother Fabius Maximus).

As Opimius prepares to revoke Caius' laws and starts to interfere with arrangements for the new settlement at Carthage, Gracchan partisans led by Fulvius Flaccus encourage reluctant Caius to prepare for armed

resistance and Italian allies disguised as ‘harvesters’ start to muster in Rome; on the day that Opimius is to put measure for repeal of Caius’ laws to the Senate, he and Caius attend sacrifices on the Capitol and the consul’s attendant Quintus Antyllus is fatally stabbed with pens by Gracchans he has insulted; next morning senators ostentatiously attend Antyllus’ lying-in-state in the Forum, amid populist jeers that they have honoured a mere attendant but did nothing in 133 for a murdered tribune, and then pass the *Senatus consultum ultimum* (‘SCU’) authorizing the consuls to take all necessary steps to preserve the state (i.e. without legal reprisals if anyone is killed).

Opimius authorizes the Senate to arm themselves and equites to bring armed attendants to meeting next morning; as the conservatives gather next day, Caius and his armed associates march to occupy positions on the Aventine Hill (scene of fabled popular gathering in 494) and their envoy, Fulvius’ son, is told by Senate that all must surrender themselves for trial and is later executed without trial himself; Opimius leads his supporters to Aventine, where Cretan archers bombard the ‘rebels’ until they flee their positions and Fulvius is among around 3,000 hunted down and killed; Caius takes sanctuary in the Temple of Diana and later manages to cross the Tiber but as his enemies close in is killed by his slave (?aged 33) at grove of the Furies to save him from them and his head is presented to Opimius.

Opimius restores the Temple of Concord in pointed gesture to indicate his restoration of civil harmony.

Fabius is granted command in Gaul and defeats the Allobroges tribe; he is granted the title ‘Allobrogicus’ on return.

120 BC Consuls: Publius Manlius and Caius Papirius Carbo.

Mithridates VI of Pontus, who is to become Rome’s arch enemy in the east, succeeds his father Mithridates V Euergetes; he and his co-ruler brother Mithridates Chrestos are under-age so their mother Laodice is regent.

119 BC Lucius Aurelius Cotta consul; Caius Marius of Arpinum (b. 157),

the later general and politician and a *novus homo* without illustrious family or network of patronage to support his career, is tribune ?as client of Metellus 'Balearicus', and successfully proposes reform in law on eligibility for juries; after Cotta and then his own patron Metellus try to veto it he shows self-confidence by threatening them with arrest and overcomes opposition.

Lucius Metellus consul, and earns title 'Dalmaticus' with successful campaign in Dalmatia.

Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus conquers the Rhodanus (Rhône) valley to secure the north-western land approaches to Italy, the route used by Hannibal, from 'barbarian' crossing of the Alps, and the coast to the Pyrenees; new province is founded with capital at Narbo (Narbonne), extending inland as far as the area near Tolosa (Toulouse).

118 BC Marcus Porcius Cato, grandson of Cato 'the Elder', consul and dies, succeeded by Quintus Aelius Tubero; Quintus Marcius Rex is the other consul. Death of Micipsa of Numidia; succeeded by sons Hiempsal and Adherbal and nephew (adopted son) Jugurtha, son of his late brother Mastanabal.

?Marius defeated in elections for aedileships, despite proposing himself for junior posts as soon as he loses the vote for senior (*curule*) post so he notoriously loses two elections in one day.

117 BC Consuls: Lucius Caecilius Metellus and Quintus Mucius Scaevola.

116 BC Consuls: Caius Licinius Geta and Quintus Fabius Maximus Eburnes. Jugurtha kills Hiempsal and expels Adherbal to become sole ruler of Numidia; Adherbal flees to Rome, and the alarmed Senate receives their rival embassies. Thanks to his bribery of senators Jugurtha is not deposed as Adherbal wants, and the Senate orders the kingdom to be divided between them and sends a commission under Opimius to enforce it.

Death of Ptolemy VII 'Physcon'; his widow (and niece) Cleopatra III

succeeds as co-ruler with his young (elder) son, Ptolemy VIII 'Lathyrus'.

In Syria, the late Antiochus VII's son Antiochus IX revolts against his cousin Antiochus VIII; the remaining Seleucid lands are divided between them.

115 BC Consuls: Marcus Aemilius Scaurus and Marcus Caecilius Metellus. Marius praetor, and is prosecuted for bribery in the election but is acquitted after his alleged accomplice Cassius Subaco denies it and his family's hereditary *patron* Caius Herennius claims he cannot legally give evidence against a dependant (which the proud Marius insists he is not).

114 BC Consuls: Manlius Aquillius Balbus and Caius Porcius Cato. Marius is sent to Further Spain as *propraetor*.

113 BC Consuls: Cnaeus Papirius Carbo and Caius Caecilius Metellus. Jugurtha attacks Adherbal in the hope of provoking a counter-attack which he can present to his friends in Rome as reason to depose him, but Adherbal does not respond.

112 BC Marcus Livius Drusus consul; he is sent to Illyria where he defeats Balkan tribes. Lucius Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus is the other consul. Jugurtha attacks Adherbal again, and his cousin is forced to mobilize for war; when a Roman commission arrives to mediate Jugurtha claims Adherbal plotted to kill him.

Jugurtha besieges Adherbal in Cirta; the latter sends plea to Rome, and Marcus Aemilius Scaurus leads out a new commission to Utica (capital of the Roman province of 'Africa') where Jugurtha is required to come and explain himself but does not lift the siege. The Romans in Cirta advise Adherbal to surrender as Jugurtha will not dare to kill him for fear of the Senate.

Cirta surrenders; Jugurtha kills Adherbal and reunifies Numidia, and inhabitants of the city are slaughtered along with resident and visiting Roman merchants whose relatives demand war. A number of senators

with ties to Jugurtha and his family oppose war, but are forced to accept it due to public pressure marshalled in Assembly by demagogic *populares* in the Gracchan tradition, led by tribune-elect Caius Memmius.

Birth of the future *triumvir* Marcus Licinius Crassus, son of Publius Licinius Crassus (consul in 97).

111 BC Consuls: Scipio Nasica (III) and Lucius Calpurnius Bestia. Jugurtha sends his son with embassy to Rome, but is ordered to surrender unconditionally.

Lucius Calpurnius Bestia, junior consul, leads Roman army to invade Numidia, but makes no progress and accepts Jugurtha's offer to negotiate; a truce is arranged as quaestor Sextius collects grain promised by Jugurtha from the town of Vaga, and Jugurtha visits Bestia's camp; Jugurtha hands over tribute and elephants (and reputedly a large sum of money to Bestia), but in Rome tribune Caius Memmius accuses Bestia and his officers of accepting bribes from Jugurtha for peace and has the king summoned to Rome to testify. Praetor Lucius Cassius Longinus goes to Numidia to collect Jugurtha, and on his arrival Memmius calls the king before the Assembly and accuses him of numerous crimes, urging confession in return for clemency; rival tribune Caius Baebius, who Jugurtha has bribed, prevents him from being forced to speak and having to make any embarrassing disclosures.

Mithridates VI removes his mother Laodice as regent and murders his brother Chrestos so he secures sole rule of Pontus.

110 BC Consuls: Marcus Minucius Rufus and Spurius Postumius. Minucius is granted the command in Macedonia and Postumius in Numidia.

Postumius and his brother Aulus back the candidacy of Jugurtha's cousin Massiva, who is living in Rome, for the Numidian throne as a more pliable ruler, but Massiva is murdered (?during Livius Drusus' belated Macedonian triumph) and one of killers is caught and 'turned' to say who hired him; Jugurtha's half-brother Bomilcar, among the king's entourage in Rome, is arrested for killing; after the murder of a

key witness Bomilcar is granted the bail offered by Jugurtha and flees, and the Senate rejects further talks with Jugurtha; he returns home and war is resumed.

Postumius, granted Africa as the new commander against Jugurtha, and his brother and praetor Aulus have no success against Jugurtha.

Consul Cnaeus Papirius Carbo is heavily defeated by the Germans and Gauls in southern Gaul.

109 BC January: With the annual elections in Rome delayed by rioting over attempts by tribunes Lucullus and Annius to have a second year as tribunes, Postumius is back in the capital dealing with the crisis when the greedy Aulus incautiously attacks Suthul where Jugurtha's treasure is supposed to be held. He is trapped by Jugurtha, persuaded with offer of truce to lift siege, lured into wooded hills and surrounded and forced to surrender; the Romans have to pass under the yoke and agree to leave Numidia in ten days.

News of the disaster leads to anger in Rome, and tribunes and other populares exploit public suspicion that aristocratic generals have not pursued war vigorously enough and have accepted bribes from Jugurtha not to do so; a commission is set up to investigate those who encouraged Jugurtha to resist senatorial orders as guilty of treason, at the proposal of tribune Caius Mamilius Limitanus.

March: Quintus Caecilius Metellus, son of Metellus Calvus (consul in 142) and nephew of Metellus Macedonicus, is elected consul and is granted the command against Jugurtha; Marcus Junius Silanus is the other consul.

Marius, now with more powerful connections due to his marriage into the ancient Julian family (his wife Julia is to become aunt to Julius Caesar), secures a position on Metellus' staff and soon achieves distinction in the campaign; **?August/September:** after training his army for some months and ignoring Jugurtha's feigned offers to negotiate, Metellus belatedly launches campaign and fights an inconclusive battle against Numidians at the plain of Muthul. He ravages the countryside to encourage the residents to surrender and hand over hostages and

grain, unsuccessfully besieges Zama where Jugurtha harasses his camp, and forces the surrender of the town of Vaga, where his appointment of his friend Turpilius as governor is criticized by Marius. Opimius, Albinus and others accused before the 'Mamilian Commission' are found guilty and exiled.

Silanus is called to the Transalpine Gaul to deal with invasion by a horde of Germanic tribesmen, categorized as the 'Cimbri and Teutones', and with the best troops sent to Africa has to gather recruits where possible including Thracian allies; he is heavily defeated with c.30,000 casualties, but the tribesmen do not pursue victory while the entrance to Italy is undefended and wander off into the lands around the Alps.

Marcus Aemilius Scaurus and Marcus Livius Drusus censors; Drusus dies and in argument over whether that ends their censorship Scaurus refuses to resign; eventually, the Senate secures Mamilius' tribunal veto on him carrying out further duties.

Late: In winter quarters, Metellus successfully persuades Bomilcar to induce Jugurtha to talks but the latter changes his mind about it.

13 December: During a festival Jugurtha's agents assist treacherous citizens in Vaga in killing unawares Roman officers of the garrison, excluding Turpilius, and then they wipe out the leaderless soldiers; Jugurtha, however, is beaten to the town by Metellus, who massacres the citizens and executes Turpilius whose sparing is suspicious and who is accused of assisting the attack.

108 BC Consuls: Servius Sulpicius Galba and Quintus Hortensius.

Early: Metellus, his command extended, opens negotiations with Jugurtha's relative Gauda as a potential candidate for Numidian throne; however, his delays in advancing on Jugurtha and the incident at Vaga undermine his reputation and lieutenants such as Marius spread discontent via their contacts back in Rome; Marius seeks to be allowed leave to return to capital to campaign for the 107 consulship, with the populares aiding his campaign using his low origins to argue that he is a better general than bribeable aristocrats.

Jugurtha finds out that Bomilcar is in contact with Metellus and executes him.

Roman raids, especially by Marius, start to wear down the Numidians and many of their generals desert with Jugurtha's executions of suspects causing more to do so; Jugurtha retires west into the bleak interior so that the lack of supplies for Roman army in desert will hinder their pursuit, but Metellus is not put off. Metellus tries to secure Jugurtha's capture to end the war quickly by luring him to the isolated town of Thala and then unexpectedly crossing the desert to attack, but the King escapes; Thala and Cirta are captured and Jugurtha retires westwards to base himself at Capsa and disperse his treasure among mountain strongholds.

Metellus belatedly allows Marius to return to campaign for the consular election, wrongly hoping that he will not reach Rome in time, which he does; Marius' campaign to present himself as the competent commander who will win war secures him the plebeian consulship.

Metellus sends troops to secure Leptis Magna and the other Libyan towns for Rome in response to their appeal for help against local plotters.

107 BC Consuls: Lucius Cassius Longinus and Caius Marius.

Marius is granted the African command, and enrolls a large number of recruits from the lower classes who do not hold land, contrary to usual recruitment policy targeting landholders, with acid comments on the generals from famous families with ancestral monuments of victories who could not make headway in the war; he raises six legions and **?April** sails with two to Africa while his quaestor, the impoverished young aristocrat and future dictator Lucius Cornelius Sulla (b. 138) who is probably another marital connection of the Julii, remains to gather the other four and raise cavalry (including Gauls). ?Marius introduces the standard use of a legionary 'eagle' on a pole as a symbol to rally his new and inexperienced troops in battle.

Metellus refuses to extend Marius the usual courtesies to a successor on meeting him, and leaves it to his deputy Rutilius Rufus;

summer once his troops are ready Marius marches to Cirta, and Jugurtha hurries to recapture it before he arrives but fails and has to fight battle; the Romans win a decisive victory, and Marius proceeds to take the remaining towns and drive Jugurtha into the bleak inland area bordering on his allied son-in-law Bocchus of Mauretania's realm.

Cassius Longinus marches to Tolosa against the Cimbri and Teutones, who are now settling in Aquitaine by agreement with the local tribe of the Volcae Tectosages; he defeats the combined army of the three tribes outside Tolosa, which he loots, and pursues them along the Garonne valley, but is careless with his scouts and is ambushed approaching Burdigala (Bordeaux) and killed with most of his army; c. 35,000 are killed, and Popillius Laenas and the survivors have to agree to evacuate their besieged camp and retreat to Narbo.

Marius takes extra supplies of food and water across the inhospitable terrain of western Numidia on his march to Capsa to ensure that he need not rely on local supplies which Jugurtha has destroyed; the town surrenders with the main Numidian treasury, and Marius sacks it and enslaves inhabitants.

Popillius Laenas is acquitted of charge of treason for surrendering at Burdigala, despite trial in a popular court as arranged by tribune Coelius Caldus.

Cleopatra III deposes her son Ptolemy VIII from co-rule of Egypt; he flees to Cyprus and she rules alone.

106 BC Consuls: Quintus Servilius Caepio and Caius Atilius Serranus. Marius' command is extended until end of the Jugurthan war.

3 January: Birth of Marcus Tullius Cicero, son of Cicero of Arpinum and Helvia.

A law by Caepio (*Lex Servilia*) removes the equites from membership of juries in courts trying cases of corruption, and transfers them exclusively to the Senate.

Caepio is sent to Gaul against the Cimbri and Teutones, raises eight legions from across Italy, and secures a bill to restore the court that tries cases of extortion (given to equites by Caius Gracchus) to the

Senate. Caepio arrives in Gaul to find that the Cimbri and Teutones have quarrelled with the Gauls and moved back towards the Alps, and the Volcae Tectosages evacuate Tolosa which he loots; he secures the treasure collected by generations of Gallic looters and hidden in sacred pools, which reputedly includes the gold stolen from Delphi in 279 BC, but his gold-train is ambushed and recaptured by the Gauls while being sent back to Narbo (though his enemies soon hint that he organized an attack by fake 'Gauls' so as to keep all the treasure for himself not hand it to Senate); he pursues the Gauls on into the Garonne valley.

Marius marches to the Muluchath River, the Numidian frontier with Mauretania, and besieges Jugurtha's local mountaintop citadel until the Romans find their way up the extinct volcanic mountain and storm the fort to take Jugurtha's last treasury; **autumn** Bocchus joins Jugurtha to pursue Marius as he retires to winter quarters, but their surprise attack on the Roman camp is driven off and a second defeat near Cirta destroys most of their armies; Bocchus sends envoys to Marius asking for secret negotiations to restore his status as a friend and ally of Rome, apparently afraid of Jugurtha's reaction if he deserts him openly.

29 September: Birth of Cnaeus Pompeius the future triumvir, son of Pompeius Strabo from Picenum and Lucilia.

105 BC Consuls: Publius Rutilius Rufus (Metellus' ex-lieutenant) and Cnaeus Mallius Maximus.

Bocchus sends brother Bogud and a delegation to Marius, who sends them on to Rome where the Senate assures that alliance can be resumed in return for Jugurtha; Bocchus asks Marius for his lieutenant Sulla to visit Mauretania to collect Jugurtha, and he is sent on the risky mission; Bocchus keeps his word despite Roman mission's fears that he is too scared of Jugurtha and will hand them over to him instead. He lures Jugurtha to meet Sulla near the royal Mauretanian camp to supposedly discuss a truce, and has him seized and handed over to Sulla who takes him back to Marius; end of the war.

Mallius Maximus is authorized to raise a large army against the Cimbri and Teutones who are now approaching the Rhone valley via

the territory of the Aedui in an apparent mass migration; Caepio is ordered to transfer his troops to the Rhone and join Mallius, albeit as his junior in command which he resists as the current consul is a *novus homo*; Caepio encamps on the western bank of the Rhone near Arausio (Orange) and in continuing dispute with Mallius refuses to cross the river and join him on the eastern bank, and **early autumn** one section of Germans storms Caepio's camp on the western shore, killing c. 55,000 Romans, while on the opposite bank another German force overwhelms Mallius' army with c. 25,000 killed; the two commanders are among the survivors, along with the future general Quintus Sertorius; the German chieftains quarrel over their next destination and do not invade Roman territory as their horde splits up.

Marius is elected as consul in his absence and granted Transalpine Gaul to restore the situation, amid fears of a repeat of the sack of Rome in 390/86 if the Germans are not halted.

104 BC 1 January: Marius and Caius Flavius Fimbria assume consulship; Marius holds his triumph over Jugurtha on the same day, with parade of the king and his treasures, and Jugurtha is then starved to death in the small state prison on the Capitol.

Marius raises a new army and proceeds to Gaul to train them rigorously, while the main German horde moves over the Pyrenees into Spain.

Autumn: Marius is given unprecedented second consulship in two years.

Tryphon and Athenion lead slave revolt in Sicily.

Mithridates VI of Pontus annexes neighbouring countries to the south – Cappadocia, where Ariarathes VII Philopator is deposed, and the Gaulish tribal chieftaincies of Galatia.

103 BC Consuls: Marius and Lucius Aurelius Orestes.

Marius continues training his army in Gaul; Orestes remains in Rome and dies during consulship.

Autumn: Marius is given unprecedented fourth consulship, the

third in consecutive years, at the formal initiative of the tribune Lucius Appulieus Saturninus who is emerging as Rome's leading populist; Saturninus introduces a successful proposal to divide up the public lands of province of Africa among Marius' landless citizen recruits for settlement at the end of their service.

Prosecuted by tribune Caius Norbanus for the loss of his army and rumoured to have smuggled (?most of) the gold of Tolosa out of Gaul for his personal benefit, Caepio is given an immense fine and exiled from Rome in disgrace; subsequently Mallius is exiled too.

Saturninus' *lex Appuleia de maiestate* transfers the membership of juries for the treasons-court to the equites, increasing the likelihood of convictions of accused patricians.

102 BC Consuls: Marius and Quintus Lutatius Catulus Caesar.

Metellus and his cousin Caius Metellus Caprarius are censors; Metellus fails to have Saturninus and his ally Caius Servilius Glaucia expelled from the Senate as Caprarius will not support him, and becomes target for their demagoguery to the populace.

Titus Didius campaigns in Thrace.

The Germans return to southern Gaul, but their intended invasion route is unclear so Marius is sent to the Rhone and Catulus to the north-east of Italy to deal with any attack that way; the Cimbri split from the Teutones and are sent round the north of the Alps to assault Catulus while the Teutones and their Ambrones allies attack Marius.

Marius constructs camp on the lower banks of the Rhone near the Mediterranean, and while the Romans wait he puts his men to digging a new canal to let his ships up the river; when the Germans arrive Marius refuses their challenge to battle, and waits until the enemy grows impatient and marches on past his camp towards Italy, their immense column of marchers allegedly taking six days to pass; then he follows them cautiously as far as Aquae Sextiae (Aix-en-Provence) where he camps; a clash between Roman camp followers and Germans from the nearby Ambrones' camp bathing at the river leads into full-scale battle, with the Ambrones getting the worst of it and the Romans

storming their camp. Marius moves on to confront the main enemy force next day, and stations Claudius Marcellus and 3,000 infantry in ambush in wooded valleys to the side of the main Roman force to spring an ambush as the Germans pass them; the Germans charge headlong uphill at the Roman lines, but are held and are gradually forced down into the plain where Marcellus' force emerges to attack their rear, and c. 100,000 are reputedly killed in total Roman victory.

Catulus advances to the Alps, but does not try to hold the passes as the Cimbri under King Boiorix approach and fortifies positions on the Athesis (Adige) River near Trentinum (Trent); outnumbered and in danger of being surrounded with Germans sending debris down the river to smash his bridges connecting camps on both banks, he stages an orderly retreat to Verona leaving the invaders to ravage the countryside.

November/December: Consular election takes place during the celebrations after Marius' victory, and he is returned as senior consul with his lieutenant Manius Aquillius as his junior; Saturninus has his rival in tribunate elections for 101, Nonius, assassinated and is then elected quickly before most of the voters can get to the Forum the next morning.

Rome annexes the anarchic lands of Cilicia (south-east Asia Minor, formerly Seleucid) as a province, and prepares to send troops to put down local brigandage and piracy; praetor Marcus Antonius 'Orator' (grandfather of the triumvir Antonius) is chosen as first governor.

101 BC Consuls: Marius and Manius Aquillius.

Marius returns briefly to Rome, refuses immediate triumph, and joins his Gallic army on the Po to link up with Catulus' force. Glaucia, as urban praetor, starts using the extortion court as political weapon against conservative aristocrats.

Aquillius is sent to Sicily to deal with slave revolt under Athenion.

Late June: Battle is joined with the Cimbri on the plain of Vercellae, with Marius in command of ?32,000 men and Catulus of ?20,000; the heat discomfits the Germans, and despite their cavalry luring part of the Roman force out onto the right wing away from main assault in

centre the German attack is held and driven back; the leading Germans are forced back into their own ranks in chaos and slaughtered, and reputedly c. 120,000 are killed and 60,000 captured.

Catulus insists in sharing the credit for the victory and **November** the triumph in Rome, but Marius is hailed as the 'third founder' of Rome (Romulus the first, Camillus the second) for saving it from German conquest; he is elected to sixth consulship and fights off attack on his alleged illegal action in granting Roman citizenship to 1,000 allied soldiers from Camerinum at once for gallantry in battle.

?Mithridates of Pontus attacks his puppet king of Cappadocia, his nephew Ariarathes VII Philometor, for alleged intended revolt and murders him at a parley; he installs his own son Ariarathes IX on throne under regency of nobleman Gordius.

Death of Queen Cleopatra III of Egypt; succeeded by her younger son, Ptolemy IX, whose elder brother Ptolemy VIII remains ruling Cyprus.

100 BC Consuls: Marius and Lucius Valerius Flaccus.

Marius has a political confrontation with his ex-commander Metellus and other aristocratic leaders amid rising senatorial suspicion over his successive consulships now that the military crisis has passed, and seeks alliance with the demagogue Saturninus and the latter's ally, that year's praetor Glaucia; he encourages his loyal ex-soldiers to use their votes in Assembly and promotes their populist measures including new distribution of public land in Cisalpine Gaul to his veterans.

Urban voters, objecting to large distribution of land to rural voters, disrupt the voting on the land bill after Saturninus drives objecting tribunes out of Forum so it cannot be vetoed, but are themselves dispersed by a mob of Saturninus' followers and the bill is passed.

Saturninus proposes that the Senate swear to abide by Assembly vote on land bill and not to try to reverse it like they did to Caius Gracchus' bills, and Metellus refuses to do so; Saturninus calls the Senate to his tribunal platform to swear once the bill is passed, and Marius withdraws his original professed opposition to the oath and joins in public

swearing ceremony, leaving Metellus to refuse again in front of angry crowds; Metellus is not attacked at once due to his supporters, but Saturninus has him exiled, and Glaucia as praetor organizes extortion trials of ex-governors such as Fimbria who are accused of misruling their provinces.

12 July: Probable date of the birth of Caius Julius Caesar, the son of Caius Julius Caesar (d. 85) and Aurelia (from the Cotta family).

Confrontation looms between Saturninus and his intimidating supporters among the populace and the Senate, exacerbated by a shortage of grain in Rome which causes hardship among the volatile populace which Saturninus exploits; **autumn** Saturninus proposes a new *lex Appuleia de frumentaria*, usurping the power of the official treasurers by requiring the state to purchase supply of grain outside Italy and ship it in for cheap distribution, and makes rabble-rousing attacks on nobility to crowds in the Forum; Glaucia tries to stand for the 100 consulship despite illegality of seeking office the year following his current praetorship, and murders his rival Caius Memmius in fracas.

6 December: The tribunate elections: Saturninus' opponents seek to prevent his election and he sponsors dubiously legal candidature of fellow demagogue Lucius Equitius, alleged son of Tiberius Gracchus; Marius intervenes to halt the elections, and overnight gathers a force of his veterans to reclaim the Forum from Saturninus' thugs.

7 December: Marius' veterans march into the Forum, unprecedentedly armed within the capital, and evict Saturninus' faction; Saturninus and his leading allies take refuge on the Capitol and barricade it, but Marius cuts off the water supply and **8 December** they surrender on promise of 'public faith' for safety of their lives; as Rome lacks any prison large enough, the Roman citizens in the group are detained in the Senate House while the non-citizens are executed.

10 December: A force of young aristocrats and their associates, unhindered by Marius, surrounds the Senate House, climbs on the roof, and kills Saturninus and the others by throwing tiles down onto them; end of the demagogic challenge to the civic order.

99 BC Marcus Antonius Orator consul, and celebrates Cilician triumph for campaign against piracy during his governorship.

Tribune Publius Furius vetoes the proposed recall of Metellus despite popular pressure and the appeal of the victim's son Metellus (hence nicknamed 'Pius'), and Marius does his reputation no good by supporting the veto as his grudge against his ex-commander is evident.

98 BC Consuls: Quintus Metellus Nepos, Metellus' cousin, with Titus Didius.

Metellus returns from exile now that Furius is no longer in office to oppose his recall, and Furius is put on trial for abuse of office by tribune Caius Canuleius and is lynched by mob before he can be convicted; Marius goes out on prolonged visit to Asia Minor sooner than witness his enemy's return.

97 BC Consul: Publius Crassus, father of Marcus Crassus the triumvir.

Metellus' ex-lieutenant Publius Rutilius Rufus becomes acting and then full governor of Asia province, and stops the local extortion rackets being run by Roman tax farmers (mostly equites) whose associates in Rome plan revenge. Lucius Valerius Flaccus and Marcus Antonius Orator are censors (into 96).

96 BC Death of Antiochus VIII 'Grypus' the Seleucid, co-ruler of Syria; succeeded by his son Seleucus VI.

95 BC Consuls: Quintus Mucius Scaevola, Pontifex Maximus, with Lucius Licinius Crassus.

Marcus Antonius Orator and Lucius Flaccus censors.

Scaevola and Licinius issue law, the *Lex Licinia Mucia*, arranging a full enquiry by boards of commissioners across all Italy of the validity of Roman citizenship claimed during the previous censorship and the removal and punishment of all with dubious titles; this further inflames allied opinion in the Italian provinces and increases calls

for all Italy to be granted citizenship, as do the actions of the roving commissioners who encourage informers to present accusations about fraudulent citizenship claims.

After the end of his governorship, Rutilius Rufus is successfully prosecuted for supposed corruption in Asia province in a political case arranged by his *equestrian* enemies, and is exiled.

Autumn: Sulla fails in attempt to secure election as praetor for 94.

King Nicomedes of Bithynia complains to Rome about Mithridates' aggression in Cappadocia and his malevolent intentions towards Rome's neighbouring province of Asia.

Deaths of both Seleucid kings of Syria, Seleucus VI (succeeded by his brother Philip) and Antiochus IX (succeeded by his son Antiochus X).

Death of Ptolemy Apion, illegitimate son of Ptolemy VII 'Physcon' and King of Cyrene; he wills his kingdom to Rome.

94 BC Consuls: Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus and Caius Coelius Caudus.

93 BC Consuls: Caius Valerius Flaccus and novus homo Marcus Herennius. Sulla praetor, and is sent to Cilicia as governor with instructions to intervene in Cappadocia and restore the deposed king Ariarathes VII in place of Mithridates' son; he leads campaign and despite intervention of King Tigranes of Armenia, Mithridates' son-in-law, defeats the pro-Pontic government and restores Ariarathes; he goes on to the Euphrates where he receives Parthian envoy Orobazus (first Parthian diplomatic approach to Rome) and notably gives himself the highest chair when he, Ariarathes, and Orobazus meet.

10 June: Titus Didius celebrates triumph for campaign in Spain against the Celtiberians; **12 June** Publius Licinius Crassus celebrates triumph for Lusitanian war.

92 BC Consul: Caius Claudius Pulcher. Sulla meets King Tigranes of Armenia and persuades him (temporarily) to ally with Rome.

Returning to Rome, Sulla is prosecuted by Caius Marcius Censorinus

for financial malpractice; the charges are dropped after his accuser fails to turn up in court.

?Quarrel between Sulla and his old patron Marius over the latter's attempt to halt proposed erection of a group of statues sent to Rome as gifts by Bocchus of Mauretania, as they include one of him handing Jugurtha over to Sulla.

?Death of Nicomedes of Bithynia after a reign of c. 49 years; succeeded by his son Nicomedes III, whose rival brother Socrates flees and after a failed appeal to Rome ends up with Mithridates.

December: Marcus Livius Drusus, son of Caius Gracchus' rival and nephew of Rutilius Rufus, is elected tribune and prepares measures to extend the citizenship to allies despite fierce conservative opposition.

91 BC Consuls: Sextus Julius Caesar (Julius Caesar's uncle) and Philippus. Quintus Servilius Caepio, first husband of Drusus' sister Livia and son of the exiled Caepio (consul 106), is praetor.

Drusus arranges for planned new colonies in Italy that are not yet under way to be settled quickly, in order to open new land for settlement, and proposes to break up all the public estates held in Italy and Sicily for distribution; he introduces bill to solve the quarrel over who is to provide the juries for the extortion courts by adding 300 equites to the senatorial roll and in future selecting juries from this body, but senators resent the influx and equestrians argue over the correctness of the selection process. He also introduces a bill to forbid the acceptance of bribes by jurors, annoying venal senators and equestrians, and reduces the price of public grain kept in Rome for citizens.

Drusus' enemies encourage Italian fears that the new colonies he is arranging will require confiscation of public land that they are already farming clandestinely, and Etruscan and Umbrian citizens are brought into the city by the alarmed consuls to assist the opposition in Assembly vote; ?Caepio joins in the opposition in personal grudge over his divorce from Drusus' sister; ?**September** with crowds thronging the streets and tension rising ahead of vote, Drusus does not leave his house often due to threat of attack, but is assassinated one evening

by mystery assailant in the crowds in his portico who stabs him in the groin with a leather-worker's knife.

Drusus' murder causes the Italian allies to conclude that they will never receive citizenship voluntarily, and the Marsi and Samnites lead preparations for war on Rome; tribune Quintus Varius arranges law with equestrian support to order setting up of a court to try alleged accomplices of Italians in plot against the state, leading to politically based accusations and exile of some of their aristocratic enemies including Mummius; Caius Aurelius Cotta and Calpurnius Bestia go into exile before they can be tried.

?Late: Warnings of the establishment of a secret Italian rebel league lead to Rome sending investigators, and after praetor Quintus Servilius finds a gathering in Asculum in Picenum, abuses the crowds for plot, and is killed in the revolt breaks out prematurely.

90 BC Lucius Julius Caesar and Publius Rutilius Rufus consuls, and in command of the war against the allies ('Social War'); the first in rebel league to revolt are the Marsi, Paeligni, Vestini, and Marrucini, followed by the Samnites, Picentes, Frentani, Hirpini, Iapyges, Lucanians and Lucani, with the towns of Pompeii and Venusia – most of central and southern Italy east and south of Latium and Campania. Marius, Cnaeus Pompeius Strabo, Caius Perperna and Valerius Messala serve under Caesar in his section of the campaign, and Sulla, Publius Lentulus, Caius Didius, Licinius Crassus and Marcellus serve under Rutilius; each concentrates with a section of the army on specific areas under overall consular direction. Quintus Poppaedi Silo, a former ally of Drusus, is the senior rebel Italian commander in the area of his own tribe the Marsi, and Caius Papius Mutilus the senior commander to south in Samnite area, their army being split up among the contingents of the various allied tribes and regions.

An Italian force under Vettius Scato defeats Caesar, who loses 2,500 men, and attacks Aesernia which is starved into surrender as its Roman commanders flee disguised as slaves; rebel Marius Egnatius takes Venafrum by treachery and massacres two Roman *cohorts* there; rebel

Publius Prasentius routs Perperna and kills c. 4,000 of his c. 10,000 troops, capturing most of his weaponry, leading to Rutilius giving the remainder of Perperna's force to Marius; rebel Marcus Lampronius defeats Licinius Crassus' army and pursues them to Grumentum. Rebel Caius Papius secures submission of Nola by offering to take the Romans in the town into his army if they desert, and captures Stabiae and Salernum, ravages around Nuceria until the locals join his cause and supply troops, and threatens Acerrae; Caesar marches to its relief, and when Papius displays Jugurtha's captive son Oxyntas in royal robes to the Roman army its Numidian cavalry deserts to him; Papius is repulsed by counter-attack as he breaks into Caesar's camp and c. 6,000 rebels are killed, but Caesar is unable to hold the area and moves on.

Rebel Vidalicius wins over Canusium, Venusia and other towns; on the River Liris (Latium/Campanian frontier) Rutilius and Marius, on opposite banks, confront Scato who successfully ambushes Rutilius' force on river-bank and mortally wounds him before Marius crosses the river to take the rebel camp and its supplies; Rutilius is not replaced as consul as Caesar is too busy to be called to Rome to hold election, and Marius takes over his army with Quintus Caepio; enemy commander Poppaedius pretends to desert to Caepio, lures him back to his camp to supposedly take over his troops, and then joins his men in ambush in which Caepio is killed.

Sextus Caesar, ex-consul now proconsul, with 30,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, is ambushed in a pass in mountains and retreats across a river where he loses most of men and weapons in the crush at single bridge, himself escaping to Teanum; after reinforcements arrive he confronts Papius at Acerrae; Pompeius Strabo is defeated near Mount Falernus by Vidilicius, Titus Lafrenius and Titus Ventidius and chased to Firmum, but defeats the rebel attack by ambushing and killing Lafrenius and pursues the rebels to Asculum.

Vidilicius marches to relieve Asculum and despite inhabitants' failure to break out to assist him he manages to reach them and is put under siege; as hope of rebel relief fades Vidilicius ceremonially commits suicide, but the town holds out for a year.

Sextus Caesar destroys a rebel army with c. 8,000 casualties, but dies during the siege of Asculum; Marius and Sulla defeat the Marsi in battle in vineyards with c. 6,000 casualties.

With Rome having to arm ex-slaves to man garrisons in Latium and Campania due to shortage of manpower, the Etruscans and Umbrians threaten to revolt and the Senate reluctantly buys them off by agreeing a measure to grant Roman citizenship to all those Italians not currently in rebellion; **late**: before the rebel Adriatic tribes hear of this measure, they send a force into Etruria to aid expected rebellion, but Pompeius Strabo ambushes and routs them and the survivors flee starving across the mountains in winter weather. Lucius Cluentius confronts Sulla near Pompeii, and is defeated after initial successes and killed as the surviving rebels try to reach safety inside the nearby town of Nola; Sulla attacks the Hirpini and forces the surrender of Aeclanum after which most of other towns submit, and then tackles the Samnites; he ambushes and defeats rebel commander Papius in mountains, storms Bovianum where the rebels' allied council is situated, and **late** returns to Rome to stand for the 89 consulship.

Pompeius Strabo subdues the Marsi, Marrucini and Vestini; Caius Cosconius burns Salapia, receives surrender of Cannae, and besieges Canusium; he is defeated by Samnite general Trebatius, abandons siege and retires to Cannae, but redeems the situation as rebels confront him at river and propose that the armies fight it out on one side or the other and he pretends to agree, lets Trebatius start crossing, and then attacks; he destroys the rebel army and overruns Venusia, Asculum and Pedicoli.

89 BC Consuls: Pompeius Strabo and Cato; Lucius Caesar and Publius Licinius Crassus censors.

Praetor Metellus 'Pius', son of Marius' old commander, succeeds Cosconius in his command, and defeats the Iapygae in battle where Poppaedius Silo is killed; **?spring** the rebellion draws to a close, and once the fighting is over the Senate extends right of Roman citizenship to all of Italy to prevent a recurrence, though it is delayed for some time

in Samnium as skirmishes continue; some of Cisalpine Gaul south of the Po is enfranchised too at (local) Pompeius Strabo's behest. The new citizens are enrolled in ten new tribes, not spread over existing ones, to diminish their impact on voting.

Praetor Aulus Sempronius Asellius is fatally stoned while carrying out a religious ceremony in the Forum, in dispute with money-lenders over their right to charge interest on loans which he has declared breaches ancient laws and intends to refer to courts.

Tribunes' prosecutions of alleged sympathizers of the allies in Rome whose encouragement of their chances of gaining the vote raised their hopes too far and thus helped cause the revolt when they were disappointed; Princeps Senatus Marcus Aemilius Scaurus is unsuccessfully accused.

Renewed tension between Bithynia and Pontus is encouraged by visiting Roman embassy under Manlius Aquillius, who suggests that Nicomedes recoups his payment to Rome for his installation on throne by raiding Pontus which is sheltering his brother and rival Socrates; Nicomedes leads invasion but is defeated by the Pontic generals, brothers Archelaus and Neoptolemus, on the River Amnias; the Pontic army invades Bithynia and defeats Aquillius, commanding a Roman army as governor of Asia province, at Protopachium as he assists Nicomedes. Nicomedes abandons his kingdom and follows the withdrawing Aquillius to Pergamum, and general Cassius withdraws from Galatia to Rhodes leaving that kingdom to be overrun by Mithridates too.

Ptolemy VIII 'Lathyrus' recovers Egypt from his younger brother Ptolemy IX, who takes up the rule of his own former kingdom in Cyprus.

88 BC Sulla consul with Quintus Pompeius Rufus, and marries (?fourthly) Caecilia, daughter of Pontifex Maximus Quintus Caecilius Metellus Dalmaticus (brother of Metellus the conqueror of Numidia).

?April: Mithridates invades the Roman province of Asia where he defeats Aquillius' Roman garrison as local cities revolt to join him; he overruns the province and instigates or encourages a general massacre

of all resident Romans and Italians, particularly the unpopular extortionate tax collectors. Mithridates replaces Nicomedes with his own client Socrates in Bithynia, sets up headquarters at Pergamum, and prepares to invade Greece where his agents are at work against Rome; the refugee Aquillius is handed over by the citizens of Mytilene on Lesbos as the Pontic fleet arrives and is paraded around Asia province on a donkey as an object of contempt before execution (traditionally, Mithridates, in a comment on his greed, pours molten gold down his throat) while a Roman force under Orbius temporarily holds Delos with a small fleet aided by Italian merchants but is soon overwhelmed and the island's treasury is seized. All the Italians and anti-Pontic leaders on Aegean islands are massacred.

Mithridates' son Ariarathes leads one army into Thrace while his general Archelaus sails with fleet to Athens which admits him and then tours the Cyclades, using the Piraeus harbour as naval headquarters; the pro-Pontic agitator Aristion seizes power in Athens and helps to dispense Pontic money to allies.

Rome debates the question of who is to command against Mithridates, and Marius and Sulla both put themselves forward as open rivalry emerges; Marius' enemies allege that he is too old and infirm and should retire to his luxury villa at Baiae to take thermal baths, so he demonstrates his hardihood at practising military exercises on the Campus Martius; he allies to the violent demagogue tribune Sulpicius, who has a private army of c. 3,000 thugs and a bodyguard of young aristocrats nicknamed his 'anti-Senate' to intimidate opposition, and civic disorders multiply; Marius and Sulpicius propose that the new Italian citizens of Rome be distributed among the existing tribes rather than have their own created, to increase their influence.

The Pontic command is finally voted to Sulla and army gathers at Capua/Nola, and when Sulpicius organizes attempt in Assembly to transfer the command to Marius the consuls declare public business suspended; Sulpicius' supporters attack the consuls during public ceremony in Forum and as they flee Pompeius' son is killed, and Sulla is pursued into Marius' house and ?after hasty talks with Marius agrees

to publicly declare that public business can start again; he flees Rome in secret while Sulpicius transfers the command to Marius and declares Pompeius deposed from consulship.

At the military camp, Sulla wins over the troops to support him; they defy the forced senatorial appointment of Marius and kill his supporting officers in the camp; Marius has a number of 'Sullan' supporters in Rome killed and sends praetors to camp to order surrender, but they are set upon and stripped of their official robes and humiliated.

Sulla marches on Rome with six legions, and is joined by Pompeius with more troops; at Pictae Sulla receives a senatorial delegation asking him not to advance further as he will have his due rights; he pretends to agree but sends his officers Lucius Basilius and Caius Mummius with a force to seize the city walls and gate on Esquiline Hill while Pompeius takes the Colline Gate and other troops move to the Tiber; as the army enters the capital citizens shower them with tiles from rooftops, so Sulla starts fires and his men fight Marius' supporters in the first political-turned-military conflict inside the capital; Sulla has to lead troops in hand-to-hand struggle before victory, and Marius retires to the Temple of Tellus, offers slaves their freedom in return for fighting, and flees the city.

Sulla holds Senate meeting and forces them to condemn Marius and Sulpicius to death; the consuls assure Assembly that they will respect the constitution, and reduce the powers of tribunate, add 300 new senators to roll, and annul all legislation passed since Sulpicius' seizure of power.

Marius sails from Ostia towards Africa while his son Caius Marius (II) goes to his estate to collect supplies and has to hide from Sullan officers in a farm cart; Marius' ship is driven ashore by wind near Circeii and he wanders about the countryside until he manages to reach a merchant ship offshore just ahead of pursuing cavalry; the sailors decide they cannot risk having a public enemy aboard and abandon him near Minturnae, where he is found hiding naked in a marsh by armed citizens and taken to the town; reputedly the citizens decide to kill him and send a Gallic or Cimbric warrior to carry out the deed but

he loses his nerve; eventually the citizens agree to let Marius have a ship, and he sails to Africa.

Marius 'the Younger' reaches Africa too and takes refuge at the court of King Iampsal of Numidia, but has to flee after he fears being handed over; governor (of Africa) Publius Sextilius' envoys meet Marius at the ruins of Carthage and tell him to leave at once, and **?late** he links up with his son and moves to the island of Cercina off the Numidian coast.

Sulla returns to Campania to train his army for the Pontic campaign, having secured the consulship for 87 of his nominee Lucius Cornelius Cinna; Quintus Pompeius the other consul, needing troops to secure his position against prosecution once Sulla has left Italy, is granted the army that Pompeius Strabo has been commanding in northern Italy during the 'Social War' and goes up to Pompeius' camp to take over but is murdered by soldiers, presumably at Strabo's orders; Strabo illegally keeps his army.

November/December: Sulla fails either to have his nephew Sextus Nonius Sufenas elected tribune or to prevent the election of Marius' nephew Marcus Marius Gratidianus.

87 BC Consuls: Lucius Cornelius Cinna and Cnaeus Octavius. Sulla sets out for Greece, where praetor Caius Sentius is holding Macedonia and Thessaly; a Roman force under Quintus Bruttius Sura defeats the Pontic army under Archelaus in battles at Chaeronea in Boeotia.

Sulla lands in Greece and advances to besiege Athens, which is defended by Archelaus' agent the 'tyrant' demagogue Aristion; he constructs massive siege engines to invest the city and the Piraeus harbour, but does not risk an early assault.

Quarrel between Cinna and Octavius; Cinna advocates the cause of the Italians for equal distribution among the existing tribes with the aid of tribunes, and infiltrates armed Italians into a riotous meeting of the Assembly for vote on the proposal; the rival supporters of Octavius turn out to be armed too, and after a majority of tribunes veto the proceedings the Italians storm the rostra on behalf of Cinna; Octavius leads an armed mob to regain control of the Forum, and the Italians

are driven out of Rome with Cinna and his supporters following; Cinna calls on supporters of the reform to join his army, and in Rome the Senate votes him out of office for deserting the city in time of danger and installs *flamen* of Jupiter, Lucius Cornelius Merula, as new consul.

Cinna secures support of the troops at Capua, and leads them on Rome while the Senate summons Pompeius Strabo from Picenum; as Strabo (at the Colline Gate) and Cinna both arrive outside Rome, Marius and c. 500 supporters return by sea to Etruria with Numidian ships and Marius issues promises to reform the tribes for new citizens' benefit; recruiting a force of c. 6,000 including ex-slaves, Marius joins Cinna and the allies divide up siege so that Cinna commands the line east of the capital, Marius camps down the Tiber where he takes and sacks Ostia, and Marian supporter Quintus Sertorius encamps upstream; the attackers build bridges to cut off the city from receiving supplies.

Octavius sends unsuccessfully to Metellus Pius, commanding the final expedition of the 'Social War' in Samnium, where terms have not yet been agreed, telling him to settle quickly and bring his troops to Rome, but Marius sends offer to the Samnites who ally with him and Metellus arrives in Rome without effect on siege; Marius persuades Appius Claudius, a former friend now commanding the Janiculine Hill defences for Octavius, to admit a body of troops but they are driven out again; Pompeius Strabo is killed in a lightning-strike on his tent and his troops desert or retreat.

Marius secures the towns of Latium for Cinna, and Octavius and Metellus lead their troops out to confront them near Alban Hills; during the stand-off Cinna sends to Rome to offer freedom to slaves who desert to him, and the Senate opens negotiations and after desertions start from his camp they accept treating with him as legal consul; he promises not to commit massacre and he and Marius are formerly recalled to Rome by the Senate.

The Marian army enters Rome, Marius accompanied by a bodyguard of thugs who start murdering anyone he indicates, and Octavius moves to the Janiculine Hill with remnants of his army and his senatorial party; he is executed on the spot by Marius' arriving officer Censorinus

and his head is displayed in the Forum, and the vengeful Marius is the principal mover behind a systematic massacre of all his opponents who can be found; probably several hundred of the aristocracy are killed including Marcus Antonius Orator; Marius' ex-consular colleague Catulus and 'illegal' consul Merula commit suicide to avoid trial, and the future triumvir Marcus Crassus flees to Spain; Sulla is sentenced to death in his absence with his house being razed and all his friends who are caught being killed; Marius and Cinna rule as effective dictators and have themselves elected consuls for 86.

Marius arranges for his wife's 14-year-old nephew Caius Julius Caesar, the future triumvir, to have the honorary religious post of *flamen dialis* (which ironically forbids contact with metal or war).

86 BC 1 January: Marius and Cinna consuls, the former for the seventh time; Marius dies a month later, aged 69 or 70, and Cinna selects Lucius Valerius Flaccus to succeed him and assume the command for the forthcoming expedition to Greece against Sulla and Mithridates (formally against the latter so it seems a normal expedition against a foreign enemy not a civil war).

Unsuccessful attempt to prosecute Pompeius Strabo's son Cnaeus Pompeius, aged 19 or 20, for misappropriating public funds, which he blames on his father's freedman Alexander; after his nimble and impressive defence he marries daughter of the presiding judge, Antistius.

Cinna's censors Lucius Marcius Philippus and Marcus Perperna hold office; 463,000 citizens are counted in the census.

Flaccus introduces a law to remit three-quarters of existing debts.

Marcus Crassus, having purportedly at first hidden in a cave for some weeks, raises a force of exiles and sympathizers in Spain and takes them to Africa (?Libya) to join another force assembling there under Metellus Pius.

Sulla receives refugees from the persecutions in Rome; he forces the wealthy Greek religious sanctuaries at Epidaurus, Eleusis and Delphi to send him their treasures which he seizes to pay for the campaign or (art-works) loots for Rome; **March** he finally manages to enter Athens

after his men overhear citizens on the wall in Ceramaicus quarter (north-west corner of city) saying the wall at Heptachalcum is easy to scale, and levels the walls near Piraeic gate before his troops advance through city; a massacre is halted at appeal of exiles Midias and Calliphon and exiled Roman senators in his entourage but the city is looted, and Aristion is besieged on the Acropolis by a force under legate Curio and starved out while Sulla takes and burns Piraeus to deny Archelaus' Pontic fleet a base.

Mithridates' general Taxiles brings some c. 100,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry south from Thrace through Macedonia into Thessaly; Sulla, short of supplies in Attica, moves into Boeotia and links up with Hortensius' reinforcements who move south from Thessaly evading ambush in the mountains; Archelaus joins the Pontic land army, and the armies confront each other on the plain of Elatea near the River Cephissus where Sulla keeps his troops occupied with training and digging trenches while the confident Pontic army ravages the district.

Battle of Chaeronea: Sulla commands the Roman right, and legate Murena the left; the Romans are aided by a local force from Thurium who ambush and panic part of the enemy, and fight off the charge of Archelaus' chariots who cannot get up enough speed to do much damage; Archelaus extends his right wing in outflanking movement, and Roman reserves under Hortensius move to their left wing to stop him and are attacked by his cavalry; Sulla comes to their rescue, and Taxiles then attacks Murena; Archelaus turns on the denuded Roman right, and Sulla returns there to help; as he arrives the Roman right starts to drive the enemy back, and soon a general rout ensues with allegedly only c. 10,000 Pontic troops escaping to Chalcis.

Sulla holds victory celebrations at Thebes, but in the north Flaccus' army lands in Epirus so Sulla marches into Thessaly to confront him; he then hears that Dorylaeus and a second large Pontic army have landed at Chalcis to reinforce Archelaus' survivors, and returns to Boeotia; the armies confront each other on the plain of Orchomenus, and Dorylaeus avoids battle on Archelaus' advice; Sulla digs ditches to ruin the plain for the Pontic cavalry and force the enemy into foot advance

via marshes, and the Pontic troops try to disrupt the work and send his men fleeing in a surprise assault which Sulla repulses in person, waving a standard; next day he resumes work, and the enemy comes out to stop it but are routed and driven back inside their camp which Sulla storms; the survivors flee.

Joined by his wife Metella with news of the oppression and massacres in Rome, Sulla considers returning quicker than planned and accepts a proposal to meet Archelaus on coast near Delium; Archelaus suggests that Sulla returns to Rome leaving Mithridates in possession of Asia province, in return for which the Pontic king will supply him with men, money and troops to fight Cinna; eventually, the resolute Sulla manages to secure a deal that Mithridates will abandon the Roman province of Asia and Paphlagonia, restore Nicomedes to Bithynia and Ariobarzanes to Cappadocia, and hand over 70,000 talents as indemnity and 70 ships; in return he will have the rest of his dominions confirmed and a treaty of alliance with Rome. Archelaus agrees to these terms, and accompanies Sulla as he marches north to Thessaly to deal with Flaccus and see that the Pontic troops evacuate all Europe.

Sulla grants land and status as ally of Rome to Archelaus (a Cappadocian by birth), and it is suspected that their friendly relations may have preceded the battle of Chaeronea; Mithridates sends envoys to Sulla at Larissa, refusing to evacuate Paphlagonia or send ships, and Archelaus successfully offers to go to him on Sulla's behalf and change his mind.

As Sulla reaches Thrace, Flaccus does not confront him but moves east to Byzantium and into Bithynia to recover it for Rome; he plunders Bithynia, and **?autumn** is murdered at Nicomedia by his legate Fimbria who he is proposing to dismiss; Fimbria takes over the anti-Sullan army and defeats Mithridates' local generals before heading south towards the king's headquarters at Pergamum.

Lucius Licinius Lucullus, sent to east Mediterranean with Roman fleet by Cinna, winters on Cyprus.

85 BC Cinna and his ally Cnaeus Papirius Carbo consuls in Rome.

Fimbria besieges Mithridates at Pitane, but is hindered as Lucullus refuses to bring the Roman fleet to assist him and instead defeats Neoptolemus' Pontic fleet off Abydos.

Mithridates accepts talks on Sulla's proposed terms, assisted by the threat from Fimbria, and ?**August** brings 20,000 infantry, 6,000 cavalry, 200 warships and more cavalry to meeting with him at Dardanus in attempt to overawe him; Sulla is unimpressed and Mithridates accepts his terms and is reconciled with Sulla's clients Nicomedes and Ariobarzanes; the king hands over the 70 ships promised and sails for Pontus.

Sulla marches against Fimbria who is camped at Thyatira; the latter's troops start to desert and will not resist Sulla, so Fimbria commits suicide before his enemy arrives; Sulla takes over the army and returns to Athens to prepare for Italian campaign.

84 BC Cinna and Carbo consuls in Rome.

Sulla prepares his Italian campaign, and makes the cities of Ionia pay tribute as punishment for deserting to Mithridates.

?As Cinna and Carbo raise a large army and encourage Italian recruitment with threats of Sulla's intentions towards them, Sulla sends embassy to the Senate relating all his triumphs against Mithridates and pointing out that in return his ungrateful enemies have outlawed him and slaughtered or exiled his friends; he promises vengeance only on the perpetrators of such illegalities and not to reverse the grant of citizenship to Italian allies. The Senate sends envoys to him to request an amnesty and orders Cinna and Carbo not to continue the levy until they have a reply, but the pair immediately announce that their consulship will continue into 83 and leave Rome to resume their recruitment.

Caius Julius Caesar marries Cinna's daughter Cornelia.

?Birth of the poet Caius Valerius Catullus, at Verona in Cisalpine Gaul.

83 BC Cinna and Carbo consuls in Rome; they send troops ahead from base at Brundisium to Dalmatia to train for battle, but unwillingness

to cross sea or to fight spreads and Cinna is murdered in a riot as he tries to cow the mutineers; Carbo assumes sole consulship and refuses Senate's orders to return to Rome and elect a colleague.

Caius Norbanus and Lucius Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus become *suffect* consuls.

Sulla tells the senatorial delegation that he wants full restoration of all his property and honours, and that he rather than them should be the person who guarantees the safety of his enemies as he has a large army ready to exact vengeance; the delegates and Sulla's envoys arrive at Brundisium en route to Rome to find Cinna recently murdered, and the Sullans return to inform their master.

6 July: The Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol is burnt down and the 'Sibylline Books' of prophecy destroyed, which adds to fear of imminent disaster in Rome; Norbanus and Scipio raise army to resist Sulla.

Sulla sails to Brundisium with 1,600 ships and 40,000 troops, and the town surrenders; he is joined by assorted exiles, and Metellus and Crassus bring him troops from Africa; he defeats consul Norbanus in headlong assault on his army near Canusium, inflicting c. 6,000 casualties, and besieges him in Capua.

Sulla confronts Scipio who has an army of about twice his size, and proposes a truce and talks; hostages are exchanged, and during discussions Sulla infiltrates his men into enemy camp to encourage the latter to abandon the senseless war; after Scipio's officer Quintus Sertorius retakes the nearby town of Suessa for declaring in Sulla's favour Sulla threatens to resume war, and the consul's army blames Scipio and starts deserting to Sulla; Sulla enters the enemy camp unopposed to arrest Scipio in his tent, and moves on to confront Norbanus again at Capua; as Norbanus does not fight nor his army mutiny Sulla resorts to devastating the countryside and negotiating with the Italian allies to halt their recruitment to the consular army.

Sertorius abandons the 'Marian' cause as hopeless and flees to Spain, having secured the praetoral governorship of Nearer Spain from Carbo.

82 BC Consuls: Carbo and 27-year-old Caius Marius 'the Younger'.

Early: Carbo's governor Fabius Hadrianus of Africa is killed in a pro-Sullan revolt at Utica.

Praetoral governor Quintus Antonius Balbus of Sardinia is killed by Sulla's invaders under Lucius Philippius, who replaces him.

Bad weather prevents the two armies fighting at first, but **spring** Metellus' Sullan force defeats Carbo's praetor Caius Carrinas at the River Aesis; Carbo comes to the rescue and besieges Metellus.

Cnaeus Pompeius raises an army of his father's old soldiers and other clients of his family in Picenum at Auximum, assumes command and leads them towards Sulla to assist him; he faces three armies under praetors Caius Carrinas and Lucius Junius Damasippus and officer Titus Cloelius Brutus, but he attacks and defeats Brutus and the others retreat; the ex-consul Scipio marches against him too but Scipio's troops desert on battlefield and he flees, and Carbo's pursuing cavalry force is outmanoeuvred at the river Arsis, defeated, surrenders; Pompeius brings his troops in impressive array into Sulla's camp and is notably greeted with the title '*Imperator*' as a recognized commander, though he is only 23.

Sulla, facing the younger Marius' army of 85 cohorts, takes Setia; his troops are attacked by Marius while pitching camp at Sacriportus and drive them back in what turns into decisive battle, and five infantry and two cavalry cohorts desert to Sulla to secure victory; Marius escapes to Praeneste, and the citizens shut the gates on his arriving fugitives who are caught outside and massacred; Carbo hears about the defeat and abandons his attack on Metellus to retreat to Ariminium, but Pompeius arrives with a Sullan force and harries his retreat; Metellus defeats Carbo, whose men desert too, and Pompeius sacks Sena.

Marius, besieged in Praeneste, sends orders to Rome to eliminate his personal enemies before the collapse of 'Marian' cause prevents it; Pontifex Maximus Mucius Scaevola and others are killed in the Senate House, including Pompeius' father-in-law Antistius. Sulla marches on Rome, where the terrified populace open the gates; he leaves his army outside on the *Campus Martius*, auctions his enemies' property, installs a garrison, and marches on to Clusium in Etruria where Carbo is rallying troops; the consuls' force has received Celtiberian cavalry

reinforcements from Spain but during battle with Sulla on the River Clanis some defect so Carbo kills the rest; Sulla wins battle at Saturnia while Metellus sails to Ravenna to secure the north-east (and the route that any consular reinforcements from Gaul and Spain will use).

Sulla meets Carbo in major but indecisive battle at Clusium, but Pompeius and Crassus defeat Carrinas at Spoletium (Spoleto) and besiege him in the town; Carbo sends Carrinas reinforcements which Sulla destroys, but Carrinas manages to escape his enemies in thunderstorm; Carbo sends Marcius with eight legions to relieve Marius at Praeneste, but Pompeius ambushes and routs them in a pass and though Marcius evacuates his camp safely the survivors mostly desert; Marcus Lamponius' Lucanians and Pontius Telesinus' Samnites march north to aid Carbo but are met by Sulla at a pass in Apennines and cannot proceed further.

Carbo and Norbanus attack Metellus at Faventia but blunder into immediate battle in vineyards at end of a long day's march and are heavily defeated; Albinovanus' second Lucanian force mostly deserts en route to help Norbanus, and their general joins the latter but treacherously opens secret talks with Sulla and in return for pardon he invites Norbanus' officers to dinner and kills them; Norbanus escapes and flees to Rhodes (where he kills himself as Sulla's pursuers arrive demanding extradition) and his troops surrender, securing the north-east for Sulla.

Sulla blocks crucial pass south to stop Carbo's officer Damasippus in final attempt to relieve Praeneste, and as Cisalpine Gaul deserts to Sullan general Metellus Carbo abandons his men at Clusium and flees to Africa to raise a fleet; Pompeius defeats the leaderless army with c. 20,000 casualties, and Carrinas and Damasippus take their final force to try to link up with Telesinus' Samnites who are marching to rescue Marius; Carrinas and Damasippus reach Alba Longa as the Samnites decide to take opportunity to attack poorly defended Rome instead.

Sulla sends his cavalry ahead of his main army to reinforce Rome, and arrives to find the Samnites encamped to the east of the city walls; he camps at the Colline Gate at midday, and almost at once battle opens; Sulla's right wing is victorious, but the left wing is driven back

despite Sulla's personal efforts and as the gates are shut they have to turn and fight back; during the night victory is secured; the enemy camp is stormed and Samnite leader Telesinus is killed, and c. 50,000 casualties are added when Sulla massacres the mostly Samnite prisoners; Lamponius the Lucanian leader and the Marian commanders at Alba are captured and executed.

Praeneste surrenders to Sulla's general Lucretius Ofella, and Marius the Younger commits suicide in hiding in tunnels; Lucretius sends his head to Rome where Sulla puts it up in the Forum, and captured 'Marian' senators are executed; Sulla has the Roman citizens in Praeneste spared but the Praenestine and Samnite men slaughtered, and sends out garrisons across Italy.

Sulla sends Pompeius to assist Metellus in Cisalpine Gaul, marries him to his stepdaughter Aemilia, and then sends him to Sicily which praetor Marcus Perperna Veiento has taken over from his enemies; when Pompeius arrives Perperna abandons the island, and Pompeius treats all 'rebel' cities leniently except Messina; Carbo, off the coast with fleet, is captured at the island of Pantellaria, humiliated by being paraded in chains before his junior's tribunal, and executed.

Sulla summons the Roman Assembly and after threats of vengeance announces that he will have no mercy on all who fought him after consul Scipio abandoned peace talks; he starts mass executions of his opponents with around 40 senators and 1,600 equestrians, and later agrees to systematize his action into formal 'proscriptions' by putting up in public daily lists of those he has condemned; accusations are encouraged with a scale of rewards, and the Senate announces ratification of all of Sulla's actions as consul or proconsul since 88 without question.

?Autumn: Sulla allows the Senate to select an interrex, Valerius Flaccus, but tells him to restore the dictatorship and to give him the post for unlimited period with power of life or death, confiscation and founding colonies and altering foreign relations with other states; Sulla's choices for civil and military offices are also to hold power for as long as the current emergencies make it necessary.

Lucretius Ofella, seeking the consulship, ignores his friend Sulla's disapproval so when he turns up in Forum with supporters Sulla has him killed on the spot.

Pompeius is sent on to Africa to fight 'rebel' Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, and leaves his brother-in-law Memmius in charge of Sicily; he brings six legions to Africa where 7,000 of the enemy immediately desert, and confronts Domitius who evades battle due to bad weather; Pompeius attacks and defeats Domitius in battle in wind and rain in dried-up river-bed and inspires his men to go straight on to storm the enemy camp; c. 17,000 of 20,000 enemy troops are killed including their commander.

Domitius' ally Iarbas of Numidia is deposed and Sulla's ally Iampsal/Hiemsal restored, but when Pompeius returns to Utica to receive message from Sulla recalling all his army except for one legion and telling him to wait with the others till his successor arrives his troops mutiny and urge him not to trust Sulla and abandon his large army but he demurs; Sulla at first hears that Pompeius has revolted, and on his return to Italy Sulla welcomes him as 'Magnus' but refuses him a triumph as he is too young; Pompeius persists and gets his way, but his grand display of loot and wildlife is somewhat spoilt when his elephant-drawn chariot is stuck in gateway.

Sulla fails to intimidate Caius Julius Caesar, Marius' wife's nephew, into divorcing his wife, Cinna's daughter; when Caesar insists on standing for election to a priesthood despite Sulla's warnings Sulla ensures his defeat, and Caesar temporarily goes into hiding in the Sabine countryside after warnings that Sulla is considering his execution; he is spared, but Sulla spitefully insists that if he wants to keep his wife he must hand over her dowry.

Murena, commander of Sulla's troops remaining in Asia province, fights against Mithridatic troops remaining illegally in Cappadocia despite Sulla having told him to keep the peace; he defeats the enemy and recovers most of the kingdom for Sulla's client-king Ariobarzanes, but after defeat of his third raid into Pontus Sulla has to intervene to send orders to him to desist from further war and an embassy to

Mithridates to confirm the peace terms regarding Cappadocia.

81 BC Marcus Tullius Decula and Cnaeus Cornelius Dolabella elected consuls, junior to Sulla's authority as dictator.

27 December–8 January: Sulla holds a grand triumph for the Pontic war, with parade of the publicly laudatory Roman exiles who he has restored; he secures the title of 'Fortunate'/'*Felix*'.

Sulla enacts laws to drastically reduce the powers of tribunate whose election is given to the Senate and whose holders are debarred from going on to other offices to discourage ambitious politicians from seeking it; he adds c. 300 new senators who the Assembly individually approve, returns the jury courts exclusively to the Senate, sets age limits and a strict order in which offices can be held in the *cursus honorum*, and adds c. 10,000 freed slaves of his victims to the citizenry as his personal clients with the name 'Cornelius'; he allocates land across Italy to his 23 legions for settlement.

1 June: Formal closure of the proscription lists and return of normal legal procedure for trials of political suspects.

Sulla's general Caius Annius is sent to Spain, and is halted at the Pyrenees by Sertorius' officer Julius Salinator with 6,000 men; after Salinator is murdered they cross, and the outnumbered Sertorius flees with 3,000 men to New Carthage to embark for Mauretania; his foragers there are driven off, so he sails to the Balearic Islands and links up with Cilician pirate ships to take Pityussa (Ibiza); Annius sails to retake it, and Sertorius' fleet is defeated and damaged by storm so he sails out into the Atlantic; he returns to Mauretania after his Cilician allies go there to intervene in favour of deposed Prince Ascalis and takes the opposition's side.

80 BC Consuls: Sulla and Metellus Pius.

March: Death of Ptolemy VIII 'Lathyrus', son of Ptolemy VII and ruler of Egypt; his daughter Berenice (III) succeeds, but Sulla chooses as co-ruler his client Ptolemy (X), a son of Ptolemy VIII's brother Ptolemy IX (d. 88) who was living on Cos when Mithridates took him

as hostage in 88 but who in 84 defected to Sulla and accompanied him to Italy; Ptolemy X is sent to Egypt and **August/September** is installed in Alexandria and marries Berenice, but only 19 days later he is lynched in a riot after executing his wife and looting the gilded tomb of Alexander 'the Great'; an illegitimate son of Ptolemy VIII, Ptolemy (XI) 'Auletes' ('Flute-Player'), is recalled from Syria and installed by the populace, with his brother Ptolemy given the rule of Cyprus; Sulla is unable to pursue his claim to Egypt on the grounds of Ptolemy X supposedly naming Rome as his heir.

(Prob. 80) Sertorius defeats and kills Sulla's general Paccianus who is aiding Ascalis in Mauretania, and pursues the latter to Tingis which he takes and rules; the Lusitanians send envoys to him to lead a revolt, and he accepts the offer and sails to Spain to take command of a growing army of tribal rebels who he allegedly impresses with his use of a tame 'magic' fawn which he says the goddess Diana sent him.

?Sulla holds grand public feasts to celebrate his dedication of a tenth of his now immense wealth to the god Hercules; after his wife Metella's death during the celebrations he soon marries again, to Valeria Messala.

Sulla sends Metellus Pius to Spain to fight Sertorius, but the ageing general is outmatched by his younger opponent.

Marcus Tullius Cicero, aged 26, takes on the unpromising case of defending Sextus Roscius, a young citizen of Ameria, against a charge of murdering his father Sextus who was killed in a Rome street in 81 – an accusation arranged by Sulla's freedman Chrysogonus after Roscius exposed the fact that he had the father's name entered retrospectively on proscription list after the killing so his estate was confiscated and Chrysogonus could then buy it up cheaply for a fraction of its value. Chrysogonus then had local associates at Ameria, one of them granted part of Roscius' land and the other appointed his own manager there, come forward with the 'evidence' that Sextus had killed his father so he could be executed for parricide. Cicero manages to have his client acquitted with a daring attack on the character of Chrysogonus and current abuses of customary law as well as attack on the witnesses, but there is no retaliation from Sulla.

Caesar serves as a junior officer in the army in Asia province under governor Lucius Licinius Lucullus, at the siege of Mytilene on Lesbos, and later in Cilicia.

79 BC January: Publius Servilius Vatia consul with Aulus Claudius Pulcher; as the consuls assume office Sulla voluntarily ends his rule of Rome, dispenses with his bodyguard to show that he is not scared of political or personal attack, and retires to become a private citizen and write his memoirs. Sulla soon moves to his country estate near Cumae to spend most of his time there, allegedly with riotous parties with his intimates.

Sertorius defeats and kills Metellus' lieutenant Lucius Thorinius Balbus. Cicero leaves Rome with a party of friends to tour the Greek world and in particular to hone his oratorical skills; **autumn** he leaves Athens to study with the Stoic philosopher Posidonius of Rhodes, and consults the Rhodian orator Apollonius Molon.

?After military service, Caesar visits Bithynia and spends some months at the court of King Nicomedes; he becomes a favourite, and subsequent political rivals allege that they were lovers.

Autumn: Pompeius backs the successful candidature of Sulla's opponent Marcus Lepidus for the consulship, despite Sulla's public attitude to the latter; Sulla's choice Quintus Lutatius Catulus is also elected.

78 BC Consuls: Marcus Lepidus and Quintus Lutatius Catulus. Publius Servilius Vatia proconsular governor of Cilicia; he adds the Isaurian mountains to the province and on return to Rome receives the title 'Isauricius'.

Metellus in Spain besieges Iacobriga, while governor Lucius Manlius of Transalpine Gaul tries to bring him reinforcements over the Pyrenees but is intercepted and forced back by Sertorius.

Sulla dies aged 60 at Puteoli, and is given state funeral on the Campus Martius despite attempt by Lepidus to deny it to him; Pompeius escorts the cortege to Rome; without Sulla's presence the political rivalry between the consuls intensifies, and Lepidus backs the cause of Italians

who resent the seizure of land for Sulla's colonies of veterans to promise to restore it to them; before he leaves for command in Transalpine Gaul the Senate makes the consuls swear not to resolve their dispute by force.

Lepidus goes to Etruria to suppress an uprising of dispossessed Italian landholders evicted to make way for Sulla's settlers, on his way to Gaul, but delays there, wins over the rebels to join his army, and gains control of Cisalpine Gaul; **autumn** he refuses the Senate's orders to return to Rome (without troops) to supervise the elections for 77, possibly fearing prosecution by his enemies, and is ordered to leave his army and return home.

The Senate postpones the consular elections while the crisis is on, and Lucius Marcius Philippus eventually persuades them to accept that force will have to be used against Lepidus and issue the *Senatus consultum ultimum* authorizing Catulus to take steps to restore order.

77 BC Early: Catulus raises army against Lepidus; Pompeius leads expedition into Cisalpine Gaul and besieges Lepidus' lieutenant Marcus Junius Brutus (father of Caesar's assassin and husband of the murdered tribune Marcus Livius Drusus' niece Servilia) in Mutina (Modena); he persuades the troops to desert and Brutus to surrender and later has him killed.

Lepidus sets out for Rome with his troops while Pompeius is away in the north, and camps across the Tiber with demand for the consulship of 77; he and Catulus' troops fight a battle outside the city, and Lepidus has the worst of it, retreats into Etruria, and deserts his men to flee to Sardinia where he later dies; his lieutenant Perperna Veiento, Pompeius' opponent in Sicily, takes the remaining rebels (around 53 cohorts) to Spain to join Sertorius but delays joining his army as he does not want to submit to the latter's command.

The *Lex Lutatia*, organized by Catulus, sets up a court to try cases of sedition after Lepidus' rebellion – it is not known if it is permanent or not.

Consuls: Decimus Junius Brutus and Marcus Aemilius.

Caesar unsuccessfully takes on a legal case offered to him by visiting Macedonian provincial delegates – the prosecution of their former governor Cnaeus Cornelius Dolabella (consul in 81) for peculation during his service there. Dolabella is defended by the celebrated orator Quintus Hortensius and Caesar's cousin Caius Aurelius Cotta.

?Cicero returns to Rome to take up his ambition to become Rome's leading legal advocate.

Sertorius invades Further Spain, while his lieutenant Hirtuleius fights Metellus in Lusitania.

The Senate decides on a new and more vigorous commander for Spain, and agrees that the usual practice of sending this year's consuls is no good as they are no match for Sertorius; it is agreed to send Pompeius, with proconsular power though he has never held senior political office. As Pompeius leads his army across the Alps and the Pyrenees, Perperna reluctantly joins Sertorius under his command; Pompeius arrives in Nearer Spain to assume command to find that Sertorius has won over all the tribes in the Ebro valley area.

76 BC Consuls: Caius Scribonius Curio and Cnaeus Octavius.

Sertorius ambushes and destroys one of Pompeius' legions while foraging; Pompeius marches to relief of Sertorius' siege of Lauron (near Valencia), and thinks he has Sertorius cornered when the latter hastens to seize a strategic hill outside the town and is 'trapped' between Pompeius and the walls; however, Sertorius has left a force back in his earlier camp who emerge to cut off Pompeius' rear, and the latter has to watch while Sertorius storms and sacks Lauron.

Curio stops agitation to restore the tribunes' full powers, led by current tribune Sicinius; Curio is granted command in Thrace to fight plundering tribes.

Caesar fails in prosecution of a former Sullan officer, Marcus Antonius, for plundering during campaigns in Greece; (?late 76 or early 75) he decides to study rhetoric with Apollonius Molon at Rhodes, but during his voyage there is captured at the island of Pharmacussa near Miletus by pirates; according to the stories about the episode,

presumably deriving from himself, he insists that he is worth a ransom of 50 talents rather than the 20 that the pirates want as ransom, and while his friends go off to raise the money in Ionian cities he spends around 40 days in captivity promising his captors that he will have them executed; once he is ransomed he hires some ships in Miletus and organized their capture, having them crucified on his own authority.

Pompeius and Metellus winter near the Pyrenees, and Sertorius and Perperna in Lusitania.

75 BC Consuls: Caius Cotta, Caesar's uncle, with Lucius Octavius.

Cotta restores the right of tribunes to stand for further civic offices. Shortage of corn in Rome; the consuls are jostled by an angry crowd in the *Via Sacra* while supporting Quintus Metellus' campaigning for the 74 praetorship and have to take refuge in Octavius' nearby house.

Quintus Opimius, tribune in 75, is prosecuted by the rising lawyer Quintus Hortensius and ex-consul Catulus for transgressing Sulla's tribunate legislation, found guilty and heavily fined.

The rival armies in Spain move closer ready for battle; Sertorius marches to tackle Pompeius before he joins forces with Metellus, and Pompeius accepts battle alone at Sucro before Metellus arrives in order to keep the glory for himself; his left wing under Afranius drives the Sertorians back into their camp and loots it, but Sertorius halts his attack on the right wing and Pompeius is routed and nearly killed by Sertorius' Libyan mercenaries and Sertorius then drives Afranius' disorderly men out of the camp; Metellus' arrival prevents Sertorius from following up the victory.

The armies manoeuvre in the plains around Saguntum; Sertorius blockades his enemies from receiving supplies, and has the better of a battle lasting from noon to night; Pompeius' and Metellus' combined armies fight Sertorius again at Turia, where Metellus routs Perpenna's wing of the 'rebels' but Pompeius is defeated and wounded by Sertorius and c. 6,000 of his cavalry are killed; Sertorius then assaults the Roman camp but is driven back by Pompeius.

Sertorius manages to wound Metellus in a subsequent battle, but

retreats as he is outnumbered into the mountains to await reinforcements; he lures the opposition to attack the hilltop town he has made his headquarters by pretending to be preparing to passively withstand siege, and when his reinforcements arrive he coordinates a combined attack and sally and drives them back.

Mithridates sends envoys to Sertorius, flattering him as 'Hannibal' to his own 'Pyrrhus' and proposing alliance to attack Rome; he offers help in Spain in return for acceptance of his title to Roman Asia province and the kingdoms of Bithynia and Cappadocia; Sertorius calls on advice of his grandiosely styled 'Senate' of exiled Marians and local Roman rebels, and refuses to give away title to Roman land; after Sertorius accepts the king's title to the non-Roman kingdoms he is promised 3,000 talents and 40 ships in return for loan of a general.

74 BC Consuls: Lucius Licinius Lucullus with Marcus Aurelius Cotta. Death of Nicomedes III of Bithynia, willing his kingdom to Rome; Mithridates refuses to accept it and invades, and sends smaller force of troops into Roman Asia province to try to win over local cities to desert; Caesar, studying at Rhodes, hastens to the battle zone in Asia to raise and take command of a local force and succeeds in driving back his opponents.

Lucullus secures the command against Mithridates, ?defeating attempt by Pompeius to end his Spanish command and transfer to the new – and more lucrative – theatre of war; **?autumn** he is granted the provinces of Asia and Cilicia for his command, and Marcus Aurelius Cotta that of Bithynia.

Sertorius sends a general, Marcus Marius, with troops to Asia province to assist Mithridates and reassure Roman cities there that by admitting the joint 'rebel'/Pontic attacking army they are remaining loyal to the cause of the rightful Roman government.

Two more legions are sent to Pompeius and Metellus, who advance from winter quarters near the Pyrenees as Sertorius and Perpenna return from Lusitania for new campaign; Metellus issues promise of reward for Sertorius' head to encourage treachery, and 'rebel' Roman

resentment of Sertorius' reliance on his tribal Celtiberian bodyguard increases grumbles among the 'rebel' army about the prolonged campaigning in Spain rather than return to take Italy and leads to resultant desertions; the jealous Perpenna also makes trouble, and as Sertorius starts severe punishments for deserters this makes matters worse among his Roman supporters.

Sertorius relieves Pompeius' siege of Palantia and forces him to withdraw, and then kills c. 3,000 of the enemy in attack on camp at Calagurris.

Cicero serves as quaestor in Sicily.

Marcus Antonius (father of the triumvir) is granted command in Mediterranean against the menace of pirates, with unusually extensive powers transcending normal provincial boundaries; his principal senatorial sponsors are Curio and Cethegus, of whom the latter is later accused of wanting a share of his expected loot.

73 BC Consul: Marcus Lucullus, Lucius' brother.

?Early: Caesar returns to Rome, following his co-optation to succeed his mother's cousin Aurelius Cotta in the 'college' of ceremonial priests.

Spring: Lucullus arrives in Asia province, but start of campaign is disrupted as Mithridates strikes first by invading Bithynia; the Pontic navy defeats governor Aurelius Cotta's ships off Chalcedon, and the Roman army in the province is besieged at Cyzicus. Mithridates invests the city by land and sea, and Lucullus marches north to relieve it; he defeats the Pontic armies sent to intercept him at the Rivers Rhyndacus and Granicus, and Mithridates abandons the siege and withdraws east to Nicomedia.

Antonius proceeds to the eastern Mediterranean to fight pirates, with Caesar among his legates; he opens naval campaign, but turns out to be keeping most of the pirates' recaptured booty for himself and is not much of a strategist so he is outmanoeuvred by pirate fleets as he pursues them west to Spain and then lands on Crete where he sets up his headquarters; he unsuccessfully attacks their Cilician coastal bases.

Pompeius and Metellus systematically reduce a series of towns held

by Sertorius and overrun districts loyal to him, deporting inhabitants into their own areas to reduce his potential manpower; they avoid open battle; Sertorius lapses into increasing inactivity amid rising discontent among his officers.

A group of around 70 gladiators at Batiatus' training school in Capua break out under the leadership of Spartacus, a Thracian ex-auxiliary; they hijack a cartload of gladiatorial weapons, hide out on Mount Vesuvius, and attract runaway slaves and farm labourers into a rapidly increasing 'bandit' army which, led by skilled fighters with stolen weapons, becomes a serious threat to Campania; reputedly the equal distribution of loot also gains recruits.

Spartacus' rebels extend raiding and looting and their ranks are swelled; with regular troops preoccupied against Sertorius and Mithridates, Rome sends a hastily assembled force of 3,000 conscripts under praetor Caius Claudius Glaber which is defeated as rebels are surrounded on a hill but unexpectedly descend steep cliffs with ropes to attack them in the rear; Spartacus faces a second force under Publius Varinius, but defeats firstly his lieutenant Furius, then his lieutenant Lucius Cossinius whose camp near Salinae is attacked and looted with him falling in battle, and then Vatinius himself; Spartacus heads into the Apennines and moves north.

Lucullus invades Bithynia to relieve Cyzicus, and destroys the Pontic fleet in battle off Lemnos.

72 BC Consuls: Lucius Gellius Publicola and Cnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Claudianus; they both lead new armies against Spartacus, who divides his army into two with his second force of c. 3,000 being given to Crixus; Gellius defeats and kills Crixus with two-thirds of his men on Mount Garganum, but Spartacus marches north through the mountains towards Cisalpine Gaul to head for the Alps and escape from Italy; he is intercepted near Ariminium by Lentulus and his route blocked, but he attacks and defeats the consuls separately; he then defeats governor Caius Cassius Longinus of Cisalpine Gaul near Mutina, but does not go on to the Alps and decides to move south again.

Marcus Licinius Crassus praetor (or 73).

Spring: Lucullus' fleet defeats the main Pontic fleet in battle off Lemnos; Lucullus advances through Galatia towards western Pontus, while his fleet under Triarius destroys the last Pontic fleet in battle off Tenedos and enters the Propontis to land troops on southern coast and take Prusa and Nicaea; proconsul Aurelius Cotta, governor of Bithynia, moves east through his liberated province to start two-year siege of Pontic general Connorix in Heraclea on the Euxine coast; Lucullus advances into western Pontus and descends to the coast to besiege the principal royal residence, Amisus, while Mithridates eludes battle.

Sertorius is lured to a banquet and murdered by Perperna, who assumes command of the rebel army but is deserted by many including most of his Spanish chieftains who surrender to Pompeius; as Perperna is a less respected general with dwindling army Metellus moves on to deal with rebel tribes leaving the final battle against Perperna to Pompeius; Perperna seeks battle while his army is still loyal, but is easily defeated and is captured in the rout and immediately executed.

Spartacus leads c. 120,000 supporters south, burning his army's baggage to enable them to move faster, and defeats the consuls again in Picenum; with no ability to tackle walled towns or cities and no civic support, he abandons original intention to attack Rome.

The Senate accepts offer of help from Marcus Crassus, now immensely rich after astute purchases of property confiscated in the Sullan proscriptions, who is keen to use the opportunity to win a military victory and reputation for his civic career before Pompeius arrives; he is accepted, raises six legions, and leads his troops to Picenum to join the consular army.

?Despairing of success against the dispersed pirate strongholds and swift fleets after his failure in Cilicia, Antonius meets their leaders and negotiates a truce; the Senate refuses to ratify it.

71 (or late 72) BC Crassus takes over the consular army; either immediately or after an initial defeat suffered by his overconfident lieutenant Mummius with the consular troops, Crassus orders the *decimation* of

the consular army for their incompetence, the men drawing lots for one in every ten (c. 400 of 4,000 in all) to be executed; Spartacus heads south through Lucania into southern Italy and takes up defensive positions around Thurii, where Crassus closes in. ?At around this time, Crassus asks the Senate to send Pompeius and Marcus Lucullus (consul in 73), governor of Macedonia, to assist him in belated recognition of the huge numbers of slaves facing him.

Caesar is elected at head of the list for military tribunes for 71.

71 BC Consuls: Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura and Cnaeus Aufidius. Tribune Marcus Lollius Policanus fails to have the tribunes' full powers restored and Sullan legislation on it reversed, despite backing by Pompeius.

Crassus inflicts serious defeat on a rebel force camped away from their leader with c. 10,000 casualties, and marches on Spartacus himself; he defeats Spartacus too, and the slave army retreats towards the Straits of Messina in order to cross to Sicily; Spartacus contacts some Cilician pirate ships who offer to take his army across to Sicily, but they break agreement; the slave army is cornered on shore near Rhegium and surrounded with fortified positions to prevent breakout. Crassus defeats an enemy force operating outside the main camp under Canistius and Castus with c. 12,000 rebel casualties but cannot storm the massive rebel camp.

Pompeius returns to Rome, and with deadlock at the rebel camp the Senate sends him south to assist Crassus with reinforcements and share the command; Crassus hastens to attack before his rival arrives, and the equally eager Spartacus attempts negotiations and on Crassus refusing to talk he manages to use his cavalry to force a breakout; the rebels retire into mountains of Petelia and, overconfident after defeat of a pursuing Roman force under quaestor Scrophas in ambush, slacken their vigilance as they head towards Brundisium; Marcus Lucullus arrives at that city from Epirus to cut off their retreat; Crassus catches them and Spartacus offers battle; the rebel army is destroyed, though Spartacus is never found dead or alive, and Crassus crucifies 6,000

captured fugitives along the Appian Way; Pompeius rounds up survivors who his army encounters and tries to claim credit for destroying the roots of rebellion.

Pompeius and Crassus both refuse to disband their armies as they do not trust each other, and both claim the consulship for 70 though Pompeius has never held elective office; Pompeius proclaims that he will restore the tribunes' powers, and both are elected while their armies wait near Rome with Pompeius claiming that he needs them intact to celebrate his triumph (to be performed after Metellus, his senior, returns from Spain for his triumph) and Crassus refusing to disband first; Pompeius duly celebrates his triumph for the Spanish war.

Lucullus invades central Pontus, and advances along the Halys and Lycus valleys to confront Mithridates' main army of c. 40,000 infantry and 4,000 cavalry near Cabira; Mithridates declines battle, and as his supplies run out he starts to withdraw into the mountains towards Lesser Armenia but Lucullus follows him closely and harasses his columns; the Pontic army breaks up under the pressure, and Mithridates flees with a small escort to his father-in-law Tigranes of Armenia who interns him at an isolated fortress with no military aid; Lucullus turns back to take the remaining fortresses which are resisting, including royal residences at Cabira and Eupatoria.

Late: Cicero accepts request from a Sicilian delegation to bring prosecution for extortion against their notoriously corrupt ex-governor Caius Verres, an unsavoury and ruthless operator who has been looting art treasures and has framed a local opponent, Sthenius of Thermae, for forgery and after he fled Sicily arranged a capital charge too; Verres is assisted by powerful friends in the Senate and enlists the renowned orator, politician Quintus Hortensius who is hoping for the 69 consulship, as defending lawyer.

Death of Marcus Antonius, during command in Crete against pirates which has ground to a halt.

70 BC Consuls: Pompeius and Crassus; they restore the tribunate's powers as a populist move; the juries for courts are reformed again so

that a third of members are senators, a third are equestrians and a third are (equestrian) *aerarii*.

?Caesar serves in Rome as quaestor; he daringly displays images of Marius and his family in the Forum at the public funeral of his aunt Julia, Marius' widow, where he makes a notable speech.

The censors, including Lentulus (consul in 72), review membership of the orders, and remove 64 senators including Antonius' brother Cnaeus Antonius Hybrida and his widow's new husband Lentulus Sura (i.e. Antonius the future triumvir's uncle and stepfather); Pompeius shows public humility in joining in the procession of members of the equestrian order with their horses which assemble for the censors to check them.

Early: Cicero spends nearly two months in Sicily collecting evidence, though he is hindered by Verres' friend Lucius Caecilius Metellus the new governor; the defence succeeds in postponing the trial and endeavours to have it held up until Hortensius and other friends of the accused assume offices on 1 January 69.

Fall of Amisus to Lucullus; Lucullus sends envoy Appius Claudius to Mithridates' son-in-law Tigranes of Armenia demanding he hand the fugitive over or face invasion (which the Senate has not sanctioned); Tigranes meets him at Antioch, the former Seleucid capital where he is now holding court as ruler of Syria, and refuses; Claudius reports to Lucullus, who is now at Ephesus reorganizing the province of Asia and who prepares for Armenian war in 69.

?**July:** Cicero secures election as aedile for 69, but Hortensius and another Metellan family ally of Verres, Quintus Caecilius Metellus, secure consulship; **4 August** the trial opens, under Metellus kinsman as praetor, and Cicero endeavours to speed up proceedings before a delay for Pompeius' Spanish victory games with a decisive move to list all Verres' crimes and shows that he has amassed 40 million sesterces out of peculation during governorship of Sicily; **13 August** after Cicero has laid out the evidence in a devastating manner, Hortensius abandons the defence as hopeless; **14 August** Verres is found guilty and fined three million sesterces, though Hortensius speaks in mitigation, and

goes into exile (with his loot) in Massilia.

August–September: Pompeius' victory games; determined not to be outdone in public generosity, Crassus dedicates a tenth of his wealth to Hercules as Sulla did.

Publius Cornelius Lentulus Sura and Lucius Gellius Publicola censors (into 69); the census counts 910,000 Roman citizens, and the censors disqualify 64 current senators.

69 BC Consuls: Hortensius and Caecilius Metellus; Cicero aedile. Metellus is sent to Crete to take over Marcus Antonius' command against the pirates, and earns title of 'Creticus'.

Caesar, recently widowed on the death of Cornelia, serves as military quaestor in Further Spain on the staff of governor Antistius Vetus (praetor in 70).

Lucullus crosses Cappadocia to reach the Euphrates and invades Armenia, commencing with the southern principality of Sophene; his conquests there cut off Tigranes from his acquisitions in Syria, and Lucullus goes on towards the mountainous heart of kingdom to the southern capital, Tigranocerta; Tigranes meets him there with a large army to defend the city, but **7 October** Lucullus defeats him and destroys his main force of heavily armed mailed cavalry (cataphracts); Tigranes flees north, and Lucullus negotiates alliance with local princes and receives envoys from Phraates of Parthia.

68 BC Consuls: Quintus Marcius Rex and Lucius Caecilius Metellus. Lucius Sergius Catilina, an ambitious and unscrupulous but impoverished former senior Sullan officer, serves as praetor.

Lucullus besieges Tigranes' capital, Artaxata in the Araxes (Aras) valley, but Mithridates assists the Armenians and Tigranes holds out with his army in the surrounding mountains and harasses the Romans; Lucullus faces trouble from his mutinous troops, which his luxurious lifestyle in camp exacerbates and which is stirred up by his ambitious young brother-in-law Publius Claudius (as 'Clodius', later tribune and demagogue), his wife Claudia's brother; he has to abandon the siege

and retire to the plains of Mesopotamia to get supplies and besieges Nisibis, Tigranes' principal southern city; his failure to conclude the war encourages his enemies in Rome to agitate for his recall and spread stories about his wasteful life of luxury.

Late: Mithridates returns to eastern Pontus from Armenia with a new army of c. 3,000 and besieges legate Fabius in Cabira until it is relieved by Triarius.

?Caesar marries his second wife, Pompeia, granddaughter of Pompeius Rufus (consul in 88).

67 BC Consuls: Manlius Aquillius Glabrio and Caius Calpurnius Piso. Caesar praetor.

Caius Cornelius tribune; he introduces a number of reforming bills against corruption by senior officials, and those which are passed include a law against electoral bribery and a ban on praetors giving themselves special exemption from obeying their own judicial decrees. A law to impose similar restrictions on provincial governors' rights to grant themselves exemptions is prevented by pressure from the Senate, who in return have a milder law introduced by consul Piso (who bribed people for votes while seeking his current consulship). Piso is initially frustrated by rowdy intimidation in the Forum, but manages to have his law passed.

Agitation to have a competent commander against the pirates is focused on Pompeius, and his supporters launch a successful campaign to win over public support while he pretends that he is not interested in a new campaign; with the pirate menace disrupting the seas and raising food prices ever higher the equestrian merchants are particularly keen on a resolution of the problem. Pompeius' former officer, tribune Aulus Gabinius, introduces a law (*Lex Gabinia*) creating an unprecedented command: an ex-consular general is to have full authority over the entire Mediterranean and for 50 miles inland, and is to be allowed to have as much state money as he needs, 15 subordinate commanders, as many men as he can raise, and 200 warships. There is overwhelming resistance in the Senate where Caesar alone supports it but two tribunes

are induced to veto the law and consul Piso accuses Pompeius of aiming at becoming another national hero-turned-tyrant like Romulus and threatens him with the same fate (i.e. murder) after which he is nearly killed by angry crowds; after threats by Gabinius to depose the offending tribunes the veto is withdrawn, and the Assembly noisily shouts down senators' warning speeches and votes in favour of the law, granting Pompeius 500 ships instead of 200 to show their confidence and appointing 24 legates to assist him.

Pompeius raises 120,000 infantry and 5,000 cavalry, and divides up the Mediterranean into 13 districts in each of which a legate with ships hunts down the local pirates while he concentrates on the Tyrrhenian Sea and around Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily with 60 ships; the pirates retreat to their main bases in Cilicia, but Pompeius hears as he prepares to follow that Piso is discharging his crews early to undermine his effectiveness so he sends his fleet on to Brundisium, lands in Etruria, and hastens to Rome to secure a halt to this; he is enthusiastically received as the drop in food prices in markets are already indicating the practical effects of his quick successes, and Gabinius proposes a law depriving Piso of his consulship which the angry public backs but Pompeius magnanimously insists is not necessary; he rejoins his ships at Brundisium and sails via Athens towards Cilicia, receiving the surrender of substantial numbers of pirates en route and incorporating their ships in his navy with no executions; the remainder of pirates offer battle at Cilician headland off Coracesium but are defeated and surrender without the expected need for sieges of their strongholds, and Pompeius takes 90 large warships with battering-rams and c. 20,000 prisoners; he settles the prisoners inland in the depopulated towns and countryside of Cilicia recently ravaged by wars with Tigranes of Armenia, and receives envoys from the remaining pirates (who are fighting Metellus in Crete) who offer surrender to him instead of to the local Roman commander; he accepts and orders the indignant Metellus (who is not one of his subordinate commanders and was appointed earlier to a separate command) to accept truce; Pompeius sends his officer Lucius Octavius to Crete to take control of the local cities, but

Metellus pays no attention to him, continues reducing pirates and publicly defies and insults Octavius.

Pompeius' lieutenant Marcus Terentius Varro, the future historian, is awarded a civic 'naval crown' for his successes in the campaign against the pirates.

Gabinus successfully proposes a law to transfer command over Pontus and Bithynia to Manlius Aquillius Glabrio, reducing Lucullus' control to central and southern Anatolia and Armenia, after accusing Lucullus of extravagance and showing a picture of his luxurious villa at the Forum to arouse the populace.

Having completed the war that Antonius could not resolve in years in under three months, Pompeius receives adulatory reception in Rome and turns his attention to the equally long-drawn-out war against Mithridates which he promises to end quicker than Lucullus.

Summer: Mithridates defeats a Roman force with c. 7,000 casualties at battle of Zela; Lucullus marches back from Armenia to link up with the survivors, but cannot bring Mithridates to battle and as he later withdraws from Pontus for the winter Mithridates reconquers most of the kingdom – which adds to the anger in Rome at Lucullus' failure.

Death of Queen Salome Alexandra of Judaea, the ruler of the Maccabaeen kingdom since her husband Alexander Jannaeus died in 76; her sons fight over the state, as elder son Hyrcanus, the new king and 'High Priest', faces revolt by his younger brother Aristobulus; Aristobulus defeats Hyrcanus at Jericho, besieges him in Jerusalem, and drives him into exile; Hyrcanus flees to Antipater, semi-Arab prince of Idumea (and father of Herod 'the Great'), at Petra to obtain troops.

Civil war in the last remnants of the Seleucid kingdom in Syria between Antiochus XII, based at Antioch, and Philip II, based in Cilicia; after Antiochus is kidnapped by his powerful patron King Sampciseramus of Emesa, hereditary priest-king of the shrine of Baal/Elagabalus there, Philip seizes Antioch with the backing of Pompeius' proconsular representative in Syria, Marcus Rex, who sends his lieutenant Publius Claudius/Clodius (Lucullus' estranged brother-in-law) to assist him.

Autumn: Marcus Lollius Policanus fails in his campaign to secure consular election for 66; the ambitious Sullan ex-officer Lucius Sergius Catilina is tried unsuccessfully for extortion as quaestor in Africa.

66 BC Consul: Lucius Volcacious Tullus.

Cicero praetor; he successfully defends Aulus Cluentius Habitus against a charge of poisoning his stepfather Statius Albius Oppianicus (who was acquitted in 74 of trying to murder Cluentius), detailing a long list of relatives who Oppianicus has disposed of to ruin his character and testimony.

?Caesar curator of the Via Appia, and generously uses his own funds to assist repair work.

Tribune Caius Manilius proposes a command for Pompeius to take over all Lucullus' provinces and troops, together with taking the province of Bithynia from Glabrio, and have full responsibility to complete the war against Mithridates and Tigranes; he is also to retain his fleets and the coastal/naval command he possesses for the duration of war. Again, most of the Senate is strongly opposed to giving such power to one man; however, Cicero speaks in favour, complimenting Pompeius on his superlative qualities, and at the vote the popular feeling in favour is so strong that only Catulus dares speak publicly to Assembly against it; the measure is passed unanimously by all the 'tribes'.

Pompeius assumes the command, raises troops and marches into Anatolia, replacing all Lucullus' officials and summoning Rome's allied kings to his presence, en route to a meeting with his predecessor in Galatia; the generals' relations soon deteriorate and Lucullus allegedly accuses his successor of habitually turning up when wars are nearly over in order to take the credit, and as the two camp near each other and Lucullus continues to make distributions of land and gifts Pompeius takes over most of his army to point out that his authority is ended; the Pontic campaign commences with Pompeius, his fleets patrolling the seas, advancing into the inland areas of Pontus still loyal to Mithridates who despite c. 30,000 troops refuses battle and camps on an inaccessible mountain; due to seeming lack of water Mithridates

abandons his position, which Pompeius occupies to dig springs and find water; Pompeius surrounds Mithridates' new camp, but after 45 days the king slips away with his more mobile troops despite the Roman fortifications and hastens to the Euphrates.

Pompeius catches Mithridates up and offers immediate battle despite darkness, but Mithridates and 800 cavalry break out leaving the rest of the Pontic army to be destroyed and the king appeals to Tigranes who orders him to keep away from Armenia; Mithridates and a few companions reach Colchis (western Georgia) while Pompeius, expecting him to join Tigranes, heads for Armenia to finish the war there.

?Antiochus XII expels Philip II from Antioch despite his Roman support. ?**Autumn:** Publius Cornelius Sulla, Sulla's nephew, and Publius Autronius Paetus are elected consuls for 65 but are subsequently disqualified for bribery and a new election is held; Lucius Manlius Torquatus, Pompeius' brother-in-law, and Lucius Aurelius Cotta are elected instead and the disappointed candidate Catilina, threatened with bribery trial for activities during African praetorship in 67, is suspected of a nebulous plot to assassinate the new consuls as they take up office on 1 January 65, to kill as many senators as he can catch at the ceremony, and seize the consulship; Crassus, who bankrolls Catilina's election campaign, is also under suspicion of wanting to become dictator by agreement with Catilina after coup.

65 BC Consuls: Lucius Manlius Torquatus and Lucius Aurelius Cotta; Caesar aedile, and holds Games in memory of his father (d. 85). Crassus and ex-consul (78) Catulus are censors; they quarrel, particularly over Crassus' attempts to have the inhabitants of Cisalpine Gaul enrolled as citizens and to annex Egypt under terms of Ptolemy X's will in 80, and fail to complete the normal revision of the senatorial roll; Cicero speaks against Crassus' plans for Egypt on account of his insatiable greed.

Marcus Porcius Cato (b. 95), the ostentatiously arch-conservative great-grandson of Cato 'the Elder' and son of the sister of the late tribune Drusus (k. 91), serves as quaestor; unusually for the young nobles taking on this post, he insists that his assistants tell him exactly how

the city's financial system works and personally oversees it to prevent corruption.

Cicero successfully defends populist ex-tribune Caius Cornelius, a Pompeian supporter, on charge of treason in a difficult case where he manages to avoid offending the senatorial supporters of the charge whose goodwill he needs for intended next step of consulship; Catilina is acquitted of bribery and resumes campaign for election to consulship.

As Tigranes' enlarged Armenian kingdom starts to break up under the pressure of Roman assault, the Parthians occupy the south-eastern provinces of Adiabene and Gorduene.

Pompeius marches into Armenia, as Tigranes' eponymous son revolts and comes to join the Romans at their camp on the River Araxes (Aras); Tigranes offers the surrender of Artaxata, his northern capital, and comes to Pompeius' camp to lay his crown at his feet and be promised pardon and confirmation in the kingdom of Armenia within its original limits provided that he pays an indemnity of 6,000 talents; the lands that Tigranes has annexed over his 30-year reign, some of them in Anatolia occupied by Lucullus earlier in the war but Syria and Phoenicia now in chaos, are to be surrendered and Tigranes' son is to receive the kingdom of Sophene (the young prince wants more so he is arrested and deported to Rome). Armenia is temporarily occupied by a Roman army under Lucius Afranius, and after meeting Parthian envoys proposing a treaty delimiting the Euphrates as Roman-Parthian frontier Pompeius moves into the Caucasus in pursuit of Mithridates.

Pompeius' lieutenant Scaurus, sent to sort out the civil war in Judaea, drives Hyrcanus back from Jerusalem and confirms rule of Aristobulus.

Mithridates flees on to the kingdom of Bosphorus (the Greek colonies on the Crimean coast), whose king (his own son and vassal Machares) has revolted against his authority during his difficulties in Pontus and is deposed and killed; meanwhile Pompeius arrives in the land of the Albanians (East Georgia) to the south of the Caucasus and demands passage for his troops from the king who agrees but changes his mind; **December** during the Roman army's Saturnalia festivities c. 40,000 Albanians march on their camp at the River Cynus (Kur),

but Pompeius confidently allows the tribesmen to cross the river unhindered and then routs them; the king surrenders and is received and pardoned.

64 BC Consuls: Lucius Julius Caesar and Caius Marcus Figulus.

Early: Pompeius marches west into Iberia (West Georgia) which is allied to Mithridates, and defeats their army who lose c. 9,000 killed and 10,000 prisoners; he enters Colchis, and links up with his Euxine (Black Sea) fleet under Servilius at the mouth of the River Phasis. A new Albanian revolt causes him to march back east to cross the Cynrus again and defeat the tribal army, a large but badly armed force, at the River Abas; he decides to complete his reordering of the east in the dangerous vacuum caused by the collapse of Tigranes' extended realm in which Phraates of Parthia is trying to assert authority over the lands around the upper Euphrates and Tigris, and goes on south to Lesser Armenia where he receives embassies from Elam and the Medes (?Atropatene, i.e. Azerbaijan); he orders Afranius to drive the Parthians back out of Gorduene, west of the Tigris, and returns to Pontus to secure its complete surrender, seizing Mithridates' revealing private correspondence at the fortress of Caenum; he bases himself at Amisus to organize a naval blockade of Bosporus and starve Mithridates out but does not mount attack and instead plans annexation of Syria, receiving assorted local rulers and reorganizing their frontiers to give parts of Pontus to Roman allies Cappadocia (King Ariobarzanes, soon succeeded by his son Ariobarzanes II) and Commagene (Antiochus I 'Theos'), hand Sophene to pro-Roman Galatian chieftain Deiotarus of the Tolistobogii who is created the new King of Galatia, and to create a new dependent state of Comana (Archelaus); Pontus is retained with reduced size as a Roman dependent state, and Pharnabazus of Iberia becomes a Roman client.

Pompeius receives a Parthian embassy whose king he does not address in his letters with the usual grandiose titles to show Rome's lack of fear of him.

Pompeius marches into Syria, occupying the Seleucid capital of

Antioch whose last ruler Antiochus XIII flees to Nabatea and is murdered there; he creates new Roman province of Syria, with Marcus Aemilius Scaurus becoming the first governor.

Summer: Cicero successfully wins election for the 63 consulship, with unsuccessful candidates including Catilina whose past reputation as a Sullan associate and reputed plotter Cicero has been dragging up; Catilina is believed to be holding more meetings with a group of discontented nobles (including Lentulus Sura and Crassus or Caesar) and leading Italians.

63 BC 1 January: Cicero consul with Cnaeus Antonius Hybrida, uncle of the future triumvir and formerly disgraced from the Senate.

January: Tribune Publius Rutilius Rullus proposes a new land bill to arrange large-scale settlements in Italy and the provinces as arranged by a ten-man commission with powers to last five years; it will mainly benefit Pompeius' veterans, and is backed by Caesar but defeated thanks to Cicero.

Cicero blocks bills to restore civic rights to convicted 'Marians' and to amnesty all convicted politicians and debtors, but tribune Titus Labienus' measure to restore election of priests passes.

Labienus charges aged senator Caius Rabirius over the murder of Saturninus in 100, presumably as part of populist cause; the two-man tribunal chosen by lot includes Caesar, and Rabirius is found guilty and sentenced to crucifixion, but Cicero vetoes sentence; a second trial before the Assembly sees the defence assisted by Hortensius and Cicero and is halted by a procedural device to have hearing adjourned.

Caesar secures election as Pontifex Maximus to succeed the late Metellus Pius. Mithridates' son Pharnaces stages revolt in Bosphorus against his father, who is surrounded in a fortress, reputedly tries to take poison to find that none of them work due to his careful habit of taking regular antidotes, and kills himself, aged around 72; Pharnaces sends to Pompeius promising loyalty to Rome.

Pompeius, in Syria, receives gifts from the various rulers of the surrounding principalities, including a golden vine from Aristobulus of

Judaea and a crown from Ptolemy XI of Egypt; **spring** he arrives at Damascus and receives the rival embassies of Hyrcanus and Aristobulus asking for his support.

Pompeius marches into Judaea, where Hyrcanus arrives at his camp promising fealty and asking for rulership and Aristobulus comes from his fortress of Alexandreion to negotiate and agrees to surrender all fortified positions; he adjudicates the claims of the rival rulers; as he moves on into Nabatea to secure loyalty of the Arab ruler Arethas as Roman client and the latter sends to his camp to surrender, Aristobulus, fearing that Pompeius will decide for Hyrcanus, revolts in his rear and he has to return; during the Nabatean expedition Pompeius hears of Mithridates' murder.

Aristobulus surrenders as Pompeius approaches, but his angry soldiers do not let Pompeius' lieutenant Aulus Gabinius enter Jerusalem so Pompeius arrests Aristobulus in case of complicity with them; Pompeius marches on Jerusalem and as 'extremists' reject other citizens' calls to surrender and seize the Temple the others admit Pompeius' troops to city. Pompeius establishes garrison under Piso in the city and palace, and besieges the Temple with siege concentrated on weaker northern wall; the Romans concentrate their work to fill in ditches and erect siege towers on the Sabbath when devout Jews will not fire back, and after two months storm the Temple with Sulla's son Faustus first over the walls; Pompeius sacrilegiously enters the 'Holy of Holies'; he deposes Aristobulus and installs Hyrcanus as his puppet 'High Priest' with the borders of Judaea curtailed; he goes on to Pontus, where at Amisus Pharnaces sends an embassy with the body of Mithridates to prove that Rome's arch-enemy is dead and he is granted Pontus and Bosphorus as client-king.

Pompeius sets off for Rome with stops at Rhodes and Athens for celebrations, and sends a letter ahead divorcing his wife Mucia for reported adultery.

Lucullus holds triumph for his victories in Pontus and Armenia.

?**July/early August:** Cicero's new law to increase penalty for bribery to ten years' exile is believed by Catilina to be aimed at him,

and he plans to murder Cicero at the election meeting for choosing magistrates for 62; Cicero is warned by Fulvia, mistress of Catilina's associate Curius, and he postpones the elections and fruitlessly questions Catilina in the Senate; at the elections the consuls have armed guards, and Caesar and Cicero's brother Quintus are elected praetors but Catilina fails to win the consulship again and starts to plan a coup, using Sullan veteran centurion Caius Manlius to gather an armed force of veterans at Faesulae in Etruria.

23 September: Birth of the future Emperor Augustus on the Palatine Hill in Rome, as Caius Octavius, son of Caius Octavius (praetor 61, governor of Macedonia 60–59) and of Caesar's sister Julia's daughter Atia.

20 October: Crassus calls on Cicero late at night to show letter he has been sent warning him to leave Rome to avoid a massacre of senior Romans which Catilina is planning to coordinate with military rising in Etruria; Cicero summons Senate and **21 October** shows them the letter and others destined for other recipients which were passed to Crassus' doorkeeper, and evidence is collected of date of revolt on the 28th; the Senate issues the *Senatus consultum ultimum* and counter-measures are taken with guards posted in capital, bodyguard for consuls, and troops sent out, but Catilina denies it all and offers to surrender himself to custody in Cicero's house; he is put in charge of praetor Publius Caecilius Metellus, husband of Publius Claudius (Clodius)'s sister Clodia and also brother-in-law of Lucullus.

The military rising takes place, but the rebels fail to take Praeneste; **6 November** Catilina manages to slip away to meet his associates again and draw up plans for coup, instructing his agents where to go in Rome and across Italy to seize positions and detailing two men to go and kill Cicero next morning; Fulvia informs Cicero and the assassins are refused admittance to his house.

8 November: Cicero holds Senate meeting and relates the details of what happened at Catilina's meeting, and Catilina refuses to go into exile without trial; the senators initially resist Cicero's request to banish the suspect, but he claims to have secured their approval; Catilina promises to consider his response and that night leaves Rome to join

Manlius' army at Fasulae, taking a fake consular standard which he claims he should have as the election was rigged and a military 'eagle' that had belonged to Marius; once he is known to be gone he and Manlius are proclaimed public enemies.

Praetor Lentulus Sura, left in command of the plotters in Rome, plans a massacre of Senate during the Saturnalia (mid-December) and contacts visiting ambassadors of the allied Gallic Allobroges tribe for their tribe to send a force to assist with the revolt; they tell their tribe's Roman patron Fabius Sanga who brings them to Cicero, and it is arranged that they will ask for a letter from plotters that they can deliver to their tribal senate to secure support; **2 December** as they leave Rome with the letter they are intercepted by praetor Pomptinus at the Milvian Bridge and the documentary evidence to convict the plotters is seized, while a messenger en route to Catilina encouraging him to free slaves is also caught.

3 December: the Senate meets at Temple of Concord in Forum, surrounded by a bodyguard of equestrians, and views and discusses the evidence; the messenger to Catilina turns state evidence, and conspirator Caius Cornelius Cethegus' house is searched and a hoard of weapons is seized; Lentulus and his four chief associates are arrested and put in charge of the praetors, and attacks by plotters trying to free them are repulsed; that evening Cicero addresses the crowds outside the temple and retells plot to murder civic leadership, fire city, free slaves and bring in Gauls, before spending the night with guards at a friend's house as his wife is holding a 'women-only' religious ceremony to the *Bona Dea* at his own house.

4 December: The Senate meets again, and allegations are made that Crassus has been in touch with Catilina and Catulus accuses Caesar of complicity too.

5 December: As the Senate debates what to do with Lentulus' plotters, Cicero argues that the terms of *Senatus consultum ultimum* allow execution and as Rome lacks residential prisons it is safer than keeping them under arrest in private houses where they could be rescued by sympathizers, and is backed by consuls-designate Silanus and Murena,

but Caesar speaks up for house arrest at a safe distance dispersed across Italy until rebellion is crushed and precise evidence can be judged; the senators waver, but are persuaded by the uncompromising young conservative Marcius Porcius Cato that all the rebels deserve execution for attempted mass murder and arson; he also accuses Caesar of being lenient to them because he is their ally and supposedly demands to know what is in a letter that has just been handed to Caesar in case it is from plotters – Caesar shows that it is a love letter from his mistress, Cato's married sister Servilia.

Caesar secures abandonment of attempt to confiscate all plotters' property, but his attempt to halt proceedings before death sentence is passed leads to threats from an armed crowd of the senatorial body-guard, he has to be rescued by Cicero, and he leaves the meeting; the executions are agreed and Cicero leads officers to collect Lentulus and his leading supporters from the praetors' houses and take them to the (small) state prison on the Capitol for immediate execution; he is voted the rank of *Pater Patriae* by Senate for saving his country from destruction.

Despite the public euphoria, relatives of the executed can claim that the executions without trial (legal under SCU) were a reversion to behaviour during the civil war and accuse Cicero of tyrannical behaviour like Marius and Sulla; Lentulus Sura's young stepson, Marcus Antonius the future triumvir, is among those who bear long-term grudge and the events hang over Cicero's reputation.

Rebel army of c. 20,000 starts to break up on news of the firm action in Rome, and possibly over two-thirds desert; consul Antonius Hybrida, who it is arranged is to assume Macedonian governorship in 62, is sent into Etruria to hunt them down.

10 December: Tribunes assume office, including Quintus Caecilius Metellus Nepos, Pompeius' brother-in-law and ally who has just returned ahead of him; **31 December** Metellus vetoes Cicero's expected self-laudatory speech as the resigning consuls deliver their final addresses reviewing their actions – an indication of Pompeius' hostility.

62 BC 1 January: Lucius Licinius Murena and Decimius Iunius Silanus consuls. Caesar proposes that the rebuilding of the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol, work on which has been suspiciously slow, be transferred to Pompeius on account of its current manager Catulus' embezzlement of funds; the Senate refuses.

Metellus proposes bill to obtain a special command for Pompeius against Catilina, but the rebellion is collapsing and is ended before the general arrives; the Senate supports Cicero by voting that anyone who criticizes the executions is a public enemy; as the voting takes place on bill for Pompeius' recall at the Temple of Castor its promoters, praetors Metellus and Caesar, are assisted by an intimidatory rabble of supporters and protesters are driven out of the Forum, but the undaunted Cato interferes and thanks to his example opponents return to vote; disorder causes abandonment of vote.

February: Antonius brings Catilina to battle, though he pleads illness to leave the fighting against his old ally to his deputy; the rebels are routed and Catilina is among the many killed, ending rebellion.

Metellus and Caesar propose bill to enable Pompeius to stand for the 61 consulship that summer even if he is not back in Rome, but the Senate resists despite Metellus' supporters' rioting and passes the *Senatus consultum ultimum*; Caesar and Metellus are suspended from office for their intimidation (Caesar is soon restored) and Metellus flees to join Pompeius, ostentatiously claiming to be the victim of tyranny and promising that Pompeius will deal with it with his army, but his general fails to take up the opportunity to march on Rome and merely sends to request that the 61 elections be postponed until his arrival so he can canvass for a friend; the Senate refuses and **December** he lands at Brundisium but dismisses his army to show that he has no hostile intentions.

?Cicero buys a large house on the Palatine, overlooking the Forum, from Crassus to show off his new status as saviour of the state.

3/4 December: The annual Bona Dea ceremony takes place at Caesar's house as he is Pontifex Maximus so his wife Pompeia is presiding; Pompeia's reputed admirer Publius Claudius (Clodius) infiltrates

the ceremony disguised as a woman, but is spotted by a maid and found hiding under a bed; he manages to escape but the scandal leads to appointment of a tribunal to investigate the sacrilege and Caesar divorces Pompeia.

61 BC Consuls: Marcus Pupius Piso and Valerius Messala.

Caesar serves as praetoral governor of Further Spain; before he leaves Rome he has to settle his immense debts from his expensive lifestyle to which his generosity in office has added, and Crassus agrees to loan him the huge sum of 830 talents.

Cicero's brother Quintus Cicero serves as governor of Asia province.

February: Pompeius returns to Rome, but despite popular adulation receives a frosty reception from the Senate which distrusts his ambition and lack of a normal career path in civic life; lacking a bloc of aristocratic support, his attempt to negotiate a marriage with Cato's niece to win conservative alliance fails and he postpones efforts to ratify his eastern settlement and obtain land for his men until he has a supporter elected consul for 60. Senatorial bill for a special court to try Claudius/Clodius for impiety is rejected by the Assembly or abandoned after rowdy scenes involving demonstrations by the young demagogue's supporters, including Caius Scribonius Curio and possibly other associates, Marcus Antonius and Cicero's ex-pupil protégé Marcus Caelius Rufus; it returns to the Senate which establishes a court nevertheless; **July** at the trial Claudius/Clodius' rich patron Crassus provides funds to bribe the jurors, but the defendant's alibi that he was in Interamna on the day of the Bona Dea festival is broken by Cicero; however, Crassus' cash (and according to Cicero promises of arranging assignments with prostitutes and boys) has effect as the jury acquits Claudius/Clodius by 31 to 25 votes; he now joins the list of those with grudge against Cicero, particularly dangerous due to his organized gangs of thugs.

Caesar fights several successful campaigns against tribesmen, and is hailed as *Imperator* by his men after a battle; he rules that debtors should only pay two-thirds of their annual income to creditors, and wins a significant local clientage.

Caius Pomptinus fights a campaign against the Allobroges in Southern Gaul.

July/August: Pompeius' lieutenant Lucius Afranius elected consul for 60; **28–29 September** Pompeius celebrates his eastern triumph, with grand parade of his prisoners including Tigranes' wife and son and Aristobulus of Judaea – he claims to have captured 1,000 fortified places, nearly 900 cities and 800 pirate ships, to have killed or subdued one and a half million men, and to have founded 39 new cities, and dedicates eight million sesterces at the Temple of Minerva on Capitol with promise to build a new temple to Venus Victrix (Victorious) on the Campus Martius.

Late autumn: With Crassus' backing, the equestrians (who run tax-collecting syndicates) organize a bill to have the current contracts for tax farming in Asia Minor reviewed due to suspicion that their contractors have had to pay too high a price; however, Crassus' bid to win new political backing this way is foiled as Cato persuades Senate to reject the bill, and relations between the two 'orders' of senators and equestrians are soured.

60 BC 1 January: Lucius Afranius assumes office as pro-Pompeius consul, but with Pompeius' ex-wife Mucia's brother Quintus Metellus Celer as his hostile colleague.

Tribune Lucius Flavius introduces a bill to grant land to Pompeius' veterans, and in the Senate it has Cicero's support but is resisted by the consul Metellus Celer and Cato; **June** after weeks of deadlock and the use of procedural devices to delay it Flavius has Metellus arrested and put in the small state prison near the Senate House; refusing offers of other tribunes to veto the order, Metellus calls a Senate meeting to the prison so he can carry on with his duties and when Flavius physically blocks the entrance he has a hole knocked in the wall; eventually, Pompeius agrees to have the land bill abandoned.

June: Returning to Rome, Caesar intends to celebrate the triumph awarded for his victory and to stand for the 59 consulship, but to do that he will have to enter the city and thus end his propraetoral

command, abandoning his right to hold triumph; he asks Senate to allow him to remain outside walls until his triumph and stand for consulship in absence, but Cato blocks it; he abandons his triumph so he can stand for consulship despite the fact that no useful overseas commands are planned for the winners.

Pompeius considers his candidacy for the 59 consulship, but Caesar and patron Crassus make a pact with him so that the two senior figures back Caesar for the consulship to carry out Pompeius' land bill and eastern settlement and Pompeius' wealthy friend Lucceius helps Crassus to fund the election campaign; Cato's son-in-law Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus, an enemy of Caesar's, stands against them and the conservatives reluctantly match Caesar's and Pompeius' promises to the voters.

July: The elections are held, and Caesar wins the senior consulship as the first candidate to achieve a majority of tribal backing with Bibulus second; in the following weeks Pompeius, Crassus and Caesar arrange an informal political alliance (known subsequently as the 'First Triumvirate' though it was never a formal alliance, and irreverently called by contemporary opponents 'The Beast with Three Heads') whereby during 59 Pompeius secures land bill and eastern settlement, Crassus secures the reform of Asian tax farming to gain him important new clients, and Caesar secures a military campaign for further success and prestige in 58. Caesar uses his rich Spanish friend, Lucius Cornelius Balbus of Gades (Cadiz), as intermediary to get Cicero to accept land bill.

59 BC 1 January: Caesar and Bibulus assume the consulship; Caesar proposes the orderly compilation and publication of a daily record of proceedings; he soon introduces land bill, to divide up all public lands except in Campania and to sell Pompeius' booty to purchase more land for settlement, with priority to Pompeius' veterans; a commission of 20 is to oversee it. Cato leads the opposition, and as he tries a long filibuster on the first day of debate Caesar has him arrested but rescinds it after some senators walk out of the proceedings in sympathy and adjourns business; as opposition continues, Caesar takes the bill to

the Assembly and Pompeian tribune Publius Vatinius brings in crowds of demobilized Pompeian veterans to join in noisy demonstrations in favour of bill; the conservatives are not moved, and Bibulus tells Caesar during a public debate at Assembly that he will not allow any innovations in law during his consulship so Caesar will never get the bill through this year even if all the people want it.

January: Death of Quintus Metellus Celer, husband of Claudius/Clodius' sister Clodia (the poet Catullus' mistress).

Pompeius and Crassus are called upon to address Assembly and assure that the state coffers can afford land bill thanks to the eastern loot. On the day of voting in Assembly Bibulus arrives to halt proceedings, but his retinue is forcibly prevented from joining Caesar on the steps of the Temple of Castor and in scuffles the party is thrown down the steps, two tribunes are wounded, and Bibulus has a bucket of dung thrown over him; the bill is passed.

Bibulus resorts to postponing public business by staying in his house so business cannot proceed and then declaring each day that the omens are unfavourable for business; he tries to declare all further days of Assembly business that year to be public holidays, but Caesar proceeds to call the Assembly regardless of his colleague and with his and Pompeius' rowdy supporters intimidating the opposition reluctantly gives way to force; the bill is accepted and senators have to swear an oath to support it on pain of exile, and land commission is set up including Pompeius and Crassus. A second land bill opens the public land in Campania to settlement by Roman citizens with more than three children.

The eastern settlement is ratified, and the tax farmers are granted remission of one-third of the current price of contracts; Ptolemy XI of Egypt is confirmed as ruler at Pompeius' request after reputed gift of 6,000 talents to Rome, and Vatinius introduces a bill to grant Caesar the provinces of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyria for 58–53, five years after his consulship; Caesar uses his power as Pontifex Maximus to arrange Claudius/Clodius' desired 'adoption' by a plebeian (ironically, a man younger than him) so he can become eligible for the tribunate and can

now take the plebeian form of the family name, 'Clodius', to show that he is a man of the people.

April: The senatorial recess sees most of Pompeius' veterans leaving Rome and the political temperature decreases, but resentment of Pompeius' and Caesar's high-handed behaviour grows; Pompeius marries Caesar's daughter by Cornelia, Julia, to confirm their alliance.

Cicero refuses to serve on land commission, and stands aloof from the alliance; **May** with Bibulus and his supporters still boycotting Senate, Caesar arranges for Pompeius to defy tradition in having the right to speak first and Pompeius and Caius Calpurnius Piso, father to Caesar's new wife Calpurnia, introduce the successful bill for grant of provinces to Caesar which Cato opposes.

July: Popular resentment of Caesar leads to silence for him and applause for his opponent Curio at the Games; Bibulus postpones the consular elections to October to win time for conservative candidates. Caesar introduces a law to regulate provincial administration more strictly and decrease opportunities for misrule and peculation, but refuses a proposal from 'moderate' conservatives that he accepts that his legislation in Bibulus' absence has been illegal and reintroduces it in return for their help in seeing that it is passed without problems.

Caesar is mixed up in an attempt to 'smear' his political opponents, by arranging for the informer Vettius to make up details of an alleged plot by young nobles to murder Pompeius; when it is investigated the details do not add up, and Vettius is mysteriously murdered in prison.

October: Caesar's father-in-law Calpurnius Piso and Pompeius' lieutenant Aulus Gabinius are elected consuls for 58, securing support for their alliance into next year; Caesar's opponents Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and Caius Memmius are elected praetors and Clodius is elected tribune.

10 December: Clodius takes up office with the other new tribunes, and proposes a popular programme including free grain distribution to the populace, restoring the legality of banned *collegia* (private associations/clubs) which allows him to recruit his gangs easier, banning consuls from halting Assembly business by declaring the auspices

unfavourable, and restricting censors from removing senators; he threatens Cicero with prosecution for the executions in 63 but indicates that he will leave it alone if Cicero does not oppose his legislation.

58 BC 1 January: Calpurnius Piso and Aulus Gabinius consuls; Clodius' populist mobsters start to physically take over the Forum, basing themselves at the Temple of Castor.

Caius Memmius, Sulla's son-in-law and Catullus' friend and patron, praetor.

3 January: Clodius' bills on the grain-dole etc. are passed; **mid-January** Clodius introduces bills to grant the consuls Macedonia and Cilicia in 57 to gain their support, and then one to outlaw any official who executes a citizen without trial – aimed at Cicero. Gabinius agrees that the time has come to punish those who killed Lentulus' conspirators. Cicero ostentatiously goes into mourning and appeals for support and equestrians hold protest meeting on the Capitol, but Caesar (preparing to leave for Gaul and as an acting governor/general not allowed within the city walls) does not intervene except to offer Cicero a post on his staff in Gaul so he can leave Rome honourably; Pompeius tells a senatorial delegation that he cannot stop an armed tribune unless the *Senatus consultum ultimum* is passed and advises Cicero to stay and fight back but does not come in from his villa near Alba to assist him and reportedly leaves home when Cicero calls on him to avoid interview.

Pompeius and his allies arrange for Cato to be sent on mission to annex Cyprus, proposed by Clodius who bears an old grudge against King Ptolemy for once not sending enough money to ransom him from pirates, to get him out of Rome so he cannot rally conservatives to aid Cicero's supporters; with Clodius' hooligans surrounding the Senate House to intimidate meetings, Cicero accepts the advice of Hortensius to withdraw and await an early recall and leaves Rome, and Clodius has him outlawed and forbidden to come within 400 miles of Rome; Cicero's Palatine house is demolished and ostentatiously replaced with a Temple of Liberty, and as the governor of Sicily refuses him admission

to the island on excuse of the law Cicero goes to Greece to settle in Thessalonica.

March: Caesar arrives in Gaul to find the Helvetii, who are migrating from the Lake Geneva area towards Gascony, asking for permission to cross the Roman province in the Rhone valley area en route; he tells their envoys to return for answer in April, and destroys the Rhone bridge near the outflow of lake and constructs a wall from the lake to the mountains to block their route before telling them that they cannot enter Roman territory; they head north-west instead through the territory of the Aedui/Haedui into the territory of the Sequani on the River Saone, and Caesar sends for the three legions at Aquileia to add to his two new ones that he is raising in Cisalpine Gaul; he marches over the Jura mountains after the Helvetii to the Saone, catches the part of their army still on his side of the river and destroys them, and quickly builds a bridge; the Helvetii send envoys to say they will make peace and settle wherever he says but are prepared to fight and after defeating one Roman force (in 107) they can take him on too, and he insists that they give hostages and pay reparation before any deal is done which is refused; he pursues their continuing march and after one attempt to stop them has to be called off due to bad intelligence he manages to give battle near Bibracte; the main Helvetii force takes stand on a hill and as the Romans move in other tribal warriors try to encircle the enemy, but after half a day of fighting the Helvetii are defeated and the survivors move on to the territory of the Lingones; Caesar threatens the latter into refusing supplies, and the exhausted Helvetii surrender hostages and weapons and agree to return to their original homes; possibly around c. 100,000 return home, with Caesar instructing their neighbours the Allobroges to supply them with corn as they have none.

Other Gallic tribal leaders send to congratulate Caesar, saying that the Helvetii were a threat to them all; he agrees to their request for a general meeting with tribal leaders, where it is possible that they do some form of homage to Caesar and assume that that will meet Rome's ambitions in their territory; a number of the chiefs are threatened by

newcomers from across the Rhine, the German tribe of the Suebi under Ariovistus who were called in by the Sequani to help them against the Aedui and were given land in Alsace but are bringing in more settlers and taking more land, and they request Caesar's help; he sends to warn Ariovistus to keep within his originally agreed limits, claiming that Rome should aid its old Aedui allies and that the Germans' arrogance is a threat to Rome – they may grow to be as dangerous as the Cimbri and Teutones if not halted now.

Cato's Roman commission secures annexation of Cyprus, and King Ptolemy refuses offer of the chief priesthood of Aphrodite at Paphos and kills himself; his treasure and other loot from the province is shipped to Rome, but Cato proves an unusually honest governor in not taking some for himself; he is assisted in the mission by his sister's son Marcus Brutus (later Caesar's assassin), aged 27.

Clodius turns his attention to harassing Pompeius ?with encouragement of Crassus or Caesar, and his supporters make it impossible for the general to set foot in the city without violence and insults.

June: The Senate proposes a motion to exempt Cicero from the law of banishment, but a tribune allied to Clodius vetoes it.

Caesar proposes that Ariovistus meet him at agreed site between them, but Ariovistus says that Caesar should come to him as he is the one wanting something and that the Romans have no business in his Gaul which he holds by right of conquest; Caesar tells him to stop bringing more Germans over the Rhine, leave Rome's Aedui allies alone, and decide whether he wants to be a friend or enemy of Rome as he has earlier accepted title of 'friend and ally' but is not behaving like one; as Ariovistus brings in more Germans, Caesar marches on his army, seizes Vesontio (Besancon) and calms his inexperienced and nervous junior officers who are terrified of the Germans' reputation, and advances into Alsace; he holds inconclusive parley with Ariovistus who wants him to leave Gaul and cease interfering in lands Germans have conquered and refuses to accept that Rome has a right to assist its 'allies' in preserving their liberty; battle is joined a few miles from the Rhine with the Germans being encouraged by their womenfolk from

a wall of wagons behind their lines, and after fierce fighting, Caesar leading his left wing to victory, the Germans are driven back by arrival of Roman reserves and are put to flight; the survivors under Ariovistus flee over the Rhine.

?September: Caesar sends his troops to winter among the Sequani and returns to Cisalpine Gaul to deal with business there and keep in touch with events in Rome.

Summer/autumn: Ptolemy XI 'Auletes' of Egypt is deposed by the rioting populace of Alexandria and flees to Ephesus; he appeals to Rome for help, and his ?wife Cleopatra Tryphena (who soon dies) and his eldest daughter Berenice IV are installed as rulers.

October: Second attempt to recall Cicero, by abolishing the law of banishment, is supported by eight tribunes but fails to pass Assembly due to Clodius.

57 BC January: Publius Cornelius Lentulus Spinther and Metellus Nepos consuls; on their first day in office Lentulus proposes a Senate motion to recall Cicero, which is passed with Pompeius speaking in support; however, on the day it is due to be put to the Assembly Clodius brings gangs of gladiators to the meeting and drives the supporting tribunes out, some of them being wounded in the fighting and Quintus Cicero being left unconscious in the street; the scandal increases senatorial determination to do something about Clodius, and Pompeius assists in recruiting two tribunes, rich and popular Titus Annius Milo and Publius Sestius, to assemble their own armed gangs of supporters.

Weeks of violent skirmishes in and around the Forum follow before Clodius' control of the area is broken and a degree of normality is restored.

May: Consul Lentulus backs a successful Senate motion to thank those officials who helped Cicero after he left Rome in defiance of the law. Warned of a growing threat from a confederation of the northern Gallic Belgae, who are alarmed at his intentions for conquest after his troops stayed in Gaul over the winter, Caesar orders their neighbours

to keep him informed and raises two more legions; he marches north and defeats the Remi (near Rheims); while the allied Aedui mount a diversionary attack on the Belgae and their German allies he advances into Belgic territory and after some skirmishes confronts their main army; they avoid battle, and after failing to cut off his supplies their army breaks up as its own supplies run out and tribes return to defend their individual territories; Caesar secures the surrender of some tribes, but the intractable Nervii retreat to their thick forests beyond the Sabis (Sambre) and he crosses the river to put their cavalry to flight and start constructing a camp; as the first troops to reach the camp are at work and the rearguard have not yet arrived the Nervii storm out of woods to assault the arriving baggage-train, and try to overrun the camp too; the Twelfth Legion is in severe trouble on two sides and Caesar has to rally it personally, but Caesar gets them and the Seventh Legion to fight back to back until the rearguard arrives on the scene and most of the enemy are cornered and wiped out; he moves on to subdue their allies the Atuatuaci, descendants of the feared Cimbri-Teutones alliance, whose principal town is surrounded; the tribesmen offer surrender as Caesar completes siege works including a huge Roman siege tower to reach over the walls, but procrastinate over surrendering weapons and then, having thrown some of their weapons over the walls as if submitting, use more in a night-time breakout; they are driven back and the town is stormed.

Caesar completes securing the submission of the Belgae territories of the north-east while Crassus' son Publius Crassus deals with Armorica (Brittany); he claims that all the country is 'pacified' in his despatches to the Senate and is voted a 15-day festival of thanksgiving (*supplicatio*) which compares favourably to the ten that Pompeius achieved in 63.

July: The Senate votes to prepare legislation for Cicero's recall, and Clodius' objections are ignored with no tribune aiding him with a veto; assorted private associations and official bodies issue supporting petitions, and **August** Pompeius supervises the meeting of Assembly on Campus Martius which passes the measure for Cicero's recall with

leading senators speaking in favour and Milo's gangsters and gladiators in attendance in case Clodius tries to disrupt it; Cicero, having already left Greece in anticipation of recall, arrives in Italy to receive the news and is escorted by supporters on a triumphal progress up the Via Appia from Brundisium to Rome; **4 September** he returns to Rome; Clodius causes a riot by alleging that the shortage of corn in Rome is the fault of all Cicero's supporters for flooding into the city, but Cicero successfully proposes that Pompeius head a commission to organize the grain supply for next five years; a religious commission investigates the legality of Clodius' temple on the site of Cicero's house and **1–2 October** Senate debate agrees that the temple is illegal and house should be rebuilt; Cicero receives (inadequate) compensation for the house and his demolished villas at Tusculum and Formiae, but as the delay that is voted for elections halts Clodius' campaign for aedileship the latter starts more riots.

3 November: Clodius' mobs drive away the workmen rebuilding Cicero's house; **11 November** Cicero is attacked by Clodian mobsters on the Via Sacra near the Forum and has to shelter at a friend's house; **12 November** Clodius' supporters suffer heavy casualties as they try to burn Milo's house down, and the street battles subside for a few weeks.

December: Pompeius supports debates in Senate and Assembly over a tribune's proposal to halt the distribution of public lands in Campania for which Caesar had legislated.

Late: Caesar is in Cisalpine Gaul to keep in touch with Roman politics; he receives many senators and reputedly distributes lavish gifts and Gallic loot to win over influential people to the cause of extending his command.

Following his unsuccessful love affair with Clodius' sister Clodia who is now also having an affair with the rakish Caelius Rufus, Catullus goes out to Bithynia on the staff of the new governor Caius Memmius.

56 BC 1 January: Cnaeus Cornelius Lentulus and Lucius Marcius Philippus (stepfather of Caius Octavius, later Emperor Augustus, and married to Caesar's niece Atia) consuls; ex-consul Gabinius becomes

governor of Syria; Clodius elected aedile and resumes struggle against Milo.

February: Clodius attempts to have Milo convicted in court for illegal use of force in the capital's streets; Pompeius appears as witness for the accused and is barracked by the Clodians before another fight in the Forum ends with Clodius being thrown off the rostra.

Pompeius seeks the expected Egyptian command to restore Ptolemy XI to power, but finds that he is losing support in the Senate where some reinvigorated conservatives start to plan to bring Caesar's tenure of provincial command to an end in 54 so he can be prosecuted; Caesar pays his first visit to his province of Illyria and **March** meets Crassus at Ravenna as some legislation he has had a sympathetic tribune propose in the Assembly is defeated, and they discuss renewing their political alliance for mutual benefit; given the outcome, Crassus no doubt insists that he be helped to secure a lucrative military command to match his rivals' successes.

March: Cicero successfully defends Sestius (his ally in 57) against charges of bribery and violence, ridiculing prosecution witness Vatinius (a leading Pompeian) and stating that after the recent decline in political life Rome needs restoration of *otium et dignitate* – traditional leadership by the Senate and a period of political quiet; **mid-April** he also successfully defends his old pupil Caelius Rufus, a member of Catullus' rakish circle of young men about town, against a charge of murdering the Egyptian envoy Dio and another of robbery, both instigated by the latter's ex-mistress Clodia, Clodius' sister and Catullus' *muse*, and effectively blackens Clodia's name as an incestuous whore; Catullus, back from Bithynia, is currently at home in Verona so he misses the ruin of his ex-mistress.

April: Pompeius, en route to Sardinia on business for the grain commission, meets Caesar and Crassus at Lucca to discuss their mutual difficulties in Roman politics; the so-called *triumvirate* is renewed with Caesar as the go-between with the other two; it is agreed that they should press for Caesar to have his command extended and Pompeius and Crassus to have the 55 consulships before new commands

– Pompeius in the two Spains and Crassus in Syria (where he can attack Parthia). Pompeius thus abandons his claim on Egyptian campaign, which the partners agree should go to his ally Gabinius. Clodius is to be pressurized to stop harassing Pompeius, and Cicero to halt his recent support for revision of the Campanian land bill; Cicero agrees and **May** boycotts the Senate at crucial point.

Spring: After the death of Cleopatra Tryphena, her daughter Queen Berenice of Egypt marries an alleged son of Mithridates, Archelaus, and associates him on the throne. As Gabinius prepares invasion of Egypt, ex-ruler Aristobulus' son Alexander the Hasmonean escapes from Rome and returns to Judaea to start rebellion; he defies his uncle Hyrcanus and tries to refortify Jerusalem, but is prevented by Roman troops and retires into countryside to raise rebellion. Gabinius brings troops to Hyrcanus' aid, and Alexander is defeated in battle outside Jerusalem.

May: The Senate refuses Gabinius the right to a triumph for his Jewish campaign. Caesar returns to Transalpine Gaul, where the Veneti have led Armorican revolt, seized Roman officers sent to requisition grain to exchange them for hostages they have given Caesar, and are seeking aid from tribes across northern Gaul and in Britain; he orders a fleet constructed on the Loire to confront the Veneti's fleet at sea, sends troops to garrison strongpoints around Gaul to stop revolt spreading, and marches to take command of war in Armorica.

?Early summer: Backed by Pompeius' and Crassus' supporters in Rome, Caesar is voted new levies for four legions and legates as requested; Cicero speaks in support. The conservative leader Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus is blocked from the elections for the 55 consulship, after which he wants Transalpine Gaul from Caesar as his province, but Crassus and Pompeius do not openly declare their candidature yet with Pompeius unable to answer as consul Lentulus asks him publicly and vote is postponed.

Caesar's Roman ships on the Loire are built to Mediterranean conditions and are no match for Gallic ships in the Atlantic, so Caesar fits them with hooks to latch onto their opponents, pull their rigging down

to immobilize them, and enable his men to scramble aboard and seize control; these tactics work in the crucial naval battle off Armorican coast, as a drop in the wind prevents the other enemy ships from fleeing so they are boarded one by one. The Veneti are forced to surrender, and Caesar has their 'senate' executed for breach of faith with him and sells the menfolk as slaves as a warning to other Gauls who are thinking of revolting.

Publius Crassus reduces the tribes of Aquitaine, extending Roman rule to the Pyrenees.

The Assembly meetings for elections are still delayed until **November**; many senators start boycotting Senate meetings and the Games in protest at their powerlessness to insist that the votes proceed; once all candidates except Ahenobarbus have given up their claims the vote is called.

55 BC c. 1 January: The Assembly meets on the Campus Martius with Pompeius presiding, and Ahenobarbus turns up early in the dark but returns home after fighting starts; Pompeius and Crassus are elected consuls, and Cato is denied praetorship as Pompeius cancels the vote due to inauspicious thunder.

The consuls start to levy troops for their five-year commands which will start in January 54, and during Assembly debate on the laws (proposed by tribune Caius Trebonius) allocating their commands, speeches are subjected to a time limit and Cato is thrown out of the Forum for exceeding the limit and denied entry next day; the bills are passed, and by the *Lex Licinia Pompeia* Caesar's command is extended to 1 January 49 with a ban on discussing it until March 50; Pompeius agrees to lend two of his Spanish legions to Caesar for Gaul.

Gabinus marches on Egypt with the Syrian army, ignoring the lack of Senate authorization; his junior officers include cavalry-commander Marcus Antonius, aged 27 or 28 (who may have first seen Cleopatra on this expedition); **April** Antonius reaches Pelusium quickly with a fast cavalry force and secures the city with aid of Jewish population, opening the route to Alexandria; Gabinus defeats and kills Prince Archelaus,

and Alexandria surrenders; Gabinius restores Ptolemy XI to power, and the king executes his daughter Berenice.

Spring: Caesar marches against the Usipetes and Tencteri, two wandering German tribes who have crossed the Rhine, organizes cavalry levies from his tributary Gallic tribes, and when the invaders send envoys for a truce orders them to return across the river; the German cavalry attacks the Romans by surprise during truce, and Caesar arrests the senior German chiefs who arrive as envoys next day on excuse of this treachery and storms the unsuspecting German camp to slaughter the residents; the survivors flee to the River Meuse and are trapped on river-bank and killed there or driven into the river; only the German cavalry escape, to the Sugambri across the Rhine.

Caesar crosses the lower Rhine to allegedly assist the allied Ubii against the invading Suebi and punish the Sugambri, building a wooden bridge over the river rather than rely on the Ubii's proffered boats; he drives the Sugambri into forests, burning their villages, and offers peace to those tribes who give hostages; after 18 days he returns to Gaul and burns the bridge behind him.

Deciding to punish the British tribes for aiding the Veneti in 56, Caesar embarks his army on fleet for a naval expedition and sails across the Straits of Dover to chalk cliffs where he finds a force waiting; he sails on to an easier flat beach (?Deal), but the Britons follow so he has his ships' catapults bombard them and the legion-bearer of the Tenth Legion traditionally jumps overboard to stimulate his comrades into following; the Romans storm the beach and establish a camp, but do not dare venture inland. The Britons send to offer surrender, and are told to send hostages; then **?September** the tides damage Caesar's ships and the enemy breaks off talks, but he repairs his ships, summons reinforcements and mounts an inland campaign, presumably through eastern Kent; after two battles the Britons sue for peace again, and Caesar orders that they send double the number of hostages to him in Gaul and embarks to sail back.

Autumn: As Caesar's reports of campaign are discussed in the Senate, Cato leads fierce criticism of Caesar for unauthorized aggression and

massacres against Germans, claiming that his breaches of faith could cause divine wrath so he ought to be arrested and handed over to his victims; instead Caesar is voted a 20-day supplicatio.

Autumn? Gabinius marches into Judaea to finish off the campaign against the rebel Alexander, and defeats his army of c. 50,000 Jews on Mount Tabor; he besieges him in his principal fortress, Alexandreion, and under terms of surrender which Alexander's captive mother helps to negotiate the rebel hands over all his fortresses (including Machaerum and Hyrcania) for demolition; Gabinius restores Hyrcanus to 'High Priesthood' and some civil authority, and divides Judaea into five administrative districts based at Jerusalem, Sepphoris, Amathus, Gadara and Jericho. He rebuilds various demolished cities and moves on to campaign in Nabatea, but (55 or early 54) after his departure Aristobulus, Hyrcanus' ex-ruler brother deported by Pompeius in 63, returns illegally from Rome and seizes Machaerum in new revolt; Antonius besieges it for two days until its surrender, and the rebel is deported again in chains with his son Antigonus.

Pompeius opens his new theatre on the Campus Martius with grand Games; flooding of Tiber is blamed on Gabinius for defying a Sibylline prophecy by restoring Ptolemy by force, and Cicero leads attack in Senate and quarrels with Crassus until Pompeius restores peace; **?late autumn** Crassus leaves for Syria and Parthian war despite attempt by tribune Caius Ateius to halt him from leaving to start an unjust campaign by attempted arrest and then by standing at the gate as he passes shouting ancient sacred imprecations promising disaster.

54 BC 1 January: Appius Claudius and Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus assume office as consuls.

Caesar arranges for the purchase of land and start of work on two major building projects in Rome so that his generosity will outshine Pompeius – a new Forum on the east side of the main *Forum Romanum* in the city centre and a voting hall for the assembly on the Campus Martius. The cost comes to 100 million sesterces, which the Gallic war largely finances. In Gaul, he has a new fleet built on the north coast to

resume the British war and Roman merchants lend their ships to join it.

Joined by many young aristocrats as new junior officers, Caesar returns to his army and **June** leads c. 800 ships across the Channel with five legions, 2,000 cavalry, and many leading Gallic chiefs as hostages for their tribes' behaviour in his absence; he also takes Prince Mandubracius, refugee son of the late King Imanuentius of the Trinovantes (Essex), who has fled to Gaul to seek his help after his father's realm was recently overrun by the neighbouring King Cassivellaunus of the Catuvellauni (overlord of most of south-east Britain) who is Caesar's main intended target.

Caesar lands without resistance, probably around Thanet again, but faces a large British army of the Cantii tribe (Kent) some miles inland; the tribal leaders are Cingetorix, Carvilius, Taximagulus and Segovax, Cassivellaunus' tributaries. At the battle near the River Stour the manoeuvrable British chariots race around the battlefield launching sudden attacks at different points and confusing the slower Romans; Caesar devises means of countering them and the second day of battle sees the British defeated, but they hide in forests refusing battle; Caesar advances as far as the Thames and crosses, traditionally near or at the site of London, to enter the heartland of King Cassivellaunus' realm and probably marches into Hertfordshire but still cannot bring the enemy to a decisive battle though he obtains one victory and enters the principal British base at the fortified town of Wheathampstead; an attack by the Cantii on his ships is defeated and chieftain Lugotorix is captured.

Crassus arrives in Syria, and launches an inconclusive campaign against frontier towns across the Euphrates in the Parthian tributary lands of Mesopotamia; he sacks the minor town of Zenodotia and allows his men to acclaim him as 'Imperator' for the success, then sets up garrisons before retiring to Syria to await his son Publius' arrival with reinforcements from Caesar for the 53 campaign.

August: Death in childbirth of Caesar's daughter Julia, Pompeius' wife, aged 24; the populace insist on a public funeral on the Campus Martius despite Pompeius' efforts for a private ceremony at his Alba estate.

September: An equinoctial storm severely damages Caesar's fleet,

and with his troops always anxious about being cut off he accepts an offer of talks from Cassivellaunus and through his British interpreter, Commius of the Atrebates (Hampshire and Berkshire), requires that the British surrender hostages and pay tribute; Mandubracius is to have his territory restored, thus providing a pro-Roman kingdom and diminishing the power of the dubious Catuvellauni. Once this is organized he returns to his fleet and sails back to Gaul where he hears of his daughter's death and to preserve alliance with Pompeius suggests that Pompeius marry his great-niece Octavia.

Autumn: As Caesar prepares to go into winter quarters in Cisalpine Gaul again and divides up his legions to winter in different parts of the country due to shortages of grain, revolt breaks out; the Carnutes tribe murders their pro-Roman king and the Eburones under Ambiorix ambush and wipe out their local garrison of one and a half legions. As Caesar hurries to take vengeance, the Eburones are joined by the Atuatuaci to assist a revolt by the Nervii, and the combined Gallic force besieges a legion under Quintus Cicero, one of the new legates, in their camp; Quintus refuses an offer to emerge for talks as he rightly fears a trap, and the rebels fire burning javelins at the camp to set fire to ramparts and catch all the messengers who are sent for help; eventually, Caesar hears of the siege, and tricks a force that intercepts him as he marches to the rescue into thinking that his small camp implies a small army and that his soldiers are terrified of the Gauls; he launches a surprise sally to rout the rebels and hastens to relieve Quintus, and his messenger reaches the siege lines and shoots a javelin with message into camp where it sticks in a tower and is noticed a few days later; soon afterwards Caesar arrives to relieve the siege, defeats the Nervii, and winters near Samarobriua (Amiens) with three legions in case of further trouble.

?Autumn Caius Memmius fails to get elected as consul for 53 despite an attempt to bribe the current consuls to assist his cause, for which he is later tried and exiled.

?Death of the poet Catullus, aged around 30.

53 BC Cnaeus Domitius Calvinus and Marcus Valerius Messala consuls.

?Pompeius marries Metella, daughter of the pro-Cato senior conservative Metellus Scipio.

Early spring: Caesar enrolls two more legions and borrows one from Pompeius to guard against expected revolt in Gaul; he marches through the Nervii's territory before they are expecting him and have their tribal army ready, to attack their villages, capture men and food stores, and burn their fields, and the disorganized tribesmen are forced to surrender; he does similarly to their allies the Senones and Carnutes, and then attacks Ambiorix of the Eburones' rebel tribal coalition in north-east Gaul to separately defeat the Menapii and Treveri (around Trier); as the Germans have sent tribesmen to aid the rebels he returns to the Rhine, builds a new bridge and crosses, and abandons the chase as the Suebi flee into the forests; he leaves the western part of his bridge standing with 12 cohorts guarding a new fort at the bridgehead.

Having isolated the Eburones, he turns on them and invades their lands before they expect him and have their army ready, causing Ambiorix to flee; he ravages the Eburones' territory as the tribesmen hide from his troops, and invites their neighbours in to assist him until their territory is devastated and their threat is crippled.

Spring: Having received his reinforcements and levied more local troops but carried out insufficient training for his army, the overconfident Crassus receives Parthian delegation from King Orodes; they enquire whether a war of conquest is authorized by the Senate and people or is merely a personal campaign to enrich and glorify Crassus and assure that Crassus will never reach their capital, Seleucia; he crosses the Euphrates at Zeugma and marches along the river into Mesopotamian plains with seven legions, c. 4,000 cavalry, and c. 4,000 lightly armed troops, and is joined by Artavasdes of Armenia (Tigranes' son) with 6,000 cavalry but ignores the king's advice to invade Parthia via the Armenian mountains where the terrain will hinder the Parthian cavalry forces; Artavasdes leaves and is soon forced to defend his own territory as King Orodes invades it with one Parthian army, the other under Orodes' best general and vassal Surenas watching Crassus from a distance.

Crassus' delays have enabled the Parthians to raise a huge force, reports of which start to alarm his troops, and more prudent officers such as his quaestor Caius Cassius Longinus (later Caesar's assassin) question the wisdom of pressing on, but Crassus pays no heed and accepts the false information of Ariamnes, a visiting Arab 'ally' who used to be client of Pompeius, that the Parthians are avoiding battle due to fear, are planning to evacuate their capital and he should turn aside from the Euphrates into the plains to the north if he wishes to catch and crush their demoralized army; the Roman army struggles across inhospitable plains, with Crassus ignoring a messenger from Artavasdes who excuses the Armenians' being unable to join him and advises him to come to Armenia to join forces against Orodes or at least to keep to the hills away from Parthian cavalry; near Carrhae (Harran) the Roman scouts finally report contact with Surenas' elusive army, but that it is far larger than expected and is surrounding them, and Crassus is forced to fight in the plain and draws his army into a hollow square to fight defensive battle with his son Publius and Cassius in command of the wings and himself in the centre.

Crassus insists on immediate contact with the enemy rather than resting his tired men at a stream, and the Parthians reveal their massed ranks of armed cavalry cataphracts hidden behind their front line and demoralize the Romans with loud drums.

9 June, Battle of Carrhae: the Romans are showered with arrows from a distance by the Parthians' cavalry archers who refuse to come into close combat, and relays of camels bring up more arrows as the Romans are shot down en masse; Publius Crassus with 1,300 cavalry, mainly Gauls sent by Caesar, manages to make contact with a Parthian cavalry force trying to complete the encirclement, and as they pretend to flee he chases them off the battlefield but is surrounded and killed with most of his men; his messengers finally reach Crassus who tries to move forward to rescue him, but it is too late and the Parthians display Publius' head to dishearten the Romans; at nightfall the battle is halted, and with Crassus too stunned to take decisions his officers send 300 fast cavalry under Ignatius to the city of Carrhae for help and arrange for

those men able to move quickly to start withdrawal, abandoning the seriously wounded; the cries of the latter alert the Parthians and the escaping Romans blunder around in the dark, but Coponius' garrison at Carrhae receive the message and come out to meet the survivors who reach the city; Surenas, not knowing if Crassus and Cassius have escaped, sends envoys to the city asking for them to meet about a truce involving Roman withdrawal from Mesopotamia, and so finds out that Crassus is safe in the city at which he abandons the pretence that he will allow peaceful withdrawal.

Crassus plans a night-time retreat in secret, but news leaks out to the Parthians while the guide of Crassus' main force of four cohorts, local citizen Andromachus, is a Parthian spy who leads him astray; suspicious Cassius abandons the floundering army in marshes and returns to Carrhae to take 500 cavalry and head for Syria, and another force under Octavius with better guides gets as far as a defensible hill at Sinnaca where they see Crassus' force surrounded and under attack as they reach the lower slopes nearby and charge down to drive the Parthians back; however, as Surenas sends prisoners to tell Crassus that he is prepared to allow him to leave Mesopotamia and rides over himself to offer a truce the relieved soldiers force Crassus to accept offer of truce and a meeting with the enemy leader; he and his senior officers are taken off under escort but are soon cut down.

Some of the leaderless Roman survivors manage to straggle back to the Euphrates but c. 20,000 are killed, and Surenas sends Crassus' head to Orodes in Armenia; having come to a truce and agreement with Artavasdes on marital alliance, Orodes uses Crassus' head as a surprise 'prop' as the head of the slaughtered Theban king in a performance of Euripides' *Bacchae* at the celebrations but is suspicious of Surenas' prestige and soon has him killed.

Some Roman survivors of the battle are enrolled as mercenaries in the Parthian army and settled on their eastern frontier in Bactria so they cannot escape.

Autumn: Caesar holds a meeting with the leaders of chastened Senones and Carnutes, and has the leader of their earlier rebellion

sentenced to death and executed as an example.

Gang warfare resumes on the streets of Rome as Clodius seeks the praetorship and Milo the consulship for 52; elections have to be postponed as Pompeius refuses or is unable to take decisive action; Caesar returns to Cisalpine Gaul for the winter.

52 BC 1 January: No consuls in office.

18 January: Milo, en route with entourage to his home town to preside at an official ceremony, runs into Clodius and his party en route back from Aricia near the town of Bovillae; as the enemies pass on the road some gladiators in Milo's group get into a brawl with Clodius' men, and one of the gladiators injures Clodius with a spear; Clodius is carried into an inn as his party receive the worst of the skirmish, and when Milo hears that his enemy is badly wounded he sends his men into the inn to finish him off; Clodius' body is left lying in the road until a passing senator finds it and takes it to Rome.

19 January: Clodius' body is carried to the Forum by his supporters for public lying in state, and they end up by storming the Senate House, creating a funeral pyre of furniture on the floor for their leader, and burning the place down as a final tribute; the mob is driven back from attack on Milo's house, and a deputation of senators hurries to Pompeius' villa with the consular insignia to beg him to take command.

The Senate passes the *Senatus consultum ultimum* and asks the interrex, the tribunes and Pompeius as ex-consul to take control and Pompeius to raise troops; Pompeius insists on full powers, preferably as dictator, which is refused, and a consultation with Caesar before he will accept power and is appointed sole consul with Caesar given the right to stand for consulship *in absentia*; Pompeius brings his troops into the city to restore order, brings assorted members of the rival gangs to trial with soldiers preventing disturbances in court, and has his daughter's fiancé Faustus Cornelius Sulla, the late dictator's son, given the task of rebuilding the Senate House as the *Curia Cornelia*.

Cicero accepts the offer of defending Milo against a charge of murdering Clodius, and prepares a defence speech claiming that it was

Clodius' men who started the battle and the killing was spontaneous self-defence rather than being planned; however, at the trial in Forum he is put off by the sight of the Pompeian troops on guard, commanded by their general in person, and then by the shouts of indignant Clodian partisans and is unable to complete his speech with usual masterly rhetoric; Milo is convicted and exiled to Massilia.

Cassius, confirmed as governor of Syria, rallies troops at Antioch against the (delayed) Parthian threat.

Early spring: The Carnutes revolt against Caesar again, this time in secret concert with a larger coalition of tribes which takes Caesar by surprise. The chief planner and organizer is young tribal chief Vercingetorix of the Arverni (Auvergne region), who has been travelling around Gaul contacting disaffected tribes and planning their strategy; the Senones, Parisii (Paris area), Pictones, Cadurci, Turoni (Tours area), Aulerci, Lemovici, Andantes, and tribes of the Atlantic coast join rebel coalition and send contingents to a central army as arranged by Vercingetorix, and the Carnutes' massacre of Romans in the town of Cenabrum launches the war. Once the Carnutes have risen the Arverni join in and elect Vercingetorix as their commander, and he persuades the Bituriges (Bourges area) to join in and sends emissaries to the Rutini, Nitiobroges and Gabali.

?March: Caesar arrives back in Transalpine Gaul with his new levies and hurries through snow across the Cevennes into Auvergne to ravage Vercingetorix's home territory, forcing him to return there, before slipping away from his main army east to Vienne in the Rhone valley to collect his cavalry; he marches into the Lingones' territory to join his two legions stationed there, and races to the rescue of a town in Boii territory which Vercingetorix is besieging, sacking Cenabrum en route; the Gauls raise siege and attack Caesar, who defeats their cavalry at Noviodunum (Nevers) and marches to besiege Avaricum where Vercingetorix assists the defenders by burning wide areas of countryside, targeting the pro-Roman Aedui in particular, so the Romans cannot find supplies.

Massive siege works are constructed at Avaricum, including a wide

ramp over ditch to the walls which the Gauls undermine by burning timber supports; the Roman troops assure their general that they are not daunted by hunger as the lack of supplies leads him to offer to abandon the siege, and after a violent storm drives the Gauls to take shelter the Romans attack and gain control of the walls and break into the town; the inhabitants, allegedly almost all of c. 40,000 in town, are slaughtered.

Caesar besieges the principal fortress of the Arverni, Gergovia, while Vercingetorix aids the defence from a camp nearby and constructs Gallic camps around the high ground overlooking Caesar's besiegers; Caesar has to leave siege to deal with mutiny among his Aedui allies who are advancing to aid him, and while he is defeating the rebels among the tribesmen Vercingetorix attacks the besiegers; with the Gallic rebellion spreading and Gauls having taken Caesar's base at Noviodunum with supplies and rescued the hostages he is holding there so the latter's tribes can join revolt, Caesar decides to go off and link up with Labienus' army in the Parisii territory to concentrate resources; he attacks Vercingetorix's forces near the siege of Gergovia first to improve the besiegers' position, and he manages to take three of the Gallic camps but his victorious men pursue fleeing tribesmen too close to the town walls and are routed in a sally. He reprimands the troops for disobedience and draws them up in battle array for two days to keep Vercingetorix on the defensive, and then moves off to assist the loyal tribes; rebels among the Aedui have sacked Bibracte and in the north the Bellovaci have deserted and forced Labienus to move back south to Agedincum (Sens).

The rebels, now comprising most of Gallic tribes except the Remi and Lingones, call council at Bibracte which confirms Vercingetorix in supreme command and enables him to coordinate next attacks in three areas and order the burning of countryside to deny the Romans supplies; Caesar secures cavalry assistance from his German tributaries and moves east to Sequani territory (Saone valley) where Vercingetorix pursues him but after some success in initial skirmish is defeated by German cavalry; Vercingetorix avoids any more battles and takes his

army of c. 80,000 to the hilltop citadel at Alesia (Burgundy) where the devastated countryside should make supplies for a siege difficult, and Caesar closes in as Vercingetorix, with 30 days of supplies, sends his cavalry out of the town to collect relief army from the tribes. Caesar constructs massive siege works, one line to surround the town and one facing outwards to keep a relieving army from breaking through.

The rebel tribes collect c. 250,000 infantry and 8,000 cavalry (Caesar) to relieve the town and advance to the rescue, while the dwindling supplies lead to the defenders agreeing that the non-combatants should leave to save food for their warriors but Caesar refuses to let them through the siege lines so they are left stuck in the trenches in between the walls and his siege works; the relief force arrives, and on next day a coordinated attempt to break in and a sally from the town take place but are defeated; the night after the following day a second attempt fails, and the relief force then turns its attention to a hill to the north which is so extensive that the Romans have only erected a camp on the lower slopes; c. 60,000 of relief force climbs to the summit and then attacks downhill towards the camp while defenders sally at the nearest point of the walls and several other places to keep the Romans occupied; the attack on the camp on hillside leads to desperate battle with Caesar having to rally his men in person as the Gauls break in and send in his last reserves, but eventually the relief force panics and flees and the battle is won. The relief army withdraws, and with no food left in the town Vercingetorix tells his men to kill or surrender him at their discretion and they send emissaries to Caesar; the rebels are told to send their leaders out, and Vercingetorix leads a procession out to hand over weapons and surrender and is put in chains; the prisoners are divided with one man being given to each of the Roman troops and the rest being sold, but as Caesar marches through the remaining rebel areas without any serious joint resistance by tribes he pardons the Aedui and Arverni; he is granted a 20-day supplicatio by Senate.

The Bellovaci continue to resist, and other tribes plan separate risings so Gaul continues to be unsettled; Caesar sets up winter camp at Bibracte, but has to continue fighting in bad weather.

In Rome, a law to require five years between holding a governorship and a subsequent consulship (or vice versa) which Pompeius does not stop is passed by Senate; it is taken as intended by conservatives to make it easier to prosecute Caesar once his command in Gaul ends, any time after 1 March 50.

?Cassius, as governor of Syria, puts down rebellion in Galilee with sack of Tarichaeae, taking 30,000 prisoners as slaves, and assists the Jewish 'High Priest' Hyrcanus' minister Antipater to put down the revolt of Peitholaus in favour of the deposed ruler Aristobulus.

51 BC Consuls: Servius Sulpicius Rufus and Marcus Claudius Marcellus.

Early spring – ?early summer: Caesar campaigns exhaustively against the Bituriges, the Carnutes and finally the Bellovaci in lengthy campaigns with relays of troops; he ravages the rebel Eburones' lands until Ambiorix flees, and Marcus Antonius, now military quaestor, is appointed to garrison Bellovacian territory after Caesar leaves the area.

Spring: Death of Ptolemy XI 'Auletes', King of Egypt; succeeded by joint rule of his eldest son, the teenage Ptolemy XII, and the boy's sister, 29-year-old Cleopatra (VII), who marry.

?April: As the new lapse in time between consulships and governorships means that Rome is short of governors and so ex-consuls from past years are being called upon to help, Cicero agrees to go out to Cilicia as governor (succeeding Clodius' brother Appius Claudius Pulcher) and takes his brother Quintus as legate; Bibulus is appointed to succeed Cassius Longinus in Syria but is more dilatory about journey; **July** Cicero arrives in Cilicia to find that the province is three cohorts short of proper military complement and with the Parthian threat to Syria looming and Rome dilatory in sending more men he has to make local levies and seek troops from Deiotarus of Galatia; he receives Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia who wants military help against plots and **?September** takes his troops forward to the Syrian border; before he can send help or Bibulus arrives the Parthians advance on Antioch but are routed by Cassius and Syria is saved.

Autumn: With Gaul relatively quiet, Caesar moves to Narbonensis

to reorganize the administration; Antonius is one of his legionary commanders in occupied Belgic territory in northern Gaul, and fights the former Caesarean ally Commius of the Atrebates, British exile, who after deserting to Vercingetorix in 52 is now leading a rebel cavalry force in the territory of the Gallic branch of his Atrebates tribe; Commius is defeated and offers hostages to Antonius, but subsequently escapes to Britain to become king of his tribe there.

September: The Senate decides to put resolutions about Caesar's Gallic command on the agenda for 1 March 50 at the first legal date it can be discussed, and to discuss those of his soldiers who are due for release from duty (to lessen his army and undermine his power); consul Marcellus maintains that as the war there is nearly over it is legitimate to consider a successor, and Pompeius states that any pro-Caesar tribune's veto on March 50 decisions on the question will be regarded as disobeying the Senate.

Caesar stations one legion in Cisalpine Gaul, closer to Rome than any of his forces have been since the Gallic war started.

October: Cicero campaigns against the fiercely independent 'Free Cilician' towns in Taurus mountains which are resisting incorporation in the province; **December** he takes Pindenissum after siege.

50 BC January: Caius Claudius Marcellus, an anti-Caesar conservative ally of Cato (and brother of the previous year's consul), and Aemilius Paullus, a munificent aristocrat indebted over his recent building of *Basilica Aemilia* in the Forum (and believed to have received a large loan from Caesar to help his finances), a Caesarean, consuls.

Caius Scribonius Curio, an indebted young aristocratic rake and former Clodian ally, an opponent of Caesar's brutal tactics in Rome in 59, tribune; **February** he surprisingly starts to champion Caesar's interests in Rome and it is believed that Caesar paid his ten million sesterces' debts out of Gallic loot.

Early: Cicero, concentrating on civil administration in Cilicia, has to deal with a scandal over the extortionate loans which his predecessor's quaestor Marcus Brutus, Cato's nephew and Cassius' brother-in-law

(later Caesar's assassin), has been making to communities in Cyprus; he refuses Brutus' appeal to use his authority to help enforce payment, but takes no definitive action and Brutus remains in post in Cilicia.

1 March: Consul Marcellus proposes that the reallocation of provinces, especially Gaul, and speedy sending of new governors be discussed; Curio vetoes a vote on any decision, and argues that Caesar will lay down his command if Pompeius does so too as then neither will feel threatened by the other's legions; a majority of the Senate may have favoured this solution to the impasse of both contenders for power resigning, but Caesar's opponents apparently prevent a vote.

Pompeius proposes that Caesar be asked to lay down command in November, but Curio vetoes this.

Early summer: Caesar visits Cisalpine Gaul, with triumphal receptions as victor of war, before returning to Belgican territory for final reviews of his troops.

With a new Parthian attack expected, reinforcements are sought for Syria and Pompeius offers to lend one of his Spanish legions if Caesar will also lend a legion – but his choice is one of his legions that he has already sent to aid Caesar so the latter will effectively lose two legions. As Caesar has levied enough men in Gaul to replace the troops he agrees, and gives the departing men money; young senatorial partisan Appius Claudius, collecting them in Cisalpine Gaul, reports hopefully to the conservatives in Rome that they are very critical of all the hardships they have suffered, which probably encourages Caesar's enemies to think that many of his men will not fight Senate in civil war. Cicero returns to Rome.

November: As censors Appius Claudius and (Caesar's father-in-law) Calpurnius Piso are conducting their review of Senate membership, the former tries unsuccessfully to expel Curio; at around this date Antonius and Publius Cassius (cousin of the Syrian war hero) are elected as pro-Caesar tribunes for 49 and Antonius also wins election for religious *augurate* office against conservative leader Domitius Ahenobarbus.

Early December: Consul Marcellus declares that Caesar should be voted an enemy of the people if he does not give up his command

soon; Curio secures a vote on both protagonists giving up their governorships and armies simultaneously, and the Senate votes in favour (370 to 22) though in separate votes on each individual a majority remains in favour of Pompeius keeping his command; despite the chance of the proposal for both giving up commands solving the crisis, Marcellus prefers to spread rumours that Caesar has already brought troops across the Alps ready to attack and leads a conservative delegation to Pompeius to present him with a sword to use in defence of the Republic; Marcellus authorizes Pompeius to take over command of the two legions that are about to sail east and make new levies and ignores Curio's veto of the resolution, as does Pompeius.

Pompeius hesitates over his reaction to the offer, and **6 December** Caesar's arriving envoy believes the situation to be hopeless and instead of meeting Pompeius returns to Ravenna in Cisalpine Gaul to report to Caesar.

10 December: The new tribunes take up office, and Curio (his immunity from prosecution ended) flees to Caesar while Antonius and Cassius take over Caesar's cause in Rome.

18 December: The consuls propose that Caesar be declared a public enemy and Pompeius take over the two legions in Italy; Antonius belittles Pompeius' reputation, attacks his armed activities in Rome in 52 after Clodius' murder, and calls for the legions to be sent straight to Syria, and Pompeius attacks him in return. Pompeian soldiers and other supporters are brought into Rome to pressurize the Senate; **26 December** Caesar sends Curio back with a letter to Senate.

Civil War: Caesar versus Pompeius

49 BC 1 January: Lucius Cornelius Lentulus Crus and Claudius Marcellus (cousin of the two previous Marcelli consuls) enter office as consuls; Curio's letter is handed to them at the Temple of Jupiter on Capitol, and two tribunes announce that Lentulus should read it out to the Senate – Caesar is reminding them of his services and his right under earlier vote to seek consulship *in absentia*, proposing to lay

down his command simultaneously with Pompeius, but warns that he is prepared to save Rome from the unrepresentative clique who have hijacked policy. Lentulus bans discussion of the letter, and requests a clear decision without which he will negotiate with Caesar himself; Metellus Scipio presents a similar request on behalf of his son-in-law Pompeius and warns that if Senate does not ask him for help this time they can look in vain in future. Consul Marcellus insists that Pompeius' levy should go ahead so the Senate has troops to defend itself against Caesar's 11 legions, and the Senate votes that Caesar should dismiss his army by 1 July or else; Caesar's father-in-law Piso and others are refused leave to go to Ravenna and negotiate with him, and in the evening Pompeius receives a delegation and praises those who are standing firm.

Cicero helps to mediate, as Curio delivers Caesar's offer to hand over Transalpine Gaul and eight of 11 legions ahead of the 48 consular elections if Pompeius will leave for his post in Spain with his army and thus lessen the threat to him in Rome; in the talks Caesar's further offer to retain only Illyria and one legion till he has consulship is revealed, but Cato's 'hard-liners' insist that he gives up all commands and troops and seek election as private citizen; this is refused.

7 January: The Senate passes the *Senatus consultum ultimum*, despite earlier warnings against it by Antonius and Cassius who are physically threatened at the meeting by consul Lentulus and leave; the two tribunes (and Curio) return to Caesar at Ravenna, disguising themselves as slaves driving a cart and telling him that they were in danger of their lives, while the Senate votes Caesar's provinces to its partisans (Transalpine Gaul to Ahenobarbus) and authorizes a general levy of troops under Pompeius who is given use of the treasury; loyal senators are to take commands in districts of Italy to resist Caesar's invasion.

11 January: Having heard the fugitives' report, Caesar crosses the Rubicon from Cisalpine Gaul into Italy to start the civil war. Caesar occupies Ariminium, and sends cohorts ahead down the Adriatic coast to Ancona and over the Apennines to Arretium.

17–18 January: Pompeius and the majority of Senate leave Rome for

the south as more defensible, abandoning the treasury on Capitol, and Pompeius proceeds to his military headquarters at Capua while Cicero overcomes doubts at Pompeius' passive attitude to the campaign and accepts commission to raise troops in Campania and proceeds there.

23 January: Caesar receives private assurances from Pompeius that he is acting for the republic not out of personal enmity, and replies that he is prepared to lay down command and risk seeking consulship as a private citizen if Pompeius will take his troops to his command in Spain and stay out of Italy during 48 elections, suggesting a private meeting.

Pompeius definitively rejects only the meeting and says he will go to Spain if Caesar withdraws to his province and prepares to hand over to those successors the Senate appoints, after which the Senate will cancel the levies in Italy; Caesar does not reply, claiming that his opponents will be allowed to keep their troops longer than him and Pompeius has not said when he is leaving Italy.

Labienus, Caesar's trusted supporter, leaves his command in Caesar's army to join Pompeius and encourages him to fight as the cause is less hopeless than he thinks, but the visiting Cicero is not impressed by the general's irresolution; **early February** Caesar occupies Picenum as the Twelfth Legion, his main reinforcement from Gaul, nears his current army of two legions, and reaches Corfinium where Ahenobarbus is waiting with around 30 Pompeian cohorts but cannot persuade Pompeius to advance from Capua to join him; surrounded, the Pompeian troops offer to surrender and Ahenobarbus cannot stop them so he and his Senate associates obey Caesar's orders to come out of the town and submit; Caesar allows all his opponents to leave unmolested provided they swear not to fight against him again (which some do), and many of the troops join his army.

As Caesar's clemency encourages waverers to reject Cato and his followers' claims that he will be as merciless as Sulla and they begin to return to Rome and Pompeian senators' threats to punish the 'rebels' mercilessly have no effect, Pompeius decides to withdraw to Brundisium and sail to Greece to give his army more time to prepare to fight Caesar's veterans and acquire new recruits; **20 February** he writes

unsuccessfully to Cicero telling him to join him there with recruits, but Cicero prefers to stay in Italy and has not abandoned hopes of mediating; in Rome the Caesarean tribune Lucius Roscius introduces a bill to enfranchise the free citizens of Cisalpine Gaul as Caesar has wanted.

8 March: Caesar, joined by more recruits as he hurries down through Italy, arrives at Brundisium with now six legions (three from Gaul, three new ones raised since the Rubicon) to find that most of the Pompeian troops have already sailed to Dyrrachium with the consuls, and starts to erect siege works and sends envoys to Pompeius inside the town; there is no significant reply, and **17 March** once the ships that have taken the first part of the army over the Adriatic return Pompeius sails with second detachment.

Caesar sends military forces to occupy Sardinia and (Curio) Sicily, and sets out for Rome as he lacks a fleet to cross the Adriatic yet; he summons the Senate, about half of which remains in Italy, to meet in Rome on 1 April: while Pompeius summons them to Thessalonica; **28 March** Caesar meets Cicero at Formiae and asks him to attend the meeting, but Cicero refuses claiming that he would feel obliged to complain at them being required to approve sending troops to Spain and Greece.

Caesar reaches Rome; **1 April** Antonius and Cassius, as restored tribunes, convene the Senate; Caesar, having addressed the Assembly and promised grain and money for populace, tells the Senate that he has been prepared to make many concessions but has been ignored, and requests that the Senate take over the government as if it does not help him he will run affairs himself; he requires confirmation of his orders, including grants to Curio and other new governors, handover of the treasury to him, and a delegation to be sent to Pompeius. In three days of discussions, a delegation is agreed in principle but the Senate cannot decide who to send, and tribune Lucius Caecilius Metellus vetoes the surrender of treasury; Caesar declares that he will go ahead with his plans anyway and brings his troops into Rome to seize the treasury at Temple of Saturn, threatening to kill Metellus who physically tries to stop him entering, but his behaviour ends his brief public popularity.

Leaving praetor Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (the future triumvir) in charge of Rome and Antonius in command of Italy with corn supplies hoped to be sent by Curio in Sicily, Caesar sets out for southern Gaul en route to Spain to take over Pompeius' troops there; **April** he reaches Massilia which declares itself neutral, and after Ahenobarbus arrives from Pompeius with his (January 49) senatorial commission as governor of Gaul it admits the latter; Caesar leaves Trebonius to launch siege and marches on to Spain through the Pyrenees passes taken earlier by his subordinates.

3 May: Cicero, at Cumae, finds to his relief that the visiting Antonius, who he expects to exert pressure on him, avoids a meeting and merely sends letter; he is censorious of Antonius' neglect of business for drunken parties.

7 June: After weeks of dithering, Cicero leaves Pompeii to sail to Dyrrachium and offer his services to Pompeius.

Antonius and his allies fill the Senate with Caesarean partisans to make up for the absentees in Greece; Curio sails on to Africa with two legions to regain the province from Pompeian troops under Attius Suburus and camps at Scipio's old base near Utica but finds the wells poisoned and King Juba of Numidia aiding his enemies.

As Caesar has a new fleet of c. 150 ships built at Dyrrachium, Dolabella leads his small existing fleet to Illyria to secure the northern approaches to Pompeian-held Epirus but is defeated and appeals to Antonius for aid; Antonius sends ships under Quintus Hortensius (son of Cicero's rival) and three legions from Italian garrisons, one under his brother Caius Antonius; Pompeius' fleet, reinforced by eastern Mediterranean shipping, defeats them and Caius is forced to surrender with 15 cohorts of recruits at the island of Curicta; Bibulus commands victorious Pompeian fleet in blockade of Brundisium.

June: Caesar meets the Pompeian army of five legions and many auxiliaries, led by Petreius and Afranius, at Ilerda (Lerida) with a slightly smaller force that nevertheless includes useful new units of Gallic cavalry, and has difficulties in the tough terrain; he blocks passes to cut off the Pompeians' supplies, and is nearly defeated in a hard-fought and

indecisive battle; as the armies recover, floods on the River Sicoris wash away the bridges linking Caesar's army to their supply routes, but he builds special ships that can be taken by wagons to transport his cavalry over the river a safe distance away from enemy and as his situation improves Spanish towns start to defect to him; he builds a bridge over the river and starts digging trenches to divert the floods around the enemy camp, swamping their supply routes, so they withdraw south.

Caesar pursues and harasses them, cutting off their intended route, and as the Pompeian soldiers start to lose heart and fraternize with nearby Caesarean outposts he shows his clemency by allowing discovered enemy soldiers to leave unhindered whereas the Pompeian general orders that any captured Caesareans be executed and demands an oath of loyalty from his men. Finally, after four days without food the Pompeian general Afranius requests a meeting, which Caesar insists be held in earshot of the troops, and says that he has done his duty to his commander by fighting and now wishes to surrender; Caesar retorts that his side have done a better duty by making sure to spare the public and use all opportunities for peaceful resolution which Pompeius has not, and does not require the Pompeians to join his army involuntarily but that they disband and leave the province; the Pompeians accept terms offered, and Caesar even makes his troops return loot that they have taken from them as they are Roman citizens.

?Autumn: Caesar summons provincial councils for Further Spain to Corduba and Tarraco, returns money the Pompeians have seized, rewards his supporters, and appoints tribune Quintus Cassius Longinus as governor with four legions to assist him; he returns to Gaul where Massilia surrenders and is deprived of its ships and treasury but allowed to retain formal independence.

On receiving news of Caesar's victory in Spain, Curio advances confidently to attack the Pompeians at Suburra but is ambushed and killed by Juba's Numidians; the Caesarean admiral Flamma panics and flees their base at Utica without waiting for the survivors to arrive, so they are left stranded and are massacred by Juba.

Back in Italy, Caesar faces a mutiny at Placentia among soldiers fed

up with long campaigns and no booty who do not want to march on to Brundisium and possibly Greece, and threatens to dismiss all complainers in disgrace and decimate the Ninth Legion where trouble is concentrated; the alarmed soldiers repent and insist that they are happy to serve under him, but Caesar insists that they identify the troublemakers and the 120 men named are decimated (one in ten selected by lot and executed).

Caesar is appointed in his absence as dictator under law introduced by Lepidus so he can run the 48 elections; **mid-December** he arrives in Rome and secures the election of himself and nominee Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricius as consuls; **late December** he leaves for Brundisium. ?Caesar releases the interned Jewish ex-‘High Priest’ Aristobulus and sends him with troops to his homeland to raise army against the Pompeian commander in Syria, Pompeius’ father-in-law Metellus Scipio; he is detected and poisoned and his son Alexander is executed at Antioch, but his younger children shelter with prince Ptolemy of Chalcis (Lebanon).

48 BC 1 January: Caesar and Isauricius consuls.

4 January: Caesar leaves Brundisium by sea for Greece, with only seven of his 12 legions and 600 of his 1,000 cavalry due to inadequate shipping; he eludes Bibulus’ ships with aid of stormy weather and reaches Epirus where he sends envoys to Pompeius unsuccessfully offering that both generals swear to give up armies on three days’ notice, but as the ships return to collect Antonius and a second detachment Bibulus catches and sinks them; Bibulus dies a few weeks later but Libo and around 50 ships keep up a blockade of Brundisium to prevent reinforcements sailing to Caesar.

The armies camp close to each other near Dyrrachium, and Caesar has his proposals for truce and discussions shouted across to the enemy camp; the ordinary soldiers favour talks; Pompeius’ general Labienus agrees to meet Caesar’s Vatinius, but as they talk and soldiers fraternize some Pompeians open fire on the Caesareans who flee and Labienus shouts that he wants Caesar’s head before peace can be accepted;

early April Caesar decides to sail back to Brundisium to speed up his reinforcements and sets out in a small ship to avoid being noticed by Pompeian fleet, but due to storm has to turn back; **10 April** Antonius brings the reinforcements across to raise Caesar's strength to 12 legions and c. 1,500 cavalry.

Caesar sends troops south into Greece to secure supplies and hold up the Pompeian reinforcements that can be expected from Asia; he follows Pompeius as the latter moves his camp, and manoeuvres to lure him into the interior away from his base of Dyrrachium and then make a quick dash for the town, outdistancing him with night march to reach the vicinity first and thus cut him off from his supplies there.

With Pompeius now encamped in favourable position on a hill outside Dyrrachium and his cavalry harassing Caesar's men from finding local supplies before the troops sent to bring more supplies from Greece return, Caesar starts to construct fortified positions in a string of outposts on high ground around Pompeius' camp to hem him in; Pompeius constructs a rival series of outposts in an inner (thus shorter) line around his camp, and skirmishes follow as both sides run short of food and Caesar's men have better water supplies. As Caesar has not enough men to hold all his outposts against attack from Pompeius' lines and keep adequate troops to watch for attack from Pompeian troops from Dyrrachium in the rear, Pompeius succeeds in getting his cavalry out to forage but Caesar prevents them from attacking his lines of communication out to the surrounding area so they are recalled.

Advised by two defecting Gauls of a gap in Caesar's siege lines on the seaward side of the encirclement, Pompeius concentrates an attack by 60 cohorts there and breaks through; his men are halted from reaching the nearest Caesarean camp on shore by Antonius and Caesar brings up reinforcements, but Pompeius secures his new position and sets up a camp there; Caesar launches surprise attack with 33 cohorts on one of Pompeius' legions that has now set up base in a former Caesarean position, but as he leads his left wing into the camp the right wing of his coordinated assault arrives late and then Pompeius brings five legions to the rescue, throwing the Caesareans back; Caesar loses c. 900

infantry and 260 cavalry, but Pompeius fails to use opportunity to attack Caesar's camp while the retreating Caesareans are in disarray.

Pompeius' troops celebrate victory, and Caesar rallies his men and decides to change tactics and widen the war; he sets out to link up with his general Domitius Calvinus in Macedonia and moves his army off, outmarching Pompeius who can only catch the rearguard and is forced to halt as some of his men return to camp without permission to fetch their baggage once they realize that there is a long march ahead; Caesar marches to Apollonia and then into Thessaly, and as after his retreat more local communities think Pompeius will win he sacks Gomphi, which refuses him admission, as a warning.

Pompeius rejects Afranius' advice to leave Caesar isolated in Greece, harassed by the Pompeian fleet and short of supplies, while they return to retake Italy; he gathers reinforcements from the eastern client-kings to confront Caesar in Thessaly, and is mocked by his officers as a 'king of kings' like Agamemnon at the siege of Troy.

Early August: The rival armies confront each other on the plain of Pharsalus in southern Thessaly; Caesar offers battle but Pompeius does not venture out of his camp and is only roused by the demands of the bellicose senators in his camp.

8 August: At night, before the battle, Caesar offers sacrifice and vows a temple to his ancestress Venus, and a meteor is seen descending onto Pompeius' camp.

9 August, Battle of Pharsalus: Pompeius holds the advantage with c. 47,000 troops to c. 22,000, and seven times more cavalry, and his force awaits the Caesarean charge; Caesar's men launch attack in three lines, while a fourth line of six cohorts awaits Pompeius' large cavalry force and as they drive the smaller Caesarean cavalry back, come to their rescue; the Pompeian cavalry flees after close combat with the cohorts, and Caesar's men turn on the Pompeian archers, move round the enemy, and attack them from the rear; Caesar moves the untouched troops of third line to the front to relieve his tired men, and by mid-day the Pompeians are in retreat; as the Pompeians retire to their camp Caesar has it stormed, and the relentless pursuit continues until

evening. Around 15,000 Pompeians are killed and 23,000 captured for the loss of c. 200 Caesareans (Caesar).

Fleeing his camp northwards, Pompeius and a small escort (including the Lentuli, consuls of 57 and 49) secure a vessel on the coast at the far end of the Vale of Tempe and sail out to sea to be taken aboard a merchant ship; joined by fugitive Deiotarus of Galatia, they sail to Mytilene to take on board Pompeius' wife and youngest son Sextus and on to Cilicia to meet up with around 60 senators; among those Pompeians who surrender to Caesar in Thessaly and are pardoned is his ex-mistress Servilia's son Marcus Brutus, who joined Pompeius despite the latter having his father (rebel Lepidus' lieutenant) murdered in 77.

Cato, in Dyrrachium, evacuates the retreating survivors onto the Pompeian fleet and they sail to Corcyra for council of war. Cicero, arriving from Athens, refuses Cato's suggestion that he take over command as the senior ex-consul and says the war is lost and he is giving up, and Pompeius' eldest son Cnaeus nearly runs him through; evacuation to Africa to gain help from Juba of Numidia is agreed, to await Pompeius' possible rallying of troops in Asia Minor and return, while Lucius Cassius goes to the Euxine to recruit Mithridates' son Pharnaces of Pontus and Bosphorus; Cato sets off for Africa but his ships are separated at sea from others under Metellus Scipio and he ends up in Libya; he leads his men in an epic desert march westwards to the Roman province; meanwhile Labienus and Cnaeus Pompeius sail to Spain to rally troops there.

September: Pompeius decides not to join the resistance in Africa or any other Roman province, purportedly fearing swift pursuit by Caesar; rather than fleeing to Parthia or King Juba for aid he chooses Egypt, on the advice of Theophanes of Lesbos that young Ptolemy XII's government will be indebted for Pompeius' restoration of his father in 55. Pompeius sails from Cyprus to Egypt, and arrives to find that civil war has broken out and Cleopatra has fled from Alexandria to raise troops against the regency government for her brother (led by eunuch Pothinus); he arrives at Pelusium, near where Ptolemy's army is encamped blocking Cleopatra's advance from Syria with her

mercenaries, and sends ashore for a guarantee of safe reception, but Pothinus and his advisers are afraid of Caesar's wrath if they assist the fugitive and at the suggestion of Ptolemy's tutor Theodotus they decide to do him a favour by disposing of his enemy.

Pothinus sends a message of welcome, and **29 September** minister Achilles and a former officer of Pompeius', Lucius Septimius, go out to his warship to welcome him; Pompeius accepts their assurances and gets into their boat, and as they row ashore Septimius stabs him in the back and the Egyptians join in; Pompeius is killed aged 58, and his head is cut off and taken to Ptolemy while his freedman Philip is allowed to burn his body on the beach; next day ex-consul Lentulus arrives in Pelusium and is murdered too.

Caesar marches through Macedonia to the Hellespont where a Pompeian flotilla challenges him but its commander Lucius Cassius accepts his order to surrender, and crosses to Asia Minor to sacrifice at Troy (from whose refugee prince Aeneas his family claim descent); he advances to Ephesus with triumphal receptions from the cities of Aeolis and Ionia and no resistance, and is hailed at that city as 'manifest god' (*theos epiphanes*). Hearing that Pompeius is en route to Egypt, he takes two legions and 800 cavalry via Rhodes to sail there.

October: Cicero arrives back at Brundisium, and his friends in Rome including son-in-law Dolabella assure that he will not be molested; however, the returned Antonius sends him a copy of Caesar's instructions that no former Pompeians are to be allowed back to Rome without his individual permission, so he waits at Brundisium for Caesar's return. Antonius arrives in Rome, commissioned by Caesar to disband and settle the majority of Caesarean legions on Italian land and secure Caesar's appointment as dictator for all of 47 with himself as 'Master of the Horse' – Caesar is to have right to nominate all senior officials including governors. Despite Senate objections the necessary measures are passed, but as the discharge and settlement of troops is delayed the latter start to protest.

Quintus Cornificius, Caesar's new governor of Illyria, secures control and **autumn** with the help of ships supplied by the island of Iader

defeats the arriving Pompeian refugee Marcus Octavius' fleet.

Pharnaces of Pontus and Bosphorus takes the opportunity of Roman civil war to invade Cappadocia and Lesser Armenia.

2 October: Caesar arrives offshore at Alexandria, and is presented with Pompeius' pickled head and his signet-ring but is horrified not pleased as the ministers expected; he lands displaying his official Roman insignia, announces that he is taking up residence in the royal palace and has come to collect debts to Rome and restore civil order, and proposes to sort out the civil war but is not welcomed by the indignant inhabitants; with Ptolemy and his army still at Pelusium confronting the returned Cleopatra's forces, Cleopatra has herself smuggled back to Alexandria and into the palace (allegedly in a carpet) to seek Caesar's goodwill. Caesar commences affair with Cleopatra; he summons Ptolemy and his representatives to hear his proposed mediation to uphold the division of the country between them under Ptolemy XI's will, but Sosibius' party fear Cleopatra's influence and stir up the Alexandrian populace to riot; Caesar is besieged in the palace quarter and announces to the public that he is prepared to hand back Cyprus to the royal siblings' younger brother and sister, Ptolemy XIII and Arsinoe, as Ptolemy XI wished. He refuses King Ptolemy leave to return from peace talks with him and Cleopatra at the Palace to his troops and holds him captive, but Sosibius, Achillas and the other ministers order their army to come and rescue the king. Caesar orders the palace area to be fortified and new wells dug, and sends to the Roman forces in Asia Minor and Syria and to King Malchus of Nabatea for aid. He burns the royal ships left unprotected in city harbours so the enemy cannot use them, and the fire spreads to the shore and consumes not only nearby granaries but a load of recently arrived manuscripts and a warehouse containing part of the famous royal library (probably only an 'overspill' of the main library, but this is the origin of claim that the Great Library was burnt in the siege). The royal army advances on Alexandria but its best commander Achillas is murdered by Princess Arsinoe who puts her favourite Ganymedes in charge; Domitius Calvinus brings the ex-Pompeian Thirty-Ninth Legion and supplies by sea to Egypt and

lands west of the city, and Caesar sails out to collect them and evades a Ptolemaic naval attack on return journey. He has old ships in the palace harbours repaired and new ones built, and skirmishes in the city follow between the besieged Caesar's troops and the royal army and citizens.

Caesar sends a force to storm the Pharos island offshore to gain control of its command of the entrance to the city harbours, and secures it from the royal troops and Alexandrians who still control the causeway linking it to the mainland; next day Caesar attacks the enemy position by the bridge on the causeway that lets ships pass underneath between the two harbours, landing more men on the causeway from his ships, but the enemy lands men on causeway too from their own ships; as Roman ships start to withdraw to avoid capture, soldiers left stranded on the causeway panic and stampede onto the remaining ships and Caesar, his own ship sinking under the weight of men crowding aboard, has to swim ashore leaving his cloak to be captured as a trophy – about 800 soldiers and marines drown.

Autumn: Domitius Calvinus, now Caesar's commander in Asia province, unsuccessfully requires Pharnaces to withdraw Pontic troops from Lesser Armenia, though the king does evacuate Cappadocia; Calvinus marches against him in Armenia but is defeated at Nicopolis.

December: Aulus Gabinius, bringing Caesarean levies out to Illyria to aid Cornificius as Pompeian refugee troops arrive, is forced by winter and poor supplies to abandon sieges of enemy towns and retire to Salona; he is pursued there and defeated with the loss of 38,000 men.

47 BC Caesar serves as dictator, without consuls being appointed. In Rome, Dolabella as tribune proposes a general cancellation of debts to popular acclaim with Antonius' backing, but is opposed by colleague Caius Trebellius; Antonius changes his mind and stops Dolabella, possibly influenced by Dolabella's affair with his wife (his cousin Antonia) as much as by conservative objections; he brings troops into Rome to preserve order in the dispute, but faces mutiny from angry veterans, encamped in Campania, who are still awaiting their discharge and payments/land. Antonius has to visit the troops to give reassurances,

and in his absence his deputy, 'Prefect of the City' (his uncle) Lucius Caesar, proves incompetent at halting renewed street clashes between Dolabella's and Trebellius' followers; on Antonius' return he is asked to enforce more order by the Senate after Vestal Virgins flee their temple, but Dolabella announces that he will enact his debt cancellation on a named day and brings in supporters to seize the Forum and secure a favourable vote; Antonius sends his troops in to retake it and c. 800 people are killed.

?January/February: Ptolemy's courtiers or ministers with the royal army send to Caesar asking for him to be sent to them, indicating that they are fed up with taking orders from Ganymede and that Ptolemy can help arrange peace; the king weeps and begs Caesar not to send him into danger, but Caesar allows him to leave and once he is with the army he regains his nerve (or drops pretence at friendliness to Caesar) and leads them in continued siege.

March/April: Nearly six months after start of siege, Roman forces from Asia Minor and Syria and 3,000 Jewish troops sent by 'High Priest' Hyrcanus' minister Antipater arrive at Pelusium under the command of Caesar's representative Mithridates of Pergamum who he sent earlier to collect a relief force; they take the city and advance to the Nile delta, and Ptolemy sends a force which Mithridates routs as it crosses the river to assault his camp; then Ptolemy leads his army east abandoning the siege in Alexandria, and Caesar follows to catch the Egyptians up before they reach Mithridates; the royal army camps on high ground above the river and canals, and defends high banks of an intervening stream until German cavalry swim across and Caesar's soldiers pack tree trunks into the water to cross easier; Caesar avoids an immediate assault on the well-fortified Egyptian camp, and opens attack on easier strongpoint in adjacent village which the Egyptians vainly try to save; once they are on the run he presses on into the enemy camp, and after a hard battle the Romans seize the high ground and drive the panicking enemy into the river; Ptolemy escapes but is drowned, apparently as fleeing soldiers swamp and capsize his ship. Caesar secures control of Egypt, and hands it to Cleopatra but with her other brother Ptolemy XIII as her

nominal husband/co-ruler; Arsinoe is taken prisoner and subsequently deported.

Vatinius, Caesarean commander at Brundisium, brings ships to Illyria to relieve the hard-pressed garrisons there; he defeats Octavius who has to abandon his siege of Epidaurus, and defeats his fleet at the island of Tauris; Octavius flees with a few ships.

April/May: Caesar delays leaving Egypt, in order to accompany Cleopatra on voyage up the Nile; **?June** he leaves for Syria, with three legions left behind in Egypt under Rufio; he allows the Jews to rebuild the walls of Jerusalem and grants Antipater Roman citizenship in reward for aid; appointing Sextus Caesar as governor of Syria, he goes to Cilicia to hold a council at Tarsus before marching into Cappadocia where Pompeius' ally Deiotarus of Galatia comes to surrender and is pardoned; he invades Pontus with the under-strength Sixth Legion, two legions from Calvinus' army, and one of Galatians, and when Pharnaces sends to offer talks he instructs him to evacuate Pontus first; Pharnaces tries to spin out negotiations in the hope that crises elsewhere will call Caesar away, so Caesar attacks him at the town of Zela.

2 August, Battle of Zela: Caesar advances by surprise to seize a strategic hill outside the town once used by Mithridates for a new camp closer to the enemy, and as his men are starting to dig new fortifications the enraged Pharnaces throws his men up the hill at them; Caesar assumes that they are just forming up new positions rather than a rash headlong assault on him, but realizes his mistake and calls his men to arms; the enemy charge and assistance by chariots nearly drives Romans back, but Caesar secures victory after a hard clash and the enemy flee, Pharnaces with a few cavalry.

Caesar occupies Pontus, hands the Bosporan kingdom over to Mithridates of Pergamum who sails to the Crimea to seize it, and leaves for Bithynia; **October** he returns to Italy by sea from Asia Minor, landing at Tarentum and then going to Brundisium to meet Cicero who is pardoned.

Cato and Metellus Scipio prepare a new Pompeian army in Africa;

Cato, the better general, insists that Metellus takes command as the senior official present.

Caesar returns to Rome and accepts Dolabella's explanations for the trouble in capital, cancelling some though not all of the debts; Antonius is told off for brutality and for his wild living and is not re-employed for some time, at which he improves his lifestyle and soon divorces Antonia to marry Clodius' rich widow Fulvia (who can also bring him a new political following); Cicero returns to Rome and divorces his wife Terentia who notably has not been to see him since his arrival in Italy.

Caesar has himself and Lepidus elected as consuls for 46, and an election is carried out for the remaining two and a half months of 47 so that Vatinius and Quintus Fufius Calenus can serve as suffect consuls; he freezes the annual rent for property for the next year to help debtors but will not cancel all debts, and requires the towns of Italy to give him the gold statues and wreaths (or a cash equivalent) usually sent to victors of foreign wars to aid his finances; he also takes out large loans and auctions off the property of Pompeians, insisting on it reaching the full expected price which prevents Antonius and others from acquiring intended bargains; one leading successful bidder is Caesar's ex-mistress Servilia, Cato's half-sister and Brutus' mother.

The legions waiting in Campania refuse to serve in the next war, in Sicily and then Africa, and demand their discharge and promised bounties; their rioting, led by the Tenth Legion veterans of the Gallic war, leads to Caesar sending unsuccessful emissaries to calm them down and Sallustius Crispus is nearly lynched and two senators are killed; the soldiers march on Rome, where Caesar puts Antonius' legion that has been stationed near capital to guard his house and the gates, and assemble on the Campus Martius where Caesar comes to address them in unexpected appearance; he calls them 'citizens' not 'soldiers', discharges them all immediately, and angrily says they can have their money after the African war with his other soldiers; they repent and beg him to accept them back into his army, and he accepts with initial exception of the Tenth Legion and refrains from punishments;

arrangements are made to settle the soldiers on individual farms across Italy without the large-scale dispossessions in particular areas which made Sulla unpopular. Caesar gives Brutus the governorship of Cisalpine Gaul.

Caesar goes south to Rhegium, crosses to Messina, and **17 December** arrives at Lilybaeum on the west coast of Sicily; **25 December** he is prevented from sailing by adverse winds.

In Judaea, Caesar's ally Antipater, effective ruler for his master Hyrcanus, appoints his eldest son Phasael as governor of Jerusalem and his second son Herod (aged around 25) as governor of Galilee.

46 BC 1 January: Caesar and Lepidus consuls.

Metellus and Cato await Caesar with ten Roman legions, four sent by Juba of Numidia, and 120 elephants; Caesar crosses to Africa with six legions and 2,000 cavalry, but his ships are scattered by the wind and, not having planned where to invade, he lands with c. 3,000 infantry and 150 cavalry near Hadrumetum; he sets up camp to besiege Caius Considius in Hadrumetum, and sends ships out to collect his other shipping to join him and emissaries to Sardinia and other provinces for men and supplies.

Abandoning the siege, Caesar is moving off when a body of Numidian cavalry arrives and joins in a sally by the defenders which his Gallic cavalry routs; he moves on to Leptis and Ruspina which surrender and are garrisoned, collects his arriving ships, and confronts the arriving Labienus at Ruspina; **4 January** using his superiority in cavalry, Labienus attacks and tries to outflank the Caesareans by extending his wings, luring the opposition out into exposed positions, and then moving in on them, but Caesar draws his men back and Labienus is repulsed and wounded as he attacks; Caesar fortifies his camp and awaits Metellus Scipio's eight legions, while in Utica Cato quarrels with the arrived Cnaeus Pompeius and spurs him into an unsuccessful attack on Bogud of Mauretania.

Metellus joins Labienus, but Juba has to return home as Caesar's general Publius Sittius invades Numidia and storms the capital, Cirta;

the Pompeians demonstrate their army in full array outside Caesar's camp but fail to lure him into battle, while Caesar's officer Caius Messius secures the town of Acylla before Considius can get there from Hadrumetum; Caius Sallustius Crispus (i.e. the historian Sallust, tribune in 52) brings Caesar supplies from the island of Cercina and Allienus in Sicily sends a convoy containing the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Legions, 800 Gallic cavalry, and 1,000 archers and slingers. Caesar moves camp to a point closer to the enemy and his Gallic cavalry win skirmish with Numidians in securing strategic hill nearby, while Metellus has a shipload of captured Caesarean soldiers brought to him, enlists the new recruits, and offers the veterans employment but as they refuse executes them by torture.

Juba returns to Metellus' camp, and inconclusive skirmishing follows between the two armies over strategic points between the camps near Uzitta with 1,000 Gaetulian cavalry (descendants of clients of Marius) deserting to Caesar; the Ninth and Tenth Legions arrive in Caesar's second convoy from Sicily, and Caesar belatedly discharges some of the Tenth's centurions for misbehaviour in Italy in 47.

Metellus and Juba parade their army again, and Caesar follows suit but neither will start battle; Varus' Pompeian naval squadron from Utica raids Caesarean merchant shipping at Leptis, and Caesar hurries there to go aboard and lead his ships in pursuit of the retreating enemy and recapture some ships; his fleet blockades Hadrumetum and Thapsus, but **March** shortage of supplies causes him to shift camp to Aggar and then Sursura, Metellus and Labienus following to harass him with their Numidian cavalry being particularly feared; another convoy of Caesar's reinforcements arrives, and he moves on to besiege an important enemy garrison under Verginius in Thapsus to force Metellus down off the hills into plain to engage him.

3 April: Caesar camps near Thapsus, starts siege works, and erects fort controlling a narrow isthmus between the sea and a lagoon, along which relief force will have to come; **6 April** Metellus arrives and starts to set up camp.

Battle of Thapsus: as Metellus is drawing up his troops in front of

camp ready for battle, Caesar responds; he apparently loses control of his over-eager men who take advantage of visible disorder in the enemy camp to attack without permission so he has to issue command and join in; the Caesareans charge and drive the enemy back into their camp, a hail of missiles routing the elephants into a stampede; the Pompeians are scattered in disorder and Juba's camp falls too, but Caesareans massacre the surrendering enemy in apparent fury at the war's long duration and officers as well as men are killed trying to surrender – c. 5,000 Pompeians are killed in battle for 50 Caesareans. Even Caesarean officers are allegedly killed by troops angry at the war, and it is possible that Caesar suffers an epileptic fit during the battle which accounts for his loss of control and failure to intervene. Most of the senior Pompeians escape safely.

Thapsus refuses to surrender so Caesar moves on towards Utica, where Cato has expelled the ordinary citizens into a camp outside the walls in case of treachery and the returning Pompeian cavalry tries to massacre them but are repulsed and sack the town instead; Caesar reaches the Pompeian supply depot at Usseta and then Hadrumetum, and as he advances Cato tries to rally the Pompeians and the locals by freeing Utican slaves to join his demoralized army but is ignored; as his allies want to flee he allocates ships to them but declares that he has no wish to live when freedom is extinguished, retires to his bedroom, and stabs himself, and when he is found by friends and they bring a doctor he tears off bandages and lets himself bleed to death sooner than surrender (aged 49). The remaining Pompeian officers surrender the town, and Caesar enters to call a public meeting, reward his supporters, and fine the Pompeian sympathizers 300 million sesterces.

Considius abandons Thysdrus and is killed in flight by his Gaetulian mercenaries; Juba arrives back in Numidia to be refused entry to his usual residence at Zama, which sends to Caesar for help, and flees into the interior with his Pompeian associate Marcus Petreius; they both commit suicide.

Caesar auctions the property of Pompeian sympathizers at Zama, confiscates the kingdom which Sallustius is appointed to govern

(though part of it later emerges as independent again), and levies fines on those communities who aided the enemy; Afranius and Sulla's son Faustus are cornered and captured by Caesar's general Sittius in Mauretania and are later killed in disturbance in his camp, and Metellus Scipio reaches Hippo Regius where storms force his ships to put in and he is attacked and killed by Sittius' fleet.

The Senate votes Caesar a supplicatio of 40 days, with his triumphal chariot to be joined on the Capitol by a bronze statue showing him standing on a globe; he is to be dictator for ten years and 'praefect of morals' (?as permanent censor) with rights to make all senior civil appointments and to speak first in the Senate; the Assembly votes in favour.

13 June: Caesar sails from Utica, and calls in at Sardinia to fine Pompeian allies there; **24 June** he reaches Rome while most of his fleet goes on to Spain where Labienus' Pompeian refugees join Cnaeus Pompeius to raise a new army.

Back in Rome, Caesar reassures the Senate and Assembly of his intentions but makes no indication when or whether he intends to lay down his powers after the civil war; he organizes purchase of land to settle his veterans, reduces the number of citizens entitled to free grain from 350,000 to 250,000, establishes provincial colonies to settle up to 80,000 of the landless 'plebs', reduces the length of terms of office for provincial governors, reforms the law courts, and introduces new sumptuary laws.

Plans are introduced to reform the Roman calendar which is several months out of step with the seasons; a solar year of 365 days is introduced to replace the existing lunar calendar, with an extra day every four years; two extra months are introduced for November and December 46, adding 67 days to that year to restore the date to correct time of the seasons.

Cicero publicly urges Caesar to complete his triumph by doing his duty to the republic and restoring the traditional balance of the constitution and thus a permanent civic peace; he has more success in pleading for the pardon of the consul of 51, Marcus Marcellus.

September: Four days of triumphs are held, successively for Caesar's victories in Gaul, Egypt, Pontus and Africa; Vercingetorix is included in the Gallic War parade after six years in captivity, and afterwards he is executed in the state dungeon on the Capitol; Cleopatra's sister Arsinoe is included in the Egyptian triumph and Juba's son in the African one; there are mutterings about Caesar including depictions of Cato and the other Pompeian leaders in the African parade as triumphs should only refer to enemy nations not Roman citizens, and after the axle of Caesar's triumphal chariot breaks outside the Temple of Fortuna during the Gallic triumph Caesar climbs the Capitol on his knees to ward off the omen. Gladiatorial games and re-enactments of the battles follow, including a day of Games that Caesar earlier promised in memory of his daughter Julia, with naval battles in an artificial pool on the Campus Martius and feasts for 22,000 tables; however, when the war booty is being parcelled out to the soldiers Caesar is enraged at soldiers' complaints that some civilians are being given loot and personally seizes a protester for execution.

26 September: Caesar dedicates the Temple of Venus Genetrix (ancestor of the Julii) and its adjacent forum, the *Forum Julium* – intended to outshine Pompeius' new buildings on the Campus Martius.

During the months following Caesar's return, there is an obscure plot to murder him which reputedly involves the jealous Antonius; an assassin is caught in Caesar's house.

Cicero writes a book in defence of Cato as the most pure example of republican virtue, dedicated to Cato's nephew (and now son-in-law, as he married Cato's daughter Porcia after her first husband's death), Brutus, who has pretensions to similar philosophical virtue and writes his own eulogy to match it; **late** publication of Cicero's 'Cato' infuriates Caesar who starts to write his own 'anti-Cato'.

?Cleopatra arrives in Rome with her brother Ptolemy XIII, and is put up in Caesar's villa across the Tiber from the main city; her statue in the Temple of Venus Genetrix attracts comment.

'November II' (second extra month of year): Caesar leaves Rome for Spain to deal with the last Pompeian army; **December** he arrives in the

province. In his absence, Lepidus as consul has him elected sole consul for 45. Cicero scandalously marries his young ward Publilia.

?In Judaea, the enemies of Antipater's dynasty strike at him by accusing his second son Herod of misrule as governor of Galilee, including violent repression after he defeated Ezekias' bandits; Herod is summoned before the religious 'Sanhedrin' council on charge of breaking Jewish law by executions, and on his father's advice brings a large armed entourage; Sextus Caesar, Julius Caesar's governor of Syria, sends to threaten 'High Priest' Hyrcanus into seeing that Caesar's ally Herod is acquitted, but the Sanhedrin persists so Herod retires to Damascus and is granted the governorship of Coele-Syria and Samaria by Sextus; he later returns to Galilee.

45 BC 1 January: Caesar sole consul.

January: Cicero's daughter and confidante Tullia, wife of Dolabella, dies in childbirth, driving him into depression and retreat from public life.

Caesar arrives in Spain, and receives delegation from rebel Corduba offering to surrender; he marches there to attack garrison under Cnaeus Pompeius' younger brother Sextus, while troops under Lucius Vibius Paciaecus reinforce loyalist Ulia which Cnaeus is besieging; Sextus sends to his brother for help, and Caesar crosses the River Baetis near Corduba before Cnaeus arrives and manoeuvres against him on the banks in effort to force battle; after skirmishes Caesar moves off to besiege the Pompeian base at Ategua, and Cnaeus follows to camp a safe distance away; Caesar starts siege, and in manoeuvres in the hills between the rival camps Cnaeus fails to take isolated Caesarean hilltop outpost at 'Postumius' Camp'; as more Caesareans arrive Cnaeus sets off back for Corduba, and camps outside; Caesar follows, and more skirmishes follow around the River Salsum and increasing numbers of executions by Cnaeus to stop his men deserting.

19 February: Ategua surrenders, and Pompeius moves on to Ucubi;
5 March Caesar's men win skirmish at Soricaria with c. 500 of the enemy killed, and Pompeius avoids battle and remains in the hills until

rumours that his equestrian officers are planning mass desertion spurs him to a decisive action; after more clashes the armies confront each other on the plain of Munda.

17 March, Battle of Munda: 80 cohorts and 8,000 cavalry on Caesar's side fight 13 (under-strength) Pompeian legions. The armies are equally matched, and the Caesareans start to give way under attack by their more desperate opponents until Caesar rushes into the front line to lead them personally and abuses them for fleeing, shouting that he is prepared to fall here if necessary to save his honour; they rally and as Bocchus of Mauretania attacks round the flank into enemy camp the Pompeians break; Labienus is killed with c. 30,000 Pompeians for c. 1,000 Caesareans (Caesar's chronicler), and the infuriated Caesar massacres the surrendering enemy for prolonging the war.

Sextus flees from Corduba, and Caesar besieges his remaining troops with some of survivors from the battle in the town; the attackers storm the walls and the town is taken with c. 22,000 killed. Cnaeus Pompeius, wounded, reaches the Pompeian naval base at Carteia, is arrested as the inhabitants want to make terms, and manages to escape with 20 ships but is caught by Didius' Caesarean fleet and lands; **early April** fleeing into the hills and hunted by Caesar's troops, Cnaeus is surrounded and killed (aged around 38) and his head is sent to Caesar at Gades.

Hispalis, Munda, and other remaining Pompeian towns are soon overrun, and Caesar rewards his Spanish supporters, levies fines on opponents, and confiscates temple treasures at Gades and other loot; he sets up new colonies in Spain for Roman citizens.

Caesar's 17-year-old great-nephew, Caius Octavius (Octavian/Augustus), impresses him by his initiative in arduous journey out to the army in Spain to join his staff.

Caesar's undisputed rule and assassination

20 April: News of Munda reaches Rome; **21 April** the Senate votes to celebrate Games annually on 21 April as 'second founding' of the capital to celebrate Munda as the end of the civil wars, and hails Caesar

as 'Imperator' and '*Liberator*'; a Temple of Liberty is to be set up in his honour, and he is to be allowed to wear his triumphal robe and laurel wreath at all public festivals; a statue of him is to be erected in the Temple of Quirinus (the deified Romulus).

July: A statue of Caesar is carried in procession of images of the gods, amid public disquiet.

?July: Caesar sets off back to Rome; en route he sets up new colony for veterans at Arelate (Arles) in southern Gaul and a naval base nearby at Forum Julii (Frejus); **August** he arrives in northern Italy.

September: Caesar writes a new will, granting three-fourths of his estate to Octavius as his principal heir with adoption as his son to carry on the 'Caesar' family name; the rest of his property is to go to great-nephews Lucius Pinarius and Quintus Pedius; in default of these, more remote cousins are to inherit including (third cousin) Antonius.

October: Caesar returns to Rome; he celebrates a triumph, unprecedentedly against fellow-citizens, and tribune Lucius Pontius Aquila pointedly remains seated as Caesar's triumphal chariot passes the tribunes' stand and Caesar shouts at him.

December: Caesar and Antonius, now restored to favour, are elected as the consuls for 44, with Antonius' brother Lucius as tribune, and after Lucius assumes office he arranges legislation granting Caesar the right to nominate future consuls and recommend half of the candidates for civil posts for election. Caesar starts to plan his final major campaign, to avenge Crassus and invade Parthia, which is to commence in spring 44 and last around three years; Dolabella is to take over in Rome as replacement consul after he leaves, and the aggrieved Antonius is to lead campaign in Thrace.

'Latin rights' of citizenship are given to communities of Sicily, and the full citizenship is widely granted to individuals across the Roman world; new building projects in Rome include a theatre on the Campus Martius ('Theatre of Marcellus') and a new Senate House.

?Autumn: Sextus Caesar, governor of Syria, is murdered by Pompeian ex-officer Caecilius Bassus who seizes control of the province and its legions in name of the republican opposition to Julius Caesar;

he is opposed by Caesar's general Caius Antistius Vetus.

31 December: Caesar arranges for his supporter Caninius to hold consulship for one day after suffect consul dies; this is widely regarded as an abuse of power.

44 BC 1 January: Caesar and Antonius assume consulship; Antonius' brother Caius is praetor.

Marcus Brutus and his sister Junia's husband Publius Cassius Longinus serve as praetors.

Antonius obstructs Dolabella's election as next consul, and uses augural role to suspend meeting of Assembly before he can be elected; Caesar agrees to make Dolabella only deputy consul for the rest of 44 and Antonius his senior, but he is to have Syria in 43; Caesar's nominees Aulus Hirtius and Caius Vibius Pansa are to be consuls in 43 and Decimus Brutus and Lucius Munatius Plancus in 42, the years when Caesar will be absent.

26 January: Caesar is quick to demur when he is hailed as 'Rex' by bystanders as he enters Rome, but insists that the two tribunes who arrested the offenders are dismissed.

Caesar sends Lucius Statius Murcus as the new governor to Syria to deal with the Pompeian rebel leader there, Caecilius Bassus.

Caesar is voted more honours by the Senate, including a new priesthood of the *Luperci Julii* dedicated to the cult of his family with Antonius as chief priest; he is allowed to dedicate the spolia optima (usually granted to a general who has killed enemy commander in combat) though he does not qualify for it; he is named 'Pater Patriae', the month he was born in ('Sextilis') is renamed 'Julius', and his birthday is proclaimed a public holiday; statues of him are to be set up in Italian cities and a Temple of Felicitas ('Good Fortune') is to replace the old Senate House. The extravagance of all this plays a part in the genesis of the conspiracy to murder him before he leaves for Parthia on 18 March, in which Caius Cassius Longinus and Decimus Brutus are apparently the leaders.

Early February: Caesar accepts the title of 'perpetual dictator', a

further innovation defying the usual constitution as even Sulla only held office until he deemed he had solved the political crisis of the mid-80s.

15 February: At the *Lupercalia* festival, Antonius in his new role as chief of the board of 'Julian' priests leads the ritual race round the Palatine; afterwards he produces a diadem as he reaches Caesar's chair in the Forum and tries to put it on his head, but Caesar publicly rejects it thrice and sends it to be put on the statue of Jupiter, Rome's 'only king'. Antonius has it officially recorded that Caesar has rejected the title of 'King', but this does not stop the rumours that he really wants the title and staged the episode so that if the popular reaction was favourable he could take the diadem.

The conspiracy spreads as more senators are alarmed at Caesar's intentions and listen to Cassius' call for decisive action to save the republic, and reputedly Brutus (Cassius' wife Junia's brother) resists arguments and anonymous placards that he should emulate his namesake, who expelled the last King of Rome, but is talked round – particularly by his wife Porcia, Cato's daughter, with arguments that it is what her father would have done. He insists that as it is tyrannicide not a bloody coup the plotters should only kill Caesar, not Antonius or other associates; around 60 senators are implicated in the murder plan.

Caesar rejects the idea of a bodyguard, a probable indication that rumours about the plot have leaked out; **14 March** at dinner with Lepidus, he reportedly says that a swift death is best.

15 March: Caesar sets out for the final meeting of Senate before his departure, at the hall adjoining Pompeius' theatre, and does not bother to read an urgent warning note that is handed to him; he reportedly jokes with a soothsayer who has warned him about bad omens for the day that the 'Ides of March' are here and nothing has happened, and is told that they have not finished yet. At the entrance to the hall plotter Trebonius detains Caesar's companion Antonius, and once Caesar is inside the plotters surround him; Tullius Cimber presents a petition on behalf of his exiled brother which Caesar angrily rejects as he has denied an earlier request on the subject, and tribune Servilius Casca grabs Caesar's toga and stabs him; the others join in, and as the senators

not in the plot flee Caesar is fatally wounded and collapses, ironically at the foot of Pompeius' statue (aged 55).

Brutus intends to make a speech to reassure the rest of Senate, but they have fled and panic spreads through the city; Antonius goes into hiding, Lepidus as 'Master of the Horse' secures the small body of troops under his command and brings them to the Campus Martius, Caesar's retainers eventually dare to come and collect his body, and Brutus leads the conspirators up the Capitol to dedicate their daggers in the Temple of Jupiter and proclaim that they have saved the republic. A few sympathizers join them, but Cicero fails to persuade Brutus and Cassius to use their praetoral rank to summon the Senate next day and Brutus prefers to seek consul Antonius' reaction first.

At night, after consulting Lepidus, Antonius secures Caesar's will and other papers from his house and requisitions the treasury in the Temple of Ops.

16 March: Brutus comes down to address the Assembly, and is listened to in silence. Antonius restrains Lepidus and Caesar's friend Balbus in demands for violence, and negotiates with Decimus Brutus (governor-designate of Cisalpine Gaul).

17 March: Antonius summons Senate to the Temple of Tellus near his house; he warns those who want to cancel Caesar's legislation that that will include his appointments and result in chaos. They agree to ratify all Caesar's acts and accept Cicero's plea for amnesty, and those murderers with grants of provinces have them ratified. Dolabella is accepted as the new consul, and presides while Antonius accepts a popular invitation to Assembly in the Forum to show that he is safe. Once Brutus' group have secured Antonius' and Lepidus' sons as hostages for safety they come down to Forum to meet the Caesarean leaders, and the leaders of the two sides reluctantly shake hands and dine together as the Assembly leadership (tribunes?) demand.

18 March: Caesar's funeral is arranged at second Senate meeting at behest of his father-in-law and executor Calpurnius Piso; before the ceremony the will is opened at Caesar's house and Caesar's dispositions are revealed – 300 sesterces are willed to each citizen and his gardens are

to be opened to the public, which news rouses the assembling crowds into a mood for revenge on the murderers.

?20 March Antonius, as the nearest male relative in Rome, delivers the funeral oration at the ceremony in Forum, authorized by Brutus as praetor, with Caesar's body displayed on the rostra; whatever the true contents of his speech (Appian claims it is inflammatory, others not so), the crowds are roused to violence and after erecting an improvised pyre in the Forum to burn Caesar's body they use burning brands in unsuccessful attacks on the assassins' houses; Brutus and his friends flee Rome, and the poet Caius Helvius Cinna, a tribune, is lynched after he is mistaken for his assassin namesake Lucius Cinna, Caesar's ex-brother-in-law.

Antonius versus Octavian versus the assassins

Octavius, studying at Apollonia in Epirus and waiting to join Caesar as he heads east for Parthia, hears of the murder from his mother Atia; he sets out for Rome with a small escort including his friend Marcus Agrippa to challenge Antonius, but does not land at Brundisium in case he is stopped; as he progresses up the Appian Way assorted Caesarean clients join his party.

Cleopatra and her entourage leave Rome; back in Egypt her brother Ptolemy XIII dies and she associates her two-year-old son Ptolemy XIV 'Caesarion' (supposedly Caesar's son) on the throne.

Antonius secures control of the government in Rome, betrothing his daughter to Lepidus' son and arranging for Lepidus to have the vacancy as Pontifex Maximus; a column is erected to Caesar in the Forum; **April:** the returned exile demagogue Caius Amatius tries to outbid Antonius as populist leader by accusing him of leniency to assassins and setting up an altar in the Forum to Caesar, but Antonius has him murdered; he is forced by popular pressure to accept the altar as official and allow sacrifices there, but the volatile populace is soon rioting again and he has to bring in 6,000 veteran troops to secure order with executions; he arbitrarily uses Caesar's money to buy up support, and is resented

by a large body of senators including Cicero (who retires to Campania).

Lepidus is granted the command in Spain against Sextus Pompeius, who has now raised eight legions there; assassin Trebonius is allowed to leave for his designated province of Asia, and Cimber for Bithynia and Decimus Brutus for Cisalpine Gaul (as under Caesar's arrangements).

11 April: The Senate confirms Caesar's treaty of friendship with Hyrcanus of Judaea and privileges to the Jews, as requested by Hyrcanus' envoys and supported by Antonius and Dolabella.

Mid-April: Octavius meets Balbus at Naples, and arrives at stepfather Philippus' villa at Puteoli to receive a message from his mother and stepfather informing him of his inheritance (thus his name is now 'Caius Julius Caesar Octavianus', subject to legal ratification); Philippus advises him not to take it up because of dangers, but he presses on and en route meets and endeavours to charm Cicero in Campania.

Late April: Antonius visits Campania to oversee land distribution to veterans; Brutus, Cassius and their friends, in Campania, are persuaded to obey Antonius' instructions to stop levying a bodyguard of young nobles.

May: Antonius returns to Rome with new bodyguard of veterans and Arab Itureans, leaving around 37 legions of the Caesarean civil war army in camp to await his further orders.

Octavian arrives in Rome, and rallies those Caesarean supporters who mistrust Antonius and makes an impression on the populace of devotion to his great-uncle's memory and wishes.

Lucius Antonius enacts legislation to create a new land commission of seven, including him and his brother, to settle veterans; colonies of urban poor are also set up.

Octavian and Caesar's rich equestrian ally Caius Matius arrange the *Ludi Victoriae Caesaris*, but Antonius counteracts his new rival's moves to associate himself with Caesar's memory in the public mind by securing a tribunal veto on him showing Caesar's triumphal chair at the Games.

June: With the veteran soldiers who are now in Rome threatening vengeance, Brutus dares not return to preside at the Games in his legal

role as praetor and has his collection of wild animals used there in his absence.

1 June: The Senate meets, surrounded by Antonius' troops so his enemies do not turn up; Antonius arranges a law in Assembly to give him Cisalpine Gaul (instead of Decimus getting it), for six years with its legions, together with retaining his originally assigned four legions in Macedonia; Macedonia, without the troops, is to go to Decimus; Dolabella is to have Syria and the Parthian war for six years.

3 June: Senate confirms the vote of 17 March: on ratifying all Caesar's legislation, on Antonius' motion.

5 June: Brutus is assigned Crete and Cassius is assigned Cyrene for a year, with a commission to collect grain in Sicily and Asia province; **8 June** they meet at Antium and decide to accept their assignments, and subsequently leave Italy.

July: With Brutus unable to preside at the Ludi Apollinares Games as is his right as praetor, Antonius' praetor brother Caius does so instead and Antonius buys up all the wild beasts in Rome so Octavian cannot seek popularity by presenting them at Games; instead **12 July** on Caesar's birthday Octavian distributes money to the populace. Antonius blocks Octavian's efforts to secure new laws giving Caesar divine status, but on the last day of the Games in honour of (Caesar's ancestress) Venus a comet appears and the public accept Octavian's party's claim that it is divine Caesar ascending to join the gods.

Antonius adds a fifth day to the Games that are to be held in September in Caesar's memory, and dedicates a statue to him on the Rostra in Forum inscribed *Parenti Optimo Maximo* to promote himself as Caesar's heir. The veterans complain about the tensions between Antonius and Octavian, and force them to meet on the Capitol and promise goodwill to each other.

1 September: The Senate meets to discuss new honours for Caesar, and the newly returned Cicero excuses himself on grounds of fatigue; the suspicious Antonius has to be dissuaded from threatening to bring him there by force. Antonius leaves Rome.

2 September: Cicero turns up at the next Senate meeting, and

displays his hostility to Antonius' behaviour towards the constitution in the 'First Philippic': citing the precedent of Demosthenes' warnings in the 340s about Philip II of Macedon's threat to Athenian independence, he claims that the moment needs a new Demosthenes and that Antonius has turned his back on the compromise reached to secure civic peace on 17 March: by seizing Caesar's papers and the treasury, manipulating appointments, distorting Caesar's decisions for future acts, and using force whenever necessary, but pleads that Antonius changes his policy back to the original agreement after the assassination.

19 September: Antonius returns from trip to his villa at Tibur to denounce Cicero at a Senate meeting which he orders Cicero to attend (he refuses) and surrounds with his troops: he accuses Cicero of lack of gratitude to him for intercession with Caesar in 48, of bad faith towards Caesar whose murder was encouraged by Cicero's attacks on regime, of murder of Catilina's followers, of being behind Clodius' murder and encouraging Caesar and Pompeius' quarrels, and of lack of principle by now insulting Antonius who he used to flatter in his correspondence (some of which Antonius reads out). Cicero's supporters either do not attend or are too scared to reply to the speech, and Cicero claims that Antonius intended to murder him if he turned up and replied.

October: Cicero, safe at country villa, composes but does not publicize his 'second Philippic', calling Antonius a drunken, debauched tyrant who associates with ruffians, gladiators and homosexuals and should be murdered.

October–November: While Antonius is visiting the arriving Macedonian legions in Brundisium to prepare for his 43 campaign to evict Decimus Brutus from Cisalpine Gaul, Octavian tours the army camps in Campania; he offers 2,000 sesterces per man for all who will enlist in his new (illegal) army, and enrolls a guard of 3,000 troops; as his agents start to stir up Antonius' legions, Antonius can only offer 200 sesterces per man and is booed in public as he tries to demand loyalty; he loses about half his army but executes some troublemakers to secure the rest.

31 October–4 November: Octavian sends letters to Cicero, at Puteoli, to seek his advice on whether to wait at Capua and fight Antonius or march on Rome, offering himself as the Senate's champion, and Cicero replies that he should be able to win over the city mob and a lot of the *boni* in Senate but excuses himself from helping.

10 November: Octavian marches his troops into the Forum and his supporter, tribune Tiberius Cannutius, addresses the Assembly denouncing Antonius; however, the Senate remains aloof and the soldiers want action against the assassins not Caesar's lieutenant Antonius, and as Antonius marches his remaining troops on Rome they start to desert; Octavian prudently withdraws to Arretium and then Ravenna in Cisalpine Gaul to raise more men.

Antonius enters Rome, but his planned Senate meeting on **24 November**, to declare Octavian a public enemy, has to be postponed as one of his Macedonian legions, marching up the east coast of Italy to catch Octavian, has defected; Cicero claims that Antonius missed meeting as was drunk. Antonius secures resolution thanking Lepidus for truce negotiations with Sextus Pompeius and hastens to the mutinying legion's camp at Alba Fucens in a vain attempt to bribe them into remaining loyal, but he arranges a *donative* of 2,000 sesterces per man for his remaining troops; **28 November** back in Rome, he calls an illegal evening Senate meeting where despite his insults towards Octavian no formal action is taken for fear of tribunes' veto and Antonius reassigns 13 provincial governorships to put his nominees in charge. The Fourth Legion now mutinies too. He returns to camp to prepare the Cisalpine Gaul campaign, and receives oaths of loyalty from representatives of the civic classes in capital.

9 December: Cicero returns to Rome, trying to negotiate alliance between Octavian and the 'hard-line' republicans including assassins of Caesar to deal with the menace of Antonius; **10 December** assassin Casca is among the new tribunes entering office, with Cicero telling Octavian's negotiator Oppius that he hopes his patron will show sincerity of his promises to cooperate by working with Casca and other assassins.

20 December: With consul Dolabella having left for Asia province, a tribune calls Senate meeting to vote a guard for new consuls Hirtius and Pansa as they enter office; Cicero attends and encourages the Senate to work with Decimus Brutus, who has written promising loyalty, to defeat Antonius. Cicero delivers his 'Third Philippic', calling Antonius an enemy of the state and calling for him to be outlawed and Octavian, who he significantly accepts as 'Caesar', to have his private army recognized; the latter measure is accepted but not the former, and existing governorships are confirmed to continue into 43 instead of Antonius' planned new governors taking office. Cicero then delivers the 'Fourth Philippic' to the Assembly, comparing Antonius to Spartacus and Catilina as a savage and brutal threat to the state.

Antonius invades Cisalpine Gaul to besiege Decimus at Mutina. Brutus, now in Athens and encouraged to rally to the Senate's cause by Cicero, proceeds to Thessaly to raise an army of disbanded Pompeians (veterans from the 48 campaign, in which he fought with them) and take a store of Caesar's weaponry at Demetrias that was being assembled for the Parthian war; Cinna hands over 500 cavalry en route to Dolabella's Asian command to him.

43 BC 1 January: Aulus Hirtius and Caius Vibius Pansa consuls; at the Senate, Hirtius calls on his father-in-law Quintus Fufius Calenus who urges sending of envoys to negotiate with Antonius rather than war, but in his 'Fifth Philippic' Cicero rejects that idea as absurd, claims that Antonius' attack on Mutina is an act of war against the Senate's appointed governor and needs similar response, and proposes votes of thanks to Decimus and Lepidus (the latter a crucial potential ally due to his new command in Transalpine Gaul to Decimus' rear). He successfully proposes that Octavian be granted *propraetor* status, ranking him as former praetor though he is 19 and has never held office; Calpurnius Piso, Octavian's stepfather Philippus, and Cicero's friend Servius Sulpicius are voted as an embassy to Antonius to require him to accept the Senate's authority, leave Decimus unmolested in Cisalpine Gaul, and return to Italy but keep 200 miles from Rome.

Piso and Antonius' uncle Lucius Caesar lobby against Antonius being declared a public enemy; in the end a tribune vetoes the motion, and as the debate ends **4 January** Cicero delivers his 'Sixth Philippic' to Assembly demanding war not negotiations.

Hirtius is voted the command of army to be sent to Mutina in case Antonius does not obey, and Octavian promises to join him with his army; Pansa is to levy new troops. Cicero takes charge of raising finance for the war from Antonius' supporters, encourages maintenance of uneasy alliance of Caesareans and the assassins' sympathizers, and addresses the Assembly to boost public support (including the 'Seventh Philippic').

Hortensius, governor of Macedonia, hands over his province and troops to Brutus (rather than do so to Antonius' nominee who will arrive shortly) in anti-Antonius move.

Sulpicius dies during the mission to Antonius' camp at Mutina, and Cicero secures him a public funeral and statue; Antonius demands the governorship of Transalpine Gaul with six legions for five years in return for accepting Decimus in Cisalpine Gaul, together with ratification of all his acts, a land settlement for his soldiers, acceptance of his seizure of treasury, and orders to Brutus and Cassius to stop them levying troops; he refuses to let the embassy into Mutina to meet Decimus, and sends his quaestor Lucius Varius Cotyla back with them to the Senate.

Late January: The 'Eighth Philippic' – Cicero warns against any compromise as no person or property will be safe if Antonius wins, but accepts the idea of amnesty for those now under arms if they desert the traitor.

The Senate passes the *Senatus consultum ultimum* granting the consuls Hirtius, Pansa and Octavian powers to deal with Antonius, whose troops are to be granted amnesty if they defect by 15 March; Lucius Caesar defeats an attempt to declare Antonius a public enemy. Messages are received from Brutus confirming that he has proceeded to Greece, Illyricum and Macedonia as the Senate asked to take them over from Caius Antonius (Antonius' nominee for their governorships

in 43); Antonius' sympathizer Fufius Calenus fails to have the command restored to Caius, as Cicero leads successful resistance to it with his 'Tenth Philippic'.

Brutus advances against the arriving Caius Antonius, who has landed in Epirus to take over the provinces his brother gave him; as Brutus hurries across the mountains through snow and is delayed by sickness near Epidamnus, the troops at Apollonia refuse to admit Caius Antonius who proceeds to Buthrotum (Butrinto) with his Italian troops to confront Brutus; outmanoeuvred by Brutus and his lieutenant, Cicero's son Marcus, Caius is arrested as his troops desert en masse; Cicero calls for the prisoner's execution but Brutus spares him and stops him intriguing with his officers for mutiny by sending him out of his camp onto a ship.

7 March: Cassius writes from Syria to Cicero, announcing that he has taken over the legions waiting there for Dolabella to arrive and start Parthian war.

Trebonius the assassin, outgoing governor of Asia province, refuses arriving Dolabella admission to the port of Smyrna on his way to Syrian command, so Dolabella besieges it and breaks in at night; he has Trebonius tortured and beheaded, and on the news reaching Rome the Senate declares him a public enemy; the Senate considers a special command for the campaign against him or giving it to Hirtius and Pansa as governors of Syria and Asia in 42, and Cicero agitates to secure Cassius the command and delivers the 'Eleventh Philippic' in support without success.

20 March: Birth of the poet Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso), at the central Italian town of Sulmo.

Antonius' and his tame tribunes' legislation of March–December 44 is nullified, but some (e.g. the abolition of dictatorship and land bills) are passed again under proper authority; Cicero and Pansa join a new land commission to distribute estates to Caesarean soldiers.

?Early April: Cicero delivers 'Twelfth Philippic' against any new embassy to Antonius, whose abusive letters to Hirtius and Octavian about their lack of proper zeal to avenge Caesar and in support of Dolabella are used against him; Munatius Plancus, governor of

Transalpine Gaul, advances to support the consular and Octavian's advance on Mutina and Cicero issues the 'Thirteenth Philippic' in support.

Mid-April: Antonius takes two legions and two praetoral cohorts out from his siege lines against Pansa while Lucius Antonius keeps up siege; **14 April** he ambushes and routs Pansa in woods and marshes near Forum Gallorum, luring the enemy forward to meet his cavalry and then springing a trap by his infantry. Though Hirtius' experienced Martian legion has unexpectedly already reached Pansa's army and drives back Antonius' left wing, the Antonian cavalry stop them; Pansa is mortally wounded by javelin, but his troops hold their camp and while the Antonians are collecting the loot on battlefield Hirtius and 20 cohorts arrive and attack them (Octavian is left behind guarding Hirtius' camp); Antonius loses about half his men but is saved by darkness.

20 April: Panic in Rome as initial reports of battle indicate Antonius' victory, and rumours hint that Cicero wants to be dictator; eventually, the full report arrives and Cicero calls for a public funeral for the fallen and 50 days of public festivities for the victory in the 'Fourteenth Philippic'; his proposal that the consuls and Octavian be hailed as imperators is passed.

27 April: Hirtius and Octavian hurry to relieve Decimus' army at Mutina, and in battle force entry to Antonius' camp where Hirtius is mortally wounded; Decimus leads his army out of the town during the attack, and Octavian withdraws from Antonius' camp to link up with him; both sides are too exhausted to fight again, and Antonius retreats quickly with four legions, losing many deserters but eluding Decimus' pursuit on a successful march into the Alps to join his ally Ventidius with troops in Transalpine Gaul; Decimus' army increases from seven to ten legions, but Octavian avoids joining him with his own 11 legions.

The Senate votes Decimus a triumph and Octavian an ovation, and **May** sets up a ten-man commission to investigate the legality of Antonius' past laws; a land commission to distribute estates to veterans initially excludes both Decimus and Octavian until Cicero has this

altered, but the Senate's bonuses to troops are denounced as niggardly and its coolness towards Octavian is reciprocated by him.

24 May: Decimus warns Cicero that Octavian has refused to send Pansa's old legion to him, and that Octavian is aware of Cicero's boast that he should be praised, honoured and then disposed of.

Caius Asinius Pollio, a former Caesarean commander in the civil war who fought under Curio in Africa in 49, brings two legions from Spain to Gaul to attack Antonius on the Senate's orders, but Antonius joins Ventidius, rebuilds his army, and eludes the pursuing Decimus to lead his men to the Argentaeus River where Lepidus is camped with his seven legions and Plancus has arrived to join him; propaganda about the need for unity in the Caesarean cause by Antonius' agents has effect in Lepidus' army and is not stopped by its equivocating commander, who allows Antonius to cross the river and address his soldiers; **29 May** the Lepidan troops declare in favour of alliance with Antonius, and Lepidus follows suit and informs the Senate; **20 June** they declare Lepidus a public enemy too.

July: Octavian's men send unsuccessful embassy to Rome requesting the consulship for him.

Plancus links up with Decimus and they appeal to Senate for more men; they confront Antonius, but he avoids battle and Plancus' untested troops start to indicate discontent about fighting him; Plancus bows to his troops' wishes and deserts the senatorial cause too and declares for Antonius; Decimus flees with his dwindling troops.

Octavian demands that the Senate grant him a triumph, consulship and lands for his troops and opens secret negotiations with Antonius in Gaul; they only offer him a praetorship. His apparent suggestion of a joint consulship with Cicero is rebuffed, and Cicero vainly implores Brutus to hurry to Italy with his troops.

Octavian assembles eight Gallic legions in Cisalpine Gaul and brings them into Italy to march on Rome; **August** as Octavian's army advances and more troops join to raise it to 17 legions, the Senate recalls two legions from Africa at Cicero's suggestion.

Octavian's advance-guard enters Rome, and representatives meet

the Senate to demand the consulship for Octavian, restoration of full bounty for troops, and reversal of Antonius' outlawing; the Senate agrees to let Octavian stand for the consulship in absence, doubles the planned bounty, and turns the land commission over to Octavian's control.

The African troops arrive in Rome, but declare for Octavian; the urban praetor, senior official in the city, commits suicide, and as Octavian arrives outside Rome and suppliants flock to him Cicero belatedly joins them and suggests a joint consulship to be ignored; Cicero and others raise hopes on false rumour that two of Octavian's legions are about to desert, but it turns out to be wrong.

Octavian enters Rome, properly withdraws from city as nominees conduct consular elections, and **19 August** is elected consul at the age of 19 (his power in the capital lasts from this date for the next 57 years); his colleague is his submissive cousin Quintus Pedius. He seizes the treasury to pay bonus to soldiers, and has the outlawry of Dolabella reversed by the Assembly and any legacies due under Caesar's will that are unpaid are settled.

Octavian secures his adoption as Caesar's son to legalize his existing use of name of 'Caius Julius Caesar'; a special commission tries the murderers of Caesar in their absence, together with others who allegedly knew about plot and did nothing about it; Sextus Pompeius is included in the prosecution by Octavian's lieutenant Agrippa, although Silucius Corona dares to speak up for Brutus without reprisal, and all are condemned and have property seized. Dolabella lands his army (including Allienus' Caesarean legions from Alexandria which Cleopatra has sent to him as Caesar's supporter) in Syria, garrisons Laodicea, and is besieged by Cassius who gains help from Egyptian governor Serapion in Cyprus but is turned down by Cleopatra and Rhodes; Cassius' fleet defeats Dolabella who commits suicide; his troops desert to Cassius who considers an expedition to Egypt to seize its wealth from Cleopatra.

Late summer: Antipater the Idumean, chief minister of Hyrcanus of Judaea, is poisoned by his master at a banquet after his rival Malichus

has accused him of plot; Antipater's sons retain leading positions, Phasael governing Jerusalem and Herod governing Galilee. Malichus plots to secure supreme power in Judaea, but with Cassius' authorization Herod (in favour for assistance with raising Cassius' extortionate tribute for his planned wars) has him murdered at Tyre and takes over the direction of Jewish affairs.

?Late summer: Brutus marches via Thrace, defeating tribes en route, to the Hellespont and into Asia Minor where he orders the building of a large fleet at Cyzicus (Bithynia) and receives submission of the cities of Ionia; he summons Cassius to join him and prepare expedition to regain Italy and save the republic.

Octavian marches north to deal with Decimus and his six remaining legions, and after his departure Pedius secures reversal of Antonius' and Lepidus' outlawry; Decimus, his return into Cisalpine Gaul over the Alps blocked and with Antonius and Lepidus following, finds his men deserting and flees towards the Rhine but is killed by a Gallic chieftain ?at Antonius' behest.

Octavian, Antonius and Lepidus draw up their armies of five legions each on the banks of the Po at Bononia, and Lepidus as mediator leads the other two (with 300 bodyguards each) to a nearby island for two days of talks; they agree formal agreement of alliance, the 'Second Triumvirate', with them as *tresvires rei publicae constituendae*. They are to have equal consular power for five years from 1 January 42, and are to have powers to nominate officials including magistrates and governors; the Senate and Assembly do not have to ratify their laws before they are legally enforceable, and powers of the latter are drastically cut except their right to vote honours. Antonius is to have the governorships and troops of Transalpine and Cisalpine Gaul (i.e. the largest army), Lepidus to have the two Spains and 'Narbonensine' Gaul, and Octavian to have Sicily, Sardinia and Africa. The veterans are to be settled on the lands of 18 named cities in Italy: around 80,000 men are to be involved in total, leaving around 60 legions under arms. There is also unofficial agreement on the persons to be purged in a new proscription, which remains secret for the moment; Octavian abandons any defence of

Cicero who Antonius wants dead and who is included in an initial 'hit-list' sent to Pedius in Rome. Octavian is to marry Claudia, daughter of Antonius' wife Fulvia by Clodius, instead of his fiancée (the daughter of Servilius Vatia Isauricus), but postpones marriage due to her youth (and later cancels it). Lepidus agrees to sacrifice his brother Paullus to be proscribed, Antonius to include his uncle Lucius Caesar, and Octavian to include assorted relatives too.

November: Brutus and Cassius meet at Smyrna, and agree to huge exactions from Asia Minor to pay for their war though Cassius is reluctant to surrender some of his Asian/Syrian loot to reimburse Brutus for his new fleet and eventually gives him a third of his gains; the cities and kingdoms are subjected to blatant extortion and approximately ten years' taxes are collected in one year with those allied dynasts such as Ariobarzanes of Cappadocia who do not pay up being executed; while Cassius makes war on the rich allied state of Rhodes to secure tribute, defeats their fleet off Myndos, opens siege of their main city and forces its surrender with executions of around 50 opponents, a 1,500-talent fine, and surrender of all the gold and silver in city; Brutus invades Lycia but meets resistance led by Naucrates. Defeating the Lycian army in a surprise attack and taking strongholds, Brutus releases prisoners to show his goodwill but a new outbreak follows so he besieges Xanthus whose inhabitants commit mass suicide. His subsequent clemency, however, secures most of the other cities.

17 November: Antonius' ally Ventidius and Carrinas take over consulship; **27 November** tribune Publius Titius secures the Assembly's vote in favour of the *Lex Titia* to enact the triumvirs' intentions.

Cicero and his brother Quintus are at Tusculum when they hear that they are to be proscribed, and head for Astura on the coast to sail to Brutus in Macedonia; Quintus returns home to collect funds and he and his son are caught and killed; Cicero goes on board ship at Circeum, returns to land and sets out for Rome ?to appeal to Octavian but changes mind, and lets his slaves take him to his villa at Caeta near Formiae; **late November** a search-party under Cicero's former client, military tribune Popilius Laenas, arrives and Cicero's servants

smuggle him out in litter towards the seashore, but his whereabouts are betrayed and while Popilius cuts off the escape route the centurion Herennius chases after Cicero; he is caught up and surrenders to have his throat cut, aged 63; Popilius takes his head to Antonius; the jubilant Fulvia takes revenge for Cicero's feuds with both her husbands as she has Cicero's head and writing-hand nailed up on the Rostra in the Forum.

Up to 300 senators and several thousand equestrians are probably killed in the executions, including close relatives of all the triumvirs (Antonius' uncle Lucius Caesar is one of the few to be pardoned) and their property is seized to pay the Caesarean troops; others escape to Brutus and Cassius. Free men are offered 100,000 sesterces for bringing the head of someone condemned to the triumvirs, and 40,000 sesterces and freedom are offered to slaves who do it.

Sextus Pompeius, having sailed to Sicily and secured the surrender of governor Bithynicus, receives and sustains large number of refugees from the proscriptions.

42 BC 1 January: Plancus assumes the consulship with Lepidus; the Senate agrees to recognize Caesar as a god and swears to uphold his acts. Caesar's image is put on coinage, and the right of sanctuary is granted to his new temples in Italy.

The triumvirs enter Rome separately on successive days with military parades, and order crippling new taxes to fund their government and wars – one year's rental for houses and half a year's proceeds for land, with a forced loan of one year's income from all citizens and a 2 per cent levy on all property valued over 100,000 denarii. If people find it easier, they can hand over all their property and the state will assess it and give a third back.

January: Brutus and Cassius met for second 'summit', at Sardes, and are reconciled after initial quarrel; Brutus executes the venal praetor Lucius Pella as an example of their good intentions. They prepare to return to Greece and assemble 19 legions with Orodes of Parthia promising help, but are slow to move.

Cleopatra sends a fleet to aid Antonius and Octavian in Greece, but it is damaged by storms and returns; Cassius' admiral Murcus, sent to intercept it, goes on to the Straits of Otranto to take island off Brundisium and block the crossing to Epirus.

Summer: With the proscriptions over, Antonius and Octavian march south with up to 40 legions, leaving Lepidus in charge of Italy and Antonius' lieutenant Calenus commanding two legions there; while Octavian takes a fleet to Sicily to tackle Sextus Pompeius, Antonius starts the shipment of troops from Brundisium to Epirus but finds the harbour blockaded by Cassius' admiral Murcus and has to call in Octavian to bring his ships to help; Octavian, his fleet under Salvidienus defeated by Sextus in the Straits of Messina, brings fleet to Brundisium and the army is ferried across but suffers losses and once they have crossed the supply-lines are cut again.

Octavian remains at Dyrrachium, ill, while Antonius marches ahead into Macedonia; **September** Brutus and Cassius cross the Hellespont with c. 80,000 men (Appian) and advance through Thrace, and they outflank Antonius' advance force of eight legions under Norbanus at the point of mainland opposite the island of Thasos with the aid of Thracian prince Rhascupolis; they are prevented from trapping the Caesareans as Antonius hurries up to confront them. Octavian arrives to join Antonius, and the four armies camp at Philippi – Antonius opposite Cassius, Octavian opposite Brutus.

Battles of Philippi: Antonius, shorter of supplies than the assassins, starts to dig a dyke through marshes to cut off Cassius' camp from their supply route and force him into an earlier battle; Cassius' men build a wall to intercept them, but **23 October** Antonius' men storm it and press on into their camp to drive their opponents back; however, Brutus' men, seeing them busy, take the opportunity to attack Octavian in his camp and storm it successfully with him retreating to the safety of marshes; as the dust obscures what is happening, the refugee Cassius sees apparent disorder in Brutus' camp from a nearby hill, thinks it has been stormed too, and kills himself. Antonius withdraws to his camp, and Brutus returns to his to mourn his colleague.

23 October: In the Straits of Otranto, Cassius' fleet under Murcus and the younger Domitius Ahenobarbus (son of the Pompeian leader of 49–8) defeats a Caesarean convoy under Calvinus, who has to return to Brundisium minus 17 ships.

Brutus seeks to avoid battle and starve the enemy out, but is forced into action by his complaining troops; **c. 14 November** around three weeks after the first battle of Philippi, Brutus offers battle to the Caesareans; he leads his right wing successfully, but while sick Octavian remains in his camp Antonius drives the republican left wing back and surrounds the centre; Brutus' army is heavily defeated, but he escapes with the remnants of four legions while his friend Lucilius pretends to be him to draw the pursuit off and gain Brutus more time; driven into the hills with his men talking of seeking terms, Brutus commits suicide the following morning (aged 43), helped by his friend Strato, and is given an honourable funeral by Antonius. Among the republican escapees from battle is the poet Horace (Quintus Horatius Flaccus), though it is uncertain if his claim to have thrown away his shield was factual or symbolic.

The Second Triumvirate versus Sextus Pompeius

42 BC (contd.) Rome

Around 14,000 republican troops and some officers take service with Antonius and Octavian, who receive the surrender of enemy base on Thasos and hold victory parade and sacrifices; Cassius' namesake Cassius of Parma, commander in Asia province, and Brutus' officer Clodius (sent by him to Rhodes) take the republican garrison at Rhodes and some of the island's ships to continue resistance and, taking refugees from Philippi including Cicero's son Marcus on board, join Murcus and Ahenobarbus in the Adriatic; Murcus joins Sextus Pompeius but Ahenobarbus keeps a separate pirate force to harass the Caesareans.

16 November: Birth of the future emperor Tiberius, elder son of Tiberius Claudius Nero (Caesarean quaestor at Alexandria in 48) and Livia, daughter of republican Marcus Livius Drusus Claudianus (a

Claudian by birth and adopted son of the late tribune Drusus who died in 91) who has just committed suicide like his commander Brutus after Philippi.

Late: Antonius and Octavian re-divide provinces: Octavian is to have Spain, Sicily, Sardinia and Numidia and Antonius to have Gaul beyond the Alps; Cisalpine Gaul is to join Italy as 'neutral'.

Lepidus, suspected of secret links to Sextus, is deprived of his provinces and army. Eleven legions are kept in service with 14,000 cavalry and another 8,000 soldiers are re-enlisted; Antonius is to have six legions and 10,000 cavalry, and exchanges two Gaul garrison legions for two more experienced legions in Octavian's army for his next campaign in east.

While Antonius prepares for his eastern campaign, Octavian founds first colony for his veterans at Philippi and sets off back for Italy but is delayed at Brundisium by severe illness and has to send messages to Rome assuring that he is alive; he promises Lepidus the provinces of Africa if he can demonstrate his loyalty, and despatches Salvidienus with six legions to Spain to recover it from Sextus.

Antonius winters at Athens, and levies large financial contributions from Greece.

Judaea

Herod repulses invasion of Galilee by the new ruler of Tyre, Cassius' client Marion, on behalf of the Hasmonean pretender Antigonus (son of Aristobulus, Hyrcanus' deposed brother) and is rewarded by Hyrcanus; he soon marries Aristobulus' granddaughter Mariamne.

41 BC

Rome

1 January: Lucius Antonius, Antonius' brother, consul with Publius Servilius Vatia Isauricus.

Octavian arrives in Rome; he leads the celebrations decreed by Senate and sets up statues of Concord to declare return of civil peace; however, the land settlement of c. 46,000 troops requires a new round

of seizures of properties, and among those republican soldiers from Brutus' and Cassius' armies who have their land taken is the poet Horace; the ancestral farm of the poet Vergil (Publius Vergilius Maro) at Mantua is also seized by Antonius' adherents as part of local land settlement for soldiers but is returned on appeal to Octavian.

Lucius, perhaps jealous at Octavian's growing popularity with the troops despite his poor military record in 42, starts to claim that Octavian is favouring the troops from his own army in allocations and is neglecting Antonius', and is assisted in his machinations by Fulvia; Octavian divorces Claudia in breach with her mother, but agrees to let Antonius' agents in Italy take charge of settling his veterans there.

Spring: Antonius sails to Asia province, leaving Censorinus in charge of Greece; he lands at Ephesus, and is greeted as Dionysus incarnate and enjoys wild *Dionysiac* parties with his riotous entourage; he summons an assembly of the cities and communities of the province to require that they pay him the ancestral taxes owed to the former Attalid realm, and imposes strict taxation despite the hardship caused by the recent depredations of Brutus and Cassius; he is honoured by the cities of the province as he progresses through it levying fines for support of his enemies and rewarding those who aided the Caesarean party; **June/July** he arrives in Cilicia, sets up base at Tarsus, and summons Cleopatra to explain her lack of aid for his campaign in 42.

Lucius takes up the cause of dispossessed landholders across Italy and promises more just treatment from his brother who he maintains will lay down his office as triumvir on return and accept the traditional constitution; Fulvia personally stirs up the soldiers and sends Antonius' children and Lucius to accompany Octavian on a mission to settle colonists in southern Italy so that the men will remember Antonius' part in the arrangements. Lucius claims that a cavalry detachment that Octavian is using against Sextus' raids nearby is intended to attack him and raises a bodyguard, and Octavian accuses him of fomenting trouble between the triumvirs. Open hostilities are delayed by the efforts of the soldiers of both former armies, who arrange for Octavian to meet Lucius and Fulvia at Teanum; the talks are not successful, with Lucius

as consul now attacking the unconstitutional triumviral powers, and Fulvia ostentatiously flees Rome to join Lepidus, claiming that she is in danger.

The Antonian leaders boycott next planned meeting at Gabii claiming they fear attack after a skirmish between Octavian's and Lucius' supporters there, and stay at Praeneste.

Lucius and Fulvia raise six legions and put Plancus in command in southern Italy; Octavian relies on his four legions at Capua. Ahenobarbus blockades Brundisium.

Octavian sends a legion to Brundisium to stop Antonius or his generals sending aid to Lucius, and recalls Salvidienus from his march to Spain while Lepidus and two legions guard Rome and Agrippa raises recruits; Antonius' generals Ventidius in Transalpine Gaul (11 legions) and Asinius Pollio in Cisalpine Gaul (seven legions) advance into Italy and await Antonius' orders but do not stop Salvidienus.

Fulvia orders Antonius' general Sextius to regain control of Africa and replace Octavian's nominee Fango, which he does with Mauretanian help, while Bogud of Mauretania invades Spain on Antonius' behalf but returns as Octavian's ally Prince Bocchus starts revolt at home.

Antonius is at Antioch; he receives a delegation of 100 Jewish leaders complaining about the misrule of Antipater's sons Phasael and Herod, and they present him with a gold crown; he receives assurances from his visitor 'High Priest' Hyrcanus that the complaints are baseless and does nothing, confirming the existing political situation in Judaea with Herod and his brother Phasael granted the rank of *tetrarchs* there.

?Late summer: Cleopatra arrives at Tarsus to meet Antonius, traditionally sailing up the River Cydnus in a sumptuous barge to impress him; the ploy works and they become lovers, and Antonius arranges for Cleopatra's refugee sister Arsinoe (a supporter of Cassius in 42) to be taken out of sanctuary at Ephesus and executed along with the treacherous governor Serapion of Cyprus.

Lucius secures two disaffected legions of Italian garrison at Alba before Octavian can get to them, and marches into Rome before Agrippa's army is ready to stop him; Lepidus flees. Lucius declares to

the populace that he will restore the traditional constitution under consulship and obtains a senatorial commission to command against non-specific enemy; he heads north to join Ventidius' advancing Gallic legions, but is cut off from his planned attack on Salvidienus by Agrippa seizing Sutrium and sets up his base at Perusia to await Ventidius.

Octavian and Agrippa besiege Lucius in Perusia; Ventidius and Asinius Pollio, urged to relieve him by Fulvia, halt at Ravenna and Ariminum as they face Octavian's troops, and Plancus arrives from the south but is halted by Octavian's men at Spoletium; Lucius is starved out.

?Late: Antonius does not respond to appeals for help from Italy and goes to Egypt instead to winter with Cleopatra.

40 BC 1 January: Calvinus and Asinius Pollio consuls.

Ventidius and Asinius Pollio are halted by Agrippa and Salvidienus at Fulginum as they try to relieve Perusia, and avoid battle; **?February** after several attempts to storm Octavian's siege fortifications, Lucius is forced to negotiate by his starving men and sends to Octavian to propose a general pardon as the troops are all from the original Caesarean army – Octavian will only grant pardon to Antonius' veterans not the more recent recruits. Lucius has to accept that, and as the defeated army emerges to surrender the victorious troops break ranks to welcome them as old colleagues and Octavian agrees to a general pardon. The town council of Perusia is executed for rebellion, and the citizens are told to leave the town which is pillaged and burnt; Ventidius, Pollio and Plancus all give up the campaign and Ventidius and Plancus set off for southern Italian ports to join Antonius while Pollio marches back to hold Venetia for him and persuades Ahenobarbus to declare his support for Antonius; Agrippa catches two of Plancus' legions at Camerinum and wins them over, but the rest of the Antonians reach Brundisium and Tarentum; Fulvia and her children accompany Plancus to Greece.

Fufius Calenus, commanding Antonius' other Gallic army in the Alps, dies and his son leads his 11 legions to surrender to Octavian;

Octavian hurries to take over Gaul and sends his supporters to take over Spain, while his troops evict Bogud from Mauretania.

?February/March: In the east, Orodes of Parthia sends his son Prince Pacorus to invade Syria with an army including Labienus' refugee son; they defeat and kill Decidius Saxa, Antonius' governor, and Labienus' cavalry raids into Asia Minor without resistance while Pacorus turns south and reaches Tyre which he besieges; Antonius leaves Alexandria and brings 200 ships to relieve Tyre, and then goes on to Cyprus and Rhodes. Arriving in Ionia, he hears of the end of the war in Italy and leaves for Greece where he receives Fulvia and Pollio at Athens but quarrels with his wife over Cleopatra and his inaction in 41. He sets off for Corcyra en route to Italy, and Fulvia goes to Sicyon where she dies.

Lucius Scribonius Libo, Sextus' wife's father, and Sentius Saturninus bring Sextus' proposals for alliance to Antonius, and a reconciliation is aided by the fact that Antonius' elderly mother Julia has fled to Sextus after the fall of Perusia and now arrives to join her son; however, Octavian sends his friend Maecenas, a munificent Etruscan aristocrat and sybarite, to arrange his engagement to Scribonia, Libo's sister and Sextus' aunt, to establish his own alliance with him.

Judaea

Pacorus reaches Ptolemais (Acre) and sends troops under general Barziphernes to Judaea to expel pro-Roman 'High Priest' Hyrcanus from Jerusalem and install his own candidate, the refugee Hasmonean 'pretender' Antigonus (Aristobulus' son) who is supported by Lysanias (who has just succeeded his father Ptolemy as ruler of Chalcis, Lebanon) and promises 1,000 talents to Parthia; Jerusalem is besieged and civil governor Phasael the Idumaeen, eldest son and successor of Antipater, is captured with Hyrcanus at a parley outside; the city surrenders and Hyrcanus is deposed in Antigonus' favour.

Phasael kills himself in prison; his brother Herod escapes to the impregnable fortress of Masada on the Dead Sea, a family stronghold, and thence heads to Rhodes to seek Roman help. Hyrcanus has his ears cut off to disqualify him from priesthood and prevent his restoration.

Rome

?Summer: Birth of Cleopatra's twins by Antonius, Alexander 'Helios' and Cleopatra 'Selene'.

Antonius sails into the Adriatic to meet Ahenobarbus' arriving fleet and confirms their alliance which Pollio has arranged, but as he lands in Italy with his new supporter Octavian's troops refuse him entry to Brundisium. He starts siege, and sends envoys to Sextus who besieges Thurii and sends Menodorus to take over Sardinia from Octavian's troops; as Octavian arrives with his army outside Brundisium skirmishes start, and Antonius receives a convoy of ships with his siege engines and wins a cavalry encounter; a mutual friend of both triumvirs, Lucius Cocceius, manages to start negotiating with the support of Antonius' mother Julia and officers in both armies lend support. Antonius agrees to tell Sextus to return Sardinia and Ahenobarbus to go and govern Bithynia, and Octavian's men arrange for his friend Maecenas and Antonius' ally Pollio to start formal talks. As Octavian's general Hellenus is driven out of Sardinia again by Sextus, Octavian refuses to include Sextus in the treaty and Antonius agrees; the objecting Ventidius is sent out of the way to Asia Minor to deal with Labienus.

?August/September: The 'Treaty of Brundisium' confirms the triumvirate, and Octavian gains control of Transalpine and Narbonese Gaul with Dalmatia; Octavian is to send Antonius five of the Gallic legions commanded by Salvidienus, who Antonius warns him has been disloyal to him during the recent campaign, and Lepidus is confirmed in possession of Africa; Pollio is to have Macedonia in 39 and both triumvirs are to have equal right to recruit in Italy. As Antonius is now a widower, he is to marry Octavian's widowed elder sister Octavia.

Octavian recalls and executes Salvidienus; Antonius executes his former agent in Italy, Manius, for stirring up Lucius and the troops and settlers against Octavian there in 41; Lucius Antonius gets a province in Spain under Octavian's authority, Agrippa goes to Gaul, and Plancus receives Asia province.

November: Antonius accompanies Octavian to Rome for celebrations of their pact and his marriage; he is made a priest of *divus Julius*.

39 BC 1 January: Lucius Marcius Censorinus and Caius Calvisius Sabinus consuls.

Sextus resumes his earlier naval blockade of the Italian coasts and denies grain supplies to Rome, causing rioting in the city where Octavian is stoned in Forum and is rescued by Antonius' troops; Antonius has Scribonius Libo invited from Sextus' base in Sicily for wedding celebrations and uses him to open negotiations, which populace support, and Sextus' mother Mucia is sent to assist them; Sextus agrees to discuss peace and dismisses its opponent, his (formerly Brutus') admiral Murcus, who retires to Syracuse and is soon murdered; Antonius and Octavian go to Baiae for talks with Sextus' men as the Pompeian sails offshore at Pithecusa, and a meeting is arranged on a jetty at Misenum.

Treaty of Misenum is arranged: Sextus withdraws from any positions held in Italy and receives Sicily, Corsica, and Sardinia, with Achaea to follow and the right to hold 37 consulship *in absentia* and a priesthood; in return he resumes grain supplies. All those in exile with Sextus can return except for murderers of Caesar, though those proscribed only receive a quarter of their property. Antonius (or his nominee) and Libo are to have 38 consulship, Octavian and Sextus 37 and Ahenobarbus 36.

(or late 40) Herod joins Antonius and Octavian in Italy and addresses the Senate on his family's loyalty to Rome and his eviction by Rome's enemy the Parthians; Marcus Valerius Messala and Lucius Sempronius Atratinus back his claims with the triumvirs, and he secures their recognition as the new ruler of Judaea once he has expelled Antigonus; **January/February** he returns to Syria.

Sextus entertains the triumvirs at his flagship, and allegedly rejects advice of his officer Menodorus to cut the mooring-ropes, take them out to sea, murder them and seize control of the state; then he returns to Sicily and Antonius and Octavian to Rome.

Antonius returns to Greece with Octavia, sets up base at Athens, and prepares his Parthian war with a visit to Asia province to reorganize local dynasts and benefit those who are prepared to pay him well – Darius, son of Caesar's opponent Pharnaces, receives Pontus, and

Amyntas (formerly co-ruler with Deiotarus of Galatia who has died) in Pisidia and Galatia; meanwhile Sextus does not receive the Peloponnese as promised and alleges that Antonius is retaining it until debts due to him there are paid.

?Autumn: Birth of Antonius and Octavia's first child, the elder Antonia – the pregnancy is believed to be that to which Vergil referred in his declaration of hope that a 'divine child' would be born as symbol of the Octavian/Antonian union.

Late: Birth of Octavian and Scribonia's daughter Julia; Octavian immediately arranges divorce of his wife, who is around 20 years older than him (?as part of his intended breach with Sextus).

Judaea

Herod returns to Judaea with an army sent by Ventidius, led by Silo; the latter abandons their lengthy siege of Jerusalem to Herod's annoyance, possibly after a bribe by Antigonus, but Herod recovers Samaria and Galilee.

Rome

Ventidius drives the Parthians out of Asia Minor with victory at Gindaros. Antonius and Octavia winter at Athens.

38 BC 1 January: Appius Claudius Pulcher and Norbanus Flaccus consuls.

16 January: Having divorced Scribonia, Octavian marries the six-months-pregnant Livia, aged 19, whose husband Tiberius Claudius Nero is forced to agree (ironically the pair were among the supporters of Lucius Antonius besieged in Perusia in autumn 41 who then fled to Sextus).

Early spring: Pacorus invades Syria again, hoping to catch Ventidius in winter quarters, but is unsuccessful; **9 June** Ventidius kills him in battle at Zeugma on the fifteenth anniversary of Crassus' defeat at Carrhae. Antonius celebrates triumph in Athens with Games, and Ventidius is awarded a triumph at Rome when he returns; Ventidius

invades pro-Parthian Commagene to besiege King Antiochus in capital, Samosata, but the siege makes little progress and he is accused of waiting to be bribed to pardon the king.

Menodorus, his influence with Sextus undermined by exiled aristocrats at the latter's court who despise him as ex-slave, sends to Octavian to offer to hand over Sardinia and Corsica; Octavian agrees and raises a fleet, though Antonius only briefly turns up at Brundisium for promised meeting, early, and goes home again without waiting; Menodorus hands over islands and sails to join Octavian, who puts him in joint command of his fleet with Calvisius for attack on Sicily; Octavian declares that Sextus has broken the treaty by piracy, and leads his Adriatic fleet from Tarentum to Messina while the other fleet sails down Tyrrhenian coast to rendezvous in Straits and Sextus waits on Sicilian shore opposite; Menodorus and Calvisius are caught and defeated en route by Sextus' admiral Menecrates, but the latter is killed in the battle and his lieutenant Demochares withdraws so they can move on. Before they arrive Sextus successfully attacks Octavian's squadron, and with most of his ships sunk Octavian's flagship is driven ashore and he has to scramble onto rocks and lead the survivors to safety and allegedly considers suicide in his despair at defeat; next morning he is found by the arriving Thirteenth Legion and Calvisius' fleet and recovers his nerve, but over half his remaining fleet is then sunk in a storm and he has to return to Campania with nothing accomplished.

Agrippa wins victory over rebellious Gauls in Aquitaine.

Antonius celebrates the 'Antonian' Panathenaic Games in Athens and is acclaimed as the '*Neos Dionysos*'; Antonius crosses Asia Minor with reinforcements to join Ventidius' army and takes Samosata, fining Antiochus 300 talents and installing a co-ruler, the king's brother Mithridates. Herod, his brother Joseph killed invading Judaea and the war bogged down, goes from Antioch with troops to assist the siege of Samosata and secure more Roman troops, and Antonius orders governor Sosius of Syria to assist him. Publius Canidius Crassus is sent to invade Armenia, and forces pro-Parthian king Artavasdes to ally with Antonius and promise cavalry for Parthian war.

37 BC 1 January: Agrippa and Lucius Caninius Gallus consuls; technical expiry of triumvirate.

Spring: Antonius brings 300 ships to Tarentum to join Octavian, but has to wait as the latter is still rebuilding his fleet and Antonius refuses to postpone the campaign to 36 as he intends to tackle the Parthians then; Octavia mediates as they trade complaints, and once Octavian is ready they meet near Tarentum and hold talks at Antonius' base in the city; Antonius loans his brother-in-law ships in return for 20,000 soldiers for the Parthian war, and **?August/September** they formally renew the triumvirate for a period of five years from 1 January 37 to 1 January 32 (but do not bother to seek Senate recognition); Antonius' eldest son Antyllus, aged around nine, is betrothed to Octavian's daughter Julia, aged one; Antonius returns to Greece to plan his expedition, but leaves the pregnant Octavia, their daughter, and his own children by Fulvia with Octavian.

Judaea

Herod invades Judaea with army including Sosius and Roman legions, defeats Antigonus' Jewish/Parthian forces at the battle of Jericho, and besieges Jerusalem; **July** the city is captured and he installs himself as the new king and his nominee Ananel, alleged descendant of Aaron, as 'High Priest', deporting Antigonus to Antioch for Antonius to execute; however, the Hasmonean dynasty still has many disgruntled supporters who regard Ananel as an illegal interloper and Herod as ethnically not fully Jewish.

Parthia

Orodes is murdered and succeeded by his son Phraates IV.

Rome

Canidius Crassus campaigns in the Caucasus to secure Rome's northern flank during Antonius' attack on Parthia.

Autumn: Antonius arrives at Antioch to gather army for Parthian war, and executes the disloyal dynast Lysander of Chalcis (Eastern

Lebanon) whose lands are assigned to Egypt; he sends Fonteius Capito to Alexandria to summon Cleopatra to his court despite the effect this will have on his marriage and hence on Octavian. He replaces Darius of Pontus with minor dynast Polemo from Laodicea (Syria), gives Lesser Armenia to his ally Ariobarzanes of Media whose daughter is engaged to his son Alexander Helios, and reverses the earlier award of Paphlagonia to Cappadocia.

Monaeses, who Antonius selects as his candidate for the Parthian throne, and other refugee Parthian nobles arrive at Antioch to assure Antonius that the country is ripe for revolt against the tyrant Phraates.

?Late: Menodorus defects back to Sextus; Octavian replaces Calvisius with Agrippa as his naval commander.

Publication of *De Re Rustica*, Marcus Terentius Varro's seminal work on agriculture.

36 BC 1 January: Lucius Gellius and Marcus Cocceius Nerva consuls. Birth of Antonius and Octavia's second daughter Antonia 'the Younger' (mother of Germanicus and Emperor Claudius).

Judaea

Herod deposes 'High Priest' Ananel and installs Aristobulus, a member of the formerly ruling Hasmonean family (brother of his new wife Mariamne and nephew of Hyrcanus) whose mother Alexandra has been petitioning Cleopatra that he is rightful heir and Antonius should install him as 'High Priest' and King in place of the usurper Herod and his puppet; later he becomes jealous of Aristobulus' popularity and starts to consider removing him.

Rome

Antonius does not receive the promised legions and recruits from Octavian in Italy, but invades Parthia anyway with 16 legions (c. 100,000 infantry and 10,000 cavalry) including Canidius' returned Caucasian expedition; **spring** he marries Cleopatra, presumably to secure the legitimacy of their children in his emerging plans for a grand

Helleno-Roman domain in the Middle East, and she accompanies him as far as Zeugma in his march east; he crosses the Euphrates and veers north away from Crassus' catastrophic choice of advancing through the plains, marching across the safer hills towards the Tigris as advised by Artavasdes of Armenia whose realm protects his left flank; the poor roads and his large baggage-train slow him down, and he takes his cavalry and swifter infantry ahead to cross the Tigris and attack Phraaspa, capital of pro-Parthian Media Atropatene, while two legions under Oppius Statianus guard the slower baggage-train and Polemo of Pontus and Armenian troops guard the siege-train; he finds Phraaspa too heavily fortified to storm without his siege-train so he starts to construct earthworks while waiting for the siege engines, but the Parthians attack Statianus and wipe out his force, seizing baggage-train, and then turn on the siege-train where Polemo is captured with the equipment and Artavasdes flees (possibly by arrangement with Parthians). Left without his supplies and equipment and with his foragers harassed by Parthians in the hills around Phraaspa, Antonius defeats a sortie from the city but has to decimate his mutinous troops and cut rations.

July: Octavian sails from Puteoli with one fleet while Titus Statilius Taurus brings a second from Tarentum and Lepidus brings a third from Africa for simultaneous landings on Sicily; as they sail a storm hits them, and though Lepidus reaches and takes Lilybaeum and Taurus returns safely to base Octavian loses six large and 26 smaller ships and has to postpone his campaign. Sextus boasts that he is Neptune's favourite with two summer storms in two years aiding him and becomes overconfident; while Menodorus raids Octavian's shipyards and tows ships away but then defects back to him, Lepidus continues his campaign in western Sicily but has his reinforcements from Africa sunk by Pompeian ships.

Octavian's general Messala lands in eastern Sicily to join Taurus and attack Tauromenium, and Octavian visits his naval base on the Liparae en route to join him, leaving Agrippa to command there; Agrippa attacks the north coast of Sicily to take Hierapolis and defeats Sextus' admiral Papianus at Mylae, but Sextus eludes him and sails after

Octavian's fleet which he defeats in battle after Octavian has reached Tauromenium and landed.

Agrippa takes Tyndaris, and the war becomes concentrated on that part of the north coast between Mylae and Cape Pelorus still held by Sextus; after assorted skirmishes over control of the passes into the hinterland Sextus, his supplies running out, issues Octavian a challenge to a decisive naval battle and **3 September** sails out of the harbour of Naulochus to meet Agrippa; in the decisive 'Battle of Naulochus' Agrippa uses a long-range version of the *harpago* ('grab') grappling-hook to catch enemy ships and hold them for his men to board, and after hard combat Sextus' fleet has the worst of it and loses 28 ships sunk; only 17 escape as the rest are driven ashore and set afire by pursuers, and Sextus flees by land, abandoning his main army whose general Tisienus surrenders.

Sextus collects his remaining ships at Messina and flees to Antonius to seek safety, and his general in western Sicily, Plinius, arrives at the town too late and is besieged by Agrippa and Lepidus; he surrenders to Lepidus as the troops have no heart for fighting and the two armies sack the town together, but Lepidus feels emboldened by his enlarged army to take over other surrendering towns for himself and seek rule of the island. Octavian refuses it and they threaten each other, but Lepidus' soldiers soon start to desert as Octavian sends agents to criticize his obduracy and as they admit Octavian to their camp Lepidus flees to his cavalry and with them deserting has to surrender; he is paraded in front of Octavian's tribunal to be dismissed from command and sent to Rome in disgrace.

Octavian, now in command of 45 legions and 25,000 cavalry, fines Sicily 1,600 talents, installs new governors there and in Africa, and returns to Rome in triumph.

October: Antonius sends to the Parthians requesting the return of the 'eagle' standards and prisoners captured from Statianus; they will only assure him of an unmolested retreat; he agrees and sets out back towards Syria, but listens to warning from a guide that the treacherous Parthians are planning cavalry ambush on the main road and turns

aside into hills; the Parthians pursue him and cut a dyke to flood his path before launching assault on his flanks, and he has 25 days of continued attacks as he struggles on with his men formed in a defensive square around his food wagons; the Parthian cavalry are lethal to stragglers, and 3,000 men are killed when Flavius Gallus launches a counter-attack and is caught in the open with Antonius having to hurry to rescue the survivors; next day 40,000 Parthians try to destroy the Romans in open attack on their lines, but they drive them off. Antonius ignores Parthian assurances about a truce and keeps to safer mountain routes, though on the final night of retreat his demoralized men start to loot the baggage and he cannot impose order; next day they reach a river and the cavalry protects the others as they ford it, and Parthians draw back on the bank and do not pursue them.

Antonius rests his men in Armenia and has to accept Artavasdes' assurances of loyalty, but as soon as possible he moves his troops through the mountains to the safety of Syria despite harsh winter weather that costs a further 8,000 lives. **November:** Back in Syria, he meets Cleopatra who has brought supplies but not the requested money from Egypt and pays off the troops out of his own fortune.

Antonius returns to Alexandria with Cleopatra; Sextus arrives at Mytilene, Lesbos, as a refugee and is encouraged by Antonius' disaster to think of usurping power, but sends him a friendly request for asylum while approaching Parthia, Pontus and Armenia for military aid. **Birth of Antonius and Cleopatra's younger son Ptolemy Philadelphus;** Antonius writes to Octavia, who is refusing her brother's suggestion to divorce him, maintaining that his liaison with Cleopatra need not end their marriage and that Octavian has been equally unfaithful to Livia.

35 BC Consul: Lucius Cornificius.

Antonius rebuilds his army, and raises five more legions – but with no recruits coming from Italy he allows anyone to join in return for Roman citizenship, thus maintaining the fiction of a traditional 'Roman citizen' army. He sends Titius, governor of Syria, with army to Sextus to fight him if he offers resistance and if not to bring him to Alexandria.

Sextus is allowed into Asia province by governor Caius Furnius on Antonius' orders but finds him raising men and informs his employer; Sextus' envoys en route to Parthia are captured, and Antonius confronts Sextus' embassy to him with this evidence of treachery.

Sextus plots to murder Ahenobarbus, now Antonius' governor of Bithynia, who arrives with troops to meet him, but the plot is detected and he flees to seize Lampsacus, raise troops from Caesar's veterans settled nearby, and attack Cyzicus; he raids Furnius' camp near Ilium (Troy) to keep him at bay and gathers more men at will, taking Nicaea and Nicomedia; then the ships that Antonius lent Octavian in 36 arrive together with Titius' fleet from Syria, and Sextus is outnumbered and evades battle but finds his men despairing and deserting; with Libo, Cassius of Parma and other officers negotiating surrender he tries to flee with 3,000 lightly armed troops east for Armenia, but is pursued by Titius, Furnius and Amyntas of Galatia and is caught and surrounded on a hill; he defeats his pursuers in surprise attack, but is worn down by pursuit and slips out of camp with a few men to try to reach Titius' fleet; betrayed to Amyntas' cavalry, he surrenders to the king and is taken to Titius who has him executed at Miletus (aged around 45).

Octavian versus Antonius

Rome

Octavia brings a cavalry force from Italy to Greece to aid her husband who has set out for the province from Egypt, but at Athens receives his orders to send them on and return to her brother and does so; Antonius returns to Alexandria to plan revenge on Artavasdes.

Judaea

Alexandra, mother of the new Jewish 'High Priest' Aristobulus and of Herod's wife Mariamne, sends to Cleopatra warning of Herod's ill-will, and secures an offer of sanctuary for them in Egypt; the trio attempt to flee but are caught by Herod's spies, and later Aristobulus is 'accidentally' drowned in swimming pool and Herod restores Ananel to office.

Alexandra writes to Cleopatra that Herod murdered her son and Antonius should deal with him. The king is summoned to meet Antonius at Laodicea in Syria; he leaves his uncle Joseph as regent of Judaea with orders to kill Mariamne if he fails to return, and in his absence a rumour that Herod has been executed leads to revolt against the Herodians by the Hasmonean family's supporters in the countryside which Joseph cannot halt; Herod returns with Antonius' continued support and crushes the revolt.

34 BC

Rome

1 January: Antonius consul, with Lucius Scribonius Libo.

Spring: Antonius leads expedition into Armenia, accompanied on first part of expedition by Cleopatra and Herod, and alleging that he is en route to a new Parthian war and seeking assistance from Artavasdes; arriving at the capital, he summons Artavasdes to discuss his daughter's marriage to Antyllus but when he arrives has him arrested and deposed for treachery to his army in 36. The Armenians resist and elect the king's son Artaxes as their new ruler, and Antonius defeats and overthrows him and installs his half-brother Artaxias as his puppet-king under the control of Canidius Cassius and a large Roman garrison. Artavasdes and his family are deported to Egypt on Antonius' return there.

Autumn: Antonius celebrates his Armenian victory with the first Roman triumph held outside Rome – in Alexandria, which is regarded as illegal and sacrilegious by many Romans as it should be held in Jupiter's honour in capital. He presides in a golden robe holding the sacred wand of Dionysus, the god with whom he most seeks identification, accompanied by Cleopatra in her role as Isis (the chief goddess of Egypt and her patron as a female Pharaoh), and the Armenian royal captives are paraded in front of the enthroned Cleopatra and her children; great parades, Games, and feasts are held. Antonius proclaims Ptolemy XIV as Roman-recognized co-ruler of Egypt and Caesar's son, and in the highly controversial 'Donations of Alexandria' ceremony at the city stadium a few days after the Armenian triumph he grants Cyprus,

Libya and Coele-Syria (eastern Lebanon and the Damascus area) to the Egyptian sovereigns; Armenia, Parthia and Media (once conquered) are created as a new realm for his elder son by Cleopatra, 'King of Kings' Alexander Helios, and Phoenicia, Syria and Cilicia are granted to his and Cleopatra's younger son Ptolemy; the boys are paraded in respectively Median and Macedonian/Syrian costumes befitting the kings of those realms. Antonius and Cleopatra's daughter Cleopatra Selene receives Crete and Cyrenaica. Most of the lands affected are not Roman and Antonius has the legal authority as triumvir to make settlements of kingdoms as Caesar and Pompeius did, but it is a gift to his enemies in Rome. Octavian shows his open hostility for the first time.

33 BC 1 January: Octavian consul, with Lucius Volcarius Tullus; he holds office for one day before handing over to suffect consuls, but uses the occasion for an angry speech to the Senate denouncing the 'Donations'.

Spring: Octavian launches a successful campaign in Illyria to defeat raiding tribesmen and incorporate their lands in the Roman province.

Antonius returns to Armenia, and meets Artavasdes of Media Atropatene who has quarrelled with Phraates of Parthia and seeks alliance; the engagement of Alexander Helios and the king's daughter is confirmed. Agrippa holds the office of aedile, and controls Rome in Octavian's absence.

Autumn: Antonius and Cleopatra sail to Ephesus to prepare for war with Octavian, and start a large-scale shipbuilding programme in Ionia; **November:** he recalls his 16 legions from Armenia and orders Polemo of Pontus to protect the frontier from Parthian interference.

32 BC 1 January: Ahenobarbus and Caius Sosius (ex-governor of Syria) serve as consuls – both Antonians. The triumvirate expires and neither partner makes moves to extend it, but nothing practically changes.

As consul, Ahenobarbus notably dares not make public defence of his patron; **February** Sosius takes over presiding at Senate and attacks Octavian, who boycotts the debate but has his loyal tribune Balbus

veto Sosius' proposed legislation against him; he returns to Rome to hold a Senate meeting surrounded by his troops where he defends his actions and attacks Antonius and Sosius, and as he announces that he will produce documentation of his colleague's misbehaviour at next meeting the consuls and c. 200 out of 900 senators flee Rome for Egypt. Octavian names his own consuls and maintains that anyone who feels unsafe can leave to go to Antonius; the refugees assemble at Alexandria and proclaim themselves the legitimate Senate.

Antonius and Cleopatra base themselves at Samos, in the eastern Aegean, and hold festivals as well as gathering troops; the assembly of loyal client-rulers includes Herod (who resists his enemy Cleopatra and allies with those Roman exiles opposed to her effect on Antonius' reputation); with no Roman troops left in Armenia its pro-Antonius neighbour Artavasdes of Media is driven out of his realm by Phraates and joins Antonius as a refugee.

May: Antonius and Cleopatra arrive in Athens, and he insists that his new wife receives all the honours that Octavia did; Cleopatra successfully dissuades him from attacking Italy and this alienates a number of senior officers and refugee senators.

Early summer: Antonius divorces Octavia, who leaves his house in Rome with their children apart from Antyllus who is in Egypt; Octavian makes the most of it for propaganda alleging that 'un-Roman' Antonius is the pawn of a dangerous eastern queen (implicitly, a new Mithridates threatening Roman dominions) and that the coming conflict will thus be with Egypt rather than a civil war in Rome.

Ex-consul Plancus and his nephew Titius (ex-governor of Syria), leading Antonians, defect to Octavian and reveal the supposed contents of Antonius' will, deposited with the Vestal Virgins at Temple of Vesta in Rome; Octavian illegally gains the right to scrutinize it, and claims that Antonius proposes to will much of his property to Cleopatra and their children and wants to be buried with her.

Autumn: Antonius' forces assemble at Corcyra, and then winter at Patras in the Peloponnese.

Late: The Senate declares war against Cleopatra, and all Antonius'

legal powers are revoked; Octavian has the communities of Italy take a personal oath of loyalty to him and raises new armies (Antonius' hereditary family clients at Bononia are allowed exemption from the oath); a 25 per cent income tax is imposed on all free citizens, with a levy of half that on freedmen worth 50,000 denarii, and riots result.

31 BC 1 January: Antonius is denied his expected consulship in Rome, but claims to be consul anyway; Octavian and his nominee Marcus Valerius Messala consuls.

Spring: Antonius and Cleopatra arrive at Actium, on the Gulf of Ambracia near entrance to the Gulf of Corinth; their army of around 19 legions (c. 60,000 Italians, 15,000 Asiatics, 12,000 cavalry) and navy of c. 500 ships guards a string of bases along the Greek and Epirot coasts, from Dyrrachium in the north down to Methone at the south-west tip of the Peloponnese. Octavian's forces of c. 75,000 infantry, 25,000 lightly armed troops, 12,000 cavalry and 400 warships prepare to embark at Italian ports; Agrippa commands the fleet.

Agrippa takes Methone to cut the Antonian supply lines to Egypt; Octavian lands from Brundisium at the Acroceraunian mountains area of Epirus near Corcyra, secures the island as naval base, but is disappointed in his initial challenge to the enemy fleet at Actium for a naval battle; he lands to camp at later Nicopolis at north end of the Gulf of Ambracia, and builds fortifications commanding land routes out of the Gulf to threaten Antonius' supply routes. Antonius arrives at his camp on the inner shore of the Gulf, and avoids battle; **?June** Agrippa takes the island of Leucas to command the entrance of the Gulf of Corinth, cutting off the enemy fleet from the south, and enters the Gulf to take Patras and Corinth.

Titius and Statilius Taurus defeat Antonius' cavalry, and king Philadelphus of Paphlagonia deserts to Octavian; Ahenobarbus, a leading critic of Cleopatra's influence, deserts too but soon dies, and Antonius executes the Arab king Iamblichus of Emesa (Syria) to stem growing tide of defections as his camp is blockaded.

Antonius' admiral Sosius ambushes Octavian's commander Tarius

Rufus at sea in dawn mist but is surprised and killed by the arriving Agrippa; Antonius hurries after the force he has sent to Macedonia (under Dellius and Amyntas) for reinforcements in case they desert too to recall them; they do desert, Dellius taking Antonius' plans, and he suffers a cavalry defeat on return journey; back at Actium he evacuates one of his two camps to concentrate troops near his fleet.

Late August: Antonius and his commanders agree on strategy for joint land and naval breakout as their supplies are running out; Canidius is to lead the main land army (c. 50,000 men) to Macedonia if naval battle is lost. Around 20,000 troops are embarked on fleet, which is too large for easy manning so some ships are burnt, and the treasure is put on Cleopatra's flagship.

2 September, Battle of Actium: the Antonian/Egyptian navy of c. 120 ships emerges from the Gulf of Ambracia to engage Octavian's fleet of c. 200 ships, which Agrippa commands; Antonius commands his right wing, opposite Agrippa, as the emerging ships move westwards in a north-south line. Antonius extends his wing and forces Agrippa to match him, and after a delay into early afternoon the wind rises; Antonius attacks Agrippa but is unable to outmanoeuvre him round his flank, and his line is broken by Agrippa's attack; the Antonian centre and left engage, and after a couple of hours Cleopatra's squadron of around 60 ships, behind the centre of Antonius' front, hoists sails and flees the battle with aid of the wind to escape out to sea – it is possible that this is not the 'treachery' that her enemies subsequently allege but a manoeuvre planned with Antonius to save her ships and treasure while he delays Octavian's pursuit.

Antonius follows with around 40 ships, leaving the rest to be overcome, and at dusk most surrender; he boards Cleopatra's flagship and gets safely to Cape Taenarum in the Peloponnese.

On land, Canidius' men break out but are pursued closely and, disheartened by the defeat at sea, halt to open negotiations; after a week the men ignore their officers and surrender; Canidius and a few followers flee to Antonius with loyal Polemo of Pontus and Archelaus of Cappadocia.

Octavian pardons all who surrender, and starts to disband the Antonian army with promise of land; Antonius releases all who want to leave from their loyalty and **autumn** accompanies Cleopatra to Egypt but sails separately to Cyrene to collect the five legions stationed there under Caesar's nephew Lucius Pinarius Scarpus; he arrives to find that they have defected on arrival of Cornelius Gallus from Octavian and heads to Paraetonium, halfway to Alexandria, where he halts and tries to kill himself but is stopped by his friends. Cleopatra, pretending that she has not been defeated to prevent risings in Alexandria by her enemies, arranges swift arrests and killings of suspects before they discover the truth and levies the Egyptian temple treasures to pay for war; she sends 70 ships over the Suez isthmus to the Red Sea to prepare fleet in case she has to escape down the Sea, but Malichus of Nabatea attacks and burns them.

Cleopatra executes the captive ex-king Artavasdes of Armenia.

Octavian founds new city at Nicopolis on the site of his Actium camp to celebrate his victory, and arrives at Athens where he orders relief-measures for distressed Greeks who are complaining of Antonius' seizure of their grain.

Late: Octavian sets up base on Samos and orders closing of the doors of the Temple of Janus in Rome to announce end of the long wars; back in Italy his minister Maecenas has had to deal with more riots and a plot to seize Rome by Lepidus' son Marcus, as the returning demobilized soldiers start to riot over delays to grants of land. Octavian sends Agrippa back to deal with disorders; lands of individuals and Italian communities suspected of loyalty to Antonius are confiscated to establish soldiers' colonies.

Judaea

Preparing to visit Octavian to secure pardon for backing Antonius, Herod removes a potential supplanter by having ex-'High Priest' Hyrcanus executed despite his age – according to Josephus, for contacting neighbouring Arab ruler Malichus about fleeing to him if he is in danger from Herod. When Herod leaves for Octavian's camp, he has

his Hasmonean wife Mariamne and her mother Alexandra sent to the fortress of Alexandreion for 'safety' with secret orders to his men to kill them if he is executed. His brother Pheroras acts as regent.

Rome

Most of the eastern rulers, including Herod, Deiotarus and Archelaus, come to Samos to pledge loyalty to Octavian and are confirmed in office; however, Alexander of Emesa (Antonius' replacement for Iamblichus), Philopator of Cilicia and Lycomedes of Cappadocian Pontus are deposed and territorial adjustments reverse some of Antonius' grants. The only Antonian loyalists to resist are a troop of gladiators in training at Cyzicus, who march across Asia Minor to Daphne near Antioch and send message to their commander in Egypt for help but get no reply and surrender.

Judaea

Herod is awarded Gadara, Samaria, Gaza and 'Strato's Tower' (the site of Caesarea on the coast) by Octavian.

30 BC

Rome

1 January: Octavian and Marcus Crassus consuls.

January: Octavian arrives unexpectedly at Brundisium to deal with the soldiers' disturbances, and the Senate and many members of the other orders flock to congratulate him; veterans assemble there too and he reassures them and rewards those who have served throughout his campaigns before returning speedily via the Isthmus of Corinth to Samos.

Antonius and Cleopatra send separate envoys to Octavian to sound him out about peace: Cleopatra sends him a throne, sceptre and crown as sign of submission and is ordered to abdicate but is secretly promised continuing rule of Egypt if she kills Antonius.

Antonius spends some time living isolated on the Pharos island in Alexandria suffering from depression, but recovers and joins Cleopatra

in preparing defences; they enrol Caesarion in the *ephebic* youth military corps in the city and Antonius gives Antyllus the ceremony of adulthood (assuming his *toga virilis*). As Octavian reaches Antioch and advances across Syria and down the coast road to Egyptian border, Antonius leads his troops to attack Gallus at Paraetonium but has to return after Gallus lures his ships into the harbour and then raises a hidden chain to sink them; Pelusium surrenders, possibly on Cleopatra's orders after more promises from Octavian, and Antonius marches back to Alexandria.

30 July: Octavian arrives at Alexandria to launch siege, and Antonius draws up his army of about 23 legions and wins a final victory as his cavalry attack the exhausted invaders; he confidently issues leaflet propaganda calling for the enemy to desert, but is defeated in infantry skirmish.

1 August: Antonius draws up his army again and sends out his ships to attack Octavian's fleet, but his ships go over to the opposition and his troops start to desert; he flees back into the city, where Cleopatra barricades herself in her mausoleum with her treasure and flammable materials; Antonius hears that she is dead and falls on his sword, and when he is told that Cleopatra is still alive is carried to her side where he dies (aged probably 52).

Cleopatra, having sent Caesarion with an escort to supposed safety at the Red Sea, agrees to negotiate with Octavian's adviser Proculeius who Antonius recommended, but he manages to detain her long enough for officers to climb through the window and seize her and her attendants to secure them and the royal treasure. Cleopatra is placed under guard, but **3 August** is allowed to lead Antonius' funeral.

8 August: Octavian visits Cleopatra, who reputedly tries to secure the throne for Caesarion; he does not confirm his intentions towards her, but **9 August** she is warned by Cornelius Dolabella that she is to be paraded in the conqueror's triumph in Rome and commits suicide despite her guards (allegedly with an asp smuggled in inside a basket of figs), aged 39 or 40.

29 August: Octavian is officially proclaimed ruler of Egypt. Caesarion

is caught fleeing in the desert and killed (aged 16), along with his escort Canidius Crassus; Antyllus seeks sanctuary at the Temple of Julius Caesar in Alexandria but is killed too (aged around 15), and Antonius and Cleopatra's children are sent to Rome to live in Octavia's household.

Octavian reorganizes the government of Egypt, which is placed under an equestrian governor nominated by him – the first appointed is Cornelius Gallus. He confiscates Cleopatra's treasury and takes some Alexandrian works of art (and an obelisk at Memphis) for Rome, imposes tribute, visits the tomb of Alexander in Alexandria, and orders improvements to the irrigation system before leaving for Syria; Antonius' remaining troops are incorporated in Octavian's army and included in his demobilization plans which reduce the size of the armed forces from 70 to 26 legions.

Judaea

Returning to Judaea, Herod executes his wife Mariamne – according to Josephus, after his sister Salome encourages his resentment of her attitude to him for killing her relatives. Her mother Alexandra is accused of trying to obtain control of the strongpoints of Jerusalem while Herod is lying ill at Samaria and is killed too; there is a purge of the Hasmonean family and their sympathizers, and Herod makes Jesus 'High Priest' in place of Ananel.

30 BC to AD 68

'Reign' of Augustus

29 BC

Rome

1 January: Octavian and his nephew Sextus Appuleius consuls. The Senate ratifies all of Octavian's acts until that date; closure of the gates of the Temple of Janus in Rome to signify the end of the civil wars. Subsequently, it is voted to rank his name in hymns with those of the gods, have a tribe named after his family, grant him the right to wear a triumphal crown at public festivals, and allow him to appoint as many priests as he wishes; the day of his return from the war is to be celebrated with sacrifices and held sacred for ever. Nonius Gallus defeats the Treveri in north-east Gaul.

Octavian agrees to establishment of sacred precincts dedicated to Rome and Divus Julius at Ephesus (chief city of Asia province) and Nicaea (chief city of Bithynia), to be run by Roman citizens there; the Greek citizens of second cities of these provinces, Pergamum and Nicomedia, are allowed shrines to Octavian as a god.

Summer: Octavian returns via Greece to Italy.

August: Octavian returns to Rome and is welcomed with sacrifices led by consul Valerius Potitus on behalf of the Senate and people; he grants presents to his victorious soldiers and a commemorative flag to Agrippa as the admiral at Actium, and awards 400 sesterces to each adult citizen and later to each child too in honour of his nephew Marcellus; he celebrates grand series of triumphs – on the first day for his Dalmatian war in 35, on the second day for Actium, and on

the third day his triumph over Egypt. Cleopatra's children Alexander Helios, Cleopatra Selene and Ptolemy Philadelphus are paraded in the Egyptian procession and then handed over to Octavian's sister Octavia, and Octavian's elder stepson Tiberius, aged 12, rides in the procession near the triumphal chariot.

28 August: Dedication of the Temple of Julius Caesar in his forum in Rome. The Temple of Minerva and new *Curia Julia* (Senate House) are also dedicated, and Games are held with the ritual 'Troy Game' cavalry manoeuvres for young nobles and wild-beast fights involving the first rhinoceros and hippopotamus seen in Rome.

In Egypt, governor Cornelius Gallus defeats the 'Ethiopians' (Nubians of the kingdom of Meroe, under Queen Candace) in the Nile valley and marches up the river to the First Cataract to re-establish the traditional frontier (or 28/7).

Marcus Crassus, governor of Macedonia and grandson of the triumvir, completes campaign (from 30) against the Dacians and Bastarnae in Thrace and overruns Moesia to secure the new frontier as far as the lower Danube. Titus Statilius Taurus defeats Celtiberian tribes in northern Spain.

?Vergil completes the *Georgics*.

28 BC 1 January: Octavian and Agrippa consuls. Octavian becomes Princeps Senatus. He has a decree of general amnesty passed, and as censor with Agrippa purges the Senate where the enlarged post-civil war membership of c. 1,000 is reduced with around 40 voluntary withdrawals of people judged ineligible and c. 140 expulsions. New senators are admitted and new patrician families created, and senators are forbidden to travel outside Italy without Octavian's permission (to decrease the danger of political meddling with provincial armies). He assures nervous senators that he has burnt Antonius' private correspondence and is not interested in checking their past associations with his rival, and restores derelict temples in Rome.

Carthage is resettled.

Octavian carries out census of populace; he dedicates Temple of

Apollo on the Palatine, with a new library, and holds a festival and Games in honour of Actium (at which Agrippa presides while he is ill).

Senatorial opposition delays Octavian's plans to introduce moral legislation to enforce traditional standards of behaviour.

14 August: Caius Carrinas celebrates triumph for successful campaign against the Morini in north-east Gaul and defeat of invasion over Rhine by Suebi.

28 August: Altar of Victory set up in the Senate House.

Antiochus of Commagene (Asia Minor) is summoned to Rome to answer charges that he has had his brother's envoys, sent to Rome to complain about him, murdered; he is executed.

27 BC 1 January: Octavian consul.

'First Constitutional Settlement' by Octavian:

13 January: He announces his resignation from all offices to the Senate but accepts their 'stage-managed' pleas for him to stay on and is granted full proconsular power across the Roman dominions.

16 January: Octavian is voted the new name of 'Augustus' and other honours by the Senate, led by ex-consul Plancus; he receives the right to have a laurel tree in front of his residence on the Palatine Hill and a circlet of laurel leaves over the door, as a victorious general who has saved fellow citizens.

Rule of the provinces is divided, giving authority and right of naming governors in those most at risk from external enemies to Octavian in new 'partnership' with Senate: he gains technical control of Spain (Tarraco and Lusitania but not Baetica), the four Gallic provinces, Coele-Syria, Syria, Phoenicia, Cilicia, Cyprus, and Egypt. He claims he is only taking them for ten years to restore security, and will return them earlier if the task is completed then. His governors are to hold the rank of *propraetors*, and the others are to be *proconsuls* and are to be selected by Senate by lot or vote in different cases and be replaced annually. In practice, Augustus' control of the Senate and the military forces means that the senatorial powers are only nominal.

Augustus technically shares the control of public treasury with Senate, and takes responsibility for restoring the military Via Flaminia out of Rome while the Senate restores other Italian roads.

24 April: Augustus' stepson Tiberius assumes the adult toga virilis.

4 July: Crassus celebrates Thracian triumph.

Judaea

Herod stages 'Actium Games' in Judaea to honour his new patron, ignoring the fact that at the time of Actium he was allied to the defeated Antonius; strict Jews accuse him of parading blasphemous images, and a plot to assassinate him is put down with executions. ? He commences the building of new Hellenic city of 'Sebaste' at the renamed Samaria.

Rome

Augustus leaves Rome to winter in Gaul. ?Death of the author and historian Marcus Terrentius Varro, aged around 90.

26 BC Consuls: Augustus and Titus Statilius Taurus.

Agrippa dedicates the new voting precinct on the Campus Martius, the 'Saeptra', as 'Julia' after the Augustan family (into which he is by now married, with his second wife being Augustus' sister Octavia's daughter Marcella).

Augustus considers new campaign in Britain to complete Julius Caesar's work, but is distracted by Cantabrian revolt in northern Spain and rebellion by the Salassi in the Alps.

Augustus goes to Spain to supervise the war with tribal Cantabri in the north, accompanied by his stepson Tiberius and his 16-year-old nephew Caius Marcellus, the latter probably already being promoted as the eventual heir to his power; he fights the Cantabri and Astures (of Asturias).

Marcus Valerius Messala Corvinus is appointed as Praefect of Rome but resigns after senatorial opposition.

Cornelius Gallus is defeated as the Nubians invade Egypt and is

recalled to Rome amid allegations of arrogance and suspiciously triumphalist actions such as dedicating statues to himself and recording his actions in public inscriptions like a ruler; he is tried by the Senate and stripped of his property, and subsequently commits suicide.

Parthia

Tiridates, son of King Phraates of Parthia, revolts in Mesopotamia against his father.

25 BC

Rome

Consuls: Augustus and Caius Norbanus Flaccus.

Augustus is severely ill in Spain and retires to Tarraco to recuperate; he leaves the Cantabrian war to his generals, Caius Antistius and later Titus Caristius.

Augustus' daughter Julia, aged 13 or 14, is married to her cousin Marcellus.

Petronius becomes governor of Egypt and defeats Nubian invasion.

Aelius Gallus, governor of Syria, leads expedition from Syria down the western coastal trade routes of the Arabian peninsula, via Jordan and Petra, as far as 'Arabia Felix' (Yemen) to prospect the territory. He finds the lands too arid and depopulated to be worth conquering; Herod supplies 500 troops to the expedition.

Terentius Varro suppresses rebellion by the Salassi in Alps.

Parthia

Phraates defeats rebel son Tiridates, who flees to Roman Syria for help.

Rome

Augustus sends the captive ex-king Juba of Numidia, his lands annexed by Julius Caesar in 46, to Mauretania as his new client-king on death of Bocchus; at this or some subsequent date a marital alliance is arranged by engaging him to Antonius and Cleopatra's daughter Cleopatra Selene.

Annexation of Galatia on death of King Amyntas; it and Lycaonia form new province.

Marcus Vinicius leads successful campaign against Germans in north-western Alps following the killing of some Roman traders.

24 BC Consuls: Augustus (for tenth time) and Caius Norbanus; the Senate votes Augustus exemption from constraints of the law after he announces delay to intended bonus of 400 sesterces to each citizen until the Senate have approved it, so that in future he can announce edicts first with full legal force.

Augustus returns to Rome; Marcellus is granted the right to hold the office of consul ten years earlier than is normally allowed under the *cursus honorum* and a seat at Games with *ex-praetors*.

Cantabri and Astures revolt again, massacring Roman soldiers who have arrived peacefully to collect supposed tribal collection of grain for Rome.

Aelius Gallus withdraws from Arabia.

Judaea

?Drought and plague in Palestine; Herod sends the coins made from his melted-down ornaments to the new governor Petronius in Egypt to pay for imports of grain.

23 BC

Rome

Consuls: Augustus and Calpurnius Piso; Marcellus *curule aedile* and Tiberius *quaestor*.

Augustus is severely ill, and as his life is despaired of he hands details of the armed forces and revenues to Piso and his ring to Agrippa; he is cured by the freedman Antonius Musa with a regime of cold baths and grants him full free citizen status.

Augustus sends Agrippa east on a mission to Syria, though in the event he only goes as far as Lesbos before recall; this is supposed to be the result of fear of a political clash between him and the jealous Marcellus.

1 July: Augustus resigns his consulship to the republican Lucius Sestius Quirinalis and alters the basis of his powers in 'Second Constitutional Settlement': from now on he holds special *imperium maius* and the tribunician powers for life but not annual consulship, freeing the latter for ambitious politicians.

?Late summer: Death of Marcellus at Baiae, aged 19, ?during his ostentatious Games as aedile which Augustus has arranged in order to assist his introduction to public life and popularity, and with rumours that Livia had a hand in it in order to restore her son Tiberius' political position as heir; Augustus recalls Agrippa.

Judaea

Herod sends his younger sons Aristobulus and Alexander (by Mariamne the Hasmonean princess) to Rome to be educated in the house of general/historian Asinius Pollio, keeping their elder half-brother Antipater at court; ?he marries his fourth wife, another Mariamne who is her namesake's great-niece, and makes her father Simon 'High Priest' in place of Jesus.

?Herod founds the fortress of 'Herodium' near Bethlehem.

22 BC

Rome

Consuls: Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius.

Floods in Rome, followed **summer** by plague and famine in Italy. The populace riot and surround the Senate House, insisting that the occupants vote Augustus to be dictator and controller of corn supply to provide food; the Senators ask him to assume both offices, and he accepts the latter and appoints two annual officials to control the import of corn and assure adequate supply to prevent famine.

Augustus refuses the office of censor for life, and appoints Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Munatius Plancus as censors; he restricts praetors' ability to spend ostentatiously on Games to hinder attempts to curry public favour for political purposes.

Augustus is granted the right to call Senate meetings at will. Augustus

returns control of Cyprus and Narbonese Gaul to the Senate ?but takes over Dalmatia.

(Or 23?) Trial of Marcus Primus, ex-governor of Macedonia, for levying war on the Odrysae without consent of the Senate who technically appointed him; he is prosecuted by Augustus' political critic Lucius Licinius Murena (?brother of Terentius Varro, victor against the Salassi), and claims that he did it with Augustus' (or Marcellus') permission; Augustus comes to court to deny it and has a verbal clash over his right to intervene with Murena, and some senators dare to vote for Primus' acquittal; Primus is convicted.

Conspiracy of Fannius Caepio to murder Augustus, in which Murena is implicated though he is brother-in-law to Augustus' friend and adviser Maecenas; Caepio and Murena are among those who try to flee when the plot is discovered and are tried in absence with their flight being taken as proof of guilt, condemned to death, and executed; Tiberius acts as prosecutor in Caepio's trial, but some senators dare to vote for acquittal and the philosopher Athenaeus is acquitted of involvement.

?Political eclipse of Maecenas as a result of Murena's conviction. The connection between the trial and an apparent reduction in Mecenias' political prominence is still speculative.

Augustus goes east with visits to Sicily and Greece; he establishes colony at Syracuse, grants the island of Cythera to Sparta, and deprives Athens of control over Aegina; riots in Rome in his absence, particularly during the consular elections for 21 as the populace want Augustus as one of the consuls despite the recent political settlement excluding it – he sends refusal by letter.

?Petronius repels another Nubian attack on Egypt.

Astures and Cantabri in Spain revolt again; new governor Caius Furnius of Tarraconensis puts down the Cantabri and assists his neighbour Carisius against the Astures.

Augustus winters at Samos.

Judaea

?(or 20) Herod starts the building of new coastal Hellenistic-style port city at 'Caesarea', formerly the site of 'Strato's Tower'. It was apparently completed in 10/9, the twenty-eighth year of Herod's reign, after 12 years' work, according to Josephus.

21 BC***Rome***

Consuls: Marcus Lollius and Lepidus.

Agrippa returns to Rome to act as Augustus' deputy, divorces his second wife Marcella (Augustus' niece and sister of his late heir), and marries the widowed Julia who is around 30 years his junior; he builds the *Aqua Virgo*. Marcus Egnatius Rufus, Praefect of Rome, founds privately run fire brigade in the capital.

Lucius Cornelius Balbus starts war against African tribes in Tripolitania. ?Petronius, governor of Egypt, signs peace treaty with the Nubian ruler, Queen Candace.

Augustus visits Halicarnassus and winters at Samos.

20 BC Consuls: Marcus Appuleius and Publius Silius.

Augustus visits Syria to organize negotiations with Parthia, where Phraates is anxious to secure peace so that Rome does not aid his refugee rebel son Tiridates; Augustus insists on the gesture of return of the 'eagles' captured at Carrhae in 53, and in return agrees to extradite the refugee rebel Tiridates; **12 May** his stepson Tiberius carries out the ceremonial reception of the standards from the Parthians. Rome's consent for rulers of Armenia is accepted by Parthia.

Augustus restores Iamblichus, son of the eponymous ruler executed in 31 by Antonius for disloyalty, to rule of Emesa (Syria) and Tarcondimotus, son of the late ruler killed at Actium, to Cilicia; he grants Lesser Armenia to Archelaus of Cappadocia.

Augustus sends Tiberius to Armenia to remove King Artaxias, complaints against whom have reached him, and install refugee brother Tigranes; a local revolt kills Artaxias before he arrives, so he installs

Tigranes without resistance and crowns him as symbol of Rome's patronage.

Augustus is appointed supervisor of morals in Rome; birth of Agrippa and Julia's eldest son Caius; ?Augustus' niece Marcella, Agrippa's ex-wife, marries Antonius and Fulvia's surviving son Iullus Antonius.

Judaea

Augustus supports Herod as charges of tyranny are laid against him by the Gadarenes, his subjects on the east side of Lake of Galilee; they abandon the case once they see Augustus' attitude.

Augustus grants Herod the principality of Arab ruler Xenodorus around the Sea of Galilee, including the town of Paneas which Herod soon refounds as the city of 'Caesarea Philippi' in his patron's honour; Herod's brother Pheroras is granted the principality of Peraea in Transjordan.

Rome

Augustus winters at Samos, and (late 20/early 19) receives envoys from India with presents including tigers.

?Autumn: Agrippa goes to Gaul, en route to campaign in Spain; failure to elect two consuls in Rome as the populace wants one office kept vacant for Augustus to fill.

Judaea

(20 or 19) In the eighteenth year of his reign according to Josephus, Herod starts work on restoring and extending the Temple in Jerusalem. Elsewhere Josephus dates the preliminary work to 23/2.

19 BC

Rome

Sentius Saturninus sole consul.

Agrippa campaigns successfully in northern Spain, ending the resistance by the Cantabri.

Praetor Egnatius Rufus, the popular originator of current fire brigade,

campaigns unsuccessfully for a consulship – either the vacant one for 19 or the next ones in 18 – despite being ineligible due to not enough time having elapsed since he last held office. He is supported by riotous gangs in the streets despite consul Saturninus ruling his candidacy out, and the disorders lead to passing of the *Senatus consultum ultimum* and his arrest for conspiracy, trial and execution; envoys are sent to Augustus asking him to take up the vacant consulship, but he appoints one of the envoys, Quintus Lucretius.

Autumn: Augustus sets out for Rome, and is met in Athens by Vergil; he returns to Italy, and while the Imperial party is in Brundisium **21 September** Vergil dies (aged 50 or 51) leaving his masterpiece the *Aeneid* incomplete.

Augustus ‘modestly’ arrives in Rome at night to prevent assembly of all Senate at the gates to meet him; the Senate votes an altar to Fortuna Redux to celebrate his return and that the day of it be a permanent public holiday. Tiberius is granted the rights of an ex-praetor, and his younger brother Drusus the right to hold offices five years early.

Death of the poet Tibullus.

18 BC Consuls: Publius Lentulus and Cnaeus Cornelius Lentulus.

Augustus’ ‘Third Constitutional Settlement’: his *imperium maius*, tribunician powers, and other powers from January 27 and 23 are renewed for a further five years, and Agrippa is granted the tribunician powers too. Augustus receives the right to sit between the consuls in Senate and be attended permanently by 12 *lictors* symbolizing possession of consular power.

Augustus reduces size of the Senate, and as members refuse to resign voluntarily he selects a board of the 30 worthiest members and gets them each to nominate five current senators, one of which group of five will be chosen to add to the number retained by lot; the scheme becomes too unwieldy and he ends up making personal nominations, arriving at a total of 600 to sit in the Senate though he initially intended to reduce numbers to 300. Due to resentment by those left out, he lets them retain their rank for seats at public spectacles and

ability to stand for those public offices restricted to those of senatorial rank, and readmits a number to Senate later.

Augustus carries out 'moral' reforms, with financial penalties for remaining unmarried and rewards for marrying and having large families; offspring of freedwomen are to be regarded as fully free, in order to encourage more marriages to freedwomen as there are not enough citizen women to increase the population as he would desire.

Augustus' younger stepson Drusus, aged 20, serves as quaestor.

Judaea

?Herod completes building of the main inner structure of the new 'Temple' in Jerusalem after 18 months; dedication ceremonies are carried out.

17 BC

Rome

Consuls: Caius Furnius and Caius Silanus.

Birth of Agrippa and Julia's second son Lucius, Augustus' second grandson; Augustus transfers the festivals of the goddesses Honour and Virtue to take place symbolically on the birthdays of his grandsons and adopts them as his sons so they can use the name of 'Caesar' as ultimate heirs.

?Augustus' elder stepson Tiberius marries Agrippa's daughter (by his first marriage, to Pomponia, the daughter of Cicero's friend Atticus) Vipsania; his younger brother Drusus marries the younger Antonia, second daughter of Antonius and Octavia.

Augustus arranges *Ludi Saeculares* as the latest celebration of centenaries of Rome's foundation (now traditionally dated 753 BC), postponed from the proper date due to civic strife:

31 May: Midnight sacrifices on the Campus Martius and hymns to goddesses.

1 June: Augustus and Agrippa sacrifice on the Capitol.

2 June: Augustus and matrons sacrifice cows on the Capitol; matrons' hymn performed.

3 June: Celebratory *Carmen Saeculare*, hymn written for the festival by Horace, is performed and sacrifices are held at the Temple of Apollo on Palatine.

Herod visits Rome to collect his sons Alexander and Aristobulus at completion of their education. Death of Roman client-king Asander of Bosphorus (Crimea), installed as Antonius' client in 44; succeeded by widow Dynamis.

16 BC Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus (son of the republican admiral of the 30s and grandson of the Pompeian leader of 49–8) and Lucius Scipio consuls; Ahenobarbus marries the elder Antonia, elder daughter of Antonius and Octavia, by whom he duly has Nero's father Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and Messalina's mother Domitia Lepida.

Tiberius praetor; Drusus quaestor. They give Games for the populace, funded by their stepfather.

Augustus dedicates the restored Temple of Quirinus (the deified Romulus).

Fighting in Belgic Gaul as Sugambri, Usipetes and Tencteri from across the Rhine kill Romans in their area and cross the river to raid the province, defeating governor Marcus Lollius; Augustus decides to go to the province and sets out with an entourage including Tiberius, according to Cassius Dio (writing 200 years later) being eager to leave Rome after rumours of his affair with Maecenas' wife Terentia.

As Agrippa has left on a new Syrian mission, Augustus appoints Titus Statilius Taurus as Praefect of Rome and effective ruler in his absence.

The German tribes withdraw over Rhine before Augustus reaches Gaul, and later send envoys to restore peace so he does not have to fight expected war.

Revolts by the Camunii and Vennii in Alps are suppressed by Publius Silius, who goes on to drive a Pannonian (Hungarian Plain) tribal invasion back from Istria; he invades Pannonia and conquers the Pannonii and their allies the Norici, creating the provinces of 'Pannonia' and 'Noricum' on the upper Danube.

?Birth of Agrippa and Julia's elder daughter, Agrippina.

15 BC Consuls: Marcus Libo and Calpurnius Piso.

Augustus remains in Gaul to arrange strengthening of the Rhine frontier and deal with raids on eastern Gaul and northern Italy by the Rhaetians (in modern Austria); he orders Drusus to campaign northwards from the Tridentum (Trent) area to drive the raiders back and then cross the Alps after them, and sends Tiberius to Gaul to expel the raiders there; the brothers attack and overrun Rhaetia, Drusus from the south and Tiberius from the west, and bring the Roman frontier up to the Danube which is now the Roman military border from its source down to the Euxine (Black Sea).

24 May: Birth of Drusus and Antonia's elder son, Germanicus.

Judaea

Agrippa visits Judaea, is entertained by Herod at Jerusalem, and sacrifices at the Temple.

14 BC

Rome

Consuls: Marcus Licinius Crassus and Cnaeus Cornelius.

The Basilica of Aemilius Paullus in the Forum Romanum is burnt down, and Augustus funds the rebuilding by the founder's family.

Tiberius and Drusus campaign in Pannonia to suppress rebellion; the Comati people, independent tribes in Maritime (southern) Alps, are annexed to complete the conquest of the mountains and securing of the routes to Gaul.

Agrippa, in Asia Minor, sanctions attack on the Kingdom of Bosporus (Crimea) where the late King Asander's widow Dynamis has married usurper Scribonius, alleged grandson of Mithridates VI of Pontus (Rome's arch-enemy); he sends Polemo of Pontus to invade, expel and replace Scribonius, but the latter is murdered by his people before Polemo's expedition arrives; the Bosporans resist Polemo in case he assumes rule over them to restore the joint Pontic-Bosporan kingdom held by Mithridates, and despite a victory he is still having trouble winning the kingdom when Agrippa arrives at Sinope to arrange Roman reinforcements. The

Bosporans surrender on news that Agrippa is coming, and accept Polemo as new sovereign; he marries Dynamis once Augustus' approval has been received, and Agrippa refuses senatorial grant of triumph.

Agrippa is joined by Herod at Sinope; they tour Asia Minor via Paphlagonia and Cappadocia to Ephesus, and then go to Samos.

Herod successfully supports the appeals of the Jewish residents of Ionia against misrule by the local Greek civic authorities who are not respecting their religion; he assigns the future historian Nicolaus of Damascus to make the formal speech on their behalf to Agrippa.

7 October: Birth of Tiberius and Vipsania's son, Drusus (II).

13 BC Consuls: Tiberius and Publius Quinctilius Varus; Iullus Antonius praetor.

6 March: Death of Marcus Lepidus, Pontifex Maximus and ex-triumvir, in political obscurity after years of demeaning treatment by the suspicious Augustus.

Leaving Drusus in command of German war as governor in Gaul (Lugdunensis), Augustus returns to Rome as does Agrippa from the east.

Judaea

Herod decides on a new choice of his eldest son (by Doris, not by the Maccabean princess Mariamne) Antipater as his heir, a move against the pro-Maccabean faction assisted by his powerful sister Salome and brother Pheroras who have accused Mariamne's sons Alexander and Aristobulus of plotting. Herod takes the two accused princes to Italy as he goes to meet Augustus on the latter's return journey; he meets Augustus at Aquileia, where he accuses his younger sons of treachery but Augustus arranges a reconciliation. Augustus allows Herod to choose his own heir without Roman direction.

Herod returns to Judaea, meeting his son Alexander's father-in-law and supposed co-plotter Archelaus of Cappadocia en route; he announces his choice of Antipater as his successor and subsequently sends Antipater to Rome with official documentation of his wishes to gain Augustus' confirmation of them.

Rome

Augustus enters the capital by night again to avoid public ceremony, and refuses Senate grant of an altar in their House; next day he meets the Senate and as he has lost his voice a representative reads out his new proposals for soldiers' length in service – 12 years for his 'Praetorian Guard' of attendant troops in Rome and 16 years for the legions – and that soldiers be given money not land on discharge (which relieves citizens afraid of more confiscations of farms to settle them).

Augustus and Agrippa have their powers renewed for a further five years; Augustus assumes the role of Pontifex Maximus which from now on is part of the Imperial office, and reviews the membership of Senate again with insistence that all patricians who have the necessary property to meet qualifications should serve except in case of ill-health (which he checks personally).

September: Praetor Iullus Antonius holds Games to celebrate Augustus' safe return where the latter's grandson Caius takes part in the 'Troy Game' equestrian display; Augustus also attends Games vowed by consul Tiberius but reprimands him for allowing too much public prominence there to Caius as unseemly (Caius not having held office yet).

?Birth of Agrippa and Julia's younger daughter, Julia (II). Construction of the *Ara Pacis* commences in Rome, with representations of Augustus and his family.

12 BC Consuls: Marcus Valerius and Publius Sulpicius Quirinus.

January: Augustus sends Agrippa to Pannonia to prepare for new campaign as rebellion is expected; his arrival terrifies the Pannonians into quiescence so he sets off back for Italy.

March: arriving back in Campania, Agrippa falls seriously ill; **19/23 March** Augustus hears of his illness as he is holding gladiatorial Games in the names of Caius and Lucius during the festival of *Quinquatrus*, and he leaves Rome to visit him; Agrippa dies before he arrives (aged probably between 51 and 56) and Augustus escorts his body back to Rome for a state funeral in the Forum at which he delivers the eulogy;

Agrippa is buried in Augustus' own tomb, a new mausoleum which is being constructed in the north of the capital as a family shrine for the Caesars.

Tiberius and Drusus now become Augustus' effective deputies; birth of Agrippa and Julia's posthumous son, Agrippa Postumus.

Drusus forestalls a Gallic tribal conspiracy to call in the Sugambri from Germany to aid revolt, by arresting leading chieftains when they arrive unawares in Lugdunum to celebrate a festival at the provincial capital's altar of Augustus; he campaigns across the Rhine against the Sugambri to ravage their territory, and descends the east bank of the river to the 'Batavian Island' at its mouth; he then crosses the Zuider Zee with fleet to ravage the territory of the Chauci (Guelderland) but **?September** his ships are caught unawares by the North Sea tides and damaged and he is in danger of being stranded until the Frisian islanders, his infantry allies, lend him ships for which they are rewarded.

11 BC Consuls: Quintus Aelius and Paullus Fabius.

?Early: Drusus returns to Rome and is made urban praetor. Augustus forces the dismayed Tiberius to divorce his wife Vipsania, Agrippa's daughter by first marriage, and marry the widowed Julia; their one child dies in infancy around 10/9 BC and the marriage soon becomes unhappy.

Spring: Drusus returns to the Rhine and crosses to subdue the Usipetes; he bridges the Lupia (Lippe) River and advances to the Visurgis (Weser), ravaging the territory of the Chatti, before withdrawing on the onset of winter leaving new fortresses at strategic points; he defeats Chatti's ambushes on return journey.

Tiberius defeats a new Pannonian revolt with the aid of the Scordisci, ravaging the countryside to starve the rebels out and on their defeat deporting the restive tribes and selling males of military age into slavery; he is voted triumphal honours by the Senate, but Augustus only allows him the civic honours not the procession; Drusus is also granted the triumphal honours, including the right to hold proconsular rank though he has only served as praetor.

Death of the elder of Augustus' two sisters, both called Octavia,

the widow of Appuleius; her sons-in-law Iullus Antonius and Messala Barbatulus carry the bier at funeral and Augustus delivers the eulogy.

10 BC Consuls: Iullus Antonius and Fabius Maximus.

Drusus returns to the Rhine, and crosses at Moguntiacum (Mainz) to ravage German territory towards the Elbe.

Augustus visits Gaul, and is mainly based at Lugdunum overseeing Drusus' German campaigns; the Dalmatians revolt again over Roman demands for tribute, and Augustus sends Tiberius from Gaul to defeat them. Tiberius rejects Drusus' proposal that they work on Augustus to restore the republic after his death rather than founding a hereditary principate, showing his letter on the matter to Augustus.

10 August: Birth of Drusus and Antonia's second son, the future Emperor Claudius, at Lugdunum.

Judaea

Around this point according to Josephus, Herod's brother Pheroras quarrels with him and seeks to stir up enmity between Herod and his son Alexander. He falsely claims that Herod is having an affair with Alexander's Cappadocian wife Glaphyra to encourage Alexander to resent his father, but Alexander reports the story to Herod; Pheroras accuses Salome of starting the plot.

Some of Herod's court eunuchs claim that Alexander has been encouraging them to assist his efforts to wrest the succession from Antipater; Herod starts arresting and interrogating Alexander's supporters in a search for plots.

Syllaeus, an Arab prince neighbouring Judaea, meets Herod to discuss his possible marriage to Salome but withdraws rather than convert to Judaism; he assists in the long-running revolt against Herod in Trachonitis (east of Jordan) and provides refugee rebel 'brigands' with a base from which to attack Judaea.

Herod secures the permission of governor Lucius Volusius Saturninus of Syria to retaliate and invades Syllaeus' lands to punish the invaders; Syllaeus' general Nacebus tries to stop Herod but is killed in battle.

Syllaeus, visiting Rome, complains to Augustus at an unprovoked attack on his lands in his absence, and Herod's supporters at court have to admit that he has violated another Roman ally's territory.

9 BC

Rome

Consuls: Drusus and Titus Crispinus.

9 January: Dedication of the Ara Pacis in Rome, with grand altar and obelisk from Egypt (aligned to indicate the date of Augustus' birthday) dominating the new precinct.

Drusus returns to the Rhine, and advances across the territory of the Chatti and Suebi with heavy fighting; he reaches the Viturgis again, and crosses to ravage the territory of the Cherusci as far as the Albis (Elbe). He sets up trophies on the banks of the river, but does not cross and suffers a broken thigh on the return journey which compels him to return to Italy in a litter.

Tiberius defeats the Pannonians and the Dalmatians, and returns to Rome to celebrate ovation (minor triumph); as Augustus is returning to Rome news reaches him that Drusus has fallen seriously ill on his homeward journey, possibly of infection from his injury, and he sends Tiberius to him; Tiberius reaches his brother before he dies (aged 29) and conveys his body to Rome; as Augustus has not yet carried out the necessary ritual to re-enter the capital after campaign, Tiberius conducts the first part of funeral in the Forum and Augustus completes it outside the city limits at the Flaminian Circus on the Campus Martius. Drusus is commemorated with statues and an arch, and he and his sons are voted the titles 'Germanicus' honouring his campaigns.

Judaea

Death of Orodes of Nabatea, succeeded by Arethas who does not wait for Augustus' confirmation before taking the crown but sends him rich gifts to secure his backing. Arethas claims that his enemy Syllaeus poisoned Orodes; Syllaeus denounces him to Augustus; Arethas allies with Herod.

?Following bitter feuds among Herod's sons over the rightful heirship to Judaea – Mariamne's sons Alexander and Aristobulus, with their Hasmonean blood, against the elder but dynastically 'inferior' Antipater – Archelaus of Cappadocia visits Judaea to support his daughter Glaphyra's husband Alexander and mediate.

8 BC

Rome

Consuls: Asinius Gallus (the new husband of Tiberius' ex-wife Vipsania) and Caius Marcius.

Augustus belatedly celebrates his return from campaign, but does not preside at the Games and sacrifices due to mourning for Drusus and lets the consuls conduct such occasions; he sends Tiberius to take over troops on the Rhine. Tiberius crosses the river and renews Roman power there in his brother's place as the tribes are alarmed into sending delegations assuring peaceful intentions. He sends the envoys on to Augustus, who demands that the Sugambri join them in a joint approach of all the Rhine Germans before he will grant peace to them all together; the Sugambri delegates arrive later, but resist Roman terms and are dispersed among various cities as hostages which leads them to commit suicide.

Augustus grants Tiberius the rank of imperator for victories and the consulship for 7.

Augustus holds census (4,233,000 citizens registered); he has his powers renewed for a further five years.

The seventh month of the year is renamed 'August' in Augustus' honour – he chooses it as the 'lucky' month of his first consulship and military victories rather than his birthday month of September which the Senate suggested.

27 November: Death of the poet Horace, aged 62.

Death of Augustus' friend and minister Maecenas, the leading patron of literary figures at the Augustan 'court' and a renowned sybaritic host for parties.

Judaea

?Caius Julius Eurycles, leading citizen of Sparta and descended from the ancient kings there, meddles in the Herodian royal family feuds on a visit to Judaea. Having befriended Alexander and secured his confidences about his resentment of Antipater, Eurycles reports the revelations to the latter.

Herod sends his eldest son Antipater and his youngest sons Philip and Archelaus to Rome, but keeps his sons by Mariamne at court.

7 BC

Rome

1 January: Tiberius assumes consulship with Cnaeus Piso, holding the first Senate meeting of the year at the *Curia Octavia* outside city limits as he has not yet celebrated his triumph for the Rhine campaign; he holds his triumph and, with his mother Livia, dedicates the new precinct named in honour of the latter; he entertains the Senate to a banquet on the Capitol, and Livia holds a banquet for matrons.

Outbreak of conflict in Germany causes Tiberius to leave Rome for campaign, and his stepson Caius presides at his Games; Augustus dedicates the 'Precinct of Agrippa' complex on the Campus Martius on the completion of the immense *Diribitorium* voting hall, and gladiatorial Games are celebrated to commemorate the late minister.

Following a disastrous fire in Rome, Augustus creates the new (14) civic districts of the capital and establishes a fire brigade cohort in each.

Death of Tigranes II of Armenia, installed by Tiberius in 20; succeeded by his children, Tigranes III and Erato, whose regency is less friendly to Rome.

Judaea

Herod sends his adviser Nicolaus of Damascus (principal historian of his reign) as envoy to Augustus to restore good relations after rising suspicion of him in Rome which Syllaeus has stoked; he succeeds in calming Augustus. Antipater's mother Doris influences Herod to arrest and interrogate the servants of her stepsons Alexander and Aristobulus

on suspicion of a plot to murder him; Alexander is accused of having suborned two of his father's bodyguards to assassinate him and of trying to get the commander of Alexandreion fortress to hand over the king's treasure there. The princes are arrested for treason, and their supposed co-plotters are tried and found guilty at Jericho and stoned to death. Alexander, accused of seeking aid from his father-in-law Archelaus of Cappadocia, admits that they planned to flee Judaea, but only as their lives were in danger from Herod.

Herod sends envoys to Augustus, who agrees to him executing the princes if they were plotting parricide but not for planning to flee and calls a council of top Roman officials and others to Berytus to discuss the case. The princes are sent under guard to Berytus for a confirmatory Roman investigation led by governor Quinctilius Varus of Syria, and Herod reads their 'letters' talking of murder to the court.

Alexander and Aristobulus are found guilty at Berytus; Herod is advised by the returning Nicolaus that in Rome the Imperial courtiers would rather he imprisoned the accused than executed them. He arrives back at Caesarea amid popular discontent about executing the princes, and is publicly rebuked by the veteran soldier Tiro for undue reliance on Antipater's faction – he has Tiro tortured and stoned with 300 military personnel for supposedly intending to murder him.

Alexander and Aristobulus are executed at Samaria. Antipater is now Herod's heir and sends gifts to Augustus' Syrian governor Saturninus, while Aristobulus' widow (Salome's daughter) is married off to Antipater's maternal uncle but Salome remains hostile to him. Antipater and his mother Doris face more intrigue from partisans of his surviving half-brothers Philip and Archelaus; he plans to speed up his succession by poisoning his father.

Autumn: Conjunction of planets which is taken by one school of historians as a possible original for the 'Star of Bethlehem', indicating the date of birth of Jesus.

6 BC

Rome

Consuls: Caius Antistius and Lucius Balbus.

Caius, Augustus' eldest grandson, is elected as the next consul although only 14 due to popular support – Augustus' involvement in the unusual honour is uncertain. Augustus insists that his holding it is delayed to AD 1 when he will be a more respectable age of 21.

Tiberius is granted the tribunician power for five years, thus succeeding to the rank formerly held by Agrippa – possibly a reaction by partisans of his claim to be heir, led by Livia, to the proposal to make Caius consul early. But he soon leaves Rome, ?officially to pursue his studies on Rhodes but possibly also for an eastern mission (involving growing hostility with Armenia) which he decides to abandon, infuriating Augustus; according to Suetonius (over 100 years later) he insists that he requires a period in retirement from civic life and leaves Augustus his will to show him that he has no designs on the succession, and Augustus is either genuinely ill or feigns illness to delay his departure from Italy but when he persists is baffled and furious at his dereliction of duty. Possible tension between Tiberius and his stepsons, or his wife's infidelity, may be other causes.

Tiberius settles on Rhodes as a private citizen. Caius is granted a priesthood and the right to sit with the Senate at festivals on reaching normal age for manhood.

5 BC Consuls: Augustus and Cornelius Sulla.

Caius is enrolled among the young citizens of military age and becomes *Princeps Iuventutis*. Death of Augustus' surviving sister, the younger Octavia (?aged 64), widow of Antonius and mother of the two Antonias; the elder Antonia's husband Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus crosses the Danube on military expedition.

Death of King Deiotarus of Paphlagonia; his kingdom is annexed.

Judaea

?Herod sends Antipater to Rome to be confirmed as his heir, but in the

prince's absence his mother Doris is exiled after intrigues by Herod's sister Salome, the mother of the late Prince Aristobulus' wife, and accusations arising out of the apparent poisoning of Herod's recently deceased brother Pheroras by his wife. Antipater is revealed to have complained about his prolonged wait for the throne and had forged letters prepared to implicate his half-brothers Philip and Archelaus in plotting; on his return it is Antipater's turn to be arrested for 'framing' his half-brothers Alexander and Aristobulus, plotting to do so to Salome next, and intending to poison his father.

Antipater is questioned before Herod, his councillors and the visiting governor Quinctilius Varus of Syria and tries to deny everything, but the evidence of his many accusers is accepted; he is found guilty but Herod is too scared to send him to Rome for execution lest he escape. Fearing the designs of Philip and Archelaus against him, Herod writes a new will leaving all his kingdom to his one unsuspected son, Herod Antipas, with 1,000 talents for Augustus and 500 each for Livia and assorted friends and relatives.

Herod's mental and physical state declines and court intrigue flourishes. Some zealous Jewish students, incited by the Temple scholars Judas and Matthias to act against Herod's blasphemous erection of a golden eagle over the Temple gateway and thinking he is dead or dying, organize its destruction by a mob but are arrested; Herod dismisses 'High Priest' Matthias in favour of his own brother-in-law Joazar and executes the ringleaders in riot.

?Second likeliest date for birth of Jesus, if St Matthew's evidence that he was born before Herod's death is regarded as accurate rather than a compendium of legends created to fulfil Old Testament prophecy.

4 BC

Rome

Consuls: Caius Calvisius and Lucius Passienus.

Judaea

Herod, dying, assembles the Jewish notables in amphitheatre near his

palace at Jericho with a plan to have them executed on his death to assist the easy succession of his favourite son Archelaus, the only one of his younger sons present in Judaea; he is told that Antipater has been rejoicing after hearing that he (Herod) tried to commit suicide so he has him executed.

Herod dies in closely guarded residence at Jericho (aged around 66), and his sister Salome dismisses the assembled notables and reads his new will – which appoints Archelaus as successor – to the soldiers who are given a donative and acclaim him as king. He goes to Rome to secure the succession, and the Imperial procurator Sabinus arrives in Judaea to take over the fortresses and treasure to await Augustus' decision on the succession. Sabinus ignores the attempt by Varus, governor of Syria, to have the fortresses held in Archelaus' name and brings a legion to Jerusalem to start a hunt for hidden royal treasure.

Archelaus' brothers Philip and Antipas arrive in Rome to stake their own claims to Judaea, the latter being backed by Salome whose son Antipater puts his case to Augustus; Augustus sets up a commission to investigate who should have the throne. They meet at the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine, and Nicolaus of Damascus persuades Augustus to ignore the claims of a rival delegation of Jewish citizens who want the entire dynasty removed due to their misrule and to ignore protests that Archelaus has insulted the Emperor by acting as king (e.g. in killing rioters at the Temple) without waiting for Roman confirmation of his accession. It is decided to split the kingdom up with Judaea going to Archelaus and other lands to Philip (Trachonitis, east of the Jordan) and to Antipas (Galilee).

Varus, governor of Syria, puts down an initial revolt in Judaea but **Pentecost** Jews take advantage of the festival to gather in large numbers in Jerusalem and start a coordinated rising there; Imperial procurator Sabinus, in command of a legion in Jerusalem, defeats a riot in the Temple by setting fire to the colonnades, but is besieged in Herod's fortress of the 'Antonia' overlooking the Temple by angry citizens. Assisted by 3,000 of Herod's crack troops under Rufus and Gratus, he is offered safe conduct if he leaves but refuses. He has to be rescued by

Varus of Syria, who brings two more legions to put down the revolt; Gratus puts down the royal slave Simon's attempt to claim the crown after the rebels have sacked Jericho. Arethas sends troops to aid Varus.

The division of the kingdom is enforced, and Varus' troops suppress revolt by Judas the 'Zealot' in Samaria, sacking Sepphoris.

A 'lookalike' of the late Jewish prince Alexander tours the Jewish communities around Greece soliciting funds, and is especially successful on Melos; when he arrives in Rome to claim the throne Augustus sends someone who knows the 'original' to check on him, and on his negative reports sends the pretender to the galleys.

3 BC

Rome

Consuls: Cornelius Lentulus and Valerius Messala (husband of Augustus' niece).

Augustus' powers are renewed for another ten years.

Following chaos in Armenia under the weak government of the regency for Tigranes III and Erato, Rome installs a new, adult sovereign – their Romanized uncle Artavasdes.

24 December: Birth of the future emperor Servius Sulpicius Galba, near Terracina.

2 BC Consul: Marcus Plautius Silvanus.

5 February: Augustus is granted the title of 'Pater Patriae' by the Senate. Augustus grants his second grandson Lucius the honorary rank of equality to senators and the title of Princeps Iuventutis earlier given to Caius. Augustus revises the number of citizens entitled to the free grain-dole, which is set at 60,000; he dedicates the new Temple of Mars Ultor ('Avenger'), built to commemorate his achievement of his vow to avenge Julius Caesar, and the adjacent new 'Forum of Augustus'. His elder grandsons are granted the right to supervise games like magistrates and do so at the commemorative horse races at the dedication; Agrippa Postumus takes part in the 'Troy Game'. Discovery of adulterous affairs by Augustus' daughter Julia leads to him personally leading

the investigation; she is banished to the island of Pandateria and a number of her young aristocratic lovers, among them Iullus Antonius, are executed for an alleged plot against his regime and others such as Sempronius Gracchus are exiled to islands; the accused significantly include a cousin of Augustus' first wife Claudia (Fulvia's daughter) and a grandson of his second wife Scribonia, and it is possible that Iullus Antonius was intended as Julia's next husband by an aristocratic clique as a political challenge to her father. However, a time limit is set to investigations and further claims against other women are not pursued, though Scribonia accompanies Julia into exile. Augustus orders Julia and Tiberius' divorce.

?Publication of Ovid's notorious *Ars Amatoria*, a politically as well as socially defiant celebration of sexual licence and practices denounced by strict moralists such as Augustus.

Parthia

King Phraates IV of Parthia is poisoned by his wife Musa, a freedwoman presented to him as a gift by Augustus in 20; she arranges the succession of her young son Phraates V, but the new regime is anxious about the intentions of the boy's elder half-brothers who the late ruler sent to Rome a few years earlier and tries to secure their extradition.

1 BC

Rome

Consul: Cossius Lentulus.

Caius is sent to the Danube to gain military experience, but learns the arts of command rather than actually fighting; he later visits Athens.

?As a result of Rome's refusal to return the fugitive Parthian princes, Phraates V's government invades Armenia to assist revolt against pro-Roman King Artavasdes; they restore Tigranes and Erato.

AD 1 Consuls: Caius and Aemilius Paullus (then or soon afterwards married to his sister, Julia II); Augustus grants Caius the command of

expedition to Armenia and sends him to the east with proconsular powers; before Caius leaves Rome he is married to his cousin Julia Livia (Livilla), daughter of Drusus and Antonia and sister to Germanicus and Claudius.

Caius is accompanied by an entourage of senior advisers sent to assist him, including Marcus Lollius who encourages him in hostility to his stepfather Tiberius; Tiberius visits Caius on his journey east, at Chios, but the meeting is not a success and one of Caius' associates allegedly offers to murder Tiberius. Tiberius writes to Augustus to assure that he only withdrew from public life so as not to seem a competitor to his stepsons, but now or soon afterwards he fails to secure permission to return; Livia, however, gains him the title of legate to make it seem that he has some authority since expiry of his tribunician power in 1 BC.

Phraates writes to Augustus demanding the return of his half-brothers, and is ordered to vacate Armenia; Caius arrives in Syria.

AD 2 Consuls: Publius Vinicius and Publius Varus.

Caius marches into Armenia and installs pro-Roman king, Median prince Ariobarzanes; he meets Phraates at an island in the Euphrates and they agree peace with the river as dividing line between the two powers and Parthia accepting Ariobarzanes in Armenia. During the negotiations the Parthians reveal that Caius' adviser Marcus Lollius has had unauthorized contacts with client-kings, and Caius confronts and arrests him; he dies or commits suicide in custody and an important opponent of Tiberius' return is removed.

After intercession by Livia and assurances from Caius that he will not object, Augustus agrees to a petition from Tiberius to be allowed back to Rome; he returns and keeps to a private life with no political involvement, giving up his prominent house (formerly Antonius') in the Carinae district and moving further out to the Gardens of Maecenas.

20 August: Augustus' younger grandson Lucius dies at Massilia en route to Spain for military service, aged 19; Tiberius composes a eulogy. (According to Tacitus there was suspicion that Livia had

something to do with Lucius' death – but this is not backed by any contemporary evidence.)

Tiberius' son Drusus (II) assumes adult toga virilis.

?Germanicus marries his cousin Agrippina, elder of the two sisters of Caius and Lucius.

?Augustus allows his disgraced daughter Julia to move back to Rhegium on the Italian mainland. ?At some date around this point, Antonius and Cleopatra's daughter Cleopatra Selene, Queen of Mauretania, dies; her husband Juba marries Glaphyra, daughter of King Archelaus of Cappadocia and widow of Alexander son of Herod. (Glaphyra marries, thirdly, Archelaus of Judaea before AD 6.)

AD 3 Consuls: Marcus Servilius Nonianus and Aelius Lamia. Caius campaigns in Armenia to defeat resistance to Ariobarzanes, and **9 September** is wounded at the siege of the rebel town of Artagira in ambush by its treacherous commander Addon during parley outside walls; at the conclusion of campaign he is hailed as 'Imperator' with Augustus, but has not recovered his health after injury and secures permission to end command, ?initially wanting to go and live in Syria before being persuaded to return to Rome.

AD 4 21 February: Caius dies ?of complications from wounds at Limyra in Lycia, en route back to Italy, aged 24; with both his adult grandsons dead Augustus turns back to Tiberius as his chosen heir. (Again, Tacitus hints that Livia was suspected of involvement in her step-grandson's death.)

26 June: Augustus adopts both Tiberius and Agrippa Postumus (now 15 or 16) as his sons, and grants Tiberius tribunician power for an unprecedented ten years despite his opposing it; Tiberius is given command in Germany where a new revolt has broken out.

?Conspiracy against Augustus detected; the ringleader is Caius Cornelius Cinna Magnus, grandson of Pompeius.

Death of Ariobarzanes of Armenia, Caius' client; succeeded by son Artavasdes III.

Parthia

Phraates V and his powerful mother Musa (who he has recently married) are deposed by Orodes III.

AD 5

Rome

Cnaeus Cornelius and Valerius Messala consuls. Ten new ‘centuries’ of leading citizens are created by law of consuls (named after Caius and Lucius): their rank entitles them to declare their choice of candidates first in elections by *Comitia Centuriata*, thus enabling richer classes to give a lead to the other voters in choosing officials.

28 March: Solar eclipse; floods and famine in Rome.

Agrippa Postumus assumes *toga virilis* and is enrolled among the young citizens of military age; the possible start of alienation from his grandfather follows, connected to his ‘boorish’ behaviour and/or the fact that he is not granted the special early privileges that his brothers received.

Tiberius campaigns across the Rhine, and reaches the Elbe while his fleet sails up the North Sea coast to Jutland; ?at end of campaigning season soldiers in Rome demonstrate for speedier discharge and higher bounties at end of campaigns and it is agreed that ‘Praetorians’ should receive 20,000 sesterces at the end of service (16 years) and other soldiers 12,000 at end (20 years).

Augustus and Tiberius are hailed as ‘Imperators’ at end of German campaign. Augustus and Tiberius plan attack on main anti-Roman tribal leader remaining north of the Danube, Maroboduus of the Marcomanni (Bohemia). ?Birth of Germanicus and Agrippina’s eldest son, Nero Caesar.

Death of the general and military historian Asinius Pollio, founder of a leading library in Rome and dedicatee of Vergil’s *Fourth Eclogue*.

AD 6 Consuls: Aemilius Lepidus and Lucius Arruntius.

Famine in Rome leads to Augustus sending as many court attendants as he can out of the city, reorganizing bread supplies to avert riots,

and dispersing the gladiators and slaves for sale so they cannot revolt or escape; rumours of conspiracies adds to the air of suspicion in city.

Augustus establishes new 'Military Treasury' to handle soldiers' pensions.

Augustus arranges Games in memory of his late stepson Drusus, presented by the latter's sons Germanicus and Claudius; Tiberius dedicates the Temple of Castor and Pollux with inscription in his brother's memory.

Judaea

Archelaus of Judaea is deposed after complaints by his brothers Antipas and Philip and allegations of misrule by his subjects; he is deported to Vienne on the Rhone in Gaul, and Judaea is annexed as a new province – a *praefecture* under the authority of governor of Syria; Coponius is the first *praefect* (to 9).

Census in Judaea; Publius Quirinius governor of Syria. From these facts, St Luke's date for the birth of Jesus has been posited as this year, though it is less likely than c. 5 BC due to the fact that Jesus was supposed to be around 30 years old when his preaching commenced in the fifteenth year of Tiberius' reign (AD 28/9). It is suggested that Luke's reference to Quirinius being in command in Syria may refer to an earlier mission to Syria rather than his governorship.

Rome

The Isaurians in the mountains of south-east Asia Minor revolt; the Gaetuli in North Africa revolt against their overlord Juba of Mauretania and raid Roman province of Numidia so Cornelius Cossus campaigns against them and wins triumphal honours and title.

Serious revolt in Pannonia halts the intended Marcomannian war as the departure of most of the Roman troops in province under governor Valerius Messalinus to join Tiberius over the Danube leads to tribal outbreak led by Bato the Breucian; Sirmium on the Danube (near Belgrade) is besieged and relieved by Caecina Severus, governor of downstream Moesia, while the Dalmatians under another tribal

leader called Bato attack Saloniae. With the Dacians raiding over the lower Danube into Moesia in Caecina's absence, the Romans are overstretched and widespread devastation from tribal rebel raids results between the Dalmatian coast and the Danube. Augustus sends Tiberius back south to suppress it, and he sends Messalinus ahead; the Roman commanders are based at Siscia (near Belgrade) but cannot bring the main rebel army to battle as they move around with mobile bodies of raiders; **late** the rebel army attacks Macedonia but is driven out by Rome's Thracian ally, King Rhoemetalcus.

Judaea

Revolt of Judas the Galilean, founder of the anti-Roman movement of the *Sicarii* ('Knife-men') assassins of Roman 'collaborators', against Rome's annexation of Judaea.

AD 7

Rome

Consuls: Caecilius Metellus and Licinius Silanus.

Rebel Pannonians and Dalmatians hold out in their mountain strongholds, and Augustus becomes annoyed at the length of the war and sends out his step-grandson Germanicus, now quaestor, with a new army including freedmen as well as the usual Roman citizens. While Germanicus joins Tiberius and Messalinus at Siscia to form one army of five legions, Caecina Severus in Moesia is reinforced by troops sent from Asia province under governor Marcus Plautius Silvanus and advances westwards with another five legions; Caecina is intercepted at the Volcaean marshes in the Sava valley by the two Batos but defeats ambush; the Roman armies combine and gain the upper hand in the war.

?Agrippa Postumus is exiled to Surrentum (Sorrento) for misdemeanours including violence and threats to Augustus and Livia over non-payment of inheritance; his property is seized. **Late:** He is sent further away, to the island of Planasia near Corsica, after unauthorized trips to the mainland which may have a political dimension and be

connected to that year's contentious consular elections for 8 which Augustus stops by nominating consuls himself.

Parthia

Orodes III is assassinated; Vonones, one of the disinherited elder sons of Phraates IV, is recalled from Rome to become king.

AD 8

Rome

Consuls: Marcus Furius Camillus and Sextius Nonius Quinctilianus. ?Claudius is betrothed to Camillus' daughter, but she dies on their wedding day; he marries Urgulanilla, daughter of Marcus Plautius Silvanus. (They have one son, Drusillus.)

The younger Julia, Agrippa Postumus' widowed sister, is arrested and exiled for adultery, ultimately to an Adriatic island; her lover (and political adviser?) Decimus Silanus is forced into exile, possibly for illegally marrying her in secret and planning Agrippa Postumus' rescue; among her other alleged lovers the poet Ovid, accused of immorality by Augustus for writing the *Ars Amatoria*, is exiled to the isolated port of Tomi on the west coast of the Euxine.

The Pannonian rebel leader, Bato the Breucian, starts holding hostages from his allied tribes out of suspicions of disloyalty, and is captured and executed by his fellow-rebel Bato the Dalmatian; the leaderless Pannonian rebel territory is devastated by Plautius Silvanus and some tribes surrender.

AD 9 Consuls: Quintus Sulpicius and Caius Sabinus.

Early: Tiberius returns to Rome; his lieutenant Aemilius Lepidus takes charge at his base at Siscia. The Pannonian rebellion is reduced to isolated fighting with bandits, but the war continues in Dalmatia where Germanicus takes his first prominent role in warfare in capturing Sponum and other places.

Lex Papia Poppaea on law relating to marriage is introduced by suffect consuls Marcus Papius Mutilus and Quintus Poppaeus Secundus:

further legal concessions to encourage widows, bachelors and divorcees to (re-)marry and grants to people with large families.

As the Dalmatian war is dragging on, Augustus sends Tiberius back to Dalmatia for final campaign; he instructs Lepidus to move into Dalmatia from the north-west and Silvanus from the north-east while he and Germanicus attack from the south; the first two advances are soon successful in ending local rebellion, and Bato eludes Tiberius until he is cornered at hill fort of Andretium near Salona; Bato slips away from the siege in vain attempt to rally support, and after the fort surrenders he comes to Tiberius' camp to surrender too. Augustus and Tiberius are granted triumphal honours and two arches to commemorate the victory, and Germanicus receives triumph and the rank of praetor.

In Germany, the new governor Publius Quinctilius Varus (married to Augustus' great-niece) advances across the conquered territory east towards the Visurgis (Weser) to confront a revolt by tribes far from the Rhine; he is unaware that he is being lured into danger by a conspiracy of local 'loyal' leaders assisting his army, such as Arminius of the Cherusci, who plan to join the rebellion once he is cut off in the interior. Varus disperses his men rather than keeping them in one strong force as the local tribes are believed to be allies, and is taken by surprise as their leaders slip away from his camp to raise their tribesmen in revolt too despite a warning about German intentions from the pro-Roman Cherusci chief Segestes.

His outposts taken by surprise and massacred as his 'allies' join the rebellion, Varus marches against Arminius' main concentration of warriors rather than retreating to safety at the Rhine but is ambushed in thick mountainous forests in rainstorms. The Romans are harassed on their march, surrounded and defeated in a massive German attack, unable to manoeuvre properly in the thick woodland. Panic sets in among the surrounded survivors in the camp; Varus and his senior officers kill themselves and the leaderless troops are slaughtered as they either flee towards the Rhine or surrender. Three legions are lost and their 'eagles' captured in the greatest defeat Rome has suffered since

Carrhae, and all of Germany east of the Rhine is lost and the river is left virtually defenceless.

Panic in Rome, as the ancient menace of hordes of northern tribesmen descending on Italy is revived and an invasion of Gaul is feared but does not materialize; Augustus, refusing to shave in shock and a demonstration of mourning, sends all Gallic and German warriors serving in his Guard or elsewhere in Rome out of the city in case of revolt, and fails to secure volunteers for a new army so he resorts to conscription and executions of the recalcitrant. Tiberius is sent hurriedly to the Rhine, and reinforces the defences.

17 November: Birth of Flavius Vespasianus (Vespasian), later Emperor, second son of the Sabine landholder Flavius Sabinus (previously a customs supervisor in Asia province) and Vespasia Pollia, at family farm near Reate.

AD 10 Consul: Cornelius Dolabella.

16 January: Tiberius dedicates the Temple of Concord in Rome. He returns to Gaul to guard the Rhine frontier during the campaigning season, but there is no German attack.

AD 11 Consuls: Marcus Aemilius and Titus Statilius Taurus.

Tiberius' son Drusus (II) serves as quaestor.

Tiberius crosses the Rhine, accompanied by Germanicus, and penetrates German territory, but proceeds with caution and does not attempt to regain the lost territory for Rome; the enemy evades battle.

AD 12 Consuls: Germanicus and Caius Fonteius Capito.

31 August: Birth of Germanicus and Agrippina's third son Caius (Caligula), later Emperor, at Antium on the Tyrrhenian coast near Rome.

23 October: Tiberius celebrates his Pannonian and Dalmatian triumph.

Death of King Rhoemetalces of Thrace; Augustus secures succession of sons Rhescuporis and Cotys.

Parthia

Artabanus of Media revolts against and deposes King Vonones of Parthia, seizing his throne. Vonones flees to Roman Syria, and is granted the kingdom of Armenia as Roman client.

AD 13

Rome

Consuls: Lucius Munatius and Caius Silius.

Augustus' powers are renewed for a (final) ten years, and so are Tiberius' powers; Tiberius' proconsular *imperium* is declared equal to his stepfather's, covering all the provinces for the first time; Tiberius' son Drusus is to be allowed to stand for consulship in 15 despite not having held the praetoral office first.

3 April: Augustus seals his final will: two-thirds of his property goes to Tiberius and one-third to Livia, with no mention of Agrippa Postumus.

AD 14 Consuls: Sextus Appuleius and Sextus Pompeius.

Augustus carries out the censorship.

11 May: Land tax arrangements are confirmed.

Summer: Augustus tours Campania; he and Paullus Fabius Maximus visit Agrippa Postumus at Planasia, but it is unlikely that any reconciliation between them has a political result in Augustus intending to rehabilitate his grandson (as Tacitus implies) or that the alarmed Livia poisons Fabius and decides to do away with her husband too.

Germanicus goes to the Rhine on military command; his wife and children join him, and his youngest son Caius receives the nickname of 'Caligula' ('Little Boots') from his miniature military uniform.

Augustus accompanies Tiberius across Campania as the latter sets out for his next command in Illyria, but falls ill soon after they separate at Beneventum, sends to recall him, and **19 August** dies at the family villa at Nola where his father Octavius died, aged 76 and 11 months (his 'reign' of 44 years, or 45 from the end of Antonius' power at Actium, and his period of 56 years holding authority in Italy is unmatched in

the Empire's history). Tiberius receives an urgent letter from Livia, but arrives too late; when news reaches Rome the consuls and Lucius Seius Strabo, Praefect of the Praetorian Guard, are the first to swear allegiance to Tiberius, followed by the Senate.

Reign of Tiberius

Rome

Agrippa Postumus is murdered by the staff-officer in charge of guarding him, allegedly on Augustus' instructions as delivered in a letter sent by his adviser Sallustius Crispus to the guard on the island; Tiberius escorts the cortege to Rome as the equites of each town it passes through take it in turns to carry the bier.

3 September: The Imperial party arrives in the capital, and while Augustus lies in state on the rostra in the Forum Tiberius addresses the Senate and the priestesses of Vesta bring in the will – Augustus leaves 43 and a half million sesterces to the state with 1,000 for each member of the Guard, 500 to troops in Rome, and 300 to troops elsewhere. Livia becomes 'Augusta'.

Tiberius delivers the main eulogy to his stepfather in the Forum, followed by his son Drusus, but diverts the funeral from the intended Forum of Julius Caesar to the Campus Martius in case of disorder, which is not popular; **8 September** the funeral takes place, and an eagle is released at the pyre to simulate Augustus' spirit rising to the gods; as his ashes are placed in the Mausoleum he has erected; **17 September** the Senate meets and Augustus is declared a god and a temple is voted to him; Tiberius rejects senatorial attempts to vote more honours to Livia as inappropriate for a living person. He declares his unworthiness for sole power to the Senate but promises to carry out whatever burden they assign to him and has a clash with his ex-wife Vipsania's husband Asinius Gallus. He transfers the conduct of elections from the Assembly to the Senate, bringing it under closer control. Orders are sent to the armies to administer oath to Tiberius.

Early September: As the news of Augustus' death arrives there,

riots break out in the army in Pannonia (three legions), starting with a camp commanded by Quintus Junius Blaesus where ex-actor soldier Pescennius leads disorders in protest at long service and poor pay and conditions; other soldiers doing peacetime labour duties at and around nearby Nauportus join in and unpopular officers are attacked and expelled and the area is looted. Tiberius sends his son Drusus with two cohorts from the Guard under their new co-commander, Seius Strabo's son Lucius Aelius Sejanus; **26 September** he reaches the main mutineers' camp, reads out a letter from his father praising the soldiers' past service and assuring he will meet any demands he can and refer others to the Senate, and listens to their demands on pay and length of service which respected officer Julius Clemens puts forward; that night an eclipse of the moon puts the superstitious soldiers in a more receptive frame of mind, and overnight Drusus' escort encourages the soldiers to accept the terms offered not do the dirty work for their ambitious leaders.

27 September: Next morning Drusus commends their newly respectful behaviour and promises to intercede with his father if they keep it up, and they send delegates to Rome while Drusus restores disciplined routine to keep them occupied, executes the ringleaders without resistance, and once he is secure leaves.

The army in Lower Germany, commanded by Caecina Severus, mutinies too for similar reasons, though the troops in Upper Germany under Caius Silius do not join in; while the overall commander of both armies, Germanicus, is absent in Gaul assessing taxes there is an outbreak in camp on the borders of the territory of the Ubii (near Bonn), and Caecina is powerless as his unpopular officers are assaulted (one of those to fight his way out of the mob is Cassius Cheraea, later the assassin of Germanicus' son Caius 'Caligula'); on Germanicus' return to the camp the soldiers surround him and complain about their poor conditions, low pay and excessive length of service, and he agrees to a statement in Tiberius' name demobilizing those who have served for over the 20 years' legal limit and doubling the promised legacy from Augustus to each soldier.

With the shaky loyalty of troops in Lower Germany secured, but not by the forceful behaviour that Drusus has shown, Germanicus moves on to the Upper Germany army to administer the oath of allegiance; he grants the same concessions there to forestall mutiny, but as a senatorial delegation joins him at Cologne (the site of the altar of Augustus in the Lower German province) to investigate the news of mutiny, the Lower German troops panic that the concessions will be reversed and riot again. The senatorial delegate Lucius Munatius Plancus is accused of wanting their punishment and is chased by a mob to the legionary altar where he takes sanctuary with the 'eagles'; next morning Germanicus, criticized by his staff for not having the sense to bring loyal Upper German troops with him to Cologne, prepares to send his family away to safety but the shame of their behaviour causing this measure to be considered causes the soldiers to calm down. Germanicus addresses them and shames them into not further disgracing Roman military reputation and the memories of their earlier commanders, and they hand over their ringleaders for execution; in return he organizes swift discharges for those with long service requesting it.

Germanicus gathers the Lower German army for a military expedition over the Rhine to distract them, and sends to Caecina ordering the immediate arrest and killing of the unpunished mutineer leaders among his Upper German forces, which he does. The combined armies are taken over the Rhine to raid German territory, and surprise and slaughter the Marsi during a drunken festival before moving on to the Bructeri, Tubantes, and Usipetes; news of the victories is sent to Rome to reassure the city after the initial panic caused by mutinies, but Germanicus' concessions annoy Tiberius.

Agrippa Postumus' ex-slave Clemens sails to Planasia to rescue him, arrives too late, and goes into hiding to plan to impersonate him.

Tiberius' ex-wife Julia starves to death (aged 53) in exile at Rhegium, probably of her own will after the loss of her last son; Tiberius executes her exiled lover Sempronius Gracchus at Cercina (off African coast) and creates a new priesthood of the divine Augustus.

AD 15 Consuls: Drusus and Caius Norbanus.

Spring: Germanicus raids across the Rhine against the Chatti, taking them by surprise, and burns their capital while Caecina distracts Arminius and the Cherusci; then he rescues pro-Roman chieftain Segestes, Arminius' father-in-law, from attack by his anti-Roman rivals and evacuates him and his dependants (including his daughter, Arminius' wife) to the Roman left bank of the Rhine. Arminius raises a new tribal coalition for war, and Germanicus sends Caecina through the lands of the Bructeri and another force via Frisia while he leads the main Roman attack on Cherusci to the River Ems. The Roman forces link up near the site of the massacre of Varus' troops, and recover and bury the bones of the fallen; the enemy withdraws into forests, and after an indecisive battle Germanicus returns westwards rather than be lured into another disaster.

Arminius' men follow the Romans and harass Caecina's column during their withdrawal over coastal marshes, but are overconfident in assaulting their camp and are beaten back with heavy losses; Germanicus' wife Agrippina, back at the 'base camp' at the Rhine, prevents panicking soldiers from demolishing the Rhine bridge as they hear rumours that their comrades are cut off and the Germans will reach the river first. **?September:** the Romans return safely apart from another problem with tides for those returning along the coast. Germanicus is voted a triumph, with triumphal honours for his principal lieutenants including Caecina.

Tiberius refuses the title of 'Pater Patriae'.

The first treason trial of the reign, of governor Marcus Granius Marcellus of Bithynia for reputedly telling slanderous stories about Tiberius. He is acquitted despite the efforts of his accuser, his deputy's associate Romanus Hispo, the first troublemaker to make a profitable career out of informing on prominent citizens to Tiberius. According to Tacitus, Tiberius decides not to vote in the Senate trial himself as it would affect the subsequent votes of other senators and prevent them recording their honest opinions.

Achaia (Greece) and Macedonia are transferred from nominal control of Senate to that of the Emperor.

AD 16 Consuls: Sisenna Statilius Taurus and Lucius Scribonius Libo (grandson of Augustus' first wife Scribonia's brother).

Due to Parthian threats to attack Armenia and evict its (Roman nominee) sovereign, former King Vonones of Parthia, governor Quintus Metellus Creticus Silanus of Syria removes him to Syria to preserve the peace; Orodes is installed in Armenia instead.

Germanicus constructs a large new fleet for naval descent on the German coast, and after a raid on the Chatti sails his army over the Zuider Zee to land on the lower Ems; he confronts Arminius' Cherusci-led coalition at the River Visurgis/Weser, and his cavalry forces the crossing; Arminius and his forces wait in a sacred forest, and Germanicus camps nearby, defeats a night attack on his camp, and engages the enemy in battle on a wooded plain. The Cherusci charge down from their hillside position to aid their allies' assault on the Roman lines, but the Romans hold them and the Roman cavalry charges the Germans' flanks. The Germans are driven back and routed with many killed, and Arminius has to flee in disguise.

Germanicus advances, and wins a second battle by a swamp on the Cheruscan frontier after close combat in thick woods which he leads personally; he erects a victory trophy and pardons the neighbouring Angrivarii on their surrender. **August:** He starts withdrawal towards the Rhine and re-embarks his main force on fleet, but a sudden storm hits his fleet and wrecks many ships and blows others onto hostile coasts, some as far as Britain whose chieftains return the survivors. The news of the disaster emboldens the Germans, and Germanicus raids the Marsi and sends Caius Silius against the Chatti to dissuade them from revolt. Tiberius recalls Germanicus to serve his next consulship in Rome despite his request for another year's command in Germany to finish the war.

Marcus Scribonius Libo, Scribonia's great-nephew and brother of the consul, is accused of treason over consultations of astrologers about the political future, and commits suicide during trial; his property is confiscated and astrologers are expelled from Italy.

Agrippa Postumus' former slave Clemens acquires a large following

as he goes round Etruria claiming to be his master, and disorders are feared; when he comes to Ostia and is warmly received by crowds Tiberius has him kidnapped, brought before him and executed.

Dedication of arch in Rome commemorating Germanicus' recovery of Varus' legionary standards.

AD 17 Caius Caelius Rufus and Lucius Pomponius Flaccus consuls.

26 May: Germanicus celebrates triumph over all the German tribes west of the Elbe.

Archelaus of Cappadocia is summoned to Rome and detained, and his kingdom is annexed to become a new province; part of his lands, in Lycaonia, go to his son.

Annexation of Commagene on death of King Antiochus III; Quintus Servaeus takes over the province as legate.

Plans are arranged to send Germanicus east on a political mission; Metellus Silanus is replaced as governor of Syria by Cnaeus Calpurnius Piso, Tiberius' ally and his colleague as consul in 7 BC – probably, as rumoured, to watch that Germanicus does not try to make himself too popular in the east due to political intentions hostile to Tiberius.

War between Arminius' Cherusci and Maroboduus' Marcomanni; two of the latter's vassals, the Senones and Langobardi, desert to Arminius and Maroboduus is defeated in battle and unsuccessfully seeks Roman aid; Tiberius sends his son Drusus to Illyria to take command on the Danube frontier opposite the Marcomanni's territory in case of trouble, with proconsular authority over all the Balkan/Danube provinces.

Serious earthquake in western Asia province damages Sardes, Magnesia-ad-Sipyllum and other cities; they are granted aid and tax remissions.

Marcus Furius Camillus, governor of Africa, defeats a force of rebel Numidian tribesmen and brigands led by the Roman military deserter Tacfarinas; he is awarded a triumph, but the rebellion continues.

Appuleia Varilla, great-niece of Augustus (granddaughter of his sister, the elder Octavia), is unsuccessfully prosecuted for alleged treason

in insults to Augustus, Tiberius and Livia; however, she is exiled for adultery.

?Autumn: Germanicus and his family, apart from either one or two of his elder sons Nero and Drusus (III), leave Rome for the east, calling in on Drusus in Dalmatia: Germanicus presumably has *imperium maius* powers as superior to the governors in eastern provinces.

AD 18 1 January: Tiberius and Germanicus consuls; Germanicus assumes office at Nicopolis, at site of the victory of Actium, and goes on to Athens. His wife Agrippina gives birth to their last child, Julia Livilla, at Lesbos as they travel on to Asia province.

Germanicus arrives in Syria, and marches into Armenia to install and crown new king Artaxias III (Zeno of Pontus, son of Polemo); Quintus Veranius is installed as governor of Cappadocia. Vonones, ex-king of Parthia and Armenia, is moved from Syria to Cilicia at the request of Artabanus of Parthia. Dissension breaks out between Piso, governor of Syria (and patron of Vonones), and his wife Plancina on one side and Germanicus on the other; Piso criticizes Germanicus' acceptance of an honorary crown from the Parthian embassy as not fitting for a Roman leader and he is accused by Germanicus of failing to send promised troops to assist the latter's Armenian mission.

Exiled nobleman Catualda leads revolt among the Marcomanni, and their ruler Maroboduus is abandoned and flees to Roman territory; he appeals to Tiberius and is interned at Ravenna, with the possibility of restoring him if his tribal successors turn hostile to Rome.

Rhescuporis, co-ruler of Thrace, arrests and deposes his brother and co-ruler Cotys and alleges to Rome that he had to act to halt plot against himself; Tiberius orders him to hand over his brother and come to Rome while Roman officials sort out the dispute; Rhescuporis has Cotys murdered, alleging it was suicide, but meets the arriving Pomponius Flaccus, the new governor of Moesia, and is removed to Roman territory and exiled to Alexandria; praetor Titus Trebellenus Rufus becomes regent for Cotys' children in half of the kingdom, the other half going to Rhescuporis' son Rhoemetalces II.

AD 19 Consuls: Marcus Junius Silanus Torquatus (married to Aemilia Lepida, daughter of Augustus' granddaughter Julia II) and Lucius Norbatus Balbus.

Germanicus visits Egypt, dressing in Greek fashion in apparent imitation of the Hellenophile general Scipio Africanus; he thus breaks the usual legal ban on senators and equites entering politically sensitive Egypt without specific Imperial permission, and his behaviour is probably regarded in Rome as having potentially disruptive political connotations. On his return to Syria more disputes with Piso lead to the latter deciding to leave to return to Italy (and complain to Tiberius), but Germanicus falls ill at Antioch and after another quarrel accuses Piso of attempted poisoning and dismisses him as governor. Piso lingers at the city's port of Seleucia Pieria awaiting the outcome of Germanicus' illness.

10 October: Germanicus dies, aged 34, amid allegations of poisoning and black magic involving Piso and his wife Plancina; as Piso's enemies in Syria, led by Cnaeus Sentius Saturninus and Caius Vibius Marsus who are rivals to be nominated as the next governor if Piso is disgraced, send accusations to Italy he hears at Cos of the events and considers reoccupying Syria by force, sending his son and his friend Domitius Celer to collect Roman and allied troops in Cilicia. Piso and his troops confront Sentius at Celenderis in Cilicia and he tries to incite the Syrian troops to mutiny, but he is defeated in a skirmish and has to accept a safe conduct to return to Rome and put his case to Tiberius.

Agrippina and her children start homeward journey with Germanicus' ashes for burial at Rome, and receive large sympathetic demonstrations from the public – reports of which probably inflame the suspicious Tiberius. Commemorative honours are decreed to Germanicus, including statues and arches.

New laws against female immorality are voted by the Senate; 4,000 ex-slave practitioners of Egyptian and Jewish rites are deported to Sardinia.

December: Birth of twin boys to Drusus and Livilla; one dies in 23, the other is Tiberius Gemellus.

AD 20 Consuls: Marcus Valerius Messala Messalinus and Marcus Aurelius Cotta Maximus.

Early: Agrippina and her party reach Brundisium and are accompanied by a military escort of Praetorians on the journey to Rome and received by Italian towns' magistrates en route; Drusus and Germanicus' brother Claudius join at Terracina with Germanicus' elder son(s), and large crowds attend their approach to Rome and the night-time burial at the Mausoleum of Augustus; Tiberius is criticized for not attending, and Livia and Germanicus' mother Antonia do not go either.

Piso returns to Rome, and is put on trial before the Senate with Lucius Fulcinius Trio leading the prosecution for murdering Germanicus and inciting troops to mutiny; Quintus Servaeus, Quintus Veranius and Publius Vitellius assist the prosecution with their evidence of events in Syria. With demonstrations of public hostility to Piso, the charge of mutiny is irrefutable though that of murder is more dubious and the city mob attacks Piso's statues until Tiberius intervenes; after the first day of trial Piso commits suicide overnight, leaving a letter protesting his loyalty and accusing his enemies of conspiracy which Tiberius has read to the Senate. Plancina is pardoned of accusations that she took part in the poisoning ?through her friend Livia's influence, but Piso's son is found guilty of aiding the plot to cause Cilician mutiny and is fined five million sesterces and exiled for ten years; the family property is not confiscated.

A complaint is raised on Claudius' behalf in Senate over his omission from the list of prominent Romans who are publicly thanked for their services in the aftermath of Germanicus' death.

Drusus receives ovation for his command in Illyria; death of his mother, Tiberius' ex-wife Vipsania. Drusus' daughter Livia Julia is married to Germanicus' eldest son Nero Caesar, who enters honorary priesthood and the Senate and is promised quaestorship five years ahead of normal age limit; Claudius' son Drusillus is engaged to the daughter of Sejanus, the increasingly trusted and powerful Praefect of the Praetorian Guard.

Tacfarinas starts attacking Roman forts in Numidia; new governor

Lucius Apronius decimates a cohort for deserting its commander in battle against him, and as Roman morale improves he resorts to guerilla attacks.

AD 21 Consuls: Tiberius and Drusus.

Tribal disorders in weakly ruled Thrace, where co-ruler Rhoetmetalces is besieged in Philippopolis by the Odrysae and other tribes; they are suppressed by Roman troops.

Revolt against the hardship caused by heavy debt in Gaul, which is converted from general discontent into a conspiracy across several tribes by Julius Florus of the Treveri (around Trier) and Julius Sacrovir of the Aedui; governor Acilius Aviola of Lugdunensis defeats first outbreak among the Andecavi and Turoni, but then Florus raises a Treveri cavalry regiment in revolt to start a massacre of local Romans and as troops arrive the rebels hide in the Ardennes. With help of loyal tribesmen the Romans ferret out and kill or disperse the rebels, but Sacrovir's Aeduian rebels seize the local city of Augustodunum (Autun) and distribute a secret arsenal of weapons he has had prepared; Caius Silius of Upper Germany leads his troops in to ravage rebel Sequani lands and defeat the rebels near Augustodunum, after which Sacrovir and other leaders kill themselves.

AD 22 Consuls: Caius Sulpicius Galba and Decimus Haterius Agrippa.

Measures are anticipated against conspicuous consumption, particularly at banquets.

Tiberius secures grant of the tribunician power to Drusus, raising his son to the position that he held in AD 5–14; he allows the Senate to receive and act on provincial petitions for new civic rights and activities.

Trial of Caius Junius Silanus (consul in AD 10 and brother of the younger Julia's disgraced lover) for peculation as governor of Asia, to which charges are joined accusations of offences against the divinity of Augustus and the reputation of Tiberius arising from his disgraceful behaviour; Tiberius joins in the hostile interrogation in the Senate. Silanus is exiled and his property seized, though his mother's

inheritance is allowed to go to his son, with an apparent outbreak of competitive sycophancy among the Senate to rush to anticipate what severe sentence would please their sovereign.

Quintus Junius Blaesus, the new governor of Africa (and Sejanus' uncle), acts decisively against Tacfarinas' rebellion in Numidia with a mixture of military action and offers of amnesty. The rebel leader escapes and rebellion continues at a minor level, but Tiberius grants Blaesus the right to a triumph – the final one allowed outside the Imperial family.

AD 23 Consuls: Caius Asinius Pollio and Caius Antistius Vetus.

Germanicus' second son Drusus (III) assumes the toga virilis; Tiberius considers but abandons idea of a tour of the provinces.

Death of Juba II of Mauretania; succeeded by Ptolemy, his son by Antonius' and Cleopatra's daughter Cleopatra Selene.

14 September: Drusus dies unexpectedly (aged 37), possibly after poisoning by his wife Livilla at the instigation of her lover Sejanus (as stated by Tacitus as being exposed at the time of her later disgrace); the nearest presumed heir to Imperial power is now Germanicus' eldest son, Nero Caesar, but Tiberius' relations with the ambitious Agrippina deteriorate further in the next few years.

Tiberius allows the prosecution and conviction of his agent in Asia province, Lucilius Capito, in a Senate trial following accusations from the provincials of exceeding his authority by taking over the military functions of governor.

AD 24 Consuls: Servius Cornelius Cethegus and Lucius Visellius Varro.

Tiberius instigates an investigation after the annual senatorial vow for his safety mentions Germanicus' sons Nero and Drusus (III) without his authorization, presumably blaming political troublemaking by their mother Agrippina to force more public recognition of her sons as his heirs than he desires.

Caius Silius, distinguished general and friend of Germanicus, is accused of connivance with the Gallic rebel Sacrovir's revolt and

rapacity after suppressing it, and his wife Sosia of connivance in his behaviour; Asinius Gallus, Vipsania's second husband and as such an ally to political claims of her and Tiberius' infant grandson (Drusus' son) Tiberius Gemellus as heir instead of Germanicus' sons, is among the attackers and the pleas for moderate sentence by the senior senator Marcus Lepidus are ignored. Silius commits suicide and Sosia – a friend of Agrippina – is exiled, with their property being seized.

Publius Cornelius Dolabella, new governor of Africa, mobilizes forces and calls in Mauretanian help to defeat a new outbreak by Tacfarinas in which the neighbouring Garamantes tribe has joined; he organizes quick-moving columns to hunt down the rebels and Tacfarinas is cornered and killed, but Tiberius denies Dolabella a triumph.

Attempted slave revolt in the area around Brundisium, led by ex-Guardsman Titus Curtius, is detected and prevented by swift arrests and executions.

AD 25 Consuls: Cossus Cornelius Lentulus and Marcus Asinius Agrippa.

The historian Aulus Cremutius Cordius is prosecuted for praise of Brutus and Cassius in his recent history of the civil wars, being accused by Sejanus' allies of treasonable attack on the Caesars, and his defence that he has not attacked Tiberius or Augustus (whose reputations alone are protected by the law) is ignored; he is condemned to death and his books are burnt.

Cyzicus loses civic rewards granted for its defiance of Mithridates for neglecting the worship of Augustus; Tiberius refuses an attempt by the communities of Further Spain to erect a temple for worship of him and Livia.

Tiberius refuses Sejanus' request to marry Livilla as he is only the son of an eques not of senatorial rank. This is the first definitive sign of Sejanus' possible ambitions for the Imperial succession and hence political rivalry with Germanicus' widow and sons.

Deaths of Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus, husband to Augustus' niece the elder Antonia, and of Antonius' grandson Lucius, son of Iullus Antonius.

AD 26 Consuls: Cnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus and Caius Calvisius Sabinus.

Claudia Pulchra, daughter of Vipsania and her second husband Asinius Gallus (and widow of Quinctilius Varus), a friend of Agrippina, is prosecuted by Narbonese ex-praetor Domitius Afer for immorality in her private life, and for attempted poisoning of and magic spells against Tiberius; she is condemned to death and it leads to Agrippina accusing Tiberius of persecuting Augustus' descendants.

Tiberius leaves Rome to dedicate temples to Jupiter at Capua and to Augustus at Nola, with a small entourage including Marcus Cocceius Nerva (grandfather of the later Emperor Nerva); whether or not he intended it at the time, he never returns to Rome. Sejanus saves his life by shielding him when a cave-restaurant they are dining in near Fundi suffers a rockfall while they are there, and becomes even more indispensable.

Pontius Pilate succeeds Valerius Gratus as governor of Judaea; he allows his troops to bring standards bearing the Imperial image into Jerusalem as he takes up office, breaking a Roman practice that respects the Jewish detestation of 'graven images', and as a result faces a successful appeal by the citizens who march to his headquarters at Caesarea on the coast in protest.

Judaea

Caiaphas is made 'High Priest' at Jerusalem after his father-in-law Annas.

AD 27

Rome

Consuls: Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi and Lucius Calpurnius Piso.

Thousands of people are killed or injured in the collapse of an inadequately built amphitheatre erected at Fidenae by the freedman Atilius for his gladiatorial Games.

Domitius Afer, now a rising and wealthy orator making a fortune out of legal cases, organizes the prosecution of Claudia Pulchra's son, the

younger Publius Quinctilius Varus, aided by his victim's relative Publius Cornelius Dolabella; Varus' betrothal to Germanicus' daughter Livia Julia may be indicative that this is another move against Agrippina's allies.

Tiberius settles on Capreae; Sejanus and Livilla start to amass concocted evidence of treason against Nero Caesar to encourage Tiberius against him, aided by his wife (Livilla's daughter) Livia Julia and his jealous younger brother Drusus.

AD 28

Rome

1 January: Caius Appius Junius Silanus and Publius Silius Nerva consuls; a letter from Tiberius is read in the Senate accusing Germanicus' friend, eques Titus Sabinus, of plotting against him and the accused is swiftly condemned to death and removed for execution despite the legal requirement for a delay before sentences are carried out. In fact the victim has been led on by pretended friends in Sejanus' pay, such as Lucanius Latiaris, to lament the misfortunes befalling Germanicus' family and make incautious private remarks against Tiberius, and then to repeat them with hidden senators listening in.

The Frisians, across the mouth of Rhine from main Roman frontier, revolt and attack Roman troops after excessive exactions by garrisons in the area annexed by Drusus (I); governor Lucius Apronius of Lower Germany sends a force to punish them but they inflict substantial losses on the Romans and the war is not carried through, resulting in loss of the area to Rome.

Tiberius organizes the marriage of Germanicus' daughter Agrippina (II) to Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, son of the late Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus and Augustus' niece the elder Antonia (they become Emperor Nero's parents).

Judaea

August: Start of the fifteenth year of Tiberius' reign, in which according to the Gospels John 'the Baptist' commences his preaching around the

Sea of Galilee. Operating in the tradition of a Jewish prophet calling the people to repentance and inveighing against the sins of their rulers, John particularly condemns the tetrarch Antipas (ruler of the region) for endeavouring to divorce his wife – the daughter of Antipas' Arab neighbour, Arethas IV of Nabatea – and marry his own brother Philip's daughter Herodias instead. The baptism of Jesus, traditionally John's first cousin, and start of his mission in Galilee probably belongs to the year or so following this date.

?Jesus' 'Sermon on the Mount', overlooking the Sea of Galilee (or 29).

AD 29

Rome

Consuls: Caius Fufius Geminus and Lucius Rubellius Geminus.

Death of Augustus' widow Livia, aged 85 or 86; Tiberius does not return to Rome for the funeral and states that she did not wish to be deified. Within a short time of Livia's death, Tiberius sends a letter to be read in the Senate, accusing Agrippina of unwomanly brazen arrogance and her son Nero of homosexuality and hinting that they intend to appeal to the populace in the Forum or the armies in Germany against him; a crowd of supporters gathers outside the meeting alleging that the letter has been forged by Sejanus as part of a plot against them and the Senate takes no action, but Tiberius sends a second letter condemning their behaviour and requiring the Emperor's law court to take action as they will not. The panicking Senate reassures Tiberius of their eagerness to assist him in any way legally permissible, and he has Agrippina and Nero arrested and removed quickly from Rome to pre-empt demonstrations. Agrippina is banished to the island of Pandateria and Nero to Pontia, and Nero is proclaimed a public enemy by the Senate.

?Drusus (III), Nero's brother, is married to Aemilia Lepida, daughter of the consul of AD 6, who spies on her husband for her lover Sejanus and reports his criticism of Tiberius to him.

Judaea

?Flight of Antipas' estranged wife to her father Arethas of Nabatea; Arethas plans war against Antipas. Fearing that John the Baptist will incite a revolt in Galilee while the tetrarchal army is campaigning against Nabatea, Antipas has John arrested and imprisoned at his military headquarters, Machaerus. Later, Herodias persuades Antipas to execute John during Antipas' accession-anniversary banquet.

?Jesus' first missionary visit to Jerusalem, according to Mark's Gospel; on this evidence, it is apparently 38 years since the rebuilding of the Temple started (in 20/19 BC?).

First date possible for the climax of Jesus' mission, his entry into Jerusalem, and the Crucifixion; this is variously dated as 29, 30, or 33 (one claim has been made for 36), depending on whether the Friday of the execution occurred on the first day or the eve of the first day of Passover on the fourteenth day of the Jewish month Nisan. Given that the Gospels disagree on the number of years that Jesus' mission covered – crucially, whether or not he only visited Jerusalem once during that period (Luke) or thrice (Mark) – it is more likely to have taken two years than one year and that puts the balance of evidence in favour of a later date than spring 29. Whatever the date of Jesus' execution, the method used – that for political crimes – suggests that as far as governor Pontius Pilate was concerned he was an incendiary agitator claiming the political kingship of the Jews and responsible for disturbances in Jerusalem.

AD 30***Rome***

Disgrace, arrest and imprisonment in the cellars of the Imperial Palace of Drusus (III) on orders of Tiberius, following Sejanus' reports; the Senate declares him a public enemy too.

Judaea

Spring: Second proposed date for the entry into Jerusalem, arrest and trial, and crucifixion of Jesus.

Rome

?Autumn: Tiberius summons the youngest of Germanicus' and Agrippina's sons, the 18-year-old Caius (Caligula), to Capreae from his residence with Germanicus' mother Antonia in Rome; it probably indicates a desire to keep the youth, now his nearest heir not disgraced, away from intrigues in Rome by Agrippina's partisans, and possibly Tiberius' rising distrust of Sejanus' intentions. Caius assumes the toga virilis privately on the island, without the usual public celebrations.

Death of Nero Caesar on Pontia, aged around 25; it is uncertain if it is suicide or murder by Sejanus' agents.

Arrest, trial and forced suicides of ex-consul Geminus and his wife Mutilia, Livia's friend, for showing 'impiety' by disrespect to Tiberius.

Autumn: Tiberius is elected as consul for 31, with Sejanus as his colleague; Sejanus stages a political parade to celebrate on the Aventine, hailing his concern for the public welfare, to rally support for himself among the populace. His supposed new ally, Asinius Gallus (Vipsania's widower), accompanies the delegation sent to Capreae to inform Tiberius of arrangements for the consulship and extra honours for Sejanus, but is arrested while there as Tiberius reads a letter Sejanus has sent denouncing his real attitude.

AD 31 1 January: Tiberius and Sejanus consuls; Sejanus shares in new honours, including having a gilt chair at the theatre and allowing people to sacrifice to his statues and swear by his fortune. Tiberius, however, insists in orders to the Senate that he will not allow any cult of living person.

8 May: Tiberius ends his consulship, which means that Sejanus' consulship expires too; he grants his deputy proconsular power for an expected governorship, and also membership of the augurate (with the same for Sejanus' son and Caius).

1 July: Suffect consulship of Sejanus' ally Lucius Fulcinius Trio.

?Arrival on Capreae of Pallas, a slave in the household of the younger Antonia, with a secret letter giving evidence of Sejanus' malevolent intentions towards Tiberius and possibly of how he and Livilla

poisoned Tiberius' son Drusus and 'framed' Nero Caesar; Tiberius prepares to have Sejanus arrested, but due to his power and the uncertain loyalty of the Guard has to move carefully. He selects as his instrument Quintus Naevius Cordus Sutorius Macro, former Praefect of the *Vigiles* ('Watch'/police/fire brigade) regiments in Rome, who also has military support in the city.

Sejanus fails to get an accusation against the senior ex-consul (of AD 6) Lucius Arruntius accepted by the Senate, on the grounds that as his target is still serving as governor of Tarraconensis in Spain he cannot be prosecuted until he leaves office; the Senate's daring to defy him indicates his loss of influence.

1 October: Publius Memmius Regulus, loyal to Tiberius, assumes suffect consulship with Fulcinus.

17 October, night: Macro arrives in Rome with orders from Tiberius, and communicates with Publius Graecinus Laco, his successor as 'Praefect of Vigiles'.

18 October: Arriving at the Temple of Apollo on Palatine for a Senate meeting, Macro assures Sejanus that the orders he is to read to Senate are to give him the full tribunician power. Sejanus goes inside, and Macro shows his authority to dismiss the attendant Praetorians and mount a guard of Vigiles at the meeting. He hands Tiberius' letter to the consuls, and goes to the Praetorian barracks to issue a donative to the troops and assume command as their new Praefect which they accept; Regulus reads out the letter to Senate, and the amazed Sejanus finds it is an order for his arrest; as senators join in accusations, the civic officials seize him and hand him over to Laco, and he is taken off to the civic prison. As no disturbances follow and the Guard remains loyal, the Senate reconvenes later in the day at the Temple of Concord and Regulus leads Sejanus' condemnation; he is strangled and the resultant executions include his eldest son Aelius Gallus Strabo and his uncle Blaesus. (Reputedly, Tiberius had a ship ready at Capreae to take him to Egypt or Syria if the Guard backed Sejanus, and had told Macro to release Drusus and use him as a figurehead for loyalty if it came to a battle with the Praetorians.)

Sejanus' widow Apicata kills herself, leaving a message to Tiberius detailing her husband's involvement with Livilla and alleged poisoning of Tiberius' son Drusus.

Livilla is arrested and put in the custody of her mother Antonia; either Antonia has her starved to death or she commits suicide, and **?November** the purge extends to include the execution of Sejanus' younger children despite their age – Macro reputedly has his daughter raped as it is bad luck to kill a virgin. Notably, Tiberius does not release either Drusus (III) or Agrippina. A statue of Liberty and an annual festival are decreed by the Senate to celebrate Sejanus' fall, and excessive honours for any individual are banned; Tiberius declines the title of 'Pater Patriae' again.

Caius Poppaeus Sabinus, governor of Macedonia and Achaia (Greece), has to arrest an impostor claiming to be the escaped Drusus who has collected a crowd of riotous adherents in Greece.

AD 32 Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and Lucius Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus (son of Sejanus' last would-be victim, Arruntius) consuls. Tiberius journeys by sea as far as the mouth of the Tiber, but does not return to Rome.

The informers Sextus Paconianus, Sejanus' agent in gathering fraudulent evidence against Caius to poison Tiberius' mind, and Lucanius Latiaris (leader in the plot against Caius Silius), are among the latest allies of the disgraced minister to be arrested, tried and killed; a general air of suspicion and terror seems to prevail among the upper classes over who is to be accused next on the flimsiest charges, at least as recorded by Tacitus. Marcus Cotta Messalinus, friend of Tiberius and ex-ally of Sejanus, is charged with defaming Caius as a homosexual but after condemnation he is reprieved on Imperial intervention.

Publius Vitellius, Praefect of the 'Military Treasury', is among the executions of Sejanus' collaborators; the ex-praetor and informer Sextus Paconianus is executed for being the mainstay of Sejanus' plans to destroy Caius, and Germanicus' ex-officer Quintus Servaeus and the equestrian Minucius Thermus are tried on Imperial orders as friends of

Sejanus even though they did not assist his persecutions.

Tiberius' late brother Drusus' friend Sextus Vistilianus is charged with defaming Caius' morals, and commits suicide; five senators are accused in one case of treason, but two of them (Caius Junius Silanus and Caius Calvisius Sabinus) escape conviction due to distrust of the evidence of city Vigiles officer Julius Celsus (who is later accused over his informing and kills himself).

Junius Gallio is expelled from the Senate due to Tiberius' displeasure after he suggests that the Praetorians should be allowed to share the seats reserved for the equites at the theatre, thus emphasizing their political importance. Aulus Avillius Flaccus, friend of Tiberius and partisan of Tiberius Gemellus as heir, is appointed Praefect of Egypt.

AD 33 Consuls: Servius Sulpicius Galba and Marcus Vinicius. Caius serves as quaestor.

Vinicius and Lucius Cassius Longinus are selected by Tiberius as his choices as husbands for the two unmarried daughters of Germanicus, Drusilla and Julia Livia.

Judaea

Spring: Third possible date for the entry into Jerusalem, trial and crucifixion of Jesus. This seems to be the likelier date according to Mark, the earliest of the Gospels, where Jesus' mission takes two or three years.

The surviving Apostles commence their mission to the world.

Rome

October: Agrippina dies in exile on Pandateria, probably suicide out of despair that she is never going to be recalled, aged 48; Tiberius allows her imprisoned son Drusus (III) to starve to death in his prison on the Palatine, aged around 26, and has an account of his supposed plots against his relatives and the state published; suicide of Piso's widow Plancina during her trial for her past misdeeds.

?Caius is married to Junia Claudilla, daughter of Marcus Junius Silanus (suffect consul in 15).

Tiberius makes a loan of a hundred million sesterces to private banks to establish interest-free loans for people in need of raising money and to restore credit following panic over a flood of importunate creditors having to sell land and accept extortionate terms for loans from moneylenders to pay debts.

Tiberius' granddaughter Julia Livia, daughter of Drusus and Livilla and widow of Nero Caesar, marries (2) Caius Rubellius Blandus.

Death in custody of Asinius Gallus, disgraced husband of Tiberius' ex-wife Vipsania, after three years awaiting trial for the charges on which Sejanus had Tiberius arrest him in 30 but no further proceedings or enquiry.

Suicide of Tiberius' friend and adviser the jurist Marcus Cocceius Nerva, grandfather of the Emperor Nerva (not known to be a political act).

AD 34 Consuls: Paullus Fabius Persicus and Lucius Vitellius.

Pomponius Labeo, ex-governor of Moesia, commits suicide during trial to prevent condemnation and seizure of property; so does Mamercus Aemilius Scaurus, a former ally of Sejanus from the ancient family of the Aemilii who was accused by Praefect Macro of writing a play defamatory to Tiberius and charged with adultery with Livilla.

Judaea

Death of the Jewish tetrarch Philip, whose lands east of the Jordan are incorporated into Judaea; ?his nephew Herod Agrippa, the son of Herod's executed son Aristobulus, abandons his life in Syria after threats of prosecution for accepting bribes to influence his friend Lucius Pomponius Flaccus, governor of Syria; he comes to Italy and seeks the patronage of the Imperial family by getting invitation from Tiberius to Capreae, but has to deal with accusations from Imperial procurator Herennius Capito of debts to the Imperial treasury which his new patron Antonia pays; he reinforces an old link to his ex-'school friend' from youth at Augustus' court, her son Claudius, and borrows a million sesterces to repay her and spends the money on impressing

Caius as the expected Imperial heir; Tiberius gives Agrippa charge of his grandson Tiberius Gemellus.

Rome

Cnaeus Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, governor of Upper Germany so in charge of four legions and a threat to Rome if disloyal, is accused of treason (he had betrothed his daughter to Sejanus' son) but is not charged, reputedly after an exculpatory letter to Tiberius which has his accuser exiled instead. Death of Artaxias III of Armenia; Artabanus of Parthia installs his own son Arsaces as king and sends an insulting embassy to Rome demanding return of ex-King Vonones' treasure on pain of war.

AD 35 Consuls: Caius Sestius Gallus and Marcus Servilius Nonianus.

The sons of ex-governor Blaesus of Africa, Sejanus' cousins, and Drusus III's widow Aemilia Lepida are forced to suicide; Fulcinus Trio, an ex-Sejanus partisan, kills himself as prosecution is threatened and attacks Macro and Tiberius in his published will.

Parthia/Rome/Armenia

Envoys of a group of plotting nobles in Parthia, led by Sinnaces and the eunuch Abdus, visit Rome to seek support for a revolt against Artabanus and the return of Phraates, a refugee son of Phraates IV, to lead them; the King discovers their plot and Abdus is poisoned; the would-be king Phraates dies before he reaches Parthia, but Tiberius chooses his relative Tiridates instead to lead revolt while Mithridates, brother of Pharasmenes of Iberia (Georgia), is reconciled to his brother the King and sent to Armenia to take it over with Iberian help. Tiberius despatches Lucius Vitellius as new governor to Syria to organize the eastern frontier offensives; Arsaces of Armenia is murdered and the Iberians seize the capital, Artaxata, for Mithridates, and when Artabanus sends his son Orodes into Armenia to retake the kingdom the Iberians block the Caucasus passes to stop Sarmatian tribesmen from the steppe coming to aid him and defeat him in battle.

Rome

8 November: Birth of Marcus Cocceius Nerva, later Emperor, at Narnia.

AD 36 Consuls: Quintus Plautius and Sextus Papirius Allenius. Vitellius threatens attack across Euphrates on Parthia to dissuade Artabanus from sending in a second army, and Sinnaces leads revolt within Parthia; Artabanus flees to the steppes and Vitellius accompanies Tiridates on invasion of Mesopotamia where the Parthian governor Oronospades surrenders; the plotters arrive to join the Roman army with the royal treasure and regalia, and Vitellius hands over his protégé who is installed as King Tiridates III.

Judaea

?At around this date, several years after the Crucifixion, (St) Stephen becomes the first Christian martyr as he is stoned for blasphemy by crowds stirred up against the new Christian sect by the Orthodox zealot Saul of Tarsus.

Spring: At the Passover festival, crowds of Samaritans head for their sacred Mount Gerizim to see if a prophecy will be fulfilled as promised and ancient holy vessels from the Temple buried there will be revealed; they ignore governor Pilate's orders to go home, so he has them ambushed by his troops and massacred. Complaints at a catalogue of his misrule, of which this is the latest and worst incident, lead to his recall to Rome and governor Vitellius of Syria sends troops to Jerusalem.

Pilate returns to Rome; Vitellius appoints Coponius as governor of the province and replaces Caiaphas with Jonathan as 'High Priest'.

Rome/Armenia

Phraates and Hiero, provincial governors disillusioned with the pro-Roman Tiridates III, lead defections to Artabanus who returns from exile in Hyrcania and advances on Mesopotamia; Tiridates accepts advice to retreat towards Armenia and Syria to call on help from his allies, but his army breaks up and he has to flee to Syria as Artabanus reoccupies the Parthian throne.

Serious fire on the Aventine Hill in Rome; Tiberius orders the husbands of Germanicus' daughters (Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, Lucius Cassius Longinus and Marcus Vinicius), and of his own granddaughter (Caius Rubellius Blandus) to lead commission to investigate.

Autumn: Herod Agrippa is arrested and imprisoned on reports to Tiberius that he has been discussing the Emperor's death with his new friend Caius, the Emperor's heir.

Death of Caius' wife Junia Claudilla; Macro encourages his own wife Ennia to become Caius' mistress.

Judaea

Conversion of Saul of Tarsus, who obtains permission from the High Priest to hunt down Christian partisans in Damascus but has a change of heart, supposedly after being struck blind en route to the city. He joins the initially mistrustful Christian community in Jerusalem as 'Paul' after a probationary period at Damascus. Paul's personal interpretation of Christianity shows signs of influence from the eastern Mediterranean Hellenistic 'Saviour God' cults, and may be at variance with the more narrowly Jewish interpretation by Jesus' own ex-associates – led by Jesus' lieutenant (St) Peter and Jesus' brother (St) James 'the Just'. At some point over the next few years, Paul comes to differ from the latter on the need for a mission to the Gentiles which accommodates the latter's reluctance to convert to Judaistic practices.

AD 37

Rome

Consuls: Cnaeus Acerronius Proculus and Caius Petronius Pontius Nigrinus.

Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus is among those cited as lovers of arrested adulteress Albucilla, but his trial is prevented by the Emperor's death though his fellow-accused Vibius Marsus and Lucius Arruntius commit suicide – there is a possibility of a political motive for the charges, given their enmity to Macro and Ahenobarbus' marriage to Caius' sister.

Tiberius' health declines on visit to Campania, but he appears in public at the Circeii arena which causes a relapse; he moves to a former villa of Lucullus' at Misenum and falls seriously ill, and the visiting doctor Charicles tips off Macro who prepares for Caius' succession.

16 March: Tiberius has a seizure and is believed to be dead, but reputedly comes round as his courtiers are hailing Caius as Emperor so Macro has him smothered; he dies aged 78, and Caius accedes as Emperor aged only 24. He orders his friend Herod Agrippa's release, and soon grants him the Transjordanian principality (Trachonitis) held by his uncle Philip until 34.

Reign of Caius ('Caligula')

Rome

Macro arranges for Praetorians to take the oath to Caius as 'Imperator' (unlike Tiberius, he has held no tribunician power or other legal rank to indicate succession).

18 March: Popular celebrations in Rome at the news of Tiberius' death; the Senate swears oath to their new ruler. Caius and Macro lead the funeral cortege to Rome, with an escort of Praetorians; **28 March** the procession reaches Bovillae and enters Rome at night.

?29 March: Caius attends the Senate, and is granted the full 'Imperial' powers of proconsular imperium over all the provinces in a ceremony attended by public.

30 March: Macro reads Tiberius' will to the Senate: he has left Caius and 17-year-old Tiberius Gemellus as joint heirs, but the Senate sets it aside on the grounds that Tiberius was of unsound mind while a demonstration by the populace at the doors shouts that Gemellus is too young to rule and has not even the official rank enabling him to attend Senate. Caius is accordingly declared sole heir to all the late ruler's property, rather than all Tiberius' dependent relatives (women too) sharing it as is strictly correct under the law.

Caius pays off Tiberius' intended legacies, and also those from Livia's will in 29 which Tiberius had declared invalid as wrongly drafted; he

adopts Gemellus as his 'son' and proclaims him 'Princeps Iuventutis', in effect as his heir; **3 April** Caius delivers the eulogy at Tiberius' funeral on the Campus Martius. He requests the Senate to deify Tiberius but leaves the decision to them and does not press it when they prevaricate, and sails to the islands of Pandateria and Pontia despite storms to recover the bones of Agrippina and Nero Caesar as his family duty to victims of the late government; the remains are ceremonially carried in procession by equestrians to the Mausoleum of Augustus to join those of the rest of the Imperial family, and posthumous honours are given to Germanicus and Agrippina including the temporary renaming of September after the former. Antonia, Caius' grandmother, is granted the honours given to Livia during her lifetime, and Caius' sisters share the public privileges of the Vestal Virgins.

Judaea

Oaths are taken in public ceremonies across the provinces to the new Emperor on news of his accession; Vitellius of Syria carries it out in Jerusalem where he hears of events in Italy during his visit with Herod Antipas of Galilee.

Marullus is sent to Judaea as the new governor, and Theophilus is made 'High Priest' at the Temple.

Rome

Restoration of Prince Antiochus of Commagene, son of the deposed king, to his father's kingdom.

1 May: Death of Antonia, aged 73.

Vitellius moves troops up to the Euphrates to confront Artabanus of Parthia's threat of invasion; the two armies face each other across the river, but peace is preserved as Artabanus meets Vitellius in a pavilion on island for talks, gives his son Darius as hostage for peace, and honours the Roman legionary 'eagles' and Imperial statues; practically, he may have secured the removal of Mithridates of Armenia which Caius soon orders.

Caius secures popularity by abolishing the crime of *maiestas* used in

the notorious treason trials under his predecessor, and publicly burns all documentation concerning the cases of Agrippina and his brothers to show that there will be no hunt for family's enemies; the released political detainees include Publius Pomponius Secundus, imprisoned since 31 for hiding Sejanus' fugitive nephew, who entertains the Emperor to a luxurious banquet; the banned works of the disgraced late writers Cremutius Cordus (suicide in 25), Titus Labienus, and Cassius Severus are legalized again.

1 July: Caius' uncle Claudius is granted his first (suffect) consulship, joining Caius who has told the Senate to delay his own voted consulship until the current consuls leave office; he is allowed to preside at Games in his nephew's absence.

30–31 August: Dedication of the Temple of Augustus in Rome, with splendid Games including an extended number of horse races which deliberately coincide with Imperial birthday; ?Caius belatedly assumes the title of 'Pater Patriae'.

?September/October: Caius is seriously ill, possibly earlier than indicated by Pliny at the eighth month of his reign, and prayers are offered for him across the Empire; the illness may have psychological connotations or effects, and certainly Caius' existing flamboyance verges more on eccentricity thereafter and his character deteriorates. His reputed choice to succeed him if necessary is his favourite sister Drusilla, now divorced from Cassius Longinus and married to Marcus Aemilius Lepidus (nephew of Aemilius Paullus, Agrippina's sister Julia II's husband) who becomes increasingly trusted in the next months.

Late: Tiberius Gemellus is executed or forced to kill himself, aged 18; he is reputedly accused of wishing and preparing for his cousin's death during the recent illness. Caius' ex-father-in-law Silanus is killed too for uncertain reasons, and the Emperor remarries, to Livia Orestilla, fiancée of Caius Calpurnius Piso.

15 December: Birth of Nero (as 'Lucius Domitius Ahenobarbus'), son of Caius' sister Agrippina (II) and Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus.

AD 38 Caius divorces his wife after two months' marriage. Macro is

selected as the next Praefect of Egypt to succeed the mistrusted Avillius Flaccus, a former ally of Gemellus, but is quickly arrested and forced to commit suicide along with his wife Ennia (possibly for suspected disloyal approaches to Gemellus during Caius' illness); the command of the Praetorian Guard is probably divided to prevent another powerful commander.

Herod Agrippa leaves Rome for his kingdom, visiting Egypt en route to check its loyalty at Caius' request.

10 June: Death of Drusilla; her brother arranges a public funeral, but is too distraught to attend and retires to tour Campania and Sicily with extravagant and eccentric behaviour, most notably building a bridge of boats across the Bay of Baiae so he can ride across it during festivities; he has his sister given the same public honours at death as the far more politically significant Livia and decrees that she is to be deified as '*Panthea*' ('all-embracing deity') with special Games on her birthday.

?August: Herod Agrippa arrives in Alexandria and accepts appeal from the residents of the beleaguered Jewish quarter to help them against the partiality of governor Flaccus for their Greek rivals; his parade through the city streets to demonstrate his power as Emperor's pro-Jewish ally annoys rather than intimidates the Greeks, and riots follow; Flaccus takes the Greeks' side, restricts the Jews to their old quarter, and **31 August** has arrested 'rioters' paraded in the amphitheatre on Caius' birthday and forced to eat pork.

?23 September: Consecration of Drusilla as goddess, followed by Caius' marriage to Lolliia Paulina, ex-wife of Publius Memmius Regulus (suffect consul in 31 and leading actor in the arrest of Sejanus) the governor of Moesia, Macedonia and Greece, whose divorce from her is ordered.

Autumn: Avillius Flaccus, governor of Egypt, is arrested and sent back to Italy by Imperial troops; he is exiled, but is only sent to Andros in the Aegean after intercession of Caius' friend Lepidus; later he is murdered on Imperial orders.

AD 39 1 January: Caius and Lucius Apronius Caesianus (son of Apronius,

governor of Lower Germany, and brother-in-law of Gaetulicus, governor of Upper Germany) consuls.

?Caius visits a Senate meeting, and launches into unexpectedly vitriolic denunciation of the body for their hypocrisy, fickle flattery of whoever is in power, and lack of respect for his authority which he threatens to remedy with more treason trials, alleging that he cannot trust them and that they are all former toadies of Sejanus and denouncers of his family, hinting that he still has documentary proof of this; the Senate subsequently votes honours to his Imperial 'Clemency' in obsequious gratitude for his sparing them.

?Publius Petronius replaces Lucius Vitellius as governor of Syria.

?Claudius divorces his second wife Aelia Paetina and marries Valeria Messalina, aged around 16, the daughter of Valerius Messalinus (son of Augustus' sister, the younger Octavia's, daughter Marcella) and of Domitia Lepida (sister of Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus and daughter of Augustus' niece, the elder Antonia).

Caius divorces Lollia Paulina, allegedly for barrenness, and (now or at start of his northern journey?) marries the older Milonia Caesonia who comes from a known fertile family and has three daughters.

c. 5 September: Caius removes the existing consuls over supposed inadequate Games on his recent birthday and for celebrating the Battle of Actium which was part of a disastrous civil war in Rome; Cnaeus Domitius Afer, a former leading partisan of Sejanus now seemingly back in favour after a convincing appearance at his recent trial for improper words on a statue he set up to the Emperor, and Aulus Didius replace them.

A group of trials are held of political suspects, possibly to raise funds from their confiscated estates due to Imperial extravagance; they include Calvisius Sabinus, recalled governor of Pannonia, who is succeeded by Aulus Plautius (future conqueror of Britain).

?Accusations are made against governor Gaetulicus of Upper Germany of intended revolt, which speed up Imperial plans for a northern campaign.

October: Caius and his entourage set out on journey to the Rhine in

preparation for campaigns against Britain and the Germans, possibly halting en route at Mevania north of Rome to consult oracle ?and await news from Germany about the suspected plot; (**before 27 October**) probably before Caius' arrival at his winter headquarters at Lugdunum, Gaetulicus is arrested by Caius' officers sent ahead from Rome at his base at Moguntiacum (Mainz), capital of Upper Germany, and executed for treasonable conspiracy.

27 October: Sacrifices of the religious 'Arval Brothers' priests in Rome, including Caius' brother-in-law Ahenobarbus, refer to Gaetulicus' recent detection.

Drusilla's widower Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, supposedly Caius' trusted adviser, is also arrested and executed (by tribune Dexter) for leadership of a plot against him, being accused of conspiracy to seize power and adultery with Caius' surviving sisters Agrippina (II) and Julia Livia who are exiled to the island of Pontia, Agrippina being forced to carry her lover's ashes with her from Caius' camp (or Mevania?) to Rome; Caius publishes his sister's letters as proof of their adultery and sends three daggers to be dedicated at the Temple of Mars Ultor ('Avenger'). Given the death of Agrippina's husband Cnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus a few months later, possibly of a degenerative condition like tuberculosis, and Agrippina's political career, it is possible that as he was ailing she intended to marry Lepidus next and they could then supplant her unstable brother.

Caius publicly auctions his sisters' property at Lugdunum, possibly indicating that they were sent off to exile from his court while he was there on his journey north. The Senate sends Claudius at the head of a delegation to Caius to congratulate him on his escape from the plot; ?Caius has them thrown in the Rhone at Lugdunum when they arrive, either as a jokey reference to local Gauls' sacrifices in the river on important occasions or to show his contempt.

Servius Sulpicius Galba (later Emperor) replaces Gaetulicus in Upper Germany as the key commander to conduct the expected campaign across the Rhine, and Publius Gabinius Secundus takes over in Lower Germany. Galba conducts successful operations across the Rhine before

Caius arrives at Moguntiacum, probably against the Chatti.

?Winter: New Praefect Vitrasius Pollio of Egypt allows the rival Greek and Jewish citizens' bodies in Alexandria to send delegations to the Emperor to secure his judgement about the delineations of their quarters in the city; Philo the philosopher is among the Jewish delegates who set out for Rome.

Birth of Caius' and Milonia Caesonia's daughter Julia.

30 December: Birth of the future Emperor Titus, son of the minor Sabine senator Vespasian (Flavius Vespasianus) and Flavia Domitilla, in his father's small house on the south edge of the Palatine Hill in Rome.

AD 40 1–12 January: Caius serves as sole consul for 12 days.

Judaea

?Early: Rioting Jews tear down an altar erected to the Imperial cult by Greeks at Jamnia, a Palestinian town in the former domain of Herod's sister Salome bequeathed by her to Livia and now part of Imperial estates; procurator Herennius Capito reports the insult to his infuriated master.

Rome

?Early: (or late 39) Birth of Claudius and Messalina's daughter Octavia.

?February/March: Caius arrives at Moguntiacum, and campaigns across the Rhine; the course of the expedition is uncertain, but he claims great victories and is subsequently voted Games by the Senate on the motion of the future Emperor Vespasian (Flavius Vespasianus) whose rise to political influence around this time is probably connected to his relationship with the influential freedwoman Caenis (ex-slave and confidante of Caius' late grandmother, the younger Antonia).

Caius proceeds to the Channel coast of Belgic Gaul, probably at Gesoriacum (Boulogne) where he has a lighthouse constructed; **?March/April** there is some sort of military parade connected to his intention to invade Britain but no serious action, possibly connected to his impatience at the idea of waiting for the safer weather for crossing. He is supposed (Suetonius' biography) to have drawn up his troops on

the shore ready to cross to Britain, addressed them from a ship, and ordered them to collect sea-shells to be taken back to Rome as trophies of his victory over the god Oceanus. He apparently receives the homage of a (?refugee) British prince, Amminius/Adminius, a son of the paramount ruler King Cunobelinus of the Catuvellauni, and makes the most of this as a victory in letter to Senate claiming that Britain has submitted; he issues (small) donative to troops and returns to Italy; he orders an ovation for his defeat of the conspiracy but postpones his planned German/British triumph.

Either before or after Caius' return, he summons King Ptolemy of Mauretania, descendant of Antonius and Cleopatra, to Rome for supposed honours and has him executed (possibly out of resentment at his ostentation at appearance at Games in the capital); his kingdom is annexed and divided into two Roman provinces.

?Caius establishes a temple, either to his *Genius/Numen* or to himself as the god Jupiter Latialis, on the Palatine (some accounts indicate a shrine on the Capitol) and adapts the Temple of Castor in the Forum as the new entrance to his 'divine' Palace on the Palatine; it is uncertain whether there is any truth in the story that he also builds a bridge from his palace directly onto the Capitol.

?June: Back in Rome, Caius does not formally enter the city but resides in the suburbs until his ovation; he receives the delegations from the Jews (under Philo) and Greeks of Alexandria in his mother's gardens in the Vatican area for brief formalities; he travels into Campania.

31 August: Caius enters Rome and celebrates his ovation on his birthday; at around this time he receives the visiting Jewish Tetrarch Herod Antipas and his wife, deposes him, exiles him to Gaul and seizes his principality. He decides that the Temple in Jerusalem should be transformed into a Greek-style Temple of Zeus/Jupiter (as intended by Antiochus IV the Seleucid in the 160s BC) with a statue of himself there as the god, and sends orders to governor Petronius in Syria to have the statue constructed in Syria and transported to the city.

Rome/Judaea

September: Caius receives the Alexandrian delegations; the Jews are appalled at his announcement about the Temple. As news of the proposals reaches Judaea, there is a delegation to Petronius who unsuccessfully requests them to submit to the measures to avoid a bloodbath but asks the sculptors of the statue at Sidon to proceed slowly while he tries to alter Caius' decision; the synagogue in Antioch is burnt down by rioting Greeks and the Jews threaten vengeance.

Petronius arrives at Ptolemais (Acre) with two legions en route to Judaea, and is met by a huge crowd of Jews who are adamant that they will not accept the statue in their Temple and announce en masse that they would rather die than submit; he visits Tiberias, Antipas' recently annexed capital, to consult leaders including the ex-ruler's nephew Aristobulus and accepts warnings that the Jews will refuse to plant their crops in the coming year as a protest and cause a famine; he writes to Caius asking him to change his mind to avert disaster.

December: Herod Agrippa, visiting Rome, hears of the proposed statue and successfully persuades Caius to abandon the idea, possibly by calling in past promises of favour; however, when Caius receives Petronius' letter he is so angry at the defiance that he decides to go ahead, orders the construction of a second statue in Rome for himself to take east on his forthcoming visit to Egypt, and instructs Petronius to commit suicide (which his victim luckily ignores).

Rome

Another apparent round of executions in Rome occurs, mainly of senators; the philosopher Seneca, allegedly a near-victim, calls it a major purge with mass torture of suspects but precise details are uncertain: Sextus Papinius, quaestor Betilienus Bassus and his father Betilienus Capito, Julius Graecinus (father of the general Agricola), and Stoic philosopher Julius Canus are among victims.

Parthia

King Gotarzes' brother Vardanes is called in by a rebel group of nobles

to lead revolt and deposes him; Gottarzes flees to Hyrcania, but the city of Seleucia (second city of Mesopotamia to the capital, Ctesiphon) holds out and Gotarzes is able to return with a new army; Vardanes flees to Bactria.

AD 41

Rome

Consuls: Saturninus and Pomponius Secundus.

The Praefects of the Praetorian Guard, one of them Marcus Arrecinus Clemens, and the leading Palace freedman Callistus are involved in a conspiracy to remove the increasingly paranoid Emperor; influential senators Annius Vinicianus and Valerius Asiaticus are also involved, and the senior Praetorian tribune Cassius Cherea (survivor of the Rhine mutiny in 14) is chosen to do the assassination, allegedly motivated by Caius' personal insults in his choice of daily Guard passwords.

17 January: Commencement of the Palatine Games, the selected occasion for the murder.

24 January: Caius attends the Games in the Palatine theatre adjacent to the Palace, but delays leaving for lunch-break as the conspirators expect but is persuaded by conspirator Publius Nonius Asprenas to follow his routine; as he leaves he detours from the main party, including Claudius and Asiaticus, and stops in a passageway to meet young competitors from Asia province. Cassius Cherea attacks him from behind and stabs him, and as the crowd scatters other conspirators join in and finish him off (aged 28). The attackers then charge into the Palace as Caius' guards come to the rescue too late, and tribune Lupus kills Caesonia and her infant daughter Julia while loyal Guardsmen (mostly German mercenaries) try to pursue them and kill Asprenas and some assassins and bystanders. The Guards return to the theatre with victims' heads but are eventually persuaded that their master is dead, and amid public confusion and panic the Senate meets on Capitol and decides to try to regain power. The consuls transfer the treasury to Capitol and a decree is passed accusing Caius of unspecified crimes.

Reign of Claudius

Rome

The Praetorians decide to appoint a new Emperor, and choose Claudius as the last male of Imperial House (after he is accidentally found hiding according to Suetonius and Dio, as a result of a deliberate search for him according to Josephus); he is found in the *Hermaeum* at the Palace, purportedly concealed behind a curtain, by the soldier Gratus, and taken off to the Praetorian camp on the Viminal to be hailed as 'Emperor' despite his attempts to refuse.

Herod Agrippa, having escorted Caius' body to his gardens on the Esquiline Hill for a private funeral, visits Claudius at the camp and then goes on to the Senate to advise them against defying the armed Guard; they decide to send him with a delegation to the camp to try to secure Claudius' surrender and the consuls issue a republican watchword to Cheraea and their few loyal troops. Claudius issues an oath of loyalty for his troops to take, with a massive donative of 15,000 or 20,000 sesterces each.

25 January: Sensing imminent defeat, most of Senate misses their next meeting and only c. 100 turn up; they agree to accept continuance of the Imperial office but quarrel over their choice of candidate, and consul Saturninus proposes himself, Caius' brother-in-law Vinicius is passed over, and Vinicianus opposes Asiaticus' candidacy. The delegation sent to Claudius surrenders to him and swears loyalty, as advised by Agrippa who assures his friend of the weakening resistance in Senate, and popular demonstrations outside the Senate House assist defections of senators, including consul Pomponius, and troops. The Guard escorts Claudius to the Palatine to install him in the Palace, and the Senate is summoned to swear loyalty there; they obey and agree to his order to condemn Cheraea to death, and the abandoned assassin kills himself; Lupus is among a few other victims. Rufrius Pollio and Catonius Justus take over as Praetorian Praefects; Claudius revokes his predecessor's Jewish legislation and appoints Herod Agrippa to rule all the former kingdom of Herod 'the Great', abandoning direct rule of Judaea.

The Greeks in Alexandria riot at the news of Caius' death and attack Jews, who bring in co-religionists from outside the city to help; the Praefect censures the latter. Claudius issues an edict confirming existing Jewish privileges in Alexandria, and later a second one extending guarantees of safe existence to their communities throughout the Empire.

Commemorative services and annual Games are instituted in honour of Claudius' parents, Drusus (February or March) and Antonia (31 January); the latter is posthumously deified.

Claudius announces the restoration of traditional good government in the manner of Augustus after the tyranny of his nephew, but continues a recent innovation in relying more heavily on the advice and services of the freedmen of his extensive household, a result of the growth in the pressure of business on the Imperial office. The most notable figures are soon established as Polybius, Antonia's ex-slave Pallas (financial secretary), Caius' freedman Callistus (secretary for petitions), and Narcissus.

Claudius' remaining nieces are recalled from exile; Agrippina (II) soon remarries, to Caius Sallustius Passienus.

12 February: Birth of Claudius and Messalina's son Britannicus.

Late February: Claudius belatedly attends the Senate, but with a bodyguard which symbolizes the continued mistrust between him and elements of the aristocracy which duly bears fruit in hostile stories about his over-reliance on his young wife and his upstart freedmen.

Mithridates, removed by Caius, is restored as King of Armenia. ?Caius Suetonius Paulinus, later general in Britain, is sent with Praetorian reinforcements to Mauretania to assist new governor Marcus Crassus Frugi (consul in 27) in fighting tribal resistance to the Roman annexation in 40.

Summer: Claudius receives a new Alexandrian Jewish delegation and rival Alexandrian Greek one (led by Balbillus), sent with congratulations on his accession and complaints about each other's communities to replace those delegates who were due to have their case heard by the Emperor at the time of Caius' murder; he issues his decision on their claims in a letter to their communities, which

reaches Alexandria on 10 November, confirming Jewish privileges and their right to live outside their original quarter in the city but warning against further disturbances or the calling in of outside help. He also apparently instructs the two communities to send only one joint embassy from the city in future.

?Exile of the Stoic philosopher Seneca for adultery with Claudius' recently recalled niece Julia Livia, possibly due to intrigue by her rival Messalina; she is sent to Pandateria and within months soldiers are sent there to kill her, and Seneca is sent to Corsica.

Crassus Frugi's son Cnaeus Pompeius Magnus, as a scion of a prominent family of the old republican nobility, is married to Claudius' elder daughter (by Aelia Paetina), Antonia; on his father's return from governorship and command in Mauretania (41/2) the latter receives triumphal decorations. Claudius' infant younger daughter Octavia is betrothed to Lucius Silanus, grandson of Augustus' granddaughter Julia (II) and Aemilius Paullus, thus tying that potentially important family with their Imperial blood to the new government.

Messalina's mother Domitia Lepida, also Nero's aunt and guardian during his mother's exile in 39–41, marries another of the Silanus family, Caius Appius Silanus (cousin of Caius' first wife Junia Claudilla), who is recalled from his post as governor of Tarraconensis in Spain.

Judaea

?Herod Agrippa, now residing mainly at Jerusalem rather than at Romanized Caesarea Philippi, makes Simon Cantherus 'High Priest'; he is forced to abandon plans to wall the city's new suburb after governor Vibius Marsus of Syria denounces it to Claudius.

Britain

?Death of Cunobelinus, the King of the Catuvellauni (Essex, Hertfordshire and Middlesex area) and paramount ruler of southern Britain; succeeded by his sons Caratacus and Togudumnus.

Parthia

?Parthian civil war resumes as Vardanes returns with new army from Bactria to confront his brother Gotarzes; a battle is averted as the brothers open talks, and eventually it is agreed that Vardanes should rule the kingdom and Gotarzes have the sub-kingdom of Hyrcania.

AD 42***Rome***

Consuls: Claudius and Sestius Gallus.

January: Claudius deifies his grandmother Livia.

Claudius' sons-in-law Pompeius Magnus and Lucius Silanus serve as Praefects of Rome, taking charge of the city while he is absent conducting the 'Latin Festival' at Alba Longa as consul.

Claudius suddenly informs the Senate of the arrest and execution of his stepfather-in-law Caius Appius Silanus, telling them that the previous night his freedman Narcissus burst into his bedroom to say that he had dreamed that Silanus was planning to murder him, Messalina said she had had a similar dream, and the accused confessed to it when he was brought to the Palace next morning; the political context is unclear, as is the story that Silanus was 'framed' by the nymphomaniac Messalina for refusing to become her lover.

Claudius and Crassus Frugi celebrate triumph for Mauretanian victory, but sporadic fighting apparently continues.

Revolt by Lucius Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus (consul in 32), governor of Dalmatia, who calls on Claudius to abdicate (thus presumably indicating a link to the aristocratic faction that attempted to install a senatorially chosen ruler in 41); he is only joined by a few of his troops at his headquarters as he calls on them to follow him in march to Rome, and after five days the revolt collapses; he flees to the island of Issa and is pursued there and killed. The subsequent investigations of accomplices, assisted by Scribonianus' widow Vinicia's confessions, implicates Pomponius Secundus, consul in 41, who is condemned and has his name erased from the list of consuls, a serving praetor who is removed from office and executed, and Messalina's friend Arria whose

husband Aulus Caecina Paetus (suffect consul in 37) was in Dalmatia at the time of the revolt and joined in. Unusually, free citizens as well as slaves are tortured to extract confessions and the Praefects of the Guard and the Imperial freedmen assist in questioning during the trials before the Senate; it is alleged that Scribonianus wanted to restore the Republic.

Rome/Britain

Claudius starts to plan British campaign to show that he is capable of winning military glory and can complete what Augustus and Caius failed to do in launching invasion of the island; he has troops concentrated at the Channel ports around Gesoriacum (Boulogne), including the Second and Fourteenth Legions from the relatively quiet frontier in Upper Germany, the Twentieth from Lower Germany, and the Ninth from Spain. The decision to invade now is probably assisted by the recent arrival in Rome of the refugee Verica, pro-Roman King of the Atrebates (Hampshire and Berkshire area), who has been driven out of his kingdom by Caratacus of the Catuvellauni.

Judaea

?Herod Agrippa replaces Simon with Matthias, son of Ananias, as 'High Priest' as the latter's brother Jonathan refuses offer of reinstatement.

AD 43

Rome/Britain

Claudius' invasion force for Britain collects in northern Gaul, with Aulus Plautius brought from Pannonia to command and his legates including Vespasian and his elder brother Flavius Sabinus; around 40,000 troops take part. Graecinus Laco, procurator in northern Gaul, organizes the commissariat, and superstitious troops who are reluctant to embark on voyage to the mysterious island are chivvied into it by the visiting Narcissus.

Claudius leaves Rome for Gaul, intending to join the campaign in person once the initial fighting is over; ?**May/June** the Roman fleet

lands the expedition on the British mainland, probably at Rutupiae (Richborough) in Kent where a triumphal arch is later erected. The British forces, a tribal coalition mustered by Caratacus, avoid battle but are forced into action by rapid Roman advance and defeated, and a fortress is established at a river-crossing, probably the Stour; the Dobunni (Gloucestershire and Somerset) desert the British army, but Caratacus defends the Medway crossing in strength so the Romans send an auxiliary force to divert his men and then the main army crosses the river elsewhere. A bridgehead is established and successfully defended in a two-day battle, and the Romans advance to the Thames and capture a bridge over the marshy lower river somewhere near London. It is also possible that unrecorded help is given to the Roman army in their advance by the friendly south coast tribe of the Regni (Sussex), including use of Chichester Harbour for Roman shipping so that the Romans can overcome the Atrebates ?with Verica's help and prevent unfriendly local tribes sending their full strength to assist Caratacus.

Plautius defeats Caratacus' main army in battle during his advance on the Catuvellauni capital, Camulodunum (Colchester), assisted particularly by the use of elephants which the British have never faced before; Togudumnus is killed and the Catuvellauni submit, but Caratacus refuses to surrender and abandons his ancestral kingdom to flee to the allied Silures in South Wales.

Claudius sails from Italy to Massilia and then crosses Gaul to Gesoriacum, where he waits until Plautius sends a message that he has defeated the Catuvellauni; he crosses to Britain and advances to the main army to take part in their ceremonial entry to Camulodunum. He reputedly only spends 16 days in Britain before returning to Gaul, leaving Aulus Plautius in charge as governor; the Roman forces start to secure the south-east, assisted by new alliances to further-flung tribes such as the Dobunni to the west and (probably) the Brigantes to the north in the Yorkshire area. The Second Legion under Vespasian, based at Noviomagus (Chichester) in Regni territory, takes the Isle of Wight and (probably in 44) moves into Dorset to tackle the Durotriges and reduce their hill forts; the Fourteenth Legion moves through the

Central and West Midlands; the Ninth Legion moves up through the East Midlands to the Trent, probably securing the alliance of the Iceni tribe (Norfolk) en route; the Twentieth Legion remains in reserve in occupation of Camulodunum, the new provincial capital.

Rome

Claudius sends his sons-in-law ahead to Rome to announce his victory, and ?after a visit to the Rhine returns across Gaul at a slower pace, arranging for the completion of the road across the Alps from Altinum (Adige) over the Brenner Pass to the Inn valley planned by his father Drusus; he re-enters Rome with assorted senators in attendance.

Senator Quintus Veranius with troops annexes the formerly allied city-states of Lycia to Rome, demolishing the walls of those which resist, fights mountain tribes in the Pamphylian coastal regions, and creates a new province of Lycia and Pamphylia.

Exile of Julia Livia, daughter of Claudius' sister Livilla and Drusus (II) and sister of Tiberius Gemellus, on a charge of adultery with senator Publius Suillius Rufus, an ally of Messalina, as prosecutor; there is probably a political motive too, with Messalina seeking to put her and her son Rubellius Plautus out of the way as potential rivals for the succession.

?Removal of Catonius Justus as co-Praefect of the Guard, apparently at Messalina's instigation as he is about to denounce her intrigues to Claudius; replaced by Lusius Geta or Rufus Crispinus.

AD 44 Titus Statilius Taurus and Agrippina's husband Passienus serve as consuls. Claudius celebrates a triumph for his British victory, and climbs the Capitol on his knees in emulation of Julius Caesar at the Gallic War triumph with aid of his sons-in-law.

Judaea

?Herod Agrippa executes the disciple (St) James/Jacob, son of Zebedee, and (**Passover**) imprisons St Peter (who is 'miraculously' freed) at instigation of Jewish critics of the Christian 'sect'.

Herod Agrippa calls a conference of the eastern dynasts of Commagene, Emesa, Chalcis, Lesser Armenia, and Pontus at Tiberias on the Sea of Galilee; the suspicious governor Vibius Marsus of Syria turns up fearing it is for a political context and sends them home. Shortly afterwards Herod Agrippa dies suddenly at Caesarea while celebrating Games, aged around 55, according to Josephus after appearing in public in a glittering robe and being hailed as a god by pagan spectators; Claudius decides to re-annex Judaea and installs Cuspius Fadus as the new governor, while Agrippa's brother Herod is allowed to keep his existing rule of Chalcis but there is nothing for the late ruler's 16-year-old son Julius Agrippa. Marsus is replaced by Cassius Longinus as governor of Syria, and Joseph succeeds Matthias as 'High Priest' in Jerusalem.

Disturbances against annexation by Rome follow among resentful Jews, and some guerrilla attacks; ?self-proclaimed 'prophet' Theudas leads a crowd to the Jordan to see the waters part, as for Moses, but they are slaughtered by Fadus' troops for refusing to disperse. Fadus proposes to return the 'High Priestly' robes to the custody of the Roman garrison in the 'Antonia' fortress between ceremonies at the adjoining Temple.

Rome

?In Britain, Vespasian reduces the Durotriges with a succession of sieges of principal hill forts, starting with Badbury Rings. His campaign includes Ring's Hill on the south coast, the largest tribal fortress at Maiden Castle near Dorchester in the centre of the territory, and Hod and Hambledon Hills to the north – and may continue into 45. Cogidumnus/Togidumnus becomes allied ruler of the Regni and soon starts to build the first stage of a Romanized villa/palace at Fishbourne.

?Aulus Didius Gallus (later governor of Britain) replaces Publius Memmius Regulus as governor of Moesia, but Regulus' two other provinces – Macedonia and Achaia/Greece – are put under separate governors for the first time for two decades.

AD 45 Consul: future Emperor Vespasian's brother Sabinus Death of the Jewish leader in Alexandria, Philo the philosopher.

Death of King Rhoemetalcus of Thrace; Claudius annexes the kingdom, but governor Didius Gallus of Moesia has hard fighting (into 46) to secure it.

?Vespasian moves into Dumnonia (Devon) with the Second Legion to complete annexation of south-west Britain; the Fourteenth Legion reaches the line of the Cotswolds or the River Severn, and work commences on the new 'Fosse Way' military road to link the Roman military positions from Isca Dumnoniorum (Exeter) through the Midlands to the Ninth Legion's base in the east at Lindum (Lincoln).

AD 46 Consul: Valerius Aslaticus. Famine in the eastern provinces.

The leading freedman minister Polybius and others in Imperial household are executed on unknown charges, apparently as a result of intrigues by Messalina who regards them as her enemies; this may be connected to the exile of Statilius Taurus, consul in 45, for 'treason'.

(Or 45) King Mithridates of the Bosporan Kingdom (Crimea), plotting revolt against Rome, sends his brother Cotys to Rome to assuage suspicions; Cotys reveals what he is planning, and is installed as the new king by a force under governor Didius Gallus of Moesia.

?First missionary journey of St Paul and his companion Barnabas to Cyprus (where Paul preaches before the Roman proconsul Sergius Paulinus), Pamphylia and Pisidia.

Judaea

Herod Agrippa's son Julius Agrippa assists a Jewish delegation which is sent to Rome to appeal to Claudius to allow the robes of 'High Priest' to remain in the custody of Temple priests not Roman troops in between ceremonies; the Emperor grants their request.

Tiberius Alexander, a lapsed Jew and son of Alexander the former senior Jewish civic official (*Alabarch*) in Alexandria, is sent to replace Fadus as governor of Judaea; the two initially conduct the Roman census in the province together. Jacob and Simon, son of Judas the 'Zealot' leader of uprising in AD 6, lead revolt in countryside but are defeated, captured and crucified.

Parthia ?Assassination of King Vardanes while out hunting; his brother Gotarzes is restored but soon proves a tyrant.

AD 47

Rome

Claudius and Lucius Vitellius serve as consuls and **spring** censors.

Early: Claudius' son-in-law Pompeius Magnus is caught with a male lover and killed; his father Crassus Frugi and mother Scribonia are also executed and Antonia is married instead to Faustus Sulla, Messalina's own half-brother.

Ostorius Scapula replaces Aulus Plautius as governor of Britain; **?late summer** he arrives and consolidates Roman positions, probably along the line of the 'Fosse Way', but has to fight off attacks from the Silures under Caratacus which reach the friendly territory of the Dobunni (Gloucestershire) and the Cornovii (East Shropshire and Staffordshire); ?he sets up new base for the Fourteenth Legion at Viroconium (Wroxeter) to assist the Cornovii and raid forwards into the Welsh mountains, and disarms the potentially troublesome tribes to his rear – including the Iceni (Norfolk), part of whom revolt in concert with Caratacus. Prasutagus, husband of Boudicca, either becomes or remains the pro-Roman client-king of Iceni.

Claudius' troops install Italicus, a refugee German tribal princeling living in Rome and ironically nephew of Arminius, as client-ruler of the Cherusci (across the lower Rhine) as they appeal for a ruler to end civil strife.

The prominent, immensely wealthy and politically active senator Valerius Asiaticus, a native of Vienne in Narbonese Gaul, is arrested on holiday at Baiae by Praetorian Praefect Crispinus on hints of treason, apparently following intrigues by Messalina who wants to acquire his gardens in Rome that used to belong to Lucullus; he is brought before Claudius and his private legal court at the Palace in chains, and accused by freedman Sosibius and senator Suillius Rufus of failing to maintain discipline over his troops as general and of homosexual acts; Claudius is dissuaded from acquitting him by fellow-consul Vitellius, whether or

not as prompted by Messalina, and Asiaticus is executed and his mistress Poppaea Sabina (enemy of Messalina) is forced to commit suicide. Two equites called Petra are also killed, having loaned their house to Poppaea for her liaison with the actor Mnester who Messalina wants for her exclusive use. If it is correct that Claudius referred to Asiaticus in terms hinting that he had an aptitude for unlawful violence like Catilina, it is possible that he may have feared his using wealth or contacts with soldiers from his home province for political aims.

Crispinus is awarded one and a half million sesterces for his role in the Asiaticus case.

Eques Caius Nonius is executed when he is found with a hidden sword at Claudius' morning reception, but names no fellow-conspirators.

Ludi Saeculares are held to celebrate the 800th anniversary of Rome's founding, on the correct date unlike Augustus' celebrations in 17 BC; the 'Troy Game' cavalry pageant for young nobles features Claudius' son Britannicus and Agrippina's son Lucius Domitius (Nero).

The Chauci raid Lower Germany on the death of governor Quintus Sanquinius Maximus, led by Roman deserter Gannascus of the Cannifates tribe; they are punished by Maximus' successor Cnaeus Domitius Corbulo, who restores army discipline and takes ships to punish coastal raiders at mouth of Rhine including the Frisians.

?Paul returns to Antioch, and is criticized by strict Jewish Christians for admitting the uncircumcised to their community during his tour; the crucial question of whether or not Gentiles can be Christians without accepting Jewish laws is debated at Jerusalem by Paul and his enemies under the presidency of the senior Church figures, (St) Peter and Jesus' brother James 'the Just'.

?Appeal by some Parthian nobles to Rome to send back exiled prince Meherdates to lead revolt against the tyrant Gotarzes.

December: Lucius Junius Silanus, the fiancé of Claudius' daughter Octavia, is suddenly deprived of his office as praetor and membership of Senate by the 'censor' Vitellius, and the engagement is cancelled – apparently due to Vitellius seeking the favour of Claudius' niece Agrippina, who wants Octavia engaged to her son Lucius Domitius

(Nero) to help him to the throne, and telling Claudius that Silanus has been committing incest with his sister.

AD 48 Consuls: Aulus Vitellius, brother to Claudius' adviser Lucius, and Lucius Vipstanus Publicola.

Claudius admits the citizens of 'Gallia Comata' ('Long-Haired Gaul', i.e. the newer provinces north of Narbonensis) to the Senate despite objections at their descent from savage, Rome-hating barbarians, commencing with the Aedui; he also revises the official list of patricians to admit new families.

?Spring: Ostorius Scapula's intended march through Cheshire area into the lands of the Deceangli (Gwynedd) is abandoned as revolt breaks out among his Brigantian allies to north-east; he has to help the pro-Roman Queen Cartimandua keep control there.

Intrigues in the Imperial household intensify, probably with the freedmen (led by Narcissus) coalescing their fears of Messalina into a concerted move to rid themselves of her; **?September/October** her affair with the ambitious noble Caius Silius, that year's consul-designate for 49, leads to their bizarre celebration of an official 'marriage' during the festivities for the new vintage in Rome while Claudius is on a visit to Ostia, and Narcissus takes the lead in arranging for Claudius' two favourite mistresses Calpurnia and Cleopatra to tell him what has happened. He checks it with Narcissus, Praetorian Praefect Lusius Geta, and Praefect of *Annona* ('Corn Supply') Turranius, and returns to Rome as the wedding-party breaks up hastily. Messalina retreats to the Gardens of Lucullus she has confiscated while her 'husband' Silius and his associates disperse and are rounded up by the Praetorians.

Messalina sets out in a garden-cart to intercept Claudius and beg for mercy but is shouted down by Narcissus who is escorting him and has been given command of the Guard for the day as more reliable to resist Messalina than Geta, and her children and the senior Vestal Virgin Vibidia appeal too to no avail; Narcissus takes Claudius to Silius' house to show him the Claudian family heirlooms she has given her lover, and then they go to the Guard barracks where Claudius informs

the Guard of events and Silius and the others are dragged in for a brief 'trial' before execution.

Claudius returns to the Palace for dinner and orders Messalina to be brought before him next day; fearing that she will talk her way out of execution, Narcissus sends Guard officers with the freedman Evodus to her at the Gardens of Lucullus to kill her first before announcing her death. Claudius does not pursue the matter, and has her statues and honorary inscriptions removed.

Narcissus backs the idea of Claudius remarrying Aelia Paetina, and Callistus supports the claims of Caius' ex-wife Lollia Paulina; however, Pallas is successful in backing Claudius' own niece Agrippina, widowed again within the past year or so – possibly as she is the most politically dangerous of the surviving Imperial womenfolk and Claudius prefers to keep her from an ambitious husband who could plot against him.

Ostorius Scapula campaigns across the River Sabrina (Severn) against the Silures and their commander Caratacus, and takes various hill forts; Caratacus moves north into the later lands of Powys and the fighting concentrates on the hills of the mid-border country. Creation of formal 'colony' settlement at the new capital of province of Britain, Camulodunum, named after the Emperor, with an altar dedicated to Claudius and Rome as the province's centre of the Imperial cult.

Judaea

Ventidius Cumanus succeeds Alexander as governor of Judaea; death of Herod of Chalcis, after which Claudius appoints the late Herod Agrippa's son Julius Agrippa as king of that realm.

AD 49

Rome

Consuls: Caius Longinus Pompeius Gallus and Quintus Veranius.

?**January:** Marriage of Claudius and Agrippina, after Vitellius has secured Senate approval for the idea and their formal petition to the Emperor for it and the unusual union of uncle and niece has been formally legalized so Claudius cannot be accused of incest.

Silanus, Octavia's ex-fiancé, commits suicide on the day of marriage; Agrippina secures Octavia's betrothal to her son Lucius Domitius (Nero) instead.

Rome/Parthia

Claudius introduces and recommends the refugee Parthian prince Meherdates to the Senate as Rome's candidate to replace Gotarzes; he sends him east to governor Cassius Longinus in Syria, and Cassius escorts him to the Euphrates where Parthian rebels join him; Meherdates delays in his campaign despite Cassius' advice, being entertained by King Abgar V of Edessa, but eventually **?autumn** joins rebel governor Carenus of Mesopotamia to march via Armenian hills into Adiabene and down to the Tigris plain to take Nineveh, the Assyrian capital. On the plains beyond the site of Alexander's victory at Gaugamela battle is joined with Gotarzes, but the kings of Adiabene and Edessa desert Meherdates and he is defeated; he accepts advice to surrender, and is pardoned but has his ears cut off.

Rome/Crimea

Facing attack by the exiled ex-King Mithridates who has taken over the neighbouring Dandaridae tribe (east of the Sea of Azov), King Cotys of the Bosporus (Crimea) and the local Roman commander, eques Caius Julius Aquila, mount a successful deterrent offensive on the steppes with the aid of Eunones, chief of the Aorsi; they defeat Mithridates and his ally, Zorsines of the Siraci tribe, and nearly reach the River Don before their return. Eunones negotiates Mithridates' surrender for deportation to Rome.

Rome

Agrippina secures her husband's agreement to the banishment of her rival Lollia Paulina, who is accused of consulting astrologers about Claudius' future and has her immense wealth seized; she is later forced to suicide.

?Ostorius Scapula campaigns against Caratacus on what is now the

mid-Welsh border, with new Roman forts being erected in the area including Dinedor Hill near Hereford.

Judaea

?During the ceremonial for the Feast of Unleavened Bread at the Temple in Jerusalem, one of the Roman soldiers standing on the wall of the Antonia fortress overseeing the crowds exposes himself to them and a riot starts; the Jews in Temple start stoning the soldiers, and Cumanus sends troops to clear the Temple and chase the protesters out through the city streets; a stampede starts and thousands are crushed to death.

AD 50

Rome

Consuls: Caius Antistius Vetus and Marcus Suillius Nerullinus.

Seneca, back from exile after fall of his enemy Messalina, becomes praetor and tutor to Agrippina's son Lucius Domitius.

25 February: Claudius adopts Lucius Domitius (who now formally becomes 'Nero Claudius Drusus Germanicus Caesar' as in the Claudian family) as his son, reputedly due to Pallas' advice that he should follow Tiberius' precedent in adopting the older Germanicus as his son in order to look after his own, younger son Drusus (II). It is possible that Claudius regards Nero, three years older than Britannicus, who is a direct descendant of Augustus through the two Agrippinas, as having the genuinely stronger claim to the throne as well as being more likely to succeed if Claudius dies as the older candidate while the boys are under-age. It is also possible that Claudius may now have doubts over Britannicus' paternity – or fear that if he died Nero's partisans, led by Agrippina, could claim that Britannicus was a bastard to exclude him from the succession.

Agrippina has the leading settlement in Lower Germany, the legionary base at Ubii tribal capital, created a formal 'colony' and named after her – 'Colonia Agrippinensis' (Cologne).

Governor Publius Pomponius Secundus of Upper Germany defeats a raid across the Rhine by the Chatti.

Parthia

Death of Gotarzes; succeeded by Vologaeses, king of Adiabene, under agreement among the kingdom's sub-rulers and nobles.

Judaea

?Cumanus is petitioned by a huge crowd of angry Jews in Caesarea after a soldier looking for brigands tore up a copy of the Torah in a village, and has to surrender the culprit for execution to avoid an uprising.

AD 51***Rome***

Consuls: Claudius and Servius Cornelius Salvidienus Orfitus.

Nero assumes the toga virilis at age of 13 and becomes Princeps Iuventutis; he is allowed to preside wearing triumphal regalia at Games given in his honour. Agrippina secures the ending of the joint command of the Praetorian Guard and appointment of a single commander, namely her protégé Sextus Afranius Burrus.

?Spring: Ostorius Scapula has a final confrontation with Caratacus, whose long resistance has become legendary and likened him to other arch-enemies of Rome, in mountains somewhere in Powys; the Romans storm up a defended hillside under their shields as protection against a hail of missiles to breach a defensive wall of stones and drive the British from hilltop positions, and Caratacus escapes leaving his family and most of followers as captives. He flees to Queen Cartimandua of the Brigantes for aid, but as an ally of Rome she hands him over to the Romans.

The Senate congratulates Claudius on his triumph, which is compared to the capture of Syphax of Numidia and Perseus of Macedonia; Caratacus is taken to Italy with his entourage and publicly paraded with his family before the Emperor at the Guard camp in Rome, and is released ?after a bold speech claiming that his resistance has made Claudius' glory from eventual triumph greater and his pardon will show Imperial clemency; however, he is detained in Rome.

Completion of Claudius' triumphal arch in Rome celebrating the

conquest of Britain; it is recorded that he has secured the submission of 13 kings, Caratacus the final one on list, without defeat.

June: Gallio becomes proconsul of Achaia (to June 52); it is during this year that Paul is accused before him at Corinth by Jews complaining that he is breaking Jewish law and he says that that is none of Rome's business. Paul's second missionary journey from Antioch thus probably begins sometime during this year, taking him through Asia Minor and across Macedonia to Athens and Corinth before returning to Ephesus.

?Late summer: Ostorius Scapula dies during continued campaigns against the British, mainly the Silures, who fight on; he is succeeded by Didius Gallus who arrives before the end of campaigning season and within the next year or two establishes the Second Legion at base outside Glevum (Gloucester) and the Fourteenth permanently at Viroconium (Wroxeter) with the Twentieth also moving into the Silurian lands (to Usk?).

Armenia

Pharasmanes of Iberia gets his restless and ambitious son Radamistus to evict his brother, the young man's uncle, Mithridates, from rule of Armenia; Mithridates is besieged at the fort of Gorniae, and the attendant Roman forces' commander Casperius goes to Iberia and is trying to arrange a truce with Pharasmanes when Radamistus lures Mithridates out and murders him; equestrian governor Julius Paelignus attacks Radamistus with poor forces and is deserted and forced to accept the usurper's help to return to his province, where he urges leaving his ex-host Radamistus in power; the more resolute governor Caius Ummius Quadratus of Syria is pre-empted in intervention when King Vologaeses of Parthia invades Armenia, secures the surrender of Tigranocerta and Artaxata, and as Radamistus flees installs his brother Tiridates as king.

Judaea

?Murder of a Galilean, en route to Jerusalem for festival, in Samaria leads to Galilean reprisal attacks, and Cumanus ignores Galilean appeal

to intervene; more Jews from Jerusalem led by 'Zealot' extremist Eleazar bar Dinaeus descend on Samaria to start a massacre, and Cumanus takes his 'Augustan' cavalry-troop to round up Eleazar and his men while the Jerusalem civic and religious leaders persuade their citizens to go home and avert a Roman attack on the city in reprisal for the killing. Both the Samaritans and the Jerusalem elders (led by 'High Priest' Jonathan) go to Quadratus, governor of Syria, accusing the others of starting the fighting, and Jews accuse Cumanus of ignoring the Galilean appeal that would have prevented the worst incidents.

Rome

Failed attempt to convict Claudius' friend and Agrippina's ally Lucius Vitellius of maiestas and aiming at supreme power, presumably by Agrippina's enemies; the trial ends with exile of accuser, Junius Lupus.

24 October: Birth of the future emperor Domitian, at a small house on the Quirinal owned by his father Vespasian.

AD 52 Consuls: Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix and Lucius Salvius Otho Titinaus.

Judaea

?Early: Quadratus conducts investigations at Caesarea and in Samaria into the Galilean/Samaritan reprisal massacres, executes some arrested ringleaders, and sends ex-'High Priest' Jonathan, the current holder of office Ananias, 'Captain of the Temple' Ananus, and other senior Jews and Samaritans to Rome to explain to the Emperor; he requires Cumanus, as his junior, to report to Rome too. Claudius hears the case with Julius Agrippa of Chalcis speaking up for the Jews, and executes three leading Samaritans and sends arrested tribune Celer back to Jerusalem for execution. He dismisses and exiles Cumanus, and replaces him with freedman Pallas' brother Felix; Julius Agrippa is transferred from Chalcis to the rule of his great-uncle Philip's former principality of Trachonitis (annexed in 34) and the former principality of Lysanias.

?Spring: It is either at this year's Pentecost or that of 53 that Paul

returns to Jerusalem at the end of his second missionary journey.

Rome

Exile of Lucius Arruntius Furius Scribonianus, son of the rebel of 42, for consulting oracles about the Emperor's future.

Anemurium in Cilicia is besieged by the Cietae, a rebellious tribe from the Taurus mountains, and a cavalry relief force sent from Syria is defeated; King Antiochus of Commagene puts down the rebels.

Claudius presides at grand gladiatorial Games with a mock sea-battle at the Fucine Lake near Rome (19,000 participants) to celebrate the completion of tunnel from the lake to the River Liris; Agrippina attends wearing a military cloak as her latest honour. The canal is then opened, but work is needed to deepen the channel to the same depth as the lake and the water rushing between the two causes casualties to a subsequent gladiatorial display and a row between Agrippina and Narcissus over who is to blame.

AD 53 Consuls: Decimus Junius Silanus Torquatus (brother of Octavia's ex-fiancé) and Quintus Haterius Antoninus.

Agrippina is behind the trial of Titus Statilius Taurus, ex-governor of Africa, for extortion and practising magic; he commits suicide.

Claudius agrees to a petition from the inhabitants of the island of Cos, home of the great doctor Hippocrates and now of his own doctor Xenophon, to be exempt from taxation and held sacred to the service of Aesculapius, god of medicine.

?18 September: Birth of the future emperor Trajan (Marcus Ulpius Trajanus) at Italica, Spain (or 56).

AD 54 Consuls: Marcus Asinius Marcellus and Manius Acilius Aviola.

Agrippina arranges the prosecution of her potential rival Domitia Lepida, Messalina's mother, who has been trying to win over (her nephew and ex-ward) Nero, on charges of black magic against her and failing to keep her slaves on Calabrian estates in order; she is convicted and executed.

Possible tension between Claudius and Agrippina over the timing of Britannicus assuming the toga virilis and becoming legally adult, traditionally at around fourteenth birthday (February 55), though it is unlikely that Claudius actively considered replacing Nero with him as heir yet; Tacitus and Suetonius have active partisanship of Narcissus for Britannicus' claims and Pallas assisting Agrippina against him. Agrippina is cited by them as murdering her husband to ensure Nero's early succession; Pliny, writing earlier, says Claudius was poisoned but not by who.

12 October: Claudius attends the usual priests' banquet on Capitol for the *Augustalia* feast.

13 October: Claudius dies at or after lunchtime meal, supposedly after eating poisoned mushrooms treated by Agrippina's agent Locusta, aged 64. Agrippina claims that Claudius is only ill and alerts the Guard before releasing the news, and Nero is then escorted to their camp by Burrus to be hailed as 'Emperor' (aged 16) and promises a donative. The Senate votes him the necessary tribunician and Imperium Maius powers.

Reign of Nero

Rome

c.18 October: Claudius' state funeral at the Campus Martius, following the precedents of that of Augustus, with Nero reading the eulogy which Seneca has composed; the Senate votes that Claudius is a god, but his will (declaring Nero and Britannicus as equal heirs) is not read in public; honours are lavished on Agrippina.

Agrippina has Marcus Junius Silanus, the brother of her victim Lucius (Octavia's ex-fiancé), governor of Asia province, executed by Imperial agents in his province; she has Narcissus arrested and forced to suicide in prison.

Nero assures the Senate that he intends to rule justly and not conduct secret trials at the Palace like his predecessor did, and assures that he has no old feuds or grudges to pursue; Agrippina wields considerable

political power and Senate meetings are held at the Palace so she can listen to them behind a curtain, but (Cassius Dio) a few months later her appearance at a reception for Armenian ambassadors leads to Nero moving down from throne to prevent her from breaching tradition by joining him on the dais. After this the main political influence on him becomes Seneca and Burrus.

Rome/Parthia/Armenia

War with Parthia is expected after another apparent move on Armenia, where Radamistus' second reign is ended; Nero has eastern troops mobilized and installs the late Herod of Chalcis' son Aristobulus as ruler of Lesser Armenia and Sohaemus in Sophene; the Parthians retire from Armenia as revolt breaks out at home, and Cnaeus Domitius Corbulo is chosen to lead invasion of Armenia.

Rome

?Paul starts third missionary journey.

AD 55 Nero consul, with Lucius Antistius Verus; he modestly tells his colleague not to swear allegiance as he is his equal colleague and declines offer of gold or silver statues from the Senate.

Early: Nero has his mother's adviser, freedman Pallas, removed as financial secretary.

Corbulo (as governor of Galatia and Cappadocia but superior Imperial commander in the east) arrives in Syria, having been met in Cilicia by Quadratus to forestall a public demonstration of Corbulo's superior rank to the Syrians if Corbulo ordered his troops about; they have both sent ahead to Parthia advising King Vologaeses to choose peace not war over Armenia and give hostages to prove it, and when the hostages arrive they join Corbulo which infuriates Quadratus as demeaning to his efforts.

Nero starts affair with the freedwoman Acte, and she and fashionable young courtiers Marcus Salvius Otho (the future emperor) and Claudius Senecio are soon his confidantes to his mother's annoyance; Seneca

supports him in his moves towards greater independence.

12 February: In retaliation for Agrippina showing new favour towards Britannicus, Nero has him poisoned at a Palace dinner on the eve of his fourteenth birthday when he should be about to take the toga virilis and become adult and more of a threat. Britannicus' friend Titus, the future Emperor, is seriously ill after tasting some of the poison but recovers. Agrippina remonstrates with her son, who orders her to move out of the Palace. His independence is now more assured, though he reputedly now distrusts Burrus (and Seneca?) more as his mother's protégés. He also privately takes to 'Greek' cultural pursuits such as poetry, playing the *cithara* with professional tuition, dancing, acting, athletics and chariot-racing over the next year or two but maintains traditionalist image in public with the aid of propaganda by Seneca and others about his role in returning a 'Golden Age'.

Agrippina is accused by her old enemy Junia Silana, widow of Mesalina's lover Caius Silius, of showing favour to Tiberius' descendant (son of Drusus II's daughter) Rubellius Plautus and planning to marry him and take the throne; Nero is warned of the impending charges by the actor Paris late at night after he has been drinking and panics, wanting to kill both Agrippina and Plautus at once; Burrus persuades him that they must have a fair investigation and next day goes to Agrippina who denies it all; she persuades Nero to accept her innocence and Silana is exiled. Another allegation, this time against Burrus and Pallas for alleged plot in favour of Faustus Sulla Felix as husband to Claudius' elder daughter Antonia, is also ignored.

Judaea

?Governor Felix of Judaea arrests Eleazar Bar Dinaeus the anti-Roman bandit leader and sends him and his chief associates to Rome for punishment, crucifying many followers; within a short time a new menace emerges in the form of the nationalist Sicarii assassins.

Rome

?Seneca sends up his recent official honouring of Claudius in his

satirical *Apococlyntosis* ('Pumpkinification'), ridiculing his character and the absurdity of deifying him in a private poem.

AD 56 Consuls: Quintus Volusius Saturnius and Publius Cornelius Lentulus Scipio.

Nero takes to roaming the streets in disguise with his friends to drink in taverns, rob passing citizens and start brawls, and forces the suicide of senator Julius Montanus who hit him back during assault not knowing it was his sovereign and then publicly apologized for doing so.

Vipsanius Laenas, governor of Sardinia, is found guilty of fraud but governor of Achaia Cestius Proculus is acquitted of extortion; Publius Palpellius Clodius Quirinallis, fleet-commander at Ravenna, kills himself ahead of condemnation on charges of oppression and debauchery.

Seneca produces a propagandist poem *De Clementia* for publication, rejoicing in Nero's reversal of the secret trials and feuds at Claudius' court and blandly exculpating him from poisoning Britannicus.

?While Vologaeses refuses to abandon his nominee Tiridates as king of Armenia, Corbulo delays the start of campaign to recover the province in order to dismiss useless troops from the Galatian and Cappadocian armies and train the others and his new recruits for battle.

Judaea

?Ex-'High Priest' Jonathan becomes the first prominent victim of the Jewish nationalist Sicarii in their campaign to intimidate 'collaborators' with Rome.

AD 57

Rome

Consuls: Nero and Lucius Calpurnius Piso.

Nero builds huge new amphitheatre on the Campus Martius.

Aulus Plautius' wife Pomponia Graecina is accused of 'foreign superstition' and under ancient law the case is submitted to her husband, as head of her household, who acquits her – according to tradition she is a Christian.

Prosecution of governor of Asia province Publius Celer by his provincials; Nero, who owes him a favour for the murder of his predecessor Silanus in 54, postpones the hearings to save him as the evidence is too damning to let him off.

Quintus Veranius succeeds Didius Gallus as governor of Britain; at around this time the long Silurian war is ended, apparently with the Romans in control of some of the South Wales lowlands (?Cardiff's Roman fort is built and named by Didius, as it is known by the British as 'Caer Dydd') but keeping out of the mountains. ?Ceri, the ruler of Silures, is a semi-dependent Roman client-king, as is Arviragus (a British king under Nero named by the poet Juvenal as a ferocious chariot-driver) who probably rules in the later Somerset where British occupation of the major fortress at Cadbury Castle seems to continue into the 60s.

Judaea

?An Egyptian self-proclaimed 'prophet' leads huge crowds to the Mount of Olives outside Jerusalem, and proposes to force entry to the city; they are dispersed by Roman soldiers and at least several hundred are killed, but the Egyptian escapes.

AD 58

Rome

Consuls: Nero and Marcus Valerius Messala Corvinus.

Winter: Corbulo marches into Armenia and sets up camp within the kingdom to finish training, avoiding conflicts with the local Armenian troops where possible; **spring** Tiridates advances to attack pro-Roman areas of the kingdom but keeps away from the Roman army, and Corbulo calls in Antiochus of Commagene to help him and Pharasmanes of Iberia to attack in the north; Tiridates sends to ask Corbulo why his long possession of the kingdom is only now being disputed, but with Vologaeses busy dealing with Hyrcanian rebels Corbulo knows he will not get Parthian aid and tells him to petition Nero if he wants to keep his throne; a parley is arranged but Tiridates does not

turn up. Corbulo advances towards Artaxata, the capital, and defeats Tiridates' attempt at ambush and feigned flight at the nearby crossing of the River Aras; Tiridates flees towards Adiabene and his abandoned capital surrenders to Corbulo and is sacked.

Thanksgivings are announced in Rome, with Nero hailed as the victor with Senate votes for arches, statues and a succession of consecutive consulships (he refuses the last).

Judaea

June: Paul returns from Macedonia to Jerusalem for Pentecost, to confront the leadership of the Christian community over attempts which his rivals (opposing his admission of Gentiles to full membership of what is still a 'Jewish' sect) are making to interfere with his converts in Greece and Asia Minor and tell them that he is not authorized by the Christian leadership; during his arguments with the Christian leaders he is attacked by enemies in the Temple and is taken into custody by the Roman garrison of the Antonia fortress, who initially think he is the 'wanted' Egyptian prophet causing another riot; he is brought before the Jewish 'Sanhedrin' under 'High Priest' Ananias, but while he is in Roman custody his friends hear of plot to kill him and persuade the Romans to send him to the provincial capital, Caesarea, for safety; he is imprisoned there to await governor Felix's judgement.

Rome

Publius Suillius Rufus, an ambitious senatorial advocate notorious for his opportunistic prosecutions under Claudius, resumes old abuse of his enemy Seneca in a new feud; he is charged with extortion during an earlier term as governor of Asia and while his opponents have time to collect evidence there other charges are preferred for a quicker trial concerning his actions in Rome – driving Claudian victims Julia Livia and Poppaea Sabina to suicides and Pomponius Secundus (consul in 41) to revolt, and participation in the persecution of Asiaticus and others. He claims he only followed Claudius' orders, but Nero declares in court that Claudius' papers prove that he did not instigate any of the

trials concerned and Suillius tries to claim that he did it for Messalina instead. He is convicted, has half his fortune confiscated, and is exiled to the Balaeric Islands.

Faustus Sulla is exiled to Massilia after his enemies baselessly claim that he was behind a skirmish that Nero's rowdy entourage suffered at the Milvian Bridge and that it was deliberate attempt to kill the Emperor.

Death of Quintus Veranius, governor of Britain; succeeded by Suetonius Paulinus who now or in 59 moves into north Wales to attack the Ordovices and Deceangli en route to the Druids' holy island and anti-Roman headquarters on Mona (Anglesey).

Lucius Antistius Vetus, governor of Upper Germany, proposes to keep his unoccupied troops busy and aid trade by digging a canal from the Moselle to the Saone; it is prevented due to Aelius Gracilis, governor of Belgica.

Verritus and Malorix, kings of the Frisians (across the mouth of the Rhine from the Roman border), illegally occupy some unused Roman river-mouth lands for settlement and are told to move by Lucius Duvius Avitus, the new governor of Lower Germany; they go to Rome to appeal to Nero but although he is impressed by their boldness in claiming senatorial seats at the Theatre of Pompeius he upholds his official's decision; the Frisians do not obey so they are evicted by Roman troops.

The nomadic, land-seeking Ampisvarii occupy the Rhine-mouth territory next, and on their eviction by the Romans they appeal to the Bructeri and Tencteri to aid them in war; Avitus dissuades the latter with a military demonstration while Titus Curtilius Mancina of Upper Germany dissuades the Bructeri, and the Ampisvarii move on to the Chatti and the Cherusci in search of land and are broken up or killed by them.

AD 59 Consuls: Caius Vipstanus Apronianus and Caius Fonteius Capito.

Nero decides to kill Agrippina, who is opposing his intended divorce from Octavia and marriage to his mistress Poppaea (Otho's wife,

daughter of the murdered Poppaea Sabina and ex-wife of Praetorian Praefect Crispinus); there may also be some tension between them after Agrippina's alleged attempt at restoring their relationship with incest, but this remains uncertain. He accepts a proposal from Anicetus, the freedman in charge of the fleet at Misenum, to arrange a nautical 'accident'; possibly Seneca is among those entrusted with the secret.

19/23 March: During the festival of Minerva (Quinquatrus), Nero is at Baiae near Misenum and invites his mother to join him; she comes down the coast from Antium by land rather than trusting to the ship he has sent which has been 'booby-trapped' (following an idea from a display at a nautical Games), but is lulled into accepting the ship for return journey in the evening after dinner; on the voyage the roof of her cabin suddenly collapses, but Agrippina escapes due to the high side of her couch holding up the beams and the plotters capsize the ship instead; Agrippina's friend Acceronia, pretending to be her mistress as everyone abandons ship, is attacked and killed but the injured Empress manages to swim ashore. She reaches her villa, and when Nero hears he fears she will stage revolt with her slaves, tell the troops she has been attacked, or appeal to the Senate and vainly orders Burrus to kill her – he says the Praetorians will not touch any of the Imperial family.

Nero has a sword 'planted' on Agrippina's messenger when he attends him, and claims Agrippina told the man to kill him and is guilty of treason; Anicetus is sent with an armed escort to Agrippina's villa, disperses a crowd of sympathizers, and bursts in to kill her (aged 44).

Agrippina is given a private funeral without ceremony, and Nero claims that she tried to kill him first via the messenger with sword; he lingers in Campania before cautiously returning to Rome, but is received on his return with adulation.

Nero starts to race chariots privately on a course at the Vatican, and builds a private theatre in his gardens west of the Tiber; he celebrates Games on the occasion of the shaving of his first beard and starts to build a Greek-style gymnasium in the capital.

Pompeii, in Campania, is banned from holding gladiatorial games for ten years after a privately sponsored show in the amphitheatre

there leads to riotous fighting between its citizens and those of the rival town of Nuceria.

?Corbulo secures the surrender of Tigranocerta and other leading fortresses in south and east Armenia and receives delegates from the Hyrcanian rebels who are keeping Vologaeses of Parthia occupied.

Judaea

Ananas is replaced by Ishmael son of Phaebi as 'High Priest' at Jerusalem by King Julius Agrippa.

Rome

Death of Prasutagus, Roman client-king of the Iceni in Britain; he leaves his kingdom jointly to his daughters by Boudicca and to the Emperor, under trust that Rome will confirm his will. The Roman government decides to annex the kingdom instead.

AD 60 Consuls: Nero and Cossus Cornelius Lentulus.

Nero stages the first Greek-style artistic/theatrical competition in Rome, as the new *Neronia* festival; he wins the oratorical contest.

Rome/Armenia

Tiridates, the Parthian candidate for Armenian throne, invades the eastern border of the kingdom from Atropatene (Azerbaijan), but Corbulo drives him out; Nero's choice for the vacant throne, Tigranes of Judaea (son of a daughter of Herod Agrippa), arrives from Rome and is installed as king with a Roman bodyguard; frontier regions are handed over to Rome's allies Pharasmanes of Iberia, Polemo II of Pontus, Aristobulus of Lesser Armenia, and Antiochus of Commagene to secure their support for the new order. Corbulo returns to Syria, and takes over the vacant governorship there on the death of Umnius Quadratus.

Judaea

Felix is removed as governor of Judaea and replaced by Porcius Festus.

?**Summer:** Paul's case belatedly comes to trial before the new

governor at Caesarea, and he appeals to the judgement of the Emperor as is his right as a Roman citizen; he is sent to Rome for trial, and en route is wrecked off Malta.

Rome: British revolt

General tribal discontent at Roman exploitation in Britain is worsened by the exactions of the new Imperial procurator there, Catus Dacianus, and by the extortions of the local agents of the acquisitive Seneca who has purchased estates and loaned money at high rates of interest.

Suetonius Paulinus marches against the Druids on Mona (Anglesey), and is confronted at the Straits by a horde of yelling women and chanting priests on the opposite shore which temporarily disconcerts his soldiers; they cross, the infantry on rafts and the cavalry swimming, defeat the British warriors and slaughter their attendant women and priests, and overrun the island to destroy the Druid sanctuaries. While Suetonius is on the campaign, the Iceni kingdom is being annexed by Roman civil officials who treat the locals with arrogant contempt and have Boudicca flogged and her daughters raped and the leading nobles dispossessed of their land; the Queen leads revolt and the Iceni drive out the Romans.

The neighbouring Trinovantes, dispossessed of lands by the Roman settlers in and around the provincial capital of Camulodunum, join in the rebellion, and as the rebels (it is uncertain if the Iceni are in the attack as well as the Trinovantes) march on the unwalled city the inhabitants appeal to Imperial procurator Catus Decianus who can only send 200 troops; the small garrison neglects to evacuate the non-combatants or construct any defences and relies on the strong walls of the Temple of Claudius, and when the city is taken and burnt by the rebels they concentrate the defence there; after two days the Temple is stormed and burnt and everyone inside is killed.

Troops from the Ninth Legion (based at Lincoln) under Quintus Petilius Cerialis arrive too late to save the city, and are ambushed on the road by the rebels and cut to pieces; Cerialis and the cavalry flee to safety of their camp.

Decianus abandons Londinium as there are no defences or adequate troops there either, and withdraws to Gaul; Suetonius arrives down Watling Street from Mona with his cavalry, but decides to abandon the city as he cannot defend it and withdraws north to await the arrival of his slower infantry. Londinium is sacked too, and the rebels move up Watling Street to sack Verulamium; reputedly 70,000 are killed in the course of their ravaging.

AD 60 or 61 The Fourteenth Legion and part of the Twentieth join Suetonius, and he waits for the British army, led by Boudicca, at an unknown site in the (?south) Midlands chosen for its strategic value in a valley with a wood behind him and no cover for ambushes. The Romans mount a defensive battle with the sides of the valley forcing the huge British army to confront them along their front line rather than use their numbers to outflank them, and repel the headlong British assault; they then drive the enemy back into their rear where a circle of baggage-wagons blocks their escape; up to 80,000 British are killed for 400 Romans (Tacitus) and Boudicca supposedly poisons herself.

Some rebels still hold out, and the campaign continues longer than expected for which Suetonius is criticized.

AD 61 Suetonius puts down the remaining rebels and receives reinforcements from the Rhine, and the oppressive and unpopular Decianus is replaced by new procurator Julius Classicianus; the latter criticizes Suetonius' harsh methods to the Emperor as not conducive to long-term peace, and Nero sends his freedman Polyclitus to investigate. On Polyclitus' recommendations, he replaces Suetonius with the more lenient Publius Petronius Turpilianus as governor.

Armenia

Tigranes of Armenia fights a Parthian invasion across his eastern frontier; Vologaeses' troops take Tigranocerta and besiege Roman garrison in citadel, and Corbulo sends a protest to Parthia with a successful request to Vologaeses to send negotiators to Rome.

Rome

Lucius Pedanius Secundus, Praefect of Rome, is murdered by one of his slaves; all his slaves are executed as required by law, despite popular protests.

?Paul is tried and (probably) acquitted before Nero, and starts Christian preaching in and around Rome where by this time Peter is in charge of the Christian community as their first 'bishop'. He may also go on to Gaul or Spain (?or the apostle Philip does), as it is later believed in Christian tradition that their religion reached those lands under Nero.

Judaea

King Julius Agrippa annoys the Temple hierarchy at Jerusalem by overlooking their sacred processions inside the precincts from his new dining room in adjoining Herodian palace, so they build a wall to stop themselves being overlooked; the Romans object to the view of Temple interior being obscured on security grounds, and both sides send delegations to Rome for decision; 'High Priest' Ishmael leads the Temple delegation. Nero decides in favour of the priests, allegedly due to Poppaea's Jewish sympathies, and the wall is allowed to stay; Ishmael is detained in Rome and Agrippa replaces him by Simon as 'High Priest'.

?Late: Death of governor Porcius Festus of Judaea; during the subsequent vacancy until a new official arrives. Annas/Ananus/Hanan, son of Ananas and brother of late 'High Priest' Jonathan (in office in 37), is made 'High Priest' by Julius Agrippa.

AD 62***Rome***

Consuls: Publius Marius Celsus and Lucius Afninus Gallus.

Praetor Antistius Sossianus is charged with treason in first revival of the old law which Nero has supposedly abolished, being accused of reading out his satirical verses on the Emperor at a dinner party by new senator Cossutianus Capito – the son-in-law of the new Praefect of the Vigiles, the ambitious and ruthless Sicilian adventurer Caius

Ofonius Tigellinus, a social climber and former horse-trainer who has joined Nero's 'set' and is encouraging him in his more extravagant and uninhibited excesses. Consul-designate Quintus Junius Marullus leads moves for the conviction, dismissal and execution of Antistius, but instead of the Senate voting for punishment so that Nero can veto it and seem clement (as the Emperor apparently intended) they are inspired by the independent-minded Stoic philosopher Thræsea Paetus to vote for Antistius' exile instead as the death penalty is supposedly obsolete under so virtuous a ruler; they keep to their decision despite Nero's ill-will over it.

Judaea

Spring: 'High Priest' Ananus and his faction at the Temple arrange the arrest and trial before the Sanhedrin of Jesus' brother James/Jacob, Christian leader in Jerusalem, on charges of contravening the Jewish religious laws despite his well-known piety and (or because of) his popular following; he is stoned and thrown off the Temple to his death, and according to Josephus an earthquake and eclipse of the sun follows. Protests are made about the irregularity of trial to the new governor, Nero's nominee Cocceius Albinus who is en route from his previous post as governor of Egypt; on arrival Albinus dismisses Ananus and installs Jesus son of Damnaeus.

Rome

Exile of Aulus Didius Gallus Veiento on charges of using his influence with Nero to accept bribes in return for promoting his clients.

The death of Praetorian Praefect Burrus removes the main constraint on Nero's deteriorating behaviour, recklessness and growing paranoia about any criticism; Seneca, presumably not wishing to associate himself with the government any longer as Nero is ignoring his advice to be respectable, seeks permission to retire from court which is granted, and co-Praefect Faenius Rufus is replaced by Tigellinus who encourages Nero's excesses.

Faustus Sulla is murdered in exile in Massilia by Tigellinus' agents

at Nero's request, and Nero's main dynastic rival, Rubellius Plautus (descendant of Tiberius as son of Tiberius Gemellus' sister), is similarly dealt with in exile in Asia province on a faked accusation of intending to flee to Corbulo in Armenia and raise military revolt; Nero secures Senate vote approving his executions of the 'plotters' and divorces Octavia for barrenness so he can marry Poppaea. He grants Octavia Burrus' house and Plautus' estates, but removes her to Campania as there are rowdy popular demonstrations in her favour and he is forced to pretend that he has changed his mind about divorce; crowds celebrate on the Capitol and Poppaea's statues are smashed, but once things quieten down he goes ahead with his original plan; angry crowds besiege the Palace after he marries Poppaea and are driven back by the Guard, and Nero subsequently arranges a fraudulent charge of adultery (with his accomplice in the case, his freedman Anicetus) so he can exile Octavia to Pandateria; she is put under military guard in case she escapes as Nero fears her popularity, and she is soon suffocated (aged 22 or 23).

Armenia

Corbulo defends the Euphrates crossings against the Parthian army, but in Armenia Vologaeses in person defeats overconfident Roman relief force under Caesennius Paetus; Paetus is besieged in his camp and agrees to evacuate all Roman troops in Armenia in return for his safe retreat, and flees quickly to the Euphrates where he meets Corbulo on his way via Cappadocia to rescue him; Corbulo does not attack with winter coming on, but successfully proposes to Vologaeses that if Rome accepts his nominee Tiridates on the throne both sides should keep their troops out of Armenia.

Judaea

Autumn: At the 'Feast of Tabernacles' at Jerusalem a peasant prophet, Jesus son of Ananias, starts proclaiming the doom of the city and the Temple and is not dissuaded by flogging by the Roman garrison.

Rome

Pompeii is devastated by earthquake.

AD 63 Consuls: Caius Memmius Regulus and Lucius Verginius Rufus.

The birth of Nero and Poppaea's daughter Claudia at Antium leads to her and her mother being given the rank of 'Augusta' and special honours granted to the town; a Temple of Fertility is built and regular anniversary Games are arranged. The baby dies four months later and is declared a goddess.

Spring: Vologaeses' delegation arrives in Rome and proposes that Tiridates receive his crown from Nero on a visit to Rome, but Nero refuses to accept Paetus' agreement to evacuate Armenia and war is decided; Corbulo is to have sole command. The delegates are told that if Tiridates appeals to Nero in person he may be accepted, but meanwhile troops are raised for the war or sent from Pannonia, Caius Cestius Gallus is made governor of Syria, and special powers are given to Corbulo to prosecute the war and command all the client-kings in the region.

Armenia

Corbulo concentrates his troops at Melitene and marches into Armenia along Lucullus's route, heading for Tigranocerta and overcoming or receiving the submission of local chiefs en route; he sends friendly messages to Vologaeses and Tiridates assuring that Nero wants peace, and they agree to a meeting and propose to hold it at the site of Paetus' surrender which Corbulo agrees. Hostages are exchanged, and Tiridates comes to Corbulo's camp to put his crown at the feet of Nero's statue and promise to do the Emperor homage and receive the kingdom of Armenia from him as vassal. These terms are agreed.

Judaea

Rising tension in Judaea as a result of governor Albinus' rapacity; he allows bandits and 'Zealot' nationalists to go unpunished in return for bribes.

Traditional date in Celtic British legend of the arrival of Christianity on the island, supposedly brought by Joseph of Arimathea who was granted a settlement at Glastonbury in Somerset. There was in fact a harbour in the area at the time and probably still a local tribal client-king (?Arviragus), but the amount of truth behind the much later monastic propaganda about the Christian mission is uncertain. Some early Christian writers did, however, maintain that their religion had reached Britain under Nero.

AD 64 Consuls: Caius Laecenius Bassus and Marcus Licinius Crassus Frugi.

Nero chooses the regular Greek-style theatrical/musical competition held annually at Naples for his debut on stage, and takes along his 'claque' of supporters which is aided by visiting Alexandrians; he addresses the audience at this sole Greek festival in Italy in Greek and displays his talents with the cithara. He takes the collapse of the theatre after the audience has left as a good omen and composes a poem about it; as he heads for Brundisium on planned expedition to Greece for appearances at more festivals there he orders the prosecution of Decimus Junius Silanus, a grandson of Augustus' granddaughter Julia II, for a supposed treasonable plot (started to avoid having to pay his immense debts). Decimus is put on trial and commits suicide, whereupon Nero alleges he would have been pardoned if he had not been so hasty.

Nero abandons the Greek tour, but plans a visit to Egypt where preparations are made; that is postponed too.

19 July: 'Great Fire' of Rome breaks out in the shops in the tightly packed area south of the Circus Maximus, and spreads north-east to the Esquiline Hill and into the city centre, destroying Nero's new buildings (the *Domus Transitoria*) between the older Palace on the Palatine and the Esquiline but also thousands of homes and many of the city's temples and public buildings; a second outbreak starts at Tigellinus' house and devastates an area north of the Capitol. Only four of the city's 14 districts are untouched, and three are completely destroyed.

Nero returns hastily from Antium and throws open his gardens and the public buildings on the Campus Martius for the homeless to camp in, and organizes emergency food supplies; he is rumoured to have sung a new poem he has written about the sack of Troy while watching the fire (Tacitus).

Nero energetically organizes the planning and building of new city, using his own ideas for appropriately grandiose architecture, and raises funds with forced contributions from the provinces and looting of temples and art plunder, and with his Palace on the Palatine damaged he takes the opportunity to clear a large area in the city centre, east and south-east of the Forum Romanum (including the site of the later *Colosseum*) as far as the Esquiline, for a new Palace – the *Domus Aurea* ('Golden House'), which is designed by Severus and Celer, with adjoining gardens and a lake. Private property as well as public buildings such as the Temple of Claudius are taken over and buildings on the Oppian mount dominate the city centre, and the scale of this 'rural' enclave created in the heart of Rome (c. 120 acres?) and its grandiose design add to criticism of Nero's monarchical intentions. The palatial octagonal reception hall is reminiscent of that of an Oriental ruler, while the colossal statue of Nero as the sun-god Phoebus/Helios also adds to resentment at his 'un-Roman' behaviour and Greek autocracy.

Whether or not dispossessed aristocrats and offended traditionalists stir up resentment, the Palace apparently invigorates rumours about the fire being deliberately started on Nero's orders, to give him an opportunity to rebuild the city.

Nero selects the Christians as his scapegoats (?at the prompting of Poppaea, sympathetic to their Jewish enemies in the city), presumably offended by their refusing to sacrifice at Imperial altars, and has 'arsonists' arrested and forced to confess that the sect – unpopular with the public for its secret rites and rumours of 'love-feasts' that imply cannibalism and orgies – has carried out the fire; there is a mass round-up and public torture and execution of Christians at the Games which Nero holds to appease the populace, and it is virtually certain that later tradition is correct in placing the martyrdom of (St) Peter, the first head

of the Christian community in Rome, at this time though the fate of Paul is less definitely placed at this stage of the first persecution.

Judaea

King Agrippa replaces Jesus son of Damnaeus with Jesus son of Gamaliel as 'High Priest'; Nero replaces the rapacious Albinus with the even worse Gessius Florus as governor of Judaea, who may even have hoped that the Jews would rise in rebellion so that any complaints they made to Rome would be dismissed as the excuses of seditious troublemakers.

AD 65

Rome

Consuls: Aulus Licinius Nerva Firmus Pasidienus and Marcus Julius Atticus Vestinus.

Conspiracy against Nero, centred around aristocrat Caius Calpurnius Piso and including Guard officers Subrius Flavius (who reputedly considered killing Nero while he was performing at the Games after the Fire in 64) and Sulpicius Asper, Nero's rival poet Lucan, senators Plautius Lateranus, Flavius Scaevinus and Afranius Quintanus, seven equites including Nero's friend Claudius Senecio, and (reinstated?) Guard commander Faenius Rufus – Nero is to be attacked at the Circus Maximus games on 19 April by a group of officers and their allies in a manner reminiscent of what happened to Caius, and Faenius Rufus is then to take Piso to the Guard camp to be acclaimed Emperor; consul Atticus is believed to be sympathetic to idea of removing Nero but is not told in case he tries to restore Republic. (Poppaea's new pregnancy may encourage the plotters to strike before a new heir is born.)

The number of conspirators and the delay before the attack encourage rumours to leak out, and Misenum fleet officer Volusius Proculus reveals how an impatient woman associate of the plotters called Epicharis has been encouraging him to bring in his men; Piso (?superstitiously) refuses the idea of having Nero murdered quickly while visiting his house at Baiae in case it brings him bad luck for murdering a guest, and fears rival claim to throne of the murdered Decimus Junius

Silanus' nephew Lucius; **18 April** would-be assassin Flavius Scaevinus is betrayed by his suspicious freedman Milichus over preparations for attack including possession of a consecrated dagger.

19 April: Milichus reports the plot to Nero's freedman Epaphroditus at the Emperor's residence at the Servian Gardens, and Scaevinus is questioned but denies everything; his friend Antonius Natalis is questioned about suspicious meetings, discrepancies in their stories reveal that they are lying, and they are threatened with torture so they confess and start naming others.

Troops are brought into Rome to guard Nero at the Gardens, and the leading conspirators are rounded up and confess, some with promises of pardon, before mass arrests and interrogations led by Epaphroditus and Tigellinus. Piso refuses appeal from his friends to hurry to the Guard camp and make appeal for revolt and commits suicide; Seneca is accused of suspiciously friendly relations with Piso and forced to commit suicide, aged around 70, and Faenius Rufus and other undetected sympathizers in Guard are accused by their arrested colleagues and arrested too. Consul Atticus is accused by Nero who has a personal grudge against him and is forced into suicide as is Lucan, and suicides and killings are extensive while the Senate votes thank-offerings for Nero's escape; Rufrius Crispinus, ex-commander of the Guard and Poppaea's ex-husband, and others critical of or hated by Nero are banished on excuse of the plot. At the end of investigations, the Guard are addressed by Nero and issued with a donative of 2,000 sesterces and Nero's loyal advisers and assistants in the enquiry, Tigellinus, ex-consul Petronius Turpilianus, and praetor-designate Marcus Cocceius Nerva (the future Emperor) – Petronius and Nerva being leading members of his literary circle – are voted triumphal honours with him.

Nero holds the second 'Neronia' Games in Rome, and enters the poetry and harp-playing competitions on ostentatiously 'equal' terms with other competitors, winning both; shortly afterwards Poppaea dies (?after Nero kicks her) with her baby and Nero holds a grand funeral and deifies her.

Nero has the distinguished jurist aristocrat Caius Cassius Longinus

forbidden to attend the funeral and soon arrests him on charges of venerating statues of his republican ancestors, particularly one of the assassin of Julius Caesar, with suspicious pro-republican inscriptions on them; Cassius' nephew and ex-ward Lucius Junius Silanus Torquatus, descendant of Augustus and nephew of Nero's victim Decimus Silanus, is banished to the Aegean but murdered by Guards assassins en route in Apulia, and Cassius is sent to Sardinia. Rubellius Plautus' father-in-law Antistius Vetus is among a number of other innocent victims in the purge.

?Arrest and execution (beheading) of Paul for Christian preaching in Rome and/or Italy.

Judaea

?Completion of the last work on the Temple leaves 18,000 workmen unemployed, and Agrippa puts them to work repaving Jerusalem at his expense; he replaces Jesus son of Gamaliel with Theophilus as 'High Priest'.

Rome

?Nero has Corbulo depose King Polemo II of Pontus and annex the kingdom to the province of Cappadocia/Galatia, which Corbulo governs while preparing for a new campaign in Iberia.

AD 66 Consuls: Caius Suetonius Paulinus (conqueror of Boudicca) and Caius Luccius Telesinus.

Exiled satirist Antistius Sossianus offers Nero assistance by revealing which prominent Romans are sending queries about the political future to an astrologer he has befriended, and is brought to Rome where he accuses Publius Anteius and Marcus Ostorius Scapula; they are forced to commit suicide, followed by Seneca's brother (and the disgraced Lucan's father) Annaeus Mela, ex-Praetorian Praefect Crispinus, and Caius Anicius Cerealis.

During an Imperial trip to Campania Nero's long-standing friend and flatterer Petronius 'Arbiter', the fashionable courtier (suffect consul

c. 62) and probable author of the satirical novel *Satyricon*, is arrested for his past friendship with the Pisonian plotter Scaevinus on a charge organized by his enemy Tigellinus; he commits suicide but leaves the Emperor a list of the latter's male and female lovers and details of their 'secret' affairs to show that they are all recorded.

Cossutianus Capito, Tigellinus' son-in-law, reminds Nero of the disloyal behaviour of the Stoic leader Thrasea Paetus, including boycotting Senate debates for the past three years (and not taking part in Poppaea's deification there) and not sacrificing to Nero's welfare or divine voice, and points out his popularity as a symbol of ancient virtue like Cato; informers close in on Thrasea's ally Marcius Borea Soranus too with fake charges of corruption during his governorship of Asia province and friendship with Rubellius Plautus.

May: The Guards surround the Senate House and are stationed in public buildings against trouble as Nero's personal letter denouncing Thrasea is delivered to the Senate and followed by charges laid by prosecutor Titus Eprius Marcellus; Borea Soranus is accused of using his honest and popular governorship in Asia as a ploy to build up support there for a revolt allied to Rubellius Plautus, and his daughter Servilia is accused of selling her jewellery to pay for magic consultations; Thrasea, Soranus and Servilia are condemned and allowed to commit suicide, and Thrasea's son-in-law Helvidius Priscus is exiled for boycotting the government.

Servilia's brother-in-law Annius Vinicianus, son-in-law and lieutenant of Corbulo, arrives in Rome during the trial, escorting the visiting Tiridates of Armenia; Nero receives his royal visitor with monarchical pomp and crowns him as king in a public ceremony in the Circus Maximus where Tiridates does homage as Nero's 'slave'.

?Nero marries Statilia Messalina.

Judaea

May/June: A new confrontation between the Jews and Greeks in Caesarea over a piece of land leads to a fight over insult offered at synagogue on Sabbath by Greeks and the Jews in city being attacked

and withdrawing from the city with their scrolls of the Law; it increases tension in Jerusalem, and when Florus removes 17 talents from the Temple treasury for Imperial use demonstrations break out there and he is abused. Florus arrives in Jerusalem with troops to force the welcoming populace to disperse, and next day he sets up his tribunal and calls in the leading priests and citizens, telling them to arrest and surrender the ringleaders of the earlier riots or else. They apologize and appeal for judicious pardons, but he sets the troops on the crowds in the Upper Market-Place and starts a stampede; around 3,500 are killed and Agrippa's sister Berenice, visiting the city, fails in her appeal to Florus to stop the massacre and is nearly killed herself. Next day the even angrier crowds are begged by the priests not to retaliate or Florus will sack the city and loot the Temple, and despite their initial agreement to behave they start shouting at newly arrived Roman reinforcements from Caesarea who do not reply to their salutations. The soldiers set on them as Florus has planned, and his troops in the city join in to commit another massacre; the Romans fail to reach the Antonia fortress to take the Temple as the crowds fight back, and are outnumbered and have to retreat; Florus agrees to withdraw his army to Caesarea but tells the governor of Syria Cestius Gallus that an insurrection is under way and should be crushed; Berenice and the Jewish authorities send a rival version of events accusing Florus of massacre.

Rome

Summer: Before Nero's departure for his delayed trip to Greece, another aristocratic plot is formed against him, named as the 'Vinician' conspiracy by Suetonius and so probably led by Annius Vinicianus (as can be inferred from Nero's new attitude towards Corbulo); **25 September** Nero leaves Rome for Greece and prayers are offered by the 'Arval Brothers' priesthood; the plot to kill Nero is apparently detected at Beneventum and the conspirators are dealt with. Nero also apparently arranges the raising of a new legion in Italy to go to Egypt and join troop movements thither from the province of Africa ready for his arrival in 67, to be followed by an expedition to the Caucasus.

Tigellinus accompanies Nero to Greece, and new co-Praefect of Guard Nymphidius Sabinus (another freedman) remains in Italy in command.

Jewish revolt

Agrippa, returning to Judaea from Egypt, and Cestius Gallus' representative the tribune Napolitanus meet at Jamnia, receive a delegation from the civic and priestly leadership in Jerusalem, and go to the city where they receive a favourable reception from the docile crowds and view the devastation; Agrippa is asked to assist appeal to Nero against Florus, and urges the populace not to think of revolt as that will mean conquest and devastation. He is abused and has to leave the city, and Eleazar son of 'High Priest' Ananus organizes Temple authorities' refusal of sacrifices there for any non-Jews which principally means the Emperor – this signifies their withdrawal of recognition of the Roman authorities.

As insurgents capture the desert fortress of Masada, the leadership in the city fails to calm the populace at a meeting at the 'Bronze Gate' of Temple and begs Florus and Agrippa to send troops quickly to head off revolt and Agrippa sends 2,000 cavalry.

The civic/priestly leadership secures control of the Upper City, but Eleazar's militants seize the Lower City and attack the Upper City and the Temple; the rebels storm the Upper City as the 'High Priest' and his supporters flee, burn the Herodians' palace and the Antonia fortress, and besiege the Herodian fortress with Menahem son of Judas (rebel of AD 6) bringing seized weaponry from the Masada armouries to assist the rebels; the fortress surrenders apart from a few towers where Romans hold out. 'High Priest' Ananus is caught in hiding and killed, and Menahem and Eleazar fight a civil war in the city streets which ends with Eleazar's men storming Menahem's positions in the Temple and slaughtering most of his Zealots; Menahem is caught and tortured to death but his follower Eleazar ben Jairus escapes to Masada.

?Autumn: The Roman troops holding out in towers on city walls surrender on promises of safe retreat but are attacked and killed by Eleazar's men; Greeks in Caesarea slaughter the Jews in the city with

the encouragement of Florus who enslaves the survivors, and mutual killings of Greeks and Jews follow in the countryside of northern Palestine; the Jerusalem militants assist their compatriots and kill their own countrymen at Scythopolis for assisting the Greek residents there, and the Jewish colonies at Ascalon, Ptolemais and Tyre are destroyed in retaliation. At Alexandria the Greeks abuse the Jews as enemy spies at a public meeting held in the amphitheatre to consider an embassy to Nero, the Jewish colony marches on the meeting to attack them, and after governor Tiberius Alexander is abused as he appeals for peace he sets his soldiers on the Jews and kills thousands.

?Late October/November: Cestius Gallus marches from Syria with the Twelfth Legion and allied contingents to Ptolemais and is joined by Agrippa; Joppa is taken by surprise, Caesennius Gallus raids into Galilee and defeats rebel concentration on the mountain of Asamon, and Cestius marches to Jerusalem, defeats an attack by Jews who are even prepared to fight him on the Sabbath and achieve initial advantage with the force of their onset, and camps on Mount Scopus. He takes the Lower City without trouble, but hesitates about assault on the Upper City and after prominent citizens promising surrender are murdered he unsuccessfully attacks the north side of the Temple. Suddenly abandoning the siege, he withdraws to the coast under severe harassment from pursuing rebels and loses c.5,000 men en route. The new 'High Priest' Ananus (in office earlier, in 62) and Joseph son of Gorion command the defence of the city, and new military governors are appointed for the provinces held by the rebels including the historian Josephus in Galilee.

AD 67

Rome

Nero arrives in Greece for a prolonged tour while his freedman Helio commands the government in Rome; he attends festivals to compete and win prizes, and visits the oracle at Delphi and other prominent sites. He appoints Vespasian to lead the reconquest of Judaea, and Vespasian goes overland from Greece to Antioch to gather army

including allied kings' contingents while his son Titus collects the Fifteenth Legion from Alexandria.

Jewish revolt

Early: Josephus raises and trains a Roman-style army in Galilee, and deals with revolt by his ambitious rival John of Gischala who starts an uprising against his authority and seizes his home-town but is unable to hold onto Tiberias and Sepphoris; the latter two towns are sacked for a second revolt.

February: Vespasian arrives to assist Sepphoris' revolt against the Jews, is joined by Titus, and invades Galilee. He sacks Gabara, and Josephus arrives at Jotapata to lead the defence just before Vespasian commences its siege. The Jews successfully hold out and Josephus arranges various counter-measures to deal with the Roman siege engines; **June/July** Vespasian's grand attack on the walls is defeated and he has to send Marcus Ulpius Trajanus (father of the later Emperor) with the Tenth Legion to deal with risings in the countryside. Trajanus is joined by Titus for the storming of Japhtha, and an assembly of the Samaritans on their sacred Mount Gerizim is treated as potentially rebellious and broken up by force by Petilius Cerialis and the Fifth Legion with those who refuse to surrender being massacred (c. 11,000 killed). After 47 days of siege Jotapata is stormed, with Titus first across the walls, and the populace are massacred; Josephus and survivors flee to underground caves, and when they are discovered Vespasian sends his old friend Nicanor to offer Josephus his life if he surrenders. The other survivors furiously insist on mass suicide rather than surrender, so Josephus arranges the drawing of lots to see who kills who, makes sure he is left until last with one other person, and gives himself up. He is kept under guard, and according to his own version wins Vespasian's favour by prophesying that he will become Emperor.

July/August: Vespasian reaches Caesarea, sets up main camp there with one legion stationed at Scythopolis, and recovers Joppa/Jaffa which rebels have seized as a pirate naval base to attack Roman shipping but now abandon; he marches into Agrippa's kingdom to Caesarea

Philippi, and camps outside Tiberias which surrenders after one sally by its rebel leader Jeshua who flees. He marches on nearby Tarichaeae (south-west corner of the Sea of Galilee) where Jeshua and other local rebels have taken refuge, defeats the rebel army outside the town, and captures it as Titus leads the pursuit in through the gates.

The fleeing rebels are pursued around the lake and slaughtered, but Gamala on the east shore holds out and is besieged; Vespasian's first assault gets the Romans inside the walls, but they are driven back as they try to climb the steep hill inside the town and Vespasian is almost killed before he extricates himself and retreats; he sends Placidus to surround the rebel encampment on steep Mount Tabor who are starved out, promise to surrender but intend to break out as soon as they are allowed down to the Roman lines, and are attacked and killed as they restart the fighting.

October: The Romans undermine a tower at Gamala, but wait until Titus arrives to lead a second, successful entry to the town; the citadel holds out until a strong wind hinders the rebels inside from piling rubble downhill onto the attackers and they are killed or commit suicide by jumping into the adjacent ravine; Titus besieges John of Gischala in that town, accepts a temporary truce with his surrender promised, and finds that he has escaped to Jerusalem but catches and kills some of his escort.

Titus returns to Caesarea now that most of Galilee is reduced; Vespasian takes Jamnia.

Rome

In Greece, Nero summons Corbulo to meet him at Cenchrae near Corinth and has him seized and forced to commit suicide on suspicion of plot; **?Autumn** he refuses Helio's appeals from Rome for him to return quickly because of a new conspiracy there.

Jewish revolt

Autumn: John of Gischala and his fugitives rally radicals in Jerusalem, and are joined by refugee brigands driven out of the occupied

countryside; faction-fighting and the robbery and murder of the rich become commonplace, and the extremists, led by Zealots under John, seize the Temple and force an election by lot for a new 'High Priest' from outside the usual families; Phanas is selected. The Zealots murder their prisoners on excuse of alleged contacts with the Romans, but deposed 'High Priest' Ananus rallies an army of citizens to drive them out of the city back to Temple where the outer courts are stormed but the attackers hesitate to tackle the Zealots besieged in the inner sanctuary and blockade them there. John of Gischala, too popular to be arrested, offers to arrange a truce with his allies within the Temple to prevent bloodshed in the holy places, but uses the talks to arrange with his allies inside the Temple to send messengers for help to the Idumaeans. An army of the latter arrive, and are refused admission to the city by Ananus who leads priests in vain appeal to the newcomers to respect the holy city and not fight there; a fierce storm delays attack, but the Zealots manage to get men out of the Temple at night to open a gate into city and the Idumaeans advance to the Temple to reinforce them. The guards are driven back, and next day the combined force emerges to storm the city, break up the citizens' army, and kill Ananus and many others; mass executions, particularly of the younger nobility, crushes resistance but the disgusted Idumaeans soon abandon assisting the reign of terror and go home. John becomes virtually the dictator of Jerusalem, while those who can escape desert to rebel forces outside the city or to the Romans.

Rome

December: (or January 68): Helio arrives in Greece to appeal to Nero, possibly having heard indications of rebellion in Gaul concerning Julius Vindex, the governor of Lugdunensis; Nero sets off back to Italy and postpones his Egyptian visit.

AD 68 Vindex sends letters to the other governors in Gaul and in Spain sounding out their attitude to rebellion, and receives some support though others send the letters to Nero; among the equivocal is Servius

Sulpicius Galba, governor of Tarraconensis, who Nero orders his local procurator to execute; Galba intercepts the order and decides to revolt too.

March: Vindex revolts, though he has no troops and can be put down by the nearest army – in Upper Germany under new governor Verginius Rufus; Nero hears of the revolt at Naples on the anniversary of Agrippina's death, and returns to Rome to consult his council and address the Senate.

3 April: Galba proclaims himself the legate of the Senate and people of Rome, and is joined by the one legion in Tarraconensis under Titus Vinicius and by Marcus Salvius Otho, Nero's ex-companion and Poppaea's previous husband, who is now governor of Lusitania. Nero assumes the consulship to take charge of affairs in Rome, raises a new legion from sailors at Misenum and volunteers, and summons troops from Illyria, Germany and Britain who have left their bases to head east for his planned campaign there in 68/9; Clodius Macer, commander of the one legion in Africa, revolts too with the assistance of Nero's ex-wardrobe-mistress Calvia Crispinilla and threatens the grain supplies to Rome. Nero has to recruit ex-slaves as not enough volunteers join his army, and considers executing all the provincial governors he can lay hands on or letting his troops loose on Gaul and killing all the Gauls in Rome; he alternates between energy and despair and still finds time for his artistic interests.

Jewish revolt

March/April: Vespasian takes Gadara across the Jordan, capital of Peraea, and his tribune Placidus ravages the countryside to reduce the lesser towns; he moves on south to besiege Emmaus and retake most of Idumaea, and as news of revolts in the west reaches him he avoids any major campaign in order to be ready to intervene in pursuit of his own ambitions for the throne. He sets up bases at Jericho, Adida and other towns near Jerusalem to surround the city in preparation for attack.

Rome

May: Verginius Rufus' army in Upper Germany, with Lower Germany reinforcements, moves into eastern Gaul and defeats Vindex's legion at Vesontio (Besancon); Vindex commits suicide, but the victorious German troops offer to hail Verginius as 'Emperor'; he refuses and claims that the choice must be left to Senate, indicating his own hope that Nero will be deposed before he has to make a choice (rumour has it that he delayed his attack on Vindex hoping for a revolt in Italy first). Nero sends a force under Rubrius Gallus to guard northern Italy, but some form of mutiny occurs involving at least the Batavian units of the Fourteenth Legion and some of the troops who have arrived from Illyricum (who proclaim Verginius Emperor, but it is uncertain if this precedes Nero's death).

Nero fears the desertion of all his remaining troops in Italy, and decides to flee to the eastern provinces while his chief supporter Tigellinus lurks at a villa outside the capital alleging illness and contacts Galba's lieutenant Vinus; Nero fixes on Alexandria and, failing to persuade the Praetorian officers to accompany him so he suspects them too, leaves Rome for the suburban villa of his freedman Phaon. Once his departure from the city is known the co-Praefect of Praetorian Guard Nymphidius Sabinus persuades his men to declare for Galba.

9 June: Nero hears that the Senate have declared him a public enemy and voted for his execution; he stabs himself in the throat with the help of freedman Epaphroditus and dies, aged 30. He is given a private funeral at the Imperial gardens on the Pincian Hill by his mistress Acte, and the Senate proclaims Galba Emperor.

Interregnum and reign of Galba*Rome*

Galba hears of Nero's death and proclaims himself Emperor, and advances into Italy with Clodius Macer in Africa and Fonteius Capito in Lower Germany not recognising his claim; during the march he executes a number of suspected potential opponents, such as

consul-designate Cingonius Varro and ex-consul Petronius.

September/October: Galba enters Rome unopposed; he massacres Nero's disbanded would-be army, and sends his own new legion (Seventh) to Pannonia under Antonius Primus. His orders to Imperial agent in Africa Trebonius Gurruntius to assassinate Clodius Macer are obeyed, while in Germany legionary commanders Cornelius Aquinus and Fabius Valens murder Capito on their own initiative.

Galba assumes control of the government, assisted by his Spanish deputy Titus Vinius, new Praefect of the Guard Cornelius Laco, and freedman Icelus; he dismisses the German regiment in the Imperial bodyguard and has the Misenum sailors who Nero turned into troops returned to their original duties with decimation when they resist it. His parsimony (including cancelling all Nero's awards of money), rapacity, and acts of cruelty (including executions without trial) soon diminish his popularity, while he is resented by current and potential office-holders for proposing to reduce the length of time allowed in each post. His pardons of Tigellinus and of Nero's notorious freedman Halotus are noted.

Galba refuses to carry out his promise to grant donative to all the troops on securing power, declaring that he prefers to recruit men rather than buy them; there is also controversy over his intended heir as he is 71 in December, with Vinius backing the claims of Otho.

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*AD 69 to 235***AD 69*****Rome: revolt on the Rhine***

1 January: Galba consul. The Fourth and Twenty-Second Legions in Upper Germany, resenting the recent removal of popular governor Verginius Rufus by the suspicious Emperor, refuse to renew their oath of allegiance at the New Year ceremonies and elderly commander Hordoenius Flaccus is powerless to intervene – they declare they will accept a new choice by Senate and people. Galba's portraits are torn down, and that evening news reaches governor Aulus Vitellius of Lower Germany at Cologne. He sends to tell his own legions that they must choose between fighting their comrades or a prompt choice of a new ruler, implying himself.

2 January: Fabius Valens, commander of the First Legion and a critic of Galba who he feels has not rewarded him for help against Fonteius Capito in 68, arrives at Cologne with his men and hails Vitellius as 'Emperor'.

3 January: The Upper German legions declare for Vitellius, and are followed by the citizens of the Treveri and Lingones areas of northern Gaul and the Batavian auxiliaries at the mouth of the Rhine under Julius Civilis; governors Valerius Asiaticus of Belgica and Junius Blaesus of Lugdunensis join them, and in Britain commander Roscius Coelius of the Twentieth Legion leads revolt, expelling unpopular governor Trebellius Maximus.

Overthrow of Galba by Otho

Rome

Galba reconsiders his choice of heir, and turns from the expectant Marcus Salvius Otho as too dissolute and an old friend of Nero; he tells consul-designate Marius Celsus, adviser Titus Vinius, Praetorian Praefect Laco, and Praefect of City Duennius Geminus that he has selected the aristocratic Piso Licinianus (a friend of Laco), descendant of Pompeius and Crassus and the brother of the first husband of Claudius' daughter Antonia.

10 January: Galba proceeds to the Guards' camp in defiance of ill-omened storms and announces he is adopting Piso as his son, but the soldiers are not enthusiastic; he then informs the Senate and Piso addresses them. A Senate delegation to the Upper German army is agreed but not its personnel; Galba cashiers some suspect military tribunes and announces that people granted financial gifts by Nero will have to return nine-tenths of the sum.

Encouraged by predictions that he will be Emperor by his (and Nero's) ex-wife Poppaea's astrologer Ptolemaeus, Otho decides to murder Galba before Piso has a chance to become popular and secure the Guard in event of coup; he adds to the earlier popularity he has courted with the troops en route from Spain by giving secret gifts, and his freedman Onomastus works on discontented Guards officers to spread discontent and remind troops about Otho's generosity; Tigellinus' ex-crony Marcus Pudens, Barbius Proculus and Veturius are the ringleaders.

15 January: Otho leaves the Emperor during sacrifices at the Temple of Apollo on the Palatine as he receives a message from Onomastus that his plotters are ready to strike; he joins a party of 73 soldiers at the 'Golden Milestone' and is hailed as 'Emperor' and hurried to the Guard camp; as news reaches the Palace Piso is sent out to the courtyard to address the cohort on duty and denounce Otho, and officers are sent to collect troops stationed around the city but the Balkan legionary contingents at the Portico of Vipsania and the Misenum naval marines (whose colleagues have been executed by Galba) refuse to act.

A loyal crowd gathers at the Palace, and Vinius' urging for a cautious policy of waiting in the barricaded Palace until the situation is clear is successfully denounced by Praefect Laco and freedman Icelus as cowardly. Rumours that Otho has been killed by the Guard at barracks encourage Galba to venture out and head for the camp, but in reality the Guard are enthusiastically hailing Otho and arming themselves. They advance on the Palace, and meet Galba's party in the Forum Romanum; the populace scatter and the loyal troops put down the Imperial standard, and Galba is dragged out of his litter near 'Basin of Curtius' and murdered (aged 73); Vinius is also killed, and Piso escapes into the Temple of Vesta but is dragged out by Otho's emissaries and butchered on the steps.

The troops parade their victims' heads, and hold celebratory rally at the Guard camp; they insist on choosing their own Praefects, Plotius Firmus and Licinius Proculus, and on Otho restoring Nero's Praefect of the City, Flavius Sabinus (elder brother of Vespasian), but Otho saves consul-designate Celsus from their vengeance. Laco and Icelus are executed, the Senate hastily grants Otho Imperial powers after having been abusing him as a rebel a few hours before, and Otho is escorted through the bloodstained Forum to the Palace; Galba is privately buried at his villa by his servants.

Rebel advance from the Rhine

Vitellius plans his invasion of Italy, with Valens to cross the Cottian Alps (Provence – Turin) and fellow-commander Alienus Caecina to lead the Twenty-First Legion and other troops by a more direct route; he gives himself up to gluttonous enjoyment of his new position. Valens advances into southern Gaul without resistance, hearing of Galba's death en route, while Caecina's exactions for his troops leads to armed clash with the Helvetii (Switzerland) en route to the passes into Italy; as he approaches Italy the Silian cavalry regiment in the Po valley declares for Vitellius and hands over Mediolanum (Milan) and other towns. Petronius Urbicus, governor of Noricum on the army's left (eastern) flank, remains hostile as Caecina crosses the Great St Bernard pass into Italy.

Rome

Otho executes Tigellinus, and sends both envoys with offers of pardon and assassins to Vitellius who does likewise with him; neither have any result but Otho's emissaries desert to his rival.

Vespasian's son Titus, journeying to Rome as his father's emissary to Galba, hears of the coup and the Vitellian revolt at Corinth and decides to return to his father; he journeys slowly back via the Aegean islands and Cyprus to await events, while his companion Julius Agrippa goes on to Rome.

Nearer Spain under Cluvius Rufus abandons original oath to Otho and joins the Vitellian cause, as does Aquitanian Gaul under Julius Cordus; the provinces further from Rome remain loyal and take oaths to Otho as news of his coup reaches them, including Dalmatia, Pannonia, Moesia, Syria (governor Licinius Mucianus), Judaea (Vespasian), Africa and Egypt. Otho and his brother Titianus assume the consulship until 1 March, but he keeps to the arrangements for the rest of the year made by his predecessors which give Flavius Sabinus consulship for 1 July–1 October and then office to Arrius Antoninus (father of the later Emperor Antoninus Pius) and Marius Celsus.

Governor Marcus Aponius of Moesia is granted a triumphal statue for defeating an incursion over the Danube by the Sarmatian tribe of the Roxelani.

A misunderstanding at the undisciplined Guard barracks over where a load of weaponry being taken out of camp is intended to go (it is for an arriving cohort from Ostia but drunken soldiers think plotters are taking it to be used in a Senate/Imperial household revolt against Otho) leads to a riot. Soldiers hurry to the Palace to protect the Emperor in case the plotters are attacking, and a dinner-party at the Palace breaks up in panic at news of approaching troops; Otho has to show himself to the men to reassure them about his safety, and they are persuaded to calm down and are given a donative.

Praefect Licinius Proculus, Suetonius Paulinus (the victor over Boudicca in 60/1), and Marius Celsus are put in charge of army and marines as a naval attack on rebel-held Narbonese Gaul is decided.

Snow blocks Cottian Alpine passes to Vitellius' general Valens who is in Provence; **14 March** Otho leaves his brother Titianus in charge of Rome and sets off after addressing the populace, taking a large escort of senior aristocrats who he does not trust to be left behind.

An ex-slave resembling Nero travels around Greece and Asia province soliciting support, and sets up base on the island of Cythnus; Calpurnius Asprena, Galba's governor-designate of Galatia and Pamphylia, finds out about him when his ships call in at the island and has him seized and executed.

Otho versus Vitellius: civil war in Italy

The Seventh, Eleventh, Thirteenth and Fourteenth Legions, sent from Dalmatia and Pannonia with advance contingents in front, converge on the line of the Po to await Caecina, while the First Legion and five Praetorian cohorts advance from Rome ahead of Otho and his personal force of Praetorians, marines and 2,000 gladiators; Suedius Clemens' force ravages the area of Maritime Gaul (southern end of the Alps) and Otho's fleet raids the Riviera coast where it clashes with the Vitellians' advance-guard sent to Forum Julii (Frejus) and Antipolis (Antibes).

Picarius Decumus, governor of Corsica and an enemy of Otho, tries to declare for Vitellius but is murdered by the citizenry who fear the reprisals of Otho's fleet.

Caecina's Batavians and Germans cross the Po near Placentia by surprise, and the Othonian advance troops fall back; Caecina follows, and Otho's general Spurrinna is besieged in his base at Placentia and drives an attack back; Caecina abandons the siege and goes on towards Cremona to confront the main Othonian army under Annius Gallus who camps at Bedriacum. Caecina's plan to ambush the advancing enemy 12 miles from Cremona before his fellow-general Fabius Valens joins him (and has to share the victory) is betrayed to Otho's army, and Celsus and Paulinus ambush him there instead and win victory.

Otho, buoyed up by success though having problems with demands from undisciplined troops who resent their commanders, decides not to wait until the Fourteenth Legion and the Moesian troops reinforce

him as the experienced Paulinus and Celsus want; he prepares for battle at his base at Bedriacum while Valens joins Caecina at Cremona and they start to bridge the Po nearby, but Otho is crucially absent across the Po at Brixellum when the battle occurs.

14 April, Battle of Bedriacum: the Othonians advance towards the confluence of the Po and a tributary, near to Caecina's bridge, and the Vitellians draw up in ranks to meet them with their cavalry being repulsed in initial clash with the Othonians. The undisciplined Othonians relax and start cheering on a false report that the enemy army is mutinying but are soon disillusioned and get the worst of clash, though their enthusiastic new First (Support) Legion breaks through the Vitellians' Twenty-First Legion; the Othonians crack and flee, and the Vitellians' Batavians cross the Po on ships to attack them in the flank. Otho's troops flee to Bedriacum about 18 miles away, and Annius Gallus restores order there in new camp though Paulinus and some other officers keep away. The Vitellians camp about five miles away.

15 April: Otho's troops go over to the enemy, and the two armies mingle at Otho's camp. Hearing the news at Brixellum, Otho refuses his officers' appeal to flee to join the Moesian troops at Aquileia and fight on, thanks and dismisses his followers, and burns incriminating papers that could expose his supporters to Vitellius' revenge.

16 April: At dawn Otho commits suicide in his tent, aged 36 or 37; his loyal Praetorians hold funeral, and some of his men commit suicide but most negotiate their pardon. The late ruler's senatorial escort, left behind the army at Mutina, move back to Bononia and are reassured of their favourable reception by Vitellius in a message from Valens.

19 April: News of the events reaches Rome during the Games celebrating the festival of Ceres; as City Praefect Sabinus administers oath to Vitellius to the garrison public rejoicings are held, busts of Galba are paraded around the temples, and the Senate votes powers to Vitellius and thanks to the German armies for overthrowing Otho.

Reign of Vitellius

Rome

Lucceius Albinus, pro-Otho governor of both Mauretanian provinces, is murdered by his officers while preparing an attack on Spain to deal with the pro-Vitellians there under Cluvius Rufus who are waiting at Gades.

Vitellius hears of his troops' success while advancing through central Gaul, and receives the commanders of his and Otho's troops at Lugdunum; he holds victory parade, pardons the Othonian commanders Suetonius Paulinus, Proculus and Celsus and Otho's brother Titianus, and makes his infant son 'Germanicus' and co-Emperor. He receives Cluvius Rufus and extends his governorship in Spain, grants Britain to Vettius Bolanus, and sends messages to Rome politely delaying his assumption of the title of 'Augustus' until he arrives in Rome; however, his indulgence of his gluttonous appetites becomes worse while his undisciplined troops relax and Vitellius, encouraged by his brother Lucius, starts increasing suspicion of his enemies' intentions and orders Sabinus in Rome to execute the returned exiled aristocrat Cornelius Dolabella for alleged meddling with a cohort at Ostia.

Vitellius as Emperor

The leaderless and truculent Othonian legions are sent off to remote provinces, the Fourteenth back to Britain, or given work duties to distract them, and due to increasing disorder the loyal but badly behaved Batavians are sent home too; Vitellius receives a senatorial delegation at Ticinum, sends his Gallic auxiliaries home, looks over the battlefield at Bedriacum, and is entertained by Caecina at Cremona and by Valens at Bononia as he advances towards Rome.

The Third, Eighth and Seventh Legions in Moesia (under Aponius Saturninus) and the Thirteenth and Seventh (Galban) Legions in Pannonia (under Antonius Primus) hold aloof from Vitellius, aided by fears of his reprisals for the rejection of his authority by their advance troops – en route to aid Otho at Bedriacum but too late for the battle – at Aquileia on the news of Otho's overthrow.

Judaea: Vespasian revolts

May: In Judaea, Vespasian hears of Otho's death at his base of Caesarea and is pressed by eager soldiers and officers to take the throne, aided by the popularity of his son Titus as his heir; he carefully consults his officers, finds out what his soldiers are saying in private, and checks (via mission by Titus) with his most powerful potential ally, Licinius Mucianus of Syria who assures his support with his legions. However much Vespasian's publicly feigned reluctance and resultant acceding to his men's insistence is a gesture to hide his ambition, he decides to gamble on revolt. He meets ?in northern Judaea with Mucianus who publicly urges him to take the throne, sacrifices on Mount Carmel and declares that the omens favour his victory, and returns to Caesarea while Mucianus returns to Syria to raise his legions; approaches are also made to the Othonian governors of Moesia and Pannonia and to Tiberius Alexander, governor of the crucial province of Egypt who can deliver the richest provincial treasury in the Empire and cut the corn supply to Rome.

1 July: By arrangement with Vespasian, Tiberius Alexander proclaims him Emperor at Alexandria. At around this date, Vespasian's personal bodyguard hail him as 'Emperor'.

3 July: Vespasian's troops in Caesarea and across Judaea take the oath to him.

c. 1–15 July: Mucianus administers the oath to Vespasian in Syria; kings Sohaemus of Edessa/Homs (Syria), Antiochus of Commagene, and provinces of Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia, Pontus, Pamphylia, Cilicia and Achaea/Greece hail Vespasian, as does the returning (from Rome) Julius Agrippa of the Jews and his sister Berenice, Titus' mistress.

Vespasian holds a council with Mucianus and other leading supporters at Beyrutus to plan the campaign, raises funds and levies troops; Mucianus marches across Asia Minor to Byzantium to join the Euxine/Black Sea fleet, and as he approaches the Balkans the Third Legion in Moesia leads their fellow-troops in declaring for Vespasian. Antonius Primus leads the Pannonian troops to join the rebellion, and Dalmatia follows suit.

Vitellius in power in Rome

June: Joined by a large entourage of hopeful entertainers who used to be employed by Nero and with his disorderly troops misbehaving en route, Vitellius reaches Rome after a leisurely journey; he holds triumphal military entry to the city, reluctantly changing to a civilian toga so as not to seem like the city's conqueror, and celebrates with sacrifices on the Capitol where he makes his welcoming mother Sextilia 'Augusta'. He appoints Publilius Sabinus and Julius Priscus as Praetorian Praefects under a greatly enlarged Guard, and his quartering his army in Rome adds to crowding and causes an epidemic while their rowdy behaviour alienates the populace. Valens, Caecina and freedman Asiaticus hold sway as principal advisers, and the new ruler enjoys a lavish lifestyle with ostentatious parties.

7–24 September: Caecina and Valens stage grand gladiatorial games for Vitellius' fifty-fourth birthday.

Aponius Saturninus in Moesia writes to Vitellius announcing the defection of his Third Legion to Vespasian before following it; Vitellius censors the news and calls in troops from Britain, Gaul and Spain (all of whom have governors of dubious loyalty), while 'Flavian' agents are arrested in Rhaetia and Gaul and Vitellius' own former province of Africa raises men for him but its legionary commander Valerius Festus corresponds with both sides.

Mucianus crosses the Balkans; Primus and the commanders there meet at Poetovio (Ptuj) to debate the timing of campaign in Italy, and decide that despite the defeat of their Othonian veterans earlier that year at Bedriacum and their being outnumbered till Mucianus arrives they should strike quickly before British troops and German reinforcements reach Vitellius; they decide to follow Primus' advice and attack, and secure alliance with the Suebi tribe across the Danube and send troops to block pro-Vitellian governor Porcius Septimus of Rhaetia (Austria) from assisting Vitellius.

Vespasian's armies attack Vitellius' armies: second civil war in Italy

Mid-September: The 'Flavian' Balkan army under Primus advances quickly to seize Aquileia and thus control the north-east entry to Italy; a Vitellian outpost is taken by surprise, and Vedius Aquila takes his Thirteenth ('Twin') Legion and the Seventh (Galban) Legion to secure defecting Patavium (Padua). Verona is secured despite the arrival of Vespasian's orders to wait till Mucianus arrives before entering Italy, while in Rome Vitellius sends Caecina (now consul) ahead of his main army with detachments from loyal legions and orders to secure Cremona and the Po crossings.

Unknown to Vitellius, Caecina is conducting secret talks with Vespasian's agents after contacting his brother, Praefect of Rome Sabinus, out of hatred of his fellow-commander Valens' influence with Vitellius, and does so again while visiting the fleet at Ravenna on his way to Cremona. Valens follows Caecina at a slower pace with the main army and recruits.

Caecina camps north of the Po near Verona but does not pursue his advantage of numbers against Primus, and Saturninus brings the Moesian Seventh Legion to add to the still-outnumbered Flavian force; the Third and the Eighth Legions join them too, but their camp at Verona is swept by disorder as alarmed troops assault one of their generals, Tampius Flavianus, for alleged contacts with his relative Vitellius and Primus has to rescue him from lynching; Saturninus has to hide and flee too after accusations against him, and there are allegations that Primus encouraged this mutiny against his two rival commanders to secure sole control of the army and thus the rewards when they win victory.

Following discontent in the Ravenna fleet, commander Lucilius Bassus leads their defection to Vespasian; **18 October** on hearing the news Caecina addresses his restless troops and announces he is defecting too and his allies among the officers lead public oath-taking to Vespasian, but loyalists in the Fifth Legion defy him and regain control of the camp; Caecina is arrested and the army retires south of the Po to join the First and Twenty-First Legions at Cremona.

Primus advances hurriedly to take advantage of the confusion in the Vitellian ranks, and **23 October** reaches Bedriacum.

24 October, Battle of Cremona: Primus advances towards the Vitellian camp, and as his advance cavalry-unit under Arrius Varus clashes with Vitellian front ranks he calls the men to arm for battle and recalls forage-parties. Varus has to retreat and this infects the rest of cavalry who flee back towards a bridge and are joined by the infantry, but Primus forcibly halts them and as the Flavians form up and rally, their overconfident opponents charge but are driven back. The First and Twenty-First Legions arrive to aid the Vitellians but do not give proper support, and the Flavians' cavalry and Moesian reinforcements break through their opponents. Primus halts his men from their proposed undisciplined attempt to storm Cremona at night, and they agree to wait as it is reported that the rest of the Vitellian army is approaching the town to rescue the fugitives. The Vitellian reinforcements arrive, but throw themselves straight into the fight and a disorganized melee ensues in the dark until the rising moon shines into the Vitellians' faces (they are facing east) and they are driven back.

25 October: At dawn the Third Legion's Syrian-style greeting to the rising sun inspires a rumour that Mucianus' men have arrived and are on battlefield, and the encouraged Flavians defeat the enemy who retreat into Cremona or the nearby camp erected by the Vitellian German troops during the April campaign. Primus drives his men on to storm the camp, the Third and Seventh Legions bearing the brunt of the assault, and the Flavian 'tortoise' of interlocked shields protects their men from Vitellian missiles as they break a gate open. The camp is taken, and the Vitellian survivors flee into Cremona where the advantage of the walls is not sufficient to boost their morale. Fearing massacre if the town is stormed, the senior officers release the captive would-be defector Caecina and send him out to negotiate surrender; the Vitellians emerge and are well-received by the Flavian troops for their steadfastness in reply to victors' taunts, but Caecina is abused as a traitor and Primus sends him quickly to Vespasian.

Cremona is initially spared to the troops' disappointment, so after

the victory parade they sack it with thousands being killed and take the survivors as slaves; Primus cannot stop them, but Vespasian later assists with the expense of rebuilding the ruins.

In Rome, Vitellius arrests Praetorian Praefect Publius Sabinus on news that his friend Caecina tried to defect, replacing him with Alfenus Varus; **31 October** a Vitellian partisan, Rosius Regulus, holds Caecina's confiscated consulship for its last day.

Valens, en route to the second Vitellian army which is already engaged at Cremona unknown to him and enjoying himself with a train of dissolute cronies, is shaken by the news of the mutiny of the Ravenna fleet and starts to suspect the loyalty of the auxiliaries and cavalry who Vitellius sends to him; he sends them on to Ariminum and takes his entourage to Etruria where he hears of the disaster at Cremona. He decides to sail to Narbonensis and recruit the Gallic provincial troops and/or tribesmen for a new attack on Flavians, but his ship is driven ashore en route at Portus Herculis Monoeci (Monaco) and local governor Marius Maturus of the 'Maritime Alps' dissuades him from going on.

The Flavian general Cornelius Fuscus blockades Valens' troops in Ariminum, and the Flavians occupy all Picenum; Valerius Paulinus, the Imperial procurator in Narbonese Gaul and a Flavian ally, has recruited assorted ex-Praetorians dismissed by Vitellius and sent home to Gaul to form a local Flavian army which occupies Frejus with civilian help, and outnumbered Maturus surrenders; Valens and a few loyalists sail to safety of the islands off Marseilles where Paulinus' men later arrest them.

Anicetus, a Pontic freedman and former commander of the fleet of the Kingdom of Pontus (annexed in 63), leads an army of tribesmen down from mountains to seize the port of Trapezus (Trebizond), massacre a garrison cohort and link up with plundering local Pontic sailors for piratical raids now that the Roman fleet has gone off with Mucianus; Vespasian sends Viridius Geminus with troops to suppress the brigands, who take refuge with tribal king of the Sedochezi; Geminus bribes the latter to kill Anicetus and hand over the others.

Judaea

Autumn: In Judaea, at or before this time Eleazar son of Simon leads Zealot breach with the despotic rule of John of Gischala in Jerusalem; the Zealots fortify the inner sanctuary of the Temple against John. Simon son of Gioras brings his forces into the city to take the Upper City from John and fight him for control of the Lower City, and a three-way civil war ensues. The Romans take Simon's supporters' towns outside the city.

November: Vespasian hears of the battle of Cremona in Egypt, and prepares to sail west to the province of Africa to cut off its grain supplies to Rome. He receives congratulatory delegations from the eastern provinces at Alexandria, and sends Titus to Judaea to prepare for the final attack on Jerusalem; Titus marches from Pelusium via Gaza and Ascalon to Caesarea.

Revolt against Rome on the lower Rhine

Julius Civilis, the former commander of the Batavian regiment from their tribal lands on island at the mouth of the Rhine, uses resentment at harsh troop levies there for the Vitellian army to summon the tribal leadership to a banquet at sacred grove and canalize their grudges into a plan of revolt; the tribal leadership swears oath of loyalty to him and contacts their neighbours the Cannifates. The latter's newly elected leader Brinno launches an early attack on two local Roman cohorts with Frisian help, the Romans evacuate their forts on the Batavian island, and the rebellion spreads to the mainland as Civilis pretends to be loyal and offers to suppress it but is betrayed by rumours and openly revolts. His supporters induce mutiny among the local troops in the Rhine fleet, and emissaries are sent to German tribes and into Gaul to encourage mass revolt. Governor Hordoenius Flaccus, having tried to play down the seriousness of the rising at first, sends legate Minius Lupercus out from the headquarters of the Fifth and Fifteenth Legions at Vetera to tackle the Batavians, but part of his levies desert and he has to retreat to the base.

The Batavian and Cannifates auxiliaries currently setting out for

Rome to help Vitellius mutiny, and Flaccus and Herennius Gallus (commander of the First Legion at Bonn) fail to stop them as they march back to their homes to aid rebels and brush aside Roman troops. Civilis declares his allegiance to Vespasian and invites Flaccus and his legions to desert Vitellius too, but they refuse; he calls in the Bructeri and Tencteri tribes to aid his siege of Vetera and has his rebels raid the pro-Roman Gallic tribes of the Ubii (around Cologne) and the Menapii (northern Belgium).

Flaccus, at Cologne and claiming to be too unfit to march to relief of Vetera, sends Dillius Voluta and the Twenty-Second Legion down the Rhine to reinforce the First at Bonn and relieve the siege; he calls for aid from Britain, Gaul and Spain but faces problems with resentful troops as does Voluta. Following defeat by the rebels downstream near Gelduba, Voluta retreats to Novaesium.

Vespasian versus Vitellius: Italy

Primus, lax about discipline to curry favour with the unruly troops and constantly complaining to Vespasian about Mucianus who finds out and becomes resentful, advances down the Adriatic coast to Fanum Fortunae where the 'Flaminian Way' starts south-west over the Apennines; he sends cavalry ahead to the passes, while Vitellius orders Julius Priscus and Alfenus Varus to hold the mountains with 14 Praetorian cohorts and a legion of sailors; Vitellius ventures as far as his base at Mevania (near Urbino) but is too timid to attack the exhausted Flavians across the Apennines, drinks too much, and panics and returns to Rome on news that the fleet at Misenum has mutinied led by a cashiered centurion with forged letter from Vespasian. The fleet expels their weak commander Claudius Apollinaris and is taken over by ambitious ex-praetor Antonius Tiro, and Flavian sympathizers seize Puteoli too; loyalists at Capua under the fleet's former commander Claudius Julianus soon go over to them, and they seize Tarracina.

Vitellius levies money and slaves from the Senate to assist his call for new recruits and sends his brother Lucius to Campania, but the Samnite, Marsian and Paelignian communities in central Italy join

the Flavians and disgraced general Petilius Cerialis (commander of the Ninth Legion against Boudicca in 61) escapes Rome in disguise to meet the Flavian army as it crosses the Apennines to find Mevania abandoned; Vespasian's brother Sabinus pleads illness for not trying to leave Rome and join the advancing troops, while Vitellius holds Vespasian's 18-year-old younger son Domitian under house-arrest as a hostage. The Flavians halt at Carsulae, and the Vitellian army waiting for them near Narnia gives up as its officers hasten to protect themselves by going over to Vespasian. The troops holding out at Interamna are surprised and overwhelmed by Fabius, and the main army comes out of camp to meet the advancing Flavians and surrender.

Galba's and Vitellius' general Valens is executed in custody at Urbino.

Primus and Mucianus separately send messages to Vitellius to offer him his life and retirement in Campania, but he hesitates in case he is spared at first and executed later as a political threat and City Praefect Sabinus ignores calls to use the urban cohorts to seize the city, perhaps out of jealousy towards the idea of his younger brother not him as the new ruler.

16 December: The Flavians start the final advance from Narnia on Rome.

18 December: Hearing the news from Narnia, Vitellius, dressed in mourning, addresses his troops in the capital to announce his intended abdication and offers his dagger as a symbol of his power to consul Caecilius Simplex who refuses it; popular sympathy leads to crowds rallying to him and stopping him going to the Temple of Concord to hand over his regalia, so he returns to the Palace. Sabinus, ordering the urban cohorts to stay in their barracks, is assumed to be taking over the city for Vespasian and is joined at his house on the Esquiline Hill by a crowd of senators and other civic leaders, but as they head for Forum Romanum they are attacked by the crowd of Vitellian supporters and retreat onto the Capitol. Vitellian troops in the city surround the hill, and Sabinus summons his grandsons and Domitian and sends for help to Primus.

19 December: Sabinus sends a centurion to Vitellius to protest at the siege and say that if he wants to fight he should tackle Primus not a few civilians, but is told that Vitellius cannot command the unruly troops to stop attack; the Praetorians lead attack up the 'Clivus Capitolinus' street from the Forum and are pelted with tiles from the roof of adjoining colonnade, but succeed in reaching the foot of the final ascent and climb up the steps by the Tarpeian Rock to the south-west and the 'Grove of Refuge' to the east; as the attackers manage to get into houses on the slopes to scramble up to the hilltop they or the defenders start fires, and the blaze spreads to the Temple of Jupiter and burns it down. Many of the defenders get away in the chaos and Domitian hides in a temple caretaker's house and joins a throng of priests in disguise, but the dithering Sabinus is arrested, taken to Vitellius at the Palace and executed as the attendant crowds demand.

The Flavian army hears of the attack on Capitol while celebrating the Saturnalia festival at Otriculum, and Primus hastens to the capital.

Lucius Vitellius takes Tarracina due to lax security by the Flavians (mainly Misenum marines and gladiators) there.

20 December: In the early hours, at the *Saxa Rubra* north of the Milvian Bridge, Primus is told that the Capitol has fallen, the Temple of Jupiter is burnt, and Sabinus is dead, and as a skirmish between Vitellians and Cerealis' cavalry goes the defenders' way an enthusiastic crowd demonstrates at the Palace. Vitellius thanks them but sends a senatorial delegation to the Flavians asking for negotiations; those who meet Cerealis' men are manhandled and Primus says that the attack on Capitol has ended hope of peace and is forced by his eager men to attack that day not halt at the Milvian Bridge. The Flavians attack the capital both east (at the Flaminian Way gate and the Colline Gate) and west of the Tiber, and the populace watch the spectacle; the main fighting is at the Praetorian barracks which is stormed. As the Palace falls Vitellius escapes in a sedan-chair to his wife's house, and hides out in backstreets intending to get away to Tarracina under cover of darkness. He is captured either in a janitor's office or a kennel, bound and dragged through the jeering mob to the 'Gemonian Steps' on the

Capitol where bodies of criminals are displayed as on the previous day he had done to Sabinus. He is beaten to death at the site, aged 54, and when it is safe Domitian presents himself to the Flavian troops and is hailed as 'Caesar' and escorted to Vespasian's house. The Senate votes all Imperial powers to Vespasian.

Domitian occupies the Palace, which Primus loots at will; Arrius Varus is made the new Praetorian Praefect but Primus effectively rules the capital, and troops are sent out to confront Lucius Vitellius who surrenders and is executed. Lucilius Bassus and Flavian cavalry restore order to Campania, and the Senate votes the consulship to Primus and triumphal honours to Mucianus who sends them a boastful despatch; consul Valerius Asiaticus and praetor Helvidius Priscus, the exiled Stoic victim of Nero and son-in-law of Thræsea Paetus who makes the most of his heroic reputation for standing up to Imperial tyranny, become the leaders of Senate under the new regime.

News of the collapse of Vitellius' army leads to the German armies agreeing to swear allegiance to Vespasian as Primus orders; Primus also sends a message to Civilis who does not abandon his rebellion.

In northern Britain, the pro-Roman Queen Cartimandua of the Brigantes is overthrown in revolt led by her ex-husband Venutius, who she has recently divorced and replaced with her charioteer Vellacatus; she is rescued by Roman troops but Venutius leads the tribe in revolt.

Reign of Vespasian

AD 70

Rome

Vespasian and Titus consuls in absentia.

Mucianus arrives in Rome, and exercises power with considerable arrogance; he has popular young aristocrat Calpurnius Galerianus, one of the Piso dynasty, executed after rumours spread about his ambition, and Vitellius' Praetorian Praefect Priscus and freedman Asiaticus are killed.

January: Domitian takes over from Julius Frontinus as urban praetor to lead the Senate as the senior magistrate in Rome in absence of the

consuls; his modesty at the first meeting after his appointment wins favour, and he arranges restoration of honours to Galba and (not carried out) Piso.

After the successful prosecution of Publius Celer for his vindictive and dishonest case against the senatorial hero Barea Soranus, victim of Nero, in 66, the Senate takes an oath that none of them have contributed to similar persecutions of fellow-Romans, and young Vipstanus Messala defends his half-brother Aquilius Regulus against accusations of ruining Licinius Crassus and Orfitus at the end of Nero's reign. Helvidius Priscus makes threats against the senior senator Eprius Marcellus, consul in 60/1 and prosecutor of Thrasea Paetus, but at the next Senate meeting Domitian and Mucianus both appeal for an effective amnesty and an end to the mutual recriminations over events in the 60s and the threat of retaliation against those who benefited from prosecutions under Nero fades. Marcellus is soon granted the governorship of Asia province.

Mucianus is hindered in his efforts to sort out the question of which veterans of Vitellius' Praetorian Guard should be dismissed to make way for those dismissed earlier who the Flavians have promised reinstatement and re-enrolled during their advance, as those due to be discharged demonstrate at the Camp parade held for their discharge to be announced; their appeals for reprieve soon become more menacing, and he keeps everyone on temporarily before arranging individual retirements according to age.

Vespasian, still at Alexandria due to fear of winter storms at sea, receives envoys from Vologaeses of Parthia with offer of 40,000 troops for his campaign in Italy, but tells him the war is over and asks him to send delegation to Senate to renew the treaty of alliance; he hands over the armies in Judaea to Titus to complete the Jewish war and sets out for Rome, having received complaints of Domitian's unbecoming and autocratic behaviour which Titus asks him to excuse in view of the need for a united family to secure the Empire; **?May** he sets out from Alexandria to Italy, having sent grain ships ahead of him to relieve the shortages there.

Revolt on the lower Rhine

At the news of Vespasian's accession, the troops at Cologne demand a donative from Herdoenius Flaccus and hold riotous festivities in defiance of his authority; he is murdered in bed in a mutiny, and Vocula escapes in disguise but is able to return when the soldiers sober up and assumes command; the First, Fourth and Twenty-Second Legions swear allegiance to Vespasian and follow Vocula on a belated attempt to stop the Chatti raiding Moguntiacum. Meanwhile the news of the fighting and burning in Rome inspires the more warlike Gallic tribes to remember their triumphs in the past against Rome, encouraged by the Druids, and the Treveri (Trier area) tribes plot to join Civilis' revolt under the commander of their auxiliary regiment of Roman cavalry, Julius Classicus (descendant of tribal leaders), with the assistance of Julius Tutor of the Lingones. Vocula has no definite information of what exactly is planned though he is aware of general discontent, and as he tries to relieve Vetera again Classicus and Tutor, in the army, meet Civilis secretly and they lead their men to camp away from the Roman force; Vocula retires to Novaesium and as the rebels approach fails to rouse his panicking men and is murdered by Classicus' agent. Classicus enters the camp dressed as a Roman general and the troops swear allegiance to him, and he moves on with them to Cologne to repeat the exercise with the troops there. Moguntiacum surrenders with the officers fleeing or being killed, and the rebel Civilis proclaims his leadership of a 'Gallic confederacy' and forces the troops cut off in Vetera to surrender and swear allegiance but kills them afterwards.

Civilis secures the defection of the Nervii and Tungri in Roman force defending the crossing of the Maas, and the remaining loyalists there, under Claudius Labeo, flee; Classicus' Treveri officer ally Julius Sabinus as 'Caesar' attacks the Sequani but they remain loyal and resist and he is killed.

Mucianus removes Arrius Varus, one of his rivals, from Praetorian Praefecture and installs Arrecinus Clemens, Titus' father-in-law, who is satisfactory to Domitian; he dares not let the ambitious and headstrong youth near the expeditionary force sent to tackle Civilis, which consists

of the (Flavian veteran) Eighth, Eleventh and Thirteenth, (Vitellian) Twenty-First, and (new) Second Legions under Annius Gallus and Petilius Cerealis. The Fourteenth Legion is summoned from Britain and the Sixth and First from Spain. The Italian force crosses the Alps via the Great and Little St Bernard Passes, and as the Romans approach a Gallic tribal conference called at Rheims rejects the advances of Civilis' agent Julius Valentinus. Roman troops from Rhaetia enter Gaul from the south-east while Civilis is pursuing Claudius Labeo around Belgica and Classicus is idle, and as Cerealis marches down the Rhine the outnumbered rebel general Julius Tutor falls back from Moguntiacum with his Treveri-led army. They are defeated by Sextilius Felix's auxiliary cohorts and break up in disarray, and most of the Treveri return to Roman allegiance as their lands are ravaged.

Cerealis sends reassuring messages to the Gallic communities, and advances quickly to confront Julius Valentinus' rebel force at Rigodulum (Riol) near Trier; their defended camp in village is stormed and Valentinus is captured, and Cerealis enters Trier and pardons the disgraced and demobilized German legionaries who surrendered to Civilis and now turn up at his camp from local internment. Civilis leads his main army to attack Trier, accepting the arguments of Tutor and Classicus to attack before reinforcements arrive, and the large Gallic-Batavian-German force moves in speedily on Cerealis' camp west of the town and catches him by surprise. The Romans are initially driven back in disorder, but the Twenty-First Legion stiffens resistance and the Romans eventually drive the enemy back and storm their camp.

Cerealis beats Civilis in race to Cologne where the residents have murdered their German rebel garrison and are appealing for help, and the British troops under Fabius Priscus land in Belgica and force the rebel Nervii and Tungri to capitulate though a naval attack on the mouth of Rhine is defeated by the Cannifates. Domitian and Mucianus march north from Italy into Gaul, receiving and executing the captured rebel Valentinus en route, and reach Lugdunum to hear of the victory at Trier; reportedly Domitian sends a message to Cerealis trying to

induce him to hand over command of the army on his arrival, which is ignored.

Cerealis advances down the Rhine, and confronts Civilis at Vetera where the rebels are defeated in battle on the river-bank but manage to get away in the rain and dark. Cerealis sends the Fourteenth Legion upriver to assist Annius Gallus in restoring control there, restores the sacked Roman camps downstream from Cologne and encamps his main force in bases around the Batavian Island which the rebels still hold, the Tenth Legion at Arenacium and the Second at Batavodurum upstream (east) of the island and the auxiliaries on the south bank of the Rhine downstream; Civilis launches raids on the auxiliary camps, killing his own pro-Roman nephew Briganticus who is one of the Roman officers there, but Cerealis comes to the rescue and drives the rebels into the river. He crosses the Rhine despite the rebel shipping there and ravages the Batavian island, and Civilis retires to the right (north) bank of the Rhine to join local German tribes with the other rebel fugitives; the autumn rain and floods hamper further action, and Cerealis sends to the refugee rebel leader's German hosts to induce them to hand him over and spare their homeland from further ravaging. As the rebels lose heart, Civilis negotiates his surrender and comes to the River Nabalía (?Ijssel) to meet Cerealis and give in.

Jewish revolt

April/May: Titus arrives at Jerusalem with the Twelfth and Fifteenth Legions, joined by the Fifth and Tenth which detour via Emmaus and Jericho, defeats an unexpectedly fierce sally by the residents as he arrives in which he is nearly killed, and opens the siege with his camp on Mount Scopus; the Jews suspend hostilities with each other and launch an attack over the ravine on the Tenth's camp, driving them back in disorder until Titus comes to the rescue. John of Gischala sneaks his men into the Temple with hidden weapons as Eleazar's Zealots let the citizens in for ceremonies on the Day of Unleavened Bread, and they suddenly turn on the Zealots and drive them out of the Temple which John now garrisons to add to his control of Mount Ophel and

the Lower City. Simon with his refugee Galileans and their Idumean allies (c.10,000 men) hold the Upper City to the west, and the two factions leave the valley between them in ruins.

Titus moves his camps closer to the walls, and starts filling in the valleys and ditches before the walls to bring up his siege engines; his men construct huge towers and battering-rams and have to fight off a sudden Jewish sally to burn them, and on the fifteenth day of siege the outermost northern wall, protecting the 'New City' to the north of the main built-up area, is stormed and demolished. The 'New City' is occupied, and the second northern wall (across the Bezetha suburb and, unlike the outer wall, contingent to the Temple at eastern end) is assaulted with John's faction in the Temple now facing the Romans for the first time. Four days after the first wall falls the second wall is breached, but Titus does not demolish it at once and refrains from destroying the part of the city inside as he hopes to negotiate with the citizens' faction; the Jews sally and drive the Romans back through the streets to retake the wall again.

The defenders celebrate victory, but become overconfident; on the fourth day of constant attacks on the second wall the Romans retake it. Titus parades his entire army for a four-day leisurely distribution of pay to overawe the defenders with the size of his forces and induce a delegation to come out for talks (nothing happens), and on the following day the Romans start to construct siege platforms in front of the Tomb of John Hyrcanus at the western end of the inner northern wall into the Upper City and in front of the Antonia fortress at the eastern end.

Rome

?June: Vespasian reaches Rhodes and progresses across Greece on his leisurely journey to Rome, feted by the locals en route.

Jewish revolt: fall of Jerusalem

The defenders reject Josephus' appeals for surrender to save Jerusalem, and starvation inside the walls turns the factions to frenzied victimization of those suspected of hiding food; John's force tunnels under

the Roman siege platform opposite the Antonia and brings the siege engines down as they advance onto it, and Simon's faction to the west sallies to set fire to the siege engines opposite the main Upper City wall. Titus orders a new wall to be constructed around the entire city to protect the Roman camps and stop sallies reaching the siege works, and inspires his men to do the work in three and a half days. As many of the wealthier citizens who can escape from the city and surrender without being caught by the defenders do so, and report that between 100,000 and 600,000 citizens have already starved to death inside; Josephus is knocked unconscious by a stone while making another appeal to the defenders who celebrate thinking the traitor is dead.

July: With the siege platforms complete, Titus orders assault on the wall of the Antonia, which collapses to the battering-ram to reveal that the defenders have built a second wall inside. He has to rally his dispirited men to attack the unexpected obstacle, and in response to his offer of honours to the first man onto the wall a Syrian called Sabinus manages to reach the top and inspires the rest to think that it can be done. He is killed, but two days later an opportunistic night-time dash by a group of Roman guards catches the Jewish defenders on the wall by surprise and Titus sends in support; the Antonia falls but John's men block the route into the nearby Temple and he turns down an offer relayed by Josephus to come out and fight Titus' troops rather than stay in the sanctuary polluting it.

In response to Titus' appeals for the Jews to abandon the sanctuary which he will leave intact many of the senior priestly families desert to him, but when they are paraded outside to appeal to those left inside to respect the holy place as Titus is doing the defenders pour out to attack them; Titus has siege platforms built around the Temple, and as battles rage with the defenders the latter demolish the colonnaded link from the Antonia to the Temple wall to stop it being used as attack route.

August (Jewish calendar – seventh day of month 'Loos'): The Romans break down gaps in the walls into the Temple's outer courtyard and attack, but the Jews manage to regain control of the colonnades round the Outer Court after a fierce battle; Titus has the gates fired,

and as the blaze spreads to the colonnades and cannot be extinguished he holds a council-of-war with his generals and decides to go ahead with the destruction of the building. The Romans construct a road through the ruins to approach the inner sanctuary during next two days and manage to put out fires, but (**ninth day of 'Loos'**) while they are recuperating before the final attack a Jewish sally into the Outer Court leads to Roman counter-attack. That night a second Jewish sally is repulsed, and the Romans pursue the defenders back to the Sanctuary walls. A soldier throws a burning brand in through a window, and as the Sanctuary burns down Titus is summoned; with the defenders distracted the Romans are able to enter and looting and massacre ensues, the Romans carrying out the sacred vessels before the building collapses. The troops parade their standards at the East Gate and hail Titus as 'Imperator', and Jewish survivors flee into Upper City while a few priests left stranded on a wall eventually come down and are executed.

The defenders of the Upper City, led by Simon, request a parley but Titus tells them that they have exhausted his mercy and refuses their offer to leave in return for their lives; he has the Lower City sacked and burnt. Earthworks are constructed up to the walls, while a surviving Temple priest comes out of hiding to hand over some of the hidden sacred objects that have eluded Roman searches.

September: After 18 days the Roman siege works are complete, and (**eighth day of Jewish month 'Gorpaaios'**) the Romans undermine and storm the walls; the defenders abandon the stronger towers in a vain attempt to drive them back, and the Upper City is sacked and burnt. Titus orders a halt to the killing of those who do not resist, and they are rounded up and penned in the Court of the Women in Temple to be sold as slaves or taken to the triumph in Rome or the Egyptian mines. The Tenth Legion are left in charge of the ruins of Jerusalem, and Titus sends the Twelfth Legion off to Melitene in Asia Minor and takes the Fifth and Fifteenth down to the coast at Caesarea; he marches up to Caesarea Philippi, holding celebratory gladiatorial Games en route (featuring his prisoners); back in Jerusalem Simon emerges from the tunnels under the Temple site a few weeks after the sack to be captured

and taken off to Caesarea en route for the triumph in Rome.

Rome

September/October: Vespasian arrives in Rome for grand public welcome, and takes over the government from Mucianus and Domitian. He assumes the censorship, orders rebuilding of the burnt Capitol to commence and ceremonially carries the first bucket of earth from the site himself, and plans organized rebuilding of sites in central Rome not yet repaired after the Great Fire. The 'Golden House' site is to be restored to public use to show the new dynasty's civic priorities after Nero's greed and selfishness, and a magnificent new amphitheatre (the 'Flavian Amphitheatre', informally known as the Colosseum) is to dominate the site with new public baths (later called after Titus who completes them) to the east. The Temple of Claudius is restored, and Vespasian reimposes all the taxes that have been remitted by Nero and Galba and cancels their exemptions to favoured communities to help pay for the reconstruction work in Rome and elsewhere. Provincial tribute is also increased, and new taxes reputedly include one on public conveniences.

24 October: Titus celebrates Domitian's birthday with Games; he marches on to Beyrutus and **17 November** holds more Games there on Vespasian's birthday. He proceeds to Antioch, and goes to Zeugma on the Euphrates for a meeting with Parthian representatives who present him with a golden crown. Domitian marries his mistress Domitia Longina, daughter of Corbulo and ex-wife of Lucius Aelius Lamia, one of the women he has been consorting with at his favourite new villa at Alba Longa; he possibly rejects initial dynastic plan that he should marry the divorced Titus' elder daughter Julia (then aged about 11).

AD 71 Consuls: Vespasian and Titus; Domitian suffect consul.

Spring: Titus marches back down the Levantine coast, visiting the site of Jerusalem en route, to Egypt, leaving Caesennius Paetus in command of Syria; he sends the Fifth Legion back to Moesia and the Fifteenth Legion to Pannonia, and selects 700 of the most physically

impressive Jewish captives to parade at his triumph with John of Gischala and Simon. He sails back to Italy, and is welcomed to Rome by his father with a formal entry and grand public reception.

Vespasian and Titus celebrate their triumph for their campaigns together, starting with a formal thanksgiving reception at the Portico of Octavia where the troops hail the commanders before they proceed to the usual City gate for triumphal entries and mount horses to lead the parade through the city; the Temple treasures have pride of place in the loot paraded through the streets of Rome, and the procession ends at the Temple of Jupiter on Capitol for the execution of Simon as the chief rebel in the nearby state dungeon. Banquets follow, and the Jewish prisoners are then used at the gladiatorial Games; the Arch of Titus over the Via Sacra at entrance to Forum is commissioned to celebrate and depict the triumph.

Titus becomes his father's Praetorian Praefect and effective chief of security; **1 July** he is also granted Imperial proconsular and tribunician powers as legally fully co-ruler.

Petilius Cerealis is sent to Britain as the new governor, principally to fight the rebel Brigantes.

Cerealis Vetilianus, commander of the Tenth Legion and de facto governor of Judaea, is replaced by Lucilius Bassus as the new governor; he starts attacks on the few outlying strongholds that Jewish rebels still hold, mostly in the wilderness south-east of Jerusalem, with the siege of Herodium which surrenders.

Vespasian orders that the Jews are now to pay their annual Temple tax to Rome.

?Helvidius Priscus, the Stoic philosopher and victim of Nero, is exiled again for ostentatious boycotting of official business as a senator and other acts calculated to show defiance of the new regime; he is subsequently executed in exile on allegations of participation in a plot.

AD 72 Consuls: Vespasian and Titus.

Petilius Cerealis puts down the Brigantian revolt in Britain; Venutius is expelled or killed and no new client-king is allowed.

Jewish revolt

Lucilius Bassus in Judaea besieges the mountain-top fortress and town of Machaerus; he has the ravine to east filled in to bring siege engines up to the walls, but the defenders of fortress offer to surrender after one of their leaders, Eleazar, is captured and threatened with crucifixion and begs them to give in; some of the townsfolk plan to break out and escape to fight on before the surrender is carried out but are betrayed to the Romans and as they start attack the Romans retaliate and get into the town; 1,700 men are massacred and the women and children enslaved, but Bassus keeps to his agreement with the garrison.

Rome

Caesennius Paetus of Syria denounces King Antiochus of Commagene for supposed secret agreement with Parthia, hoping to have his lands seized; he anticipates Vespasian's reply and attacks Commagene suddenly with the Sixth Legion and local Syrian rulers Aristobulus of Chalcidice and Sohaemus of Emesa, and Antiochus is caught unawares and abandons his capital Samosata which is occupied; he intends to abandon kingdom and retire to Cilicia, but his more warlike sons Epiphanes and Callinicus insist on fighting Paetus and after losing a day's battle they flee to Parthia; Antiochus is arrested in Cilicia and sent to Rome in chains, but en route Vespasian's message ordering his release is received and he is allowed to stay at Sparta; Rome negotiates the surrender of his sons, who return from Parthia after a promise of safety and join their father in Rome.

?Vespasian annexes Lesser Armenia.

Jewish revolt: Masada

Lucilius Bassus dies, and is succeeded in Judaea by Flavius Silva; he marches against the last Jewish stronghold to resist, the rock fortress of Masada on the west shore of the Dead Sea which is occupied by the Sicarii under Eleazar son of Jairus. The rock is surrounded with a wall to prevent sorties and a ramp is built to enable siege engines to cross the intervening ravine to the walls; the engines destroy the main wall,

but it collapses to reveal that the defenders have been building another wall inside it. As that wall is mainly of wood the Romans set fire to it, and the defenders fail to put the fire out due to the wind. Facing imminent attack, Eleazar leads his followers (c. 960) in mass suicide but two women and five children remain in hiding until the Romans enter.

AD 73

Rome

Consuls: Domitian and Catullus Messalinus.

?**Summer:** Escaped Sicarii agitators try to rally or intimidate the Jewish community in Egypt into revolt, but the leadership has them rounded up for fear of Roman vengeance; governor Lupus reports it to Vespasian who orders the closure of local Jewish 'Temple of Onias' at Heliopolis.

Cnaeus Cornelius Clemens, governor of Upper Germany, annexes the Black Forest salient between the Rhine and Danube, the *Agri Decumates*, to produce easier communications between the Roman garrisons of Germany and Rhaetia.

AD 74 Consuls: Vespasian and Titus.

Julius Frontinus becomes governor of Britain and annexes the remainder of the Silurian lands in south Wales, founding legionary headquarters for the Second Legion at Caerleon, during the next few years. ?'Latin rights' of citizenship are granted to all of Spain. ?Construction of the Flavian Amphitheatre in Rome commences on the site of the 'Golden House'.

AD 75 Consuls: Vespasian and Titus; Domitian suffect consul.

A horde of Alans descends through the Caspian passes into Iberia (Georgia), and goes on to attack Parthia; Vespasian sends troops to Iberia to assist King Mithridates and they set up base at Harmozica (Tbilisi), but does not respond to a request for aid from Vologaeses of Parthia; ?Domitian vainly bribes various eastern client-kings to appeal to Vespasian to let him lead army to assist Vologaeses.

Building of Temple of Pax (Peace) in the new Forum of Vespasian (to the east of main Forum).

Rutilius Gallicus and Vestricius Spurinna campaign across the lower Rhine against the Bructeri.

AD 76 Consuls: Vespasian and Titus.

24 January: Birth of the future Emperor Hadrian, son of Publius Aelius Hadrianus Afer and Domitia Paulina, at Italica in Spain; his parents are from an émigré Italian colonist family and his father is cousin to the future Emperor Trajan. Marcus Ulpius Trajanus (senior), father of the future Emperor and a former lieutenant of Vespasian in the Judaeen campaign, becomes governor of Syria (to 79). Titus' ex-mistress Queen Berenice visits Rome with her brother Julius Agrippa, amid rumours that she is angling for marriage to him; this link to an eastern queen would damage the Flavian reputation for restoring traditional Roman virtue and morals, and she is seen by critics as a potential 'Cleopatra'. Titus sends her home.

AD 77 Consuls: Vespasian and Titus; Domitian suffect consul.

Cnaeus Domitius Agricola, a talented general who has previously served as an officer in Britain and father-in-law of the future historian Cornelius Tacitus (his later biographer), is also suffect consul.

AD 78 (or late 77)

Cnaeus Julius Agricola becomes governor of Britain; **?August** late in the campaigning season, he arrives and starts campaigns against the Ordovices in north Wales to reduce them to obedience and suppress their (?client-) kingdom after a recent ambush of a Roman cavalry cohort.

He extends direct Roman rule to all the lands south of the Trent–Mersey line, and probably founds new coastal bases including Segontium (Caernarfon). He then starts the conquest of the Brigantes (Yorkshire) and establishes a network of forts to either side of the Pennines, linked by and to the main road system. The first year's campaigning (?78)

probably ends with Roman troops established on the line of the Tyne and Solway Firth and the building of the first road across the line of the later Hadrian's Wall, the 'Stanegate', to link the coasts and the new military bases – Luguwallium (Carlisle), at the western end, and Corstopitum (Corbridge, Northumberland) in the centre-east.

In the settled area of Britain, Agricola encourages the building of towns and new public works to 'Romanize' the British tribes and keep their menfolk occupied – though the laudatory Tacitus' account may give him the sole credit for a policy commenced by Frontinus.

?Death of (St) Linus, second Bishop of Rome and successor to Peter, after a 12-year rule according to later tradition; he is succeeded by Anacletus.

Parthia

Death of Vologaeses after a rare long (28-year) reign; succeeded by Pacorus.

AD 79

Rome

Consuls: Vespasian and Titus.

Conspiracy in Rome against the Flavians, involving the former Neronian prosecutor Epius Marcellus and the ex-Vitellian general Caecina; a speech Caecina has written for an inflammatory address to the troops is handed to Titus, and Marcellus is forced to commit suicide. Caecina is invited to dinner with Titus and immediately executed.

Agricola establishes permanent forts on the line from the Tyne to the Solway, and advances to conquer the Novantae (Galloway) and the Selgovae and Votadini (Lothian) to bring Roman power as far as the Firth of Forth.

Vespasian falls ill on a visit to Campania, and returns to Rome; he goes on to Cutiliae in his home area of the Sabine countryside, where he falls seriously ill after taking cold baths and takes to his bed at the family villa in Reate where he was born.

23 June: Death of Vespasian, aged 69; Titus succeeds aged 39, and

has his father deified. Rumour has it that he suppresses Vespasian's will in order to counter his father's intention that Domitian should share the Imperial powers.

Reign of Titus

Rome

Titus demonstrates public munificence and clemency to win support and reassure the Senate and people (and disappoint his critics) after the harsh reputation he has earned as a general, and refuses to listen to informers; he has the latter rounded up, flogged and banished.

24 August: Following a lesser initial eruption of Mount Vesuvius which has led to partial evacuation of nearby towns and some minor earth-tremors, a catastrophic second eruption with a cloud of poisonous gas destroys Pompeii and Herculaneum which are buried under a shower of ash; the naturalist/scientist/author Caius Plinius (Pliny 'the Elder'), 56-year-old commander of the fleet at Misenum, refuses to leave the area and personally takes his ships along the coast to pick up escapees; he is watching the eruption at sea despite the danger when his ship is caught in the second eruption. He is among thousands of casualties of the cloud of poisonous gas; his money and name pass to his sister's son, the 17 or 18-year-old Caius Caecilius of Comum (Como), later known as Pliny 'the Younger', who is at Misenum at the time of the disaster and soon starts training as a lawyer specializing in inheritance. Titus energetically organizes relief-measures and sets up a commission of leading citizens to implement them.

?Titus marries his daughter Julia, aged about 20, to the grandson of his late uncle Sabinus (killed in 69), Flavius Sabinus, the next male heir after Domitian, and makes her 'Augusta'.

Parthia

Pacorus of Parthia is deposed by his rival Artabanus, but is restored within a year or so.

AD 80***Rome***

Consuls: Titus and Domitian; Quintus Paotomeius becomes the first African to be granted (suffect) consulship.

Agricola probably finishes the conquest of the Novantae in Ayrshire, defeats the Damnonii, and crosses the Forth to campaign as far as the Tay, now fighting the tribes of the 'Caledonian' confederacy (the third campaigning season of his governorship).

A disastrous fire on the Campus Martius in Rome burns for three days and nights and destroys the Pantheon and Baths of Agrippa and spreads to the Capitol and to the Palatine, damaging the Imperial Palace there; Titus sells his own property at the Flavian family's country villas to aid in raising funds for the homeless.

?Terentius Maximus, a pretender claiming to be Nero to stir up rebellion in the eastern provinces where the Hellenophile tyrant is remembered more fondly than in Rome, is driven to take sanctuary across the Euphrates in Parthia with sub-king Artabanus.

AD 81 January: Marcus Ulpius Trajanus (junior), the future Emperor, serves as quaestor in Rome.

?Agricola constructs a line of forts on isthmus between the Forth and Clyde to mark the current limit of the Roman annexation and fights tribes in eastern Scotland from his new military base at Carpow on the Tay estuary; first work starts on a new legionary headquarters at Inchtuthill.

Titus celebrates the opening of the Flavian Amphitheatre with grand gladiatorial Games and naval displays, in which 5,000 animals are killed in staged hunts in one day; he apparently suffers from some sort of depression which is noticeable from his outbreak of weeping on the last day of the festivities.

Summer: Titus takes the waters in Campania but either is or becomes seriously ill; he collapses with a fever at a posting-station and is taken in a litter to his Sabine birthplace, his father's house at Reate. The cause is uncertain, but more likely to be malaria or some other infection than

the poisoning with which Domitian is subsequently rumoured to be involved – Suetonius does not refer to the claim but Cassius Dio in the 220s claims it was common rumour. Dio claims that Domitian had his brother given some ice to hasten his end.

13 September: Titus dies in the family villa at Reate, aged 40; Domitian succeeds, aged nearly 30, having left his brother before he died to go straight to the Praetorian Guard camp to administer the oath of loyalty and issue a donative. The Senate meets to deify Titus, but snubs Domitian by not ratifying his accession immediately.

14 September: The Senate votes Imperial powers to Domitian, and the 'Arval Brothers' priesthood sacrifice in his honour.

Reign of Domitian

Rome

Domitian designates Flavius Sabinus, grandson of his uncle Sabinus and his nearest male relative, as his fellow-consul for January 82. It is possible that Domitian has, as is rumoured, an affair with his niece Julia, Sabinus' wife and Titus' daughter, as later sources Suetonius and Dio allege.

Photius Pegasus, leading jurisconsultant and ex-governor of Dalmatia, is appointed Praefect of Rome; Lucius Julius Ursus, a distant Flavian cousin (first cousin of Titus' wife Arrecina, and nephew to the wife of the former Praetorian Praefect Clemens) is made Praetorian Praefect.

AD 82 January: Domitian and Flavius Sabinus consuls.

Domitian visits Gaul, and (?or spring 83) proceeds to the Rhine to launch attack on the Chatti; he constructs military roads across their territory in the Taunus area and claims victory, probably meaning his advance of the frontier to ease military communications south-east from the Rhine at Moguntiacum towards the Upper Danube.

?Autumn: Execution of Flavius Sabinus, possibly with a number of other leading nobles as indicated by Eusebius (early fourth century) for

some time after 1 October 82; Sabinus' widow Julia takes up residence in the Imperial Palace, and Dio indicates that her alleged affair with Domitian was rumoured from their co-residency before the Chatti war in 83. It would appear that Domitian now regards Sabinus' brother Titus Flavius Clemens, who is married to his niece Flavia Domitilla (daughter of his sister by Quintus Petillius Cerealis Caesius Rufus), and their sons as his heirs.

?Domitian divorces his wife Domitia Longina for affair with the actor Paris, but later takes her back; Praetorian Praefect Julius Ursus, who helped to dissuade him from the divorce and is resented for apparent criticism of Domitian's exaggerating the scale of his German victories, is replaced in the next year or so by Praefect of Egypt Liberius Maximus who serves jointly with Cornelius Fuscus.

?Domitian executes three of the six Vestal Virgins for adultery and exiles their lovers.

?Grandiose rebuilding of the Imperial Palace on the Palatine commences, with a new eastern-style audience-hall.

?Exile of Domitian's freedman financial secretary Tiberius Julius, already aged in his late seventies, for corruption; replaced by Atticus.

The fifth season of Agricola's campaigns in Britain, dominated by war against the Caledonians in the Highlands; the Roman advance across lower-lying territory as far as Caithness and despatch of a fleet round Britain to the western coast of Scotland are probably dateable to this time. Temporary 'marching forts' are constructed along the advance route to the Ness.

AD 83 Consuls: Domitian and Quintus Petillius Rufus, son of his sister (by her second marriage) and thus Flavia Domitilla's half-brother.

Domitian holds a triumph for his Chatti campaign, exaggerating his victory to place himself on a par with his heroic father and brother and taking the title 'Germanicus'.

Agricola defeats a coalition of the Caledonian tribes, led by 'Calgacus' ('Swordsman'), in battle at the hill of Mons Graupius, somewhere in the Highlands (?Aberdeenshire): the larger British army, possibly around

20,000-strong, charge downhill at the compact Roman force and try to envelop them, but Agricola's experienced Batavian and German infantry tackle the main line of fighters head on while the cavalry deal with the chariots. The Roman cavalry wings drive back the British flank-attack which is trying to surround the Roman infantry, and surround the British instead; the latter are driven back with c. 10,000 casualties, and next day the British army is found to have dispersed; many escape into the hills. The main resistance is broken but the British hide out in forests and marshes and the Romans do not have enough men to garrison the area. The new legionary fortress at Inchtuil on the River Tay is probably used as the centrepiece of intended occupation of the lowlands of eastern Scotland as far as Buchan or Inverness.

Domitian apparently expels 'philosophers', possibly including Greek Stoics who criticize his monarchical pomp and autocratic manner, and astrologers from Rome.

AD 84 Domitian starts to concentrate troops on the Lower Danube for intended campaign across the river from Moesia against the threats of the Sarmatians (Iazyges and Roxelani) who have recently raided the province and killed governor Fonteius Agrippa; he also intends action across the river upstream, from Pannonia against the Suebi (Marcomanni and Quadi). This leads to the cancellation of intended occupation of the north-east of Scotland as the first drafts of men leave Agricola's army for the Danube, and abandonment of Agricola's plan for a naval expedition to Ireland; Tacitus complains later that Britain is let go as soon as it has been conquered; in fact the western Highlands are never conquered though their tribes may have offered tribute. The new Roman bases around the Tay are maintained for the moment, but are evacuated within the next few years.

Domitian holds a conference of leading military figures at his favourite villa at Alba Longa, which he is extending into a country palace, to plan the Danube campaign.

Winter: The Dacians, under leadership of ?Diorpaenus, raid across the Danube into Moesia and kill governor Oppius Sabinus.

Late (?or 85): Recall of Agricola from Britain; the suspicious Domitian gives him triumphal ornaments for his victories but does not give him the expected prestige governorship of Asia or Syria. Sallustius Lucullus succeeds Agricola in Britain.

AD 85 Consuls: Domitian and Titus Aurelius Fulvus, a senator from Nemausus (Nîmes) in Gaul and former commander of the Third Gallican Legion (and grandfather of Emperor Antoninus Pius).

Herennius Pollio, son-in-law of the eponymous son of late Stoic philosopher Helvidius Priscus, is made suffect consul.

Domitian and Praetorian Praefect Cornelius Fuscus lead expedition to the Danube to aid the restoration of frontier in Moesia; the Dacians are still raiding within the province, probably led by their new king Decebalus, and send overtures for peace which Domitian rejects. He sends Fuscus to drive them out and achieves victory; **?Late summer:** he returns to Rome and claims his tenth and eleventh salutations as 'Imperator' for the successes.

Difficulties with raising funds for the Danube campaigns leads to heavier taxes and the devaluation of the currency.

?At some time around now, Domitian's niece Julia dies and he has her deified.

AD 86 Consuls: Domitian and Cornelius Dolabella.

Trajan (Marcus Ulpius Trajanus, junior) serves as praetor in Rome (or possibly 85).

Domitian celebrates his triumph over the Dacians.

The Nasamones, a desert tribe living in Libya south-east of Leptis Magna, refuse to pay Roman taxes and kill tax collectors sent to their territory; a Roman force sent to suppress their coalition of tribes is defeated, but they become careless after victory and are later put down by Cnaeus Suellius Flaccus and the Third Augustan Legion.

Early summer: Domitian holds the first 'Capitoline Games' in Rome, a grand series of entertainments including chariot racing and athletic and poetic/musical/oratory competitions in the Greek tradition of

Nero's Games. A new *Odeum* for the musical/poetry competitions and a Stadium for athletic competitions are built in the Campus Martius at vast expense, and there are competitions in both Latin and Greek languages. Competitors come from all over the Roman world, and Domitian presides in a purple cloak and a crown bearing images of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva; the senior City priests help him do the judging.

Summer: Cornelius Fuscus raids Dacia in retaliation for the invasion of Moesia, using a bridge of boats across the Danube, and is killed; Domitian has to return to Moesia where he breaks up the province into two halves, retaining governor Cornelius Nigrinus in 'Lower (East) Moesia' and granting 'Upper (West) Moesia' to Lucius Funisulanus Vettonianus who is transferred from neighbouring Pannonia. Three more legions are brought into Moesia – the Fourth (Flavia) from Dalmatia, the First (Adiutrix) from Germany, and the Second (Adiutrix) from Britain. The probable abandonment of Inchtutil in Scotland and the compensatory erection of the 'Triumphal Arch' at Rutupiae (Richborough) commemorating the conquest of all Britain occur over the next year or so; the Forth–Clyde line becomes the Roman northern frontier.

19 September: Birth of the future Emperor Antoninus Pius, son of Aurelius Fulvus from Nemausus (Nîmes) in Gaul, at Lanuvium in Latium.

AD 87 Domitian returns to Rome (or late 86) to plan invasion of Dacia, possibly abandoning his own intended leadership of an attack that year due to rumours of conspiracy at Rome and due to his insecurity not leaving the capital to lead the campaign in 88 either.

13 January: Domitian allows a suffect consulship to Caius Calpurnius Crassus Frugi, senior aristocratic descendant of Pompeius and Crassus, grandson of the Marcus Licinius Crassus executed by Claudius in 47, and nephew of the Piso Calpurnianus who was Galba's murdered heir in 69 – an illustration that Domitian trusted some senior aristocrats with a potential Imperial claim despite his reputation for paranoia.

September: Apparent plot against Domitian in Rome, details

unknown; a thanksgiving sacrifice is held by the 'Arval Brothers'. The plot may be connected to the execution of Domitian's wife Domitia's ex-husband Aelius Lamia and other prominent citizens some time in the mid-80s, and to the replacement of the City Praefect Marcus Arrecinus Clemens (Titus' wife's brother).

AD 88

?Spring: Vettonianus is replaced by Tettius Julianus, who leads invasion of Dacia across the Danube from Viminacium north-east into modern Transylvania.

Summer: Domitian celebrates the Ludi Saeculares in Rome with his accustomed pomp and showmanship.

(<**September**) In the eighth year of Domitian's reign according to Suetonius, another false Nero travels around the Eastern provinces seeking support and takes refuge in Parthia; Domitian forces King Pacorus to surrender him for execution. The crisis may well be linked to the removal and precipitate execution of Caius Vetulenus Civicus Cerealis, governor of Asia, presumably for suspicious inactivity in not suppressing the plot sooner. Extra troops are apparently sent to Publius Valerius Patruenus, governor of Syria – presumably to intimidate Pacorus into handing the pretender over.

Autumn: Julianus' expedition defeats the Dacians at Tapae; Domitian is hailed as 'Imperator' for the sixteenth and seventeenth times for his general's victories in Dacia.

AD 89 1 January: Lucius Antonius Saturninus, governor of Upper Germany and suffect consul in 82, seizes the treasury of the Fourteenth (Gemina) and Twenty-First (Rapax) Legions at Moguntiacum and revolts against Domitian, supported by these two legions and apparently with assistance from the Chatti. Aulus Busius Lappius Maximus, governor of Lower Germany and suffect consul in September 86, is ordered against him while Domitian leads the Praetorian Guard from Rome and the Seventh (Gemina) Legion is summoned from Tarraconensis in Spain under its commander Trajan.

The other two legions in Upper Germany, the Eighth (Augusta) at Strasbourg and the Eleventh (Claudia) at Windisch, remain loyal.

(<29 January) A thaw in the frozen Rhine stops the Chatti crossing to aid Saturninus, and Busius attacks and defeats his rebel army somewhere near Bonn; Moguntiacum is retaken, though Busius purportedly destroys incriminating letters from sympathizers (in Rome?) to Saturninus found in the rebel's papers; when Domitian arrives the surviving conspirators are tortured to death, and possibly the Emperor undertakes some sort of purge of suspects in Rome. Busius is rewarded with the governorship of Syria.

?Spring: Domitian attacks and defeats the Chatti, and imposes a treaty on them; he hears of intended revolt by the Suebi so he goes to the Danube to call off the invasion of Dacia and achieve a peace treaty with the Dacian king Decebalus who he recognizes as ruler and sends a diadem as a supposedly dependent ally as Nero did with the Armenian kingdom; Saturninus' two rebel legions are transferred to the Danube. Domitian accuses the Suebian tribes of the Marcomanni and Quadi of breaching the terms of their alliance with Rome by not sending him aid against the Dacians, invades their territory, ravages it and executes an embassy sent to negotiate; he imposes his own terms and withdraws back over the Danube.

November: Domitian celebrates his Dacian and German triumphs in Rome.

?Domitian executes governor Sallustius Lucullus of Britain for naming his newly invented spear shafts 'Lucullans' and thus claiming undue personal prominence with possible political intentions. This incident cannot be precisely dated though it occurs some time in the mid to late 80s; the campaign for which Lucullus designed the spearheads was probably in Caledonia and may be connected with Domitian's award of military crowns for a British victory to Caius Julius Karus, possibly Lucullus' legionary commander in the land retained around the Forth.

AD 90 Consuls: Domitian and Marcus Cocceius Nerva (the future Emperor).

?Domitian receives the tribal leader and chief priestess of the Semnones, a German Suebic tribe from northern Bohemia who are resentful of the Marcomanni and Quadi dominating the Suebic tribal coalition, in Rome as his allies.

AD 91 Consuls: Trajan (Marcus Ulpius Trajanus, junior) and Manlius Acilius Glabrio. Pliny 'the Younger' serves as tribune, two or three years after serving as quaestor.

Glabrio, son of one of Domitian's close advisers and a skilled amateur huntsman, is reputedly summoned by the jealous Emperor to his villa at Alba Longa soon after his consulship and forced to fight a lion, but to Domitian's disappointment wins; he is soon exiled for plotting revolution and some time later is executed for 'atheism' (possibly as a Christian).

Domitian executes the Chief Vestal Cornelia for adultery, and has her lover Celer flogged to death in the Forum Romanum according to ancient law.

?Death of Anacletus, third Bishop of Rome; succeeded by Clement.

AD 92

Quintus Arulenus Rusticus (who is to be executed in 93), Stoic pupil of the late 'opposition' figure Thrasea Paetus, who as a tribune tried to save his master from condemnation in 66, is granted suffect consulship despite this potentially suspect background.

Spring: Following the offer of help to Domitian from the Lugii, hostile neighbours of the anti-Roman Sarmatian tribes, a new campaign over the Danube is organized.

May: Domitian leaves Rome to lead the attack; his general Velleius Rufus, with troops from nine legions, crosses the Danube around the Belgrade area, and traverses the lands of Roman ally Decebalus in Dacia to attack the Sarmatian tribe of the Iazyges (eastern Hungary, between the Danube and the Theiss) in the rear from the east. A legion, probably the Twenty-First (Rapax), is destroyed in battle and the campaign evidently does not meet with the intended success; ?Trajan is among

the commanders in the expedition, becoming governor of Pannonia afterwards.

Peace is concluded with the Sarmatians, on what terms is unknown.

December (or January 93): Domitian returns to Rome, but only holds an ovation not a full triumph amid some literary derision of his supposed successes in the Danube area; this criticism may have helped to stimulate the Emperor's paranoia and cause a purge of real or suspected political opponents which soon commences, informers capitalizing on Domitian's fears to make up stories about prominent citizens.

AD 93

Pliny serves as praetor.

Domitian purges a number of aristocratic suspects.

23 August: Execution or forced suicide of Agricola on trumped-up charges brought by informers, due largely to Domitian's jealousy of his military reputation and potential as an opponent. After this event a number of aristocrats linked to the 'Stoic opposition' to Nero are arrested and tried for making derogatory remarks about the Flavian family – Herennius Senecio for a eulogy of the late Stoic philosopher (and Flavian victim) Helvidius Priscus; ex-consul Quintus Arulenus Rusticus for a eulogy of Stoic philosopher (and Neronian victim) Thrasea Paetus; Helvidius Priscus' eponymous son for a satirical play ridiculing Domitian and his wife Domitia in the guise of the Trojan hero Paris and his wife Oenone; Arulenus' brother Junius Mauricus and wife Gratilla; and Annia and Fannia, mother and daughter and the wives of Paetus and Priscus senior.

(Arulenus and Mauricus are friends of Pliny, who observes their victimization at close hand.)

Herennius, Arulenus and Priscus are executed and the others are exiled with their property being seized. The numbers of known victims of this series of trials seems to have been small, but it is clear that Domitian is by now unable to cope with any criticism and that informers are taking advantage of the general atmosphere of fear in higher social circles in Rome.

Domitian, as censor, expels Caecilius Rufinus from the Senate for acting and dancing in public as demeaning to his status.

?Death of Julius Agrippa, ruler of Chalcis and last of the dynasty of Herod, aged probably around 65; his kingdom is annexed.

AD 94 Pliny serves as praefect of the Military Treasury in Rome, for next two years.

At around this date, Domitian appoints Publius Metellus Celer as governor of Britain.

AD 95 Domitian consul with Titus Flavius Clemens, his cousin (the younger grandson of Vespasian's elder brother Flavius Sabinus) and the younger brother of the executed Flavius Sabinus; it appears that Clemens' two elder sons (by Domitian's niece Domitilla), Vespasian and Domitian, who are now being tutored by the eminent jurist Quintilianus, are intended as Domitian's successors.

>**1 May**: Soon after the end of Domitian and Clemens' consulship, the latter is arrested and executed for 'atheism' (Dio) and his wife Domitilla is exiled to the island of Pandateria; it is possible that the Christian tradition that the pair were Christian converts is correct. Later tradition also names Domitilla's Christian eunuch servants Nereus and Achilleus among martyrs, but no specific 'persecution' of Christians is probable. Domitian is also supposed to have had the troops in Judaea round up surviving members of the royal 'House of David' and bring them to Rome for interrogation in case they are a political threat, but released them as they are ordinary citizens with no wealth or political ambition.

?Third Pannonian war, involving a campaign against the Sarmatians – possibly the Iazyges – which was probably led by Lucius Aconius Statura, later commemorated by Trajan.

AD 96 Consuls: Valens and Vetus.

Late summer: A plot is formed against Domitian, apparently inspired by his increasing number of executions among the aristocracy

(particularly of Clemens in 95), arrogance, and rigorous financial policy; Dio claims that Domitian's wife Domitia and Praetorian Praefects Petronius Secundus and Norbanus were aware of the plotters' intentions and let the attack go ahead out of fear for their own safety. The actual plot is led or organized by his senior chamberlain Parthenius, and includes the 'petitions secretary' Entellus, chamberlain Sigerius, and a number of other household servants. Domitian's exiled niece Domitilla's steward Stephanus is said by Suetonius to have been the prime mover in the actual attack out of revenge for his mistress' exile and Clemens' execution, providing the dagger for assault which he had smuggled into the Palace under bandages on his arm. It is also possible that Domitia inspires the attack after discovering the list of future victims that her husband has drawn up and warning Parthenius, the Praefects and others who are on it.

18 September: Domitian discovers that someone has removed the dagger that he keeps under his pillow (Parthenius according to Dio). Later in the day Stephanus goes into his bedroom while he is resting after lunch and stabs him, and other conspirators join in but loyal servants rush to the rescue and Stephanus is killed in the struggle; Domitian is killed, aged 44. The Senate meets on news of the attack and jubilantly votes the *damnatio memoriae* for Domitian, ordering the destruction of his statues; that evening they elect as his successor his senior courtier Marcus Cocceius Nerva, aged 60, who according to Dio was informed of the attack beforehand by the conspirators and accepted promise of the throne when others refused out of fear that it was a trick by informers. Nerva arrives at the meeting as Parthenius assures him that Domitian is dead, though his friend Arrius Antoninus warns him of the dangers and inconveniences of power; the Praetorians noisily demonstrate about the regicide and demand Domitian's deification, but are addressed by their Praefects and quieted with a donative.

The Guard are placated over their enmity to Domitian's definite and suspected murderers by the removal of Praefects Petronius and Norbanus and the restoration of the popular Casperius Alienus; the citizens of Rome are given a donative too, of perhaps 75 *denarii* each.

Reign of Nerva

Rome

The Senate cancels some of Domitian's more oppressive laws, and releases or recalls imprisoned and exiled aristocrats; an air of recrimination pervades the Senate as those who sought to curry favour with him or gain advantage by bringing charges against suspected dissidents are accused, and a number of Domitian's assistants in the 'terror' of early 90s are put on trial. Pliny brings a charge against ex-praetor Publicius Certus, and some Imperial 'Court' figures and members of Domitian's household are executed for their role in their master's crimes. The jurist Tiberius Catus Fronto complains that the reaction to Domitian's repression is worse than his original crimes.

Now or in 97, Nerva arranges a number of populist measures to assist poorer citizens, including the foundation of new Italian 'colonies' to settle landless citizens, an agrarian law to allot land valued at 60 million sesterces to the poor, and probably the foundation of an *alimenta* ('alimentary') system for poor-relief by providing loans based on the value of local estates to finance the grant of annual sums for subsidies to the children of poorer families.

The capital's water and grain supplies are reorganized and improved, taxes are reduced, and praetors rather than Imperial procurators take charge of settling disputes between citizens and the treasury to secure a fairer outcome. Provincial tribute is reduced, and abuses in the collection of the extra 'Temple tax' from Jews – for the treasury since Vespasian's time – are corrected so that only properly observant Jews are taxed.

Nerva turns over Domitian's Palace on the Palatine for public accommodation, but completes his more useful public works in the capital such as the new *Forum Transitorium* next to the Forum of Vespasian; new Games are instituted and the Circus Maximus is extended. To help finance these measures the late Emperor's private and public property is auctioned off and his statues are melted down and the gold and silver in them donated to the treasury; a five-man commission investigates possible further financial savings.

AD 97 Nerva consul with Verginius Rufus, the popular general commanding in Lower Germany who put down Vindex in 68 and was considered as a candidate for the throne but removed by his successful rival Galba (he is now over 80 years old). The suffect consuls include Nerva's friend Arrius Antoninus, father of the later Emperor Antoninus Pius.

?Trajan becomes governor of Upper Germany.

Some months into the new reign, Nerva orders that there are to be no more prosecutions of Domitian's persecutors without proper legal process and promises the Senate that no senator will be executed without a full trial; the charge of *maiestas* (treason) is abolished again.

The governor of Syria, probably Marcus Cornelius Nigrinus, is replaced with some haste by a special legate, Aulus Lartius Priscus the commander of the Fourth (Scythian) Legion, after rumours of his Imperial ambitions; Nigrinus is probably the powerful friend of Domitian's disgraced ally Certus who Pliny was warned might take his revenge for the latter's prosecution of Certus if he became Emperor.

Calpurnius Crassus, consul in 87, is suspected of conspiracy; Nerva daringly invites him to sit beside him at the Games and gives him a sword to show his lack of concern, and Crassus is shamed into confessing. He and his wife are exiled to Tarraco in Spain.

Summer: Praetorian Praefect Casperius Alienus assists the resentment of his men that Domitian's assassins are going around unpunished, and either causes or joins in an angry demonstration at the Camp demanding justice. The Praefect leads the Guards on the Palace, and Nerva comes out to meet them and is ordered to have the assassins arrested and executed; he refuses and offers his throat to the Guards, saying that he would rather die than have his authority misused, but they ignore him and Casperius threatens him into signing the orders for the arrests. Ex-Praefect Petronius is executed, and the ringleader Parthenius is castrated and strangled. Nerva is forced to deliver public thanks to the Guard for revenging Domitian's death on the 'traitors', and after this humiliation considers abdication but decides to use his childlessness to adopt a powerful but reliable military figure as his heir.

Autumn: Nerva receives a laurel wreath from the Danube armies' commander(s) with the announcement of the end of the successful Suebic campaign; he goes to dedicate it at the Temple of Jupiter on Capitol, and announces that he is adopting Trajan as his son and heir; he then announces the adoption from the Rostra in the Forum. Trajan is duly informed, with his (recently fatherless) cousin and legal ward Hadrian, aged 21 and a junior officer with the Fifth (Macedonian) Legion on the Danube, chosen to take those armies' congratulations to the new 'Caesar' who duly transfers him to the Twenty-Second (*Primigenia Pia Fidelis*) Legion at Moguntiacum.

Nerva sends Trajan a diamond ring as symbol of his power, though the adoption does not formally make him heir to the throne as well as to his personal property and he does not yet receive the proconsular and tribunician powers as 'co-ruler'; they both assume the title 'Germanicus' for the Suebic victory and Trajan is hailed as 'Imperator'. Late in the year, Trajan is summoned to Rome and is granted the Imperial tribunician power and proconsular power over (and overall command of the armies in) Upper and Lower Germany; he returns to the Rhine to oversee strengthening of the frontier from his base at Cologne.

?Pliny 'the Younger' becomes Praefect of the Imperial treasury in Temple of Saturn.

AD 98 Consuls: Nerva and Trajan.

27/28 January: Nerva dies of a sudden fever brought on by outburst of anger at a dinner at Imperial residence in the Gardens of Sallust, aged 62; the news reaches the Rhine and Trajan's cousin Hadrian is chosen again to bring him the news, travelling from his post at Moguntiacum to Cologne and apparently preventing an attempt by his jealous legionary commander Lucius Julius Ursus Servianus (who has complained to Trajan of his extravagance) to make sure his official messenger gets there first by sabotaging Hadrian's carriage. Trajan writes to the Senate promising to rule justly and not execute senators without trial, and requests that Nerva receive a funeral based on Augustus' and deification.

Reign of Trajan

Rome

c. 2 February: Nerva's funeral at the Mausoleum of Augustus; after the end of official mourning, the Senate meets to confirm Trajan's powers and elect him as Pontifex Maximus and Pater Patriae; he rejects the latter, though assuming it later in the year, and also delays the grant of title of 'Augusta' to his wife Plotina and sister Marciana.

Trajan continues his work on the German frontier, probably constructing the new fortified 'limes' from the River Main to the Neckar; however, he summons Praetorian Praefect Casperius Alienus and his leading associates in the mutiny of 97 to his camp and has them executed for diminishing Nerva's prestige. Attius Suburanus becomes Praetorian Praefect.

Autumn: Trajan moves on to the Danube to survey the frontier, and refuses consulship for 99.

10 December: Trajan's tribunician powers are renewed, as is thereafter done every year on this date – the day when the tribunes used to take office in republican Rome.

?Death and public funeral of Verginius Rufus, the general who defeated Vindex but missed out on the throne in 68 (and former guardian of Pliny) who is now respected as one of the few senior figures to come out of the events of 68–9 with credit.

AD 99 Consuls: Aulus Cornelius Palma and (?Cilician) Quintus Sosius Senecio.

Trajan strengthens the Danube frontier, and presumably draws up initial plans for the intended attack on Dacia while maintaining the alliance with Decebalus; he orders construction of a canal to bypass the rapids at the Iron Gates so ships can proceed directly upstream and downstream.

Autumn: Trajan returns to Rome, and enters the capital on foot at the Flaminian Gate to a large and enthusiastic public reception. The Senate come out to meet him, and the Praetorians in civilian clothes escort him to the Capitol for sacrifices; he then takes up residence at

Tiberius' old Palace on the Palatine, a more modest residence than Domitian's grand extensions next-door. His modest lifestyle and demeanour there are shared by Plotina, Marciana and Marciana's twice-widowed daughter Ulpia Matidia with her daughters (Matidia II and Vibia Sabina); it is all a calculated return to 'Augustan' simplicity after the monarchic excesses of Domitian's reign.

Trajan decrees more sales of public properties and hands over some of Imperial private estates to the state treasury to help their finances; he arranges for the praetors hearing cases involving citizens against the treasury to be selected by lot. The 'alimentary' system funding the children of poorer families established by Nerva is revised and extended, though the exact contribution of each ruler to the system in place from c. 100 is unclear.

?Trajan founds new Forum and temple dedicated to the deified Nerva.

Trajan's cousin Hadrian marries his great-niece Vibia Sabina, increasing his close links with the Emperor; Hadrian is presumably Plotina and Marciana's protégé for the succession.

AD 100 1 January: Trajan consul; he takes part in the traditional ceremonies, including swearing oath of office before his predecessor, unlike previous Imperial consuls and makes a speech at the Rostra declaring that he is subject to the laws like any other citizen.

January: During Trajan's consulship, Pliny and the historian Cornelius Tacitus act as prosecutors as Marius Priscus, ex-governor of Africa, is tried before the Senate on charges of accepting bribes to 'frame' and punish victims, including Roman citizens; he tries to escape severer penalties by pleading guilty to the bribery charge and avoiding investigation of the unjust sentences he imposed, but the prosecution manages to get Senate to summon the witnesses to the latter and he is convicted of that too. He manages to evade expulsion from the Senate and exile despite the attempts of the strict consul-elect Cornutus Tertullus, but is forced to pay the bribe of 700,000 sesterces he received into the treasury; Marcianus, who paid him that, is exiled.

Sextus Julius Frontinus (the governor of Britain in 70s, and a renowned hydraulicist) is Trajan's fellow-consul, and is replaced as suffect by the trusted general Lucius Julius Ursus Servianus (Hadrian's commander and critic).

1 September: Pliny becomes suffect consul with Cornutus Tertullus; Pliny delivers an inaugural panegyric to the Emperor, the traditional *Acta Gratiarum*, to the assembled Senate, in this case laying out the virtues and aspirations of Trajan's government and associating him with the favour of Jupiter. The sense of the beginning of a new era after Domitian's tyranny is emphasized by Pliny, as in Trajan's own speeches and coinage; the 'Panegyric' is later published.

Preparations commence for Dacian war, including appointments of Caius Cilnius Proculus to the governorship of Upper Moesia and Manlius Liberius Maximus to Lower Moesia; Servianus follows his consulship with governorship of Pannonia. Significantly, no new legions are raised – which probably indicates no intention yet to garrison Dacia.

AD 101 January–March: Trajan consul with Q. Articuleius Paetus.

?Pliny prosecutes the estate of the late Caecilius Classicus, the corrupt and brutal governor of Baetica (Spain), assisting complainants from the province; the charges are proven and it is ordered that Classicus' estate hand over all that money which accrued to him after his governoral appointment, and several of his associates in misrule are exiled.

25 March: Trajan leaves Rome with his entourage after sacrifices by 'Arval Brothers'; he arrives at the Danube and takes command of a force consisting of the nine legions garrisoned there and drafts sent by others. The army crosses the Danube near Viminacum on a bridge of boats, and marches through the hilly countryside at the western end of the Carpathians into Dacia. The Dacians, under Decebalus, withdraw at first, but there are probably at least three engagements according to the depiction of the campaign on the Column of Trajan. The major battle is at Tapae, where Trajan offers his own clothing as bandages as they

start to run out and Decebalus suffers a serious defeat. But the Dacians are still unconquered at the end of the campaigning season, and Trajan withdraws to the Danube for the winter and sends his lieutenants and consuls-designate, Servianus and Imperial *amicus* Lucius Licinius Sura, back to Rome with Imperial quaestor Hadrian who delivers the official report on the campaign to the Senate.

?At around this date Evaristus succeeds Clement as Bishop of Rome, ruling for between seven and 13 years.

AD 102 Consuls: Lucius Julius Ursus Servianus and Lucius Licinius Sura.

Spring: Trajan receives reinforcements including the First (Flavia Minervina) and Twelfth (Claudian) Legions, and crosses the Danube to resume campaign. He advances into the Dacian mountains (Carpathians) from the south-west and recovers Roman standards lost in the 80s, though there only appears to be one battle and most of the campaign probably involves seizing strategic peaks, hill forts and passes; his friend Lusius Quietus mounts a flank attack across another pass (possibly the Vulcan Pass to the east) with Moorish cavalry, and Laberius Maximus with a third force moves in via the Red Tower pass further east. Trajan, Quietus and Laberius meet up at Aqua (Calan) near the Dacian capital of Sarmizegethusa, and Decebalus sends to ask for peace. He is forced to agree to surrender all his weaponry and siege engines, hand over deserters, and accept the loss of that territory now occupied by Rome and hold the rest as a dependent ally with those friends and enemies that Rome dictates. The resultant treaty leads to Roman establishment of new legionary camps in Dacia, for the Fourth ('Flavian') Legion at Sarmizegethusa and the Thirteenth ('Gemina') at Berzobis, with a network of military camps and a permanent bridge across the Danube at Drobeta (Turnu-Severin) which is designed by Apollodorus of Damascus.

Trajan returns to Rome; **10 December:** he is awarded the title 'Dacicus Maximus' and **31 December** celebrates a triumph and Games, while Decebalus' envoys attend the Senate to confirm the treaty.

Winter: Pliny defends Julius Bassus, recent governor of Bithynia and a former friend of (but exiled by) Domitian, against charges of

rapacity brought by provincials, arguing that Bassus is an honest man who was victimized by local troublemakers and professional informers; however, he cannot deny that Bassus naively accepted gifts illegally, and it is ordered that the defendant repay his gains without loss of senatorial status.

AD 103 Consuls: Trajan and Laberius Maximus; Trajan is replaced by general Glitius Agricola as suffect. A donative is given to the public, and new Games inaugurate the extended Circus Maximus.

Pliny is elected as *augur* to fill the vacancy left by the death of Sextus Julius Frontinus, ex-governor of Britain.

?Decebalus attacks the Iazyges, Roman allies between the Danube and the Theiss, to extend his control westwards in preparation for resuming the war with Rome.

AD 104 Pliny is appointed to two-year post as curator of the Board controlling the oversight of the bed and banks of the River Tiber and the public sewers of Rome, a post fitting in with his interest in the technical problems of drainage (inspired by his mentor Frontinus).

Death of the satirical poet Martial.

AD 105 Guerrilla warfare by Decebalus' Dacians against the Roman garrisons in Dacia leads to the king being declared a public enemy in Rome; **June:** Trajan leaves the capital and hurries via the quickest route, the crossing from Brundisium to Dyrrachium, to the Danube to resume the Dacian war earlier than he had anticipated. A Dacian plot to murder Trajan using supposedly pro-Roman auxiliaries to attack him in camp is discovered as a participant is arrested and betrays his colleagues under torture; a Roman commander called (?Cnaeus Pompeius) Longinus is captured by treachery when he visits Decebalus to discuss an offer of peace-talks, and Decebalus tries to exchange him for a Roman withdrawal to the Danube. Longinus obtains poison from a freedman of Decebalus' and kills himself so he cannot be used as a hostage; the freedman is on a mission to Trajan about peace when the

suicide occurs and Decebalus tries to get his envoy back safely by proposing to exchange him for Longinus' body and the safety of Longinus' fellow-prisoners, but Trajan releases him anyway with a public refusal to stoop to such blackmail.

Roman reinforcements from other frontiers rendezvous with the main army at Dobreta, and Trajan creates two new legions – Second (*Trajana Fortis*) and Thirtieth (*Ulpia Victrix*). The allied contingents from friendly tribes serving with the Roman army are rationalized into formal new units of *numeri*. As the Roman forces build up many Dacian nobles come to surrender, and Decebalus asks for terms to be told to hand himself in and surrender all his recently acquired weaponry which he refuses to do; he attempts to acquire new allies from neighbouring tribes by telling them that it will be their turn to be overrun next if they do not fight now, but from Trajan's Column it seems likely that the Quadi, Iazyges and Marcomanni (and the independent Greek cities on the north shore of the Euxine) send peace envoys to Trajan.

AD 106 Consul: L Celonius Commodus, father of Hardian's later heir Aelius.

Spring: Trajan crosses the Danube on the bridge of boats at Dobreta, and leads the main invasion of Dacia across the Vulcan Pass in Carpathians; once the mountains are crossed the Romans converge on Sarmizegethusa with apparently not much organized fighting and only guerrilla skirmishes. Decebalus refuses appeals from his nobles to surrender, and Trajan besieges Sarmizegethusa which is surrendered by members of the nobility after Decebalus and his family flee to the safety of the mountains; the town is looted and burnt and a Roman camp built on the site, and Trajan receives his sixth salutation as 'Imperator'.

?Late summer: Guerrilla attacks continue on isolated Roman posts and small bodies of troops, while a defecting noble called Biklis reveals the hiding-place of Decebalus' treasure in the river-bed of the temporarily diverted River Sargetias – possibly (half?) a million pounds of gold and twice that amount of silver is discovered and removed to Rome as loot to pay for the war.

>2 September: Decebalus is hunted down in the Carpathians by a squad of auxiliary cavalry but kills himself before the Romans, under Tiberius Claudius Maximus, seize him; his head and his captured family are delivered to Trajan at Ranisstorium, and the head is later paraded at Trajan's triumph and thrown down the Gemonian Steps. The surviving Dacian fighters are rounded up or driven out of the kingdom, which is annexed as a new Roman province; up to 500,000 prisoners are deported to the Empire as slaves or gladiators and the remaining populace are expelled to empty the area for Roman colonization.

Autumn: Trajan or his generals defeat the Dacians' Sarmatian allies, and Trajan sets out for Rome; Hadrian precedes him to announce the news of victories to the Senate. A new monument to Rome's victories, the *Tropaeum Traiani*, is erected on the southern bank of the Danube depicting the Romans destroying the Dacians in battle and is dedicated to Mars Ultor, symbolizing Trajan's revenge for the Dacian and Sarmatian attacks of the 80s as a warning to the neighbouring tribesmen.

?Trajan decides to annex the Arab kingdom of Nabatea in north-west Arabia on the death of King Rabbael II, disinheriting his heirs; a new Roman province is created to corner the prosperous local trade routes, centred at Petra, and is garrisoned by the Third (Cyrenaican) Legion. Aulus Cornelius Palma becomes the first governor of the province.

Winter: Pliny defends Varenus Rufus, ex-governor of Bithynia, against charges of misrule brought by provincials; there is a legal tussle over whether Rufus as well as the accusers have the right to summon witnesses from Bithynia to speak for him, and the Senate rules that he can do so whereupon his opponents appeal to Trajan; it appears that the case is later dropped.

AD 107 January: Hadrian, as praetor, presides at the first Games to celebrate the victory in Rome, featuring gladiatorial combats by captured Dacians.

?**May:** Trajan leaves the Balkans; ?**mid-June** he arrives in Rome for triumphal parade to the Circus Maximus. Several successive periods of Games follow to celebrate the victories and use the Dacian prisoners as

gladiators, beginning with Trajan's third distribution of a donative to the public in late June 107 and continuing to November 109.

Trajan receives congratulatory embassies from Rome's neighbours and beyond, including one from India.

Trajan starts a large building programme in Rome, funded by his Dacian loot; he builds a new naval amphitheatre (*Naumachia*) to replace the demolished one built by Domitian, the new Baths of Trajan on the Oppian Hill, and the Forum, Basilica, and Market of Trajan (north of the Forums of Julius Caesar and Augustus), and some time over the next year or two founds a second Baths in honour of his recently deceased friend Licinius Sura.

Late: Hadrian goes to Lower Pannonia to serve as legionary commander and governor.

AD 109 Cornelius Palma serves as consul.

22 June: Dedication of the Baths of Trajan.

11 November: Trajan inaugurates his new Naumachia with nautical displays and mock naval battles.

24 November: Conclusion of the final Games celebrating the conquest of Dacia, after the longest-ever sequence of gladiatorial displays in Rome.

AD 111 (or 110?) Pliny is appointed as the new governor of Bithynia and Pontus, probably due to his earlier dealings with the province in defending two of its governors against charges of misrule.

17 September: Pliny's first definite presence in Bithynia – the day before the Emperor's birthday.

A collection of his correspondence with Trajan seeking advice about provincial problems is later published – including his queries about what to do over the growing 'threat' of the Christian 'cult' which he investigates and declares to be annoying but not dangerous fanaticism. Trajan accepts that the law must take its course over Christians refusing to take part in legally required public sacrifices to the Imperial cult but forbids using informers to hunt them down.

Autumn: Trajan's cousin Hadrian leaves Rome en route to Syria as the new governor, commissioned with making preparations for attack on Parthia; en route he is elected as *archon* at Athens, reflecting his passionate interest in Greek culture.

AD 112 1 January: Trajan inaugurates his grand new Forum and Basilica in Rome at start of his sixth consulship; Titus Sextius Africanus is his colleague.

28 January: 15 days of Games start to celebrate the fourteenth anniversary of Trajan's accession. Cornelius Tacitus the historian becomes governor of Asia province.

April: Hadrian is granted special Imperial powers to oversee the eastern governors in the conduct of operations on the eastern frontiers, following precedent of Tiberius' grant to Germanicus in 17.

August: Death of Trajan's sister Marciana; she is succeeded as 'Augusta' by her daughter Matidia, mother of Hadrian's wife Vibia Sabina.

AD 113 Consuls: Lucius Publilius Celsus and Caius Clodius Crispinus.

Osroes (or Chosroes), the new King of Parthia who has succeeded his brother Pacorus, deposes Pacorus' son Exedares the King of Armenia; he installs his own brother Parthamasires, without consulting Rome, in breach of the treaty between Vologaeses and Nero. This gives Trajan the excuse to open Parthian war as the offended party; Arrian writes that he did not seek the war but Dio's account of a more bellicose attitude is more credible.

12 May: Trajan dedicates the new Column celebrating (and depicting) his Dacian victory and the renovated Temple of Venus.

<18 September: Death of Pliny in Bithynia, aged 51 or 52, apparently before the annual festivities for the Emperor's birthday; his letters are posthumously published, probably with the help of his friend the historian Suetonius Tranquillinus.

Cornutus Tertullus succeeds Pliny in Bithynia-Pontus; Quadratus Bassus becomes governor of Syria and his previous province of Cappadocia-Galatia goes to Marcus Junius Hormullus.

September/October: Trajan leaves Rome for the eastern campaign and journeys to Athens, where he receives an embassy from Osroes; the Parthian King proposes that Rome accepts his nominee Parthamasiris in Armenia and crowns him as it has done for his predecessors, but Trajan returns a non-committal answer saying that he will sort out the matter when he reaches Syria and refrains from accepting the proffered gifts; he journeys on to Ephesus and across southern Asia Minor to embark for Syria, probably at Attaleia or Side.

AD 114 Trajan lands at Seleucia Pieria, the port of Antioch, to meet Hadrian; **7 January** they enter Antioch together.

Trajan gathers his army at Antioch, and receives envoys and gifts from King Abgar of Osroene (the western Mesopotamian 'buffer state' between Rome and Parthia) and Arab princes including Mannus of the Sennites; Osroes' second embassy arrives to receive answer to the terms proposed at Athens and is told that they are unsatisfactory.

?April: Trajan leads his army north via Samosata and Melitene to Satala in north-east Asia Minor, near the Armenian frontier, leaving Hadrian in charge at Antioch; Parthamasiris sends envoys offering to accept his crown from Rome and is ignored. A force of around eight legions and assorted *vexillations* from others and auxiliaries, amounting to c. 80,000 men, concentrates at Satala and local kings Anchialus (of the Heniochi) and Machelones come to pay homage.

Trajan invades Armenia, and Parthamasiris is summoned to meet him at Elegiaia; he arrives late, and surrenders his crown to Trajan in a ceremony before the army but does not have it returned as he expected. Trajan declares him deposed, and annexes Armenia with Lucius Catilius Severus as the first governor.

Parthamasiris is dismissed with a military escort, and is killed in an incident outside Elegiaia, possibly at Trajan's orders, though he maintains that the ex-king tried to escape; Roman generals are sent to suppress troublesome tribes, Lusius Quietus against the Mardi (south of Lake Van) and another army (?the Third 'Scythica' Legion) to the Caspian Gates in the Caucasus; the capital, Artaxata, and other

strongpoints are garrisoned. Trajan sets up his base at Elegiaia, and receives homage from local kings including Iberia and Abasgia; he appoints a ruler for the ‘Albani’ in the Caucasus.

?August: The Senate votes Trajan the title of ‘Optimus’, which he accepts at this second offer. Trajan probably remains in Armenia for the winter, though Dio has him campaigning south into Mesopotamia to capture Nisibis during the campaigning season of 114.

AD 115 Consul: Marcus Peto Vergilianus.

Spring: Trajan invades Mesopotamia; he takes Nisibis (if not earlier) and Batnae, capital of the principality of Anthemusia, to secure the upper Tigris valley. Lusius Quietus invades Adiabene (Azerbaijan) to defeat King Mebarsapes and then enters Mesopotamia; Abgar of Osrhoene offers homage which he has avoided doing so far and Trajan visits his capital, Edessa, for the ceremony, confirming him as a Roman client-ruler.

Mannus of the Sennite Arabs sends envoys to offer submission, as does Manisarus (?King of Gorduene), a rebel Parthian prince from the royal house who offers alliance with Trajan and the handover of the lands he has seized from Osroes to Rome; Trajan summons them both to his presence before he will accept their goodwill, and leaves for Adiabene to assist Quietus. Mannus and Manisarus join him there and become dependent allies, and Dura-Europus and other towns in the upper Euphrates valley are handed over to Rome and garrisoned.

Winter: Trajan returns to Antioch; province of Mesopotamia is formally established.

AD 116 Consul: future emperor Lucius Caesar’s great-uncle L. Lamia Aelianus.

21 February: The Senate receives news of Trajan’s victories and annexations, and grants him the title ‘Parthicus’; **25–28 February** celebratory Games are held.

Winter: Trajan has a narrow escape as a catastrophic earthquake hits Antioch while he is there and levels most of the city, killing visiting

ex-consul Peditus Vergilianus and many soldiers and civilians; he is supposedly helped out of a window in a collapsing room by divine assistance.

?April: Trajan marches to the Tigris, collecting en route the pontoons constructed over the winter at Nisibis to bridge the river; he joins Quietus' army for crossing the Tigris, and overruns Adiabene which is formed into the province of 'Assyria' with capital at Nineveh. While one of his armies marches south down the Tigris without serious resistance, Trajan crosses Mesopotamia to Dura-Europus to lead a second army in advance down the Euphrates with a fleet of 50 ships led by the Imperial flagship.

The Parthian civil war assists Trajan, and he reaches the Babylon area unopposed; there he has his fleet drawn overland on rollers to the Tigris rather than cut an extension to existing canals between the Euphrates and Tigris in case one river floods the other. He occupies Seleucia, second city of Parthia, and reaches the capital, Ctesiphon, whence Osroes flees into the Zagros Mountains. The city surrenders, and Trajan enters to secure loot including the royal throne and prisoners including Osroes' daughter; his troops acclaim him as 'Imperator' again.

Trajan sends news of his victory to the Senate, and marches down the Tigris to Charax (Basra) where he sees a ship leaving for India and laments that he is too old to march that far like Alexander; he sets up province of Babylonia as he intends permanent annexation of all Mesopotamia to the Persian Gulf despite the strategic threat to the long Roman supply-lines and the undefeated Parthians in the Zagros which he intends to meet by setting up his own puppet-king who will accept the annexations.

Athambelus, king of the island at mouth of Tigris, becomes a Roman client.

Trajan returns to Babylon to find that Osroes' nephew Sanatruces is leading a serious revolt in Armenia and other (?coordinated) attacks are occurring against Roman garrisons in Mesopotamia; Nisibis has been captured by the rebels but is recovered by Quietus, while a second army deals with rebels in central Mesopotamia and Etricius Clarus and

Julius Alexander's third army storms and burns rebel Seleucia. Abgar of Osrhoene has either joined the rebels or lost his capital, Edessa, to them, and Edessa is sacked by Quietus and Abgar's kingdom is annexed.

A serious Jewish revolt breaks out in Cyrenaica, Egypt and Cyprus, taking advantage of Roman weakness.

Sanatruces' son Vologaeses leads a Parthian army to assist his father's cause in Armenia, and due to overstretched Roman resources Trajan agrees to a truce that abandons part of the kingdom to them; he sets up Osroes' son Parthaspates as Roman client-king of Parthia in Ctesiphon and evacuates the army back up the Euphrates valley into western Mesopotamia to recover the rebel cities there.

Artemius' Jewish rebels in Cyprus sack the town of Salamis; the rebels in Cyrenaica advance into Egypt to assist their local compatriots, who win a victory near Memphis, and Praefect Lupus has to arm the native Egyptians to raise troops; Marcius Turbo, commander of the Misenum fleet, brings reinforcements from Rome and the Jews are slaughtered.

Late autumn: Trajan fails in prolonged siege of the desert city of Hatra (west of the Tigris), a vital link in Roman communications between the Euphrates and Tigris, and returns to Antioch for the winter.

AD 117 Early: Trajan suffers health problems at Antioch, reportedly including dropsy, arteriosclerosis and a stroke; with troops concentrated in the east and the other armies under-strength, rebellions break out among the Iazyges and Roxelani on the Danube and in northern Britain (?the Brigantes or the tribes of Lothian).

Trajan is unable to resume the Mesopotamian campaign, and appoints Hadrian to the command, probably also accepting the advice of his wife Plotina and niece Matidia to adopt him as his son and thus heir despite his earlier intentions not to name one and against the advice of the senior generals Publilius Celsus and Cornelius Palma; **?late July** he sets off back for Rome by sea to celebrate his Parthian triumph.

Trajan suffers a sudden illness aboard ship, and his vessel puts ashore at Selinus in Cilicia where he is taken ashore; **6 August** he dies,

probably aged either 60 or 63, though it is uncertain if he specifically names Hadrian as his chosen successor.

9 August: Hadrian receives news of his adoption in Antioch, and proclaims himself 'Caesar'.

11 August: The day after an auspicious dream, Hadrian hears of Trajan's death and is proclaimed Emperor; a double donative is issued to the Guard and legions. Within a few days he announces the evacuation of Mesopotamia, Assyria and Osrhoene, together with Armenia; the Roman frontier is to be withdrawn to the Tigris, and the puppet-king Parthamaspates is soon ordered to leave Ctesiphon as Osroes' troops advance and is transferred to client-kingdom of Osrhoene.

Reign of Hadrian

Hadrian's ally in Rome, (joint) Praetorian Praefect Acilius Attianus, sends a warning that senior figures there are resisting his succession and there is a claim that Trajan intended his friend Neratius Priscus (governor of Pannonia during the Dacian war) to be his heir; he names City Praefect Baebius Macer as leader of opposition and urges his swift execution, along with that of the disgruntled and exiled aristocrats Laberius Maximus and Crassus Frugi. Hadrian takes no action, though Laberius is soon killed while trying to leave his place of exile and Macer is replaced with Marcus Annius Verus (grandfather of the later emperor Marcus Aurelius), probably husband of Vibia Serena's half-sister, before Hadrian reaches Rome.

?September: As the rebellion in Egypt is now under control, Hadrian orders Turbo west to Mauretania to deal with an uprising by Moorish tribes; Quadratus Bassus dies or is killed fighting the rebellious Quadi and Iazyges on the Pannonian/Dacian frontier and Hadrian probably replaces him with Avidius Nigrinus.

The Senate replies to Hadrian's letter announcing his accession and requesting the deification of Trajan and ratification of his adoption by the late ruler, having done as he requested on all points; he is also granted a triumph for the eastern campaign and the title 'Pater Patriae'.

Catilius Severus, returned from Armenia with the troops there, is installed as governor of Syria and Hadrian leaves for Rome overland, having superstitiously blocked up the prophetic Castalian spring at Antioch which prophesied his accession to deny it to future hopefuls; **13 October** he arrives at Mopsucrene in Cilicia, beyond Tarsus; he stops at Ancyra (Ankara) in Galatia en route to found an artistic competition in honour of Dionysus and is included in the honours to be given by the performers as *Neos Dionysos*; **11 November** he arrives at Juliopolis in Bithynia, home town of the late Quadratus Bassus who is given a tomb at public expense.

Hadrian probably winters at Nicomedia.

AD 118 1 January: Hadrian consul with Cnaeus Pedanius Fuscus Salinator, husband of his niece Julia (daughter of his sister Domitia Paulina and Julius Servianus).

Reinforcements from the returning eastern expedition are presumably sent ahead to the Danube to assist governor Pompeius Falco of Lower Moesia against tribal rebels in Dacia; Hadrian now or soon orders the evacuation of the western part of the Wallachian plains (Oltenia and Muntenia) south-east of the Carpathians, to withdraw Roman frontier to the natural defences of the Danube and the mountains. This does not amount to the evacuation of Dacia that the orator Claudius Fronto later accuses him of carrying out, but reinforces military disquiet at his eagerness to abandon his predecessor's prestigious acquisitions.

The Jewish revolt is stamped out with massive casualties, particularly in Cyrenaica; in Britain the rebellion is also ended, probably without the loss of the Ninth Legion which was posited as occurring in this war (inscriptions indicate that at least part of the Ninth was moved to Germany c. 122) but with indications that the Roman frontier in Caledonia needs rationalizing. It is uncertain if fire damage to Roman fortresses in southern Scotland such as Trimontium (Newstead) is due to attack or evacuation in this revolt.

Hadrian visits 'Scythia', probably the lower Danube, and concludes peace with the king of the Roxelani (in Wallachia) who becomes a

Roman citizen and gives him a splendid horse (Borysthene) as a gift.

Probably in Dacia, Hadrian has some sort of confrontation with the new governor Avidius Nigrinus, an opponent of the evacuations, who is later accused of plotting to murder him in concert with Quietus; there is an incident during a hunt which is interpreted as an assassination attempt – the early fourth-century *Historia Augusta* calls it an ambush, Dio regards it as being unjustly ‘framed’ on Nigrinus by enemies. Nigrinus is dismissed, and Marcius Turbo is summoned from Mauretania after his suppression of the rebellion there.

?Spring: Returning to his home town of Faventia in northern Italy, Nigrinus is suddenly seized and executed by Imperial troops acting on orders of Praetorian Praefect Attianus; Quietus is killed during a journey, and Cornelius Palma is executed at the resort of Baiae and Publilius Celsus at Tarracina. The sudden killings of the ‘Four Consulars’ causes a wave of shock in Rome, particularly among the Senate at this outbreak of executions without trial reminiscent of Nero and Domitian though they have been given their legal rights in being asked to ratify the Imperial orders before they were carried out. (Notably, Quietus had been a friend of Thrasea Paetus the Stoic ‘leader’.) Quietus’ nephew and others are also subsequently killed. Hadrian’s reputation suffers among aristocratic circles, though he claims that Attianus acted precipitately in executing the accused.

Hadrian visits Pannonia, where the famous Athenian philanthropist Herodes Atticus, then a youth of 17 representing his wealthy father in a delegation to Hadrian, appears before him but fails to complete his speech due to nerves; he overawes the local tribes into agreeing a treaty, particularly through the prowess of his personal cavalry regiment (*equites singulares Augusti*) to whose command he appoints the disgraced Nigrinus’ ex-training-officer Calventius Viator.

Hadrian sends Pompeius Falco to Britain to take over as governor, and puts the remaining Roman lands north of the Danube and east of the Carpathians into a new province of ‘Dacia Inferior’ which includes part of Trajan’s annexed Dacian kingdom over the mountains, the rest of the latter remaining as ‘Dacia Superior’ (capital ‘Colonia

Ulpia', formerly Sarmizegethusa). The bridge built over the Danube by Apollodorus for Trajan is demolished to hinder barbarian raids.

May: Ummidius Quadratus, rising young aristocrat and ?nominee of trusted City Praefect Marcus Annius Verus, serves as suffect consul in place of Pedanius Fuscus as Hadrian retains the other consulship; he comes out to the Danube to govern Lower Moesia.

?June: Hadrian sets out for Rome.

1 July: Sabinius Barbarus, legate of the Third Augustan Legion in Numidia, and Lucius Pomponius Bassus take over the consulship; **9 July** Hadrian enters Rome to sacrifice at the Capitol, and replaces the senatorially resented Avidius with Marcius Turbo as co-Praetorian Praefect (with Trajan's nominee Similis) to pacify the critics of the recent executions but lets Avidius have consular rank. He issues a donative of six *aurei* per person to the populace, and takes care to comport himself as a modest model Roman citizen in the manner of Trajan. An amnesty is declared for arrears of tax and 15 years' tax documents are publicly burnt in Trajan's Forum; the property of condemned persons is assigned to the state treasury not the Emperor's private one; those senators whose wealth has fallen below the financial rating for their status receive a subsidy depending on their number of children; funds are made available to help civic officials pay for the Games they have to put on for the public.

?Hadrian is less well-received when he explains the evacuations of provinces to the Senate, alleging that Trajan had left instructions to carry it out. Hadrian holds a posthumous triumph for Trajan's victories, with a statue of his predecessor leading the parade, and inters Trajan's ashes at the base of his column; he refuses Games in his own honour.

Septicius Clarus, friend of Pliny and the dedicatee of his 'Letters', succeeds Similis as co-Praefect of the Guard with Turbo; the historian Suetonius Tranquillinus, who is commencing his work on the 'Twelve Caesars' around this date, becomes 'Secretary for Letters' (*ab epistulis*).

AD 119 1 January: Hadrian consul, with Dasumius Rusticus and then (as suffect) Plutorius Nepos; he resigns at the end of April and never

holds the consulship again.

Hadrian tours Campania and inaugurates building projects, but seemingly postpones a visit to Gaul and either Spain or Britain which is under consideration; in Rome he takes care to behave as the partner rather than master of the Senate in public affairs and to treat its members with respect.

The aged Greek Stoic philosopher Euphrates of Tyre, a long-term resident of Rome and friend of Pliny but careful to keep out of politics, obtains Hadrian's permission to drink hemlock as he is tired of life.

December: Death of Trajan's niece and Hadrian's mother-in-law and political ally, Matidia; Hadrian delivers the eulogy. She is granted deification and a joint temple and basilica with her mother Marciana on the Campus Martius.

AD 120 Consuls: Catilius Severus and Arrius Antoninus.

Hadrian remains in Rome.

?Death of the historian Cornelius Tacitus.

AD 121 Consul: Marcus Annius Verus.

21 April: New Games are held, and decreed to be annual, on the festival of the *Parilia* for the foundation of Rome. Hadrian founds a huge new Temple of 'Venus and Rome' to stand beside the start of the 'Sacred Way' from the Flavian Amphitheatre to the Forum Romanum, dominated by joint statues of Venus (ancestress of the Julian dynasty and protector of Aeneas) and the goddess Roma; it is designed by Decraeus, and requires the moving of the Colossus of the Sun-God by the amphitheatre (which was originally built by and to depict Nero).

26 April: Birth of the future Emperor Marcus Aurelius, as 'Marcus Verus', son of Marcus Annius Verus (elder son of the eponymous consul and City Praefect) and Domitia Lucilla: through his grandfather's wife Rupilia he is probably also related to Hadrian's wife Vibia Sabina as well as being descended from the line of the Crassi and Pompeius 'Magnus'.

?Summer: Hadrian tours Gaul; he probably goes on to Germany and tours the Rhine frontier rather than wintering at Lugdunum.

AD 122 Hadrian in Upper Germany, where he surveys the frontier line of the Agri Decumates between the Main and the Neckar and decrees the establishment of a permanent wooden palisade connecting the line of forts and watch-towers to stop easy German tribal infiltration over the frontier and to control passage across it. This seems to be the model for the first version of the wall which is soon built in Britain.

Hadrian goes on to Lower Germany, where his friend Platorius Nepos is governor and is selected to accompany him to Britain as the next governor there; **?June** he then sails to Britain with Nepos and a new legion to join the garrison there, the Sixth ('Victrix') from Vetera.

Hadrian tours Britain, and visits the northern frontier where he decides to fix the border at the easily defensible line from the Solway to the Tyne. A permanent barrier is to be erected on the frontier, probably to divide restless tribes north and south of it as well as to keep raiders from Caledonia out and to regulate movement across the frontier; garrisons remaining north of the line from Agricola's campaigns, including possibly Trimontium (Newstead), are withdrawn and a line of forts is erected with small watch-towers every mile and a turf wall between them which is replaced with stone during the next decade or so. The unbroken wall stretches from Maia (Bowness) on the Solway east to Segedunum (Wallsend) on the Tyne, with extra towers down the Cumbrian coast to the west as far as Alauna (Maryport) against raids by sea from across the Solway Firth. A ditch and a connecting road to move troops are constructed behind the wall. The Sixth Legion are based initially on the Tyne to start construction work, and dedicate altars there beside the new bridge at *Pons Aelius* (Newcastle) which Hadrian probably commences personally during his visit.

?Autumn: Before leaving Britain, Hadrian suddenly replaces Septicius Clarus as Praefect of the Guard and Suetonius as secretary for letters; the alleged reason is given in the 'Historia Augusta' as excessive familiarity with his wife Vibia Sabina, as discovered by his network of secret agents (*frumentarii*), indicating an early sign of his (?increasingly) suspicious nature in court politics.

Hadrian winters in Gaul or at Tarraco in Spain.

AD 123 Hadrian tours Spain, with an assembly ordered at Tarraco in the spring to meet him; it is nearly postponed after an alarmed letter from governor Haterius Nepos in Egypt about rioting among the native Egyptians after the identification of the new incarnation of the sacred bull-god Apis. Hadrian turns down Haterius' request to visit Egypt next.

?Abgar, ex-ruler of Edessa and Osrhoene deposed by Trajan, or his brother Manu retakes the kingdom from the Roman client Parthamaspatēs, rebel son of King Osroes of Parthia; probably Parthamaspatēs retires into Parthian Mesopotamia to fight his father.

Death of Trajan's widow, the Empress Plotina; Hadrian erects a basilica in her honour at the ancestral home of her family, Nemausus (Nîmes) in southern Gaul, and a nearby tomb at Aptā for his late horse Borysthēnes in the manner of Alexander 'the Great' for Bucephalus.

Hadrian attends the Spanish assembly at Tarraco, orders a levy of troops across the provinces in the peninsula with some objections being raised by the 'Italici' (?citizens of Italian origin or of the town of Italica), and survives an attack in the town by a mad slave with a sword. He may have visited Lusitania, or else have crossed directly from Baetica to Mauretania where he receives news of trouble in Parthia and decides to go straight to the east; *iuridicus* Claudius Quartinus of Nearer Spain is ordered to go ahead to the Euphrates with troops ahead of the expected campaign.

Hadrian proceeds by sea to Syria, possibly visiting Africa province en route; from Antioch he proceeds to the Euphrates where he meets Parthian ambassadors sent by King Osroes (or possibly the king himself), probably concerning the king's continuing struggles with his rebel son Parthamaspatēs. A treaty is concluded or understanding reached concerning Rome not aiding the rebel, and Hadrian goes on to survey the Euphrates frontier; Hadrian also recognizes the restored Abgarid family as rulers of Osrhoene.

?Autumn: Hadrian visits Pontus, probably starting with the port of Trapezus (Trebizond) which he reaches overland from Cappadocia and then sailing west to Amisus and Sinope; he recognizes ?and crowns Cotys, the new king of the Bosporan Kingdom (Crimea) and grants him

suzerainty over the Greek colonies along the north side of the Euxine. He visits Bithynia, and probably winters at Nicomedia.

Hadrian appoints the Nicomedian Greek author and historian Arrian (Lucius Flavianus Arrianus), a friend of his, as governor of his own home province of Baetica in Spain.

AD 124 Hadrian tours Bithynia, and possibly meets his new homosexual lover, the handsome youth Antinous, at the latter's home-town of Claudopolis there; Antinous' age at his death in 130 probably indicates that their affair began at the earliest during or soon after this eastern tour, and Hadrian becomes more noticeably besotted with him than with any earlier partners.

Summer: Hadrian tours (?Thrace and then) Asia province in company with the distinguished and wealthy 'sophist' rhetorician Polemo of Smyrna (related to the former Greek rulers of Pontus installed by Antonius). He proceeds from Cyzicus through Mysia south into Ionia, to Smyrna and then inland into Lydia.

29 August: Hadrian is at Ephesus, as dated by his reply to a petition from Telmessus.

?September: Hadrian visits Rhodes, and sails through the Cyclades to Athens; he sets up his base in the city and takes part in the 'Eleusinian Mysteries'.

Autumn: Hadrian visits Megara, and tours the Peloponnese via Epidaurus, Troezen and Argos where he probably restores the boys' race to the Nemean (winter) Games on **30 December** and may have attended in person.

AD 125 January/February: Hadrian visits Mantinea, Tegea (which like Epidaurus revises its calendar to start a new one to commemorate his arrival), and Sparta where he presents the city with the island of Caudus and the port of Coron and is honoured as 'saviour, founder and benefactor'. He may also visit Olympia and Corinth on this tour.

March: Hadrian presides at the annual *Dionysia* festival in Athens; he orders the completion of the unfinished Hellenistic building project

of a new temple to Olympian Zeus by the River Ilissus by erecting the surrounding enclosure for the main building, and builds a new aqueduct to bring water from Mount Parnes. The new Stoa or Library of Hadrian is also started.

Hadrian goes on to Boeotia to hunt on Mount Helicon, orders new irrigation dykes to be constructed at Coronea, and visits the shrine of Delphi; he possibly visits Macedonia en route to Epirus to embark for Italy. He probably starts considering a new association of Greek cities and communities based on the ancient 'Amphictyonic League' which was centred at Delphi, but calls it off due to a hostile response from the Delphians to admitting new members from outside Greece to the association.

May: Hadrian visits Sicily to climb Mount Etna, and returns to Rome.

August/September: Hadrian is at his vast new country residential complex at Tibur, where his new villa becomes his principal rural residence.

AD 126 Consuls: Marcus Annius Verus and Eggius Ambibulus.

Hadrian re-dedicates the restored Temple of Vespasian and Titus, holding special Games with 1,835 pairs of gladiators; he also becomes the presiding priest of the 'Arval Brothers'.

?Hadrian starts building work to improve the Palace of Domitian as potential residence while he is in Rome rather than Trajan's more modest use of Tiberius' adjacent residence.

Death of Marcus Annius Verus II, son of the consul and father of Marcus Verus (Aurelius) who is taken as ward by his grandfather.

Marcus Appius Bradua succeeds Platorius Nepos as governor of Britain (to 129).

1 August: Birth of the future emperor Helvius Pertinax, in Liguria; his father is a freedman, Helvidius Successus.

AD 127 3 March: Hadrian leaves Rome for tour of the Po valley.

1 August: Hadrian returns to Rome in time for the tenth anniversary of his accession.

19–29 October: Ten days of Games are held to celebrate the anniversary of Hadrian's accession.

?Autumn: Italy is divided into four new provinces, each to be governed by a legate of consular rank.

Hadrian makes the seven-year-old Marcus Verus (Aurelius), Annius Verus' grandson, who he is supposed to be favouring according to Dio and has nicknamed 'Verissimus', a member of the prestigious 'Salian' priesthood.

AD 128 Consul: Marcus Annius Verus' younger son Marcus Annius Libo, Marcus Verus (Aurelius)'s uncle.

Hadrian visits (?Sicily and) north Africa, including Numidia and Mauretania.

?June/July: Hadrian returns to Italy; **September:** he arrives in Greece for his second visit and takes part in the celebration of the 'Mysteries' at Eleusis. He is based at Athens for the next months, where his host may be the father of the philanthropist Herodes Atticus; he plans and commences new buildings to add to the glory of the city as the centre of Greek culture, including a temple to Hera (Juno) and another to Zeus *Panhellenios* to serve as centre of the new movement of a 'Panhellenic' association of all the Greek cities and communities (*poleis*) in and outside Greece. A new gymnasium is constructed near the River Ilissus, and the surrounding area becomes a new quarter of the extending city named after Hadrian as its planner and patron. The usage of the titles '*Sebastos Olympios*' for Hadrian in the Greek world commences in this year, and indicates his role as the patron of the new Panhellenic cult of Olympian Zeus (and his assumption of an epithet used by his inspiration, Pericles). A regular assembly of the Greek cities and communities at Athens is also planned, with Hadrian as its patron and honorary president; he increases the number of grants of Roman citizenship to prominent citizens of the leading Greek cities during this year.

Hadrian visits Sparta, whose most prominent citizen Julius Eurycles Herculaneus (descended from the royal family) is among Hadrian's Greek senatorial appointments of the 120s and has recently served

as legate of the Third Gallican Legion in Syria after being quaestor in Greece, tribune and praetor in Rome, and legate to the governor of Hadrian's home province of Baetica. Hadrian winters in Athens.

AD 129 March: Hadrian sails to Asia province and stays at Ephesus, where he is thanked (with his new Greek title of 'Olympios' in the inscription) for improving the importation of Egyptian corn and dredging the River Cayster against silting; he heads inland, probably to Phrygia.

27 June: Hadrian is at Laodicea on the River Lycus; **23 July** he is at Celaenae (Phrygian Apamea).

Hadrian visits Cappadocia, and probably addresses the local armies at Caesarea-in-Cappadocia; he holds a meeting of eastern client-kings, possibly at Caesarea or Melitene, which Pharasmenes of Iberia and the king of the Albani (Caucasus) do not attend, and possibly receives a Bactrian embassy from King Kanishka of the Kushan realm.

Autumn: Hadrian in Antioch; he grants the title of *metropolis*, formerly reserved for that city in the region, to the cities of Damascus, Tyre and Samosata.

(or 130) Hadrian plans the construction of a new Roman *colonia* on the site of the ruins of Jerusalem, and issues an edict banning circumcision in support of Hellenization of the remaining Jews (probably influenced by the example of Antiochus IV the Seleucid in the 160s BC).

AD 130 Spring: Hadrian travels south from Antioch, and visits the province of 'Arabia' and the city of Petra either before or after a tour of Judaea. At Jerusalem, he personally founds the new city of 'Aelia Capitolina' with its planned Temple of Jupiter 'Capitolinus' on the site of the Jewish Temple; the calculated triumphalism of the Romanization of their sacred places and the threat to their religious practices drives the Jews in the countryside into plans for another uprising.

Hadrian enters Egypt, governed now by Praefect Flavius Titianus, and restores Pompeius' tomb at Pelusium.

28 August: Hadrian at Alexandria; he debates with the scholars at

the 'Mouseion' academy and when the Nile floods subside starts his journey up the river towards the Roman frontier at Philae; he visits the ancient Egyptian religious shrines at Heliopolis and has the priest and 'magician' Pancrates demonstrate his powers.

?24 October: Hadrian at Hermopolis; his companion and lover Antinous is drowned in the Nile, either by accident or voluntarily as a 'self-sacrifice' to preserve his master's health in response to a prophecy; Hadrian reacts with extravagant grief.

30 October: Hadrian founds the city of 'Antinoupolis' at the site where Antinous drowned; he seeks his deification as the presiding god of a new Greco-Egyptian cult centred at the city, which is to be a model Greek colony and a centre of Hellenism in the central Nile valley.

18 November: Hadrian at Thebes; **19 November:** he visits the colossus of 'Memnon' (Amenhotep III) to experience the noise it makes when the sun's rays strike it at dawn, but the phenomenon fails to occur; **20 November:** the colossus 'performs' on Hadrian's second visit, with his wife Vibia Sabina and her poetess friend Julia Balbilla (granddaughter of Antiochus, the last King of Commagene, and a possible opponent of Judaism influencing the Imperial court).

?December: Hadrian returns to Alexandria.

AD 131 Various Greek communities across the east start to include Antinous in their pantheon of gods and create cults and festivals in his honour. Hadrian organizes the constitution and settlement of Antinoupolis, which becomes the administrative centre for the cities of the central Nile valley (the 'Heptanomia').

March: The first Greek-style Games are held at Antinoupolis, possibly presided over by the Emperor. Hadrian appoints his Greek friend Arrian (Lucius Flavius Arrianus), author and historian, from Nicomedia in Bithynia, as governor of Asia.

?Late spring/summer: Hadrian returns briefly to Antioch, and then goes on to Cilicia and Pamphylia; he probably visits Asia province again en route to Macedonia.

Winter: Hadrian returns to Athens.

AD 132 (or late 131) Hadrian grants new favours to Athens, probably including a free grain-dole on the model of that at Rome (which is also given to Antinoupolis), and celebrates a festival with a huge wild-beast hunt in the stadium with 1,000 animals.

Spring: Hadrian dedicates the completed shrine of Olympian Zeus at Athens, ostentatiously as his completion of the efforts of the Greek builders since Pericles' time, and probably also inaugurates the new association of the Greek cities and communities, the *Panhellenion*; whether or not delegates from the new members gather for the occasion, a chairman (archon) is elected to organize preparations for the first festival and Games in 137. The Panhellenion organization is to meet every four years thereafter for the Games. New Olympic and Panathenaic Games are also organized for regular meetings at Athens; it is not known whether or not Hadrian now authorizes the establishment of the *Hadriania* festival or if this was done later as a posthumous tribute from the city.

?May: Hadrian receives news of the start of a serious uprising in Judaea; the rebels, led by Simon Bar Kochba ('Son of the Star'), who proclaims himself the 'Messiah', believe that the Emperor's actions threaten their existence as a separate religion and assault the Roman troops in the province with desperate ferocity and initial success. Legate Tineius Rufus faces a widespread guerrilla war, conducted from secret hideouts and supplied with thousands of weapons manufactured in secret, and governor Publicius Marcellus brings troops from Syria to aid him.

The Twenty-Second Legion comes from Egypt, but is apparently destroyed by the Jews; most of Judaea is freed from Roman control and Simon takes the title of 'Prince' with a new 'era' on his rebel coinage marked as starting in March/April 132.

?Summer: Hadrian returns briefly to Judaea to oversee military operations before going to the Balkans sometime over the next few months; he summons governor Julius Severus of Britain to take charge of the war. In Judaea, Tineius Rufus resorts to atrocities to terrify the Jews into surrender; among his executions of rebel sympathizers is that of the senior scholar Rabbi Akiva.

In his twelfth year, i.e. after April 132, Marcus Verus (Aurelius), the future Emperor, apparently commences his lifelong interest in philosophy, mainly thanks to his painting tutor Diognetus, and starts to adopt the austere and self-controlled habits of the Stoics.

AD 133 1 January: Publius Mummius Sisenna consul; at the end of his term of office he goes to Britain to replace Julius Severus as governor. There is possibly some military trouble in northern Britain, if the literary references to Britain as well as Judaea causing problems mean that they did so concurrently.

Julius Severus arrives in Judaea to supersede Tineius Rufus as commander against the rebels; Hadrian is probably on the Danube, and may have conferred there with Severus as he takes his troops east and collects Danube levies on his way to Judaea.

January: Birth of Didius Julianus, Emperor 193.

AD 134 1 January: Hadrian's brother-in-law Julius Servianus holds his third consulship, at the advanced age of 84, with Titus Vibius Varus (governor of Cilicia 131–?); **April** he is replaced by Titus Haterius Nepos, governor of Arabia.

?April/May: Hadrian returns to Rome. He is said by Aurelius Victor (fourth century) to have established a new 'university' there like that at Athens, a school for the Greek liberal arts, and to have introduced the 'Eleusinian Mysteries' to the city; his quarrel with (?and execution of) Apollodorus, architect of the new Temple of Venus and Rome, may also have occurred soon after his return and indicate a deterioration of his health and character over the next year or two.

Hadrian opens his new bridge across the Tiber to the Vatican quarter, the *Pons Aelia*, and commences work on his adjacent mausoleum (now the Castel Sant' Angelo).

AD 135 End of the Jewish war, with the fall of the fortress of Bethar and the death of Simon 'Bar Kochba'; some isolated bands of rebels may well have held out in caves for some months.

Hadrian takes his second salutation as Imperator, and grants triumphal ornaments to the victorious generals Julius Severus and Publicius Marcellus. ?Judaea is renamed the province of 'Syria Palestina' to emphasize the extinction of the Jewish state and nation, and Jews are banned from visiting Aelia Capitolina.

AD 136 Consul: Lucius Ceionius Commodus, stepson of the executed general Avidius Nigrinus and one of Hadrian's literary circle.

Pharasmanes of Iberia persuades the Alan tribes north of the Caucasus to invade his neighbours, the Albani and Armenia; Armenia's patron King Vologaeses of Parthia buys them off, and complains to Rome about this action by its client but is too preoccupied with rival Mithridates to retaliate. Arrian, as governor of Asia province, persuades or threatens the Alans into withdrawing to their homeland.

April: Hadrian's young favoured relation Marcus Verus (Aurelius) serves as honorary City Praefect during the 'Latin Festival'; he probably also begins to study philosophy with his tutors including Apollonius of Chalcedon, tutor to the young son of Lucius Ceionius Commodus to whose sister, Ceionia Fabia, Marcus is soon engaged at Hadrian's suggestion.

31 May: Hadrian's edict in reply to appeal from famine-hit Egypt is issued at Alexandria.

?Late summer/autumn: Hadrian, his health declining and suffering from nosebleeds, names ex-consul Lucius Ceionius Commodus as his adopted son and heir – a risky choice given that despite his relative youth Commodus is suffering from tuberculosis. Commodus' daughter's recent betrothal to Marcus Verus (Aurelius) may indicate that he is intended as a 'stop-gap' until Marcus, now 15, is old enough to succeed. Shows and Games are held to celebrate the adoption, and the new heir becomes 'Lucius Aelius Caesar'.

AD 137 1 January: Aelius Caesar serves as consul; he is granted the tribunician power and goes to the Danube with proconsular power over the two Pannonian provinces, based at Carnuntum.

Hadrian's great-nephew Pedanius Fuscus, orphaned grandson of his sister Domitia Paulina and of the aged ex-consul Lucius Julius Servianus, now in his early twenties and in the Imperial entourage during the overseas tours of the early 130s, fears that he is being passed over for the succession and forms some sort of conspiracy.

?Hadrian, evidently not well enough to travel to Greece for the inaugural Panhellenic festival and Games at Athens, lives in increasing seclusion at his villa at Tibur and becomes suspicious of some of his courtiers over their attitude to his choice for the succession; the enforced suicide of Hadrian's Bithynian friend and adviser Polyaeus may be connected to this period.

?Hadrian starts to become suspicious of his brother-in-law Servianus for sitting in an Imperial chair when the old man comes to visit him while he is bedridden and paying attentions to the attendant Praetorians.

Autumn (?November): Pedanius Fuscus is arrested and executed for plotting to kill Hadrian, followed by the enforced suicide of his aged grandfather Servianus who the increasingly ill Hadrian does not wish to see surviving him in case he tries for the throne.

?December: Aelius Caesar returns to Rome; ?death of Empress Vibia Sabina, apparently preceding that of Aelius Caesar.

AD 138 1 January: Aelius Caesar, due to give an important speech to the Senate, falls ill during the preceding night and dies of a haemorrhage; Hadrian forbids official mourning which will disrupt the New Year ceremonies. His condition deteriorates, apparently into dropsy.

24 January: On his sixty-second birthday, Hadrian summons his advisers to his sickbed and proposes a new heir – the respected senator Aurelius Antoninus, aged 51, son of Nerva's friend Arrius Antoninus and married to Marcus Verus (Aurelius)'s aunt Annia Faustina, who comes from Nemausus (Nîmes) in Gaul and was consul in 120, pro-consul of Asia province, and one of Hadrian's four first senatorial governors of the Italian provinces. Antoninus is given time to agree to the proposal, and accepts.

25 February: Antoninus is adopted as 'Titus Aurelius Caesar Antoninus Imperator', and is granted the tribunician power and consulship for 139. He adopts Marcus Verus (now 'Marcus Aurelius Verus'), aged nearly 17, and Aelius Caesar's son Lucius ('Aurelius') Commodus, aged around eight; these are the next in line after Antoninus to be Emperors. Marcus is required to move from his grandfather Verus' house, the ancestral home of family, to Hadrian's private house on the Esquiline.

Hadrian dismisses long-serving Praetorian Praefect Marcius Turbo, apparently due to suspicions, and gives the post to Gavius Maximus (former procurator of Mauretania Tingitana) and Petronius Mamertinus (recently Praefect of Egypt); he writes his autobiography and moves to Baiae to take the waters, leaving Antoninus in charge in Rome.

Hadrian considers suicide, but his lazygian huntsman Mastor is too frightened to obey his orders to stab him; **10 July** he dies at Baiae, aged 61, in the presence of Antoninus who succeeds to the throne and has him buried at Cicero's villa at Puteoli until the Mausoleum in Rome is ready.

Reign of Antoninus Pius

Antoninus requests the Senate to deify Hadrian, but the late ruler is so unpopular that there is serious resistance; it is proposed to annul all Hadrian's acts as a mark of their displeasure at his behaviour, particularly the executions in 117/8 and 137/8, but Antoninus points out that that would include his own adoption so they give in; Hadrian is deified and granted a temple and Games at Rome, and other temples follow elsewhere by local initiative especially in the east.

Antoninus takes the additional name 'Pius', possibly in tribute to his desire to be a model of virtue like Vergil's hero 'pius Aeneas' or because of an earlier ancestor who bore the name; Marcus Aurelius agrees to his uncle's request to abandon his engagement to Aelius Caesar's daughter Ceionia Fabia and marry his own cousin, Antoninus and Faustina's daughter Faustina II, though she is younger and the marriage will have to be postponed for some years.

Marcus presides at Hadrian's formal funeral ceremonies and Games in Rome; when the Mausoleum is ready the late ruler's ashes are ceremonially installed there.

AD 139 1 January: Antoninus consul, with Hadrian's friend Caius Bruttius Praesens; Marcus is quaestor and is named as consul-designate for 140 and member of the four senior priestly 'colleges'.

Antoninus becomes Pater Patriae, and Marcus joins him at the Palace of Tiberius on the Palatine; the young heir starts his formal 'tertiary' education at about this date, with Cornelius Fronto teaching him Latin oratory and Annius Macer, Caninius Celer and the prominent Athenian noble Herodes Atticus teaching him Greek.

?5 January: Possible date for the martyrdom of (St) Telesphorus, eighth Bishop of Rome, said by Eusebius to have been killed in the first year of Antoninus' reign and the only Bishop of Rome reliably attested as a martyr in this period; he had probably ruled the see for 11 years, and is succeeded by (the Greek ex-philosopher?) Hyginus who holds office to c. 143.

Antoninus appoints Quintus Lollius Urbicus, an officer distinguished in the Jewish war and since then governor of Lower Germany, as the new governor of Britain; the choice of a competent general may indicate that Antoninus is already planning to re-expand the province beyond Hadrian's Wall.

Hadrian's system of four ex-consuls as governors of the Italian provinces is abandoned, probably to conciliate the Senate and show that this Emperor wants to give it more power within Italy.

15 July: Marcus leads the annual parade of the equestrian order before the Emperor as the new Princeps Iuventutis, the title of young heirs-apparent granted to Augustus' grandsons and Nero, and is appointed one of the *severi turmarum equitum Romanorum* who lead their military (cavalry) organization; he also becomes 'Caesar' at about this time.

AD 140 1 January: Marcus serves as consul; he is only 18 but the

experience is regarded as useful for his future as Emperor.

?Marcus' main tutor and friend/mentor Fronto serves as defence counsel for the prominent Athenian citizen Tiberius Claudius Demonstratus in an unpleasant case involving murder and injustice; as the main prosecutor is Marcus' Greek tutor Herodes Atticus (a controversial figure in Athens accused of embezzling his plutocrat father's legacy meant for the citizens) Marcus is embarrassed at the prospect of Fronto using 'character assassination' attacks against Atticus and appeals to him for restraint.

Autumn: Antoninus and Marcus visit the retired governor of Britain, Pompeius Falco, at his country estate – presumably as part of Antoninus' evaluation of expert military advice about extending Roman control in the province.

?War against rebels in Dacia.

?Rome installs new client-king of Armenia, Sohaemus the ruler of Emesa in Syria; King Mithridates of Parthia is unable or unwilling to intervene.

AD 141 Lollius Urbicus campaigns north of Hadrian's Wall, annexing the territories of the Votadini and Selgovae to the line between the Firth of Forth and the Clyde estuary; previous Roman forts and roads built by Agricola in the province and abandoned in the late 80s or the 110s are reused, and a permanent turf wall (the 'Antonine Wall') is erected between the estuaries of the Forth and Clyde with a line of forts.

?Visit of the King of Iberia to Rome.

AD 142 Conclusion of the successful northern British campaign; Antoninus is hailed as 'Imperator' by his troops and uses this second military salutation for his titles and coinage.

AD 143 1 January: Herodes Atticus is granted the first consulship of the year, a rare privilege for a Greek and reflecting the Emperor's thanks for his service in educating Marcus.

1 July: Fronto serves as suffect consul for two months, in a less

prestigious role than his fellow-tutor; the Imperial household is at Baiae for much of this time, as shown by this part of Marcus' extensive correspondence with his tutor.

13 August: Fronto delivers his panegyric to Antoninus, the regular consular speech of thanks to the Emperor for giving the honour of office.

AD 144 ?Spring/summer: The young Greek orator Aelius Aristides delivers his famous speech in Rome praising the Empire as being preferable to all the great monarchies of the past, as combining the best elements of monarchy, aristocracy and democracy, protecting the weak from the strong, and enclosing the civilized world with protective ramparts; he singles out both the just and honest Emperors and the well-disciplined, organized and efficient army.

AD 145 1 January: Antoninus and Marcus serve as consuls.

Revolt in Mauretania; reinforcements are sent there to aid the small garrisons, under legate Flavius Priscus (commander of the recent successful campaign in Dacia), but a larger force is soon required and Uttedius Quadratus is chosen as commander.

17 March: Probable date that Lucius Verus Commodus, son of Aelius Caesar and Antoninus' younger adopted son, assumes toga virilis; Antoninus dedicates the new Temple of Hadrian in the capital and holds celebratory Games.

April: Marcus marries his first cousin, Antoninus' daughter Faustina (II).

11 April: Birth at Leptis Magna (Libya) of the future Emperor Septimius Severus, son of Publius Septimius Geta and Fulvia Pia.

September: Cornelius Priscianus, probably the governor, is accused of plot in Tarraconensis to seize the province and revolt against the Emperor; he is condemned by the Senate and forced to commit suicide.

AD 146 Consul: Marcus' brother-in-law (and first cousin) Caius Ummidianus Quadratus Annianus Verus (son of the consul of 118).

Death of Sextus Erucius Clarus, Praefect of Rome, current consul, and friend of Pliny.

?Marcus starts his most intensive stage of learning philosophy in rejection of the less meaningful study of rhetoric, chiefly encouraged by the older Stoic enthusiast Quintus Rusticus (grandson of a victim of Domitian) and his own contemporary, that year's consul Claudius Severus; his dedication and enthusiasm to serious study reportedly undermines his health and dismays the more dilettante Fronto.

AD 147 30 November: Birth of Marcus and Faustina's first child, their daughter Domitia Faustina.

1 December: Marcus is granted the tribunician power and proconsular imperium; Faustina receives the title of 'Augusta'.

10 December: Marcus' tribunician power is formally renewed so the second term of it commences on the day that Antoninus also has his powers renewed.

AD 148 Publius Salvius Julianus, leading jurist and judicial writer, is consul. Games are held to celebrate the 900th anniversary of the supposed foundation date of Rome but there are no 'Secular Games'; a wide variety of exotic wildlife is used in wild-beast hunts in the amphitheatres.

AD 149 Birth and subsequent death of Marcus and Faustina's first pair of male twins.

AD 150 7 March: Marcus and Faustina's second daughter, (Annia Aurelia Galeria) Lucilla, is born.

AD 151 The brothers Sextus Quintilius Condianus and Sextus Maximus Quintilius, from Alexandria Troas near Ilium (Troy), serve together as consuls.

AD 152 Death of Marcus' sister Cornificia, married to Caius Ummidianus Quadratus.

AD 153 Publius Septimius Aper from Libya, cousin to the father of the future Emperor Septimius Severus, is suffect consul. Lucius Verus serves as quaestor.

Marcus and Faustina's third daughter, (Annia Galeria) Faustina, born – presumably after the death of their first daughter Faustina.

AD 154 Consul: Lucius Verus.

AD 155 Consul: Caius Aufidius Victorinus, friend of Marcus and son-in-law of Fronto.

?The Christian writer Justin produces his *Apology* for the religion, dedicated to Antoninus and his adopted sons, defending Christianity from slander, promoting its claims as a universal religion, and attacking the morality of the Greco-Roman gods and the dubiously just deification of Emperors and their associates (particularly Antinous) – it includes account of the recent martyrdom of Ptolemaeus by Praefect of Rome Lollius Urbicus, governor of Britain in the 140s.

?Cnaeus Julius Verus governor of Britain (?to 158); during his governorship it appears that the frontier is withdrawn from the 'Antonine Wall' back to Hadrian's Wall, possibly after insurgency among the Votadini or Selgovae.

AD 156 Consul: Lucius Verus' cousin Marcus Ceionius Silvanus.

At around this date, Fronto is entered in the senatorial ballot for senior provincial governorships but is chosen for Asia not the more familiar and nearer Africa (he comes from adjoining Numidia) and is unable to take it up due to ill-health.

?Death of Praetorian Praefect Gavius Maximus after 18 years in office; succeeded by Caius Tattius Maximus.

?Execution, by burning and stabbing, in the amphitheatre at Smyrna, of the city's aged Christian bishop, (St) Polycarp, one of the leading figures of contemporary Christianity.

AD 157 Consul: Marcus Vettulenus Civica Barbarus, half-brother of the late Aelius Caesar and so Lucius Verus' uncle.

AD 158 <March: Birth and death of Marcus and Faustina's second son.

AD 159 Consuls: Plautius Quintillus, husband of Lucius Verus' sister Ceionia Fabia, with Marcus Statius Priscus, former hero in the Jewish war and probably current curator of the Tiber banks and the Rome sewers, who soon becomes governor of Upper Moesia.

?Advance of the Roman frontier in the upper Danube area of Rhaetia to a new permanent wall 15 miles further than the previous limit of the Empire, possibly to conciliate the proponents of aggression among the Roman military leadership.

AD 161 1 January: Marcus and Lucius serve as consuls.

7 March: Antoninus falls ill after the previous night's dinner at his favourite, modest country villa at Lorium, where he was brought up, and summons his council, including Praetorian Praefects Furius Victorinus and Cornelius Repentinus; he announces that he is dying and commends the state to Marcus, ordering that the statue of Fortune in his own bedroom be moved to Marcus' room.

Death of Antoninus Pius at Lorium, aged 74; Marcus and Lucius succeed as co-Emperors, aged 39 and 30, but in effect the more intelligent, hard-working and dedicated Marcus is far more influential than his weaker and hedonistic colleague who earns a reputation for hard drinking.

Reigns of Marcus Aurelius and (to 169) Lucius Verus

Marcus assumes the name of 'Antoninus' and Lucius the name of 'Verus' and Imperial proconsular and tribunician powers; once the Senate has met to confirm their powers they go to address the Guard at Praetorian Camp where Lucius makes a speech and a donative is issued, 20,000 sesterces to each soldier and more to officers.

State funeral of Antoninus Pius on the Campus Martius, followed by his deification; the temple he has built in the Forum Romanum to his late wife Faustina is dedicated to him too.

Marcus' 11-year-old daughter Lucilla is betrothed to Lucius Verus, and the alimenta system set up to support poor children by Nerva and Trajan is extended in commemoration of the event.

?Marcus establishes reforms to the administration of justice, a particular interest of his after his training by Fronto, and increases the Senate's participation in cases; he makes it clear that he does not welcome opportunistic charges of treason or cases designed to win money for the treasury and sets an example of hard work and probity.

?Spring/summer: Vologaeses of Parthia invades Armenia, expels the Roman nominee ruler Sohaemus, and installs his own candidate and relative Pacorus; Marcus Sedatius Severianus, governor of Cappadocia, superstitiously accepts the promise of an easy victory from soothsayer Alexander of Abunuteichus and invades with only one legion but is trapped at Elegeia by Parthian general Chosroes and commits suicide to avoid disgrace of surrender; his leaderless troops are massacred.

Marcus replaces the Imperial 'Secretary for Letters' Sextus Caecilius Crescens Volusianus, an African, with the experienced general Titus Varius Clemens from Noricum, probably in response to the eastern crisis; Statius Priscus, now governor of Britain, is sent to Cappadocia and replaced by Sextus Calpurnius Agrippa, and Marcus' friend Aufidius Victorinus becomes governor of Upper Germany where there is some sort of German tribal raiding over frontier.

Publius Julius Geminus Marcianus, a Numidian compatriot of Fronto commanding the Tenth Legion at Vindobona (Vienna), takes Danubian reinforcements east to Cappadocia, and the entire Second (Adiutrix) Legion at Aquincum (Budapest) and the Fifth (Macedonian) Legion from Moesia are ordered to move there; the First (Minervian) Legion moves east from Bonn.

31 August: Birth of Marcus and Faustina (II)'s second set of male twins, Titus Aurelius Fulvus Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Commodus.

?Autumn: Flooding of the Tiber in Rome and serious famine in Italy.

Winter: After the defeat of Lucius Attidius Cornelianus, governor of Syria, by the Parthians in Armenia, it is decided that Lucius as the physically fitter Emperor should go east to take command.

?Marcus' first cousin Marcus Annii Libo is appointed as governor of Syria.

AD 162 More fighting in Armenia; ?Parthians attack the Roman Syrian frontier too.

?Early summer: Lucius leaves Rome, with entourage headed by Praetorian Praefect Victorinus and senior general Marcus Pontius Laelianus Larcius Sabinus (governor of Syria in ?153); Marcus accompanies him as far as Capua but has to hurry to his bedside when he falls ill suddenly during interruption to his journey for a hunting trip to Apulia. Lucius sails east to Corinth, and stops at Athens to stay with Herodes Atticus and be initiated into the Eleusinian 'Mysteries'.

Statius Priscus takes command in Cappadocia, probably before Lucius' leisurely journey ends at Antioch, and prepares his troops for campaign.

?Late: Birth of Marcus and Faustina's third son to survive, Marcus Annii Verus.

AD 163 Statius Priscus campaigns successfully in Armenia and evicts Pacorus and his Parthian backers, storming Artaxata; Lucius takes the title 'Armeniacus' though he is at Antioch or its pleasure-resort neighbour Daphne all the year and sees no military action. Marcus and Lucius are hailed as 'Imperators' by the troops.

The Parthians depose the Roman client-king Mannus of Osroene, and the Roman troops in Syria cross the Euphrates to recover the towns of Dausara and Nicephorium; they go on to invade Osroene, assisted by a second Roman army from Armenia under Marcus Claudius Fronto which takes Anthemusia.

Death of governor Marcus Annii Libo of Syria, after quarrelling with Lucius; he is replaced by the general Cnaeus Julius Verus.

AD 164 ?Spring: Marcus escorts his daughter Lucilla to Brundisium, whence she sails to Asia province to marry Lucius at Ephesus.

The Roman army in Armenia demolishes Artaxata and founds new

Roman-designed capital of '*Kaine Polis*' ('New City'); Lucius crowns Sohaemus as King and sends him back to Armenia as ruler.

Marcus takes the title '*Armeniacus*'.

AD 165 The Romans reoccupy Edessa and restore Mannus as ruler of Osrhoene; they advance across Mesopotamia to take Nisibis, and the Parthian general Chosroes is chased back to the Tigris and forced to escape capture there by swimming over the river.

Caius Avidius Cassius, Syrian commander of the Third Gallican Legion, leads successful campaign on the Euphrates and wins battle at Dura-Europus; **?Autumn** he penetrates down the river as far as the 'narrows' near Ctesiphon and Seleucia and crosses there to the Tigris. Vologaeses withdraws to the Zagros as his ancestors did in 116 when Trajan arrived, and Seleucia, on the right (west) bank, surrenders and is followed by Ctesiphon. Cassius burns the Parthian capital; later he controversially sacks Seleucia as well, ruining it as the major Hellenic centre of the region, and claims it was about to revolt.

Cassius withdraws to Upper Mesopotamia due to shortage of supplies and probable outbreak of plague among his troops; Lucius takes the title of '*Parthicus Maximus*' and he and Marcus receive their third salutation as '*Imperators*'.

?Appointment of first Roman legate, Fulvius Titianus, to supervise the important Syrian desert trading-centre of Palmyra (Tadmor).

Autumn: Death of Marcus' (?eldest) son, twin Titus Antoninus; the younger twin, the future Emperor Commodus, is now his likeliest heir.

AD 166 Julius Verus and Claudius Fronto are recalled to Italy to take control of levying two new legions for the war on Danube which now becomes imperative due to the rising threat from the tribes on the far bank; Lucius' adviser Jullius Bassus is sent as governor to Upper Pannonia and another experienced commander, Tiberius Claudius Pompeianus from Antioch (Marcus' future son-in-law), is soon sent to Lower Pannonia. Marcus probably starts planning a large-scale offensive.

Roman troops invade Media across the Tigris; Lucius takes the title 'Medicus' and Marcus that of 'Parthicus Maximus', and both receive their fourth salutation as 'Imperators'.

May: Avidius Cassius, victor in Mesopotamia, serves as suffect consul.

Roman traders, probably from Alexandria, arrive at the Imperial Chinese court via Annam, and are recorded in Chinese annals as the ambassadors of Emperor 'An-Toun'.

?May/June: Lucius and Lucilla set out back for Rome, leaving Avidius Cassius as the new governor of Syria; **?August** they return to Rome.

12 October: Marcus and Lucius celebrate their triumph for the Parthian war in Rome with the usual parade and sacrifices, followed by Games; they become Patres Patriae and Marcus' two sons Commodus and Marcus Verus become 'Caesars'. The 'civic crown' for saving citizens' lives is awarded to the Emperors, and three crowns each are awarded to Praefect Victorinus and generals Pontius Laelianus and Cornelius Fronto.

Winter: (or early 167) 6,000 Langobardi and Obii invade Pannonia, and are driven out by cavalry-commander Marcus Catonius Vindex and infantry-commander Candidus.

AD 167 Lucius serves as consul, with Marcus' nephew Ummidius Quadratus; his luxurious lifestyle and lack of interest in administration becomes more noticeable, aided by the entourage of actors and others he has brought back from Syria, as does his heavy drinking.

Following the defeat of the Langobardi and Obii, a coalition of 11 tribes sues for peace with Rome and sends King Bellomarius of the Marcomanni at head of a delegation to Julius Bassus, governor of Upper Pannonia; terms are agreed and peace is restored; Marcus and Lucius are hailed as 'Imperators' for the fifth time.

?Spring: As the demobilized eastern expedition returns to its bases elsewhere, the plague they have brought from Mesopotamia spreads across the Empire. The epidemic is severe, most notably in Rome where

panic and accusations about which act displeasing to the gods caused it (?Cassius' sack of Seleucia) leads the Emperors to organize propitiatory ceremonies. The city is purified, and the ancient lectisternium ceremony of providing a public banquet for the statues of the gods is carried out for seven days. The search for scapegoats also leads to new attacks on Christians, and their apologist Justin is arrested at the instigation of his Cynic philosopher rival Crescens and is tried before City Praefect (and Stoic philosopher) Junius Rusticus. Justin and the others accused refuse to sacrifice to the gods and are executed.

?Death of Marcus' oratory-tutor and friend Fronto.

May: Fighting in Dacia, where the gold-mines are attacked.

AD 168 6 January: Marcus addresses the Praetorian Guard at their barracks, presumably about the forthcoming campaign; the Marcomanni and Victuali across the upper Danube are demanding land due to pressure from their neighbours and threatening to take it by force if they are not allowed to move into the Empire as settlers.

Salvius Julianus, leading jurist, is governor of Africa.

Spring: Marcus and Lucius leave Rome for the Danube, while the land-hungry German tribes send negotiators to treat for peace as they face attack by the Romans. The Quadi attack the frontier but are defeated and their belligerent king is killed, and Lucius falls ill en route at Aquileia and claims that the situation does not require Imperial presence on the frontier. At some point Praefect Victorinus dies (?in the plague) or is killed after reaching the frontier and joining the remaining fighting, being replaced by Praefect of the Vigiles Marcus Bassaeus Rufus; Marcus Macrinus Vindex later becomes co-Praefect.

Marcus insists that he and Lucius continue to the Danube, and they inspect the armies there and set up a new superior military command for the 'Italian and Alpine' region which goes to Quintus Antistius Adventus.

Winter: Marcus and Lucius reside at Aquileia; however, the plague returns and **December** after some time they agree to move back to Rome and set off.

AD 169 January: Shortly after leaving Aquileia, Lucius has a stroke at Altinum; he dies a few days later, aged 38.

Marcus, left as sole ruler, conducts Lucius' state funeral at Rome and sees to relief-measures from the plague; he has to carry out emergency recruitment for the denuded armies (especially on the Danube), including gladiators, freed slaves, bandits and Balkan hill-tribes.

With the losses to citizenry drastically reducing tax revenues at a time of military threat, Marcus resorts to a morale-boosting example to the public by auctioning off Imperial furnishings, tableware, jewellery, robes and other luxuries in the Forum of Trajan to raise funds; it reputedly takes two months.

Serious fighting in Lower Pannonia, Upper Moesia and Dacia, the provinces surrounding the Danube–Theiss 'salient' whose tribes, the Quadi and Iazyges, are presumably the cause of the crisis.

?August/September: Lucilla is remarried, to the rising Syrian general Tiberius Claudius Pompeianus, apparently within the normal period reserved for mourning for a previous husband and with the opposition of her mother Faustina. During the late summer Imperial holiday at Praeneste Marcus' second son Marcus Verus dies, aged seven, and Marcus stoically does not interrupt the Capitoline Games.

Autumn: Marcus sets off for the Danube front; he probably winters at Sirmium.

AD 170 Erucius Clarus and Fronto's pupil Caius Cornelius Cethegus consuls; Hoenius Severus suffect consul.

Spring/summer: Marcus campaigns across the Danube, and apparently while he is fighting downstream the Marcomanni and Quadi cross into Rhaetia or Noricum (from the Bohemia area) and ravage across the plains as far as the Julian Alps without major resistance. The tribes reach Aquileia at the entrance to Italy, which is besieged but relieved; they are eventually driven back towards the Danube.

Probably while Marcus has taken the main army west to rescue Aquileia, the tribes cross the lower Danube into Moesia where governor Claudius Fronto of Upper Moesia dies or is killed; the first major

incursion across the Balkans since Augustus' reign sees them raid Thrace and Macedonia, and the Costoboci (from Dacia) penetrate Greece and ravage as far as Attica where the shrine of the 'Mysteries' at Eleusis is sacked.

Pompeianus, Marcus' son-in-law, clears the raiders from the Julian Alps, his lieutenants including the future Emperor Helvius Pertinax (procurator of the *Alimenta* in the *Via Aemilia* region); Vehilius Gratus Julianus clears Macedonia and Greece, and Valerius Maximinianus takes shiploads of marines and supplies down the Danube from Noricum to reinforce the armies in Pannonia.

?Construction of new walls around many Balkan towns and cities begins, in anticipation of more invasions.

AD 171 Marcus sets up his headquarters at Carnuntum and **?June** destroys the main army of the Marcomanni as they reach the Danube with their loot en route home; he receives his sixth salutation as 'Imperator'.

Moorish rebels in Mauretania raid across the Straits of Gibraltar into Baetica; Marcus sends his friend Aufidius Victorinus with troops as governor of both Baetica and *Tarraconensis*; the designated quaestor for Baetica – a senatorial province – the young Libyan Lucius Septimius Severus (the future Emperor), is diverted to Sardinia as Marcus gives it to the Senate in exchange for him now controlling Baetica.

Marcus tells his expectant troops that the Empire cannot afford to give them a donative; he starts negotiations with assorted neighbouring peoples across the Danube and receives envoys from them at Carnuntum, including one 12-year-old chieftain called Battarius; gifts of money are given in exchange for their help in restraining potentially anti-Roman neighbours, and they succeed in persuading chieftain Tarbus to halt his threat of attack on Dacia. The Quadi sue for peace and hand over horses and thousands of deserters; land is granted to Germans as settlers in Pannonia, Moesia and Roman Germany but an initial settlement in Italy is halted after settlers try to seize nearby Ravenna.

Cornelius Clemens, the new governor of Dacia, admits a horde of the Astingi (Vandals) under Raus and Raptus, who leave their non-combatants on Roman territory while they destroy the Costoboci on Rome's behalf; they start to ravage Dacia too and are ambushed and defeated by the Lacringes who fear they are next on the list, and the survivors settle peacefully within Dacia as Roman allies.

AD 172 Marcus crosses the Danube to invade the territory of the Marcomanni, who are now isolated after the Quadi and other neighbours made peace; ?co-Praetorian Praefect Vindex is killed and Marcus leaves his post vacant despite thinking of appointing the rising general Helvius Pertinax, now legate of the First Legion ('Adiutrix') and recently admitted to the Senate.

As indicated by the Column of Marcus Aurelius, this year's campaign apparently sees Marcus' prayers to Jupiter being followed by a thunderbolt destroying an enemy siege engine; later the exhausted Roman army is fighting a difficult battle against a surrounding force of Quadi when there is a sudden downpour of rain (?summoned by Marcus' Egyptian astrologer Arnouphis) and the refreshed troops are inspired to drive back the Germans who are terrified by thunderbolts. It is possible that Pertinax is the Roman commander on this occasion as stated by Eusebius, or that the 'Quadi' who are defeated are the treaty-breaking Cotini who at around this time go back on their offers of alliance against the Marcomanni to Marcus' 'Latin Secretary' Tarrutenius Paternus.

15 October: After Marcus' defeat of the Marcomanni and (if Dio is correct) the Quadi, Marcus and his son Commodus assume the title 'Germanicus'.

The priest Isidorus leads an uprising of herdsmen in the Nile Delta in Egypt; they capture and sacrifice a Roman centurion, win battle and march on Alexandria but are defeated as Avidius Cassius brings in his army from Syria. Possibly while Cassius is preoccupied in Egypt, the Armenians expel King Sohaemus who is restored by Martius Verus (governor of Cappadocia).

?Septimius Severus serves as legate to the governor of Africa.

AD 173 Consuls: Cnaeus Claudius Severus, husband of Marcus' second daughter Annia Faustina, and Lucilla's second husband Claudius Pompeianus.

Caius Septimius Severus (consul in 160), from Leptus Magna, serves as governor of Africa province; he takes his first cousin Septimius Geta's son Lucius Septimius Severus, the future Emperor, as his legate.

Marcus' return to Rome is delayed by continuing war against the Quadi and their neighbours the Naristae; the Pannonian commander Valerius Maximianus kills the leader of the Naristae, Valao, in single combat.

Marcus writes the second book of his philosophical *Meditations* while based at Carnuntum, probably this year, and the third book on campaign across the Danube up the Granua (Gran) River in modern Slovakia against the Marcomanni or Quadi; the latter accept peace terms at some point and soon break them, expelling pro-Roman ruler Furtius, but the Marcomannic peace holds.

Marcus requires the Marcomanni to keep at least five miles back from the Danube, but relaxes this within a year or two on their appeal.

AD 174 The Quadi revolt again, apparently after Rome discovers that they are not fulfilling their promise to return deserters and captives, and aid the Iazyges (between the Danube and the Theiss) in a new war; Marcus campaigns against them from base at Sirmium.

Ariogaesus, new leader of the Quadi with whom Marcus has refused to deal, surrenders as peace is agreed and is exiled to Alexandria; the Iazyges send envoys to Marcus, who refuses to treat as simultaneously their leading pro-peace chieftain Banadaspus has been imprisoned.

Marcus receives his seventh salutation as 'Imperator', and Faustina becomes 'Mater Castrorum'. ?War with the Quadi's Sarmatian allies, which designation may include the Iazyges, leads to Roman military occupation of part of their tribal territory.

AD 175 1 January: Two future Emperors are consuls – Helvius Pertinax and the governor of Belgica, Didius Julianus (who has recently defeated an attack by ?the Chauci). Septimius Severus, their successor, is tribune. After leaving office, Pertinax serves as governor of Lower Moesia.

20 January: Commodus is admitted to the senior priestly ‘colleges’.

Spring: Marcus secures the Roman position across the Danube with successful campaign in Sarmatian lands, but probably does not lead it personally due to ill-health.

?March: A false report that Marcus is dying leads to the revolt of Avidius Cassius in Syria, who apparently receives a written appeal from Faustina suggesting that if her sick husband dies he becomes her new consort and protector of the young and naïve Commodus against potential rivals (possibly meaning Lucilla’s husband Pompeianus) and may have decided to anticipate events. He proclaims himself Emperor, and is recognized by most of the eastern provinces (in Egypt by 3 May) but not by Martius Verus in Cappadocia who sends to warn Marcus. Marcus summons Commodus to Sirmium, and sends governor Vettius Sabinianus of Lower Pannonia with troops to reinforce Rome where there is panic; Commodus distributes coins to the populace at the Forum of Trajan before his departure but is not yet given the toga virilis as he is still under the usual age for the ceremony of 14. Marcus has to address his troops on the revolt as news leaks out, and deplores the spectre of civil war and betrayal by a friend but assures that he is only fighting such a war for the civic good not because he is in love with power as he would be personally content to abdicate.

19 May: Commodus leaves Rome; **7 July** he is granted the toga virilis and proclaimed Princeps Iuventutis at ceremony at Sirmium.

?June: Cassius is murdered by a centurion three months and six days after proclaiming himself Emperor, and the revolt collapses; his head is sent to Marcus as Martius Verus takes control of Syria.

<28 July: Egypt recognizes Marcus as Emperor again.

The Iazyges sue for peace, and Marcus is proclaimed ‘Sarmaticus’; King Zanticus comes with other leaders to the Imperial camp to

surrender, and Marcus grants them the same terms as the Marcomanni and Quadi but requires them to live twice as far from the Danube. He takes delivery of 8,000 cavalry for the Roman army, some of which are sent to Britain.

?August: Marcus sets out for the east to tour the recently revolted provinces and secure their loyalty, taking his family; he crosses the Balkans to the Bosphorus or Hellespont and enters Bithynia to head across Asia Minor towards Syria.

?Eleutherius, from Nicopolis (Actium) in Epirus, becomes thirteenth Bishop of Rome.

AD 176 January: Faustina dies at the town of Hallal near Tyana in Cappadocia, aged around 46; Marcus has her deified and renames the site 'Faustinopolis'.

Marcus writes to the Senate about the punishment of Cassius' allies, emphasizing his desire to avoid vengeance or a hunt for suspects; Cassius' younger son Heliodorus is merely banished and his daughter Alexandria and son-in-law Dryantianus are placed under the surveillance of a trustworthy relative.

Marcus travels through Syria, probably avoiding Antioch, and Palestine to Egypt whose Praefect Calvisius Statianus is merely banished to an island for recognising Cassius as Emperor; **?April/May** he returns to Syria by sea and visits the eastern armies before heading back to Rome.

Marcus visits Smyrna, where he meets the rhetorician Aelius Aristides, and sails to Athens where he establishes chairs of philosophy at the Academy in the studies of Plato, Aristotle, Stoicism and Epicureanism with the advice of Herodes Atticus on who to appoint to them; **September** he and Commodus are initiated into the 'Eleusinian Mysteries'.

Marcus arrives back in Rome, addresses the populace and grants a donative of eight gold pieces per citizen; **27 November** Commodus is granted the necessary imperium to share in his father's triumph and is exempted from the usual age restrictions on holding office.

23 December: Marcus and Commodus celebrate German and Sarmatian triumph, Marcus walking beside the triumphal chariot in the Flaminian Circus while Commodus sits inside guiding the horses.

Marcus has a brief holiday at Lavinium, and refuses the proposal of his ex-fiancée Ceionia Fabia that they should marry.

AD 177 1 January: Commodus serves as consul, and is granted the tribunician power; full proconsular imperium follows to make him legally co-ruler as Marcus was from 147. His fondness for learning to fight as a gladiator and his lack of interest in serious study may already be apparent, being mentioned as Commodus' teenage faults in the *Augustan History*, but Marcus does not consider choosing any older and more capable figure as co-ruler.

Septimius Severus serves as praetor, and then as legate in Spain (Tarraconensis).

Marcus receives his ninth salutation as 'Imperator' following more fighting on the middle Danube; Didius Julianus ends a successful period as governor of Dalmatia after defeats of local bandits and is transferred to Lower Germany; Valerius Maximianus, as procurator of Lower Moesia, puts down more bandits on the Macedonian-Thracian border.

A hostile civic mob encourages the local police in 'round-up' of Christians in Lugdunum, and a prominent citizen called Vettius Epagathus who speaks up for them has to admit that he is one as well and is also arrested; the accused, including a number of Greek immigrants, are held until the governor arrives and are then prosecuted with their pagan slaves accusing them of cannibalism and incest; they are sentenced to death and Pothinus the aged bishop is among those tortured to death before the rest are sent to the amphitheatre – Marcus has responded to the governor's query to order that Roman citizens, who are not allowed to be thrown to the wild beasts, should be beheaded and the rest killed by the animals. A few of the prisoners recant and are spared as Marcus has ordered; Maturus, Sanctus and Blandina are among the victims thrown to the animals, though the latter leave Blandina alone at her first appearance to the crowd's disappointment,

and the citizen Attalus is included illegally to please the enthusiastic crowds.

AD 178 Marcus cancels all debts owed to the treasury since 133, and has the records publicly burnt in the Forum Romanum.

Disastrous earthquake at Smyrna; Aelius Aristides composes the civic authorities' appeal for aid from across the Empire.

New fighting on the Danube leads to Marcus planning another campaign there, apparently including the annexation of the Marcomanni and Quadi to bring their territory under Roman control; he has Commodus married to Bruttia Crispina, daughter of Caius Bruttius Praesens (consul in 153), and leaves Rome after swearing an oath on the Capitol that he has never knowingly taken the lives of Roman citizens and would have spared Cassius' rebels had he known in time. According to Aurelius Victor, he has to reassure a crowd of anxious philosophers that his duty requires him to hazard his life again before he has finished his work in Rome promoting their cause.

?Autumn: Marcus reaches the Danube, too late to take part in the campaigning season.

AD 179 Consuls: Commodus and Martius Verus.

Marcus campaigns against the Quadi or Marcomanni, and is acclaimed as 'Imperator' for the tenth time after victory by his senior general Tarrutienus Paternus, now Praetorian Praefect; he stations 20,000 troops in forts in the territory of the Quadi and the Marcomanni to hold them down and probably to prepare for annexations of land. It is probable that advancing the Roman frontier as far as the defensible line of the Carpathians in Bohemia and Slovakia is considered for the next few years.

The Iazyges send envoys asking for relaxation of the terms of their previous treaty in return for sending troops to aid the Roman army, provided that Rome will carry the war against the Quadi and Marcomanni through to a conclusion and not abandon them to vengeance of the latter afterwards; they are given assurances and are allowed

to travel across Roman Dacia to visit their allies the Roxelani, but are not permitted to sail on the Danube or settle on its islands.

?Marcus forcibly prevents the Quadi leaving their territory en masse to flee across the Carpathians.

Autumn: Roman troops winter in the lands of the Marcomanni and Quadi; Marcus is probably at Vindobona (Vienna).

AD 180 1 January: Bruttius Praesens, Commodus' father-in-law, consul; his colleague is one of Marcus' key military figures in the Danube war, Sextus Quintilius Condianus, governor of Lower Pannonia and son of one of the Quintilii cousins who were consuls in 151, due to the death of consul-designate Julius Verus. Helvius Pertinax goes to Syria as governor; Septimius Severus serves there too, as legate of the Fourth (Scythican) Legion.

c. 10 March: Marcus falls ill, either at Vindobona or Sirmium, and reputedly starves himself; **17 March** he dies at the age of 58, leaving Commodus as sole ruler aged 18. Cassius Dio, writing over 40 years later, accuses his physicians of speeding up his demise to do Commodus a favour.

Reign of Commodus

Commodus abandons the intended occupation of the territories beyond the Danube, withdraws the garrisons, and declares the campaign at an end; ?**summer** he sets off back for Rome, reputedly preferring a life of pleasure to hard campaigning.

The Senate votes honours to Marcus' memory, including a gold statue in the Senate House.

22 October: Commodus celebrates his German triumph, with his Bithynian chamberlain and close friend Saoterus breaching protocol by joining him in his triumphal chariot; over the next year or so the new ruler's weakness to flattery and bad advice starts to become apparent, and intrigues start to flourish at his increasingly extravagant court where he holds drunken parties and consorts with rakes and

prostitutes. A number of his father's ministers are also replaced, by his flatterers or those who offer bribes for the posts.

Revolt in Britain, probably north of Hadrian's Wall; suppressed by the governor, Quintus Antistius Adventus, after serious fighting (?into 181).

AD 182 Consul: Marcus Petronius Sura Mamertinus, husband of Commodus' sister Cornificia.

Lucilla, Commodus' elder sister, takes advantage of resentment at court against the privileges and gifts showered on Saoterus and of senatorial disquiet at Commodus' open debauchery, and forms a conspiracy; allegedly also annoyed at her sister-in-law Crispina usurping her role as the leading lady of the court and (according to Herodian) furious at losing her prestigious seat at the amphitheatre, she plots with her lover Ummidius Quadratus, stepson of her sister, and her husband Pompeianus' nephew Quintianus.

Quintianus attacks Commodus with a dagger in passageway to the theatre, but pauses to shout, 'The Senate sends you this!' and is seized by bodyguards; the Emperor has him and Quadratus killed, and Lucilla is exiled to Capreae. Her husband Pompeianus is accepted as innocent due to their estrangement, and withdraws from public life; Praefect Paternus (possibly a sympathiser of the plot but undetected) and his new colleague, Tigidius Perennis, have Saoterus lured out of the Palace and murdered in the streets by the secret police during the investigations into conspiracy, and Perennis starts to play on the Emperor's fears to make himself indispensable as guarantor of his safety.

Paternus is soon retired at Perennis' instigation, and a few days later is arrested and executed for leading a second plot – to make his own son-in-law Salvius Julianus, a commander in Germany (?governor of Upper Germany) and son of a popular general, Emperor. Didius Julianus, governor of Lower Germany, is accused and cleared of charges but dismissed; the 'Secretary for Letters' Vitruvius Secundus, two of the consuls of 182, and two ex-consuls are executed (one of them Egnatius Capito) along with the distinguished retired generals and consuls from

151, the Quintilii brothers; Quintilius Condianus, son of one of them, is hunted down in Syria where Helvius Pertinax as governor and his legate Septimius Severus are involved, but escapes by faking his death.

?**Late:** Pertinax is dismissed, succeeded by Domitius Dexter, and on his return to Rome is sent back to his native Liguria without further employment thanks to the jealousy of Perennis.

AD 183 Consuls: Commodus and his father's adviser Aufidius Victorinus.

?Septimius Severus is dismissed as legate of the Fourth Legion in Syria, and studies for a while at Athens.

Ulpus Marcellus, previously governor of Britain in ?175–8, replaces Quintus Antistius Adventus as governor; he may have been reappointed as an experienced man is needed to deal with continuing unrest on Hadrian's Wall.

AD 184 1 January: Commodus and City Praefect Aufidius Victorinus serve as consuls.

Commodus assumes the title of 'Pius' and is acclaimed as 'Imperator' for fifth and sixth times following victories on the upper Danube: one of the successful commanders is Perennis' son and his lavish rewards lead to speculation that the Praefect is manipulating Commodus to make the young man his colleague as Emperor.

?Perennis has all the legates of the legions in Britain dismissed following an attempt in the armies there to make legate Priscus Emperor.

15 October: Riots at the Capitoline Games in Rome.

AD 185 A contingent of troops from Britain and/or Pannonia arrives in Rome, possibly en route for a special mission against rising brigandage elsewhere in the Empire, and reveals alleged secret dealings of Perennis with their officers concerning the succession. Probably encouraged by the ambitious Palace freedman Cleander (from Phrygia), Commodus fears that Perennis is conspiring to seize the throne and has him seized and executed; in the succeeding purge of suspect governors and army

commanders Ulpius Marcellus, governor of Britain, is recalled for investigation and succeeded by Helvius Pertinax, and Septimius Severus is appointed governor of Lugdunensis in Gaul.

Cleander now becomes effective chief minister to his lazy and glib sovereign, holding the Praetorian Praefecture for a day and then handing it over to a succession of his nominees, and sets up a system of selling appointments to the highest bidder; the respected senior statesman Aufidius Victorinus soon commits suicide in protest at the state of public affairs. Commodus soon abandons his pretence of reforming his laziness to slip back into debauchery and to spend more time performing as a gladiator.

AD 186 Pertinax is nearly lynched by rioting troops in Britain who want to make their popular new governor Emperor but remains loyal; he warns Commodus of a plot by the Imperial brother-in-law Antistius Burrus, who may have approached him to lend his legions for a revolt.

Maternus leads an army of military deserters and other brigands to ravage the countryside in Upper Germany, an indication of the declining discipline and vigour of army and governorship.

?Commodus divorces his wife Crispina, and has his exiled sister Lucilla murdered.

AD 187 Summer: Following the death of his first wife, Paccia Marciana, Septimius Severus sends to Syria to arrange his engagement to Julia Domna, daughter of the immensely wealthy 'High Priest' Julius Bassianus of the shrine of Baal/Elagabalus at Emesa (who he presumably met during his stay in Syria in 180–2 as legate); they are subsequently married.

AD 188 Commodus executes his brother-in-law Burrus and the latter's ally, Praetorian Praefect Atilius Aebutianus; Cleander secures senior authority as head of security, with two Praetorian Praefects junior to him.

(or 187) Pertinax is recalled from Britain at his own request and is sent to Africa as governor.

4 April: Birth of Septimius Severus and Julia Domna's first son Lucius Bassianus (later the Emperor Caracalla).

AD 189 Pertinax returns to Rome as City Praefect; Didius Julianus succeeds him as governor of Africa.

Septimius Severus serves as governor of Sicily; **7 March** birth of his and Julia Domna's second son Geta.

Cleander engineers the arrest and execution of the respected governor of Asia province, Arrius Antoninus, a Numidian friend of the late Antistius Burrus.

Victor, the first Bishop of Rome of Latin origin, succeeds Eleutherius; he apparently achieves the release of Christian convicts in Sardinian slave-mines by intercession with Commodus' mistress Marcia.

AD 190 1 January: Commodus is consul with Petronius Sura Septimianus, brother of his brother-in-law Petronius Mamertinus; after resigning he appoints an unprecedented 25 consuls, mainly due to Cleander auctioning the title – they include Septimius Severus.

Papirius Dionysius, the new Praefect of the Annona ('Grain Supply'), denied his original appointment to the more lucrative prefecture of Egypt thanks to Cleander, engineers an artificial shortage of grain in the capital to make Cleander unpopular and spreads rumours that he is to blame; possibly as arranged by Dionysius, a demonstration breaks out in the Circus Maximus during Games and a crowd led by a tall young woman and children invades the track; the crowds determine to deal with Cleander and set off towards Commodus' current residence, a villa a few miles down the Appian Way which he has confiscated from the Quintilii brothers. The few troops sent to stop them are brushed aside, and as the crowds approach the villa Commodus is informed by his mistress Marcia (a former slave of the executed plotter Quadratus, and reputedly a Christian) and agrees to have Cleander executed immediately to pacify the protesters. Guard Praefects Julius Vetilius Julianus and Regillus and City Praefect Pertinax clearly take no action to stop the riots or to save Cleander, and his removal makes the

Praefects the chief advisers to the weak-willed Emperor.

?July: Julius Julianus engineers Regillus' removal; he is replaced soon by Motilenus.

?Autumn: Tiring of Julianus after at first treating him as an honorary father, Commodus starts to humiliate him, supposedly pushing him into a swimming pool and making him dance naked at a party, and later has him murdered. Quintus Aemilius Laetus, from Byzacena in Africa, becomes Praetorian Praefect and proves more nimble at the art of pleasing his mercurial master, who embarks on a new round of executions; at around this time co-Praefect Motilenus is poisoned at Imperial orders.

AD 191 Commodus proclaims a new 'Golden Age' and changes his name to 'Lucius Aurelius Aelius Commodus', abandoning his father's patronymics; he starts another massacre of suspected opponents, including Julia Domna's relative Julius Alexander of Emesa; Commodus' brother-in-law Petronius Mamertinus, his brother Septimianus, and 15 senators (including six ex-consuls) are among the victims over the next 18 months, together with Marcus Aurelius' cousin Annia Fundania Faustina and proconsul governor Sulpicius Crassus of Asia province.

Summer: As a protégé of his fellow-African Laetus, Septimius Severus is made governor of Upper Pannonia; his brother Septimius Geta becomes governor of Lower Moesia; another African, Clodius Albinus of Hadrumetum (possibly previously governor of Lower Germany and honoured by Commodus for victories, though unlikely to have been offered the 'Caesarship' as his biographer claims), becomes governor of Britain.

Vologaeses IV succeeds Vologaeses III in Parthia.

AD 192 1 January: Commodus and Pertinax consuls.

?Summer: Commodus replaces Larcus Memor as Praefect of Egypt with Mantennius Sabinus, and appoints Pescennius Niger (?a friend of Commodus' fellow-athlete Narcissus) as governor of Syria; Clodius Albinus' kinsman Asellius Aemilianus gets governorship of Asia.

Commodus' behaviour becomes more extreme, and degenerates into megalomania; he renames Rome as 'Commodiana', and changes the names of the months to his own personal inventions; he emphasizes his personal identification with his favourite god and patron Hercules, and reportedly goes around dressed as him.

?Late autumn: A great fire that starts in the Temple of Peace (*Pax*) spreads to the Palace and causes destruction there, especially to the archives; it is taken as an ill-omen for the future.

?November: At the *Ludi Plebei*, Commodus stages huge and popular displays of exotic wildlife; he joins in the hunting personally, firing arrows from his box to display his marksmanship, and kills a hundred lions one day and a hundred bears on another; in the afternoons he fights in the Games as a gladiator with his court and ministers forced to cheer him on. Dio reports that he waves a decapitated ostrich's head at the Senate with implied threat to treat them similarly.

Commodus replaces the head of the Sun-God on the Colossus by the Flavian Amphitheatre with his own; as he is rumoured to be planning to kill the new consuls on 1 January 193 and take over the consulship dressed as a gladiator, Praefect Laetus, the chamberlain Eclectus (another former employee of Quadratus), and Marcia plan to kill him to save themselves and other possible victims of his bizarre activities, and probably inform Pertinax and other senior figures.

31 December: Commodus, staying at the Vectilian House on the Caelian, is poisoned by Marcia but as he does not expire the conspirators send the athlete Narcissus to strangle him; he is killed aged 31.

Once Pertinax has been summoned to see the body he goes to the Guard camp, and informs the Guard of what has happened and that Laetus and Eclectus have invited him to assume power; he issues a donative of 12,000 sesterces per man but warns the troops that some things will have to change in future, and they take the oath to him.

Reign of Pertinax

AD 193

1 January: Pertinax goes to the Senate House, arriving before dawn, and while the keys are found he waits at the Temple of Concord and tells the arriving Claudius Pompeianus (Commodus' ex-brother-in-law) that he can have the throne if he wants; Pompeianus turns it down. The Senate assembles and is informed what has happened, and consuls Clarus and Falco lead the acclamation of Pertinax; they denounce Commodus and deplore the fact that he has been buried as they want his body exposed on the Gemonian Steps as a mark of hatred, and senior priest Cingius Severus proposes successfully that Commodus receive the *damnatio memoriae*, all his statues be destroyed and his name erased from public records, and the months be restored to their proper names. Pertinax is voted all the usual titles and powers and the title of Pater Patriae, and his wife Flavia Titiana is offered the rank of 'Augusta' and his son that of 'Caesar' but he refuses those ideas. He sacrifices on the Capitol and proceeds to the Palace, annoying the Guard who fear his reputation for discipline by giving them the watchword 'Let us be soldiers'.

The leading magistrates are invited to dinner at the Palace as by discontinued ancient tradition for their first day in office.

3 January: Discontented soldiers, opposed to Pertinax's promise of firmer discipline, riot during the annual ceremony of taking oath to the Emperor and kidnap a senator called Triarius Maximus as their candidate for throne; he escapes from the Praetorian Camp to the Palace protesting his loyalty and no action is taken.

Pertinax ratifies all Commodus' grants and privileges for the military to calm discontent; he abolishes treason trials, restores exiles and the good names of those executed, orders that all Commodus' praetors should rank as junior to earlier holders of the office as the tyrant devalued it by giving it to so many people, and holds another auction of Imperial luxury goods to aid the bankrupt treasury; excess Imperial Household slaves are sold off. He introduces new measures to aid agriculture, abolishes recent customs tariffs, and restores the coinage after recent debasement.

Pertinax delays replacing Commodus' recent promotions as officials

until the festival of Parilia on 21 April, but installs his father-in-law Flavius Sulpicianus as City Praefect to replace himself; he has Laetus send troops to intercept a German delegation from beyond the Danube who are returning home with a subsidy given them by Commodus and take the money back as indication of his tougher attitude to them.

Early March: While Pertinax is visiting Ostia to oversee improvements in corn supply, some troops stage another revolt and name the consul Falco as Emperor; they fail to attract support and are put down, but Pertinax asks the Senate to revoke their decree naming their choice as a public enemy.

28 March: Another revolt breaks out at the Camp while Pertinax is on his way for a visit to a poetry competition at Hadrian's 'Athenaeum' academy; having decided to return to the Palace and dismissed his escort, Pertinax hears of the mutiny and sends Sulpicianus to investigate. He reaches the Palace, and is inspecting slaves in the courtyard when a crowd of mutineers arrives; Laetus is told to calm them but goes home instead, and apparently some of Imperial Household who dislike their strict master encourage the soldiers. Pertinax goes out to confront them rather than barricading himself inside and sending in the Vigiles or cavalry troops at the Palace, and a soldier called Taunius is the first to strike him; he is cut down, aged 66, and the Guards return to their Camp carrying his head as a trophy – evidently without any idea of who to appoint as their new ruler.

The Senate, summoned by Pertinax before he was killed, debates what to do while Sulpicianus hurries to the Camp with his City cohorts and tries to win over the troops to back him. Two Guard tribunes, Florianus and Vectius Aper, fearing that Sulpicianus will avenge his son-in-law, go to the Senate House to find an alternative, and meet Didius Julianus who is arriving with his son-in-law Cornelius Repentinus. Julianus agrees to be their candidate, and hurries to the Camp where Sulpicianus' supporters refuse to open the gates. Undaunted, he has a ladder put to the wall and climbs up to shout out to the rally inside, interrupting the meeting and warning the troops not to appoint Pertinax's would-be avenger.

The rivals end up bidding against each other for Guard support, and as Julianus reaches 25,000 sesterces per soldier the troops agree to back him; he is let in and acclaimed as Emperor. That evening, he brings the armed Guard to the Senate House to announce his election as the best-qualified candidate and is accepted; Laetus is sacked.

Reign of Didius Julianus: civil war

Flavius Genealis and Tullius Crispinus become Praefects; Pertinax is buried in his wife's family mausoleum once his head has been recovered. Julianus' wife Manlia and daughter Didia Clara are made 'Augusta', and Julianus moves into the Palace and makes Repentinus City Praefect.

29 March: Julianus receives the Senate and equites with reassurances at the Palace, but as he is escorted to the Senate House is stoned by the populace; he is made Pater Patriae but is heckled again en route to the Capitol to sacrifice.

9 April: At Carnuntum, Septimius Severus (as governor of Upper Pannonia, in command of three legions) declares himself Emperor in front of the Fourteenth (Gemina) Legion and probably other troops, declaring himself Pertinax's avenger and denouncing the auction of throne. He has sent envoys to secure the adherence of the other Danube armies, though the German commanders on the Rhine are further away and their adherence probably occurs a few days later; he is backed by his brother Septimius Geta in Lower Moesia, by Caius Valerius Pudens of Lower Pannonia, and by the governors in Upper Moesia, Noricum, Dacia and Rhaetia, and the governors of Germany duly add their support; thus he has 15 legions at his command.

Clodius Albinus, governor of Britain, declares himself Emperor, but has only three legions; Septimius sends him an offer of the 'Caesarship' as his heir if he supports him, and it is accepted.

Pescennius Niger, governor of Syria, declares himself Emperor at Antioch and is recognized by the eastern armies, including Egypt; he thus has ten legions.

Novius Rufus, governor of Nearer Spain with one legion, and Naevius Quadratinus, the legate of Third (Augustan) Legion in Numidia, back Septimius.

Septimius' young family are smuggled out of Rome to safety; he advances quickly on Italy via Emona (Ljubljana) and Aquileia, and Julianus sends to offer his men an amnesty if they will overthrow him and appoints Valerius Catullinus as his successor to no avail while secret police (*frumentarii*) officer Marcus Aquillius Felix is sent to assassinate the challenger; the new Praetorian Praefect Tullius Crispinus is sent to Ravenna to secure the fleet but finds Septimius already close at hand and the fleet goes over to the Pannonians.

Julianus tries to have Rome fortified against siege, but the Praetorians are untrained at that sort of work unlike the frontier troops; he has Laetus and Marcia killed in fear of a plot, and Julianus' senatorial embassy to the Pannonian troops surrenders to Septimius and is allowed to address the men in his favour; Aquillius deserts too. Julianus proposes to the Senate that an embassy of Vestal Virgins and priests goes to negotiate with Septimius, but they turn him down; he proclaims Septimius as his co-Emperor anyway and sends Praefect Tullius Crispinus to inform him while appointing Septimius' known choice to be Praefect, Veturius Macrinus, as co-Praefect in another conciliatory gesture.

Crispinus is arrested by Septimius' advance-guard under Julius Laetus and executed, and Julianus appoints Flavius Juvenalis to succeed him; as Septimius' agents put up placards around Rome announcing his intentions and policies, resistance crumbles and Julianus vainly begs the Senate for help and Marcus' ex-son-in-law Pompeianus to be co-ruler. The Guard follow Septimius' orders to arrest Pertinax's murderers, and consul Silius Messala takes the news as the signal to summon the Senate to the 'Athenaeum' and organize a vote for Julianus' execution.

1 June: Julianus is captured in the deserted palace with his son-in-law Repentinus and executed, aged 60; a senatorial delegation goes to Interamna, Septimius' current camp, to announce the news and hail

him as Emperor but he has them all searched for weapons and surrounded by his guards.

His envoys enter Rome and deal with messengers sent by Pescennius Niger to solicit support, and next day the Imperial Household arrives at his camp with money. He gives the senators 720 gold pieces each, and advances on Rome where his recognition of Flavius Juvenalis as Praetorian Praefect reassures the Guard.

The Guard obeys Septimius' orders to take the oath of allegiance and assemble without their weapons outside the Camp; as they leave his men enter the Camp and take over the armoury, and Septimius has the assembled Guard surrounded by his troops. He addresses them with a denunciation of their greed and treachery, and announces that they are all discharged in disgrace and must hand in their uniforms and ceremonial daggers and remain at least 100 miles from Rome.

The Guard is broken up, and Septimius recruits a new one comprised of his loyal troops from the northern frontier and enlarges the City cohorts.

Septimius enters the capital and ascends the Capitol to offer sacrifices, as his armed troops occupy strategic positions. Septimius addresses the Senate next day, announces that he took the throne in self-defence after Julianus planned to murder him, and has a law introduced forbidding Emperors to kill senators without trial; during the meeting soldiers riot outside demanding a donative of 10,000 sesterces each (eight years' pay) on the precedent of Octavian's grant in 43 BC, but he eventually calms them with an offer of 1,000 instead. Pertinax is given a state funeral in the Forum Romanum, which Septimius leads, and is declared a god.

Reign of Septimius Severus

Septimius executes Julianus' chief adherents, and ?marries his daughters by his first marriage off to Probus and Aetius (the fourth-century *Historia Augusta* is the only evidence for their existence).

Septimius' officer Fabius Cilo, a recent consul, is sent to Perinthus

on the Propontis (Sea of Marmara) to stop Pescennius' troops crossing into Europe with the danger recently increased as governor Aemilianus of Asia province has recognized the latter; Marius Maximus besieges Byzantium which has gone over to Pescennius too.

Bassus is appointed City Praefect, soon replaced by Domitius Dexter, and Clodius Albinus is recognized as 'Caesar' and granted the consulship of 194 with Septimius; after 30 days **?early July** Septimius leaves Rome and marches north towards the Balkans along the land route. He probably raises three new legions (First to Third 'Parthica'), and sends troops to his home province of Libya to stop Pescennius' Egyptian troops attacking Africa and the corn supply.

Pescennius camps at Byzantium, and drives Fabius Cilo back from Perinthus.

Autumn: Septimius, his reinforced army joined by his brother Geta from Moesia and with Pescennius' children as his hostages, thanks to the efforts of his trusted relative and leading henchman Caius Plautianus, arrives at Perinthus; he retakes the town and turns down Pescennius' offer to share the throne but offers him his life if he abdicates. Claudius Candidus and Septimius' secondary army cross the Hellespont, defeat Pescennius' adherent Aemilianus the governor of Asia, and pursue him to Cyzicus where he is captured and executed; the survivors of Aemilianus' army are pursued across Bithynia and Nicomedia surrenders to Candidus.

Outflanked, Pescennius withdraws to Nicaea leaving Byzantium to hold out; **?December** Candidus fights Pescennius outside Nicaea and rallies his men after initial setback to secure victory.

AD 194 1 January: Septimius Severus and Clodius Albinus consuls.

Cassius Dio (Cocceianus) the future historian, a senator from Nicaea in Bithynia, serves as praetor (as designated by Pertinax).

<31 January: News of Septimius' victory reaches Rome; **<13 February** on news of the battle Egypt defects to Septimius.

Pescennius retreats to Antioch; Septimius takes over Asia province and installs Fabius Cilo as governor, and is acclaimed as Imperator for

the second and third time. He also assumes the title of Pater Patriae. Cornelius Anullinus, governor of Africa in 193, takes over as Septimius' commander from Candidus and advances across Asia Minor to the Taurus Mountains, where Pescennius' men have fortified the passes into Cilicia but they are stormed despite snow. To Pescennius' rear, the province of Arabia and the Sixth Legion in Palestine desert to Septimius, and Laodicea and Tyre are punished by Pescennius for disloyalty.

?April: Anullinus confronts Pescennius at Issus/Alexandretta, site of Alexander's victory in 333 BC, and defeats him; the decisive act is Valerius Valerianus' cavalry attack round the battlefield into the Syrians' rear as they are retreating, and ?20,000 of the enemy (Dio) are killed. Anullinus advances to Antioch, which surrenders as Pescennius tries to get away to head for Parthia but is caught nearby and executed; his head is sent to Septimius, who is still in Europe besieging Byzantium and fails to persuade the defenders there to give up by displaying their commander's head to them.

?May/June: Septimius advances into Syria, and dismisses and confiscates the property of most of Pescennius' adherents among whom those of senatorial rank serving as his officers are executed; Syria is divided into two provinces ('Coele-Syria' and 'Phoenicia') and Antioch is temporarily deprived of its status as a city and made a village subordinate to its neighbour Laodicea, the new provincial capital.

After Pescennius' allies in Osrhoene and Adiabene attack Nisibis, Septimius decides on military action in Mesopotamia and ignores the rulers' claims that they were only attacking Pescennius' refugee soldiers in the city to aid him.

AD 195 Spring: Septimius invades Osrhoene, and annexes it as a Roman province under governor Caius Julius Pacatianus; the disgraced king Abgar VIII is allowed to retain his capital of Edessa as a city-state, as a Roman vassal.

14 April: During the campaign, Septimius' wife Julia Domna is honoured for her presence with the army as 'Mater Castrorum'. At

around this time he assumes the titles of 'Arabicus' and 'Adiabenicus', probably indicating his defeat of Osroene's local allies as he advances east into Mesopotamia. He marches to Nisibis and possibly the upper Tigris before returning to Syria, while Parthian King Vologaeses is pre-occupied with revolt in Media and Persia.

Septimius declares himself the posthumously adopted son of Marcus Aurelius to add to his legitimacy as Emperor; it is probable that his relations with Albinus now start to deteriorate as Septimius alleges that Albinus encouraged Pertinax's murder, and that the visits of certain senators to Britain increase his suspicion of their intentions in the event of a breach.

?Early autumn: The fall of Byzantium, starved into surrender, after a two-year siege precedes Septimius' homeward journey from Mesopotamia; the victorious besieger Marius Maximus is told to level its walls and reduce it to being a village subordinate to its neighbour Perinthus.

Septimius returns quickly from the east, ending orders ahead to Rome to prepare for war with Albinus; en route he proclaims his elder son Bassianus as his new 'Caesar', while collecting more Danube troops at Viminacium; **15 December** the Senate declares Albinus a public enemy. Marius Maximus is sent back to the Danube, Candidus returns to Pannonia, and Tiberius Claudianus brings a large new army from Dacia to join Severus; Fabius Cilo becomes governor of Upper Moesia, and probably Julia Domna's sister Julia Maesa's husband Avitus Alexianus takes over as legate of the Fourth (Flavian) Legion at Singidunum (Belgrade).

AD 196 1 January: Domitius Dexter, City Praefect, is consul.

Septimius collects troops for the western campaign at Viminacium and marches into northern Italy.

Albinus fails to take Trier in Belgica thanks to defence by the Twenty-Second Legion under Claudius Gallus, and despite defeating the Lower German armies under Virius Lupus that province resists; he goes south to set up base at Lugdunum, expelling governor Titus Flavius

Secundus Philippianus, and secures the adherence of Novius Rufus in Tarraconensis (Spain).

Julius Pacatianus, recalled from Osrhoene, leads a new legion to defend the Cottian Alps passes into Italy against Albinus; **?summer** Septimius returns to war-weary Rome and proclaims the benefits that peace will bring to the populace.

18 September: Septimius, in Rome, makes a dedication to his 'deified ancestor' Nerva.

Septimius returns to the Danube, and marches west via Noricum into Rhaetia; he leaves Fabius Cilo as governor of Upper Pannonia and Bassianus with him, and heads for the upper Rhine with an army of perhaps 100,000 troops (Dio puts the total engaged in the decisive battle at 150,000 and the British troops with Albinus plus auxiliaries probably amount to c. 50,000).

AD 197 1 January: The Italian aristocrat Sextius Lateranus and the Greek Pergamene senator Cuspius Rufinus are consuls.

?January: Septimius enters Gaul from the east from Upper Germany, and Albinus waits for him at Lugdunum; the British advance-guard is defeated at Tinurtium (Tournus) and falls back to Lugdunum.

17 February, Battle of Lugdunum: Septimius has the advantage in numbers, but Albinus has had hidden pits dug and the Severans fall into them and panic. Septimius is thrown from his horse and has to rally his men on foot as they retreat in chaos (Herodian claims he flees), but the Severan cavalry under Laetus comes to the rescue and they eventually secure victory. Lugdunum is brutally sacked, and Albinus is trapped in a house and kills himself; his body is presented to the victor and allegedly trampled on by him on horseback. Some senators who have defected to Albinus are killed and mutilated, Albinus' wife and children and a number of leading nobles in Gaul and other 'rebel' provinces are killed, and large fines are exacted on those provinces who supported the defeated party – Candidus takes over Tarraconensis, Marius Maximus Belgica, Valerius Pudens Lower Germany, and Virius Lupus Britain. Special Imperial procurators are appointed to take over

the confiscated property of the large number of accused, and there are many executions.

In Britain, Virius Lupus has to drive back the tribes across the northern frontier (particularly the 'Maeatae', apparently based in Fife and Atholl and possibly the confederation of the southern 'Picts') who have crossed the under-manned Hadrian's Wall to raid the province.

Septimius returns to the Rhine and thence Italy, and Claudius Gallus (hero of Trier) and Laetus are sent to Mesopotamia with reinforcements to repulse a Parthian attack; the alarmed Senate, realizing that details of many members' contacts with Albinus have fallen into Septimius' hands at Lugdunum, sends an embassy to him offering congratulations but he is not appeased. Septimius announces to the army en route home that he is deifying Commodus, partly increasing his connection with the late 'Antonine' dynasty but also a snub to the tyrant's senatorial opponents.

Summer: Septimius returns to Rome; he sacrifices at the Temple of Jupiter en route to the Palace, and then addresses the Senate bitterly with commendations for Sulla and Marius for knowing how to deal with them as they deserved. He orders them to deify Commodus (his 'brother' as he is Marcus' 'son'), and accuses them of hypocrisy in denouncing Commodus' indecorous behaviour when many of them behave worse. A purge of real or suspected enemies follows, and among the 29 senators who are killed in the initial assault are Sulpicianus and Erucius Clarus (a consul in 193, who is offered his life for informing on others but refuses). The atmosphere of terror in Rome is such that Septimius is nicknamed the 'Punic Sulla', and his trusted kinsman Plautianus continues his rise to unparalleled influence (and abuse of it) as the Praetorian Praefect.

Games are held in Rome to satisfy the populace; as the new army levied for Parthian war is transferred east, Septimius leaves one new legion, 'Second Parthica', at Alba Longa to watch Rome and support – or counter – the Praetorians.

Late summer: Septimius sails from Brundisium to Syria to start the Parthian campaign; the Parthians are defeated besieging Nisibis by

Laetus before the Emperor and his family arrive. Septimius marches into Mesopotamia, and receives hostages and troops from Abgar of Edessa; he takes his tenth acclamation as ‘Imperator’ for the rescue of Nisibis, and then returns to the Euphrates to have a fleet constructed ready for advance on Ctesiphon in imitation of Trajan and Lucius Verus’ general Avidius Cassius.

?September/October: Septimius advances along the Euphrates by land and river, accompanied by a defecting brother of Parthian King Vologaeses; he has no serious resistance and reaches Babylon unhindered to cross to the Tigris.

The leading Christian theologian in Africa, Tertullian, launches a ferocious literary attack on pagan religion, in particular the uselessness of its sacrifices, and promises its adherents eternal damnation.

AD 198 Consul: Martius Sergius Saturninus, son of the general Martius Verus.

January: Septimius enters first the ruined Seleucia and then the abandoned Ctesiphon; he sacks the Parthian capital and carries off the contents of the treasury.

28 January: Septimius takes the title ‘Parthicus Maximus’ like Trajan, on the anniversary of the latter’s accession; he proclaims Bassianus as co-Emperor and his younger son Geta as ‘Caesar’.

Septimius does not fall into the trap of trying to hold on to eastern Mesopotamia, and soon retreats up the Tigris with his loot; he crosses the desert to try to outdo Trajan in taking Hatra, but **?February/March** has to call off the siege. Apparently, the troops complain at the pointlessness of the siege, and Septimius has Laetus executed for becoming too popular (?at Plautianus’ instigation).

Septimius returns to Syria, and reorganizes the eastern frontier to retain Osrhoene as a province but add a new province east of it, as ‘Mesopotamia’ with Nisibis as its capital and the two new First and Third ‘Parthican’ Legions as the garrison. Singara and Resaina, the legionary bases, and Nisibis become ‘colonies’; Tiberius Claudius Subatianus Aquila, from Numidia, is the first (equestrian Praefect) governor.

?**Autumn:** Septimius returns to Hatra with new siege engines designed by Priscus, and succeeds in forcing it to surrender, become a vassal state and admit a Roman garrison.

(or 199) Zephyrinus, a Roman, succeeds Victor as Bishop of Rome.

AD 199 Consul: Anullinus, the City Praefect.

Septimius tours Syria and then Palestine, and probably reorganizes the eastern armies.

Autumn: Septimius arrives in Egypt; he sacrifices at the tomb of Pompeius (an ancestor of Marcus Aurelius, his ‘father’, ironically killed by a Septimius) at Pelusium en route to Alexandria where he is given a triumphal reception but reportedly complains at an inscription honouring Pescennius which has not been removed. He stays in the city for some months, visiting and sealing up the tomb of Alexander, and donates a new Temple of Cybele, baths and a gymnasium to the city. He presumably visits the massive Temple of Serapis, a god to whose Greco-African cult he has particular devotion as a descendant of Roman colonists in Libya, and certainly visits the Egyptian shrines at Memphis. ?Death of Rome’s most eminent doctor and medical writer, Galen of Pergamum, a protégé of successive courts in Rome and medical adviser to the capital’s gladiatorial school, aged around 70.

AD 200 Consuls: Septimius’ ‘adopted father’ Marcus Aurelius’ grandson Tiberius Claudius Severus Proculus with Fronto’s grandson Victorinus.

Septimius tours Egypt, probably sailing up the Nile around **March/April** from Memphis to Thebes.

Aemilius Saturninus, the Praefect of Egypt, is promoted to be co-Praefect of the Guard and replaced by Alfenus Apollinaris; Saturninus is soon murdered by the jealous Plautianus, whose acquisitiveness is illustrated by his confiscation of sacred zebras from the Red Sea islands for his personal use.

?**May:** Septimius visits the Roman frontier at Philae in time for the annual ceremony of throwing gold and silver into the Nile to propitiate its god, which he performs instead of the Praefect.

>29 **August:** Septimius returns to Syria, probably by sea.

AD 201 Septimius is probably in Syria or Egypt, but his exact whereabouts are unrecorded.

April: The Emperor's elder son Bassianus (now 'Antoninus') assumes the toga virilis, aged 14, and is designated as consul for 202 although he will be an unprecedentedly early age.

Septimius bans the Jews and Christians from proselytizing.

AD 202 1 January: Septimius and Bassianus inaugurate their consulship at Antioch, now restored to its proper civic status.

January/February: Septimius sets off back for Rome overland; en route Plautianus' arrogance and lavish lifestyle are much in evidence, as when he falls ill at Tyana and his guards refuse to let the Emperor's bodyguards accompany their master into the Praefect's bedroom, and his rudeness towards Julia Domna and intimidation of Imperial ministers are unchecked by Septimius. Septimius visits Bithynia, and erects a tomb in memory of Hannibal as his fellow-African; he crosses to Thrace and probably visits his troops on the Danube before returning to Italy.

?March: During the Imperial visit to the Danube, the future emperor Maximin is recruited to the army after beating Guards champions in wrestling matches held before the Emperor to celebrate Geta's birthday.

?Late spring: Septimius returns to Rome for a magnificent welcome and celebratory Games; he gives ten gold pieces to each citizen and Guardsman. A few weeks later Bassianus (now more usually known by his official name of 'Antoninus') marries Plautianus' daughter Fulvia Plautilla, who becomes 'Augusta' to add to her father's prestige.

Games celebrate the Parthian victory and the tenth year (*Decennalia*) of Septimius' reign, but he apparently turns down the Senate's offer of a triumph because gout or arthritis makes it difficult to stand for a long period in the triumphal chariot.

Septimius takes his family on a tour of Africa, probably starting with Carthage and Numidia; he returns in triumph to his home-town of Leptis Magna, now festooned with statues of the Imperial Family

(including Plautianus); he grants the town's inhabitants the same legal status and tax exemption as Italy (the *ius Italicum*), and depictions of his family and the visit are added to the triumphal arch erected there after his accession in his honour. A new Forum, basilica and main street to the harbour are erected at his expense and the baths and water supply are improved, and Plautianus contributes some marble columns for the building work.

Winter: Septimius and his family stay at Leptis Magna.

?Valerius Pudens becomes governor of Britain.

?Persecution of the Christians at Alexandria, where the priesthood of Serapis sees them as their principal rivals and pressurises the civil authorities to act against them, leads to the flight of the eminent theologian Clement, head of the pioneering Christian academy there, and his replacement by the young Egyptian theologian Origen, son of Leonides who is one of the persecution's recent victims, who makes the school the Empire's principal centre of Christian studies in a 30-year headship and becomes an austere opponent of pagan philosophy.

AD 203 1 January: Septimius' brother Geta and Plautianus inaugurate consulship, presumably at Leptis.

Septimius sends an expedition against the Garamantes tribes who are plundering Libya from their desert oases to the south, and extends the network of protective Roman forts to include strategic oases including Gholia and Garama; he probably accompanies the army at least part of the way himself.

7 March: Execution of the Christian martyr Perpetua in the arena at Carthage, under acting governor/procurator Hilarianus; according to the African Christian leader Tertullian, Septimius protects high-ranking Christians from prosecution. Septimius becomes displeased with the number of statues to Plautianus at Leptis and has them melted down, a sign of growing displeasure with him; however, governor Raciis Constans of Sardinia and other officials who follow suit elsewhere are punished, and the rumours of the minister's fall are premature.

?**Late spring:** Septimius returns to Rome, and possibly celebrates

an ovation for his triumphs in Tripolitania; he orders the erection of a grand commemorative Arch for his victory at the entrance to the Forum on the spot where he dreamed that Pertinax's horse threw the then Emperor but let Septimius mount it.

?June/July: The priestly board of *quindecimvirs*, probably at Imperial prompting, agrees to hold the next 'Secular Games' in 204 and preparations begin.

AD 204 1 January: Fabius Cilo and Marcus Aurelius' grandson Annius Libo are consuls.

25 May: The *quindecimvirs* meet to announce the arrangements for the 'Secular Games' and their seating arrangements for their distribution of materials for purification to the public.

26 May: Distribution of materials for purification, on the Capitol, Palatine and Aventine.

?29 May: The *quindecimvirs* receive offerings of 'first fruits' from the public; Septimius leads public sacrifices to Jupiter, Juno and Apollo.

31 May: Pompeius Rosonianus, senior official of the *quindecimvirs*, leads their purificatory rites on behalf of Rome.

1 June: Sacrifice and prayer to the Fates on the Campus Martius in the early hours; special theatrical performances are held in daytime and Julia Domna presides at the matrons' banquet on the Capitol.

2–4 June: Septimius and his sons lead more public sacrifices and other rites, following Augustus' routine of 17 BC. The special 'Carmen Saeculare' hymn is sung on the Palatine and then the Capitol before the Games in the Circus Maximus concluding the ceremonies.

5–11 June: The Games are held, with the 'Troy Game' cavalry pageant on the final day.

Autumn: Growing opposition to Plautianus, evident in public taunts during the Games, is joined by his son-in-law Antoninus (Bassianus), probably following failure of his marriage; the prince plans to have his father-in-law killed. At some date around now, Septimius' brother Geta dies and confides in his brother on his deathbed about various crimes of Plautianus' which the Emperor had not known.

AD 205 23 January: The freedman Evodus, formerly Antoninus' tutor, assists his master's plan as three Praetorian centurions in the plot interrupt the Imperial Family at dinner during the Games. They claim Plautianus has hired them to kill Septimius and Antoninus, and hand over an incriminatory letter; Septimius is convinced, allegedly helped by a dream the previous night that Albinus is still alive, and summons Plautianus whose bodyguards are kept out of the meeting. The Praefect is accused by his sovereign and denies it all, and Antoninus grabs his sword and hits him; Septimius does not intervene as his son calls his attendants to kill the Praefect.

Antoninus waves hairs he has taken from Plautianus' beard in front of his wife, and the late Praefect's body is thrown into the street and later buried at Septimius' order; the Senate are summoned to a special meeting and informed, and some of them who the Emperor distrusts are removed from that body. There are some killings of Plautianus' associates, though the future Emperor Opellius Macrinus is saved by Fabius Cilo, and Fulvia Plautilla is divorced and exiled with her brother to the Liparae Islands; Plautianus' statues are smashed and all references to him in inscriptions are removed; his confiscated wealth needs a special Imperial procurator to deal with it.

Quintus Maecius Laetus and the Syrian jurist Aemilius Papinianus are made Praetorian Praefects.

Lucius Alfenus Senecio, a Numidian formerly governor of Coele-Syria (200), becomes governor of Britain, and builds new forts and other defences along the Hadrianic frontier.

Birth of the Platonist philosopher and author Plotinus, at Lycopolis in Egypt. ?Birth of Julia Domna's sister Julia Maesa's grandson Bassianus, later Emperor Elagabalus, son of Julia Soaemias and Varius Marcellus, probably at Emesa in Syria.

AD 206 1 January: Nummius Albinus (son of Didius Julianus' step-brother) and Fulvius Aemilianus consuls.

?Septimius organizes the capture of the highly successful brigand Bulla 'Felix', whose criminal organization (including runaway Imperial

freedmen) has been plaguing the roads of Italy for two years.

?Antoninus and his brother Geta's competitive roistering and indulgence in sport and love affairs starts to get out of hand after the removal of Plautianus and is not checked by their indulgent father; it also starts to deteriorate into serious rivalry and dislike over the next year or two, and is one reason for Septimius considering taking them away from the temptations of Rome on another campaign.

?Geta marries Papinianus' daughter.

Pollienus Sebennus, ex-governor of Noricum, is tried and convicted for rapacity and other abuses of power by a tribunal set up by his successor Catus Sabinus; his execution is prevented on appeal by his uncle Pollienus Auspex (pro-Severan governor of Dalmatia in 193 and then Upper Moesia) to the latter's old friend Septimius.

AD 207 1 January: Lucius Septimius Aper, probably son of the Emperor's first cousin, consul.

A dedication is made at altar at Arrabona in Upper Pannonia to the 'victory of the Emperors', probably indicating some fighting on the middle Danube in which Antoninus may be participating; probably Senecio in Britain also faces conflict against the Brigantes and/or tribes north of Hadrian's Wall. Septimius probably begins preparations for his own British expedition.

AD 208 1 January: Antoninus and Geta consuls.

Septimius sets out from Rome to take command of a large-scale new campaign in Britain, intending to advance the frontier there as far as possible; he takes both his sons, and due to gout/arthritis has to travel by litter not on horseback.

Septimius sets up his headquarters at Eboracum (York), and leaves Geta there or in another important city in the civilian area of the province to gain experience of administration while he and Antoninus either prepare troops or cross the Wall to start campaign against the Caledonians.

?**October:** Birth of Julia Domna's great-nephew Marcus Julius Gessius

Alexianus, later Emperor Alexander Severus, son of her niece Julia Mamaea and of Gessius Marcianus, at Arqa in Syria.

AD 209 1 January: Commodus Pompeianus, son of Pompeianus and Lucilla and grandson of Marcus Aurelius, and Plautius Avitus consuls.

Septimius and Antoninus campaign against the Caledonian tribes, and overrun a substantial area of territory – probably as far as the Firth of Forth or the Tay. The old legionary camp at Trimontium (Newstead) in the Eildons is rebuilt as major supply base as the Agricola roads north are repaired, and either now or in 210 new bases are built around the lower Tay including Ardoch. The tribes submit and accept Roman occupation of their territory; ?a bridge of boats is built across the Tay to aid movement of troops and supplies.

AD 210 Septimius becomes ‘Britannicus’.

?Septimius and Antoninus campaign up the Tay and Earn valleys, based on a new camp at Carpow on the south bank of the Tay, and defeat the ‘Maeatae’ under Argentocoxus who accept a treaty. Permanent annexation of the east Scottish plain is clearly intended. The Second (Augustan) and Sixth (Victrix) Legions apparently form the major part of the new occupation force, as indicated by their inscriptions at their bases.

Septimius spends more and more time at Eboracum, due to the worsening of his physical condition, and leaves Antoninus in charge of the later campaigning; ?**autumn** the Maeatae and some of the other Caledonian tribes revolt again.

?**November/December:** Septimius raises Geta to the rank of ‘Augustus’.

AD 211 4 February: Septimius dies at Eboracum, aged 65; Antoninus and Geta succeed as co-Emperors, and Antoninus uses his new power to have the Imperial freedmen Evodus and Castor executed. He probably conducts a brief expedition north around the Tay, but decides not to bother with putting down the Caledonian rebellion and soon

concludes a new treaty with the tribes whereby he evacuates most of their territory. If Carpow and other bases are retained at all, they are soon abandoned by the new governor Ulpius Marcellus (son of the eponymous earlier governor of the 180s) and the frontier is withdrawn to Hadrian's Wall by c. 214.

Reigns of Caracalla and (to 211/12) Geta

Papinianus is dismissed as Praetorian Praefect; now or on the return to Rome Antoninus' candidate Quintus Marcius Dioga becomes the 'finance secretary' ('a *rationibus*') and Sextus Varius Marcellus, related to his mother's niece Julia Soaemias' husband, the controller of the Imperial private treasury (*ratio privatus*).

Back at Eboracum, Antoninus agrees to Julia Domna's appeals to be reconciled with his brother who he openly detests; the reconciliation does not last; as the Imperial court leaves Britain, taking Septimius' ashes back to Rome, the two Emperors mistrust each other too much to be together without bodyguards and they live in separate quarters.

Antoninus and Geta return to Rome; there they make rival bids for public support, and most of the Senate favour the less uncouth Geta while Antoninus is more successful appealing to the soldiers – his adoption of the military garb of a hooded Gallic cloak leads to his nickname of 'Caracalla'. The rulers live in separate, guarded parts of the Palace.

26 December: Caracalla persuades Julia Domna to summon Geta to her apartments for a meeting, but when his brother arrives unsuspecting he stabs him to death in front of her (aged 22); he hastens to the Guard Camp claiming that he had to act in self-defence as Geta tried to murder him, and is accepted as sole ruler.

27 December: Caracalla addresses the Senate on how he acted in self-defence, and is reportedly so infuriated at finding his mother and other female relatives weeping with Geta's wife on his return to Palace that he nearly kills them too; he starts executions of all he suspects of favouring his brother.

AD 212 Caracalla stages a purge of all suspected supporters of Geta to intimidate the opposition, and carries out a massacre worthy of Marius or Sulla; Geta's father-in-law Papinianus and Pertinax's son, the Imperials' cousin Septimius Afer, and Marcus Aurelius' grandson Pompeianus (consul in 209) are among the thousands of victims, and Fabius Cilo narrowly escapes due to protests by his former troops in the urban cohorts and the public. Julia Domna's cousin Sextus Varius Marcellus becomes both Praetorian and City Praefect.

Geta's memory is obliterated as all inscriptions to him are removed and statues and pictures destroyed; extra honours are granted to Julia Domna as 'Mother of the Senate and the Fatherland'.

Caracalla divides the province of Britain into two – 'Superior', the southern (civilianized) part, with its capital at Londinium, and the (militarized) northern part, 'Inferior', with its capital at Eboracum and the legate of the Sixth Legion as governor. Caius Julius Marcus is the first governor of 'Inferior' and Caius Julius Faustinus of 'Superior'; the popularity of Geta among the British army may be one reason for dividing the province.

Death of Abgar, client-king of Osroene/Edessa; succeeded by his son, the last king, Abgar Severus.

?Caracalla extends the Roman citizenship to all provincial free men in the *Constitutio Antoniniana*, which also boosts his family's prestige as patron of the new citizens. According to Dio his main reason is making more revenue by increasing the number of citizens paying those taxes exclusive to that rank, and the huge increase in income is dealt with by handing over the administration of citizens' taxes to the Military Treasury which allocates the money to the army.

AD 213 1 January: Caracalla consul; among the suffect consuls is Caelius Calvinus Balbinus, future Emperor (in 238).

?Caracalla visits Gaul en route to the upper Rhine to review the troops, and causes panic by executing the governor of Narbonensis.

Caracalla, popular with the soldiers as charismatic and approachable and willing to share their hardships, campaigns on the Danube; he

probably builds a new defensive stone wall on the Rhaetian frontier west of the upper Danube.

October: Caracalla assumes the title of ‘Germanicus’.

AD 214 Caracalla decides to take advantage of the revolt of Artabanus against his brother Vologaeses of Parthia and launch a new Parthian campaign; his fascination with and desire to emulate Alexander is apparently one reason for his enthusiasm, and he gets hold of Alexander’s alleged breastplate to wear and recruits a ‘Macedonian’ legion of troops. He journeys across Thrace to cross the Hellespont to Asia Minor, nearly being shipwrecked en route, and sacrifices at Ilium (Troy) like Alexander.

Caracalla probably winters at Nicomedia, where he drills his new ‘Macedonian’ recruits and leaves most of the administrative work to his mother.

AD 215 ?Spring: Caracalla arrives at Antioch, and as his expedition starts to assemble he sends the freedman Theocritus in command of an army to invade Armenia. He detours to Egypt, possibly because Alexander went there en route to Persia or because of recent rioting in Alexandria.

In Alexandria, Caracalla brings his troops into the city, sets up his base in the Temple of Serapis, and summons the young men of military age to the gymnasium to be enrolled as soldiers but has his troops kill them; he lets his men loose on the citizens to massacre them. Having ensured that there will be no more rioting, he cordons off part of the city as a new military base and demolishes the area around it so that it is immune from attack by the citizens. ?He returns to Antioch for the winter.

AD 216 Caracalla summons kings Abgar Severus of Edessa and Sanatruces of Armenia to Antioch, arrests them, and confiscates their realms for the Empire; he orders Artabanus, who has now deposed Vologaeses of Parthia, to hand over his daughter to be the Emperor’s fiancée and when this is refused declares war.

Caracalla marches across northern Mesopotamia as far as the Tigris and raids Adiabene; he winters at annexed Edessa.

AD 217 Caracalla sets out on his second Parthian campaign; **9 April** on the march, he is stabbed while relieving himself near Carrhae by a soldier called Martialis and dies, aged 29. Allegedly, the junior of the two Praetorian Praefects, the humbly born Mauretanian Opellius Macrinus, has discovered in the Imperial correspondence a warning against him for consulting a horoscope that predicted his enthronement and acts before his suspicious Emperor reads the letter and has him killed, using Martialis as his agent. He and his senior as Praefect, Marcus Oclatinus Adventus, consider their own candidature for the throne.

?10 April: The Praefects address the troops, and Adventus declares that he is too old to rule so he is backing Macrinus; the troops hail the latter as Emperor (the first member of equestrian order to reach the throne), and he sends to Rome to inform the Senate and continues the advance on Parthia. Julia Domna is sent away from the camp to avoid any intrigues against the new ruler, and is placed under watch at Antioch where (?mortally ill already) she soon kills herself, aged around 55; Macrinus pretends that he had no knowledge of his predecessor's murder and sends his body back to Rome for funeral.

Reign of Macrinus

Macrinus makes his son Diadumenianus, aged around ten, 'Caesar' and names him 'Antoninus'; he advances across the plains of Mesopotamia but is harassed by the Parthians' Arab cavalry and has to give up the expedition and withdraw, arranging peace terms that include recognising Artabanus' nominee Vologaeses as King of Armenia. This humiliation adds to rising military discontent at his discipline. The court winters at Antioch.

Callistus succeeds Zephyrinus as Bishop of Rome; he is resisted by a faction of the capital's Christians led by the theologian Hippolytus, who denounces him as an ex-slave and failed manager of a bank who

was sent to the mines in Sardinia under Commodus. He is also accused of sympathy for the 'modalist' heretics, who hold unsound theological views on the nature of the Trinity, though he tries to disprove this by excommunicating their leader Sabellius, and of lax discipline towards miscreant Church officials; Hippolytus soon sets himself up as rival Bishop in the capital's first schism.

AD 218 1 January: Macrinus consul.

A plot is formed against Macrinus, led by Julia Domna's widowed sister Julia Maesa and other partisans of the Severan court and centred at Maesa's home-city of Emesa where she and her daughters are living.

16 May: During an eclipse, the plotters introduce Maesa's daughter Julia Soaemias' 13 or 14-year-old son (by Sextus Varius Marcellus), Varius Avitus Bassianus, to the camp of the Third Gallican Legion at Raphanae. Bassianus, now the 'High Priest' of the god Elagabalus/Baal at Emesa which office has descended from Maesa's father, is presented as the illegitimate son of Caracalla, and the legion hails him as Emperor through the boy's sponsorship by its ex-actor commander Comazon Eutygianus.

Macrinus sends his Praetorian Praefect Julianus against Bassianus (more generally known as 'Elagabalus' after his self-identification with his divine patron), but the army mutinies and goes over to the rebels; Julianus is killed and his head is sent back to his master. Macrinus tries to rally support with a donative to the unimpressed army, and makes Diadumenianus co-Emperor.

8 June: Macrinus is defeated in battle at Immae by Elagabalus' troops, who are rallied by Maesa and her daughters (Julia Soaemias and Julia Mammea) riding on camels, and his troops desert; he flees towards Europe to get reinforcements but is pursued, captured at Chalcedon, and executed (aged 54); Diadumenianus is captured heading for Parthia and killed too.

Reign of Elagabalus

Elagabalus assumes the throne and the name of 'Marcus Aurelius Antoninus', claiming a shaky legitimacy as 'son' of Caracalla, 'grandson' of Septimius and 'adopted great-grandson' of Marcus Aurelius; however, his extravagant and hedonistic tastes soon cause disquiet, and he sends a portrait of himself in his priestly robes to the Senate which is not well-received.

Julia Maesa and Eutychianus, the new Praetorian Praefect, head the government with the aid of the teenage Emperor's ambitious eunuch tutor Gannys, probably the lover of the Emperor's promiscuous mother Soaemias.

Winter: The Imperial court resides at Nicomedia; Elagabalus personally murders Gannys in a quarrel.

AD 219 Late summer: Elagabalus and his entourage arrive in Rome; he raises concern by his unusual behaviour which is not in keeping with Roman 'mores', including admitting his mother Soaemias to Senate debates, and ceremonially welcomes the sacred 'sky-stone' (meteorite) of Elagabalus/Baal, at the centre of the cult at Emesa, to Rome where it is installed in its own temple on the Palatine. He builds a large new temple for the god in Rome's suburbs and leads the Syrian-style rites there, and commits sacrilege in Roman eyes by going to the Temple of Vesta to remove what he thinks is the sacred *palladium* to join other holy objects at his god's temple.

Elagabalus marries the aristocratic Julia Paula, presumably a move by his ministers to reassure the affronted Senate; he soon repudiates her and prefers his homosexual affairs with charioteers, including Gordius who he 'marries'. It is uncertain how much of the later stories of his orgies and mindless extravagance in the *Augustan History* are accurate, but the general tenor is probably so.

AD 220 1 January: Elagabalus and Eutychianus serve as consuls.

?Elagabalus outrages conservative opinion further by marrying the Vestal Virgin Aquilia Severa, probably as symbolizing the union of his

god and the Roman civic patroness Vesta; he starts selling honours and offices to the highest bidder, and makes Gordius Praefect of the Vigiles and the ex-barber Claudius Praefect of the Annona (Grain Supply). His generosity is particularly exploited by the greedy ex-cook (or cook's son) Zoticus, another of his homosexual lovers, and all sorts of unsuitable low-born hangers-on are appointed to senior positions.

AD 221 ?Elagabalus divorces Aquilia Severa and marries an older woman, the Antonine relative Annia Faustina, but later goes back to Severa. ?Among an increasing number of his senatorial victims, not always tried before execution, are the plotters Seius Carus and Silius Messala who tried to raise the Third Gallican Legion, now stationed at Alba, in revolt.

26 June: Elagabalus adopts his cousin Alexianus, 11 or 12-year-old son of Julia Mammea and Gessius Marcianus, as his 'son' and heir – probably as a result of his alarmed grandmother and ministers trying to provide themselves with an alternative candidate for the throne when his behaviour finally causes his overthrow. Alexianus is made 'Caesar'.

?July: Elagabalus becomes jealous of Alexianus and announces his deposition by sending orders to the Senate and the Praetorian Camp; he despatches assassins to kill Alexianus, but the soldiers riot and march on the Emperor at his chariot-track in the Imperial gardens where they confront him and force him to reinstate his cousin; Praefect Antiochianus calms them down from their original intention to kill the Emperor, but back at the Camp they insist that Elagabalus dismiss all his favourites, behave more respectably, and have his cousin guarded against assassination attempts and not allowed near his debauched court. The Emperor agrees, and does his best to have his latest boyfriend and 'husband' Hierocles allowed back.

AD 222 1 January: Elagabalus and Alexianus consuls; the sulking Emperor refuses to appear at the usual ceremonies through jealousy of his cousin's popularity. Elagabalus bans the Senate from Rome, and purportedly plans to kill his cousin.

12 March: Another military mutiny breaks out at the Praetorian Camp, possibly instigated by Maesa, Alexianus' mother Mammea, or Eutychianus; Elagabalus and his mother Soaemias are caught by surprise there and try to flee, but the Emperor is found hiding in a lavatory and killed (aged 17 or 18) and so are Soaemias and all his remaining favourites; Elagabalus' body is thrown off the Aemilian bridge into the Tiber.

Reign of Severus Alexander

Alexianus becomes Emperor, aged 12 or 13, and takes the names 'Severus Alexander'; Maesa and Mammea rule as unofficial regents, and a council is set up of respected senators to assist the government and present the appearance of traditional Roman values and respectability.

Over the next few years the Senate are publicly treated as honoured partners in the government, and the jurist Ulpianus becomes one of leading Imperial advisers.

December: Ulpianus is appointed Praetorian Praefect, but soon becomes unpopular for his discipline. Urban succeeds Callistus as Bishop of Rome, but is not accepted by Hippolytus' faction.

AD 223 1 January: Alexander and the eminent general Marius Maximus are consuls.

?March: Alexander refuses to accept the name 'Antoninus' from the Senate.

Three days of rioting in Rome between the populace and the Praetorians; it is possible that Ulpianus loses his post as Praefect at the Guards' behest, following their riotous protests at his engineering the execution of his fellow-Praefect Flamininus, and is killed as he hides in the Palace now rather than in 228.

AD 224 ?Death of Julia Maesa; Mammea becomes effective ruler of the Empire.

Revolt of sub-king Ardashir, ruler of the heartland of the ancient

Persian realm around Persepolis and claimed descendant of the Achaemenid dynasty, against the Parthians; King Artabanus is killed in battle at 'Hormizdegahan' and the Parthian kingdom breaks up in civil war.

AD 225 Mamea marries her son Alexander to Sallustia Orbiana, daughter of a senior senator called Sallustius Orbianus.

AD 226 1 January: Alexander and Aufidius Marcellus consuls.

Ardashir reunites the former Parthian realm as a new 'Persian' empire, claiming the heritage and emulating the glories of the Achaemenid realm; his new 'Sassanid' kingdom (named after his father Sassan) soon becomes a much more dynamic, expansionist and centrally controlled rival to Rome than Parthia and develops a formidable military machine and ambitions to attack Syria.

AD 227 A power struggle between Mamea and a faction of Senate led by the Emperor's father-in-law Orbianus leads to the execution of the latter, who has possibly recently secured the rank of 'Caesar', and Alexander being forced to divorce his daughter Sallustia Orbiana and exile her to Africa.

AD 228 Consul: Quintus Aracius Modestus.

?Deposition of Praetorian Praefect Ulpianus after mutiny by the Guard (see above); he is hunted down and murdered by them in the Palace and Alexander cannot control them or avenge him.

?Death of Tertullian, Christian leader in Africa.

AD 229 ?Consulship of Alexander and the historian Cassius Dio, the latter by now well-known by the Imperial family as the laudatory biographer of Septimius. Alexander advises Dio not to bother to come to Rome from his native Nicaea for the usual ceremonies as he cannot guarantee his fellow-consul's safety if the troops riot, and he spends the time at Rhegium instead.

?Ardashir of Persia attacks the desert city of Hatra, bringing his new realm up to the Roman frontier.

AD 230 Ardashir invades Roman Mesopotamia, besieges Nisibis, and raids further west; the Roman government starts to raise an army for a retaliatory invasion of Persia which will also give Alexander a chance to win a military reputation and improve the soldiers' respect for him.

?Troops garrisoned in Mesopotamia mutiny and lynch governor Flavius Heracleo.

Pontianus succeeds Urban as Bishop of Rome; Hippolytus and his faction defy his authority.

AD 231 Spring: Alexander leaves Rome and proceeds to Antioch where his troops are assembling; ?before he arrives a revolt breaks out at Edessa (?aiming for restoration of independence) under Uranius Antoninus. He sends an embassy to Ardashir for negotiations without success, and at Antioch has to confront a mob of mutinous soldiers after he punishes some colleagues who were found in the city women's baths.

AD 232 Alexander sends one army north-east across Armenia into Atropatene (Azerbaijan) and another on a more southerly route into the Euphrates valley; he leads a third army on a route between the other two, heading east towards the upper Tigris. Ardashir destroys the southern army, and Alexander fears being encircled and withdraws to the Roman frontier, suffering losses during his cautious retreat through the safer mountains of Armenia; he orders his northerly army to retire from Atropatene rather than staying and risking being cut off.

?**Autumn:** Back at Antioch where Mammaea has remained in charge of the Imperial court and administration, Alexander hears of German tribal attacks across the middle Rhine in the Taunus region and towards Argentorate (Strasbourg) and across the upper Danube into Rhaetia; the levies he has brought from these frontiers agitate for action to protect their colleagues and families there and he decides to abandon the Persian war.

?Maximinus, the future Emperor, serves as legate of the Second ('Trajana') Legion in Egypt.

AD 233 Alexander makes peace with Ardashir, presumably on the basis of the 'status quo'; he returns to Rome pretending that he has achieved victory and assumes the title 'Parthicus Maximus' (or 'Persicus Maximus').

Autumn: Back in Rome, Alexander holds a triumph and orders more troops to be recruited for a campaign on the middle Rhine in 234; the rising military officer Maximinus is given charge of the Fourth Legion from Illyria.

Alexander leaves Rome for the Rhine either late this year or early in 234.

AD 234 Alexander sets up his base at Moguntiacum (Mainz) and campaigns across the middle Rhine into the Taunus mountains, restoring burnt forts and raiding the tribes' home territories. Their 'Alemannic' confederation is offered negotiations, disappointingly soon for the Roman army which was expecting a longer campaign and chances to plunder, and talks are satisfactorily concluded with Alexander giving subsidies and food to the Germans. The presence of Mamea at the expedition's base in Moguntiacum is also criticized, with Alexander being called her puppet.

?Maximinus is put in charge of collecting and training new recruits in the lower Rhine area.

AD 235 March: A mutiny breaks out at the Imperial military headquarters in Moguntiacum, probably fomented by Maximinus who is the rioting troops' choice as the new Emperor for his military capabilities and popularity. He is hailed by his recruits in the camp and presented with an Imperial cloak, and other soldiers join in as Alexander fails in a tearful appeal to them; **?21 March** next day Alexander and Mamea are caught at their tent and killed (Alexander is probably 26).

Reign of Maximin(us)

Maximinus, as 'Caius Julius Verus Maximinus', announces his accession to the Senate and makes his wife Paulina 'Augusta' and his young son Caius Julius Verus 'Caesar'; however, not all the army assembled in Germany accepts him at once and Alexander's friend Quartinus is chosen as Emperor by a body of archers from Osrhoene led by Macedo; later Macedo has his protégé killed in a vain attempt to secure an amnesty but Maximinus executes him.

A number of officers try to make the senator Magnus Emperor, but they and their candidate are also overcome and executed; the plot leads to some executions of suspects in Rome, but Maximinus's reputation for cruelty is not known to have been based on any sort of purge on the level of Commodus or Caracalla and his low birth and lack of interest in the Roman upper classes undoubtedly affected his reputation in Rome. A number of senior officers are retired or transferred to more junior posts, among them the future Praetorian Praefect Timesitheus, and Maximinus appoints loyal commanders from his own entourage – mostly humbly born ex-'rankers' from the frontiers.

Maximinus campaigns successfully across the Rhine, and assumes the title 'Germanicus'; he has taxes raised substantially to pay for his campaigns, and notably does not bother to go to Rome but stays on the frontier while planning his next campaign on the Danube.

Maximinus deports the leadership of the Christian Church in Rome to prison or the mines in Sardinia; **28 September** Bishop Fabian abdicates before he is exiled in order to enable a successor to function; **November** Anterus is elected Bishop. Fabian and his rival Hippolytus both soon die in Sardinia.

*AD 235 to 330***Reign of Maximinus (contd.)**

AD 236 Consul: Maximinus.

3 January: Death of Bishop Anterus of Rome; **10 January** succeeded by Fabian.

Maximinus winters at Sirmium, and then campaigns in Pannonia across the Danube; he assumes the title of 'Sarmaticus Maximus'.

AD 237 Maximinus campaigns in Dacia, and becomes 'Dacicus Maximus'.

?Death and deification of Maximinus's wife Caecilia Paulina, a major restraint on his harshness and his suspicious attitude towards the civilian 'establishment' in Rome; his readiness to listen to rumours about plots there and inflict harsh punishments on suspects becomes worse, and he is widely resented away from the threatened northern frontier for his taxes and for caring about nobody but the overpaid army.

?Ardashir of Persia invades Mesopotamia and takes Carrhae and Nisibis.

Reigns of the Gordians

AD 238

March: Revolt against taxes in province of Africa leads to a group of young landed aristocrats killing the Imperial procurator there at Thysdrus (Herodian's account, which is to be preferred to Aurelius Victor's claim of a military revolt). Fearing Maximinus's vengeance, they

call upon the aged provincial governor Marcus Antonius Gordianus Sempronianus (probably formerly governor of 'Britannia Superior' in 216), probably resident at his estate near Thysdrus, to assume leadership of their rebellion as Emperor and he agrees. 'Gordianus I', aged around 79 and a distant family connection of Herodes Atticus of Athens, is a veteran ex-consul (c. 224) with literary pretensions who has been recalled from retirement around four years previously to take over Africa and is hardly suited to leading a military revolt, so this task is taken on by his son, the younger Gordianus (who is probably aged around 40), on his father's staff, who agrees to become co-ruler.

?19 March: Gordianus assumes the Imperial title at Thysdrus; a few days later he and his escort of conspirators enter Carthage and take over the government amid enthusiastic public support. A delegation is sent to Rome, where **c. 1 April** letters are delivered to influential senators ahead of their next meeting and rebels pretend to have an important message for the loyal deputy Praetorian Praefect Vitalianus, Maximinus's viceroy in the capital, and murder him. The Senate accepts the new rulers and their promises to recall exiles and suppress informers with relief and proclaims them Emperors, denouncing Maximinus as a tyrant, deposing him and declaring him a public enemy.

Alexander Severus is deified, and City Praefect Sabinus and other leading supporters of Maximinus are killed in a riot.

A committee of 20 senators (*vigintiviri*) is set up to run Italy until the Gordians arrive and to raise troops in the various regions to form an army which will fight Maximinus; emissaries are sent to the provinces to announce the new regime and the governors of all but Pannonia, Dacia and Spain obey.

Capellianus, governor of Numidia, refuses the orders from Carthage to abandon Maximinus and marches his army on the city; **?10 April** Gordianus II's rebel army, larger but consisting mostly of civilian volunteers, is defeated outside the city by the experienced Numidian frontier troops and he is killed, and on (?or before) confirmation of the disaster his father hangs himself, having reigned for 22 days (according to Zonaras). Maximinus and his young son Julius Verus set out from

Sirmium to attack rebel Italy with the Pannonian army.

April: On receiving the news from Carthage, the Senate meets at the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol and elects two of their number as replacement Emperors – Decimus Caelius Calvinus Balbinus, probably in his late sixties or early seventies (Zonaras puts his age at 60), and Marcus Clodius Pupienus Maximus, probably in his mid-sixties (74 according to Zonaras). They are declared ‘Fathers of the Senate’ and keep the ‘Committee of Twenty’ in being, but there is popular unrest particularly about the selection of the widely disliked Pupienus so the younger Gordianus’ sister’s son, Marcus Antonius Gordianus, aged 13 and resident in Rome, is appointed as ‘Caesar’ as a tribute to his uncle and grandfather’s sacrifice. Ex-consuls Crispinus and Menophilus lead the committee’s army to confront the invading Maximin.

May: Maximinus reaches Emona to find the city evacuated and its supplies destroyed; he drives his increasingly demoralized army on through bad weather to ford the Sontius (Isonzo) and besiege Aquileia which refuses to admit him, and as a stalemate develops, his harsh punishments of grumblers worsens his troops’ attitudes. Pupienus gathers recruits at Ravenna while Crispinus and Menophilus proceed towards Aquileia.

?20 May or (Herodian) 24 June: As the senatorial army approaches, troops from the Second Parthian Legion (based at Albanum) whose families are in the rebels’ control mutiny against Maximinus; the army’s shortage of supplies aids discontent. Maximinus (aged around 55) and his young son Julius Verus are killed in their tent at dinner; the army swears allegiance to Balbinus and Pupienus and the late ruler’s head is sent to the Senate.

During the absence of Pupienus, there is trouble in Rome as senators Gallicanus and Maecenas arrange the murder of some Praetorian Guardsmen visiting the Senate House; their infuriated colleagues riot, and Gallicanus mobilizes gladiators to fight them; during the armed clashes that follow the Praetorians start a serious fire in the city, and Balbinus’ reputation suffers as he is unable to control the situation despite his offer of an amnesty.

Pupienus proceeds to Aquileia to secure the Danube army, though while the troops are absent from the frontier the Goths have invaded Lower Moesia and the Carpi have crossed the middle Danube into Pannonia; he returns to Rome in triumph to be met at the gates by Balbinus and Gordianus, and does his best to secure prestige from the victory at his colleague's expense and is suspected by the latter of intending to use his new German bodyguards for a coup.

July: It is agreed that Balbinus will have his chance of military glory by dealing with the Goths and Pupienus will next campaign against Persia; however, at the end of the Capitoline Games **29 July** the Praetorians revolt against senatorial rule and march on the Palace, and Balbinus turns down his colleague's appeal to have the German guards summoned lest Pupienus use them against him under cover of the fighting. They are still arguing when the Praetorians burst in and arrest them, and they are stripped, beaten up and dragged to the Praetorian Camp; when the Guard hears that the Germans might be coming to rescue their victims they murder them, after a reign of 99 days.

The Praetorians proclaim Gordianus as Emperor, and the Senate has to accept it; as he is probably only 13 his mother Maecia Faustina and her household eunuchs play an important role in a government nominally run by the Senate, and Aedinius Julianus (governor of Lugdunensis and ex-Praefect of Egypt) becomes Praetorian Praefect. Gordianus soon assumes the title of 'Pius' indicating his honouring of his duty to his family's sacrifices, and the legion which Capellianus led to overthrow his uncle and grandfather is cashiered which leaves Numidia exposed to local bandits.

AD 239 Consul: Gordianus.

AD 240 Brief revolt by Sabinianus, governor of Africa.

Domitius becomes Praetorian Praefect.

Menophilus, as the new governor of Lower Moesia, drives out a Gothic invasion and pays them subsidies to stay beyond the Danube.

AD 241 Caius Furius Sabinus Aquila Timesitheus becomes Praetorian Praefect, taking control of the government, and proves highly competent; his daughter Furia Tranquillina is married to the Emperor.

Late: Death of Ardashir; succeeded by his son Shapur, who proves even more dynamic and determined to recover ancient Persian possessions from Rome by advancing to the Mediterranean.

AD 242 20 March: Shapur is enthroned as ‘Great King’; he sacks Hatra, annexing it to Persia, invades Syria across the Euphrates, and threatens Antioch, and Timesitheus organizes the despatch of troops from the northern frontiers to save the city. An Imperial expedition to recover Mesopotamia is decided, and Gordianus ceremonially opens the gates of the Temple of Janus in Rome to declare war; he leaves Italy (or early 243) and proceeds to Antioch to take command of the army that is assembling there.

Plotinus of Lycopolis, the Platonist philosopher and author, is one of the Egyptian recruits for the Persian expedition.

AD 243 Spring: Gordianus in Syria; Timesitheus leads the Roman army into Mesopotamia in pursuit of the retreating Shapur, recovers Carrhae, and defeats the Persians in a major battle at Resaina.

Timesitheus takes Nisibis, and crosses Mesopotamia to the Tigris to advance towards Ctesiphon, the Persian capital; **?Autumn** he dies en route and the expedition retreats to the Roman frontier. Gordianus appoints Marcus Julius Philippus (Philip ‘the Arab’), son of the southern Syrian tribal chieftain Marinus from Trachonitis, as the new Praetorian Praefect.

AD 244 Gordianus plans another advance across Mesopotamia with the army, but faces a conspiracy led by Philip who is popular with the troops and discontent over a lack of supplies; he allegedly offers to resign and serve as his Praefect’s ‘Caesar’.

25 February: Gordianus dies at Zeutha on the Euphrates, aged probably 19; it is uncertain whether he is murdered by the soldiers at

Philip's behest, poisoned by him, or (least likely) dies naturally as Philip alleges in his letter to the Senate announcing his resultant election by the troops.

Reign of Philip

Philip takes the throne, makes his (?teenage) son Marcus Julius Severus Philippus 'Caesar', and opens negotiations with Shapur; the Persians accept the Roman reoccupation of the lands of Lesser Armenia and Mesopotamia which they have tried to take, though Shapur chooses to portray the result of the campaign as a victory in his later rock-engraving propaganda at Bisitun by showing Gordianus III kneeling before him.

?July: Philip returns to Rome as 'Parthicus' and 'Persicus Maximus', leaving his brother Priscus to govern Mesopotamia and hold an overall military command over the eastern provinces; his brother-in-law or father-in-law Severianus is appointed to a joint governorship of the two Moesias, which are under threat of invasion again.

?Philip orders or encourages a halt to legal cases against Christians for refusing to sacrifice to the gods, due to sympathy for the religion if not to being a secret convert himself as some Christian writers later claim.

AD 245 The Carpi invade and ravage Lower Moesia, Thrace and Macedonia, and Severianus fails to cope with them.

AD 246 Philip campaigns in the Balkans and defeats and expels the Carpi and probably also the Quadi, assuming the title of 'Germanicus Maximus', and visits Dacia.

AD 247 The Carpi are surrounded at their principal fortress and sue for peace; Philip becomes 'Carpicus Maximus' and returns to Rome at the conclusion of his campaign to restore the Danube frontier; (or 246) he makes his son Marcus Julius Severus Philippus, aged around 12, co-Emperor and fellow-Pontifex Maximus.

AD 248 1 January: Philip and his son serve as consuls.

Philip celebrates the 'Secular Games' to commemorate the presumed thousandth birthday of Rome, with grand theatrical and artistic competitions, lavish Games in the Flavian Amphitheatre where the wild animals collected by Gordianus III for his Persian triumph are used, displays and races in the Circus Maximus, and the usual religious ceremonies. The proceedings last for three days and nights.

Summer: Concurrent with a brief military rising on the upper Rhine by Silbannacus, Philip's new commander, Sabinianus (in command of both Pannonia and Moesia), is proclaimed Emperor by his troops; this revolt probably encourages the local tribes to resume attacks across the river.

?Autumn: After Philip, hard-pressed for money due to the expense of the celebrations in Rome, halts the regular subsidy to the Goths across the lower Danube they invade across the river and besiege Marcianopolis.

?Revolt at Emesa in Syria against the unpopular Priscus, now 'Rector' of the east and resented by the troops, led by Iotapianus – a possible connection of the former royal house of Commagene by his name, and possibly claiming descent from Alexander to raise local support.

Philip panics at the multiplicity of revolts and tells the Senate he is prepared to abdicate, but they reassure him and the respected City Prefect Caius Quintus Messius Decius (governor of Lower Moesia in 234 and of Tarraconensis in Spain in 238) tells him that Sabinianus has no qualifications to be Emperor and will soon be murdered by his volatile troops; this duly happens. Philip sends Decius to the Danube as his new supreme commander there (Decius comes from the Sirmium area), and he evicts the Goths and restores discipline to the army.

Cyprian, upper-class former Latin master at a local academy, becomes Bishop of Carthage two years after his conversion to Christianity; at around this date both he and the Egyptian theologian Origen write refutations of the serious philosophical attack launched on their religion c. 170 by Celsus the Platonist.

AD 249 (or late 248) Iotapianus is murdered by his troops and the Syrian revolt collapses; his head is sent to Philip.

June: The Danube armies of Pannonia and Moesia insist on hailing Decius as their new Emperor; he proclaims his reluctance to accept and writes to Philip to say that he had to agree to save himself from being killed, still recognizes him as senior Emperor, and will abdicate when he returns to Rome; Philip refuses to believe him and mobilizes his army for war, but is in poor health as he heads north and Decius advances from the Danube.

September/October: The rival armies clash at Verona, and Philip is defeated and killed (aged around 50) despite his superiority in numbers; his son is either killed in the Imperial camp after the defeat or by the Praetorians when the news reaches Rome, and the defeated army accepts Decius as Emperor.

Reign of Decius

Decius arrives in Rome and proclaims a policy of ruling in concert with the Senate and returning to traditional values and discipline; he is granted the name 'Trajan(us)' by the Senate to symbolize his emulation of the most renowned and successful of the Antonines, and his wife Herennia Cupressenia Etruscilla (from an ancient Etruscan family) becomes 'Augusta'.

Decius revives the worship of the great Emperors of the past as a rallying point for his regime and receives the title 'restorer of Cults'; he takes measures to restore the prosperity of Italy.

Decius singles out the Christians for attack for their lack of patriotism and undermining the state by refusing to participate in the Imperial cult; measures are prepared to arrange an Empire-wide compulsory participation in sacrifices to the deified Emperors, thus identifying the abstainers for arrest.

A riotous mob encourages arrests of Christians at Alexandria; in Africa Bishop Cyprian of Carthage goes into hiding rather than become a martyr and is condemned for his cowardice by the Church in Rome.

AD 250 January: Bishop Fabian of Rome is arrested along with other leading Christians in the capital; **20 January** he dies in prison, probably after ill-treatment, and Decius does his best to see that the bishopric is kept leaderless in his efforts to wipe out the Christian community in the capital. The deacon Novatian assumes unofficial leadership of the Church there as the remaining members are in hiding and are unable or too scared to elect a bishop.

Early: Under Decius' edict requiring all citizens to sacrifice to the deified Emperors, the entire citizenry across the Empire is required to present themselves at the local altars of the Imperial cult, sacrifice incense and obtain a certificate from the authorities; those who do not turn up are imprisoned. This leads to an enthusiastic 'witch-hunt' for Christians to please the Emperor, aided by informers and personal enemies, and many of those arrested are subjected to the usual capital punishment though presumably some Christians sacrifice to the gods, obtain forged certificates or bribe the authorities for certificates without sacrificing as is attested more certainly for the later persecutions. Bishops Babylas of Antioch and Alexander of Jerusalem are among those who die in prison, and the most accomplished theologian of the era, the elderly Origen, head of the theological school at Alexandria until recently and now living in Palestine, is imprisoned at Caesarea and tortured in efforts to make him abandon his faith.

?Early spring: The Goths, under dynamic new commander (apparently elected 'king') Kniva, cross the lower Danube before the ice melts and ravage Moesia with the aid of the Carpi; one horde under Kniva marches east to attack Novae, but is forced to withdraw by governor Trebonianus Gallus of the two Moesias, while a second crosses the Balkan range into Thrace, ravages the Hebrus valley, and besieges governor Titus Julius Priscus in Philippopolis.

Kniva besieges Nicopolis on the Danube.

Summer: Decius raises a large army in Rome, and makes his elder son Herennius Etruscus (probably in late teens) 'Caesar' and sends him at the head of an advance-force to Moesia; he appoints the senior

senator Publius Licinius Valerianus (the future Emperor), from Perugia (Perugia), to command the administration in Rome and follows with the main army, leaving his younger son Hostilianus in Rome.

Decius relieves Nicopolis, and campaigns successfully to clear invaders out of Dacia whereupon he takes the title 'Dacicus Maximus'; Kniva has moved across the mountains into Thrace to join the Goths besieging Philippopolis, and Decius marches after him to catch him before the two Gothic forces unite but is defeated by him at Berroea. He retires to Oescus to join Trebonianus Gallus and rebuild his forces, abandoning Thrace where Priscus declares himself Emperor at Philippopolis to satisfy his mutinous troops and allies himself with the besiegers against Decius. The Goths take and sack Philippopolis.

AD 251 March: As the persecution of Christians in Rome eases after Decius' departure, the clergy are able to meet for election of a new Bishop and as their favoured candidate Moses has recently died in prison they elect Cornelius to Novatian's disappointment. Controversy arises over readmitting 'lapsed' Christians who have sacrificed to the gods to escape arrest, and Cornelius takes a lenient view about accepting them back once they have done penance; Novatian opposes their readmission on any terms, denounces Cornelius for leniency and with the aid of the 'rigorist' faction of the Roman church is elected as rival Bishop. Both sides appeal to the other principal episcopates of the Empire for support, and Cyprian of Carthage is particularly active in efforts to resolve the dispute; he and Dionysius of Alexandria help to judge which of the rivals should be accepted, but Cornelius resents the fact that Cyprian institutes enquiries, implying that the Bishop of Rome can be judged by outsiders, rather than accepting him as the choice of the majority of clergy in the see of St Peter.

March: Valerianus puts down the brief revolt of Julius Valens Licinianus in Rome.

?Spring: Decius wins a battle against the Goths somewhere in the Danube plain and proclaims a 'German victory'; he raises Herennius to the rank of 'Augustus' and makes Hostilianus 'Caesar'.

July: Decius attacks Kniva's main force as they return from Thrace with their loot towards the Danube; the Gothic camp, defended by a circle of wagons, is assaulted at Abrittus in the Dobrudja near the river-mouth and Decius defeats two Gothic divisions but cannot penetrate the wagons. The Romans are trapped, and first Herennius and then Decius (aged around 52) are killed and most of the Roman army is destroyed – the first time that an Emperor has fallen in battle.

Reigns of Gallus and (to 251/2) Hostilianus

Gallus, as the senior surviving commander in the army, is proclaimed Emperor by the troops and announces that Hostilianus will be co-Emperor. He concludes peace with the Goths, allowing them to leave for home with all their loot and prisoners and promising an annual subsidy, and marches back to Italy.

?Autumn: Gallus arrives in Rome; his wife Baebiana is not made 'Augusta' as Decius' widow Etruscilla keeps that title, and his son Caius Vibius Volusianus becomes 'Caesar' and Princeps Iuventutis. A committee of senior Church leaders, led by Cyprian, recognizes Cornelius as rightful Bishop of Rome but Novatian refuses to resign; the second schism in Rome continues.

AD 252 Plague ravages the Empire, and diminishes its manpower and tax receipts at a crucial moment in its fortunes when the tribes across the Danube and the Persians are both planning to attack in the aftermath of Decius' death. (or late 251) Death of Hostilianus, aged probably around 17, presumably of the plague though Zosimus (fifth century) claims it was suspicious. Gallus makes Volusianus 'Augustus'.

June: Gallus revives the persecution of the Christians to win back the gods' favour; Bishop Cornelius is deported to Centumcellae in a new round of arrests aimed at the Church in Rome.

Marcus Aemilius Aemilianus, from the island of Djerba off the African coast, becomes governor of Lower Moesia, where some Goths are again raiding over the Danube and others who did not go home

with Kniva in 251 are terrorizing the populace; ?Valerianus is sent to command on the upper Rhine.

AD 253 Spring: Aemilianus refuses Kniva's demand for an increased annual subsidy, has those Goths who are still south of the Danube rounded up and killed, and invades over the river; he defeats the Goths in a prestigious victory which restores Roman morale.

Shapur of Persia invades and overruns Armenia while Rome is too weak to react; King Chosroes is killed, his son Tiridates flees and a Persian viceroy, Hormisdas, is installed; either simultaneously or subsequently a Persian army overruns Roman Mesopotamia and raids into Syria, possibly aided by many Roman troops having either died in the plague or been sent to Thrace. The first Persian sack of Antioch probably belongs to this campaign, and certainly it sees the furthest enemy penetration of Syria since 40 BC; Uranius Antoninus rebels in southern Syria (his name indicating messianic overtones to his claims as a leader) and starts to issue independent coinage at Emesa. He probably leads its successful defence against Persian attack.

June: Death of Bishop Cornelius of Rome in exile at Centumcellae;

25 June: Lucius is elected to succeed him.

?July/August: Aemilianus' troops hail him as Emperor, and he marches on Italy; Gallus proclaims him a public enemy, but does not have many troops in Rome and summons Valerianus with the Rhine legions. Aemilianus reaches vicinity of the capital first, and Gallus' smaller army is defeated in battle at Interamna; afterwards his troops murder him (aged around 51) and Volusianus and go over to Aemilianus.

Reigns of Aemilianus (253) and Valerianus/Gallienus

Valerianus continues his march on Rome when he hears of Gallus' death as he enters Rhaetia; his troops hail him as Emperor.

Aemilianus (aged 47) is accepted as Emperor in Rome, with his wife Cornelia Supera as 'Augusta'; with Valerianus' large and experienced

Rhine army approaching he has to head north to fight him; **?September** he is murdered by disaffected troops at Spoletium (Spoleto) after a reign of around two months and his army recognizes Valerianus as Emperor.

Autumn: Valerianus, now aged around 60, enters Rome and is accepted as Emperor; he raises his son Publius Licinius Egnatius Gallienus, probably in his late thirties (or as much as 40) due to the age of his sons, to be co-Emperor; Valerianus' late wife Mariniana is deified and Gallienus' wife Cornelia Salonina becomes 'Augusta'.

The Christian exiles are recalled and prisoners released in initial relaxation of persecution; as the plague continues the Goths invade Thrace again (or in 254) and are joined by other tribes including the Burgundians.

AD 254 5 March: Death of Bishop Lucius of Rome; **12 May** Stephen, of the *gens Julia*, is elected to succeed him, and faces more problems over the readmission of lapsed Christians after the mass 'apostasy' during the persecutions. He accepts appeal of two Spanish bishops, deposed by their local churches for apostatizing, to be reinstated but their enemies appeal to the most senior and respected Church leader, Cyprian of Carthage, who declares them deposed and claims that Stephen did not know the full facts. Within the next year or so, Stephen also has to deal with appeals for the removal of Novatian's ally Bishop Marcian of Arelate (Arles) who is refusing to readmit apostatizes even on their deathbeds, and chooses not to remove him. Novatian remains in schism, not recognising Stephen as Bishop.

Gallienus campaigns on the Danube against threat of German attacks, and achieves considerable success.

AD 255 ?Shapur takes Nisibis and (or in 256) Carrhae to complete the Persian conquest of Roman Mesopotamia.

Gallienus achieves notable victories in the Balkans, though the Germanic ravaging of Thrace to the east continues, and then proceeds to the Rhine where he sets up his base at Cologne and campaigns successfully over the river to defeat the 'Alemanni' confederation in the

Taunus before they can cross the river; now or in 256 he sets up a new mint at Cologne and is hailed as *restitutor Galliae*, presumably indicating the expulsion of German raiders from Gallic provinces.

?Germans in Thrace cross the Hellespont to raid Asia Minor.

Conflict intensifies between the Churches of Rome and Africa, as Stephen of Rome announces that he accepts the validity of baptisms carried out by clergy who have apostatized or profess heretical theological views provided that their subjects seek absolution; this is particularly unpopular among the ‘rigorists’ in Africa, where Cyprian holds a synod that rejects it.

AD 256 Valerianus and Gallienus divide the Empire, so that the senior ruler commands in the east and his son in the west; this either precedes or succeeds the major attacks on Asia Minor this year.

(or 255) The ‘Borani’ tribe from the Crimea commandeer a fleet from the Kingdom of Bosporus, sail south to Pontus, land to ravage the countryside, and attack Pityus but are driven off by governor Successianus; they embark on what ships remain after the Bosporan fleet has left while they were ashore. Successianus is rewarded with the Praetorian Praefecture. After a second African synod upholds the earlier declaration that baptism by apostates or heretics is not valid, Bishop Stephen of Rome refuses to accept Cyprian of Carthage’s emissaries and writes to the pro-African Churches in Asia Minor that because they rebaptize he cannot accept communion with them.

AD 257 (or 256) The Borani return with another commandeered fleet to sack Pityus, and sail westwards plundering the Pontic coast; they sack Trapezus (Trebizond) in night attack before returning home.

The Goths invade Thrace in force, and their army marches down the Euxine coast to the Bosporus while their fleet sails parallel to them; at the Bosporus, where Valerianus has sent reinforcements to Byzantium, they embark to sail across to Chalcedon which surrenders and is used as their base for plundering expedition across Bithynia. Nicaea, Nicomedia and most of the other major cities are sacked.

August: Valerianus, Gallienus and the latter's elder son Valerianus, probably in late teens or early twenties, are recorded by inscription as being at Cologne, presumably on a joint tour of the restored Rhine frontier; the younger Valerianus is soon sent to take command at Viminacium on the Danube as 'Caesar'.

2 August: Death of Bishop Stephen of Rome; succeeded by Sixtus II.

August: An edict of Valerianus (the elder) requires all senior Christian clergy to sacrifice to the gods and end their meetings in the catacombs, though their worship of the Christian God in private is still allowed; this leads to a new round of arrests.

?The elder Valerianus goes east, probably in response to news of the ravaging of Bithynia, though it is uncertain when exactly he reaches Asia Minor (after installing his grandson as nominal commander on the Danube) and starts campaign against the Goths.

AD 258 Valerianus campaigns in Asia Minor but is halted by outbreak of plague in his demoralized army. ?The Goths ravage southwards into Ionia; at this time they sack Ephesus and burn down the Temple of Artemis, one of the 'Seven Wonders of the World'. Shapur invades Syria again (or in 257); this second Persian attack causes Valerianus to march for Syria.

May: Valerianus arrives in Antioch.

Ingenius, commander of the troops in Pannonia, revolts at Sirmium; the younger Valerianus, at Viminacium, either dies in the plague or is killed in the revolt. Gallienus leaves his second son Saloninus at Cologne as the new 'Caesar' and marches east; he and his general Manius Acilius Aureolus defeat and kill Ingenius at Mursa.

Summer: Valerianus orders the summary execution of all Christian bishops, priests and deacons in unprecedented attempt to decapitate the Church; another round of arrests follows.

6 August: Bishop Sixtus of Rome is arrested as he is celebrating Mass illegally at the catacomb of Praetextatus and beheaded with three of his seven deacons, and another two are subsequently executed too; **10 August** deacon (St) Lawrence is executed, traditionally on a gridiron.

The Roman Church does not dare elect an immediate successor.

Cyprianus is exiled to Curubis, but recalled for questioning by the new governor and **14 September** beheaded in Carthage.

The Alemanni invade and overrun Rhaetia, and probably cross the Alps via the Brenner Pass to raid northern Italy.

AD 259 (or late 258?) Gallienus defeats the Alemanni and rescues northern Italy, but is unable to restore control over all of Rhaetia and abandons the Agri Decumates salient between the Rhine and the Danube.

Gallienus campaigns on the upper Danube, and forms an alliance with the Marcomanni on the northern bank; he may marry the daughter of a leading chieftain.

?The Franks cross the middle Rhine into Gaul and ravage across the provinces south-west as far as the Pyrenees.

AD 260 ?Summer: During or after Shapur's third invasion of Syria, Valerianus leads his army as far as Edessa to confront the Persians, probably as they retreat after a raid. He is captured, possibly by treachery at a parley, and taken off to Mesopotamia as a prisoner – the first Roman Emperor to fall alive into enemy hands. He is humiliatingly forced to serve as Shapur's mounting block as the Persian ruler mounts his horse, and is depicted grovelling in the propaganda inscriptions at Bisitun.

Valerianus dies some time later, aged at least in his mid-sixties, and Shapur reputedly has his skin stuffed and displays it as a trophy of war in a Zoroastrian temple.

Sole reign of Gallienus – empire split among rivals

Gallienus, preoccupied in the west, makes no move to rescue the east or ransom his father; he becomes the sole legitimate Emperor and grants the Christians freedom of worship again.

22 July: Dionysius is elected Bishop of Rome, probably on news of Valerianus' capture.

Regalianus, governor of Upper Pannonia, proclaims himself Emperor at Carnuntum; Gallienus moves quickly against him from the middle Rhine, leaving his elder surviving son 'Caesar' Saloninus at the Imperial headquarters at Cologne with Praetorian Praefect Silvanus while the general Marcus Casianus Latinius Postumus commands the field army on the frontier there. Gallienus defeats (?and kills) Regalianus, but during his absence Postumus quarrels with Silvanus and leads his troops in rebellion; they march on and take Cologne and Saloninus and Silvanus are killed.

If Regalianus escapes Gallienus, he is soon killed either by German raiders or by Gallienus' generals in the middle Danube region.

Postumus is recognized as Emperor on the Rhine and in Britain, Gaul and Spain; he forms a 'breakaway' Empire with his capital at Trier, and soon has his own Senate and administration; Gallienus is temporarily incapacitated by wounds received in the Danube campaign and does not react, but Italy and the Danube provinces remain loyal.

?As Postumus puts down Germanic raiders within Gaul, the tribal army of Franks eludes him by crossing the Pyrenees and sacks Tarraco in Spain; they are dealt with now or in 261. Shapur takes Antioch again, and marches into Cappadocia to take Tyana; Caesarea is betrayed to him during siege; the Imperial eastern army holds out at Samosata, commanded by the quartermaster Macrianus and the general Callistus (nicknamed 'Ballista', 'catapult'). Ballista attacks Shapur by surprise and defeats him at Corycus in Cilicia, and the Persians retire into Syria; Shapur is forced to retreat to the Euphrates as his supply lines through Syria are harassed by Odenathus, the ruler of the desert oasis of Palmyra, who has assumed charge of the Roman forces in the area and his own levies and becomes effective ruler of Syria and Palestine in the absence of senior Roman authority there, still professing loyalty to Gallienus who accepts him as his lieutenant there.

?Late autumn: Macrianus, believing himself too old to be a successful Emperor, raises his sons Titus Fulvius Junius Macrianus and Titus Fulvius Junius Quietus to be Emperors; he takes the elder, Macrianus (II), with him on march west while Quietus rules at Antioch.

AD 261 1 January: Three rival consular claims to authority – Gallienus, recognized in Rome; Postumus at Trier; and the Macriani in the Balkans.

The two Macriani are defeated and killed in the Balkans by Gallienus' general Domitianus, sent to stop their advance by the Imperial commander Aureolus.

The Macriani's general Piso escapes from their defeat and proclaims himself Emperor; he is soon killed by governor Valens of Achaëa/Greece, acting for Gallienus. Valens rebels himself but (or 262) is killed by his troops.

Odenathus, acting for Gallienus, marches on Quietus; he defeats and kills his commander Ballista, and besieges his headquarters at Emesa where the citizens surrender and kill Quietus; Odenathus assumes command in Syria, initially as Imperial *dux* for Gallienus.

?Having driven back the Germans on the Rhine frontier, Postumus takes the title of 'Restitutor Galliae' and starts to appeal to the provincial loyalty of his centre of power as set against the central power of Rome in Italy.

AD 262 Gallienus probably campaigns on the Danube and in Illyria against marauding Germans; at around this time he forms a new permanent mobile Imperial force of cavalry that can respond quickly to military emergencies, the *Comitatus*, largely staffed by young horse-owning aristocrats and equites in his entourage who are given the designation of *comitatenses/comites* ('Companions', and usually anglicized by historians as 'Counts'). They are based at Mediolanum (Milan), close to the Alps and the Danube, where Gallienus spends a lot of his time when not on campaign.

Over the next few years Gallienus apparently spends more time relaxing with his court in Italy and is criticized for not making more strenuous efforts to reunite the Empire. His ending of the custom of giving provincial governorships to senators – he now uses equites – probably indicates his distrust of their potential to revolt. Whether or not he shows increasing signs of eastern-style autocracy and surrounds himself with low-born boon companions as hostile traditions allege,

he takes great interest in Hellenist pursuits and summons the distinguished Platonist writer Plotinus to set up an academy in Italy under his patronage.

?Plague in Illyria.

Odenathus launches attack on Persian-held Mesopotamia with his revitalized 'Roman' eastern army and additional Arab tribal allies; his camel-riding allies prove especially effective against Persian supply-lines, and Carrhae, Nisibis and other cities are retaken.

September: Rome celebrates the start of the tenth year (Decennalia) of Gallienus' rule.

AD 263 Odenathus fights a second successful campaign in Mesopotamia, and launches attack as far as the Tigris with Shapur driven in full retreat; Armenia allies itself with him as Rome's representative. He reaches the outskirts of Ctesiphon before retiring to the Roman frontier rather than risking being cut off due to overextended supply lines.

On his return to Antioch, Odenathus proclaims himself as 'King of Kings' (the Persian royal title) and confers the same rank on his elder son Herodianus in a ceremony at the city's Stadium; Gallienus subsequently recognizes him as 'Imperator', that is to say a military commander not as full sovereign.

Gallienus crosses the Alps and invades south-east Gaul; after an initial setback his army defeats Postumus, but the usurper is able to escape as the Imperial cavalry-commander Aureolus does not follow him quickly enough. Postumus returns to the Rhine and gathers a new army, including German allies; he returns to the attack and suffers a second defeat but escapes to a nearby town where he is besieged. Gallienus is wounded during the siege and is unable to campaign further; he returns to Italy leaving Gaul in his rival's hands, but does not punish Aureolus (who may be in secret contact with Postumus).

AD 265 ?Gothic fleet, aided by the Heruli, crosses the Euxine to raid the towns of the Dobrudja and the Thracian coast but is driven off by Cleodamus and Athenaeus of Byzantium.

AD 266 ?The Goths invade Asia Minor and plunder across the peninsula as far as Cappadocia.

?Odenathus invades Mesopotamia again, and marches as far as Ctesiphon with the Persians unable to stop him; again he is careful not to risk being trapped and after sacking their capital he returns home with his loot.

AD 267 Odenathus, preparing to set out for campaign against the Goths, is assassinated with his son Herodianus, either at Emesa or at Heraclea in Cappadocia, possibly by a Roman official called Rufinus to pre-empt his expected breach with Gallienus or in a family feud at a party by a dispossessed son by an earlier marriage or a nephew; Odenathus' widow Zenobia assumes power in the name of her younger son Waballathus, but can only hold Syria and Palestine as Gallienus' general Theodotus recovers Egypt. Waballathus takes the titles of 'King of Kings' and of a Roman *corrector totius Orientis*, the latter without Roman sanction or recognition.

The Goths move west to plunder Bithynia; some or most of them then join the Heruli invasion (see below).

The Heruls sail to the Bosphorus, sack Byzantium, and cross the Propontis to invade the Aegean; they attack Lemnos, Lesbos and Scyros and then land in Attica. Athens is sacked, though the libraries are possibly spared on the appeal of the philosophers, and the Heruls go on by land to sack Corinth and march across the Peloponnese to Argos and Sparta. Having sacked most of the principal cities of Greece, they return via the Isthmus of Corinth to have another raid on Athens but are driven off by a volunteer cavalry force of young citizens gathered by the historian Dexippus; they retreat into Boeotia where Gallienus' general Marcianus arrives with Danubian troops. Outnumbered and avoiding battle, he skilfully harasses them and drives them northwards that winter into Macedonia.

AD 268 Early spring: Gallienus arrives in the southern Balkans, having left Aureolus in charge at Mediolanum; he joins Marcianus and defeats

the Heruls and their allies in a large-scale battle in the Nestus valley in eastern Macedonia. The Germans ask for terms, and Gallienus grants them safe passage from the Empire and gives consular ornaments to their chieftain Naulobatus.

Aureolus revolts at Mediolanum, and declares his recognition of Postumus; Gallienus hurries back to Italy before Postumus, probably caught by surprise, can cross the Alps and defeats Aureolus at *Pons Aureoleus*; he besieges the rebel in Mediolanum.

?June/July: Postumus is unable to help Aureolus as his own general Laelianus seizes Moguntiacum in revolt; he recaptures the city and executes the rebel but refuses his troops' request to sack the place.

At Mediolanum, Aureolus holds out and discontent grows among Gallienus' senior officers; Praetorian Praefect Aurelius Heraclianus and two of Gallienus' low-born Illyrian generals who have risen through the ranks, Marcus Aurelius Claudius (the new commander of the Comitatus) and Aurelian(us), lead a plot to remove the Emperor.

Early September: Joined by other officers including the Dalmatian cavalry's commander Cecropius, the conspirators strike; Gallienus is informed at dinner in his camp by Cecropius that Aureolus has launched a sortie and he rides off to investigate with a small escort without waiting for his bodyguards. The conspirators join them, and Gallienus is cut down (aged probably in his early fifties).

Gallienus' brother Licinianus is killed too, and Claudius (aged 54) is made Emperor as the plotters' choice and is announced to the army; the soldiers are not fully satisfied until they receive a large donative. Messages are sent to Rome, where the Senate is relieved to be rid of Gallienus and tries to order the *damnatio memoriae* but Claudius forces them to deify him instead; Gallienus' widow Salonina and youngest son Marinianus are executed.

Reign of Claudius II

Aurelian receives Cecropius' command of the Dalmatian cavalry as Claudius chooses to sacrifice that officer to the soldiers' complaints

about the murder being unpunished and has him executed; Praefect Heraclianus is either killed or commits suicide. Aureolus holds out for a few weeks and possibly declares himself Emperor, but is lured into holding talks with his old colleagues in the Imperial camp and once he is outside Mediolanum is seized and killed.

Following Gallienus' murder, his 'Neoplatonist' circle of attendant philosophers at court breaks up; their most prominent member, the Egyptian Plotinus, retires to Campania.

(or early 269) Trassus, Roman governor of the province of Arabia (based at Petra), is killed by Zenobia's general Septimius Zabdas who sacks Bostra and secures the province for his mistress.

Autumn: Claudius arrives in Rome to reassure the Senate and populace; with the Imperial army weakened by the convulsions of 268 the Germans, particularly the Alemanni and Iuthungi, cross the upper Danube again and overrun Rhaetia. They penetrate the Alps, and probably cross the Brenner Pass in midwinter to enter Italy.

?Britain and Spain recognize Claudius as Emperor, but Gaul and the Rhine remain in rebellion.

26 December: Death of Bishop Dionysius of Rome.

AD 269 1 January: Claudius assumes the consulship in Rome; he soon leaves to confront the Germans in northern Italy.

3 January: Felix is elected Bishop of Rome.

?January/February: Postumus is killed at his headquarters at Cologne by mutinous troops; they elect Julius Marius, reputedly an ex-blacksmith, who rules for two months before deposition.

?February/March: Claudius advances with his army to meet the plundering Germans, and defeats them at the battle of Lake Benacus (Lake Garda); he clears northern Italy of invaders and assumes the title of 'Germanicus Maximus'.

?March/April: Victorinus seizes control of Postumus' 'Gallic Empire', now reduced to Gaul and the Rhine.

Probus, the pro-Claudius governor of Egypt, brings a fleet to the Aegean and destroys the German fleet there; in his absence Zenobia

sends a Palmyrene army under Zabdas to invade Lower Egypt in support of a rebellion by Timagenes. The Palmyrenes secure Lower Egypt, but after their main army leaves the remaining garrison of 5,000 men is evicted by the returning Probus.

?March: The Heruli incite the Goths and their neighbours, the Gepids and Peucini, to join them in another invasion; possibly over 100,000 men and 1,000 ships (some sources speak of double that) sail from the mouth of the Dniester to ravage the Euxine coast south along the Moesian and Thracian shores to the Bosphorus but fail to take Byzantium or Cyzicus. They sail through the Propontis into the Aegean, plundering en route, and land in Chalcidice to besiege Thessalonica. Claudius probably hears of the attack while ‘mopping up’ after the battle of Lake Garda; he sends Aurelian ahead with an advance-force (including the Dalmatian cavalry) to the Balkans, and allegedly turns down the temptation to take over the disorganized ‘Gallic Empire’ in the aftermath of Postumus’ murder with the comment that war with the national enemy must take precedence over his personal concern with pretenders. He sends his brother Quintillus back to Rome, and leads his main army to Macedonia where Aurelian is harassing the Germans and forcing them back across the mountains into Moesia.

?Summer: Revolt of Augustodunum (Autun) against Victorinus; it sends an appeal for help to Claudius, who sends his general Julius Placidianus to Gaul; Placidianus advances as far as Grenoble but is repulsed.

?Summer: Claudius joins up with Aurelian; they fight a bloody but inconclusive battle at Naissus (Nis) which forces the Germans to stop their march into Moesia, and then harass them with ambushes to wear them down. The Germans start to run out of supplies as they straggle into the Haemus (Great Balkan) range, and Aurelian defeats them in an assault with the Roman cavalry at Doberus. The survivors reach safety in mountains, but are blockaded there and starved out into the winter.

?Autumn A second Palmyrene invasion of Egypt is more successful; Probus is killed in battle at Babylon (a fortress near modern Cairo) and Zenobia secures control of Egypt, now in open defiance of the

authorities in Rome as independent sovereign of a growing empire in the east.

Late: The Romans in Thrace suffer from lack of supplies too as the blockade of the Germans in the mountains drags on; Claudius tries to bring the conflict to a resolution and as the Germans stage a breakout from their camp attacks them with his infantry, turning down Aurelian's warning that the enemy is still dangerous and should have been left to his cavalry. The Romans are repulsed, and Aurelian has to rescue Claudius and the infantry but cannot stop the Germans breaking through the blockade.

AD 270 Early spring: The Germans struggle across Thrace, pursued by the Imperial army. Victorinus forces the surrender of Augustodunum; the city is sacked and levelled to the ground as an example and the inhabitants are evicted into the countryside.

Late spring/summer: As the plague strikes again, Claudius becomes ill and retires to Sirmium leaving the campaign to Aurelian. He pursues the Germans and succeeds in breaking them up into smaller bands which are hunted down, and gradually the enemy is destroyed and Thrace and Moesia are cleared. Claudius takes the title 'Gothicus Maximus'.

A Palmyrene army in Asia Minor invades Bithynia and besieges Claudius' general Velleius Maximus in Nicaea.

August: Claudius dies at Sirmium, aged 56; it is uncertain if it is merely later propaganda that he asks for Aurelian to be elected to succeed him. On the news reaching Italy the troops there proclaim his younger brother Quintillus Emperor, and the Senate accepts him as Aurelian already has a reputation for strictness and favouring military interests. They deify Claudius, and decree a gold statue of him which is to be placed in the precinct of the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol. Meanwhile in Thrace as the news reaches the main army they hail Aurelian as Emperor, and the Danube troops accept him. (Zonaras places this as simultaneous with Quintillus' elevation, but it may have been later and in defiance of Quintillus' elevation.)

October: Quintillus and his army await Aurelian's advance at Aquileia; as the battle-hardened Balkan army approaches, Quintillus' troops refuse to fight them and after a reign of two months he dies violently – either suicide or at the hands of his men. His army goes over to Aurelian, who enters Aquileia. The Senate duly changes its allegiance, and sends an embassy to congratulate the new Emperor.

Reign of Aurelian

November: Aurelian receives the senatorial embassy at Ravenna; meanwhile the Asding Vandals cross the Danube near Aquincum into Pannonia, and on hearing the news Aurelian returns to Aquileia to gather his army and sets off for the frontier.

AD 271 1 January: Aurelian assumes the consulship, probably at his base at Siscia in Pannonia.

Aurelian harasses the advancing Vandal horde, and eventually secures a victory which forces them to negotiate; they agree to withdraw across the Danube and hand over hostages and 2,000 recruits for the Roman army. As they return homewards part of their force breaks away to start pillaging in defiance of their treaty, and Aurelian has to deal with them.

Spring: A Palmyrene army under Zabdas secures control of Antioch and northern Syria for Zenobia in open revolt against Rome; the Palmyrenes later advance as far across Asia Minor as Galatia.

?Late spring: While Aurelian is dealing with the Vandals, the Iuthungi attack again across devastated Rhaetia and cross the Alps into northern Italy; the Emperor sends his main army ahead down the *Via Postumia* while he and a few troops oversee the final Vandal withdrawal, and then he hurries back to Italy and joins the main army in the Julian Alps. The Iuthungi have sacked Placentia and are ravaging the middle Po valley, and he orders them to withdraw but is told that he will have to fight them into obeying. As he pursues them across the plain his incautious troops are routed in an ambush in woods near

Placentia, and he has to restore their morale and avoid immediate battle while the Germans press on towards Rome without any army standing in their way.

Panic in Rome, and the Sibylline Books are consulted; Aurelian catches up the Germans as they head along the Via Flaminia towards the Apennines, and fights a battle on the banks of the Metaurus near Fanum. The Germans are routed and many are driven into the river, and the survivors open negotiations but continue to brag of their manpower and prowess and try to get permission to take all their loot home. Aurelian eventually forces them to retreat, and as they head back across the Po plains he ambushes them near Padua and wins a second decisive victory; the remnants of their army break up and flee or are hunted down.

Aurelian assumes the title of 'Germanicus Maximus', and puts down a revolt in Dalmatia led by one Septimius; he also deals with Gallienus' former general Domitianus, who probably revolts in south-eastern Gaul while Aurelian is busy with the Iuthungi and is suppressed by Julius Placidianus.

?Aurelian orders the evacuation of all troops in Dacia; the province is abandoned, though it is uncertain how many Romanized civilians leave.

Victorinus is killed by troops at Cologne, apparently as a result of interfering with his officers' wives; his mother secures the election of Caius Pius Esuvius Tetricus, governor of Aquitaine, as his successor with the help of cartloads of her money for the troops; Tetricus assumes power at Burdigala (Bordeaux) and travels to Trier, perhaps defeating the Alemanni on the Rhine en route.

During Aurelian's difficulties in the Po valley riots have broken out in Rome involving workers at the Imperial Mint, who have been involved in systematic fraud by devaluing the coinage and pocketing the difference between the real and the official weight of precious metals; the 'Financial Secretary' ('a rationalibus') Felicissimus is implicated, and probably incites the riots when he is about to be sacked and accused of treason on Aurelian's orders. He is soon killed, either being

arrested and executed or killed in the fighting, and the Mint workers barricade themselves on the Caelian Hill with the assistance of disaffected senators who incite the populace to assist them in rebellion. The revolt is put down by the 'urban cohorts' and Imperial troops sent in by Aurelian, and the Caelian is stormed with possibly thousands of casualties.

Aurelian closes down the Mint in retaliation, and drafts some of the dismissed workers into the army.

Aurelian orders the construction of a massive wall round the main built-up areas of Rome so the city is safe from attack by more marauding barbarians; the 'Wall of Aurelian' secures the city for succeeding centuries against most assailants and is still in use in the ninth century.

The Goths raid Moesia again while Aurelian is preoccupied in Italy; **autumn** he takes his army east, catches their main force south of the Danube and defeats it, and crosses the river to pursue the raiders back to their homeland. He defeats and kills their king, Cannabuades, in a major battle and becomes 'Gothicus Maximus'.

Aurelian assembles an army of detachments from the Rhine and Danube legions, Dalmatian and Mauretanian cavalry, and other units to attack Zenobia and recover the east; **winter** he marches from the Balkans to the Bosphorus.

AD 272 Aurelian crosses Asia Minor via Ancyra to Cappadocia, where citizen Heraclammon betrays a weak point in the city walls of Tyana to him in return for the place being spared from the sack which the troops resent.

April: Zenobia's mint in Antioch ceases to recognize Aurelian as co-ruler with Waballathus on her coinage there.

?May: Aurelian's naval expeditionary force, led possibly by the future Emperor Marcus Aurelius Probus, lands in Egypt; Alexandria is quickly recovered, followed within a month by the rest of the province.

?Early June: Zenobia's massive army, dominated by heavily armed cavalry cataphracts, is drawn up on the open plain across the Orontes from Antioch to confront the advancing Aurelian; the Emperor moves

east avoiding the city to cut off the Palmyrene supply route back to their capital, and Zabdas sends his cavalry to intercept him. They reach the crucial Antioch–Berroea road near Immae first, but Aurelian has his lighter cavalry attack the cataphracts on a hot morning and then gallop back along the road as if in panic. The Palmyrenes follow, and when they are exhausted the Romans turn and attack and destroy them. Zenobia evacuates Antioch at night with the rest of her troops, having calmed the citizens into thinking she is victorious by staging a fake ‘victory parade’ starring a supposed prisoner looking like Aurelian, and the Palmyrenes retreat to Emesa.

As Aurelian approaches next day, Antioch surrenders and is included in a general pardon; Aurelian waits for reinforcements to arrive and then advances to Emesa. The Palmyrenes, reputedly up to 70,000 strong, are lured into pursuing another false Roman retreat in the battle on the plain outside Emesa, but this time their cavalry catches the retreating Roman cavalry and starts to break through the Roman lines; fortunately, the Palmyrenes break ranks in their enthusiastic pursuit and a Roman infantry force smashes through the gap and drives them back. They are driven back in chaos and suffer heavy losses, and Zenobia has to abandon Emesa and fall back to Palmyra; Emesa surrenders.

?July/August: Joined by local Arab tribes who resent Palmyra’s dominance of the profits from desert trade routes, Aurelian advances to the Palmyra oasis and besieges Zenobia’s capital; Zenobia refuses all talks and tries to secure Persian aid, but is not assisted – probably due to the faction fighting at the Persian court as the aged Shapur’s health deteriorates. Palmyra is relentlessly starved out, the local Arabs helping to supply the Romans, and Zenobia secretly leaves the city to flee by camel toward Persia but is caught on the banks of the Euphrates and taken as a prisoner to Aurelian.

Aurelian announces his success to the citizens, and as some of Zenobia’s generals insist on continuing the resistance increasing numbers of dissenters slip out to go over to Aurelian; before long the city surrenders and is spared but looted to help pay for the war and satisfy the troops. Zenobia and her leading associates, particularly the

anti-Roman Greek rhetorician Longinus, are not included in the pardon for citizens, and are taken off to be tried at Emesa for rebelling against the Empire; Longinus is among those executed. Aurelian reorganizes the eastern frontier defences, comes to an agreement with the Persian court who send him an embassy with rich gifts and assurances of their peaceful intentions, and assumes the title of 'Persicus Maximus'.

Autumn: Aurelian parades Zenobia in chains through the major cities of Syria and displays her to the populace at Antioch to show her ex-subjects that she is defeated and break her mystique, and takes his army back to the Balkans via Asia Minor. At Byzantium he hears that the Carpi have crossed the Danube again while he was busy in Syria and are raiding Moesia and Thrace; he evicts them and assumes the title 'Carpicus Maximus'.

?November/December: At Palmyra, the pardoned noble Apsaeus forms a conspiracy for a new revolt and tries to persuade Marcellinus, Aurelian's commander of the main eastern army at Antioch, to join them; Marcellinus, potentially outnumbered if Syria revolts and/or Persia joins in, pretends to be seriously interested but sends an urgent warning to Aurelian.

Aurelian's coinage starts to hail him as *Restitutor Orbis*, in anticipation of his reunification of the Empire.

Late: Death of Persian 'Great King' Shapur; succeeded by his son Hormisdas.

AD 273 1 January: In Gaul, Tetricus assumes the consulship with his young son (now his 'Caesar') without permission from Rome.

Early: Aurelian receives Marcellinus' warning and takes his army on a forced march back to Syria to catch the rebels by surprise.

?April: Aurelian arrives at Antioch, and hears that Apsaeus' rebels have seized Palmyra and slaughtered the Roman garrison of 600 archers led by Sandorio; Antiochus, possibly a younger son of Zenobia (not by Odenathus and as such aged only five or six), has been proclaimed as their king. Aurelian advances to besiege Palmyra again, and the rebels are taken by surprise and do not hold out long; the extent of Imperial

reprisals is uncertain (Antiochus and other nobles are merely deported) and it does not seem that the city is levelled, but most of its wealth is pillaged, the buildings are stripped of precious metals and anything else useful to Rome, and it never recovers as a commercial centre.

?Early summer: Aurelian has to hurry to Egypt to deal with pro-Palmyrene disturbances in Alexandria, possibly led by a merchant called Firmus and involving an attack on Lower Egypt by the nomadic Blemmydes tribes from the deserts up the Nile valley; he puts down the revolt and much of the 'Bruchion' district of central Alexandria around the old royal palace is destroyed in the fighting.

Autumn: Aurelian returns to Rome, and reorganizes the coinage: the main Imperial mint at Mediolanum is transferred to a new one at Ticinum, the others now being at Siscia (Aurelian's innovations), Serdica and Berytus, and at Cyzicus, Antioch and Alexandria. The long-debased bronze coinage, traditionally minted in Rome but not issued since 270, is replaced, the weight of the gold *aureus* is increased to the level under Caracalla before debasement, and a new silver coinage is issued; from now on Aurelian's treasury, under his minister Sabinus, is based at Ticinum, close to the northern frontier so more convenient for the Emperor.

Probably at this time, Aurelian also issues tax exemption for produce grown on deserted agricultural land which has been taken back into use, cancels all outstanding debts owed to the state and orders the burning of records (like Hadrian), and reorganizes the 'grain-dole' in Rome (distribution of free bread to those citizens on a list of eligibility) to make it hereditary, increase the weight of loaves while keeping the price the same, and improve the production in bakeries.

Aurelian also orders the start of construction work on his grand new Temple of Sol Invictus, the Syrian solar deity whose worship is particularly favoured by the Danubian armies and whose cult is achieving increased prominence in the Empire as a whole as the devotion to the traditional Roman pantheon declines; it is given the lavish decoration and Imperial-led cultic devotion traditionally reserved for the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitol.

Death of Persian ‘Great King’ Hormisdas after a one-year reign; succeeded by brother Bahram.

AD 274 1 January: Aurelian consul.

Spring: Aurelian crosses the Alps to the Imperial advance-base at Grenoble, and advances to Lugdunum, up the Saone valley, and onto the plains of Champagne where Tetricus has assembled his army at Chalons-sur-Marne; a great battle is fought on the ‘Catalaunian Fields’ and Aurelian’s generalship is decisive, Tetricus being captured during the fighting whereupon his army panics and is slaughtered. One subsequent story alleges that war-weary Tetricus had arranged to surrender before the battle in order to save lives; the losses to his troops seriously undermine the effectiveness of the Rhine army.

Aurelian reorganizes Gaul, and probably proceeds to the Rhine to restore the defences and install new garrisons; he possibly campaigns against the Alemanni before returning to Italy.

Aurelian probably retains most of Tetricus’ officials, though there is some sort of a disturbance in Gaul in the remaining months of his reign, but moves the Gallic mint from Trier to Lugdunum.

Autumn: On his return to Rome, Aurelian celebrates his restoration of the unity of the Empire after 25 years of invasions and civil war with a magnificent triumph; he parades his men and the trophies of his victory, with Tetricus and his son in Gallic costume and Zenobia in her jewellery, eastern robes and golden chains in starring roles (one source, Zosimus, claims Zenobia was already dead after going on hunger strike); some fake Gothic ‘Amazons’ and an impressive array of wildlife are also shown. Tetricus is allowed to rejoin the Senate and is made ‘corrector’ of Lucania, and Zenobia is allowed to live in a villa at Tibur.

25 December: On the Roman festival of the solar god, assimilated with his *Sol Invictus*, Aurelian dedicates his god’s new temple in Rome.

30 December: Death of Bishop Felix of Rome.

AD 275 1 January: Aurelian and Marcellinus, probably the *Corrector Orientis* in command at Antioch, consuls.

3 January: Eutychian(us), a Tuscan, elected Bishop of Rome.

Spring: Aurelian campaigns on the Danube, possibly in Rhaetia, and then travels east; according to Syncellus and Zonaras there is a war against the 'Scythians' (Goths?).

Early summer: Aurelian crosses Thrace towards Byzantium, probably heading for Asia Minor and Syria for a Persian campaign as indicated by the 'Historia Augusta'. An obscure conspiracy is formed against him while he is at Perinthus, probably organized by the secretary Eros who is fearing dismissal and possibly involving him forging documents showing that the Emperor is vindictively planning to punish some senior officers who are thus scared into killing him first.

On the march east from Perinthus a few days later, Aurelian is murdered at Caenophurium ('New Fort') by some of his officers, aged 56; the army is stunned, though some sources state that his harshness has made him unpopular, and Eros is seized by his fellow-plotters and handed over for execution. Aurelian is given a magnificent funeral and buried at the site of the murder.

Reign of Tacitus

The army do not choose to elect a new ruler, and send messages to the Senate deferring to their choice; in Rome the late ruler is mourned with Games and deified, and the senior senator Marcus Claudius Tacitus (possibly as old as 75) is either smoothly elected Emperor or puts himself forward forcefully with the support of bribed troops he has brought in from local garrisons (?including the Praetorians). The interregnum probably lasts around a month to six weeks, rather than the six months stated by the *Augustan History* and Aurelius Victor.

Encouraged by Aurelian's death, the Heruli sail across the Euxine, land in Pontus and plunder south into Cappadocia; Tacitus swiftly travels east to take over the waiting army in Thrace and leads them across Asia Minor to deal with the raiders. On the Rhine, the Germans cross the river again in strength.

?Autumn: Having executed the leading officers involved in Aurelian's

murder, Tacitus brings the army into Cilicia where they catch up with and destroy the Heruli invaders.

AD 276 ?Tacitus campaigns against a horde of Alans from across the Caucasus, possibly recruited as mercenaries by Aurelian for his Persian war, who have marched south into Asia Minor and are ravaging the countryside; he may also prepare for returning west to deal with the Germans on the Rhine.

?April: While his brother or half-brother Marcus Annius Florianus, the new Praetorian Praefect, is successfully concluding the campaign in Bithynia, Tacitus dies suddenly at his base at Tyana, either naturally or murdered. Florianus declares himself Emperor, and is accepted both by the army and, when the news reaches Rome, by the Senate. The army in Syria refuses to accept Florianus, and elevates its commander Marcus Aurelius Probus to be Emperor; governor Maximinus is murdered, and Probus marches west to confront Florianus in Cilicia.

?June: As the eastern army approaches, Florianus is murdered by his own soldiers who hail Probus as ‘Emperor’.

Reign of Probus

Probus is accepted by the Senate, and executes all the alleged murderers of both Aurelian and Tacitus; he goes to Rome.

Death of Bahram of Persia; succeeded by his son Bahram II.

?Autumn: The Germans, particularly the Franks on the lower Rhine, have already or else now cross the river to launch devastating raids into Gaul.

AD 277 Probus goes to Gaul to assist his generals there, and after hard campaigning expels the Franks; he kills Semnon, king of the Longiones tribe, and allows his defeated clansmen to return to their homeland after surrendering their loot and prisoners. He probably organizes the fortification of towns in Gaul so that they will not be so vulnerable to attack in future.

Probus reaches the Rhine, and crosses the river to raid German lands around the Neckar; he forces the tribes into treaties, and recruits settlers to colonize the ravaged countryside west of the river and supply recruits for the undermanned local army.

Probus punishes the Burgundians and then the Vandals on the upper Danube for ravaging Roman territory in alliance with the Franks; they are defeated separately and forced to agree to return their captives and leave, but the Vandals break their treaty so Probus attacks their homeland and kills their chieftain Igillus.

Probus becomes ‘Germanicus Maximus’.

?At the same time as the Frankish war, the first seaborne Saxon raids start on the eastern and southern coasts of Britain.

?(or 278) Julius Saturninus, commander of the eastern army based at Antioch, is raised to the throne by his soldiers in new revolt.

AD 278 Probus on the middle Danube; if he is heading for Syria to deal with Saturninus the campaign is called off after the latter is murdered by his men and they return to their obedience to Probus.

Probus campaigns against the Vandals again after they raid over the Danube, drives them back, and assumes the title of ‘*Restitutor Illyrici*’; probably at the end of the campaigning season, he sets off for the east.

AD 279 Bandits led by Lydius take over the mountain fortress of Cremna in Isauria (south-east Asia Minor) as their base for a campaign of robbery and intimidation; Probus campaigns against them and besieges the fortress until Lydius is killed and the place surrenders.

?The Blemmydes desert tribes in Egypt raid the Nile valley and take Ptolemais and Coptos, but are driven out by the governor.

AD 280 Probus rejects an embassy sent with gifts by Persia, but has to abandon probable intended campaign due to revolts in the west and agrees to a truce with Bahram II. He installs Chosroes as Roman client-king of Armenia, with Persian concurrence.

Revolt breaks out on the Rhine, probably at Cologne, as the

commander Bonosus (a Briton and ?son of a schoolmaster) negligently lets raiding Germans burn the Roman fleet on the river in a surprise attack and decides to revolt before he is punished; the revolt of governor Proculus at Lugdunum probably occurs in this year rather than earlier and is carried out in coordination with Bonosus' rising.

The revolt of an unnamed governor in Britain probably occurs during this uprising, and is put down by the offender's ex-patron Victorinus, a Mauretanian general, who crosses from Gaul to recover the province. Probus marches west, and Bonosus is defeated and commits suicide; Proculus is also overcome.

AD 281 Probus returns to Italy from Gaul, probably after visiting the Rhine frontier; it is possible that he may also visit Britain and orders the first construction of new military bases on the south-east coast of Britain, including Rutupiae (Richborough) and Garriannonum (Burgh Castle, Norfolk), to concentrate troops against Saxon raiders.

Autumn: Probus holds a grand triumph in Rome.

AD 282 Probus returns to the Danube, and prepares for a Persian expedition; it is possible that the peaceful conditions on the frontier enable him to use his troops to carry out agricultural work there, including planting vineyards, and that this stimulates resentment.

?September: As Probus prepares to leave for the east, his assembling troops in Rhaetia and Noricum mutiny and declare his Praetorian Praefect, Marcus Aurelius Numerus Carus, the new Emperor (allegedly against his will). Probus sends a force to put them down, but they desert to the rebels; when news of this reaches the Imperial camp at Sirmium a mutiny breaks out and Probus flees to a nearby tower where he is killed, aged around 50.

Reigns of Carus and his sons

Carus (aged around 60) announces his accession to the Senate rather than the usual *politer* request for them to ratify it; he orders Probus'

deification, raises his elder son Carinus (probably in his early thirties) to be 'Caesar' and 'Princeps Iuventutis', and campaigns successfully against a raid over the Danube by the Sarmatians and Quadi; he allegedly kills around 16,000 and takes around 20,000 prisoners.

AD 283 ?Early: Carus raises his younger son Numerian (probably in early to mid-twenties though sometimes regarded as younger), an accomplished poet and orator, to be 'Caesar' and 'Princeps Iuventutis'; he leaves Carinus as his deputy in the west, escorting him to Rome, and takes Numerian east for the delayed Persian campaign. Carus takes advantage of a revolt against Bahram II by his brother Hormisdas, and invades Mesopotamia successfully to reoccupy all the towns and cities that formed the Roman province under Septimius Severus; he advances to the Tigris, and descends the river to take Seleucia (the new city erected by Ardashir to replace that sacked by Lucius Verus in the 160s) and Ctesiphon without major resistance. With the Persian capital conquered and no sign of the Persians being prepared to fight, he plans a further advance and proclaims himself 'Persicus Maximus'; Carinus is granted the rank of co-Emperor.

?Bahram agrees to a peace treaty with Carus so that he can fight the rebels.

?Late July: Carus is found dead in his tent at the Imperial camp during a thunderstorm, and is supposed to have been killed by lightning but murder is equally possible; some sources blame his Praetorian Praefect Arrius Aper, Numerian's ambitious father-in-law, possibly with the help of other generals opposed to a risky advance eastwards. Numerian is proclaimed joint Emperor with Carinus, ruling the eastern provinces; he pursues the Persian war for a short period, but apparently does not meet with success and agrees to withdraw to the traditional Roman frontier; in Rome Carinus, an extravagant and hot-headed rake, proceeds to enjoy a lavish lifestyle now that his father's control is removed and becomes notably ruthless towards suspected opponents.

7 December: Death of Bishop Eutychian of Rome; **17 December** Caius elected Bishop.

AD 284 Carinus campaigns with success on the Rhine, and possibly also in Britain; he assumes the titles ‘Germanicus Maximus’ and ‘Britannicus Maximus’.

Numerian retires to Syria, and sets off on the journey back to Italy or the Danube; he falls ill en route in Bithynia, probably with trachoma, and is forced to travel by litter. **November** Numerian is murdered in secret in his litter, supposedly by his father-in-law Arrius Aper (or so the latter’s enemies subsequently claim), who delays announcing the Emperor’s death by pretending that his eye infection requires him to stay in his litter without seeing visitors. At Nicomedia the suspicious generals force their way into the litter, find Numerian dead, and have Aper arrested and executed. Fearing Carinus’ vengeance on them all as accomplices in the murder, they discuss who to lead them in revolt and choose the Greek military officer Diocles of Nicomedia, aged around 40, commander of the Imperial bodyguards (*Protectores*) – who may have been the mastermind of a plot to kill Numerian and blame Aper (or else Numerian died naturally and the officers then used the excuse to remove Aper).

20 November: Diocles ascends the throne; he entitles himself ‘Caius Aurelius Valerius Diocletian(us)’, and leads the army west to confront Carinus.

AD 285 Early: Carinus has to fight Marcus Aurelius Julianus, governor of Venetia, who proclaims himself Emperor and is recognized by the armies in Pannonia where he seizes the mint at Siscia; he defeats and kills the rebel near Verona and marches east to deal with Diocletian.

?1 April: Battle at Margus on the middle Danube: Carinus is winning when he is stabbed by one of his own officers, traditionally a tribune whose wife he has seduced, and his army breaks up and surrenders. Diocletian is accepted as Emperor.

Reigns of Diocletian and (from 286) Maximian

Diocletian decides to co-opt a colleague as the Empire is too large for one man and soon formulates an ambitious overhaul of the entire administrative system to ensure a hierarchical pyramid of officials responsible to their superiors and ultimately to him. The precise dating is obscure as is the question of whether Diocletian had a 'master-plan' which he followed or gradually built up a new system of government through a series of ad hoc measures, but in the next two decades he noticeably increases the eastern-style pomp and majesty of the Imperial office, becoming a remote figure treated with exaggerated deference as '*Dominus et Deus*' ('Lord and God') rather than an approachable 'first citizen', and vastly increases the size and scope of both the bureaucracy and the Court offices to become an autocrat like the Persian 'Great King'. It is possible that his idea was to compensate for not being a successful and popular general like his predecessors by establishing his authority another way.

Diocletian declares a general amnesty; among his appointments he retains Carinus' capable Praetorian Praefect Titus Claudius Aurelius Aristobulus in office – which has been cited as a clue that Aristobulus may have arranged Carinus' murder during the battle of Margus in return for this.

?June: Diocletian raises his trusted fellow-officer, the low-born Danubian Maximian (aged around 40 and a few years his junior) to be 'Caesar': his intention is that Maximian should concentrate on the west while he resides chiefly in the east.

Maximian takes the names of 'Marcus Aurelius Valerius' to complement Diocletian's names; he becomes 'Herculius' to Diocletian's superior 'Jovius', showing which gods they regard as their exemplars and their celestial equivalents, and they come to call their personal guards regiments the '*Joviani*' and '*Herculiani*'. ?Diocletian campaigns on the Danube.

AD 286 Diocletian becomes 'Germanicus Maximus' at conclusion of his Danube campaign.

1 April: Diocletian makes Maximian his co-‘Augustus’ and sends him to the Rhine.

(After 286 – before 300) The provincial administration is soon completely overhauled to increase the number of provinces, subdividing all but the smallest provinces into several new ones, so that there are fewer troops and other resources in the hands of each governor and they are less able to revolt. A new class of regional ‘super-provinces’ is created between the ordinary provinces and the Emperor, the *vicarates* whose holders, the ‘Vicars’, each control a substantial area of the Empire – Britain; (northern) Gaul with the Rhine; the ‘Five/Seven Provinces’ (southern Gaul); Spain; *Italia Annoniaria* (northern Italy and Rhaetia); *Italia Suburbicana* (Rome and southern Italy with Corsica, Sardinia and Sicily); Pannonia (with Noricum); Africa; Moesia (with Epirus, Macedonia and Greece); Thrace (with the lower Danube area); *Asiana* (‘Asia’, with Lycia and Pamphylia); Pontus (with Bithynia and Cappadocia); and *Oriens* (Cilicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine and Egypt). The vicar of Oriens is styled ‘Count’ and the governor of Egypt becomes *Augustal Praefect*. (Precise date uncertain, probably between 286 and 293).

From now on, each ‘Augustus’ has his own Praetorian Praefect, whose duties are already largely administrative but become more so under Diocletian, and a separate administrative apparatus whose ranks are rigidly hierarchical and which is centred on the functions of the Imperial Court. Diocletian raises the size of the Imperial armies, one *Comitatus* for each ‘Augustus’, substantially and endeavours to secure regular recruitment by an annual conscription; he makes military service hereditary. The number of fortresses and other defences on the frontiers is also increased, and local military commanders (*duces*) are appointed for the frontier provinces with authority independent of the governors (*correctors*).

Now or within the next few years, Diocletian introduces two new senior offices to head the imperial *Comitatus* – supreme infantry and cavalry commanders, the *Magistri Militum Praesentales*. He also raises a new force of bodyguards for each ‘Augustus’, independent of the

Praetorians – the *Scholae* regiments.

(286/7) Revolt of disgruntled and landless peasants, bandits, ex-soldiers and other rural poor in Gaul; these *Bacaudae* start pillaging the countryside under the leadership of Aelianus and Amandus, the latter even calling himself Emperor, and Maximian campaigns to put them down with notable severity. On the successful conclusion of the campaign, he sets up his Imperial headquarters at Trier.

?Maximian institutes a new *Classis Britanniae* fleet to patrol the English Channel against Saxon and Frankish pirates; it is probable that the new system of ‘Saxon Shore’ fortresses in Britain, along the raiding-threatened coast from Portus Adurni (Portchester) to Brandonium (Brancaaster), is begun either now or in the next few years though it could be attributed to either Maximian or the rebel Carausius.

AD 287 1 January: Diocletian and Maximian consuls.

?Diocletian goes east to set up his new Imperial capital for the eastern Empire at his birthplace, Nicomedia; though he continues campaigns on the Danube for some years, his periods in residence at Nicomedia see increased hierarchy, pomp, ceremonial activities and remoteness from the public (except at festivals) as he courts an image of semi-divine mystique; he also increasingly takes to wearing Persian-style robes and a divine ‘halo’.

Death of Chosroes of Armenia, Probus’ nominee as king; the Persians invade to install his brother Tiridates III as their client, and Chosroes’ son Tiridates (IV) flees to Caesarea-in-Cappadocia to seek Roman aid. No immediate expedition follows, and he joins the Roman army with Diocletian keeping him ‘in reserve’ to be used against Persia when convenient.

Maximian, based at Trier, crosses the Rhine to defeat the Franks and Chaibones.

Maximian’s commander of the *Classis Britanniae*, Marcus Carausius, probably a humbly born ex-pilot from Menapia (Belgian coast) or possibly Irish, discovers that there have been complaints against him for intercepting too many pirates only on their way home from raids and

then keeping most of their loot for himself; before he can be arrested he raises the fleet in revolt and crosses to Britain where he murders the provincial governors and/or military commanders and secures the troops. He proclaims himself as Emperor, and controls Britain and probably northern Gaul (centred on Gesoriacum/Boulogne).

AD 288 Maximian appoints the Franks' king, Gennobaudes, as a Roman vassal-ruler to rule the lands at the mouth of the Rhine – some within the old Imperial frontier.

?With unrest in Persia, Bahram sends an embassy to Diocletian to confirm Persia's recognition of the old Roman frontier, surrendering some towns which Diocletian demands.

AD 289 Maximian attacks Gesoriacum by land and sea, but his ships are defeated by Carausius thanks to the latter's superior seamanship and the rebel is able to reinforce and supply the port from Britain; Maximian has to abandon the siege and conclude a treaty accepting Carausius as a fully legal Emperor with him and Diocletian.

Diocletian campaigns against the Sarmatians on the lower Danube.

AD 290 1 January: Diocletian and Maximian consuls.

Diocletian goes to Syria and Palestine, and campaigns against Arab raiders from the Sinai Peninsula.

AD 291 Diocletian goes to Egypt following more raids by the Blemmydes, and campaigns against them; he advances as far as the cataract at Philae to agree a peace treaty with Nubia, and it is agreed that the representatives of Rome and Nubia will meet annually there to renew the treaty; he settles Nubian mercenaries on the frontier to provide extra defences against raiders.

AD 292 Diocletian returns to the Danube for another Sarmatian campaign.

AD 293 Diocletian arranges for a secure and orderly Imperial succession and extra help for the ‘Augusti’ in wars by the appointment of two ‘Caesars’ as their assistants and eventual successors. The Illyrian general Constantius ‘*Chlorus*’ (‘the Pale’), aged around 44 and possibly already Maximian’s Praetorian Praefect, is adopted as ‘son’ and heir by Maximian in the west and has authority over Gaul and Britain, enabling Maximian to concentrate on the Rhine while he deals with Carausius; Diocletian adopts the slightly younger Galerius, a peasant’s son from Upper Moesia.

1 March: Constantius and Galerius assume office in coordinated ceremonies in the west and east, at Trier and Nicomedia; Constantius either divorces (if he is legally married to her) or abandons his ‘wife’ Helena, probably daughter of an innkeeper from Naissus (Nis, Serbia), and marries Maximian’s stepdaughter, Theodora; Galerius marries Diocletian’s daughter by Prisca, Galeria Valeria.

?Diocletian requires Constantius’ son by Helena, Constantine, aged around 20, to live at his court as effective hostage for his father’s loyalty.

Constantius uses a new fleet to take control of the Gallic shores of the Channel, driving Carausius’ ships out of the river-mouths, and campaigns successfully to reduce his Frankish allies on the Batavian island at the mouth of the Rhine; he then blockades Gesoriacum and builds a giant mole to block the mouth of the harbour to Carausius’ relief-fleet.

Carausius fails to relieve Gesoriacum or take the mole, and retreats back to Britain; the port surrenders, just before the Channel tides smash down the mole and free the harbour-mouth.

Carausius is murdered by his finance minister Allectus who becomes the new rebel Emperor of Britain, probably relying heavily on a force of Frankish mercenaries.

AD 294 1 January: Constantius and Galerius consuls.

Diocletian and Galerius cross the Danube to destroy the marauding Bastarnae tribes; they then defeat the Carpi.

AD 295 Diocletian and Galerius enforce a treaty on the Carpi and enrol large numbers of them as settlers and troops within the Empire.

Diocletian goes to the east, and is probably at Antioch with Constantine on his staff.

?Introduction of new silver coinage as part of currency reform to stabilize the economy and halt rampant inflation; the gold, silver and bronze coinage is reissued at new rates reduced from those of previous decades.

AD 296 Consuls: Constantius and Dio.

22 April: Death of Bishop Caius of Rome; **30 June** Marcellinus elected Bishop.

Constantius' main fleet sails from Gesoriacum to invade Britain, but is driven back by bad weather apart from one squadron which lands (?in Kent); simultaneously a second squadron under Asclepiodotus sails from the mouth of the Seine, misses its rendezvous with Constantius in fog, and lands somewhere on the south coast – possibly on the Solent near Portus Adurni. The troops are uneasy at marching inland without Constantius' force, so Asclepiodotus burns the ships to make them go on by ending hopes of re-embarking; they meet Allectus' army somewhere up the road towards Londinium and defeat them in battle, killing the usurper. Allectus' Frankish mercenaries escape the battlefield and head back to Londinium, intent on sacking it; fortunately, that part of Constantius' army which has landed arrives there before them to rescue the city and defeats them. Constantius arrives to receive the thanks of the populace, and a coin is struck commemorating his arrival, calling him '*Reductor Lucis Aeternae*' ('restorer of Eternal Light').

Maximian brings troops from the Danube to reinforce the Rhine defences while some of the troops usually stationed there are in Britain with Constantius, but the Germans do not take advantage of the 'Caesar's absence.

AD 297 Rebellion of Achilleus and Domitius Domitianus in Egypt, based at Alexandria; Diocletian goes there to suppress them. The

Persians take advantage to invade Mesopotamia, and Diocletian summons Galerius from the Danube to repel them.

Spring: Maximian campaigns on the Danube, and defeats the Carpi; he then has to deal with an invasion of Numidia by the Quinquegentani tribe from Mauretania, and sails to Africa to defeat them and reorganize and strengthen the desert frontier forts from Numidia to Tripolitania.

Constantius settles Rome's Frankish allies under Merrobaudes on the 'Batavian Island' at the mouth of the Rhine, from which he evicts those of Carausius' defeated tribal supporters who remain there.

?Early autumn: Diocletian forces the surrender of Alexandria after an eight-month siege, and massacres the populace in retaliation for their supporting the usurpers; he destroys the rebellious towns of Coptos and Busiris in the Nile valley.

Galerius arrives in Syria to find the Persians already having overrun most of Roman Mesopotamia; he advances quickly to cross the Euphrates at Callinicum with a smaller army, reputedly ignoring Diocletian's instructions to wait until he can tackle them on equal terms. Overconfident of his capabilities, he is seriously defeated near Callinicum and has to retire back across the river abandoning Rome's remaining possessions east of it.

Diocletian arrives at Antioch to hear of the disaster, summons Galerius from his headquarters, and according to one story makes him walk for a mile in front of his chariot into Antioch in disgrace.

Diocletian starts reforms of the tax system to raise regular sums of money dependent on the fluctuating demands of the inflated state bureaucracy and army in place of the old fixed assessments; he has the wealthy 'diocese' of northern Italy subjected to taxation for the first time, ending its traditional exemption.

Danubian troops and Sarmatian mercenaries are sent to Syria to strengthen the army there for the next Persian campaign.

AD 298 10 March: Maximian enters Carthage in triumph at the end of his African campaign.

Spring: Execution of the 'martyr' Christian centurion Marcellus

at a military base in north Africa for refusing to sacrifice to the gods at Maximian's accession-anniversary ceremonies – one of a number of incidents of Christian 'protest' in the army which add to Imperial disquiet with this religious 'disloyalty'.

Galerius invades Armenia in support of the fugitive Tiridates, and 'Great King' Narses attacks him with a large Persian army; he takes the Persians by surprise in a night-time attack on their camp and they flee in disorder, Narses wounded and abandoning the royal harem; Galerius sends his prisoners, including Narses' wives, to Diocletian and meets him at Nisibis. He then invades the Tigris valley with Narses unable to muster a force to stop him, and marches down-river to Ctesiphon; the Persian capital is occupied by Rome again.

Narses sends an embassy under Apharban to negotiate the return of his harem, and the Persians are reputedly impressed that the Romans have not touched any of the royal women and successfully offer peace. Diocletian is invited to send an embassy to Narses, and Sicorius Probus leads the mission; the Persians delay talks until they have their army reassembled, and then Narses meets the embassy in the middle of a river. The 'Great King' refuses to make Nisibis a frontier trade-exchange between the two powers, but accepts the other Roman proposals. The peace treaty agrees the return of the five provinces of Roman Mesopotamia, with additional lands (including Corduene/Cadousia) as far as the Tigris protecting the south-eastern approaches to Armenia which returns to being a Roman protectorate. Iberia is confirmed as a Roman protectorate. The frontier is thus advanced further than it has been since the time of Trajan, but Galerius is allegedly dismayed that he does not have the chance to annex further territory.

The Alemanni raid across the Rhine, and attack Constantius near Andrematunum; he defeats them and drives them back across the river.

Autumn: Maximian visits Rome; he starts the construction of a huge new baths complex on the Viminal, usually known as the 'Baths of Diocletian'.

AD 299 Confirmation of the Rome/Persia peace treaty ('Treaty of

Nisibis'), and exchange of prisoners; part of southern Armenia, including Sophene and Arzanene, is annexed by Diocletian.

?Incident at the Imperial military headquarters in Antioch following the peace treaty: troops and officials are on parade for the traditional ritual of divining the 'auspices' in sacrificial victims' entrails, but the usual marks are not found and the priests blame Christian palace-officials for causing divine wrath by making the sign of the Cross. This adds to Diocletian's fear that the Christians are causing divine disfavour.

Galerius campaigns against the Marcomanni on the middle Danube; at around this date he starts to construct a new palatial headquarters for himself at Thessalonica, his 'capital' for the Danube campaigns, and to listen to his pagan priestess mother Romula and other enthusiasts for patriotic punishment of the Christians.

AD 300 Consuls: Constantius and Galerius.

AD 301 Diocletian issues an edict ordering fixed prices for all saleable goods and for transportation costs, aimed at halting inflation by law. He also establishes fixed salaries for all workers in trades, industries and professions; plans are made for a general census of the Empire, and the Praetorian Praefects are commissioned to draw up a formal budget of the state's civil and military requirements for each year so that the appropriate amount of taxes in money and kind (including military supplies) can be levied.

Diocletian tours southwards via Syria to Egypt; his entourage includes Constantius' son Constantine, a veteran of the Imperial campaigns in Mesopotamia and on the Danube who is around now made a senior military tribune. (By this stage, Constantine is probably married to Minervina and has a son, Crispus.)

Galerius campaigns against the Carpi and Sarmatians.

Constantius, based at Trier, defeats Germanic attacks across the Danube (on to 303).

AD 302 Consuls: Constantius and Galerius.

Death of Narses of Persia; succeeded by his son Hormisdas.

Diocletian tours Palestine and Syria; **autumn** on his return journey, at Caesarea he witnesses disruption of the traditional sacrifices at legal proceedings by the Christian deacon Romanus who has his tongue cut out in punishment. Returning to Nicomedia, Diocletian is joined by Galerius who encourages him against the Christians. He sends an enquiry to the oracle of Zeus/Jupiter at Didyma in Epirus asking for advice, and is told that the ‘righteous’ (*justi*) are preventing the god from speaking the truth.

Consultations between the Emperors and ‘Caesars’ precede a coordinated legal assault on Christianity, which Diocletian is now determined to extirpate; Constantius is probably lukewarm about the plans, given his lack of enthusiasm in implementing the ‘Great Persecution’ that now follows.

AD 303 Consuls: Diocletian and Maximian.

22 February: Diocletian has the Christian church opposite his palace in Nicomedia demolished by a force of soldiers and officials led by the Praetorian Praefect.

23 February: First edict against Christianity issued in Nicomedia: all churches are to be closed, the Bible and other holy writings surrendered to be burnt, Christian meetings are to be banned, and no Christian permitted to hold official ranks. It is supposed to be followed by similar orders by Maximian and the ‘Caesars’, but Constantius contents himself with closing the churches in those provinces (Gaul and Britain) under his authority and does not join his colleagues in mass arrests. Many bishops, including Marcellinus of Rome, surrender copies of their books to be burnt, and Imperial officials destroy all the churches they can find.

A Christian layman tears down the edict in Nicomedia and is burnt alive.

Two fires in the Imperial Palace in Nicomedia precede further measures; according to the Christian writer Lactantius, Galerius started the

fires deliberately to impress the public with the rebellious wickedness of his intended victims and excuse more legislation. Bishop Anthimus of Nicomedia is beheaded, and torture and executions are carried out in a search for the arsonists.

Second edict against Christians: orders are issued for the arrest of all the clergy. They are rounded up and held in prison until November, when under a third edict those who sacrifice incense to the gods are released; these 'apostates', denounced by those who hold out or go into hiding, include Marcellinus of Rome.

In Africa, Bishop Mensurius of Carthage hands over some heretical Christian books rather than the 'official' theological handbooks to the police, who do not investigate closer, and is denounced by obdurate Christian prisoners who are holding out; the resulting conflict leads to Mensurius' deacon Caecilian trying to stop those Christians not in prison delivering food to those who are inside.

Autumn: Diocletian visits Rome for the first time, in order to hold the *Vicennalia* Games celebrating the start of the twentieth year of his rule on **20 November** with a grand procession through the capital. Diocletian induces Maximian to agree to retire from office when he does – events will show that his colleague is not as willing to abandon power.

?December: Leaving Rome, Diocletian has first attack of serious illness at Ravenna on his journey back towards the east and has to continue his journey in a litter.

AD 304 Consuls: Diocletian and Maximian.

Fourth anti-Christian edict requires a new round of officially verified sacrifices to the gods by all Roman citizens across the Empire, as in Decius' time. All who refuse to sacrifice are to be rounded up and imprisoned, and prison officials terrorize them into giving in.

Galerius is based at Sardica (Sofia) for the year's campaigns.

Diocletian returns to the east, and after his return to his capital at Nicomedia his health declines; **winter** Galerius arrives from the Danube and takes advantage of his condition to incite him against the Christians.

Having earlier met Maximian in northern Italy, Galerius now encourages Diocletian to nominate one of his (Galerius') supporters as the next 'Caesar' for the west rather than Constantius' or Maximian's sons.

There are no executions of recalcitrant Christian prisoners at first on Diocletian's orders, but this is reversed after the obstinate African bishop Felix is deported in chains to Italy for judgement after he refuses to hand over his holy books and is executed at Venusia. The precedent is followed by various governors, depending on their personal severity, and in Syria rumours that disturbances are being incited by the clergy in the hope of attracting Persian attack causes Diocletian to have all the clergy thrown in prison as traitors and encourage severe punishments of all Christians to terrify them into apostatizing and returning to paganism. Many Christians are killed across the east (where Diocletian and Galerius are in charge of the campaign) and Africa (where Maximian is in charge). The steadfastness of the victims gradually starts to produce a popular revulsion in their favour, and it is notable that executions of upper-class Christians are rare.

25 October: Death of Bishop Marcellinus of Rome, probably after being deposed by his clergy for surrendering sacred books; the Roman church is temporarily leaderless during the persecution. ?St Anthony, co-founder of monasticism, a fervently Christian peasant youth from the Thebaid in Egypt, is among those who flee to the desert from the persecutions; over the next few years substantial numbers of exiles join local hermits, and some found settlements which become the first 'monasteries' rather than living as individual ascetics. Anthony's own settlement is at Nitria, in the desert east of the upper Nile; a larger organized 'monastic' settlement is established at the Nile island of Tabenna by (St) Pachomius, founder of the system of organized '*cenobitic*' monasteries.

AD 305 Diocletian becomes seriously ill and despite a partial recovery ?**March** decides to abdicate; he forces the unwilling Maximian to do so too to preserve the administrative tidiness of both 'Augusti' retiring at the same time.

Constantius is to take over the west and Galerius the east, and Diocletian arranges the nomination of two new junior 'Caesars' for them – Flavius Valerius Severus, a Danubian friend of Galerius, in the west with jurisdiction over Italy, Africa and Pannonia, and Galerius' sister's son Caius Valerius Maximin Daia in the east.

1 May: Diocletian, aged around 62, abdicates at Nicomedia and Galerius moves there from his headquarters at Thessalonica; simultaneously at Mediolanum Maximian abdicates and Constantius takes over. Diocletian retires to his grandiose new palace at Spalata (Split) in Dalmatia; Maximian, aged around 60, retires to a country villa in Gaul but soon plots a 'comeback' for his family.

Civil wars among the successors of Diocletian

Severus, as 'Flavius Valerius', sets up his base in Pannonia to watch the Danube frontier; Maximinus, as 'Caius Galerius Valerius', betroths his daughter to Galerius' son Candidianus and takes over jurisdiction of Syria and Palestine.

Galerius orders a new census across the east, presumably as a prelude to raising taxes, and (at least according to Lactantius) rules harshly and unscrupulously.

Constantius halts all persecution of the Christians in the west; Galerius and Maximinus keep it going in the east with ferocity and Maximinus rounds up Christians for the Egyptian slave mines.

Galerius allows Constantius' son Constantine, now aged around 31, to leave his court at Nicomedia and travel west to join his father on the Rhine, acceding to Constantius' second written request for it; Constantine leaves early next day before Galerius can change his mind and travels quickly and secretly west; he exercises particular caution across Severus' dominions in case Severus tries to seize him as a hostage or have him killed as a potential rival as Constantius' heir, and arrives at Gesoriacum (Boulogne) to join Constantius en route to Britain.

AD 306 Consuls: Constantius and Galerius.

Constantius campaigns in northern Britain, assisted by Constantine, but has to abandon the campaign due to illness ?after reaching the Caledonian heartland north of the Tay.

25 July: Death of Constantius at Eboracum (York), aged probably around 56; his troops elevate Constantine to be 'Augustus' in defiance of the Diocletainic rules for succession whereby any appointments are done by the existing Emperors and Severus is next in line to hold the senior rank, and Constantine decides to challenge the existing system. He crosses from Britain to Gaul, and secures the adhesion of his father's armies on the Rhine; Spain also recognizes him.

Galerius appoints Severus, the existing 'Caesar', as 'Augustus' in the west, but recognizes Constantine as his 'Caesar' in Britain, Gaul and Spain; Severus takes over at Mediolanum but faces the resentment of Maximian who has been anticipating the appointment of his own son Maxentius (aged around 25) as the new 'Caesar'.

Constantine defeats the Alemanni as they take advantage of Constantius' death to raid across the Rhine; he captures and executes their chieftains Ascaricus and Merogaisus. He sets up his Imperial headquarters at Trier, which is extended in size with a large new Imperial audience-hall (*aula palatina*) and baths.

?Arrival in Trier as a refugee of the Christian teacher and propagandist Lactantius of Nicomedia, who joins Constantine's court. **28 October** Backed by Maximian, Maxentius organizes a mutiny of troops in Rome, where Severus is threatening to abolish the (now superfluous) Praetorian Guard; three tribunes, one of them the commander of the urban cohorts, lead the latter in revolt and the Praetorians join in, supported by much of the populace. Maxentius only claims 'Caesarship' in his coinage at first so as not to provoke Galerius, is recognized in Africa, does not attack Christians and defies Severus; Maximian joins him.

AD 307 February: Maximian proclaims himself 'Augustus' again.

Severus is ordered by Galerius to depose Maxentius, and marches on Rome; he reaches the outskirts of Rome; his troops mutiny and refuse to fight against Maximian who is approaching. Severus' Praetorian Praefect

Anullinus treacherously distributes money to the Severan troops to encourage disobedience, and Severus has to retire to Mediolanum.

Maxentius proclaims himself 'Augustus', and is recognized as such by Constantine.

Maximian pursues Severus, and the defeated Emperor sends envoys to him at Ravenna; Severus eventually agrees to abdicate provided that his life is spared, and is taken to Rome as a prisoner while Maxentius and Maximian take over Severus' realm of northern Italy and the upper Danube.

Summer: Constantine visits Britain; Galerius campaigns on the Danube; Maxentius and Maximian prepare the defences of Italy to meet an attack by Galerius, including heightening the walls of Rome.

September: Maximian visits Constantine at Trier, and arranges a family alliance against Galerius; Constantine marries his daughter Fausta, and Maximian accepts him as 'Augustus'.

?Autumn: Galerius, refusing to accept the new arrangement, invades Italy; he reaches Interamna but has difficulty with his soldiers and has to retreat; Maxentius reoccupies northern Italy and his agents secure the loyalty of Spain to Constantine's annoyance.

16 September: Severus, interned at Tres Tabernae near Rome, is executed on Maxentius' orders during Galerius' invasion.

Diocletian emerges from retirement at Spalata to meet Maximian and Galerius concerning the political crisis; they agree to accept Maxentius as 'Augustus' at Maximian's request, but only allow Constantine to be 'Caesar' which he rejects.

Constantine assumes the title 'Germanicus Maximus'.

AD 308 Maximian intrigues against his son, who has removed his bodyguard and is denying him the seniority and influence he wants.

Constantine campaigns on the lower Rhine against the Bructeri, and constructs a bridge of boats over the river at Cologne.

Maximian returns to Italy; he stirs up a mutiny against his son, but fails to persuade the troops who he harangues at a parade to depose the latter and install him in rule of Italy instead; he has to flee to

Constantine in Gaul but fails to have his Imperial title accepted elsewhere as Diocletian insists that his abdication of 305 was final.

Valerius Alexander, 'vicar' of north Africa for the western part of the Empire, revolts against Maxentius' authority and secures Carthage and Sardinia. Claiming to be 'Augustus', he cuts the grain supplies to Italy and causes rising discontent there.

Constantine reconquers Spain; he, Maximian, Galerius and Maximin meet Diocletian at Carnuntum and agree on non-recognition of Maxentius who is proclaimed a public enemy.

11 November: Galerius makes Valerius Licinius Licinianus (aged around ?48), a commander on their native Danube frontier and a protégé of Diocletian, 'Augustus' in the Danube/Balkan provinces, replacing Severus, and gives him claim to Italy if he evicts Maxentius; however, Galerius' nephew Maximinus has his own designs to rule the Balkans area when he succeeds Galerius as 'Augustus' and this action causes a breach between him and his uncle.

Maximian, having failed to be recognized as Emperor at Carnuntum, retires to an estate in Gaul; Constantine and Maximinus refuse Diocletian's proposal that they accept the rank of 'Sons of the Augusti' rather than full Imperial rank.

Galerius puts Licinius in charge of a land-reclamation project in Pannonia, clearing forests and draining Lake Pelso, while he returns to Thessalonica. Maximin is sent to Antioch to govern the eastern provinces for Galerius.

AD 309 Licinius forms an alliance with Constantine against Maximinus, and is betrothed to Constantine's half-sister Constantia (one of Constantius and Theodora's daughters).

16 January: Death of the new Bishop Marcellus of Rome, elected either in late 306 or early 308; he has been deported by Maxentius after Christian riots against his harsh demands for penance by all Christians who sacrificed to the gods during the persecution.

Death of Hormisdas of Persia; he has no heir, but his widow is pregnant so an interregnum is proclaimed until it is seen if her baby is a boy as

astrologers promise though some contenders to the throne revolt; when a boy is born he is immediately proclaimed 'Great King' as Shapur II.

Death of Maxentius' young son and heir, Romulus.

Constantine campaigns against the Franks on the lower Rhine; Licinius takes Istria from Maxentius but does not enter Italy.

Maxentius' Praetorian Praefect Rufus Volusianus lands in Africa with an army and defeats Alexander, who is murdered by his troops; the victors are allowed to pillage Carthage, Cirta and other cities to punish the rebel provinces, and the Africans are heavily fined which adds to Maxentius' unpopularity.

Maximinus steps up his persecution of Christians in the eastern provinces, ordering that all citizens, even babies, participate in public sacrifices and that the blood of sacrificial victims be sprinkled on food in the markets so that all customers there have to eat 'sacrificial' food.

AD 310 Constantine campaigns on the Rhine; in his absence Maximian tries to stage a revolt at Arles, but he fails to secure enough support and flees south as Constantine advances; he is besieged in Massilia, and when the town surrenders he is arrested. Soon afterwards Maximian is found dead, aged around 65, possibly either suicide or murder on Constantine's orders. Maximinus proclaims himself 'Augustus' in the east in defiance of Licinius' rights; Galerius accepts this rather than fight another civil war.

Autumn: Constantine celebrates his recent successes on the Rhine at Trier; an official orator, from Autun, delivers a panegyric claiming him as the chosen favourite of Apollo (not the usual Imperial patron of recent decades, Sol Invictus) and the hereditary heir of Claudius Gothicus and Constantius.

AD 311 Pamphilus of Caesarea, Christian scholar and mentor of Lactantius, is among the latest victims of Maximinus's purge of Christians in Palestine.

30 April: The mortally ill Galerius, at Thessalonica, issues an edict abandoning persecution of the Christians and allowing them freedom

of worship provided that they pray for the welfare of the Emperors and Empire; prisoners are released and churches reopened.

Death of Galerius, aged around 61; his chosen successor as 'Augustus' is Licinius who confirms the toleration of Christians; Maximinus surprisingly has his Praetorian Praefect Sabinus send round orders to halt the persecution in his domains and order the release of prisoners and no denunciations of private Christian assemblies provided that no public services are allowed.

Maximinus advances to the Bosphorus to challenge Licinius for the rule of the Balkans; after a 'stand-off' the two rulers agree to a peace whereby Licinius rules Europe and Maximinus rules Asia.

Maximinus sends envoys to Rome to ally with Maxentius against Constantine and Licinius.

Franks cross the Rhine and penetrate south-central Gaul; Constantine campaigns successfully to drive them out, and does so after a victory near Augustodunum. It is possible that he and his troops have a 'vision' before the battle of a cross in the sky placed athwart the sun, and that although Constantine ascribes this to the sun-god Sol Invictus at the time he subsequently uses it as an argument for supporting Christianity.

2 July: Miltiades becomes Bishop of Rome; he is able to petition Maxentius for restoration of the episcopal churches after the latter issues a decree restoring all confiscated Church property.

?October/November: Maximinus resumes the persecution once his position against Licinius is more secure, six months after his orders for a halt to it.

24 November: Execution of Bishop Peter of Alexandria. **November:** Death of Diocletian at his palace at Spalata, aged around 68; Lactantius claims that he starved himself to death during illness but his testimony is dubious as he is a Christian.

AD 312 Constantine consul; with Maxentius denying him recognition and smashing his statues in Italy, he declares the *damnatio memoriae* for his rival and advances via Lyons and Vienne to the southern Alps to attack Italy.

February: ?Birth of Constantine and Fausta's first son, Constantine (II), at Arles (alternatively dated at 316).

13 April: Easter is celebrated openly in the churches in Italy for the first time since Diocletian's edicts.

Constantine invades Italy, takes Susa and defeats Maxentius' cavalry outside Turin; he marches east down the Po valley, winning a cavalry skirmish at Brescia, and Maxentius' commander Praetorian Praefect Pompeianus leaves his main force in Verona while he retreats to fetch reinforcements. Constantine besieges Verona, and defeats and kills Pompeianus who arrives to take him by surprise as he is besieging the town; **late summer** Maxentius retires to Rome, abandoning the Po valley. Constantine advances south, and traditionally has a dream promising him victory if he adopts the Christian 'Chi-Rho' symbol – '*In hoc signo vinces*' – and puts it on his men's shields and uses it on a standard. His personal account of this, years later, to Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia does not make it clear that this incident occurred before the decisive battle against Maxentius rather than being the 311 incident in Gaul mentioned above.

Maxentius awaits Constantine at Rome, confident in the city holding out as it did against Galerius; he demolishes the Mulvian Bridge across the river north of the city to prevent Constantine crossing, but later uses a temporary wooden bridge across the site to lead his troops out to meet his rival in battle on the western side.

28 October: Constantine wins the 'Battle of the Mulvian Bridge', at Saxa Rubra on the northern outskirts of Rome, on the west bank of the Tiber; his cavalry break up the enemy, whose infantry are pushed back into the river, and he personally leads the final cavalry attack that breaks the Praetorian Guard. Maxentius is drowned as his horse throws him off the temporary bridge into the Tiber in his army's flight towards the capital, and Rome falls to Constantine.

29 October: Constantine enters Rome in triumph, with his troops parading the new 'Chi-Rho' standard.

Constantine secures full control of Italy, Africa (which he sends Maxentius' head to win popularity) and the upper Danube, and

abolishes the Praetorian Guard; he opens friendly relations with Bishop Miltiades of Rome and presents him with the Lateran Palace which had been previously assigned to Empress Fausta but now becomes the Bishop of Rome's residence.

Co-rulership of Constantine and Licinius

Constantine takes over the building of the 'Flavian Basilica' in the Forum from Maxentius, and names it after himself. Constantine reappoints Maxentius' Praefect of Rome, Aradius Rufinus, as part of his policy of conciliation towards the nobility.

29 October: Constantine writes to Maximinus requiring him to abandon his persecutions or face war; Maximin grudgingly agrees to allow freedom of worship in his domains and the return of Church property and forbid forced conversions, using the argument that some pagan priests have claimed that a prophecy promised him victory against Licinius if he does so.

Winter: Maximinus, based in Bithynia, faces famine in his domains, a bandit war in Caria, and the prospect of war with Armenia whose King Tiridates either has or is about to convert to Christianity under the influence of (St) Gregory 'the Illuminator' and other Christian missionaries (probably refugees from Maximinus's persecutions).

?Maximinus evicts Galerius' widow Valeria, Diocletian's daughter, from the palace in Nicomedia to show his real attitude to her husband and her father.

AD 313 Consul: Constantine.

Early: Constantine meets Licinius at Mediolanum for the latter's marriage to Constantia, and the two rulers conclude an alliance whereby Constantine has all the west and Licinius all the east; there is some doubt left unresolved over the exact frontier in the middle Danube region.

Both Emperors agree to tolerate Christianity and allow freedom to all its worshippers and the return of their confiscated property in the

'Edict of Milan', which enables Licinius to enlist Christian support against the persecutor Maximinus.

?April: Maximinus crosses the Bosphorus to invade Thrace before Licinius has time to return from Italy and raise a large army to attack him; he is also encouraged by the fact that Constantine has departed for the Rhine and cannot aid his rival.

1 May: Maximinus's much larger army, possibly c. 70,000 men, engages Licinius' force at 'Campus Severus' near Tzurulum; however, the eastern troops are exhausted from Maximinus's winter bandit campaign and the long march to Thrace and are routed and largely destroyed.

Maximinus has to escape disguised as a slave, and as Licinius crosses to Bithynia he flees to Cilicia.

June: Licinius establishes his court at Nicomedia; he confirms the 'Edict of Milan' for all his dominions and pretends to have discovered his descent from the 'Christian' Emperor Philip.

Licinius executes Galerius' widow Valeria among a purge of suspects and enemies, headed by Galerius' son Candidianus as his potential rival, and advances east to Cilicia to besiege Maximinus, ?sick after the rigours of his flight (as the Christians later vengefully claim), in Tarsus.

August: Maximinus dies at Tarsus, aged around 44; his dominions accept Licinius as Emperor and the Christians exult in the death of their arch-enemy as Licinius throws the late ruler's young children in the River Calycadnus.

Constantine defeats a Frankish invasion across the lower Rhine, crosses the river with a new bridge of boats at Cologne, and wins more victories; the Franks are forced to accept peace and **August** Constantine holds victory 'Frankish Games' at Trier.

Constantine appoints his half-sister Anastasia's husband Bassianus as 'Caesar' in Italy and the Danube provinces; this annoys Licinius who claims it infringes his sovereignty in the latter area.

?Constantine's mother Helena, not seen at any Imperial court since her enforced divorce from Constantius, and his elder son Crispus arrive at Trier from residence in the east; the devout Christian Helena

and her ally Lactantius start to influence him in favour of a stronger personal commitment to Christianity. Lactantius presents his work *Divinae Institutiones* to Constantine, setting out the reasons for his taking up a role as God's agent in Christian governance of the Empire and providing the Emperor with a guide to Christian theology and the Divine plan for the Empire. At some point over the next two or three years Lactantius is made tutor to Crispus, to provide the heir with a specifically Christian education.

?Late summer: Controversy in the Church in Carthage over the election of a new bishop. The majority of clergy elect the late Bishop Mensurius' ally Caecilian, the former opponent of those who suffered in the persecution; the latter start a campaign against him, allege that a Church official who surrendered holy books to the persecutors is among those who consecrated him so the ceremony is invalid, and choose the 'rigorist' Majorinus as rival Bishop. They appeal to Constantine to use his legal powers to evict Caecilian, and he orders Miltiades of Rome and a commission of three Gallic bishops to investigate; Miltiades brings in 15 Italian bishops to help the committee in a formal 'synod'. Before they meet Majorinus dies, but his party elects Donatus to take his place.

3 October: Miltiades' synod rules that Caecilian is legal Bishop of Carthage, and excommunicates Donatus who has ordered that all Christians in his diocese who sacrificed to the gods during the persecution submit to being rebaptized; other bishops who have taken a similarly 'rigorist' line about the 'apostates' who sacrificed are, however, allowed to continue in office under a compromise. The 'Donatists' appeal to Constantine to overturn the synod's decision. Death of Achilleus, Bishop of Alexandria; Alexander defeats the theologian Arius, the most prestigious contender but one formulating unorthodox views on Christ being a man 'adopted' by God not His son and equal partner, in election of successor.

AD 314 Caius Rufus Volusianus, Maxentius' ex-general, is made consul by Constantine.

10 January: Death of Bishop Miltiades of Rome; **31 January** Silvester elected to succeed him.

A formal 'Church Council', the first under Imperial auspices, is held for all the bishops in the west at Arles, at Constantine's initiative after the controversy over readmitting those Christians who sacrificed to the pagan gods to communion threatens to tear the Church in two; **1 August** the Council opens under the presidency of Bishop Marinus of Arles with Bishop Chrestus of Syracuse given Imperial authority to organize the agenda. Bishop Silvester of Rome sends representatives rather than attending, but probably does not 'boycott' it over not being invited to preside. The Council agrees that Caecilian is the legitimate Bishop of Carthage, and sorts out other disputes over the holders of episcopal office in the aftermath of the persecutions. The resultant 'canons' include legalisation for Christian laymen to accept official office under the state, which the Church has previously opposed, provided that they are verified by their local clergy as acting in a Christian manner in office. The date for Easter is to be set across the Empire by the Bishop of Rome, and bishops are banned from moving between sees.

Constantine deports the 'Donatist' leaders to his court at Trier to be 'persuaded' of the errors of their opposition to Bishop Caecilian that winter; however, he has to order the local Carthaginian governor, Aelianus, to check a document which purports to show that Caecilian's consecrator Bishop Felix cooperated with the persecuting authorities in 303. (It is shown to be a Donatist forgery.)

?August: ?Birth of Constantine and Fausta's second son, Constantius (II), in Illyria (or 317).

AD 315 Constantine consul; he introduces the Christian Chi-Rho symbol to the coinage.

Constantine and Licinius cooperate in campaign on the Danube against Germans.

25 July – September: Constantine and his court are in Rome to celebrate his Decennalia, the start of the tenth year of his reign; dedication of Constantine's large new baths in Rome; completion and dedication

of his 'Arch of Constantine', commissioned in 312 at the entrance to the Forum Romanum, commemorating his victory over Maxentius. ?Constantine orders the construction of several churches to leading martyrs in Rome by agreement with Bishop Sylvester, including the basilica-church of St Paul to the south of the city, a *Basilica Apostolorum* on the Via Appia at the site where Saints Peter and Paul's remains used to be kept, and churches to the 250s martyr Lawrence and 300s martyrs Marcellinus and Peter.

Constantine marries his half-sister Anastasia to the Roman senator Bassianus, who is linked to Licinius as his brother Senecio is an official to the latter.

?At around this date Pachomius, as head of the new and rapidly growing monastery at Tebenna on the upper Nile, uses his experience as a soldier to organize his hundreds of followers into military-style barracks at the settlement and impose a code of ascetic discipline; the first 'cenobitic' monastic rules are thus formulated.

AD 316 Constantine sends his half-brother Julius Constantius to Licinius to propose that Bassianus be agreed as 'Caesar' of Italy; Licinius, at Sirmium, refuses and ?**late summer** induces Senecio, now serving as a dux on the Danube, to lead his troops into Italy to attack Constantine. Constantine is informed of Senecio's treachery, and sends troops to deal with him; Senecio flees to Licinius at Sirmium, and the latter refuses a request to hand him over. Constantine leaves a tour of southern Gaul to collect troops at Verona, and swiftly marches to the Danube to confront Licinius.

Licinius gathers 35,000 men to defend Pannonia, and advances west but **8 October** is defeated at the battle of Cibalae; he retreats to Adrianople abandoning the middle Danube to Constantine, and raises Aurelius Valerius Valens, dux of Lower Moesia, to be his fellow-'Augustus' with title to all Constantine's lands.

AD 317 17 January: Constantine and Licinius fight indecisive battle at Campus Ardeansis; **18 January** Constantine advances east as Licinius

retreats, but finds that his rival has moved north instead of heading for the Bosphorus and is threatening his supply-lines; he receives Licinius' envoy Mestrianus and the Emperors agree to peace talks; they reach a settlement based on the status quo, which means Constantine keeps the Balkans and Greece but Licinius retains Thrace. Valens is abandoned and executed by Licinius.

Constantine supports the 'official' Church hierarchy as established by the Council of Arles with his legal authority, influenced by his principal clerical adviser Bishop Hosius of Cordoba (Spain); he requires all 'illegal' Donatist bishops in Africa to vacate their sees and hand over Church property, and uses the Imperial civil/police powers and legal system to intervene in a Church dispute for the first time.

Constantine campaigns on the Danube; at Sirmium, he makes his first two sons Crispus and Constantine II 'Caesars' and the visiting Licinius makes his young son by Constantia, Licinius, 'Caesar' as well.

AD 318 Constantine sends Crispus to Gaul to reside at Trier, the traditional capital for 'Caesar' of the north-western provinces, as the nominal head of local court and administration; he is in official charge of the vicarate ('diocese') of northern Gaul, Britain and the Rhine.

Constantine visits Spain.

?Birth of Constantine and Fausta's third son, Constans (uncertain date, between 317 and 320).

AD 319 Consul: Constantine.

Arius accuses his successful rival, Bishop Alexander of Alexandria, of the 'Sabellian' heresy and starts a serious controversy in that Church, asserting and recruiting supporters for his own beliefs on Christ's inferiority to God in the Trinity.

AD 320 Consuls: Constantine and his second son Constantine II.

Constantine abandons his legal measures against the Donatists in Africa in the hope of Church leadership there arranging a settlement.

Licinius turns against the Church and, opposing its growing links

with the state which Constantine is encouraging, enacts measures to ban synods and drive Christians out of official positions in the administration.

AD 321 Crispus and Constantine II consuls in the west, as Constantine reverses his original recognition of the eastern choices (Licinius and Licinianus) as that year's consuls.

Constantine closes the law courts on Sundays to assist Christian lawyers and litigants; he allows legacies to be given to the Church, immensely increasing their wealth, and releases all arrested and deported Donatists.

Bishop Alexander of Alexandria calls a synod to try to depose Arius from his Church deaconate as a heretic; Arius is deposed and exiled.

AD 323 Constantine marches to the lower Danube to repel a Sarmatian invasion; he campaigns successfully, within Licinius' dominions, and defeats and kills the Sarmatian king and expels his tribesmen back over the river. Licinius chooses to ignore Constantine's action in entering his realm without permission, but tension between them starts to increase again.

Holding his Decennalia celebrations, Licinius allows his pagan officials to force Christian clergy to join in the official sacrifices; some martyrdoms follow in Asia Minor.

Constantine defeats Gothic invasion across the lower Danube, and prepares for war with Licinius who is gathering troops in southern Thrace.

Crispus campaigns against the Alemanni on the Rhine, and **late** is summoned east to join the war against Licinius.

Constantine becomes 'Gothicus', and winters at Thessalonica where a harbour is built for his new fleet.

AD 324 Licinius collects an army of c. 150,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry at Adrianople, while his admiral Abantus is stationed with 350 ships at the mouth of the Hellespont to stop the western fleet attacking

their supply route to Asia. Constantine marches east into Thrace with (Zosimus) 150,000 infantry and 15,000 cavalry, and makes his third son Constantius II 'Caesar'; Crispus brings the western fleet up from Athens.

3 July: Constantine wins the decisive battle at Adrianople with a surprise attack across the River Hebrus; Licinius retreats east to Byzantium and his fleet retires to the Bosphorus after a defeat by Crispus off Callipolis (Gallipoli), enabling Constantine's fleet to enter the Propontis; Licinius flees Byzantium to Bithynia to avoid being trapped on the European shore.

Constantine occupies Byzantium, where he probably starts to think about the strategic usefulness of the site as a new eastern capital to replace Diocletian's Nicomedia.

Licinius, at Chalcedon, raises his senior civilian minister Martinianus to be his fellow – 'Augustus'.

Constantine lands in Bithynia; **18 September** his army wins land battle at Chrysopolis; Licinius retreats to Nicomedia with the c. 30,000 men he has left but is persuaded not to fight on by his wife Constantia who contacts her brother and secures his promise that he will spare Licinius' life; Licinius surrenders and **11 November** abdicates; he is removed to captivity in Thessalonica, his son Licinius (II) is deposed and sent to Italy, and Martinianus is deposed and imprisoned in Cappadocia. Licinius' older, bastard son is apparently forced to take his mother's legal status as a slave to disqualify him from the throne and ends up employed in an Imperial textile factory in Carthage.

Constantine as sole emperor

Constantine abandons his first thoughts of rebuilding Ilium/Troy, the 'ancestral' home of the Roman race, as his new eastern capital and chooses Byzantium which has the magnificent natural harbour of the 'Golden Horn' and controls the Bosphorus with its land-route between Asia and Europe and sea-route between the Mediterranean and the Euxine. He renames the city 'Constantinople', the 'New Rome', and

makes it the principal 'colony' of Rome whose prominent families are encouraged to move there; he uses the marble quarries at Proconessus and Cyzicus and Thracian forests in building of a magnificent new city as his eastern capital.

Under his ambitious plans, a duplicate of Rome is created (supposedly on seven hills too), with a 'Forum of Constantine' on the site of his camp before the Battle of Chrysopolis, a Senate House there and a second one at the eastern end of the 'Mese' avenue to hold a Senate of several hundred members duplicating that at Rome, and a cathedral of the 'Holy Wisdom' (*Hagia Sophia*) and Imperial ('Sacred') Palace at the eastern end of the 'Mese'. There are 14 regions and a grain-dole for the citizens as in Rome, a Hippodrome west of the Palace adorned with Egyptian obelisks and the 'Serpent Column' from Plataea commemorating the Greek victory over the Persians there in 479 BC, and a comprehensive collection of all the best antique Greek sculptures and statues (including the colossal statues of Athene from the Parthenon and Zeus from Olympia) which are collected and moved there.

?Constantine creates a new supreme administrative post for the civil government based in the Imperial court, the *Magister Officiorum* ('Master of Offices'), two supreme financial officials to control the Emperor's private and state treasuries (*Comes Res Privatae* and *Comes Sacrae Largitionum*), and a supreme legal official, the *Quaestor Sacri Palatii*. The newly unified Imperial system also has two new supreme military commanders, attached to the court – the *Magister Peditum* (infantry commander) and *Magister Equitum* (cavalry commander). (Precise date of these innovations uncertain.)

AD 325 Early: Licinius is executed on suspicion of a plot to escape, aged around 65.

Early: Constantine goes east to Antioch to secure the eastern frontiers, and receives a warm welcome from the heartland of Christianity as the first firmly pro-Christian Emperor; he is dismayed by the number of theological and administrative disputes in the local Churches which he is asked to resolve.

Constantine decides to regularize the organization of the Christian Church to match that of the civil and military establishments of the Empire now that it is reunited, and to end the disputes over theology and the rightful holders of bishoprics; he calls an Empire-wide Church Council to meet at Ancyra while he is on a tour of the Holy Land where he wants to be baptized in the Jordan.

Hosius of Cordoba heads Constantine's mission to Alexandria to interview Bishop Alexander and his theological opponent Arius and try to sort out their differences before the Council meets; he decides for Alexander but Arius and his party do not accept his verdict. Going on to Syria to hold a local church council there and deal with Arius' growing Syrian support, he upholds the Orthodox theological position on the Trinity again and excommunicates Arius' supporter Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea (the eminent Church historian and recorder of the persecutions).

?Late April: Dismayed at the strength of support for Arius and other dissident theologians in the east, Constantine orders the grand Church Council assembling in Ancyra to move to Bithynia – allegedly because of a milder climate there – and meet at the Church of the Virgin in Nicaea, a city with an Imperial residence, instead so he can return from Syria and preside; he calls off his visit to Palestine.

20 May: Opening of the first 'Oecumenical Council' for bishops from across the eastern and western Empire at Nicaea, with 225 bishops present (more easterners than westerners); Constantine presides and does nothing to stop flattering propaganda that in his role as president of the Christian community he is the 'Thirteenth Apostle'. He reads out an opening statement (in Latin though most of bishops present are from Greek-speaking areas) calling for unanimous agreement, and his choice, Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea who is now assuring the authorities of his Orthodoxy, reads out the proposed theological 'Creed' based on that of his own local Church – theologically Orthodox, but also acceptable to Arius which the latter's opponents find unacceptable.

There are strenuous efforts to find theological language about the nature of the Trinity acceptable to both sides, such as ambiguously

calling the nature of Christ 'the power of God', but despite Constantine's efforts no unanimous agreement is reached.

The Council follows Constantine's wishes in establishing a tidy administrative hierarchy for the Church to mirror that of the state; the Bishop of each provincial capital becomes the senior, 'metropolitan', of all the bishops in that province, and he and a majority of the provincial bishops have to approve the appointment of any new bishop. No bishop is to leave his see for another one.

Primacy over local bishops is given to the see of Rome in the 'diocese' of Suburbicana, that of Alexandria in the *Pentapolis* of Lower Egypt, and that of Antioch in Oriens; Jerusalem is given a primacy of honour in Palestine but the senior bishopric in the province is that of the administrative capital, Caesarea.

Doctrinal and disciplinary canons are issued, and the approved Orthodox doctrine of the Trinity and other theological matters is established, a formal 'Creed' compiled with no deviations permitted, and the 'canon' of biblical books is established, outlawing those of supposedly dubious authenticity or debateable theological views. The date of Easter is fixed following the customs of the Churches of Rome and Alexandria, though differences in calculating the Spring Equinox mean that disputes continue.

The theological dispute between Alexander of Alexandria and Arius is debated, and the latter is condemned on the grounds of heresy; on Constantine's proposal, resisted by Eusebius of Caesarea to no effect on the grounds that it has been condemned by earlier synods, the Son is declared to be 'of one substance' (*homoousios*) with the Father and Arius to have impugned His divinity. Under Constantine's brow-beating all but two bishops, Secundus of Ptolemais and Theonas of Marmarice (both in Libya, Arius' home province), are persuaded to sign the new doctrine, terms are offered to readmit the 'schismatic' followers of disputed former 'bishops' Meletius in Egypt and Novatian of Rome, and Constantine imagines that he has restored harmony in the Church as in the state.

Secundus and Theonas are deposed and excommunicated, as are

Bishops Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicaea who sign but protest that Arius' views have been misrepresented; after the Council Constantine orders the closure of all heretical churches and seizure of their property, but invites Arius to Court, persuades him to write out a confession of faith which seems Orthodox to him, and reassembles those bishops who have not yet left for home to readmit him to communion with them; Eusebius and Theognis are readmitted too, but when Arius returns to Egypt Alexander refuses to accept him.

Constantine bans gladiatorial combat as cruel, but the law is soon being ignored.

AD 326 The Imperial court returns to Italy for celebrations of Constantine's 20 years' rule, to be held in Rome.

Constantine, growing increasingly autocratic and suspicious, has his popular eldest son Crispus, now aged around 25, arrested, imprisoned and executed at Pola in Istria on suspicion of a plot – probably due to jealousy by Empress Fausta, who fears the prince's threat to her sons' inheritance. It is uncertain if it is just legend that she accuses Crispus of trying to seduce her (as hinted at by Zosimus), a scenario reminiscent of the Greek legend of Phaedra and Hippolytus, or that Constantine's mother Helena discovers the truth.

Execution of Licinius' son Licinius II, apparently linked to Crispus' fall.

Constantine celebrates Vicennalia Games in Rome to celebrate the twentieth year of his reign.

Subsequently, on Constantine's return to Gaul to secure Crispus' former dominions in case of resentment there and to install his eldest surviving son Constantine II, Fausta is arrested in turn on the exposure of her treachery; she is executed too, supposedly being suffocated in a bath-house at Trier.

Constantine's mother the 'Augusta' Helena, emerging after years in obscurity, leads a pilgrimage to Jerusalem to tour the sites of Christ's Passion and ministry; the official sites are established ready to become centres for the growing 'pilgrim'-trade and relics are collected for

veneration, and in particular Christ's tomb near 'Golgotha' is identified in what is declared by local experts to have been a quarry used for tombs outside the walls of Jerusalem at his time; it is chosen to be the site of a magnificent new Imperially funded 'Cathedral of the Holy Sepulchre'.

Another large church is erected at the site of Christ's birth in Bethlehem, and Helena also visits the reputed site of his baptism in the Jordan; the 'True Cross' is supposedly identified now or over the next year or so, and is earmarked for removal to Constantinople.

Bishop Eusebius of Caesarea holds a Church Council for the east at Antioch, and replaces Bishop Eustathius of Antioch with Paulinus.

Constantine reverses his ban on the 'Novatianists', who are readmitted to the official Church.

AD 327 Religious riots in Antioch after appointment of new Bishop Eulalius; Constantine has to send his general Straegius Musonianus to suppress them; Euphronius is made Bishop.

Foundation of Constantine's new 'Great Church' cathedral at Antioch.

AD 328 Athanasius is elected Bishop of Alexandria to succeed Alexander; he also refuses to readmit Arius to the Church there.

Constantine is based at Trier; his son Constantine II is given leadership of a campaign against the Alemanni on the Rhine frontier and wins victories.

AD 329 Consul: Constantine II. Flavius Ablabius becomes Praetorian Praefect and Constantine's chief minister.

AD 330 Constantine returns to the east to inaugurate his new capital.

11 May: Dedication ceremony of Constantinople, a traditional Roman foundation rite but assisted by bishops. Official foundation of the centre of the future Eastern Roman ('Byzantine') Empire, with Alexander as Bishop.

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AD 331 to 476

AD 331 Consul: Constantine's chief minister Ablabius.

Constantine confiscates pagan temple treasures.

? Foundation of St Peter's Basilica, Rome.

Arius' supporters, led by Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia, appeal to Constantine.

6 November: Birth of Constantine's half-brother Julius Constantine's second son Flavius Claudius Julian(us), later Emperor.

AD 332

East

Greeks of Kingdom of Bosphorus (Crimea) appeal to Constantine for aid against the Goths on steppes to north.

Sarmatians (in modern Wallachia) appeal to Constantine for help against Goths too; Constantine and second son Constantius cross the Danube and march into steppes to defeat Goths, and Greeks in Cherson attack Goths in rear; Goths surrender and hand over hostages including son of 'King' Arian.

Constantine agrees to Arian and Alexandrian 'Meletian' faction's requests for trial of Athanasius on trumped-up charges; he is acquitted.

Death of Julius Constantius' second wife Basilina, mother of Julian.

Arius refused communion by Athanasius, appeals to Constantine.

AD 333 Constantine's third son Constans made 'Caesar'.

Consul: Constantine's half-brother Dalmatius, younger brother of Julius Constantius; he then goes to Antioch as 'Censor' as first step in Constantine's plan to promote him as junior co-ruler to Constantine's

sons. Now or soon afterwards, Constantine decides to create a principality in the East, carved out of Armenia and Persian lands, for Dalmatius' next brother Hannibalianus.

Bishops allowed to hear legal appeals.

AD 334

East

Constantius is sent to Antioch as 'Vicar' of Eastern dioceses; Constantine's eldest son Constantine II is granted Vicarate of Britain, Gaul and Spain and Constans of Italy, Africa and upper Danube.

Gothic raid over the Danube on Lower Moesia.

Constantine campaigns over the Danube against Sarmatians with a huge entourage, but loses nerve and abandons camp to retire by sea as attack threatened by superior enemy force.

?Persians attack Armenia.

Athanasius tried at Caesarea (Palestine) for magic practices and murder, at instigation of 'Meletian' faction in Alexandria; he is acquitted after he produces a bishop the charges said had been murdered by him.

AD 335 Constantine makes the younger Dalmatius 'Caesar' and destined successor in lower Danube lands; his brother Hannibalianus to rule Pontus and Armenia.

Rebellion of Calocaerus, commander of 'Camel Corps' in Cyprus; defeated and killed by Dalmatius.

August: Church council at Tyre, where Arian Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia secures Athanasius' deposition for acts unworthy of Christian Bishop; **6 November** he shows Constantine evidence that Athanasius threatened dock strike at Alexandria to halt grain supplies to Constantinople; Athanasius exiled to Trier.

September: Constantine holds inauguration of Church of Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem, with accompanying Church council to reconcile Orthodox 'Nicones' and Arians; Bishop Marcellus of Ancyra refuses to attend so he is deposed.

31 December: Death of Bishop Sylvester of Rome.

? Constantine settles <300,000 Sarmatians in Empire.

AD 336

West

18 January: Mark becomes Bishop of Rome.

East

Hannibalianus, as designated 'King of Kings', marches into Armenia and restores Roman authority.

Early: Athanasius deposed by council at Constantinople; Arius is invited to capital to be reconciled with Constantine and receive communion and dies suddenly there, in a public lavatory according to his enemies.

July: Constantine's **Tricenallia** with oration by Eusebius.

West

7 October: Death of Bishop Mark.

AD 337

West

6 February: Julius elected Bishop of Rome.

East

Paul succeeds Alexander as Bishop at Constantinople.

Shapur II of Persia invades Armenia, deporting and blinding King Diran; Constantine prepares war to take over Armenia and starts to march east to join troops at Antioch.

Constantine falls ill in Bithynia, receives baptism from the Arian Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia at Helenopolis as condition deteriorates, and **May, Pentecost** dies at a nearby village aged probably 61 to 63.

Constantine's campaign abandoned and body returned to Constantinople; sons join assembly of leadership in capital for funeral, while in the interregnum Constantine is treated as still the legal head of state; Bishop Eusebius plots against Constantine's half-brothers and nephews and spreads rumours.

June: Shapur invades Mesopotamia and unsuccessfully besieges Nisibis; Bishop James dies during 63-day siege.

Constantine buried in Church of Holy Apostles at Constantinople, but his sons resist Dalmatius' claim to lower Danube and Hannibalianus' to Pontus and Armenia.

Imperial guardsmen riot and murder Dalmatius, Hannibalianus, their father Dalmatius and latter's brother Julius Constantius (and his eldest son) together with some sympathetic ministers, probably at Constantius' initiative – the sons of Constantine are left sole heirs. Julius' sons Gallus and Julian are hidden in church and are spared.

9 September: Constantine's sons agree to division of Empire in meeting at Viminacium in Illyricum. Constantius sends Gallus to school at Tralles, and Julian to Nicomedia under Bishop Eusebius.

Shapur of Persia attacks Nisibis.

Athanasius returns to Alexandria and Marcellus to Ancyra with the acceptance of the Emperors, but they are refused entry by opponents led by Arians; they return to West with other expelled anti-Arian bishops and Bishop Julius publicly accepts Orthodoxy and admits them to communion.

AD 338 September: Division of Empire confirmed in formal agreement – Constantine II senior and in Spain, Gaul and Britain; Constans Italy, Africa, Illyricum; Constantius granted the East.

East

Spring: Constantius at Sirmium; he crosses Danube and campaigns successfully against Sarmatians.

AD 339

East

Constantius returns to Constantinople, deposes Bishop Paul, and replaces him with his Arian adviser Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia; he starts Eastern tour en route to Persian war, as Persians withdraw to frontier.

AD 340***East***

Constantius at Antioch and starts campaigns against Persia.

(or 341) Eusebius consecrates Ulfilas as Bishop to convert Tervingi Goths – to Arianism. Targets include descendants of 260s Roman deportees.

West

Constantine II attempts to invade Italy, but is ambushed near Aquileia and killed, aged 28; Constans rules all of West and proceeds to Trier to take over.

Autumn: Bishop Julius calls religious council at Rome which backs Athanasius and Marcellus of Ancyra as Orthodox; he reproaches their congregations for deposing them without reference to other bishops, particularly Rome, but Eastern bishops do not attend or respond.

AD 341***East***

Constantius in Antioch for **6 January** dedication of ‘Greek Church’ (cathedral); the accompanying Church Council there supports Eusebius of Nicomedia against Nicene Orthodoxy as interpreted by Marcellus of Ancyra, omitting phrase in Nicene Creed; Bishop Julius of Rome appeals for general Church Council.

Death of Bishop Eudoxius of Constantinople; Paul elected after dispute and riots.

AD 342***East***

?Death of theologian Bishop Eusebius of Nicomedia.

Constantius returns to Constantinople to sort out disputed election of bishop, sacks Paul and installs Macedonius.

Western and Eastern bishops assemble at Sardica/Sofia in Balkans to sort out the correct Orthodoxy and the positions of Athanasius and of Marcellus of Ancyra.

AD 343 (or end of 342) General Council at Sardica/Sofia, but it breaks up as Western bishops insist on Athanasius and Marcellus of Ancyra participating and Easterners refuse, withdraw and anathematize all concerned; two separate Councils follow, and Western majority upholds Athanasius and Nicene Orthodoxy and issues revised Creed that can admit Marcellus (accused of ‘Sabellianism’) to communion but which East condemns; West also anathematizes pro-Arian Bishop Valens of Mursa.

Constantius campaigns in Adiabene against Persia.

AD 344

East

Stephen, Bishop of Antioch and opponent of Athanasius, discredited for attempt to frame Bishop of Cologne with a harlot during Constantius’ church council at Antioch.

Persians invade Roman Armenia across the river Tigris; Constantius II defeated at battle of Singara.

AD 345

East

Persians besiege Nisibis, which Constantius II relieves.

AD 346

East

Bishop Macedonius of Constantinople deposed; Paul restored.

Athanasius visits Constantinople, gains imperial approval, and is allowed to return to Alexandria as Bishop; Gregory expelled.

AD 348

West

Constans holds Games to celebrate 1100th anniversary of traditional date of Rome’s foundation.

AD 350

West/East

18 January: Marcellinus the Count of Privy Purse (*Res Privatae*) hails German general, Flavius Magnus Magnentius, aged around 48 and possibly with a British parent, as Emperor at his son's birthday party at Augustodunum, Gaul, while Constans is out hunting, troops join in and revolt and Constans is killed in flight, aged 33.

Magnentius secures control of West, aided by his Arian wife Justina (later married to Valentinian I) and Marcellinus, and sends senator Nunechius and Magister Peditum Marcellinus to Constantius who refuses to recognize him, arrests the envoys, and marches west into Balkans.

Constantius sends Philippus as envoy to Magnentius; he pretends that he will accept the situation and secures permission to address the troops, but then rebukes them for their loyalty and tries to get them to return to allegiance to the House of Constantine; he eventually tells Magnentius that Constantius will let him rule Gaul and Britain, but Magnentius refuses the offer and detains him so he cannot report on his army's dispositions to Constantius.

Constantina, widow of Constantine I's half-brother Hannibalianus, raises Vetrano, governor of Illyricum, to throne as her candidate but he refrains from fighting Constantius and assures him of goodwill.

3 June: Nepotianus, nephew of Constantine I and son of Europia and Nepotius, leads revolt outside Rome and he enters to evict Praetorian Praefect Anicetus, **10 June** Marcellinus restores Magnentius' control of city after fighting, and Nepotianus and his mother Eutropia are among the killed.

Persia invades Armenia, deports King Tiridates II, and installs son Arsaces III as ruler. **Late:** Constantius summons nephews Gallus and Julian from Cappadocian exile to Sirmium.

AD 351 Death of Bishop Paul of Constantinople; Macedonius restored.

Magnentius makes brother Decentius 'Caesar' and sends him to defend Rhine.

15 March: Gallus, aged around 25, is elevated to be 'Caesar' at

Sirmium and sent to Antioch to govern East; Julian becomes student at Ephesus where he is taught by pagan philosopher Maximus.

Constantius confronts Vetrano, and by secret agreement they meet in front of armies and Vetrano announces his abdication and support for Constantius; his army joins Constantius and **summer** the latter is defeated at Atrans near the Italian/Norican border and retreats; Magnentius advances into Pannonia to seize Mursa and the two armies manoeuvre against each other.

Constantius offers Gaul and Britain to Magnentius, who is defeated at Mursa as his right wing is destroyed by Constantius' cavalry and retires to Italy; Bishop Valens of Mursa, having prayed publicly for Constantius' victory and been joined by Constantius at service during battle, joins him as adviser and influences him in favour of Arian settlement of all Church.

Part of Senate defects from Italy to Constantius.

AD 352

West

12 April: Death of Bishop Julius of Rome, **17 May** Liberius elected.

Magnentius sets up base at Aquileia, but **September** Italy revolts in his rear as Constantius' fleet lands at mouth of Po; he flees to Gaul, where brother Decentius revolts against him and attempts to seize Trier, and Constantius lands in Italy.

Magnentius defeats Decentius, but the Germans pour across the undefended Rhine and ravage the countryside.

East

Samaritans revolt but are brutally suppressed by Gallus; Sepphoris is sacked.

AD 353

West/East

Gaul revolts against Magnentius who is defeated by Constantius at Mount Seleucus in south-west and **10 August** commits suicide.

6 September: Constantius enters Lugdunum.

Constantius sends ministers to restore rule to Magnentius' provinces and round up suspects, particularly the brutal Paulus 'The Chain' who terrorizes Britain. Martinus, the arrested governor, tries to kill Paulus as he is dragged into court for his trial and wounds him with a sword before killing himself.

October–November: Constantius holds Games at Arles to celebrate his Decennalia, 30 years having passed since he was made 'Caesar'.

Gallus, based at Antioch, plans Persian campaign but becomes arrogant and unstable and employs informers to report on malcontents who are killed; he is encouraged by his wife, Constantius' sister and Hannibalianus' widow Constantina, and comes under the religious influence of Arian deacon Aetius. Thalassius, his Praetorian Praefect, does nothing to restrain him but reports on his erratic behaviour to Constantius.

AD 354***West***

Constantius holds Church Council of West at Arles to condemn Athanasius and his rigid Orthodoxy and to open compromise to Arians, bullying bishops into signing; Liberius of Rome refuses and demands General Council.

East

Gallus, hearing of food shortages at Antioch, fixes food prices, hands over Theophilus the governor of Syria to an angry mob that confronts them and lets them lynch him on the spot, and arrests protesting Senators who he accuses of hoarding food; he is only prevented from executing them as scapegoats by 'Count of Oriens' Honoratus. Constantius sends his new Praetorian Praefect of East Domitian (Thalassius having died) to investigate, and Gallus arrests him for not paying his respects at the Palace immediately he arrived and orders him to be killed then has 'Quaestor' Montius killed as well for trying to stop execution.

Gallus has the governor of Phoenicia, Apollinaris, and his son executed after hearing that someone unknown has commissioned the workers at Imperial robe factory at Tyre to make a purple Imperial robe; the workers are rounded up and tortured in a vain effort to find out who the would-be 'rebel' is.

Constantius, at Valence, prepares for a campaign against Gundobad and Vadomar, kings of the Alemanni, who have invaded Gaul; during the prolonged wait for campaign the troops assembled at Chalons start to riot at inadequate provisions, and Constantius sends his Praetorian Praefect Rufinus (Gallus' mother's brother) to calm them – allegedly he or his ambitious chamberlain Eusebius are quite prepared to see the men lynch Rufinus in case the latter resists their planned destruction of his nephew. But Rufinus wins the men round, and Eusebius brings them cartloads of money to secure their goodwill until the Emperor arrives. Constantius then advances to pursue the Alemanni back to the Rhine, but the Germans evade a planned Roman trap and their compatriots in the Roman army are suspected of tipping them off about it. Constantius accepts an offer of peace and a treaty is signed.

Constantius lures Gallus to Milan with hints of co-rulership, and also summons 'Count of Oriens' Ursicinus (whose entourage includes the future historian Ammianus Marcellinus, a junior officer) in case he takes advantage of the vacuum in East to revolt; Gallus hesitates but, demoralized by the death of his wife, sets out from Antioch and holds Games at Constantinople en route where Constantius' envoys Leontius and Lucilian arrive to accompany him west with false assurances. Count Barbatio, Constantius' nominee, takes over Gallus' bodyguard. At Poetovio in Noricum Barbatio suddenly separates Gallus from his entourage, arrests him and bundles him into a carriage dressed as a common soldier for speedy removal before anyone can rescue him; he is taken to Pola in Istria, questioned by the chamberlain Eusebius about his many crimes which he blames on his wife, and beheaded by Count Sabinian, aged around 29.

Gallus' young brother Julian is summoned to Constantius' court at Mediolanum, interned at Comum (Como), and after being cleared of

aiding his brother is exiled to Athens where he learns pagan philosophy avidly; assorted officers and courtiers of Gallus' are brought to the Emperor's court for trial and are exiled or killed, and Paul 'the Chain' and the equally sinister Mercurius, known as the 'Count of Dreams' for finding out about people's 'treasonable dreams' in confidence and reporting them, are let loose to find more plotters. Ursicinus is sentenced to death as Constantius (encouraged by Eusebius and the general Arbetio) is jealous of his popularity with the Eastern frontier troops, but is reprieved.

AD 355

West

Constantius campaigns against Alemmanic tribe, the Lentienses, near Lake Constance on the upper Rhine.

Magister Peditum Silvanus, a distinguished officer of Frankish descent who played a vital role in the Mursa campaign, is sent to north-east Gaul to drive out German raiders; while he is absent his ingenious Court rival Dynamius, superintendent of the Imperial baggage-train, uses his signature to forge some letters to supposed fellow-conspirators and presents this to Constantius as evidence of a plot. The general Malarich, who speaks up for Silvanus' loyalty and offers to collect him so he can prove his innocence, is implicated too, but when 'Master of Offices' Florentius heads a commission to investigate, the forgery is detected and the 'plotters', including Praetorian Praefect Lampadius, are cleared – without Dynamius' part being detected.

Silvanus, unaware that he is being cleared, panics and declares himself Emperor at Cologne to save himself; the courtiers, fearing he will bring in his Frankish compatriots to aid rebellion, reluctantly let Ursicinus, as a popular general who can win back his troops' loyalty, go to the rebel headquarters carrying Imperial letters that pretend that Constantius is unaware of the revolt and about to promote Silvanus. The rebel receives Ursicinus (and his officers, including Ammianus) kindly, and while he is wondering whether to abandon his revolt they win over some of his wavering troops who attack and butcher their

leader; the rest of army returns to its allegiance to Constantius.

October: Church Council of Milan to uphold Arianism and denounce Bishop Athanasius; Constantius deposes and exiles all bishops who refuse to sign including Hilarius of Poitiers, Hosius of Cordoba, and Dionysius of Milan; Bishop Liberius of Rome is summoned and is exiled to Berroea in Thrace for obduracy and a faction at Rome elects Felix to replace him.

Praetorian Praefect Strategius Musonianus negotiates with Persia.

Bandit rebellion in Cilicia; Seleucia besieged.

Julian is summoned to Milan as Constantius' reluctant choice to restore order in Gaul; **6 November** he is granted the rank of 'Caesar' and the hand of Constantius' sister Helena; **1 December** he leaves Court and sets out to cross the Alps to Vienne where he receives a warm welcome.

Julian winters in the Rhone valley.

AD 356

East

February: Bishop George installed in Alexandria by troops, and Athanasius flees to the desert and continues to write against Arians.

Death of St Antony, leading monastic pioneer in Egyptian desert.

West

Julian clears barbarians out of central Gaul; **24 June** he arrives at Augustodunum, where the recent German attack has been driven off by elderly military veterans, and holds a council of war; he marches across the countryside, defeating German ambushes en route, to Tricasum (Troyes) and Remi (Reims); he joins Magister Equitum Marcellus, who is commanding at Trier, defeats the invaders of north-east Gaul at Brotomagum (Brumath), and then retakes the ransacked lower Rhine headquarters at Cologne and winters at Sens.

AD 357 Consuls: Constantius and Julian.

West/East

Early: Julian drives off a month-long German siege of Sens, but is not assisted by the nearby Marcellus who Constantius recalls and spitefully starts spreading rumours at court about Julian's treasonable ambitions; Constantius' sister and Julian's wife, Helena, persuades her brother to ignore them.

Julian, reinforced by Magister Peditum Barbatio and 25,000 troops from Italy, clears the lower Rhine valley of invaders and sends reinforcements to relieve Lugdunum which is under attack; Barbatio refuses to lend him ships to get at Germans who are holding out on the Rhine islands but Julian's men swim over and evict them.

East

Constantius' commander in East, Praetorian Praefect Strategius Musonianus, has a message passed to the raiding Persian 'Great King' Shapur that the Emperor would like negotiations for a treaty.

West

April: Constantius pays grand state visit to Rome to celebrate his triumph over Magnentius, and donates Egyptian obelisk to Circus Maximus; he is noted for his rigid bearing at processions, and is lobbied on behalf of Bishop Liberius. **29 May:** He leaves Rome in a hurry as the Germans invade Rhaetia, and sends Ursicinus to command at Antioch and Severus as Magister Equitum to Trier.

July: Constantius forbids courtiers to consult oracles.

Summer: The Alemanni under Chnodomar and Vestralp advance on Julian's base at Strasbourg, confident that he has only 13,000 troops and can be overwhelmed; Julian defeats them in a hard-fought infantry battle and the fleeing Chnodomar is thrown from his horse as he tries to reach the Rhine, captured and deported to Italy; Julian reaches Moguntiacum and raids the Alemanni's homelands across the Rhine and Main, and then **autumn** defeats Frankish brigands around the Moselle valley.

Constantius goes to Illyricum to fight Sarmatian incursions, and wipes out rebel tribe, the Limigantes.

East

Winter: Constantius, in winter quarters at Sirmium, receives Bishop Basil of Ancyra who has formulated rival proposals to Valens of Mursa's to put to Emperor – that the Son's essence is 'like' the Father's (homousious) without being 'identical' (which seems close to 'Sabellian' heresy).

AD 358 Consuls: Datianus and Cerealis.

East/West

Having wintered at Paris, Julian fights the Salian Franks in eastern Belgica, recovers control of the Meuse valley from Frankish invaders, and crosses the Rhine to attack the Alemanni; the kings of the latter, Suomar and Hortar, surrender and agree to keep the peace as the Romans occupy their territory but at court Julian's enemies jeer at him as a vainglorious and over-praised Hellenophile.

Eudoxius, Arian, made Bishop of Antioch.

Constantius summons Liberius from Berroea to meet him at Sirmium.

Constantius allows Liberius to return to Rome, but also enables his rival Felix to set up separate congregation in the city.

Shapur II of Persia sends Narses to Constantius demanding Armenia and Mesopotamia in return for peace; Count Prosper is sent back to hold talks to delay the Persian campaign; Shapur later starts war in Mesopotamia.

24 August: Nicomedia destroyed by earthquake.

Constantius defeats Sarmatians and Quadi on the Danube.

Bishop Valens of Mursa and Basil of Ancyra compete for Constantius' support over the nature of the religious compromise formula to include Arians – whether the Son is merely 'like' the Father or 'of same essence'.

AD 359

West

Julian restores the defences of the damaged towns on the lower Rhine, and advances upriver to deal with a German tribal army mustering on the opposite bank which his allies Suomar and Hortar have refused to join; his troops cross the river by surprise and rout them, and when Julian constructs a bridge and brings the main army over the Germans submit. Julian persuades troops not to mutiny over Constantius' scanty provisioning.

East/West

Count Barbatio, Magister Peditum, is executed for treason after his wife's letter referring to his hopes of the throne on Constantius' death is passed to the court.

The corrupt financial official Antoninus defects to Persia with the secrets of Constantius' military treasury, and encourages Shapur to invade; the suspicious Constantius agrees to replace Ursicinus as Eastern commander with the elderly (but less popular so harmless) Sabinian, and summons Ursicinus to court. He is approaching it when he is sent back to assist with the defence of Mesopotamia as Shapur crosses the frontier; as Ursicinus tries to rally the defences of Nisibis and other towns with inadequate troops his aide Ammianus narrowly escapes a Persian ambush.

?July: Shapur besieges Amida, where Ammianus is among the defenders with two legions of Gallic troops (formerly in Magnentius' army) while Ursicinus vainly tries to induce his timid commander-in-chief Sabinian to advance to the rescue; Shapur's siege works are burnt but **?November** he takes Amida by storm and Ammianus is among those defenders who escape to the Euphrates.

Autumn: Constantius has to deal with a new outbreak of trouble from the Limigantes, who are emigrating from the lands he assigned them in a recent treaty towards the Roman frontier; they claim they want to settle in Empire, but Constantius is attacked by a mob while he is addressing them and has to flee the encounter and send in troops to

defeat them. He plans campaign in Mesopotamia, and recalls Julian's friend and general Sallust.

Praefecture of Constantinople is created.

Constantius organizes church council for West at Rimini and for East at Seleucia (south-east Anatolia), to uphold the compromise doctrine; Bishop Valens of Mursa secures triumph for his version at Rimini, and Eudoxius of Constantinople and George of Alexandria do so for him in East.

AD 360

East/West

Ursicinus, now Magister Peditum in East, is blamed by commission of enquiry into the fall of Amida and the guilty Sabinian is exonerated, thanks to the efforts of Arbetio; Ursicinus is sacked and replaced by Agilo.

Early: Constantius issues orders for many of Julian's troops in Gaul to march east to join his Persian war, reducing Julian's military strength.

Julian sends Lupicinus to lead campaign in Britain after raids by the 'Picts' (i.e. the Caledonian tribes over Hadrian's Wall) and the seaborne Irish raiders, the 'Scots'.

Early: Death of Bishop Macedonius of Constantinople.

Constantius transfers Bishop Eudoxus from Antioch to Constantinople, and installs non-partisan Miletius at Antioch.

Church council at Constantinople, centring on **18 February** dedication of Hagia Sophia; new Creed issued that 'the Son is like the Father', taking Arian line, and despite the broad nature of statement in deliberate ambiguity Orthodox bishops resist and depositions follow.

February: Gallic troops at Paris refuse Constantius' order to march east and at a rowdy rally at parade-ground they declare Julian 'Augustus' and raise him on a shield; he accepts their offer and secures control of Gaul and the Rhine.

Praetorian Praefect Florentius, having retired to Vienne as Julian's troops were about to mutiny so he did not get involved, flees to

Constantius and accuses Julian of treason.

Julian sends envoys Pentaclius and Eutherius to Constantius to assure his peaceful intentions and willingness to restrict his rule to the West, but prepares for campaign. Constantius receives the envoys at Caesarea-in-Cappadocia, and sends his representative Leonas to Gaul to order Julian to be content with rank of 'Caesar'; Leonas is jeered at by Julian's troops as he announces the offer and sent back empty-handed, but Julian accepts Constantius' appointment of Nebridius as his new Praetorian Praefect.

Death of Julian's wife Helena, Constantius' sister.

Shapur advances to take Singara and Bezabde; later Constantius arrives in Mesopotamia and advances from Edessa to mount failed siege of Bezabde.

November: Julian holds quinquennial Games at Vienne on Rhone.

AD 361

East/West

Constantius winters at Antioch.

Death of Empress Eusebia, Julian's patron; Constantius refuses peace and prepares for war; the refugee Florentius is appointed Praetorian Praefect of Illyricum.

Early: Julian has King Vadomar of the Alemanni kidnapped after he raids Rhaetia, in order that no Alemannic campaign interrupt his showdown with Constantius.

Julian appoints Germanianus to succeed Nebridius as Praetorian Praefect, Sallustius to command in Gaul, Nevitta as Magister Equitum, Jovius quaestor, Dagalaiphus in charge of household troops (Scholae), and Mamertinus as treasurer.

Julian sends troops under Jovius and Jovinus via Alps to northern Italy, and Rome surrenders; he marches through Black Forest to the Danube and reaches Sirmium quickly to force Constantius' commander Lucilianus to surrender; he sends a speech denouncing Constantius as a tyrant and Constantine 'the Great' as an innovator who gave consulship to barbarians to be read to the Senate.

Praetorian Praefect Taurus flees Italy; Julian advances to Naissus (Nis) and sends Constantius' regiments stationed at Sirmium out of the way to Gaul, but they mutiny en route and seize Aquileia so he orders Jovinus to deal with them.

Constantius marries, secondly, Faustina at Antioch.

Constantius replaces Miletius as Bishop of Antioch with the more Arian Euzoius on appeal of Eudoxus of Constantinople; Miletius and his rival Paulinus quarrel over leadership of Antiochene Orthodox.

Constantius sets out for Constantinople and sends Magister Peditum Arbetio ahead and Godoamarius to secure the Balkan passes, but falls ill en route as Julian's advance-guard under Nevitta reaches Balkan passes first.

3 November: Constantius dies at Mopsucrene in Cilicia aged 44 or 47, and generals abandon ministers' plans for election of successor and send officers Theolaiphus and Abigild to Julian to accept him as Emperor; Constantius' army at Aquileia surrenders.

Julian recalls all exiled Orthodox bishops, and sends his uncle Julian to Antioch as 'Count of the East' to secure provinces.

Julian enters Constantinople in triumph, buries Constantius at Church of Holy Apostles, and pardons Constantius' officers.

24 December: Bishop George of Alexandria lynched by mob; Athanasius allowed to return as Julian takes no action but deprecates inter-Christian violence.

AD 362

East/West

Consuls: Claudius Mamertinus, orator, and general Nevitta.

Julian organizes judicial commission at Chalcedon, including generals Jovinus, Arbetio and Nevitta, to execute Constantius' favourites including Paulus and the chamberlain Eusebius, and soldiers secure execution of unpopular treasurer Ursulus; ex-'Master of Offices' Palladius is exiled to Britain for undermining Gallus in 354 and his successor Florentius is exiled to Dalmatian island. Artemius, tyrannical Arian Praefect of Egypt, executed, and replaced by Ecdicius Olympus;

Salutius Secundus is made Praetorian Praefect of East; orator Libanius of Antioch's pupil Celsus governs Syria; Anatolicus, Julian's administrator, 'Master of Offices'; Felix finance minister ('Count of Sacred Largesses').

Julian restores official pagan sacrifices, reopens temples and cancels all Christian clergy's privileges but declares universal toleration rather than repressing Christianity and seeks to ridicule the latter, pointing out incongruity of Christian teachers accepting pagan classics; later Christians are banned from teaching. Salaries given to pagan priest-hoods. pagan temples granted charitable functions to counteract Christians' appeal.

Julian notably leaves a meeting of the Senate to greet his arriving philosopher mentor Maximus in person, a reversal of recent Imperial aloofness and protocol.

Julian orders compilation of pagan dogma, encourages Christian sects to fight each other and plans rebuilding of Jewish Temple in Jerusalem.

May: Julian leaves Constantinople; he visits and orders help for the restoration of earthquake-ruined Nicomedia, and in Galatia visits the shrine of the 'Great Mother' goddess at Pessinus; **18 July** he reaches Antioch, on ill-omened day of Adonis lamentations, to prepare for Persian war, and encourages pagan shrines and festivals in the area especially the sacred grove at Daphne with its prostitutes; **22 October** the Temple of Apollo at Daphne, centre of cult, is burnt and Julian blames the Christians and closes Antioch cathedral. As he becomes unpopular with the Senate in the city for ordering regulation of prices and other edicts he writes the biting satire *Misopogon* ('Beard-Haters') about his critics, and in return is caricatured as a bearded dwarf trying to emulate giants and as an 'axe-man' obsessed with performing sacrifices.

Athanasius calls council at Alexandria to rule on rival non-Arian churches of Miletius and Paulinus at Antioch, and accepts the latter as does Pope.

AD 363

East

Julian and Sallust assume consulship at Antioch; riots over shortage of grain in city. Julian gathers large army to invade Persia, and writes *Against the Galileans* against the Christians.

Death of Julian's uncle, Count Julian, and 'Count of the Sacred Largesses' Felix who is succeeded by Rufinus Aradius.

?Athanasius expelled from Alexandria again.

5 March: Julian leaves Antioch amid alleged ill-omens; he halts at Carrhae to sacrifice to the local cult-centre of the Moon, and reputedly tells his cousin Procopius to seize the throne if he dies on campaign;

18 March: the Temple of Apollo in Rome burns down concurrently with a warning Imperial dream.

Julian's army and fleet reach Circusium and construct bridge of boats across the River Khabur; they pass the site of Gordianus III's death at Zaitha and **6 April** cross the frontier; they descend the Euphrates, with Julian commanding the main body of infantry, Nevitta the right wing, Arintheus and the defecting Persian prince Hormisdas the left wing, and Victor and Dagalaiphus the rear.

?12 April: The fort of Anatha on the river surrenders to Julian after an appeal from Hormisdas; Perisabora is besieged, and the defenders abandon the undermined walls and retire into citadel; Julian joins in a vain assault on the gate which is driven back in a hail of missiles, but as his huge siege tower is wheeled into place the defenders surrender.

The Romans have to construct bridges over flooded fields where the Persians have opened dykes, and besiege Mauzamalcha where Julian fights in combat against a Persian sortie aimed at him; once siege engines are in place the walls are undermined, and a two-day assault leads to the collapse of a section of wall and the storming of the town; the Persian army under Suren keeps back and does not oppose the advance.

The Romans cross via canal to the Tigris at Ctesiphon, while Julian's cousin Procopius marches down Tigris via Adiabene; the Persians are driven back in engagement at crossing of the final canal and their

capital is besieged. Procopius fails to arrive on time, so the outnumbered and harassed Julian abandons his siege of Ctesiphon, burns ships and **16 June** marches upriver, heading for Corduene.

26 June: Julian is fatally wounded in side by arrow during skirmish, probably by assassins, and dies aged 31 or 32; **27 June** the rival factions of officers who served Constantius, led by Victor and Arintheus, and Julian's own veterans, led by Nevitta and Dagalaiphus, will not allow the other 'side' to nominate the next ruler at an acrimonious debate so Salutius Secundus is chosen as compromise but refuses; the Christian officer Jovian, son of respected retired Count Varronian, is elected Emperor by officers and tours the columns of troops as the march resumes.

Jovian cancels all Julian's anti-Christian legislation and secures a hasty peace with Persia at Dara, surrendering Nisibis and five provinces in Mesopotamia and Armenia and abandoning Roman protectorate over kingdom of Armenia; he is allowed by the Persians to continue march unmolested to Hatra whence he sends a message to his father-in-law Count Lucilian to take over as Magister Peditum et Equitum in the West and Malarich to take command in Gaul from Jovinus.

Jovian reaches Nisibis, which is to be surrendered under the treaty so the inhabitants are distraught; he refuses to enter the city, and during his halt outside the ambitious chief notary Jovianus is murdered.

Bineses arrives from Shapur to install Persian garrison in Nisibis, and Jovian orders all the citizens to evacuate the city in three days; he marches back to Antioch, where the statue of Maximian's loss of its orb of sovereignty is taken as a bad omen for him.

Bishop Athanasius of Alexandria and other exiles recalled.

Julian is buried at Tarsus before the Imperial army marches on into Cappadocia; riots in Antioch.

AD 364

East

Jovian and young son Varronian consuls; **February** Jovian dies suddenly at Ancyra en route to Constantinople, aged around 34, possibly

of noxious paint fumes in his lodgings, and generals hold election meeting at Nicaea.

Sallust is offered the throne but refuses; Equitius, tribune of the first regiment of the *Scutarii*, is rejected as too uncouth and Jovian's relative Januarius is rejected as he is serving far away in Illyricum; the Pannonian military commander Valentinian, son of Count Gratian and commander of the second regiment of *Scutarii*, is elected (aged 43) and summoned from his post with the rearguard at Ancyra. He arrives ten days later to assume the throne, is hailed as Emperor on the parade-ground, and asks his officers' opinion about a co-ruler to be told by Dagalaiphus that if he loves his family he will appoint his brother Valens but if he loves the state he will look more carefully.

1 March: Valentinian at Nicomedia, where he makes Valens supervisor of the Imperial Stables; he marches to Constantinople; **28 March:** he makes Valens, aged around 37, co-ruler in ceremony outside the walls.

The Sarmatians and Quadi invade Pannonia, and the Alemanni attack Gaul and Rhaetia.

Valentinian announces division of the Empire at Mediana near Naissus, Illyricum – Valens is to rule East and proceeds to Constantinople, where his Arian wife Alba Dominica and Bishop Eudoxius influence him in favour of Arians and Alba's father Petronias, leading minister, is resented for misrule.

Victor and Arintheus appointed 'Masters of Soldiers' in East; Dagalaiphus and Jovinus command in the West; Salutius becomes Praetorian Praefect of East, Mamertinus of Italy, Africa and Illyricum, and Germanianus of Gaul.

Shapur invades Armenia.

Valens confirms decrees and appointments of Constantius' Arian church councils.

AD 365

East

28 September: Julian's refugee cousin Procopius, in hiding in Chalcedon

at senator Strategius' house, seizes Constantinople with support from the *Divitenses* and Junior Tungritani guards regiments during Valens' absence in Anatolia and is joined by Constantius II's widow Faustina and the armies in Thrace and on Danube; Praetorian Praefect Nebridius and City Praefect Caesarius are arrested and Procopius believes rumours that Valentinian has died.

Procopius marches into Bithynia as his allies seize Nicaea, **November** defeating Valens at Chalcedon; Valens flees to interior and considers abdicating but rallies troops in Lydia with generals Arintheus, Lupicinus and the recalled Arbetio while Procopius' men storm Cyzicus where the loyal Serenian is holding out.

AD 366

West

Valentinian fights Alemanni on the Rhine.

East

27 May: Procopius is defeated at Nacoli in Galatia as his general Agilo changes sides, and flees into the hills; he is later captured hiding in Phrygia as his companions hand him over and is executed; his relative Marcellinus and Gothic mercenaries are driven out of Chalcedon and his general Equitius is defeated in Thrace; Valens starts war against Goths north of Danube for aiding rebels.

24 September: Death of Pope Liberius; deacon Ursinus elected at Julian Basilica, but a faction elects Damasus whose partisans storm Basilica and massacre enemies; **1 October** he is consecrated in stormed Lateran Basilica, and fighting until **26 October** Liberian Basilica stormed too to secure his control of Church of Rome; the disorders seriously damage Papacy's reputation.

AD 367

East

Persians overrun Armenia, capturing and imprisoning Arsaces III who commits suicide, burning cities and terrorizing population.

Valens leads campaign against Goths, based at Marcianopolis on lower Danube.

West

Valentinian falls seriously ill, and rival factions in his camp support Rusticus Julianus and Magister Peditum Severus; on his recovery he makes elder son Gratian, aged eight, co-Emperor.

?Valentinian hires the distinguished poet and professor of rhetoric at Burdigala academy, Decimus Magnus Ausonius (son of a doctor but his mother's father one of the leading citizens of Augustodunum ruined by Victorinus in 269), as his son's tutor.

Valentinian dismisses Praetorian Praefect Mamertinus for speculation; succeeded by Vulcatius Rufinus. ?Valentinian's increasingly suspicious and vengeful character starts to show itself with increasingly harsh punishment of accused officials and alleged plotters.

Valentinian hears of a concerted attack on Britain by the Caledonians/Picts, ?Irish, and Saxons as he is heading from Amiens to Trier: 'Count of the Saxon Shore' Nectaridus has been killed, dux Fullofaudes ambushed and some local frontier-guards have assisted invaders. He sends Severus and then Jovinus across to assess the situation, and as they say that large-scale help is needed he sends Count Theodosius (father of the later Emperor), a Spanish general, with the regiments of Batavians, Heruli, Jovini and Victores.

?Autumn: Theodosius lands at Rutupiae (Richborough) and marches to London, clearing marauders from the roads and countryside en route.

AD 368

East

Isaurian rebels raid across Anatolia and kill Imperial 'Vicar' Musonius.

Cylaces and Arrobanes, Sapor's disaffected viceroys in Armenia, join up with the defenders of Artogerassa during their siege of the town (which holds late ruler Arsaces' widow and treasure) to slaughter the Persian army they are leading, and start revolt; Arsaces' son Pap,

a refugee in Cappadocia, is sent by Valens with a Roman army (under Terentius) to be installed as king of Armenia at the rebels' request, but later he has to hide out in the mountains on Iberian frontier as Sapor ravages the country in retaliation and burns Artogerassa.

West

Theodosius drives the invaders out of the rest of Britain and restores order and control of the frontiers – it is not certain from the archaeological evidence how much damage was done to the 'villa economy' infrastructure of the country during this crisis, but it is probable that a number of burnt villas and hoards of coins can be dated to it. He requests the help of Civilis as the new *pro-Praefect*, over-governor of the island's provinces, and probably installs new pro-Roman client-kings in the independent tribal states north of Hadrian's Wall such as Paternus of the Votadini and Clemens of the Selgovae. (Paternus is the ancestor of the later kings of Gwynedd in Wales.) Theodosius may also place his assistant Magnus Maximus, another Spaniard, in charge of the coastal defences against the Irish in Venedotia (Gwynedd), based at Segontium (Caernarfon).

AD 369

East

Valens crosses the Danube, defeats Tervingi Goths, and captures 'king' Athanaric; successful conclusion to Gothic war.

Persians overrun Iberia and expel King Sauromax.

West

Theodosius puts down a plot in Britain by would-be rebel Valentinus.

AD 370

East

Death of Eudoxius, Bishop of Constantinople; succeeded by another Arian, Demophilus. **9 April:** dedication of Church of Holy Apostles, Constantinople.

Valens leaves his capital for Antioch to take charge of Persian war.

Terentius restores Sauromax to Iberia.

Basil, leading Orthodox theologian, appointed Bishop of Caesarea-in-Cappadocia and starts active promotion of Orthodox candidates in local appointments.

West

Valentinian allows Maximin, the Praefect of the Annona (corn supply) in Rome (and brother-in-law of Valentinus the plotter of 369), to lead investigations into misbehaviour, sorcery, adultery, poisoning and other crimes by the City aristocracy with all the rigour and savagery normally reserved for treason; he (as acting praefect of Rome while Praefect Olybrius is ill) and his co-investigator Leo the Pannonian notary are allowed to use torture on all suspects and mount a reign of terror.

AD 371

East

Valens campaigns from Antioch against Persians.

Basil of Caesarea and Athanasius fail to settle dispute over rightful Bishop of Antioch.

Autumn: Valens tortures and executes Imperial secretary Theodore after he discovers that he and other senior officials consulted prophecy on next Emperor whose name begins with 'Theod'; all the participants are interrogated, tried and executed, and the informant Palladius makes all sorts of allegations about widespread divination by named offenders who are dealt with in a 'witch-hunt' on inadequate evidence; divination is banned.

West

?Valentinian rewards the tyrannical Pro-Praefect of Rome, Maximin, with the Praetorian Praefecture, but appoints the milder Ursicinus to take over in Rome.

?Valentinian appoints his son Gratian's tutor Ausonius of Burdigala,

now one of the leading patrons of classical culture at court and a friend of the powerful Roman pagan aristocrat Flavius Symmachus, as ‘Quaestor of the Sacred Palace’, top legal official.

AD 372

East

6 January: Basil of Caesarea disappoints Orthodox zealots by allowing Valens into his cathedral for Epiphany though he is an Arian.

Valens campaigns against Persia.

West

Theodosius is sent to Mauretania to fight the Moorish rebel Firmus.

Valentinian insults the Quadi by allowing a fortress to be built on their side of the Danube in breach of treaty, and appoints Maximin’s arrogant son as the new commander; the latter has the protesting Quadi king Gabinius murdered at a banquet for daring to protest, and a horde of the Quadi invades Pannonia; Valentinian’s son Gratian’s fiancée Constantia, Constantius’ daughter, is nearly kidnapped near Sirmium en route to the West for wedding, and Valentinian has to send troops to stop the ravagings as Praetorian Praefect of Illyricum Probus has lost his nerve and stays behind the walls of Sirmium.

Theodosius’ eponymous son, the future Emperor (aged 25), achieves his first military successes as he serves against the Quadi’s Sarmatian allies.

AD 373

East

Death of (St) Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, last of the Church leaders at 325 Council of Nicaea; the role of leading Orthodox voice in East against Valens and Arians passes to less outspoken Basil of Caesarea, a former fellow-student of Julian at Athens.

28 March: Valens holds Decennalia Games (ten years on throne), early, at Antioch.

?King Pap of Armenia is invited to court at Antioch and detained,

but finds out that there are proposals to replace him with another ruler as Roman client and escapes back to his homeland; Valens has him invited to dinner by general Trajan and murdered.

AD 374

West

Gratian marries Constantia, daughter of Constantius II.

October: (St) Ambrose (Aurelius Ambrosius), governor of Aemilia and Liguria, becomes Bishop of Mediolanum in succession to the Arian Auxentius by popular demand; he leads the Orthodox 'Catholic' party at the Imperial capital against the Arians.

Autumn: Valentinian, building a new fortress near Basle as part of his policy of large-scale fortification of the German frontier, decides to intervene in the middle Danube region but cannot act at once due to the advanced season; to secure his rear, he agrees peace with the leading German king Macrianus, chief threat to the Rhine frontier, who is invited to a prestigious interview with him on the river near Moguntiacum.

East

?Valens negotiates with Persia, but his envoys, Magister Equitum Count Victor and Mesopotamian commander Ursicius, infuriate Shapur by taking over some disputed border territory on the invitation of the inhabitants; the Romans fail to persuade Shapur to leave Armenia alone.

?Varazdat, Pap's cousin, becomes king of Armenia.

AD 375

East

Valens starts removing Orthodox bishops in East and installing Arians.

Huns destroy the Ostrogothic (Greuthingi) kingdom on south Russian steppes, and many Goths flee towards Roman territory seeking sanctuary after king Eormenric killed; thousands of Tervingi (Visigoths) arrive at the Danube, others under Athanaric in Transylvania.

West

Valentinian arrives in the middle Danube region, receives envoys from the Sarmatians seeking peace, and sets up his base at Carnuntum for three months; he then crosses the Danube on bridge of boats from Aquincum (Budapest) to ravage the Quadi's homeland until they sue for peace.

Valentinian has a stroke at meeting with envoys from the Quadi tribes at Brigetio (in modern Hungary) and **17 November** dies aged 54; his generals, led by Merrobaudes, summon 16-year-old elder son Gratian who is **23 November** proclaimed Emperor and arrives from Trier.

Gratian's infant half-brother Valentinian (II), aged four, is proclaimed at Milan by mother Justina who secures division of West between them.

AD 376**West**

Early: Execution of Count Theodosius, father of the later Emperor Theodosius, at Carthage, probably due to Gratian's ministers' fear of his popularity.

East

Spring: Alavivus and Fritigern, commanders of Visigoths, send embassy to Valens at Antioch requesting permission to settle in Empire with people; it is granted and <200,000 Goths cross Danube but are cheated over supplies by governor Lupicinus.

AD 377**East**

Goths revolt against Lupicinus' extortion after he attacks leaders at banquet and start ravaging Moesia but are blockaded by Trajan and Profutus in the Dobrudja at mouth of Danube.

Gothic reinforcements force Trajan and Profutus to withdraw, and Goths move south.

Valens arranges truce with Persia to concentrate on Goths.

Alatheus and Saphrax lead 'Gaethungi' over Danube to reinforce Fritigern, and Valens' generals retire towards Constantinople.

Thalassius, son-in-law of the Western Emperor Gratian's ex-tutor and adviser Ausonius of Burdigala, becomes Vicar of Macedonia; his son Paulinus of Pella (early fifth-century poet and official under the usurper Attalus) is born there.

AD 378

West

Ausonius achieves the height of his ambitions as Praetorian Praefect of Gaul, jointly with his friend Decimus Hesperius, for a tenure of under a year; his aged father Julius Ausonius is simultaneously Praetorian Praefect of Illyricum.

February: Gratian defeats Alemanni, who have crossed the frozen Rhine to take advantage of Roman preoccupation with the Goths, crosses the river to defeat them in their homeland in swift campaign, and prepares to march east.

East

Valens arrives in Constantinople from Syria to lead Gothic campaign. Count Sebastian, new Magister Peditum after Trajan, sallies from Adrianople to raid the main Gothic camp on the Hebrus (Maritza) River upstream.

9 June: Valens leaves Constantinople to set up base at Adrianople; he receives Western advance-guard under Richomer but, emboldened by victory of Sebastian, refuses to wait for Gratian's arrival or to listen to Fritigern's peace envoys; he advances on Gothic fortified camp near the city and **9 August** attacks.

Battle of Adrianople: Roman cavalry reaches Gothic baggage-train but is cut off, and main infantry is surrounded and destroyed in hours of assaults; Valens is cut off and as Count Victor vainly tries to find the Batavian regiment to rescue him he disappears in the melee; it is uncertain if he falls in the battle or is carried out of the fighting

to a farmhouse which the Goths surround and burn down but he is accepted as killed, aged probably 51. Trajan and Sebastian are among the other senior commanders killed, with about two-thirds of the army, but Richomer and Victor escape.

Goths' siege of Adrianople fails.

News of disaster reaches West; Gratian, at Sirmium, gains legal control of the East as the senior surviving Emperor, and recalls bishops exiled by Valens.

Goths ravage Thrace, but are defeated attacking Perinthus and Scythian cavalry drive them back from near Constantinople; Eastern generals Victor and Richomer join Gratian at Sirmium to launch campaign while 'Master of Soldiers' in East, Julius, orders massacre of all Gothic settlers and families so they cannot aid Fritigern.

AD 379 Consul: Ausonius.

East

19 January: Gratian raises Theodosius (aged 31), son of executed Count Theodosius who he recalls from exile at home in Spain, to emperorship of East at Sirmium; Praetorian Praefect of Illyricum Olybrius takes charge of transfer of generals and men to Eastern army and a few months later Gratian returns to Rhine campaign.

July: Based at Thessalonica, Theodosius issues new conscription laws to raise recruits as army is rebuilt; inconclusive campaigning against Fritigern.

September: 153 bishops meet at Antioch to restore Nicene Orthodoxy to churches of the East and expel Arian clergy.

Theodosius enrolls large number of Goths in rebuilt Eastern army; his Gothic defector general Modares wins victory in Thrace and Fritigern's main horde moves west into Illyricum.

Death of Shapur II of Persia, after a life and reign of 70 years; succeeded by his son Ardashir II.

AD 380

East

February: Theodosius issues edict restoring Nicene Orthodoxy in East and declaring it to be sole legitimate faith, as practised by Pope Damasus and Bishop Peter of Alexandria.

February/March: Theodosius critically ill at Thessalonica; baptized by Bishop Acholius.

Gratian campaigns westwards from Sirmium into Pannonia as more Goths invade.

Theodosius campaigns southwards from Sirmium.

Summer/autumn: Theodosius campaigns, largely unsuccessfully, against Fritigern who ravages south-west into Macedonia and then Thessaly; fortified cities hold out but countryside plundered.

November: Theodosius enters Constantinople, supposedly in triumph after successes.

Bishop Demophilus of Constantinople deposed as Arian, and Theodosius summons and installs respected Cappadocian theologian Gregory of Nazianzus as successor; Gregory's inauguration booed by crowds.

Theodosius expels Arian clergy from churches in Constantinople; Arians, ('ultra-Arian') Eunomians and Photinians condemned to banishment.

Miletius installed as Patriarch of Antioch, not pro-Rome rival Paulinus.

West

Trouble in the Church in Spain over the ascetic and Gnostic 'Priscillianist' heresy, established by the layman Priscillian with some support in local Church; a Church Council at Saragossa excommunicates their leader and his Episcopal supporters Instantius and Salvian, but the latter retaliate by making Priscillian Bishop of Avila. Gratian orders the heretics to keep out of churches and towns and denies their bishops their sees, and they journey to Rome in a vain effort to secure Pope's support. Later at Mediolanum Valentinian's 'Master of Offices'

recognizes the Priscillianist bishops.

AD 381

East

Athanasius, Fritigern's Tervingian Goth rival, receives permission to settle his followers inside Empire as allies and **January** is received by Theodosius for state visit to Constantinople; he dies in city and is honoured with a grand funeral.

10 January: Theodosius orders that all churches be served by Orthodox bishops.

May: New 'Oecumenical Council' opens at Constantinople under Patriarch Miletius of Antioch, but no Roman Church representative and Miletius' position questioned; Miletius dies, and Patriarch Gregory of Constantinople proposes restoration of rival Paulinus whereupon he is attacked too, offers resignation, and Theodosius accepts it; Miletius' ally Flavius sent to Antioch, and popular civilian praetor Nectarius (not even baptized) appointed at Constantinople; Gregory retires to Cappadocia.

Nicene Orthodoxy redefined, and Constantinople declared second in rank to Rome in Patriarchates as Imperial capital – not accepted by Damasus.

July: Arian clergy are expelled from all their churches in East, and a list announced of all acceptable, Orthodox bishops.

Theodosius and Gratian's general Bauto drive Fritigern out of Thessaly back to Thrace.

West

Death of Gratian's wife Constantia, last of the House of Constantine; he soon marries Laeta.

AD 382

West

Gratian orders removal of 'Altar of Victory' in Senate House of Rome and abolishes state subsidies to priesthoods.

East

21 February: Valentinian I is reburied at Church of Holy Apostles, Constantinople.

Famine in East. Theodosius declares acceptance of pagan gods' statues permissible only as art.

Theodosius wears down Goths in Balkans, aided by death or deposition of Fritigern, and opens negotiations without any talk of expelling them over Danube due to Roman military weakness.

3 October: Peace signed with Goths by Theodosius' generals Saturninus and Richomer; they are granted Moesia/northern Thrace as settlers, first acceptance of a Germanic people within Roman territory under own leaders.

AD 383 Consuls: Saturninus and Merrobaudes.

Persia

Ardashir II succeeded by elderly ?half-brother, Shapur III.

West

Spring: Magnus Maximus, the Spanish 'Count of Britain' and former subordinate to Theodosius' father in Britain in 367 (allegedly a former household official of the latter according to his enemies), revolts, proclaims himself Emperor, and seizes Britain; he crosses to the mouth of Rhine, wins over garrisons and seizes Trier as capital.

June: Gratian abandons planned Rhaetian campaign and sets out from Verona for Gaul; he confronts Maximus near Paris.

Maximus wins over Gratian's Moorish cavalry after skirmishes; Gratian flees south with 200 cavalry, is caught up at Lugdunum by Maximus' general Andragathus, and surrenders to be promised his life; **25 August** he is stabbed at a banquet, aged 24. Valentinian II, aged 12, and his mother Justina resist at Mediolanum.

Theodosius does not reply to Maximus' envoys offering alliance or war.

Maximus sends envoy Victor to Mediolanum to request Valentinian II to join him at Trier 'like a son' and Justina sends Bishop Ambrose to

Trier **October** to refuse; Justina's army blocks Alpine passes before winter and Maximus accepts continuance of separate regime at Mediolanum.

Gratian's ex-tutor, the aristocratic poet and rhetorician Ausonius, retires from court at Trier to his estate in the Garonne valley.

Maximus announces his support for the Church in attacking Manichaeans and establishes the principle that heresy is a civil crime too and must be prosecuted by the state – probably aimed at Justina's pro-Arian policies in Italy as a bid for official Church support.

The pioneering monastic leader in Gaul, the Pannonian Bishop (St) Martin of Turones (Tours), persuades Maximus' henchman Count Avitianus to release assorted suspects he has rounded up as partisans of Gratian; later Martin visits Maximus at his court at Trier to secure promise of clemency and encourage him to support the Orthodox Church against heretics. Martin allegedly receives support from Maximus' wife – probably Helena 'of the Hosts', of British origin (?daughter of Eudaf/Octavius), as indicated by later Welsh legend.

East

Themistius, leading Christian orator from Antioch, Praefect of Constantinople.

AD 384

West

Valentinian's Frankish general Bauto campaigns against the Alemanni in Rhaetia, but Maximus is suspicious that it is aimed at opening a route to attack him via the upper Rhine and complains.

(St) Augustine, a 31-year-old native of Thagaste in Africa and currently teacher of rhetoric at Carthage, is appointed professor of rhetoric at academy at Mediolanum thanks to the influence of some fellow-Manichaeans at Valentinian II's court.

Nonius Atticus Maximus (a friend of the pagan senatorial leader Symmachus) Praetorian Praefect of Italy, followed by Vettius Agorius Praetextatus who dies before he can assume the consulship in 385.

Ambrose persuades Valentinian to reject a petition from Symmachus

and other leading Roman pagans to restore traditional privileges for the pagan cults at the city which Gratian ended.

The Church Council of Burdigala (Bordeaux) condemns the Priscillianists and dismisses Bishop Instantius; Priscillianists appeal to Maximus who orders an investigation at Trier.

September: Valentinian II's court at Aquileia, possibly for conference with Theodosius.

11 December: Death of Pope Damasus; Siricius elected.

Winter: The Priscillianist leaders are forced to face trial at Trier, and their enemies under the Lusitanian Bishop Ithacius demand their execution; Martin of Turones merely wants them expelled from the churches and no killings, but despite Maximus' promise to that effect the ultra-Orthodox zealots get the case transferred to the harsh Praefect Evodius.

East

Theodosius fails to carry out threatened march to the Rhine to restore Valentinian II's authority and avenge Gratian, but he may advance as far as Aquileia to meet his colleague and Justina.

Shapur sends embassy to Constantinople for peace and offers Theodosius gifts including elephants; in return a Roman embassy goes to Ctesiphon, headed by Theodosius' Vandal general Stilicho.

Theodosius appoints fervently Orthodox 'Praefect of East', fellow-Spaniard Maternus Cynegius; he tours from Syria to Egypt shutting and wrecking temples, e.g. Edessa and Apamea.

AD 385 1 January: Bauto consul; Augustine delivers panegyric on the appointment.

East

Consul: Theodosius' elder son Arcadius, aged ?eight.

? Stilicho marries Theodosius' niece Serena.

? 'Great King' Shapur attacks Armenia.

Militantly anti-pagan Theophilus becomes Patriarch of Alexandria.

West

Ithacius and his zealots accuses Priscillian of encouraging an entourage of loose women, praying naked and other moral crimes, and encourage Maximus to order round-up of all suspects in Spain who can be identified from committing ascetic practices.

Martin fails to save the Priscillianists in Spain from Imperial decision to send armed tribunes there to round them up and is reluctantly persuaded to accept communion with the triumphant persecuting Orthodox clerics; the trial in Trier ends with the death sentence for Priscillian, the poet Latronian, the Gallic hostess Euchrotia and clerks Armenius and Felicissimus; Bishop Instantius is exiled to the Scilly Isles, followed by the writer Tiberian.

AD 386**East**

Maximus' choice of consul, Praefect Flavius Evodius, recognized.

c. 30,000 'Gaethungi' Goths arrive at Danube demanding right to cross into Balkans; Theodosius' general Petronias Probus lures them into setting sail across river, then Roman ships attack and sink them midway; Theodosius and 'Master of Soldiers' Promotus campaign with army to force the rest to submit; Probus given Praefectorian Praefecture of Italy for 387.

Death of Theodosius' wife Aelia Flacilla.

West

25 January: An edict of Valentinian's government, inspired by Justina, gives free right of assembly and churches to Arian congregations; the Orthodox 'Magister Memoriae' Benivolus, a parishioner of bishop Gaudentius of Brescia and ally of Ambrose, resigns in protest.

Maximus' brother Marcellinus visits Valentinian II at Mediolanum/Milan, and Bishop Ambrose sent to Trier in reply; **June** Ambrose is besieged in Milan Cathedral by Justina's Arian troops on her order after he refused to allow them an Arian church at the 'Basilica Portiana'. The government orders fines and arrests of prominent Orthodox

supporters, but eventually backs down to avoid serious civic disorder.

Augustine, whose mother Monica is among Ambrose's congregation who defied Justina in the siege, is converted to Orthodox Christianity after initially considering Neoplatonism; he resigns his chair of rhetoric and goes into 'retreat' at villa at Cassiciacum to readjust his philosophical beliefs to fit in with Orthodox Christianity.

(St) Jerome, an Italian monastic enthusiast, settles at the growing monastic community in Bethlehem.

Maximus agrees to Valentinian's ambassador Dominus' request to lend troops to the army in Pannonia to drive back tribal raids.

AD 387

East

Theodosius makes peace with Persia; Armenia divided under client-princes, but four-fifths of it goes to Persia as new principality of 'Persarmenia' under Bahram Shapur.

Spring: Riots against new taxes in Antioch lead to smashing of imperial statues and portraits, and when 'Count of East' and troops regain control the leaders are executed; Imperial commissioners announce Theodosius has reduced Antioch to status of a village, but after Bishop Flavius and senator Hilarius lead deputation Theodosius repents of anger and cancels order.

West

Easter: Baptism of Augustine in Milan.

Autumn: Maximus suddenly invades Italy and takes Milan; Valentinian II and Justina flee via ship from Aquileia to the East and meet Theodosius at Thessalonica to request aid; Theodosius agrees and marries Justina's daughter Galla.

Maximus appoints Sextus Rusticus Julianus, Gallic friend of Symmachus, as Praefect of Rome.

AD 388 Consul: Maximus (not recognized by Theodosius); welcomed with panegyric at Mediolanum by Symmachus.

East/West

Theodosius gathers army at Thessalonica and discovers plot by German troops; Tatian (Flavius Tatianus Eutolmius, ally of Valens) made Praetorian Praefect of East to succeed Cynegius, and son Proculus Praefect of Constantinople; Severinus 'Count of the Private Treasury' (Res Privatae) and Eutychianus 'Count of the Sacred Largesses'; Theodosius' elder son Arcadius, aged ?11, left in nominal command at the capital.

14 June: Theodosius at Stobi, Macedonia, on the march west; **21 June** at Scupi (Skopje).

Promotus commands cavalry, Timasius infantry, and Richomer 'barbarians' as Theodosius advances via Illyria, where Maximus' brother Marcellinus is defeated at Poetovio and pro-Valentinian Aemona (Ljubljana) is relieved from siege, into Julian Alps; **?August** Theodosius outmanoeuvres Maximus to cross river near Aquileia.

Maximus retreats to Aquileia and is besieged; **?28 August** as the city surrenders he gives himself up and is taken to Theodosius' camp and executed, aged probably in fifties.

Maximus' fleet defeated off Sicily as it tries to intercept the Theodosian fleet bringing Valentinian II back to Italy, and commander Andragathus throws himself overboard; Frankish general Argobastes sent to Trier to arrest and execute Maximus' eldest son Victor, but Theodosius spares Maximus' other relatives who may include son (?Constantine) and daughter (?Severa) by his second wife Helena.

<10 October: Theodosius enters Milan.

Trifolius, former 'Count of the Sacred Largesses' in East (384–5), Praetorian Praefect of Italy and Illyricum and Constantinian, 'Vicar' of Pontica (382–5), Praefect of Gaul; Theodosius resides at Milan and encounters Bishop Ambrose and his staunchly Catholic supporters.

Sextus Aurelius Victor, the historian and former (361) governor of Pannonia, is recalled to be Praefect of Rome.

Autumn: Following the death of his mother Monica, Augustine leaves Italy to set up an ascetic community at his African birthplace, Thagaste.

Fanatical monks pull down Jewish synagogue at Callinicum on River Euphrates, and Theodosius orders their bishop to pay for rebuilding; he corrects this to payment by all citizens, but Ambrose writes to him that God will give him no more victories if he assists Jews; he bans Theodosius from Communion in Milan until rebuilding and enquiry cancelled, and Theodosius gives way despite advice of Eastern commander Timasius.

AD 389

West

Theodosius sends Valentinian II to rule Western provinces (Gaul, Spain, Britain) from Trier, assisted by Frankish Magister Peditum Argobastes.

Ceionius Rufius Albinus, pagan ally of Symmachus, Praefect of Rome (for two years).

13 June–30 August: Theodosius on state visit to Rome; he receives ceremonial reception and a panegyric delivered in Senate House. As part of his reconciliation with the leading aristocrats, he appoints the pagan Nicomachus Flavianus as ‘Quaestor of the Sacred Palace’ and soon Praetorian Praefect of Italy. Theodosius’ powerful adviser Rufinus acquires some relics of Saints Peter and Paul from Bishop Siricius for his private adoration.

AD 390 Consuls: Valentinian II and Neoterius.

East

‘Column of Theodosius’ imported from Egypt to Constantinople.

?Summer: Botheric, Theodosius’ Gothic military commander at Thessalonica, imprisons a popular Greek charioteer for homosexuality so he cannot appear at Games; after Botheric refuses appeal at Games for release he and officers are murdered, and on Theodosius’ orders from Milan the garrison sets on citizens in hippodrome and kills c. 7,000 people; Bishop Ambrose refuses Theodosius entry to cathedral or communion and forces him to do penance for massacre like an ordinary citizen until **December** the crime is regarded as expiated.

Arcadius expels his stepmother Galla from palace in Constantinople in dispute.

AD 391 Symmachus consul, as indication of his favour with Theodosius as the most important leader of the Roman aristocracy despite his paganism.

West/East

Early spring: Theodosius sets out for East via Illyricum, leaving Argobastes as *Magister Utriusque Militiae* ('Master of Horse and Foot') to Valentinian II in Gaul and senior (pagan) aristocrat Nicomachus Flavianus as Praetorian Praefect of Italy, north Africa and Illyricum; anti-pagan legislation arranged.

24 February: Anti-pagan edict issued, banning all sacrifices and entry into or veneration of images in pagan temples, with traditional public ceremonial outlawed; 15 lb of gold fine for higher-ranking offenders.

9 June: Anti-pagan edict bans apostasy from Christianity to paganism on pain of loss of testamentary rights; **16 June:** the February law reissued specifically for Egypt as pagan cults especially strong there.

?Summer: Theodosius' edicts lead to temple-smashing across East, especially in Egypt; Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria leads assault on pagan temples there, and after rioting in the city Theodosius authorizes destruction of pagan headquarters at temple of Serapis; ?remnant of 'Great Library of Alexandria' destroyed too.

Summer: En route to Constantinople, Theodosius fights rebellious Visigoths in Thrace.

Augustine is pressurized by local civic Orthodox enthusiasts at Hippo, Africa, into taking clerical orders as a presbyter there as he is one of the most respected Christian figures in the area; he moves his ascetic community to the city.

AD 392***West***

15 May: Valentinian II found dead at residence at Vienne, aged 21; probably suicide but rumours blame Argobastes who avoids seizing throne.

22 August: Argobastes proclaims his chief secretary Eugenius, a Christian, as Emperor at Lugdunum; attempts to avoid breach with Theodosius and no immediate promotion of paganism.

Eugenius unsuccessfully sends two missions, one of clergy, to Theodosius to obtain recognition.

Argobastes takes Eugenius to Trier and defeats Franks.

East

8 November: Theodosius bans all pagan sacrifice and divination and use of pagan symbols; offenders' houses to be confiscated and huge fines.

Theodosius' fellow Spaniard and 'Master of Offices' Rufinus made consul and Praetorian Praefect, having secured dismissal and exile of predecessor Tatian.

AD 393 Consuls: Theodosius and his nominee Abundantius, as recognized in East.

West/East

Eugenius regards Theodosius as fellow-consul, but he refuses to cooperate and **January** makes younger son Honorius, aged around nine, 'Augustus'.

April: Eugenius and Argobastes arrive in Italy; pagan Nicomachus Flavianus made Praetorian Praefect of Italy and organizes pagan revival, and his son made Praefect of Rome; Ambrose flees from Milan.

September: Symmachus celebrates Games in Rome for his son's quaestorship, but keeps his distance from the rebellious government at Milan despite his pagan sympathies.

New anti-pagan legislation in East implemented and temples closed.

AD 394 Nicomachus Flavianus consul in West (not recognized by Theodosius).

East

Empress Galla dies in childbirth.

Theodosius marches into Illyria with army under Magister Peditum Stilicho (a Vandal married to his niece Serena) and Timasius; he consults hermit John of Lycopolis who says he will be victorious but die in Italy.

End of Olympic Games due to Theodosius' ban.

Flavianus celebrates pagan festivals in Rome, particularly the festival of Cybele (**March**), and the Megalensian Games (**April**), declares a 'Great Year' with indication that the change due in national fortunes every 365 years means that AD 394 is the date when eclipse of Christianity is due (as it is 365 years since Crucifixion), and returns to join Argobastes' army in Julian Alps.

Theodosius confronts Argobastes at the River Frigidus in the Julian Alps.

5 September: Theodosius' army fails to break Western lines and are disheartened; Theodosius spends night in prayer and **6 September** alpine wind blows snow in Westerners' faces and they are defeated, regarded as Divine intervention; Eugenius killed and Argobastes and Flavianus commit suicide.

Stilicho appointed 'Master of Both Services' in the West; Theodosius and Ambrose celebrate with service at Milan cathedral.

Late: Theodosius ? visits Rome and returns to Milan, where he falls ill with dropsy and his younger son Honorius is urgently summoned west from Constantinople; Honorius made co-Emperor of the West.

AD 395

East/West

1 January: Claudian of Alexandria, a rising poet who will soon appear at court as Stilicho's panegyricist, performs poem in public at Rome to celebrate the consulship of the brothers Olybrius and Probinus Anicius,

sons of the immensely wealthy Anician family patriarch Petronius Probus.

17 January: Theodosius attends Games at Milan with the just-arrived Honorius, but dies that night aged 47, leaving Arcadius (aged 17 or 18 and notable for sluggish stupidity) to rule the East under guidance of Rufinus; Stilicho is commander-in-chief and regent of West for 10/11-year-old Honorius.

c. 26 February: Ambrose delivers his funeral oration, 'De Obitu Theodosii', in the presence of Honorius, Stilicho and Theodosius' daughter by Galla, Galla Placidia.

Rufinus fails to engage his daughter to Arcadius, and is regarded with increasing hostility for venality.

27 April: In Rufinus' absence on administrative tour to Antioch, Arcadius marries Eudoxia, daughter of the late Frankish mercenary general Bauto the Frank, who is in the care of Promotus' widow Marsa; the prime mover in the episode is the ambitious eunuch chamberlain Eutropius.

Stilicho pays a visit to the Rhine defences.

Alaric, now Gothic 'King', marches his troops on Constantinople and has secret meeting with Rufinus near walls; he ravages Thrace and marches into Thessaly, allegedly intending to secure control of the Praefecture of Illyricum (which both Western and Eastern Empires claim) for Rufinus to thwart Stilicho's claims.

Stilicho, bringing Theodosius I's Eastern troops home from Italy, arrives in Thessaly to confront Alaric and tries to secure Western control of all Illyricum Praefecture (including Greece); Arcadius and Rufinus are alarmed.

Stilicho traps Alaric in the Peneius valley, but Arcadius orders him to call off campaign and return to Italy.

Stilicho returns to Italy, and his ally Gainas the Goth leads Eastern levies back to Constantinople where **27 November** at reception outside walls they murder Rufinus, presumably on Stilicho's orders; Eutropius secures influence over Arcadius.

Huns cross the Caucasus while most Eastern troops are in Europe

and ravage Syria and Cilicia, blockading Antioch and raiding through Orontes valley as far as Phoenicia, as reported by St Jerome at Bethlehem; they besiege Tyre.

Meropius Pontius Paulinus, one of the leading landowners around Bordeaux and a member of Ausonius' cultured circle, abandons his estates under the influence of Christian asceticism and journeys to Campania to settle at Nola, where he has been establishing a shrine to the local St Felix since his term as governor of the province c. 381.

AD 396

East/West

Alaric passes Thermopylae without resistance from 'proconsul' governor Antiochus, ravages Boeotia except for fortified Thebes, and ravages Attica but accepts invitation to dinner in Athens in return for sparing city; he sacks sanctuary at Eleusis; he burns Corinth and Argos and ravages the valley of Eurotas including Sparta; the humiliation to the Eastern Empire of his ravaging of heartland of their Greek culture draws comment from St Jerome and others.

Eutropius has his former employer Abundantius banished to Pityus, Pontus, and seizes his wealth.

Eutropius gets ex-Magister Peditum Timasius' client Bargus to accuse him of treason; after a dubious trial he is banished to Libya and wealth seized, and Eutropius then ruins Bargus too.

Augustine becomes Bishop of Hippo, having been co-opted by his predecessor Valerius into accepting the co-adjutorship in 395.

Arcadius orders demolition of pagan temples.

AD 397

West/East

Deaths of (St) Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, and (St) Martin, Bishop of Turones/Tours.

Stilicho leads Western expedition to Greece and blockades Alaric on Mount Pholoe in Elis, but is declared a public enemy by Senate at Constantinople for not seeking their permission for the campaign.

Hearing that Gildo, the Moorish Count' who has been commander in north Africa since 393, is negotiating with Arcadius to transfer allegiance to East, Stilicho negotiates with Alaric, lets him escape to Epirus, and **July** ?returns to Rome to announce Gildo's treason to Senate; Symmachus warns him that if he declares war Gildo will cut off corn supplies to Rome and cause riots, so Stilicho imports corn from Gaul instead.

Gildo openly defies Stilicho and cuts off corn supplies to Rome, but his brother Mascezel defects to Stilicho.

(or early 398) Eutropius reaches agreement with Alaric in Epirus, making him Eastern Magister Peditum in Illyricum with lands for his followers in northern Epirus.

? Eutropius makes Gainas the Goth Magister Peditum in East, but this German triumph is resented by aristocracy in capital.

September: Death of Patriarch Nectarius of Constantinople; Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria puts forward his candidate Isidore, but Eutropius persuades Theophilus to back off with warnings of possibility of investigation of his dubious political dealings; Eutropius secures election of dynamic Antiochene priest, the zealous ascetic ex-hermit John '*Chrysostom*' (Golden Mouth), who is smuggled out of Antioch by Praefect Asterius to avoid trouble from populace who do not want to lose him.

Augustine writes his *Confessions*, an account of his journey to conversion to Orthodoxy.

AD 398

East

26 February: Consecration of John '*Chrysostom*' as Patriarch of Constantinople; his fiery sermons against wealth and vanity make admirers and enemies.

John organizes counter-demonstrations of the Orthodox faithful in capital to challenge the intimidating hymn-singing parades of Arian congregations; Eudoxia supports him and lends attendant Briso to organize his choirs; after Arians retaliate with stone throwing the Emperor bans all their parades; Eudoxia joins in John's procession to

translate relics from Hagia Sophia cathedral to suburban church of St Thomas in Drypia and is commended by him in sermon.

Eutropius conducts successful campaign against barbarian raiders from Caucasus who are ravaging Cappadocia.

West

Stilicho marries Honorius to his daughter Maria.

Mascezel leads Western forces to Africa and defeats Gildo, who tries to sail to East but ship is driven back so **31 July** he kills himself; on return to Milan Mascezel dies in 'accident' as bridge collapses, rumours blaming Stilicho.

The Donatist Churches in Africa are persecuted for supporting Gildo.
Serious Irish and Caledonian/Pictish raiding on Britain.

Stilicho refuses to accept Arcadius' nomination of Eutropius for the 399 consulship.

AD 399 Eutropius consul with Stilicho's nominee Flavius Manlius Theodorus, a distinguished Gallic literary patron who was formerly Praefect of Gaul, Count of the Privy Purse (*Res Privatae*) (380), and Praetorian Praefect under Gratian.

Persia

Accession of Yazdegerd I as 'Great King'.

East

Consul: Eutropius, which is much resented.

19 January: Birth of Arcadius and Eudoxia's second but eldest surviving daughter Pulcheria.

Summer: Revolt of Theodosius I's Ostrogothic settlers in Phrygia under Tribigild, a commander bitter at refusal of promotion and at Eutropius' insults, postpones Arcadius' holiday visit to Ancyra; Gainas and general Leo sent to suppress their pillaging, but Gainas secretly allies to Tribigild against Eutropius and as rebels head for Pamphylia Gainas saves them from Leo's ambush; Gainas insists that Tribigild's

demand for Eutropius' dismissal be met, and Empress Eudoxia complains to Arcadius of Eutropius' insolence after he told her that he brought her into Palace and could just as easily have her evicted.

August: Eutropius takes sanctuary in Hagia Sophia, where John protects him but forces him to listen to sermon denouncing his greed and vanity, and is dismissed and exiled to Cyprus; soon recalled for trial and executed at Chalcedon.

Praetorian Praefect Eutygian dismissed too; Aurelian's appointment annoys Gainas.

West

January: Claudian delivers a panegyric for the consul Thoedorus at the court at Milan.

<**June:** Nicomachus Flavianus is rehabilitated after his support of Eugenius following a visit to court at Milan, and has his Praefecture of Rome restored.

Stilicho campaigns in Britain, and drives back the Irish raiders of Western coasts and the Caledonians who have presumably crossed or circumvented Hadrian's Wall; he probably carries out the final reorganization of the province's defences to strengthen the frontier *limitanei*.

Imperial officials tour Africa confiscating Donatist churches and shrines, encouraged by Augustine; a Church Council meets at Carthage in failed attempt to organize reunion with the obdurate Donatists who still refuse to recognize the validity of episcopal succession from any bishops who compromised under the persecution 90 years earlier.

26 November: Death of Pope Siricius; **27 November** Anastasius elected.

East

Gainas encamps at Chalcedon, and Arcadius has to call on him and accept his demand to be made 'Master of Both Services', supreme military commander; he condescends to accept John's mediation and abandon demand for execution of his leading opponents Aurelian and Saturninus who flee court.

AD 400 Consuls: Stilicho and Aurelian.

East

9 January: Eudoxia crowned ‘Augusta’; Aurelian consul of East but not present in capital due to fear of Gainas, and brother Caesarius Praetorian Praefect.

January – ?July: Gainas resident in Constantinople with his army of Goths, and clashes with citizens; his agents fail to steal the contents of City banks as hidden, and Patriarch refuses him use of church for his Arian soldiers.

12 July: Gainas leaves capital to attend services at Arian church at Hebdoman in suburbs, and orders army to follow in sections to prevent violence but a clash with citizens leads to general assault and massacre; Gainas and survivors plunder Thrace, march to Hellespont but are unable to cross and face Fravitta’s loyalists who sink their rafts, and retreat; Gainas flees to Danube and **December** killed there by Uldin’s Huns; his head is sent to Arcadius.

West

January: Claudian delivers a panegyric for Stilicho’s consulship to the court in Milan, referring to his victories in Britain.

AD 401

East

Fravitta given consulship, but resented as pagan and ‘barbarian’ and later executed.

Criticism grows of John ‘Chrysostom’, especially over his attitude to women which alienates several of Empress Eudoxia’s closest friends.

10 April: Birth of Arcadius and Eudoxia’s son Theodosius (II); baptism at Hagia Sophia with grand ceremonial, and Eudoxia assists Bishop Porphyrius of Gaza (Palestine) to obtain Imperial funds for a new church there after Arcadius refused by pretend appeal to the new prince.

John soon leaves capital to investigate simony charges against Bishop Antonius of Ephesus, and tours western Anatolia where he

dismisses 13 bishops; Bishop Severian of Gabala in charge of his church in absence.

?August: John returns to Constantinople and quarrels with Severian who is facing charges of heresy from deacon Serapion; he requires Severian to leave for diocese, and the bishop complains to Eudoxia who persuades John to recall him and accept innocence.

West

Autumn: Stilicho campaigns in Rhaetia to drive back Vandal invaders and raise army recruits.

Alaric invades northern Italy and **November** approaches Milan, Imperial residence, as Honorius flees to the seaport of Ravenna on Adriatic; Stilicho returns from campaign against Germans in Rhaetia across the Alps to campaign in the upper Po valley and Alaric leaves the Milan area to face him near Turin.

19 December: Death of Pope Anastasius; **21 December** his son Innocent elected successor.

East

Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria holds synod to condemn heretical views of third-century theologian Origen, and concentrates on the desert monks at Nitria oasis and their leaders the four 'Tall Brothers'; he evicts them and sacks monasteries, then when they settle in Palestine demands their expulsion by bishops.

AD 402

West

24 February: Symmachus is received by Honorius on his final visit to Imperial court, restored to Milan on Stilicho's return; he dies soon after his return to Rome.

6 April: Stilicho attacks and routs the Goths in camp at Pollentia while they are celebrating Easter; Alaric rallies the survivors and Stilicho accepts him as Magister Peditum in Illyricum in return for withdrawal there.

Autumn: Honorius moves the Imperial court permanently to the more easily defensible Ravenna.

East

John receives the 'Nitrian' leaders with honour in Constantinople and lodges them at Church of St Anastasia; their piety impresses Eudoxia who persuades Arcadius to summon a synod to investigate their complaints against Theophilus; Theophilus summoned to answer.

Bishop Epiphanius of Cyprus, Theophilus' ally, holds a synod to condemn Origen's writings, and Theophilus asks him to go to Constantinople on his behalf.

AD 403

West

Alaric invades north-east Italy again; besieges Verona, is defeated by Stilicho, and is granted peace in lenient treaty as a useful ally.

Stilicho withdraws some troops from Britain and Rhaetia to meet the threat to Italy.

East

Theophilus excommunicates 'Nitrian' leaders and censures John; Epiphanius goes to Constantinople at his instigation, insists that John censure 'Nitrians', and boycotts cathedral until they are evicted, but cannot obtain satisfaction and John insists a 'General Council' alone can rule on Origen; Epiphanius leaves to die exhausted **12 May** on voyage home.

Eudoxia, offended by John's behaviour and in particular sermon against women, supports Theophilus as he arrives in capital with supporters, including Bishops Severian of Gabala and Antiochus of Ptolemais/Acre who hate John, to answer John's accusations. John refuses to lead enquiry into incidents in another diocese (i.e. Theophilus'); Theophilus and his supporters secretly meet at Chalcedon to draw up charges against him.

Synod meets at 'The Oak', Rufinus' palace near Chalcedon, and Egyptian bishops and archdeacon John lead accusations against the Patriarch including gluttony, arrogance, abuse of power, intrigues and corruption; he refuses to attend or to accept verdict of any trial not carried out by 'General Council' and is deposed in absence ?**June** and Arcadius announces his banishment.

Populace gather at Hagia Sophia to protect John who holds out for three days and preaches sermons calling Eudoxia 'Jezebel'; to avoid bloodshed he leaves at night and is deported to Praenetus in Bithynia.

July: Populace demand John's return, and opportune earthquake terrifies Eudoxia; she sends plea to him to return and he does so, paying compliments to her in subsequent sermon.

Preparations for 'General Council' of Eastern bishops at John's request, but Theophilus returns home as his and John's supporters clash in streets; **November:** John protests at 'pagan' ceremonies, music and dancing to inaugurate new statue of Eudoxia in Augusteum square during his service in adjoining Hagia Sophia; Eudoxia takes it as affront and he makes matters worse by calling her 'Herodias' demanding 'John's' head in sermon.

Arcadius and Eudoxia refuse to celebrate Christmas in Hagia Sophia with John as no communion with him advisable till Council decides on his status; bishops start to gather for Council.

AD 404

West

Stilicho celebrates triumph at Rome with Honorius; during Games the monk Telemachus is reputedly killed protesting at gladiatorial combat, which is abolished.

East

Early: Council of Church in East meets, with Theophilus not present but supporters using argument of 341 Council of Antioch that if bishop deposed by synod and appeals to Emperor latter's verdict should be irrevocable; however, that Council was tainted with Arianism and as

Arcadius insists that its canons be accepted the meeting does agree to remove John.

Arcadius deposes John again; **Good Friday, 15 April** 40 bishops address Arcadius and Eudoxia at Church of Forty Martyrs urging John's restoration for the Easter baptism of catechumens in cast; the disappointed crowds riot and he relents but insists John should not enter Hagia Sophia at Easter in case of disorder; **16 April** at night soldiers evict the huge crowds gathering at the Cathedral for baptisms, and clergy reassemble them at Baths of Constantine but evicted again; **Easter, 17 April** service held in field; John refuses to leave his episcopal palace for exile as deposition should be by God not Emperor.

20 June: Synod deposes John.

25 June: The late Patriarch Nectarius' brother Arsacius, ineffectual, made Patriarch.

John reluctantly leaves Constantinople after Imperial orders supported by his episcopal enemies; a fire breaks out that night (presumably arson) and Hagia Sophia and Senate House are destroyed; his supporters are blamed and punished and he is deported to Cucusus in Armenia.

Pope Innocent condemns John's deposition and refuses to accept Arsacius as Patriarch.

6 October: Eudoxia dies of miscarriage; new Praetorian Praefect Anthemius heads government in name of weak-minded Arcadius.

Arbazacius suppresses Isaurian bandits but accepts bribe not to punish them.

AD 405

East

?Arcadius imprisons Honorius' envoys sent to protest at John Chrysostom's treatment.

West

Stilicho's second consulship; he makes Jovius Praefect of Illyricum with intention that he should cooperate with Alaric and the Goths against the Eastern Empire.

?Autumn: Radagaisus and horde of Ostrogoths from Pannonia invade Italy, and bypass Stilicho's headquarters at Ticinum to start ravaging Italy. Stilicho asks Uldin the Hun to help.

Honorius issues edict against 'Donatists'.

AD 406

East

Atticus succeeds Arsacius as Patriarch of Constantinople.

West

The troops in Britain make the obscure Marcus 'Augustus' in revolt against Honorius; he is soon murdered and succeeded by a civilian, Gratian.

Ostrogoths ravage northern Italy and besiege Florence but are cornered by Stilicho at Fiesole near Florence and **23 August** defeated and slaughtered; Radagaisus captured and executed and 12,000 survivors join Western army.

Rebellion of Marcus in Britain; he is murdered and replaced by civilian Gratian.

Stilicho breaks off relations with East and closes Italian ports to Eastern shipping in retaliation for arrest of Honorius' envoys.

31 December: Horde of Germanic tribes, led by the Vandals and including the Alans and the Suebi, crosses Rhine at Moguntiacum/Mainz; the end of old Western frontier.

AD 407

East

Death of Isaac the Syrian, founding abbot of the first important monastery in Constantinople (at Psamathia).

West

The Germans ravage Gaul, with no indication to the dismayed inhabitants of north-western provinces that Stilicho is about to send troops to deal with the attack.

Stilicho prepares to invade Illyricum and annex it to Western Empire, and alliance with Alaric's Visigoths organized; Stilicho is preparing fleet at Ravenna when he hears false story that Alaric is dead and attacks halted.

Revolt of Constantine III, private soldier, as candidate of British armies; Gratian is murdered, and Constantine leads British troops (probably most of the Roman army stationed there) into Gaul to fight the invaders and relieve besieged cities; he secures northern and eastern Gaul but other tribes press on towards Pyrenees.

Stilicho sends Sarus the Goth against Constantine, who advances to Vienne on the Rhone; Sarus kills two of Constantine's generals and besieges Vienne but has to retreat back across the Alps.

Alaric starts march westwards through Illyricum towards heart of the Western Empire.

14 September: John Chrysostom dies at Pityus in Pontus, under military escort on his way into further exile.

AD 408

West/East

Alaric moves into Noricum and forces Empire to pay him 8,000 lb of gold for his services; Stilicho has to go to Rome with Honorius to request that the Senate vote funds for paying Alaric off and is at first defied as they vote for war instead. He eventually secures the money, but is openly criticized for allying with barbarians by Flavius Manlius Theodorus' brother Lampadius (who then seeks sanctuary).

Honorius, widowed, marries Stilicho's younger daughter Thermantia.

May: Death of Arcadius, aged probably 31; Theodosius II succeeds, aged seven, under regency of Praetorian Praefect Anthemius; Arcadius nominates Yazdegerd of Persia as his protector.

West

Constantine sends his son Constans, a former monk, as 'Caesar' with the general Gerontius and Praetorian Praefect Apollinaris into Spain to deal with raiding Germans and local relatives of Theodosius who may

mount a counter-attack in aid of Honorius; two of the latter, Didymus and Theodosiolus, are executed but others escape.

Constans sets up his headquarters at Caesaraugusta (Saragossa).

May: Hearing of Arcadius' death, Honorius wants to go to Constantinople but Stilicho persuades him to let him go as new Regent and to send Alaric against Constantine III; Stilicho's enemies decide to bring him down and stir up mutiny among troops alleging Stilicho wants his son Eucherius to rule East; at Ticinum during Imperial visit, **13 August** minister Olympius rouses troops to revolt against Stilicho as a traitor, and Stilicho's principal supporters, including ex-Praetorian Praefect Limenius and general Chariobaudes, are seized and executed; 'Master of Offices' Naemorius and Praetorian Praefect of Italy Flavius Macrobius Longinianus are lynched in a subsequent riot.

Stilicho, at Bononia (Bologna), refuses entreaties of soldiers to revolt but Sarus the Goth leads loyal troops in night attack on his Hun bodyguard; Stilicho flees, goes to Ravenna, and as Olympius' troops under Count Heraclian arrive he takes refuge in church but **23 August** is persuaded to surrender with promise that his life is to be spared and is executed; son Eucherius killed at Rome and Honorius divorces daughter Thermantia.

The chief notary Peter and the chamberlain Deuterius are among the pro-Stilicho ministers who are executed in 'purge' of court; Manlius Theodorus' son, the younger Theodorus, is made Praetorian Praefect and Nicomachus Flavianus is soon made Praefect of Rome for a third term.

Government orders massacre of German mercenaries' families; most of the Germans escape to Alaric urging revenge and **autumn** he marches on Rome.

East

Famine in Constantinople due to lack of ships to transport corn from Egypt; rioting mobs burn City Praefect Monaxius' house; Anthemius and the Senate secure corn from elsewhere to ease problems.

?Uldin the Hun threatens Moesia from Danube, but his tribes bribed to desert.

West

October/November: Alaric reaches and besieges Rome, which suffers famine due to food supplies being cut off but is assisted by the efforts of Emperor Gratian's wealthy widow Laeta; the authorities have Stilicho's widow Serena killed in a riot as they suspect she might assist the attackers.

AD 409**East**

Anthemius reforms Constantinople's corn supply to prevent further riots.

West

Honorius reluctantly sends Constantine III Imperial insignia as his colleague in response to an embassy, and they share the 409 consulship.

The Senate is forced to open negotiations with Alaric, and City Praefect Gabinius Pompeianus, encouraged by a group of pagans from Narnia who claim that saying the old prayers to the gods caused a thunderstorm that frightened off Goths, secures Bishop Innocent's permission to consult the banned pagan 'Sibylline Books' on what can be expected to happen and what to do to alleviate crisis; he is later lynched in a food riot.

Alaric demands all wealth and all slaves from Senate envoys Basilius and John, but is persuaded to reduce demands to 5,000 lb of gold, 30,000 lb of silver, 3,000 lb. of pepper, and other items; he allows the Romans to go through his siege lines to Ostia to collect food, and is paid off with the pagan gods' statues being stripped of precious metals.

The Senate sends a delegation to Ravenna requesting that Honorius ratify their treaty, but he refuses and keeps member Caecilian with him as the new Praetorian Praefect; Priscus Attalus, another member (of Antiochene descent and son of Publius Ampelius, governor of Achaia and Africa and Praefect of Rome in 372), is made 'Count of the Sacred Largesses' and sent back to Rome with 6,000 Guardsmen to reinforce

the city, but the troops are attacked by Alaric for breaching the terms of his truce and most are killed.

Alaric marches on Ravenna, joined by c. 40,000 slaves who stream out of Rome to take refuge with his army; his brother-in-law Athaulf brings reinforcements from Danube but is defeated at Pisa.

Alaric sends demands for rule of Noricum to Honorius via a delegation of senators, but it is rejected; Olympius' government summons army from Dalmatia under Valens but they are defeated and Olympius is deposed and exiled in plot by Palace eunuchs; <1 **April** Praetorian Praefect Jovius, formerly in command in Illyricum and there friendly with Alaric on behalf of his master Stilicho, becomes chief minister. Attalus is made Praefect of Rome.

Gennerid, loyal commander in Noricum, sends 10,000 Hun mercenaries to Ravenna to aid the government.

Jovius instigates a mutiny of the Guard regiments to force Honorius to arrest two generals and two chief eunuchs who oppose him; the latter are exiled to Constantinople but the generals are murdered despite safe conduct, and Allobich becomes the new commander of Guard and has the chamberlain Eusebius executed.

Alaric returns to Rome to intimidate the Senate into handing over more loot and supporting his terms for alliance with government.

Alaric sends Pope Innocent and other envoys to Ravenna, with Gothic escort against bandits; Jovius meets them at Rimini and puts their proposals to Honorius, suggesting that Alaric be made Magister Utriusque Militiae, but the Emperor refuses terms and Jovius cannot compel him and has to announce the failure to Alaric who is furious and threatens to sack Rome.

September: The Germans cross the Pyrenees despite Constans' garrisons and start plundering Tarraconensis; Constantine III plans to send Constans back from his court at Arles, possibly now as 'Augustus', but before the latter can leave they hear that Gerontius has revolted at Tarraco and proclaimed his client Maximus as Emperor.

Autumn: Alaric returns to Rome, asks the Senate to join him in war against Honorius, and on their refusal seizes Ostia and blockades Rome

to compel Senate to proclaim his nominee Attalus, the City Praefect, as Emperor with himself as his Magister Utriusque Militiae.

Attalus is installed in Imperial Palace, assisted by Alaric's brother-in-law Athaulf as 'Count of Domestics' (commander of Guard), the ex-envoy John as 'Master of Offices', Lampadius as Praetorian Praefect, and Marcianus as Praefect of Rome, and promises restoration of Empire; he accompanies Alaric in march on Ravenna to attempt to depose Honorius, and Bononia (Bologna) resists but Milan joins rebels.

Attalus sends Constans to secure Africa and corn supply but he is defeated and killed.

AD 410

West

Honorius' ministers Jovius, 'Master of Soldiers' Valens, and Julian the chief notary visit Alaric's camp to offer division of West between Honorius and Attalus; it is refused and they desert Honorius.

Four thousand Eastern troops arrive at Ravenna to rally Honorius; Count Heraclian, commander at Carthage, refuses to supply corn to rebel Rome.

Attalus visits Rome to organise another expedition to Africa, but quarrels with Alaric over the latter's attempt to have his protégé Druma sent there.

Honorius appoints Sarus the Goth, hereditary foe of Alaric's family who is currently operating in Picenum independently of the main Gothic force, military commander at Ravenna after he defeats Alaric's brother Athaulf in a skirmish; Alaric advances on Ravenna and deposes Attalus at Rimini, but is defeated in skirmish by Sarus and marches back to Rome.

?Summer: Constantine III enters Italy to put pressure on Honorius but his ally at court, commander Allobichus, is murdered and he withdraws; Gerontius crosses the Pyrenees to invade Gaul and enlists invading barbarians as allies.

23 October: Slaves open the gates of Rome to Alaric (principally the Porta Salaria).

23–26 August: Sack of Rome by the Visigoths, with looting and massacres, and many citizens flee to Africa including Gratian's widow Laeta and her family; also Pelagius, the British (possibly of Irish descent according to Jerome's abuse of him) leader of new heretic sect ('Pelagians') who is achieving notoriety in the city for his attacks on predestination and the immorality of wealth; among the Goths' many prisoners is Galla Placidia, the Emperor's half-sister (aged about 22), who is carried off as a hostage.

In Africa, Pelagius enters into theological debate with Augustine before departing for Jerusalem leaving his lieutenant Celestius in command of the sect in Carthage; the refugee Anician family heiress Demetrias becomes a nun instead of marrying, to the delight of Pelagius and Jerome; the governor, Count Heraclian, runs a trade in refugee girls as prostitutes.

Alaric carries off captives and a train of loot from Rome, and marches south through Italy, plundering en route.

Planning to cross to Sicily, Alaric loses new fleet in storm and **?December** dies at Consentia; he is buried in diverted river-bed and succeeded by brother-in-law Athaulf.

The British provincial governors or civic authorities probably withdraw support from Constantine III as his cause fails, expel his partisans and send request for aid to Honorius.

Honorius is supposed to have written to the British authorities in reply, ordering them to look to their own defences (assuming that the letter was addressed to Britain not 'Brittania' in Italy); this is regarded as marking the 'end of Roman rule' in Britain but the army probably mostly left with Constantine III in 407. It seems, however, that no more troops or officials were sent to Britain thereafter.

East

Patriarch of Alexandria consecrates the renowned orator and philosopher Synesius, ex-pupil at Athens and envoy from his home-town to Constantinople in 399, as Bishop of the 'Pentapolis' to secure his services for Orthodox Christianity.

AD 411***West***

Gerontius advances against Constantine III, captures his son Constans at Vienne and executes him though Praetorian Praefect Decimus Rusticus escapes to the Rhine, and besieges Constantine in Arles; he retreats to Spain as Honorius' new Magister Utriusque Militiae; Flavius Constantius and Ulfila the Goth lead Imperial army into Provence.

?June: Constantius besieges Constantine III in Arles for three months; the rebel's Frankish general Ebodich arrives from Rhine with Frank and Alemanni reinforcements but is defeated, flees to his local friend Ecdicius' estate, and is killed by him; as the city surrenders Constantine flees to sanctuary and gives himself up on promise that life will be spared.

September: Constantine taken to Ravenna as prisoner and executed; Gerontius' troops revolt and besiege his headquarters and he kills himself.

Gundohar the Burgundian and Goar the Alan support the revolt of Jovinus on the Rhine.

Church Council at Carthage, sponsored and led by Augustine and other leading Orthodox bishops, fails to reach agreement with the Donatists and recommends their suppression to Honorius.

?Large-scale Saxon and Caledonian/Pictish raids on Britain after the Roman abandonment of the province, which the local civic authorities and tribal rulers fight off; according to later Welsh legend the succeeding period of peace sees the emergence of a supreme ruler in Britain, the 'over-king' Constantine 'the Blessed' (son of Emperor Magnus Maximus by his second wife Helena), and of his brother-in-law 'Vortigern' ('Over-King'), married to Maximus' daughter Severa and ruler of Powys (central Wales and the Marches). Lacking any coinage following the Roman withdrawal, Constantine's existence cannot be ascertained.

AD 412***East***

Fortifications of Illyrian cities restored.

West

Spring: Athaulf and Visigoths, with Placidia and Attalus as captives, enter southern Gaul, while Jovinus and his barbarian allies secure northern provinces.

Athaulf negotiates with Jovinus' rebels in northern Gaul, but breaks off after they are joined by his enemy Sarus; he defeats and kills Sarus.

Jovinus makes his brother Sebastian his co-Emperor.

East

October: Death of Patriarch Theophilus of Alexandria; succeeded **18 October** by equally forceful and unscrupulous nephew Cyril.

AD 413**West**

Athaulf makes alliance with Western government against Jovinus, and defeats and executes Sebastian; he besieges Jovinus in Valence and on its fall hands him over to Praetorian Praefect Dardanus for execution; lack of the corn supplies which Athaulf demands for his army due to African revolt means that Honorius is unable to supply him, and revives breach between Athaulf and Rome; Athaulf tries to take Massilia but is driven off by Count Bonifacius/Boniface and wounded.

Heraclian sails to invade Italy, lands at Ostia but is defeated, returns to Africa to face revolt, and **summer** is captured and executed at Carthage.

St Augustine commences *Civitas Dei* ('City of God') at Hippo.

Athaulf takes Narbonne as his new headquarters.

East

Celestius the 'Pelagian', driven out of Africa as excommunicated, preaches at Ephesus.

Praefect Anthemius starts to construct the gigantic triple land-walls of Constantinople, the 'Theodosian Wall', west of new suburbs (untaken till 1204).

Tension between Patriarch Cyril and the Jews in Alexandria, and

between Cyril and pagan Praefect Orestes over the latter's arrest of leading 'Cyrillite' troublemaker at the Games at instigation of Jews; a mob of militant Jews stages coordinated massacre of Christian citizens.

AD 414

West

January: Athaulf marries his hostage Galla Placidia at Narbonne at suggestion of his Roman adviser Candidianus, with the ex-emperor Attalus serenading them at the wedding-feast; their son Theodosius is born and dies; Constantius refuses to negotiate and starts a naval blockade of Narbonne, so Athaulf proclaimed Attalus Emperor again and sets up a puppet regime for him with Ausonius' grandson Paulinus as Comes Res Privatae; **?late** Constantius advances from Arles on Narbonne, and forces the Visigoths over Pyrenees into Spain. The local Gothic garrison sacks Burdigala (Bordeaux) before leaving.

East

Pelagius quarrels with Jerome in Palestine; Celestius goes to Constantinople to seek support but is expelled by Patriarch Atticus.

4 July: Death of Praefect Anthemius of Constantinople, regent of the East; Theodosius' 15-year-old sister Pulcheria takes vow of virginity and assumes control of government as 'Augusta', with 'Master of Offices' Helio; she turns the palace into centre of pious endeavour, aided by sisters Arcadia and Marina.

Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria closes heretic Novationist churches, and exceeds authority in expelling Jews from city and inciting riotous followers to seize their property; Cyril's enemy, Praefect Orestes, complains to the government, is stoned by Cyril's militant Nitrian monks, and executes their leader Ammonius who Cyril declares a 'martyr'.

AD 415

East

March: Patriarch Cyril's lay-brother attendants attack Praefect Orestes' pagan philosopher friend Hypatia, female head of philosophy at

University of Alexandria (in succession to her father Theon), drag her from carriage in street and cut her to pieces; outrage leads to government sending commission of enquiry under Aedesius.

10 October: Inauguration of the new cathedral of Hagia Sophia.

West

Summer: Athaulf murdered in stable at his new headquarters, Tarraco or Barcelona, by former servant of his enemy Sarus in blood-feud; Sarus' brother Sigeric seizes power and slaughters Athaulf's family but is killed after a week; Athaulf's brother Wallia takes over and leads Goths down Mediterranean coast into Baetica.

December: Pelagius criticized by Palestinian council of bishops at Diosopolis but escapes condemnation.

AD 416

West/East

Wallia, based in southern Spain, plans to invade Africa; his fleet is wrecked off Gibraltar and he opens negotiations with Constantius.

Wallia signs peace with Constantius, and returns Galla Placidia who Constantius escorts back to her brother, and Attalus.

Church Councils of Carthage and Milevia (Numidia) denounce Pelagius and Celestius as heretics and ask authorities at Rome and Ravenna to ban the 'Pelagians'.

29 September: Eastern laws limiting number of Patriarch Cyril's attendants to 500 and banning their political involvement, in response to Hypatia's murder.

7 December: Pagans banned from high civil office in East and West.

AD 417

West

1 January: Honorius and Constantius consuls; Placidia marries Constantius.

27 January: Pope Innocent declares Pelagius and Celestius excommunicate unless they return to Orthodoxy on question of Divine grace.

12 March: Death of Pope Innocent; **18 March:** Greek presbyter Zosimus, protégé of John 'Chrysostom', elected and weakens hostility to 'Pelagians'; after receiving Celestius and receiving Pelagius' letters he declares that they are not heretics, but Catholic bishops in Africa lead protests.

1 May: Council of Carthage condemns 'Pelagians'.

East

Mob attacks Jerome's monasteries in Jerusalem and Bethlehem; Zosimus protests.

St Simeon 'Stylites' ascends his first column at Telanissos near Antioch.

AD 418

East

Count Plintha's revolt in Palestine suppressed.

3 February: Cyril gets his legislation against his attendants reversed.

West

30 April: Honorius issues edict condemning 'Pelagians'; Zosimus has to agree.

Annual assembly of representatives of Gallic provinces in Arles arranged.

Constantius settles Visigoths under Wallia in Aquitaine: a new client-kingdom within the Roman Empire with formal Gothic settlement on land which requires the local landowners to hand over a third of their land to them; Toulouse (Tolosa) is the capital.

26 December: Death of Bishop Zosimus of Rome; **27 December** a minority of clergy elect archdeacon Eulalius, but **28 December** rival majority elects Boniface; both consecrated by factions, and Praefect Symmachus writes in support of Eulalius who Honorius initially recognizes; Placidia supports Boniface.

Germanus, aristocratic local 'dux' (military commander) and former law student in Rome, is chosen by Bishop Amator of Auxerre as his

successor despite his secular habits, gives up his hunting to live a life of austerity, and becomes a prominent local Orthodox cleric and moral example.

Possible Roman expedition to Britain from Gaul, according to late and unreliable literary sources.

AD 419

West

Honorius summons Boniface and Eulalius to synod at Ravenna, which fails to decide on rightful 'Pope'; both ordered to stay out of Rome pending June synod's decision but Eulalius refuses so **3 April** Honorius recognizes Boniface.

July: Birth of Constantius' and Placidia's son Valentinian III.

Theodoric succeeds his father Wallia as King of Visigoths in Gaul.

AD 420

East/Persia

Death of 'Great King' Yazdegerd of Persia, succeeded by son Bahram; after a recent attack by Christian bishop on 'pagan' Zoroastrian fire-altar Bahram instigates persecution of Christians, and Theodosius receives pleas for aid and declares war.

Death of (St) Jerome at Bethlehem.

AD 421

West

8 February: Honorius makes Constantius co-Emperor and 'Augustus'; Theodosius and Pulcheria refuse to acknowledge him.

East

Athenais, daughter of late pagan Athenian philosopher Leontius, comes to Constantinople to argue inheritance law-suit against brothers; Pulcheria is impressed when hears her and selects her as wife for her brother, and insists on converting her to Christianity first.

Theodosius II transfers ecclesiastical control of eastern Illyricum

(Balkans) from papacy to Patriarchate of Constantinople; temporarily suspended at Papal request.

Patriarch Atticus baptizes Athenais as 'Eudocia' and **7 June** she marries Theodosius II.

West

2 September: Death of Constantius III, aged around 45; Placidia secures rank of 'Nobilissimus' for their son Valentinian but his position as heir not certain.

East

Eastern army under Ardaburius fights Persians in Mesopotamia and relieves siege of Amida.

Praefect Aetius builds large cistern in Constantinople.

Juvenal becomes Patriarch of Jerusalem.

AD 422

West

Castinus, new Magister Peditum in West, attacks Vandal-occupied Baetica (Spain) but is defeated.

4 September: Death of Pope Boniface; **10 September** succeeded by archdeacon Celestine.

East

Roman peace with Persia ('Hundred Year Peace'); Eudocia celebrates with Greek poem and gives birth to daughter Licinia Eudoxia.

?Huns attack East and paid subsidy.

?Theodosius sent threatening letter by St Simeon Stylites for edict protecting Jews.

AD 423

East/West

2 January: Empress Eudocia of East made 'Augusta'.

Placidia quarrels with Honorius (or late 422) and retires to

Constantinople with her children Valentinian and Honoria.

15 August: Death of Honorius at Ravenna, aged probably 39; Theodosius II plans to assume control of West by installing Placidia and Valentinian and seeks support of Magister Peditum of West, Castinus, with promise of 424 consulship, but Castinus proclaims chief notary (*Primacerius*) John Emperor at Ravenna; **December:** John crowned at Rome.

AD 424

West/East

John sends to Theodosius asking for recognition but is refused; he sends general Aetius to Huns in east Pannonia to ask for assistance.

Valentinian proclaimed 'Caesar' at Thessalonica by Helio, travelling with him and Galla Placidia towards Italy as Theodosius' representative, and Ardaburius leads Eastern army to Salona to prepare invasion of West.

Aspar, Ardaburius' son, leads land army on Italy accompanied by Placidius and Valentinian; Ardaburius sails parallel at sea but is blown across Adriatic to Italy by storm, wrecked and arrested; John treats him leniently and while under house arrest in Ravenna he rallies support for Valentinian.

AD 425

East

27 February: Foundation of University of Constantinople: based at 'Capitol' with ten 'grammarians' and three *rhetors* in Latin and ten grammarians and five rhetors in Greek: one chair of philosophy and two of jurisprudence.

Death of Patriarch Atticus; succeeded by Sisinnius.

West

Aspar reaches Aquileia, leaves Placidia there, and marches on to Ravenna where Ardaburius leads revolt to assist him and his soldiers are led through the marshes by a shepherd to surprise defenders; John

is captured, taken to Aquileia, paraded round racecourse and executed **May/June**: Valentinian III is escorted to Rome and **23 October** proclaimed and crowned by ‘Master of Offices’ Helio in place of Theodosius who is ill at Thessalonica; Castinus executed; Aetius returns with a large Hunnic force and makes terms, being sent to command in Gaul as ‘Count’.

July: Pope Celestine condemns ‘Pelagians’ in Gaul and orders them to recant before the Bishop of Arles (Praefecture capital) or face action.

AD 427

West

Placidia’s chief minister Felix recalls Boniface, commander in Africa, to Rome but he suspects arrest and refuses; Felix sends Sanoeces, Gallio and Mavordius with army to depose him but Sanoeces betrays the others to Boniface, they are killed and he is later defeated and killed too.

East

24 December: Death of Patriarch Sisinnius; Theodosius appoints a Syrian theologian, deacon Nestorius, as successor.

AD 428

East

10 April: Nestorius consecrated Patriarch of Constantinople, and induces Theodosius to issue edict **30 May** banning 18 heretical sects, Manichaeans condemned to exile or execution. Nestorius’ friend John Patriarch of Antioch.

Palestinian monastic pioneer Euthymius founds the ‘Lavra’ at Sahel, particularly important for converting Arabs.

West

26 July: Pope Celestine writes to the Gallic bishops, instructing them to fall in line with the practices of the Church of Rome.

Gaiseric succeeds half-brother Gunthamund as King of Vandals in Spain.

Boniface invites Gaiseric to assist him in Africa after Sigisvult's loyalists invade from Italy.

?Aetius defeats attack by Theodoric the Visigoth on the province of Narbonensis.

AD 429

West

Local religious Council in northern Gaul, supported by the Pope, sends Bishops Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus to Britain to combat the Pelagian heresy which has been revived there by Agricola; they find civic institutions still functioning, apparently at Verulamium (St Albans), and local bishops. According to Germanus' biographer of c. 480, Constantius, he overcomes the heretics at a local synod, and uses his past military experience to lead an army in successful ambush of raiding Picts and Saxons in mountainous country (possibly north Wales). If later Welsh and hagiographical legend is to be believed, he also faces the enmity of the local 'tyrant', possibly over-king of the resurgent British tribal kingdoms, a man known to history as 'Vortigern' (Celtic for 'Over-King'), possibly a patron of the Pelagians.

Death of Honoratus, Bishop of Arles and the leader of monasticism in the West, who has founded a prestigious monastery on the island of Lerins near Massilia.

Galla Placidia makes her trusted general Felix 'Patrician'.

East

Theodosius sets up a commission of nine jurists, including Apelles from Constantinople's 'University', to revise and update law codes (last reissued c. 330).

Nestorius writes to Pope Celestine condoning 'Pelagians'.

Easter: Nestorius forbids Pulcheria entry to most hallowed sanctuary in Hagia Sophia as she is a woman which takes precedence over usual right of sovereign to enter; he campaigns against 'sin', games, theatre

etc., but his secretary Anastasius causes riot by sermon alleging that Virgin Mary cannot be regarded as the ‘Mother of God’ (*Theotokos*).

West

May: Gaiseric the Vandal crosses from Spain to invade north Africa.

East

Cyril of Alexandria and other bishops call for Church Council to condemn Nestorius’ religious views for heresy, particularly his denial of the Virgin Mary as ‘Mother of God’.

Florus, Julian and other refugee ‘Pelagians’ arrive in Constantinople.

AD 430

West/East

Gaiseric invades Numidia and defeats commander Boniface, who is besieged in Hippo; Carthage and Citra among cities that resist.

Aetius stirs up mutiny at Ravenna where Felix is murdered by troops and succeeds him as Magister Peditum.

Patriarch Cyril writes work *Against the Blasphemies of Nestorius* and sends letters to Theodosius, Pulcheria, Emperor’s other sisters and Pope Celestine.

10 August: Pope Celestine holds synod and declares Nestorius to be excommunicated if he does not repent in ten days; Cyril allowed to forward the order to him.

18 August: Death of St Augustine at Hippo, besieged by Vandals, at the age of 76.

November: Cyril holds synod at Alexandria, condemns 12 named ‘Nestorian’ doctrines that Nestorius is ordered to denounce or else, and forwards excommunication.

AD 431

East

Famine in Constantinople; stones thrown at Theodosius in a riot.

Theodosius calls a Church Council, which opens at Ephesus

7 June under presidency of Imperial representative Count Candidian; Patriarch Cyril opens proceedings with John of Antioch not arrived and Nestorius boycotting it despite Candidian's request for delay, and **22 June** Nestorius condemned and dismissed in absence; John then arrives and calls dissenters to a rival synod, which **26 June** with Candidian attending deposes Cyril and his ally Bishop Memnon of Ephesus; Pulcheria supports Cyril.

11 July: Papal legates arrive and declare that first synod's decision correct, and that is largely accepted as authentic; however, Cyril's arrogant defiance of second synod having any legitimacy despite Imperial representative attending causes Theodosius to declare him deposed too; Cyril ignores him.

Cyril returns to Alexandria in defiance of Theodosius; Nestorius replaced **25 October** by Maximian as Patriarch of Constantinople and sent to his home monastery, Euprepios near Antioch.

West

Eastern army under Aspar joins Western expedition against Gaiseric in Numidia but defeated.

July: Fall of Hippo to the Vandals.

AD 432

East

Theodosius allows Cyril to resume Patriarchate; **15 March** Pope Celestine approves of Maximian's replacement of Nestorius.

West

27 July: Death of Pope Celestine; **31 July** Sixtus (Xystus) elected.

Aetius, consul, is dismissed by Placidia and replaced by his rival, Count Boniface the commander in Africa; Aetius resists and is defeated at Ariminum and flees to Dalmatia and thence to the Huns in Pannonia, but Boniface dies of wounds and is replaced as Magister Peditum by his son-in-law Sebastian.

AD 433***West***

Petronius Maximus, later Emperor, is consul.

Spring: Pope Sixtus mediates in controversy between Patriarchs Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch; ‘Symbol of Union’ agrees to Antiochene proposal that Orthodoxy affirmed if Nestorius is condemned rather than anything more rigid.

Aetius returns to Italy with Hunnic mercenaries, and Placidia agrees to accept him as Magister Peditum and effective chief minister; Sebastian flees to Constantinople; ?some territory on Danube ceded to Huns.

AD 434***East***

Rua, king of the Huns, attacks the Balkans but is killed by lightning; his nephews Attila and Bleda succeed, and Roman envoys, quaestor Epigenes and Plinthis, pay 350 lb gold per annum in peace agreement.

12 April: Maximian dies; Proclus succeeds as Patriarch of Constantinople.

AD 435***East/West***

19 February: Secret agreement between Aspar and Gaiseric to end Eastern campaign in Africa, recognizing Gaiseric’s conquest of Mauretania; Carthage is abandoned to Vandal attack but continues to hold out.

Accession of Bishop Ibas of Edessa, leading patron of Nestorians in Mesopotamia.

August: Patriarch John of Antioch complains to Theodosius about renewed trouble from Nestorians in diocese; Theodosius condemns Nestorian doctrine and forbids its dissemination.

20 December: Order issued giving powers to Theodosius’ legal commission to conclude investigation and form legal ‘Code’.

West

Tibatto leads large-scale peasant uprising in north-western Gaul, centred on Armorica, which combines with growing disorder from brigandage to cause chaos.

AD 436

East

Visit of Western Christian philanthropist Melania to Constantinople.

AD 437

East

29 October: Valentinian III marries Theodosius' daughter Licinia Eudoxia at Constantinople; they winter at Thessalonica before return home.

Laws against the Jews in East.

West

While Aetius is detained fighting Germans in Belgica, his general Litorius defeats the rebels in Armorica, killing Tibatto and other leaders, and puts down the uprising; he then marches speedily to Narbonne to relieve it from siege by Theodoric the Visigoth who has taken advantage of Roman preoccupation in the north to attack again.

AD 438

West

Birth of Valentinian III and Licinia Eudoxia's daughter Eudocia.

Persia

Yezdagerd succeeds Bahram as 'Great King'.

East

15 February: 'Theodosian Code', collection of laws, issued in the East. Anatolius 'Magister Peditum' at Eastern court.

Patriarch Proclus secures the return of relics of St John 'Chrysostom' to Constantinople and places them in Church of Holy Apostles.

Empress Eudocia goes on pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and delivers homily at Antioch.

25 September: Earthquake at Constantinople; panicking citizens hold procession to shrine at Hebdoman.

West

23 December: ‘Theodosian Code’ issued in the West by agreement between the Emperors.

AD 439

West

Litorius is captured and executed by the Visigoths during campaign against them in Aquitaine.

6 August: Licinia Eudoxia made ‘Augusta’.

19 October: Gaiseric takes Carthage in surprise attack in breach of treaty; many Carthaginians flee to Italy or the East.

Death of the wealthy Christian benefactress Melania.

East

Theodosius’ friend Cyrus, Praefect of capital, made Praetorian Praefect of East.

AD 440

East

?January: Arrest and deportation to Cappadocia of Theodosius’ friend Paulinus, ‘Master of Offices’, for alleged affair with Empress Eudocia, after Theodosius became angry that Eudocia sent an Epiphany gift on to him; believed to be at instigation of Theodosius’ rising adviser, eunuch chamberlain Chrysaphius.

West

19 August: Death of Pope Sixtus; deacon Leo elected Pope (later ‘The Great’) on absence on Imperial mission in Gaul and **29 September** consecrated.

AD 441***East***

Praefect Cyrus made consul for East.

Theodosius sends fleet to Sicily to fight Gaiseric, Yezdagerd of Persia breaks peace in East and raids eastern Anatolia; Attila the Hun takes the opportunity to cross Danube and besiege Ratiaria, telling Roman envoys tribute not paid and deserters not returned; Ratiaria, Viminacum and Singidunum sacked and Margus punished for bishop's alleged expedition to rob Hunnic kings' tombs; Attila marches up valley to Naissus and then over Balkan mountains to ravage Thrace and take Philippopolis and Arcadiopolis.

Death of Patriarch John of Antioch; succeeded by nephew Domnus.

Autumn: Cyrus dismissed due to Theodosius' jealousy of his friendship with Empress Eudocia, encouraged by Chrysaphius; made Bishop of Cotyaeum, Phrygia.

West

Flavius Asturius, Magister Utriusque Militiae as Aetius' deputy, has to fight a major uprising by peasant-farmers, brigands and other 'Bacaudae' rebels in Tarraconensis.

AD 442***East***

Peace between Eastern Empire and Yezdagerd of Persia.

Theodosius recalls his troops from Sicilian campaign against Vandals to send them against Huns, but no success.

?Pulcheria leaves court after a quarrel with Chrysaphius, who she failed to persuade Theodosius to remove, and retires to Hebdoman palace.

West

New treaty with the Vandals recognizes their rule of provinces of Byzacena and Zeugitana in Africa in addition to Carthage; ?Aetius arranges for Valentinian III and Licinia Eudoxia's elder daughter

Eudoxia to be betrothed to Gaiseric's son Hunneric, and Gaiseric accordingly repudiates the prince's current fiancée, daughter of Theodoric the Visigoth who is furious.

According to the *Gallic Chronicle*, this year sees Britain passing into the hands of the Saxons. This date for the legendary revolt of Saxon mercenaries against the British authorities is too early to coincide with other sources, but it may indicate the time when the main force of Saxons (?and Angles and Jutes) were recruited and settles in Britain – traditionally by king 'Vortigern'.

AD 443 Second consulship of the future Emperor Petronius Maximus (West).

East

Empress Eudocia leaves Theodosius' court and moves to Jerusalem with a large entourage; Chrysaphius in effective control at court.

?Attila wins victory over Romans in the Thracian Chersonese.

Theodosius' general Anatolius makes peace with Attila; annual tribute of 700 lb of gold trebled and an additional 6,000 lb paid at once, and all Hun deserters to be returned to Attila.

West

Aetius settles King Goar and his army of Alan tribesmen on the Armorican frontier to deal with troublesome peasant and brigand rebels, the 'Bacaudae'; they soon prove useful in suppressing a rising. He also settles a substantial number of Burgundian tribesmen who have been roaming around Belgica in Savoy as a second 'allied' kingdom within the Roman frontier to add to the Visigothic kingdom.

Asturius' son-in-law Merobaudes successfully fights the 'Bacaudae' brigand rebels in the upper Ebro valley in Spain.

AD 444

East

Theodosius sends Saturninus, 'Count' of 'Domestics' (regiment), to

Jerusalem to investigate members of wife Eudocia's entourage; he executes two of them.

27 June: Death of Patriarch Cyril of Alexandria; succeeded by Dioscurus.

?Eudocia arranges Saturninus' assassination, Theodosius deprives her of entourage.

?Attila kills Bleda and becomes sole ruler of Huns.

Execution of exiled Paulinus, ex-‘Master of Offices’.

West

Traditional date for second anti-Pelagian mission by Bishop Germanus of Auxerre to Britain.

AD 446

East

Death of Proclus; Flavian Patriarch of Constantinople.

Plague in Constantinople.

West

Third consulship of Aetius. At some subsequent date before 454 an appeal was sent to him as ‘thrice consul’ by a party of senior figures in Britain, vainly requesting help against the Saxon invaders – the mercenaries called in to assist the authorities against ‘Pictish’ raiders evidently revolted in this period. The destruction of civic life portrayed by Gildas 100 years later may have been exaggerated, but it is probable that any central authority collapsed for some years in the late 440s or early 450s and that ‘Vortigern’ was overthrown.

AD 447

East

Attila crosses the Danube again and devastates Lower Moesia and ‘Scythia’, killing general Arnegisclus; a second horde of Huns ravages Macedonia and Thrace as far as Thermopylae; **26 January** the walls of Constantinople are damaged in inopportune earthquake and panic leads many inhabitants to flee the city.

Theodosius opens negotiations as Praefect Constantine restores walls.

Zeno, first important Isaurian general, Magister Peditum in East (to 451).

AD 448

East

Peace between the East and Attila: the district south of Danube from Singidunum to Novae, of five days journey's distance, to be left abandoned by both Romans and Huns and frontier at Naissus.

Huns occupy Sirmium.

Patriarch Flavian and Bishop Eusebius of Dorylaeum investigate Chrysaphius' monk protégé Eutyches for denying that Christ has two natures ('Monophysitism'), a theological doctrine especially promoted by Patriarch Dioscurus of Alexandria; **8 November** Eusebius denounces Eutyches to local Synod in capital and demands enquiry of his heresy; **22 November** Eutyches tried, bullied by Eusebius into admitting Christ can only have one nature, and excommunicated, but Chrysaphius and Dioscurus take up his case.

Attila sends Edeco on mission to Constantinople demanding more money.

Chrysaphius bribes Edeco to murder Attila on return to his camp with a Roman embassy led by Maximin; Edeco informs Attila but the Romans are allowed to leave.

Attila sends his Pannonian secretary Orestes to Constantinople with the bag containing Edeco's bribe, to show it to Chrysaphius and ask if he recognizes it; punishment unsuccessfully demanded.

Theodosius sends ex-'Master of Offices' Nomus and 'Master of Soldiers' at court Anatolius on mission to pacify Attila; he accepts their assurances with tribute and recognition of Danube frontier.

?Valentinian III's sister Honoria banished to Constantinople for adultery with her steward Eugenius.

West

Aetius campaigns in northern Gaul and reaches Gesoriacum (Boulogne); this is one possible occasion for the vain appeal by a party of senior figures in Britain for aid against the Saxons.

AD 449**East/West**

Pope Leo hears of the Eutyches affair and **18 February** writes to Flavian demanding an explanation; he sends his doctrinal submission on Christ's two natures, the *Tome*, to Flavian; **13 June** Theodosius calls Church Council at Ephesus to re-try Eutyches, presided over by Dioscurus of Alexandria, and Leo sends legates with his *Tome* expecting its approval; however, **8 August** the Council, 'packed' with 'Monophysites', refuses to accept *Tome* or legates' advice and Dioscurus of Alexandria leads Eutyches' acquittal; **22 August** Flavian and Eusebius of Dorylaeum deposed, and Flavian dies on way into exile.

August: Maximus succeeds Domnus as Patriarch of Antioch.

Zeno, 'Master of Soldiers' in Isauria, threatens revolt against misrule by Chrysaphius.

Leo refuses to accept verdict of 'robber council' at Ephesus and leads resistance.

November/December: Anatolius, a Monophysite, made Patriarch of Constantinople at Chrysaphius' instigation.

West

Valentinian III's sister Honoria is sent to Constantinople in disgrace after being found to have committed adultery with household official Eugenius, who is executed.

Traditional date (according to Bede in the 730s) for the establishment of the Germanic kingdom in Kent, ruled by the former mercenary chieftain 'Hengest'.

AD 450

East/West

22 February: Pope Leo persuades Valentinian, Galla Placidia and Licinia Eudoxia to write in vain to Theodosius requesting a retrial for Flavian.

28 July: Theodosius II dies from spinal injury after being thrown from horse in Lycus valley outside capital, aged 49, Pulcheria and Magister Peditum Aspar declare that Theodosius nominated Aspar's aide-de-camp Marcian, a distinguished officer of Thracian/Illyrian origin aged around 58; Pulcheria agrees to nominal marriage with Marcian and **25 August** crowns him at Hebdoman Palace parade-ground, seven miles west of Constantinople, before ceremonial assembly.

Marcian refuses to pay tribute to Attila but sends gifts; he executes Chrysaphius and restores good government.

Florus appointed new civil/military governor of Upper Egypt to defeat desert raiders.

27 November: Death of Galla Placidia, aged about 62; her granddaughter Honoria sends messenger Hyacinthus and ring to Attila asking for his hand to save her from forced marriage to senator Flavius Bassus Herculanius, for which she is imprisoned; Attila demands her hand and on refusal plans to invade the West.

AD 451

East

Council summoned to meet at Chalcedon.

West

Attila invades and ravages Gaul with huge coalition of Germanic vassals including Ardaric's Gepids, Theodemir's Ostrogoths, the Rugians, Scirians, Heruls, Alans and Thuringians; they cross the Rhine with Burgundian reinforcements and **7 April** sack Metz; they plunder south-westwards, heading for the Loire valley.

Aetius summons the peoples of Gaul to join his army against Attila, and the Armoricans, Salian Franks of Belgica and Burgundians do so;

Theodoric the Visigoth attempts to remain neutral and is successfully pressurized by Aetius' envoy Avitus.

Aetius and an army of Romans and allied Visigoths under Theodoric reaches Orleans before Attila and the invaders retreat; **?June** Attila is defeated at 'Campus Mauriacus' on plains near Troyes by Aetius' Romans and Theodoric's Visigoths with other German allies; Theodoric is killed but Aetius refuses son Thorismund's proposal to assault the Hunnic fortified camp; Attila retires to Pannonia and there are rumours against Aetius for not pursuing him.

East

22–25 October: Council at church of St Euphemia, Chalcedon, with position of honour for Pope Leo's legates and approval of his *Tome* as defining Orthodoxy; Christ declared to have dual nature and Eutyches and 'Monophysites' condemned; Patriarchate of Constantinople declared equal to Rome as Imperial city, which Pope rejects.

Two thousand guardsmen assist new Orthodox Patriarch Proterius at Alexandria against 'Monophysite' resistance; ex-Patriarch Dioscurus deported.

?Death of Nestonius in exile in Egypt.

'Monophysite' resistance to Patriarch Juvenal in Palestine, led by monks.

AD 452

West

Plague in Italy; Attila invades, razes Aquileia, and devastates northern Italy but Marcian sends troops to Ravenna and Pope Leo leads embassy to Attila's camp at River Mincio near Mantua to call on him to retire; probably due to fear of plague and Eastern troops not Church displeasure, Attila retires to Pannonia.

?Refugees from Aquileia found the first settlements on the Venetian lagoon.

East

28 July: Eutyches and assorted monkish supporters are banished from Constantinople.

Patriarch Juvenal returns to Jerusalem from Chalcedon to impose Orthodoxy, but is evicted by mob of ‘Monophysite’ monks and supporters with assistance of Empress Eudocia; they install Theodosius as Patriarch and defy government.

Aspar’s son Ardaburius fights Arab raiders in Palestine.

AD 453*East/West*

Death of Pulcheria, aged 54; Marcian sole ruler of the East.

Death of Attila during night after riotous wedding-feast to celebrate his marriage to Ildico; succeeded by son Ellac but subject tribes plot revolt ?with Marcian’s encouragement.

Imperial troops restore order to Palestine and evict Patriarch Theodosius of Jerusalem; Juvenal restored.

Thorismund the Visigoth is assassinated by his brother Theodoric II, who seizes the throne.

AD 454*West/East*

Consuls: Studius (East), later the founder of the prestigious ‘Monastery of Studius/Studios’ in Constantinople, and Aetius (West).

Hunnic power destroyed in rebellion of subject tribes, led by Ardaric’s Gepids, at battle of the Nedao; Eliac killed and brother Gerdich leads Huns in retreat from Pannonia to steppes north of Black Sea.

21 September: Instigated by eunuch Heraclius and Praefect of Rome, wealthy and ambitious Petronius Maximus, jealous Valentinian suspects that Aetius is aiming at the throne for his son Gaudentius (now engaged to the Emperor’s young daughter Placidia) and arranges for murder of Aetius in Palace by his agent Valentinian; Praetorian Praefect Boethius is also killed.

Heraclius goes back on his promise to assist Petronius to become chief minister.

Armenia

King Vardan killed in battle by Persians at Avarair.

AD 455

West

16 March: Petronius Maximus persuades two retainers of Aetius, Optila and Thraustila, to kill Valentinian III, aged 36, while riding on the Campus Martius; **17 March** he secures throne despite divisions among the troops who he has to bribe, forces Eudoxia to marry him, and betrothes his son Palladius to her elder daughter Eudocia; the Empress secretly appeals to Gaiseric who sets sail for Italy bent on revenge with the claim that his son Hunneric has been cheated of his promised marriage to the Princess.

31 May: Petronius Maximus lynched by mob as he tries to flee Rome, aged probably 60; Pope Leo goes out to meet Gaiseric and request no massacre; **3–15 June** Vandals methodically pillage Rome and carry off most of treasures and many captives to Carthage, including Empress Eudoxia and daughters of whom Eudocia is married to Hunneric.

9/10 July: Marcus Flavius Eparchus Avitus, elderly noble appointed Magister Utriusque Militiae in Gaul by Maximus and Aetius' envoy to the Visigoths in 451, is proclaimed Emperor by Gothic King Theodoric II at Tolosa/Toulouse; he is escorted to Italy via recognition by an assembly of Gallic notables at Beaucaire and **August** Imperial Investiture at Arles.

East

Marcian sends embassy to Africa to remonstrate with Gaiseric and unsuccessfully requests return of Imperial captives.

?Marcian marries his daughter Euphemia to patrician Anthemius, grandson of Praetorian Praefect (408–14) Anthemius who ?avoids becoming heir due to Aspar's antagonism.

Ex-Empress Eudocia (Athenais) consults St Euphemius on St Simeon Stylites' advice and repents of causing civil disturbances in East.

?Marcian settles some Ostrogoths in northern Thrace as *foederati* to defend the Danube. Valamer leads those Ostrogoths beyond frontier.

AD 456

West

Avitus assumes consulship at Rome, hailed by his poet son-in-law Sidonius Apollinaris; his new general Count Ricimer, Suevic mercenary grandson of Wallia the Visigoth, defeats Vandal attack on Sicily then defeats Vandal fleet off Corsica.

Theodoric II orders the Suevic king of northern Spain, Rechiarus, to stop raiding Roman-held Tarraconensis and when he refuses marches over the Pyrenees to attack him; **5 October** Theodoric and his Burgundian allies defeat the Sueves on the River Urbicus near Astorga.

Avitus is unpopular in Rome due to famine and extortions to pay Goths; Ricimer leads revolt and pursues Avitus from Rome, capturing him at Placentia and **17/18 October** forcing him to abdicate and become bishop of city; Ricimer rules Italy as commander-in-chief of the Roman army, aided by his Roman lieutenants; Avitus is soon murdered on Ricimer's orders.

East

?December: Basil succeeds the late Maximus as Patriarch of Antioch.

AD 457

East

26 January: Marcian falls ill with gout during procession to Hebdoman to commemorate the 447 earthquake ten years before.

27 January: Death of Marcian, aged ?65; Aspar, as Magister Peditum at capital, has decisive role in election but does not put himself forward as he is an Arian and successfully promotes his personal/military steward Leo the Thracian, tribune of '*Mattiarii*' regiment, aged around 48; Senate elects Leo and **7 February** he is acclaimed by the

assembled Guards and officials then crowned by Patriarch Anatolius (first Patriarchal coronation) in nearby palace at the parade-ground of Hebdoman; he then returns to capital for ceremonial entry.

Aspar chief minister; his eldest son Ardaburius Magister Peditum in Thrace.

Easter: Patriarch Proterius of Alexandria lynched and replaced by intriguing Timotheus '*Aelurus*' ('the Cat').

West

1 April: Sanctioned by Leo, Ricimer makes new Magister Peditum Julius Valerianus Majorian(us), a former senior officer of Aetius who is probably in his early forties, Emperor.

AD 458

West

Majorian enters Gaul; his general Aegidius, probably already commander of the Roman forces in central Gaul, relieves Arles from attack by Theodoric II the Visigoth; Majorian makes peace with Theodoric and confirms his status as *foederatus*.

The province of Lugdunensis refuses to recognize Majorian and is assisted by the Burgundians; Majorian besieges and recovers Lugdunum from the Burgundians, and increases its taxes for defying his authority until Sidonius Apollinaris persuades him to remit them.

?In preparation for African war, Majorian sends Count Marcellinus, commander in Dalmatia, to Sicily.

Persia

Death of 'Great King' Yazdegerd; succeeded by son Firuz.

East

July: Gennadius succeeds Anatolius as Patriarch of Constantinople; Anastasius succeeds Juvenal as Patriarch of Jerusalem.

13–14 September: Severe earthquake at Antioch and much damage, including at St Simeon Stylites' complex near the city.

?Raid by the Huns or the Tzani on Pontus.

AD 459

West

Majorian enters Spain and starts to construct fleet to attack Vandals.

East

Patricius (probably not Aspar's eponymous son) consul.

Death of St Simeon Stylites, still living on column at 'Qalat Symeon' near Antioch; his carefully secured relics placed at centre of cathedral complex as focus for pilgrims.

Leo makes Vivius, opponent of Aspar, Praetorian Praefect.

Theodemir, Ostrogothic chieftain of Eastern 'federates' in Thrace and brother of Valamer, sends his young son Theodoric (future king of Italy) to Constantinople for education as hostage at court for his loyalty.

AD 460

West

Majorian's fleet destroyed by Gaiseric at Alicante; he recognizes Gaiseric's conquests in treaty which is unpopular at Rome and among the disappointed troops.

East

August: Leo deposes Patriarch Timotheus 'Aelurus' of Alexandria; succeeded by Timotheus III ('Salophacialus').

AD 461

West

Majorian returns via Arles to Italy, discredited and powerless, and despite popularity is unable to resist Ricimer who **2 August** seizes him at Tortona and beheads him.

Aegidius, commander of the Roman army in Gaul, refuses to accept Ricimer or any nominee of his; he becomes effectively an independent ruler of 'kingdom' in central Gaul where he fights the Visigoths.

10 November: Death of Pope Leo.

19 November: Ricimer makes obscure Lucanian aristocrat, Libius Severus, Emperor; only recognised in Italy.

19 November: Hilarius becomes Pope.

Count Marcellinus withdraws to Dalmatia from Sicily after Ricimer instigates mutiny of troops; rules the province in alliance with Leo and is assisted by nephew Julius 'Nepos' (later emperor).

AD 462

East

Treaty between Leo and Gaiseric re-establishes (temporary) peace and allows for return of Valentinian III's wife Eudoxia and younger daughter Placidia to Constantinople, but elder daughter Eudocia remains married to Gaiseric's son Hunneric and dowry sent; Gaiseric's annexations in West accepted but he fails in his demands that Placidia's husband Olybrius, a relative of the Anician dynasty, be made Western Emperor.

AD 463

East

Ex-consul Studius founds monastery of St John in the south-west district of Constantinople, near Propontis and 'Golden Gate' in Long Walls, it becomes the leading monastic centre in capital for centuries ahead.

West

Aegidius defeats Theodoric II's brother Frederic in battle near Orleans, and forms alliance with Gaiseric against the Visigoths.

AD 464

East

Olybrius the future Emperor, married to Princess Placidia (daughter of Valentinian III), Eastern consul.

Expedition into Lazica to suppress defiance of King Gobazes, who agrees to abdicate in favour of his son in peace treaty but later manages

to persuade Leo in personal interview in capital to retain him.

West

Aegidius dies; succeeded in rule of central Gaul by Syagrius.

AD 465

East

Aspar's son Ermaneric and Leo's wife Verina's brother Basiliscus consuls.

West

15 August: Death of Libius Severus, possibly murdered by Ricimer; Ricimer gets the Senate to send an embassy to Leo asking for his good offices with Gaiseric and Marcellinus to stop them invading Italy, but Gaiseric ignores Leo's subsequent embassy to Carthage and demands that all his son Hunneric's wife Eudocia's father Valentinian III's property be handed over to him.

East

2 September: Disastrous fire in Constantinople, consuming area around Forum of Constantine, Acropolis and Harbour of Julian.

AD 467

East/West

Huns and Goths under Dengizh cross Danube and raid Balkans, but quarrel and are defeated by Marcian's son-in-law Anthemius, Gaiseric raids Peloponnese.

Leo decides to send Anthemius, potential rival, to west to fight Vandals and secures Ricimer's agreement; Anthemius' daughter to marry Ricimer.

Count Marcellinus and army accompanies Anthemius to Italy; **12 April** he is proclaimed Emperor near Rome and later takes up office with Ricimer as commander-in-chief.

Late: Sidonius Apollinaris leads a Gallic delegation to Rome to ask Anthemius and Ricimer for more effective military assistance there

against Visigoths and for reform of abuses in the civil administration which is based at Arles.

?Leo marries elder daughter Ariadne to Isaurian chieftain Tarasius who is renamed 'Zeno' and takes charge of a new corps of Isaurian guards, the 'Excubitors', formed as a challenge to Aspar's power; struggle between Aspar and Zeno follows.

AD 468

East/West

January: Sidonius Apollinaris delivers a panegyric to Anthemius as consul; he is made Praefect of Rome.

Trial in Rome of Praetorian Praefect Arvandus of Gaul, accused by the assembly of the Gallic 'Seven Provinces' at Arles of corruption and of treasonable contacts with the new Visigothic King Euric; he is sentenced to death but reprieved.

c. ?100,000 soldiers and ?1,000 vessels in giant expedition sails against Vandal Africa, commanded by Empress Verina's incompetent and vain brother Basiliscus; Western troops under Marcellinus join in to attack Sardinia and Eastern general Heraclius lands another force in Tripolitania to advance by land, but after Vandal fleet defeated Basiliscus delays landing and attack on Carthage; Gaiseric sends fire-ships which decimate fleet and Basiliscus flees to Sicily; expedition abandoned and Basiliscus returns home to such resentment that he seeks sanctuary in Hagia Sophia.

Persia

'Great King' Firuz executes the Jewish leader in his lands, 'Exiliarch' Mar Huna, and thousands of followers in persecution.

West

29 February: Death of Pope Hilarius; **3 March** Simplicius elected.

Euric the Visigoth invades northern Aquitaine and defeats an army of Armoricans and their British allies fighting on behalf of Rome; the British commander, 'Riothamus', has been tentatively identified as

providing the origin for the mediaeval legend of 'King Arthur' fighting in Gaul during the reign of Emperor Leo.

Euric takes Bourges and reaches the Loire to be halted by Count Paulus.

AD 469

East

Consul: Zeno; as Magister Peditum in Thrace he fights incursion of Huns, but has to escape attempted assassination near Sardica by soldiers hired by Aspar; Leo transfers him to command safer Eastern armies.

Peter 'the Fuller', 'Monophysite' supporter, installed as Patriarch of Antioch by Zeno to replace absent Martyrius.

AD 470

East

Aspar induces Leo to make his second son Patricius 'Caesar' and thus probable heir, and to betroth him to younger daughter Leontia; monks lead demonstrations against Patricius as Arian and Leo assures he is about to convert. ?Zeno suppresses Isaurian rebel Indacus.

West

Ecdicius, son of late Emperor Avitus, leads Roman resistance to Euric's Visigothic attack on Auvergne; he is assisted by Sidonius Apollinaris, now Bishop of Clermont which defies several sieges.

AD 471

East

Anagast, German Magister Peditum in Thrace, arrested for attempted revolt and implicates Ardaburius, who then tries to meddle with Isaurian guards' loyalty; Zeno recalled as far as Chalcedon; Aspar and Ardaburius are summoned to palace and murdered by eunuchs, 'Caesar' Patricius wounded, but younger son Ermaneric escapes; Aspar's follower Count Ostrys breaks into palace but driven out by 'Excubitors' guards-regiment, and flees to Thrace where he assists revolt of Ostrogothic

‘federates’ under Theodoric ‘Strabo’ (‘the Squinter’).

Zeno restored to power, assisted by Isaurian reinforcements who defend capital from German threat but are much resented.

Peter ‘the Fuller’, ‘Monophysite’ ex-Patriarch of Antioch, detained in Constantinople.

November: Acacius succeeds Gennadius as Patriarch of Constantinople.

West

?Ricimer retires to army base at Milan after dispute with Anthemius.

AD 472

West/East

Hostility between Anthemius’ government in Rome and Ricimer’s headquarters in Milan; Bishop Epiphanius of Ticinum fails to mediate.

Leo sends the suspected aristocrat Olybrius, married to Valentinian III’s daughter Placidia and threat to him, to Rome to mediate and tells Anthemius to kill him, but Ricimer intercepts letter and **April** marches on Rome, proclaiming Olybrius emperor; Rome is besieged, Imperial troops under Bilimer are defeated, and **11 July** as the city surrenders Anthemius is found hiding in church of St Chrysogonus disguised as a beggar by Ricimer’s nephew Gundobad the Burgundian and killed; Olybrius rules Italy as Ricimer’s puppet.

Late August: Death of Ricimer; his nephew Gundobad succeeds as Magister Peditum and rules Italy; **2 November** Olybrius dies of dropsy, aged around 50, and Gundobad keeps throne vacant.

AD 473

West

5 March: Gundobad makes his ‘Count of Domestics’ Glycerius emperor; he diverts Ostrogothic attack under King Widemir to Gaul.

East

Theodoric ‘Strabo’ made ‘Master of Soldiers’ in Thrace with subsidy.

Leo I's health deteriorates and **November** he makes his infant grandson Leo co-Emperor.

AD 474

East

18 January: Leo I dies, aged around 65; his grandson Leo II succeeds under Zeno's regency; **9 February** Zeno crowned co-Emperor in Hippodrome on Senate's formal request.

West

Leo I's choice for Emperor, Verina's niece's husband Julius Nepos, commander in Dalmatia, invades Italy; Glycerius is abandoned or defeated, Gundobad retires to Burgundy, and **24 June** Julius proclaimed Emperor in Rome as Glycerius surrenders at Portus and is ordained Bishop of Salona.

East

17 November: Death of Leo II, aged around five; Zeno succeeds as Emperor and concludes final peace with Gaiseric; Theodoric 'Strabo' revolts in Thrace and kills Magister Peditum but is defeated by Zeno's Isaurian adviser Illus.

Verina plots against Zeno on behalf of her lover Patricius, ex-'Master of Offices', and wins over Illus and brother Trocandrus.

AD 475

East

9 January: Verina instigates riots in Constantinople and persuades Zeno to flee danger of attack to Chalcedon then instigates coup; populace massacres Isaurians and Zeno flees to Isauria with small force, but Senate chooses Basiliscus not Patricius as Emperor and she is excluded from power; Basiliscus executes Patricius.

Basiliscus makes wife Zenonis 'Augusta' and son Marcus 'Caesar'; nephew Armatus, an extravagant fop and Zenonis' lover, made Magister Peditum which alienates Theodoric 'Strabo'.

Basiliscus favours 'Monophysites' – Patriarchs Timotheus 'Aelurus' restored to Alexandria and Peter to Antioch; he issues encyclical letter condemning Council of Chalcedon and *Tome* of Leo I.

Basiliscus favours visiting 'Monophysite' Patriarch Timotheus 'Aelurus' of Alexandria and allows other Eastern Patriarchs to declare autonomy from authority of Constantinople; Patriarch Acacius drapes Hagia Sophia in black and the Orthodox resist Basiliscus. Zeno holds out at Salmon, Isauria.

West

Revolt of Count Orestes, Attila's former secretary, against Julius Nepos who flees Rome to Ravenna and **28 August** as Orestes advances sails to Salona, Dalmatia; he maintains rule there as Emperor, but is deposed in Italy as **31 October** Orestes raises his teenage son Romulus to Imperial rank (nicknamed 'Augustulus', the 'little Augustus') as his puppet – the last Western Emperor.

AD 476

East

Illus and Trocandius are sent against Zeno but, encouraged by letters from ministers in capital, desert to Zeno who marches on capital; Basiliscus recalls ecclesiastical edicts to conciliate people and sends Armatus against Zeno, but Zeno offers Armatus 'Master of Soldiers' for life and 'Caesarship' for son and he avoids Zeno's army; Zeno invests Armatus' son, the younger Basiliscus, at Nicaea.

August: Zeno enters Constantinople unopposed, and Basiliscus is captured fleeing with his family, sent to Cucusus in Cappadocia in exile as promised his life, and later killed with family; once Zeno is securely on throne Armatus is assassinated at Illus' instigation and son Basiliscus soon made a monk at Blachernae (later Bishop of Cyzicus); Illus is chief adviser to Zeno and 'Patrician' and 'Master of Offices' and Basiliscus' 'Monophysite' supporters exiled.

The Palestinian abbot Theodosius founds monastery at 'Grotto of the Magi', Bethlehem.

West

German 'federates' revolt against Orestes' land settlement, wanting full division of Italian lands as in Gothic territories, and elect Odovacer, son of Edeco the Scirian, as king; Orestes flees army to Ticinum which is stormed, and **23 August** he is executed at Placentia; Romulus Augustulus captured at Ravenna, deposed and sent to Campania.

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Consuls of Rome

The 'consulares ordinarii', after whom the year was named.

- 110 BC M. Minucius Rufus, Spurius Postumius Albinus
- 109 L. Caecilius Metellus, M. Junius Silanus
- 108 Servius Sulpicius Galba, M? Hortensius
- 107 L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla, C. Marius
- 106 Q. Servilius Caepio, C. Atilius Serranus
- 105 P. Rutilius Rufus, Cnaeus Mallius Maximus
- 104 Marius, C. Flavius Fimbria
- 103 Marius, L. Aurelius Orestes
- 102 Marius, Q. Lutatius Catulus
- 101 Marius, Manlius Aquillius.
- 100 Marius, L. Valerius Flaccus
- 99 M. Antonius Oraor, A. Postumus Albinus
- Quintus Metellus Nepos, Titus Didius
- C. Cornelius Lentulus, P. Licinius Crassus
- C. Domitius Ahenobarbus, C. Cassius Longinus
- Quintus Mucius Scaevola, L. Licinius Crassus
- Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, C. Coelius Caedus
- C. Valerius Flaccus, M. Herennius
- C. Claudius Pulcher, M. Perperna
- 91 Sextus Julius Caesar, M. Philippus
- I. Caesar, P. Rutilius Rufus
- Cn. Pompeius Strabo, M. Porcius Cato.
- L. Cornelius Sulla, Q. Pompeius Rufus
- L. Cornelius Cinna, Cn, Octavius
- C. Marius, Cn. Cornelius Cinna
- Cinna, Cn. Papirius Carbo
- Cinna, Carbo
- 83 Cinna, Carbo
- 82 Carbo, C. Marius (the Younger)
- M. Tullius Decula, Cn. Cornelius Dolabella
- L. Cornelius Sulla, Q. Metellus Pius
- 79 P. Servilius Vatia, A, Claudius Pulcher
- M. Lepidus, Q. Lutatius Catulus

Dec. Junius Brutus, M. Aemilius
 C. Scribonius Curio, Cn. Octavius
 C. Cotta, L. Octavius
 L. Licinius Lucullus, M. Aurelius Cotta
 M. Lucullus, C. Cassius Longinus
 72 L. Gellius Publicola, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus
 P. Cornelius Lentulus Sura, Cn. Aufidius
 Cn. Pompeius Magnus, M. Licinius Crassus
 69 Q. Hortensius, M. Caecilius Metellus
 68 Q. Marcius Rex, L. Caecilius Metellus
 67 Manlius Aquilius Glabrio, C. Cornelius Piso
 P. Volcacius Tullus, M. Aemilius Lepidus
 L. Manlius Torquatus, L. Aurelius Cotta
 L. Julius Caesar, C. Marcius Figulus
 M. Tullius Cicero, Cn. Antonius Hybrida
 L. Licinius Murena, Dec. Junius Silanus
 M. Pupius Piso, M. Valerius Messala
 L. Afranius, Q. Metellus Celer
 C. Julius Caesar, M. Calpurnius Bibulus
 L. Calpurinus Piso, A. Gabinius
 P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, Q. Metellus Nepos
 Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, . Marcius Philippus
 Cn. Pompeius Magnus, M. Licinius Crassus
 Appius Claudius, L. Domitius Ahernobarbus
 Cn. Domitius Calvinus, M. Valerius Messala
 (No consuls elected; Cn. Pompeius Magnus effective chief magistrate)
 Servius Sulpicius Rufus, M. Claudius Marcellus
 C. Claudius Marcellus, L. Aemilius Paullus
 L. Lentulus Cornelius Crus, Claudius Marcellus
 (superseded by dictator, C. Julius Caesar)
 C. Julius Caesar, P. Servilius Isauricius Vatia
 (Dictator: C. Julius Caesar)
 C. Julius Caesar, M. Aemilius Lepidus
 C. Julius Caesar
 C. Julius Caesar, M. Antonius
 A. Hirtius, C. Vibius Pansa
 42 L. Munatius Plancus, M. Aemilius Lepidus
 L. Antonius, L. Servilius Vatia Isauricius
 Domitius Calvinus, C. Asinius Pollio
 39 L. Marcius Censorinus, C. Calvisius Sabinus
 38 Appius Claudius Pulcher, C. Norbanus Flaccus
 37 M. Agrippa, L. Caninius Gallus
 L. Gellius, M. Cocceius Nerva
 Sextus Pompeius, L. Cornificius

M. Antonius, L. Scribonius Libo
 C. Julius Caesar Octavianus, L. Volcaci^us Tullus
 Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, C. Sosius
 Octavianus, M. Valerius Messala (Claimed to be consul: M. Antonius)
 Octavianus, M. Licinius Crassus
 Octavianus, Sextus Appuleius
 Octavianus, M. Agrippa
 Octavianus
 (Octavianus) Augustus, T. Statilius Taurus
 Augustus, C. Norbanus Flaccus
 Augustus, C. Norbanus
 Augustus, Cn. Cornelius Piso
 M. Marcellus, L. Arruntius
 M. Lollius, M. Aemilius Lepidus
 M. Appuleius, P. Silius
 C. Sentius Saturninus
 Publius Lentulus, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus
 C. Furnius, C. Silanus
 L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, L. Scipio
 15 M. Libo, Cn. Cornelius Piso
 M. Licinius Crassus, Cnaeus Cornelius
 Tiberius, P. Quinctilius Varus
 M. Valerius, P. Sulpicius Quirinus
 Q. Aelius, Paullus Fabius
 Iullus Antonius, Fabius Maximus
 Drusus (I), Titus Crispinus
 Asinius Gallus, C. Marcius
 Tiberius, Cnaeus Piso
 6 C. Antistius, L. Balbus
 Augustus, Cornelius Sulla
 C. Calvisius, L. Passienus
 Cornelius Lentulus, M. Valerius Messala
 2 Marcus Plautius Silvanus
 Cossius Cornelius Lentulus, L. Calpurnius Piso
 AD 1 Caius Caesar, L. Aemilius Paullus
 2 Publius Vinicius, Publius Varus
 Marcus Servilius Nonanus, Aemilius Lamia
 4 Sextus Aelius Catus, C. Sentius Saturninus
 5 Cn. Cornelius, M. Valerius Messala
 6 Aemilius Lepidus, L. Arruntius
 7 Caecilius Metellus, L. Silanus
 8 M. Furius Camillus, Sextus Nonius Quinctilianus
 Q. Sulpicius, C. Sabinus
 Cornelius Dolabella

Marcus Aemilius, T. Statilius Taurus

12 Germanicus, T. Fonteius Capito

13 L. Munatius, C. Silius

Sextus Appuleius, Sextus Pompeius

Drusus (II), C. Norbanus

Sisenna Statilius Taurus, L. Scribonius Libo

C. Caelius Rufus, L. Pomponius Flaccus

18 Tiberius, Germanicus

19 Marcus Junius Silanus Torquatus, L. Norbatus Balbus

M. Valerius Messala Messalinus, M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus

21 Tiberius, Drusus (II)

22 C. Sulpicius Galba, Dec. Haterius Agrippa

23 C. Asinius Pollio, C. Antistius Vetus

24 Servius Cornelius Cethegus, L. Visellius Varro

25 Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, M. Asinius Agrippa

26 Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, C. Calvisius Sabinus

27 M. Licinius Crassus Frugi, L. Calpurnius Piso

28 C. Appius Junius Silanus, P. Silius Nerva

29 C. Fufius Geminus, L. Rubellius Germinus

30 M. Vinicius, L. Cassius Longinus

31 Tiberius, Sejanus

32 C. Domitius Ahenobarbus, L. Arruntius Camillus Scribonianus

33 Servius Sulpicius Galba, M. Vinicius

34 Paullus Fabius Persicus, L. Vitellius

35 C. Sestius Gallus, M. Servilius Nonanus

36 Quintus Plautius, Sextus Papirius Alienus

37 Cn. Acerronius Proculus, C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus

38 M. Aquila Julianus, Publius Nonius Asprenas

Caligula, L. Apronius Caesianus

Caligula

Saturninus, Pomponius Secundus

Claudius, Sestius Gallus

43 Claudius, L. Vitellius

44 T. Statilius Taurus, L. Passienus

45 M. Vinicius, T. Flavius Sabinus

46 Valerius Asiaticus, M. Junius Silanus

47 Claudius, L. Vitellius

48 A. Vitellius, L. Vipsanius Publicola

49 C. Longinus Pompeius Gallus, Q. Veranius

50 C. Antistius Vetus, M. Sullius Nerullinus

51 Claudius, Servius Claudius Salvidienus Orfitus

52 Fautus Cornelius Sulla Felix, Lucius Salvius Otho Titianus

53 Dec. Junius Silanus Torquatus, Quintus Haterius Antoninus

54 M. Asinius Marcellus, M. Acilius Aviola

- 55 Nero, L. Antistius Vetus
- 56 Q. Volusius Saturnius, P. Cornelius Lentulus Scipio
- 57 Nero, L. Calpurnius Piso
- 58 Nero, M. Valerius Messala Corvinus
- 59 C. Vipstanus Apronianus, C. Fonteius Capito
- 60 Nero, Cossius Cornelius Lentulus
- 61 P. Petronius Turpilianus, L. Junius Caesius Paetus
- 62 P. Marius Celsus, L. Afinius Gallus
- 63 C. Memmius Regulus, L. Verginius Rufus
- 64 C. Laecinius Bassus, M. Licinius Crassus Frugi
- 65 A. Licinius Nerva Firmus Pasidienus, M. Junius Atticus Vestinus
- 66 C. Suetonius Paullinus, C. Luccius Testinus
- 67 L. Junius Rufus, Fonteius Capito
- 68 T. Ascenius Silius, P. Galerius Trachulus
- 69 Galba
- 70 Vespasian, Titus
- 71 Vespasian, Titus
- 72 Vespasian, Titus
- 73 Domitian, Catullus Messalinus
- 74 Vespasian, Titus
- 75 Vespasian, Titus
- 76 Vespasian, Titus
- 77 Vespasian, Titus
- 78 Decimus Junius Novius, L. Ceionius Commodus
- 79 Vespasian, Titus
- 80 Titus, Domitian
- 81 L. Flavius Silva, L. Asinius Pollio
- 82 Domitian, Flavius Sabinus
- 83 Domitian, Quintus Petilius Rufus
- 84 Domitian, Oppius Sabinus
- 85 Domitian, T. Aurelius Fulvus
- 86 Domitian, Cornelius Dolabella
- 87 Domitian, L. Volusius Saturninus
- 88 Domitian, L. Minucius Rufus
- 89 T. Aurelius Fulvus, M. Asinius Atratinus
- 90 Domitian, M. Cocceius Nerva
- 91 Trajan, Manlius Acilius Glabrio
- 92 Domitian, Q. Volusius Saturninus
- 93 Sextus Pompeius Collega, Q. Peducaeus Priscina
- 94 L. Nonius Calpurnius Torquatus, T. Sextus Magius Lateranus
- 95 Domitian, Titus Flavius Clemens
- 96 Valens, Vetus
- 97 Nerva, M. Verginius Rufus
- 98 Nerva, Trajan

- 99 Aulus Cornelius Palma, Quintus Sosius Senecio
- 100 Trajan, Sextus Julius Frontinus
- 101 Trajan, Q. Articuleius Paetus
- 102 L. Julius Ursus Servianus, L. Licinius Sura
- 103 Trajan, M. Laberius Maximus
- 104 Sextus Atteius Suburanus, M. Asinius Marcellus
- 105 Tiberius Candidus Marius Celsus, C. Antius Quadratus
- 106 L. Ceionius Commodus, Sextus Vettuleius Civica Cerialis
- 107 L. Licinius Sura, Q. Sosius Senecio
- 108 Appius Trebonius Gallus, M. Appius Bradua
- 109 A. Cornelius Palma, P. Calvisius Tullius Ruso
- 110 M. Peducaeus Priscinus, Servius Cornelius Scipio
- 111 C. Calpurnius Piso, M. Vettius Bolanus
- 112 Trajan, T. Sextus Cornelius Africanus
- 113 L. Publilius Celsus, C. Claudius Crispinus
- 114 Q. Ninnius Hasta, P. Manlius Vopsicus Vicinallis
- 115 L. Vipsanius Messala, M. Pedio Vergilianus
- 116 L. Fundanius Aelius Lamia Aelianus, Sextus Carminius Vetus
- Q. Aquilius Niger, M. Rebilus Apronianus
- Hadrian, Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator
- 119 Hadrian, P. Dasusmius Rusticus
- 120 L. Catilius Severus Julianus, T. Arrius Antoninus.
- 121 M. Annii Verus, Cn. Arrius Augur
- 122 Manlius Acilius Aviola, L. Corellius Neratius Pansa
- 123 Q. Articuleius Paetinus, L. Venuleius Apronianus Priscus
- 124 Manlius Acilius Glabrio, C. Bellicus Flaccus Torquatus
- 125 M. Lollius Paulinus Saturninus, L. Epidius Titius
- 126 Marcus Annii Verus, C. Eggius Ambibulus
- 127 T. Atilius Rufus Titianus, M. Glavius Squilla Gallicanus
- 128 L. Nonius Calpurnius Torquatus, Marcus Annii Libo
- 129 P. Iuventus Celsus, L. Veratius Marcellus
- 130 Q. Fabius Catullinus, Marcus Flavius Aper
- 131 Sergius Octavius Laenas Pontianus, Marcus Antonius Rufus
- 132 C. Julius Sentius Augurinus, C. Trebonius Sergianus
- 133 M. Antonius Hiberius, P. Mummius Sisenna
- 134 C. Julius Ursus Servianus, T. Vibius Varus
- 135 T. Tutilius Lupercus Pontianus, P. Calpurnius Atilianus
- 136 L. Ceionius Commodus, Sextus Vettuleius Civica Pompeianus
- 137 L. Aelius Caesar, P. Coelius Balbinus
- 138 Kanus Julius Niger, C. Pomponius Camerinus
- 139 Antoninus Pius, C. Bruttius Praesens
- 140 Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius

Glossary

ab epistulis Imperial secretary/minister handling correspondence.

Acta Gratiarum Acts/actions of favour/thanks; became 'thanksgiving', especially in Church terminology.

aedile Rome official in charge of city buildings. Two 'plebeian' aediles were chosen as of 493 BC, from the plebeian class; two 'curule' aediles from the 'patrician' (aristocratic) class were added in 367 BC. The 'curule' aediles could soon be plebeians too.

aerarii Treasury officials.

Ager Gallicus Publicly-owned land in the province of Cisalpine Gaul (Northern Italy).

agora Greek term for market-place used for public meetings

Agri Decumates The area between the upper Rhine (to the West) and the headwaters of the Danube to the East; the North West border was the River Neckar. Annexed to shorten the frontier between the two rivers, and protected by a wooden palisade from infiltration.

Alabarch Greek term for the head of the Jewish expatriate community in some Greek cities of the Middle East, especially Alexandria and Gaza.

alimenta Imperial-sponsored 'relief' system for poorer farmers and families, set up by Nerva. Under it the poorer farmers who had been looked on as the backbone of the State and the army – and always under threat from crop-failures, being bankrupted for debt and bought out by wealthy land-owners – could borrow up to a twelfth of the value of their land from the State. They pledged their land as security for repaying the loan, but had a low fixed rate of interest (five per cent per annum?). This money was paid to the local municipal authorities, who then used it to fund poorer families by subsidizing their children until puberty.

amicus 'Friend'; in political terms the word used for an ally, often seen as a dependant obliged to help their patron in political campaigns. Some allied states were 'amici' of Rome.

Ara Pacis 'Altar of Peace'; set up in northern Rome by Augustus in honour of the goddess 'Pax', personification of peace. Used to celebrate his restoration of peace to the Roman world and display his leading role in that; the altar's sculptures bore a portrayal of the then Imperial Family attending a ceremonial sacrifice there.

archon Greek word for senior city official; especially used for those of

Athens where the year was designated as that of the man currently senior archon, 'archon basileos' ('king archon') as it was by the consul in Rome.

Asiana The 'diocese' (q.v.) of western Asia Minor, containing the post-Diocletian provinces formerly in the Republican/Early Empire province of 'Asia'. The latter was the territory of the kingdom of Pergamum, annexed 133 BC.

augur A priest whose duties consisted of divining whether the gods approved of a specified course of action by inspecting the entrails of sacrificial victims and other 'signs' (eg flights of birds). This was done by following a manual of those results that signified approval or the contrary. A formal 'college' of six patrician and six plebeian 'augurs' existed, and new ones were initially selected by the incumbents when needed; from 104 BC they were elected.

Augustal Prefect The post-Diocletianic official who served as governor of the 'diocese' of Egypt.

Augustalia The annual festival celebrating Augustus' return from the East after restoring peace in the Empire and with all its neighbours, latterly Parthia, in 19 BC. Games were held to commemorate this on each 4 October.

aula palatina The grand reception-hall of the Imperial Palace on the Palatine, as built by Domitian in the AD 80s.

aurei Gold coin issued by Diocletian, at the weight of sixty to the pound. Twenty-four silver 'denarii' were supposed to be worth one 'aureus'.

aureus Singular case of 'aureii'.

Bacaudae Brigands who troubles provinces of the West, especially Gaul and Germany, under disturbed political conditions from the AD 180s; usually appeared at times of disorder or social unrest, such as the early fifth century. Probably a mixture of ruined peasant-farmers, itinerant unemployed, military deserters, and robbers.

Bona Dea The 'Good Goddess', an obscure Republican deity whose cult was restricted to women. Her annual festival in Rome was held on 4 December, and under the Republic special 'secret' ceremonies were held in houses led by the principal woman of the household. The main ceremony was in the consul's house, led by his wife. It was considered unlucky and potentially blasphemous for a man (e.g. Clodius in 62 BC) to be present.

boni 'The Good (Men)'. A self-applied term used by the ultra-conservative traditionalist Republican aristocrats in the first century BC, e.g. Cato; they were led by men from the ancient patrician families who had dominated the consulship for centuries and assumed their 'right' to rule Campus Martius 'Field of Mars'; the flat area of Rome NW of the Capitol, backing on the River Tiber, beyond the Servian Walls. Left empty as a place for military exercises and parades under the early and middle Republic, later mostly built over but with an open area for mass-events (including voting).

Carmen Saeculare The special hymn performed at the 'Ludi Saeculares', the

ceremonies marking each supposed centenary from the founding of Rome. The version sang in 17 BC was written by the poet Horace.

cataphracts Mailed heavy cavalry, initially used by Rome's Oriental rivals the Seleucid kingdom, Pontus, Parthia, and Persia. Later adopted by the Empire too. Their weight in battle, crashing through an enemy line of light cavalry or infantry, and their mail 'armour' made them a formidable weapon.

Censor Two special magistrates, ex-consuls of noted reputation, appointed by the Senate every five years to examine its (and the equestrian order's) membership, evicting the unworthy or disgraced. They also examines whether all citizens in a particular economic 'class' had adequate financial means to qualify, and transferred citizens between classes and tribes. Their role lasted until the next appointment, but in practice was usually completed within eighteen months. Augustus assumed the role to add it to the Imperial powers.

cithara A stringed musical instrument like a lyre, mainly performed on in the Greek world. To be skilled at the cithara was seen as decadent by a Roman like Nero.

Classis Britanniae 'British Fleet'. The fleet set up in the 270s or 280s AD to protect the shores of the English Channel from Germanic pirates.

cognomen The third and last name of a male Roman, added after the forename and family name. It was supposed to distinguish the individual from those others with the same first two names, and would specify or commemorate a particular physical characteristic or a feat – e.g. a conquest such as those achieved by various Republican members of the Metellus family (Macedonicus, Balearicus, Numidicus). It could be passed down through generations as an additional surname, e.g. Caesar and Cicero. Many were originally sarcastic or descriptive, e.g. Cicero ('chickpea') as a comment on an ancestor's small stature; 'Ahenobarbus' ('bronze-beard') came from the family tendency to red beards, supposedly originating from an ancestor whose beard had been touched and singed by the god Castor after the battle of Lake Regillus.

cohorts The main sub-division of a Roman Army legion; there were ten in each legion, each originally supposedly consisting of 600 men (more usually 400 in practice). Each cohort contained six 'centuries', originally of 100 men.

collegia Origin of our 'college'; a body of men banded together in a formal association for a specific purpose, usually political (the college of tribunes) or religious (a college of priests). Local associations of citizens in a specific area of the capital formed colleges to look after the crossroads in their areas, and celebrated their role with an annual religious festival (the Compitalia).

colonia A 'colony' set up by the State or a general, later Emperor, usually to control a particular unsettled or potentially hostile area for the Republic/Empire. Often used to grant land to military veterans at the end of their service.

Colosseum The nickname of the 'Flavian Amphitheatre', built by Vespasian on the site of Nero's palace to show that his dynasty put the welfare of the people above selfish and autocratic self-gratification. The name came from the adjacent 'Colossus', a huge statue of the sun-god which Nero erected in identification with himself.

Comes Rei Privatae The post-Diocletianic government official in charge of the Emperor's private household treasury and his own lands and mines. Most senior civil as well as military officials were by this date granted the rank of 'Comes' ('Count'), see below.

Comes Sacrae Largitiones 'Count of the Sacred (i.e. Emperor's) Largesses'. The post-Diocletianic Imperial finance-minister, handling State money.

Comitatenses/comitenses 'Companions'; the term used for membership of the Late Imperial (post-260s) 'field army' which was stationed with the Court and moved about with the Emperor. The word came from the Macedonian 'companions', the senior officers and personal escort of Alexander the Great.

Comitatus The 'field army' from the 260s onwards, as above.

Comitia Centuriata The assembly of the citizens of Rome under the Republic, divided up by economic means (by a 'means-test') into separate classes. The assembly (or 'Comitia') in its 'Centuriata' version (i.e. 'by centuries', by 100 men) ranked as a military assembly, and thus met in military-style divisions initially of 100 men each, but more than 100 by the Late Republic when each economic 'class' was too large to permit this easily. The 'Comitia Centuriata' elected consuls, praetors and (every five years) censors, and heard charges of treason; the full Popular Assembly ('Comitia Populi Tributa') met in different sub-divisions by tribes, not economic classes.

conscripti An ancient term referring to those aristocratic families within the Early Republican 'patrician' rank who were supposed to have been chosen by the original, hereditary patricians ('patres', 'fathers') to make up the numbers of that class. They had thus been 'conscripted' into the class, not always belonged by family right; and the Senate was addressed as 'patres et conscripti'.

Constitutio Antoniniana The 'Antonine Constitution', by which Emperor Caracalla (formal forename 'Antoninus') made all male freeborn residents of the Empire full citizens in AD 212. The main reason was to make them pay the citizens' taxes.

consul suffectus Extra consuls elected to take over mid-term from the annual 'consul ordinarius' (two of them) who entered office at the start of the Roman year. They could take over at any date, and the initial Republican practice of only two suffect consuls was later amended (or abused, as many saw it) to add many more and buy political support. Caesar was criticized for creating one follower as suffect consul for one day, 31 December; Commodus created hundreds and sold the rank.

corrector The post-Diocletianic term for the civil governor of a province.

Technically a 'corrector' had to be a governor of personal senatorial rank, and all governors from the lower 'equites' class were termed 'praesides'; they were eligible for separate groups of provinces. Later all governors were upgraded to senatorial rank.

Corrector Orientis A special rank for 'corrector' of the diocese of 'Oriens' (Syria etc.), based at Antioch, created for a high-ranking individual on a 'one-off' basis for a special mission.

Corrector Totius Orientis As above, but with a larger remit over the Middle Eastern provinces

corvus 'Raven', i.e. raven's beak. A term used for a special ramming-device on the prow of a warship, invented for the First Punic War.

cursus honorum 'Way/Road of Honour', the traditional route for holding successive offices in ascending rank in Rome under the Republic. Supposedly a man became eligible for the first office (quaestor) at thirty, then rose via the aedileship and praetorship to serve as consul aged forty-two. These were the ideal ages to serve, but the 'rule' was not always followed; younger election was only allowed in exceptional circumstances, as for Pompeius Magnus (aged thirty-six as consul in 70 BC).

curule The term for two new aediles elected as of 367 BC to supplement the work of the plebeian aediles; elected by the full Popular Assembly whereas the plebeian aediles were only elected by the plebeians. The term 'curule' could be used to denote any senior magistrate; their official chairs of office, allowed arms, were 'curule' too.

damnatio memoriae 'Damnation of Memory'; official Senate ritual cursing and cancellation of the acts of an unpopular, especially tyrannical ruler (once he was safely dead). An official record of extreme opprobrium.

de pecuniis repetundis legal charge of/court investigating embezzlement.

Decemvirs A board of ten State officials set up in 451 BC to re-write the laws and revise the constitution. Much affected in later memory by legend and political 'spin' (aimed especially at the supposed villain of the story, the haughty aristocrat Appius Claudius, and by implication his descendants), it was supposed to have been influenced by the boards of ten men running city affairs in ancient Athens and been decided on after a 'fact-finding' mission there to see how they ran government.

Decennalia The official celebrations of an Emperor's tenth year of rule.

decimation An extreme military punishment, usually for mutiny or cowardice; the troops were divided into tens and each group drew lots for one of their number to be executed.

dies fasti Days on which public business was permitted on the calendar; the reverse were the 'dies nefasti'. The annual calendar, posted up on certain public buildings under the Republic, was decided on by the State priests and was until Julius Caesar's time based on a year of 355 days; thus the actual dates varied year by year. From Caesar's 46 BC reforms the calendar was more regular.

Dionysia Festival of Dionysus, mainly in Greek areas. The most famous was the annual one in Athens, where plays were presented.

Dionysiac Related to the god Dionysus; usually a term implying a wild drunken revel, of which this wine-god was patron and exemplar.

Diribitorium An official hall or assembly-building for voting; in Rome on the Campus Martius. Under the Republic voting was done in enclosures in the open air; a hall was later built.

Divitenses 'Connected to the Divinity/God', i.e. in attendance on the Emperor as a god before the adoption of Christianity. A mid-Imperial name of a Guards regiment.

Domus Transitorium The 'connecting house', a palace built by Nero to link the old Imperial palace on the Palatine to buildings on the Esquiline, South of the site of the later Flavian Amphitheatre. Partly replaced after the 'Great Fire' by the 'Domus Aurea', 'Golden House'.

donative A gift of money, initially given as a celebration-cum-bribe by a new Emperor to the Praetorian Guard (sometimes the populace) on appointment to secure support. As might be expected, inflated over the decades by higher demand from the recipients and on occasion doled out at other times by an insecure ruler.

dux 'Leader', from which we get our rank 'Duke'. A term used for the commander of the troops in each province from the Diocletianic reforms onwards; until then the troops had been commanded by the provincial governor. Taking them from him was supposed to end the threat of governors rebelling. Also used for specific frontier commands.

ephebic The term 'ephebes' was the Greek ranking for male adolescents between ending schooling and becoming fully adult, specifically while doing military training. Hence used for the official corps of teenage military trainees (usually aged sixteen to eighteen) in some Greek cities, e.g. Alexandria.

Eques (equestrian) The originally economic rank for those citizens of substantial means who were not of hereditary patrician rank; the term translates as 'horseman' as they were supposed to have the wealth to provide their own horse when serving in the Roman army. They were not allowed into the Senate, which was only for patricians. They were eligible for some offices and not others, e.g. those Early Imperial provincial governorships not restricted to senators.

Equites singularii Augusti A special second century AD regiment of cavalry from the 'equestrian' order.

Fasti Capitolini The official list of consuls under the Republic, which has survived.

Felix 'Lucky'/'fortunate'; a cognomen (q.v.) awarded by himself to Sulla.

flamen A member of the official colleges of State priests.

flamen dialis The senior and official leader of the State priests in ceremonies. Chosen by his colleagues, for life, within strict criteria; e.g. having

both parents (and his wife's parents) living, and hedged around in his official and private life by taboos. He was not allowed to touch iron, see the dead, eat specific foods, wear leather, or cut his beard with certain implements.

flamines Plural of 'flamen'.

Foederatus/foederati 'Ally'; term for individuals or nations allied to Rome. Later given to Germanic peoples living under their own leadership within the Empire, e.g. the Goths from AD 382, and to regiments made up by these men.

Frumentarii Officials dealing with grain-distribution.

gens Iulia The 'gens' was the term for a family supposedly descended from a common ancestor; thus the 'gens Iulia' or 'Julia' were the descendants of 'Iulus', the Roman name for Ascanius the son of the Trojan hero Aeneas (as in the 'Aeneid'). The second name of a Roman was the family, 'gens' name – as with Caius Julius Caesar.

Hadriania The 'Hadrianic' festival inaugurated by and in honour of Emperor Hadrian.

Hagia Sophia 'Holy/Divine Wisdom' (Greek). The name of the cathedral in Constantinople built by Constantine and rebuilt after the fire of AD 402.

harpago 'hook'; a hooking-device used on Roman warships to hook onto an enemy ship and hold it while their troops boarded it.

Hermaeum 'Building of Hermes', the Greek god.

Homoousios 'Of like substance to Man'; theological term used to describe the nature of Christ as both divine and human simultaneously. In contrast, any hint that he was less than both – either a man-like divine figure not fully human, or a god-like man – was taken by the Church as heresy.

humiles 'Humble', the technical and legal term for the lower classes. Later 'humiliores' was used. They were legally distinguishable from the higher-ranking members of the professional classes ('honestiores') and were liable for capital penalties, e.g. throwing to the beasts in the arena ('ad bestias'), or for slave-labour, if convicted of specific crimes.

Imperator 'General'; initially any senior commander in charge of an army, one or more legions; and the troops would acclaim them as such at the end of a successful campaign. Technically this acclamation was necessary to allow a formal triumph. The rank and the acclamation were gradually taken over by the 'First Citizen' in his role as the sole and supreme military commander, and the word was used as shorthand for and the military rank of the Roman ruler (i.e. 'Emperor').

imperium '(Military) Command', the legal authority over a region and over its troops given to a general. Initially a specific province, extended under Late Republican emergencies to wider commands over a region and a number of armies; later came to be the legal grant of power to the sole ruler.

Imperium maius The special command over a wide-ranging area and its troops/officials given to the first 'Emperors', Augustus, from 27 BC

technically only covered all the armies and those provinces given to him on a renewable basis by the Senate, not all the 'Empire'.

In hoc signo vinces 'Under this sign conquer'; allegedly the words written in the sky around the sign of the Cross in Constantine I's dream before the crucial battle of the Milvian Bridge against Maxentius (AD 312). He put the cross on his standard and duly won the battle, then adopting the insignia for the Imperial military standards (the 'labarum').

Interrex The official elected to preside over the State in any intermission between consuls under the Republic, usually in the case of a disputed or invalidated election.

Italia Annoniaria The 'diocese' of northern Italy under the Late Empire, after Diocletian created the tier of 'dioceses' for groups of provinces.

Italia Suburbicana As above, for southern Italy.

Iugera A measurement of land; one-quarter of a hectare, five-eighths of an acre.

Iuridicus A judge.

Ius Italicum 'The law of Italy'; legal privileges given to the free male inhabitants of Italy.

Iustitium Justice.

Iusti Laws.

Lectisternium A formal, propitiatory 'banquet of the gods'; an appeal for the goodwill of the gods by placing their images at a banquet in a temple and presenting food to them.

Lector 'Reader'.

Legate Originally the commander of a legion and/or a senior subordinate of the consul on a military expedition; supposed to be of senatorial rank. Later a civil as well as military official sent on a defined mission (e.g. to a particular province). Some governors had this rank.

Limitanei The frontier-troops under the Late Empire, settled on land on the borders and responsible for their defence. As static troops in specific provinces, they were contrasted to the mobile 'field army'.

Ludi Apollinares 'Games of Apollo', held in mid-July; the accompanying rites centred on Apollo's temple on the Palatine Hill.

Ludi Plebei 'Plebeian Games', held on 4 to 17 November each year.

Ludi Romani 'Roman Games', held in mid-September.

Ludi Saeculares The 'Secular Games', held supposedly every century to mark the centenaries of the city of Rome (which it was eventually agreed was founded in 754/3 BC). In practice, it was much more irregular and could be 're-scheduled' for political reasons by an Emperor keen to show his patriotism and munificence.

Ludi Victoriae Caesaris Special 'Games for the Victories of Caesar' held by his heirs.

Lupercalia A very ancient festival of uncertain origin and purpose, held on 15 February in honour of the god Faunus (the Roman equivalent of Pan)

and run by the priestly college of 'Luperci' priests who had a ceremonial race round the Palatine, dressed in goatskin and striking women with thongs of goats flesh to make them fertile. The Palatine being an original village of Rome and home of Romulus, it was asserted that the ceremony was connected to the city's origins and founded by Romulus; 'Lupa' ('Wolf') was connected to the wolf that suckled him and Remus and was also an identity of Pan (as 'Lykaios').

Luperci Julii The extra priests of the 'Luperci' (see above) added by Julius Caesar.

Magister Equitum 'Master of Horse': the supreme commander of the cavalry in the field-army ('Comitatus') under the Late Empire.

Magister Officiorum 'Master of Offices'; supreme head of the civil administration under the Late Empire, based at the Imperial Palace.

Magister Peditum 'Master of Foot': supreme commander of the infantry in the Field-army under the Late Empire.

Magister Utriusque Militiae 'Master of Both Services': head of both infantry and cavalry in the field-army under the Late Empire. Only occasionally in existence, for a specially important (and usually politically significant) commander such as Stilicho and Aetius.

maiestas The Roman crime of treason; initially for fighting for an enemy against Rome, increasingly for political crime against the government too. There was originally a separate and lesser crime of 'maiestas minuta' ('little treason') where warring on Rome was not involved.

Mater Castrorum 'Mother of the Camp': an honorary rank given to a prominent female of the Imperial Family, usually the Emperor's wife (e.g. Agrippina II under Claudius and Faustina II under Marcus) to signify their close link to the army. It usually resulted from being present in camp on campaign.

Mater Matuta The 'Great Mother' goddess, mainly of Anatolian rather than Roman religion but amalgamated with local Italian cults by the adaptable Roman religion. Identified with the Anatolian goddess Cybele, whose cult with its eunuch priests and emotional festivities attracted substantial numbers of adherents. Brought to Rome by immigrants in the later third century BC.

metropolis 'Great City' (Greek): the term used for the principal city/administrative capital of a province, with the governor's residence. Adopted for the Church by Constantine and his advisers after AD 313, so that the senior bishop of each province (who had authority over the others) resided in this city and became the 'metropolitan'.

modi A measure of wheat.

musae The Greek personification of each of the arts, in attendance on the god Apollo; nine in number. Supposed to reside on Mount Helicon in Boeotia.

Naumachia Naval 'Games', involving reconstructions of battles at sea; held

in a flooded arena of the same name. Some were purpose-built, but the Flavian Amphitheatre could be flooded for such events.

Neos Dionysos 'New Dionysus', Greek honorary title awarded by the locals in Greek-speaking Asia Minor to Marcus Antonius the triumvir (who claimed descent from and patronage by the god). He duly staged a wine-fuelled 'progress' across the region in honour of Dionysus' legendary arrival there bringing the cultivation of vines.

Novus homo 'New Man'. A dismissive term by the patricians of old family for those consuls who had not had any ancestors holding that office, and who were thus considered unworthy by them.

numeri Term for various Late Imperial guards-regiments.

Odeum Theatre for the performance of the spoken arts, mainly poetry.

Optimus Maximus 'Best and Greatest', epithets of Jupiter especially used for his temple on the Capitol which was the centre of Roman religion.

Oriens 'The East', the diocese (collection of provinces) centred around Syria; Antioch was the capital and seat of its governor, the 'Count of Oriens'.

Otium et dignitate 'Rest/quiet and dignity/good public reputation'; a call for a return to settled, non-confrontational, consensual rule by respected persons of good social standing without perpetual crisis or violence.

Ovation The 'second-ranking' version of a public triumphal parade for a victorious general, granted if his victories did not qualify for a full triumph.

palladium A sacred statue, traditionally of the goddess Athena/Minerva, which was looked on as the tutelary 'sacred object' and totem of a city. (There was a link to one epithet of Athene, 'Pallas', but there may have been two goddesses originally.) The first-recorded was the palladium of Troy, known in the poems of Homer and supposedly stolen by Greek infiltrators (Odysseus and Diomedes) as a necessary precursor of the city's capture. Rome had its own version, in later patriotic legends presumed to have been brought from Troy by Aeneas to Italy and so possibly the 'real' Trojan one that had evaded capture. Its loss would bring disaster on its owners, so it was closely guarded.

Panthea The shadowy 'goddess of many/all'.

Parilia The annual festival for the foundation of Rome, fixed on the date of 21 April when Romulus supposedly founded the city.

Pater Patriae 'Father of the Country': special honour granted to Cicero in 63 BC for saving the State from Catilina's conspiracy. Later granted to Augustus, and assumed by a number of usually middle-aged or elderly Emperors as a mark of esteem for long service. The modest Tiberius refused it.

Patres et conscripti 'Fathers and conscripts': see 'conscripti'.

Patron As modern meaning, but with special political and legal overtones implying a duty of assisting the careers and giving advice and support to the patron's 'clients' and for personal and political support to him by them. Traditionally the clients in Rome would wait on their patron in the mornings to be noticed and demonstrate his circle of backers.

Pax The tutelary goddess and personification of Peace.

Pentapolis The 'five cities' of the Greek-speaking settlement on the lower Nile in Egypt.

Plebeian All the citizens who did not belong to families of the hereditary 'patrician' nobility of Rome's oldest dynasties; under the Early Republic originally banned from holding the senior (curule) magistracies and priesthoods. These were mostly opened up, but the 'new rich' or newly-distinguished families of plebeian origin remained technically different from the old patricians. They used the term 'nobilis', 'distinguished', for themselves.

plebiscite As the modern meaning, of a popular vote by the citizenry; originally a law voted by the 'Popular Assembly', either as the Tribal Assembly or as the 'Comitia Centuriata', to distinguish these from a 'lex' which was decided by the Senate. The two were made identical by the 'Lex Hortensia' in 287 BC.

poleis 'Cities' (Greek)

pontifex maximus 'Supreme Priest', head of the Roman religion; the senior priest who led sacrifices and supervised the work of the priestly colleges. Chosen or life; lived with the 'Vestal Virgins' at the 'Domus Publicus' ('public/State house' by the Forum Romanum, official residence the 'Regia' (a temple, originally the King's house). Originally been held by the King to 509/8 BC; Augustus took it for the 'First Citizen'/Emperor in 12 BC and it stayed as part of his titles.

Populares Derogatory term for the leaders of the 'Popular' or democratic faction in Late Republican politics, with the implication of a rabble-pleasing demagogue seeking to seize power from the aristocracy. The Gracchi, Saturninus, and Marius were regarded as archetypes.

Praefect Term for a variety of State/military, later Imperial senior officials, a 'supervisor'.

Praefecture An established office held by a praefect, e.g. of the Praetorian Guard, the 'Vigiles' (fire service/Watch), 'Annona' (grain – supplies), or a number of provincial governorships. All praefects were originally from the equestrian order; a senatorial officer (eg as a governor) was a legate. The governorship of Egypt was held by a praefect. Once the Praetorian Guard was abolished (AD 312) their Praetorian Praefect – already at least two in number, one for each Emperor – became the senior civil official in the Palace, with a mainly judicial role assisting the Emperor with legal cases. He was already presiding over the Emperor's law-court and so often had judicial experience by the third century.

Praetor senior magistrate Initially the alternative term used for the consul, but by the fourth century BC there was a separate 'Urban Praetor' who ran the administration of the capital and ranked second to the consuls in the 'cursus honorum'. (The praetorship was thus usually the last office to be held by an aspirant before he became consul.) An additional 'praetor

peregrinus' was added in 242 BC to direct affairs outside Rome, across Italy; then two more in 227 BC to govern Sicily and Sardinia, the state's first conquests. A fifth and sixth were added in 197 BC to govern the two provinces of Spain, and two more by either the Gracchi or Marius. The 'Praetorian Guard' was originally the military detachment serving the urban praetor and keeping order in Rome; it was annexed to the Emperor's use by Augustus. It was originally (until AD 14) and occasionally later headed by two Praefects; otherwise by one. They were always members of the equestrian order.

Primacerius Senior clerk in the State administration; the Late Empire designated the head of the notaries/clerks in the Palace administration as 'primacerius notariorum'.

Primogenia Pia Fidelis 'First Created, Dutiful, Faithful', special motto of a legion.

'Principes Iuventutis' 'Leader/Prince of Youth': an honorary rank given to a young male of the Imperial blood under the Early Empire, usually the designated heir. Ceremonial duties involved leading cavalry parades of the young nobility at particular festivals.

Principes Senatus 'Leader of the Senate': the equivalent in honour and respect of 'Father of the House' in the Commons; always a senator of long and distinguished service, usually chosen anew by the censors at each five-yearly census.

Proconsul Technical term for an ex-consul now holding some other office, usually a provincial governorship.

Pro-Praefect As above, an ex-Praefect.

Propraetor As above, an ex-praetor.

Protectores The 'Household' troops of the Emperor in the Late Empire, with a tradition of young aristocratic membership and a close link to the sovereign like the British Household Cavalry. Means 'protectors'. They became the regiments of officer-cadets, with the 'Scholae' (below) as the term for all the Household troops.

Publicola 'People's Friend', a nickname originally applied to the populist (in a positive sense) aristocrat Valerius in the first decade of the Republic. He assisted the poor, and demolished his grandiose house to reassure fears of his monarchic ambitions.

Quaestio A legal investigation or commission of enquiry.

'Quaestor Sacri Palatii' 'Quaestor of the Sacred Palace'; initially a senior treasury official in the Palace under the Late Empire but soon achieved responsibility for heading the judicial administration, leaving finance to the 'Comes Sacrae Largitionum'. As such, usually a trained lawyer and could act as a judge in Palace cases.

Quaestors Financial officials from the time of the Republic. They were originally responsible for running the treasury, collecting customs, managing the accounts of senior officials such as governors etc, and varied in

number from at least a dozen to around thirty; the quaestorship was the most junior rung on the 'cursus honorum' ladder of rank and men were eligible for it at the age of thirty. It did not automatically confer membership of the Senate, but usually did. The quaestors served in both Rome and the provinces.

Quindecimvirs A board of fifteen members.

Quinquatrus An obscure festival of ancient Latin origin, celebrated in Rome on March 19 to 23 and linked to the goddess Minerva. The connected 'Quinquatrus Minsiculae' was on 13 June.

Quinquennial Five-yearly.

Quinqueremes Large galley warships, so-called from having five banks of oars as compared to the usual, smaller triremes (three banks). In practice, it is unlikely that many ships actually had this number of banks, at least for serious use in battle; the term was more of a shorthand reference to a galley larger than a trireme.

Rationalibus Financial officers.

'Reductor Lucis Aeternae' 'Restorer of Eternal Light', a flattering term given to Constantius I on his coins commemorating the reconquest of Britain (AD 296).

'Regia' 'Royal House', the original royal residence in the Forum Romanum taken over by the senior priest, the 'Pontifex Maximus'.

Res privatae The private Imperial treasury administering the Emperors' personal estates under the Late Empire.

'Restitor Galliae' 'Restorer of the Gauls', after third century raids.

'Restitor Illyrici' 'Restorer of Illyricum', after ditto third century raids.

'Restitor Orbis' 'Restorer of the (Roman) World', after third century raids and civil war.

'Rex' 'King' – a cognomen under the Republic, hence Julius Caesar's riposte on being hailed as 'King' that his name was not Rex but Caesar.

'Rex Sacrorum' 'Sacred/Sacrificial King', second-ranking priest under the Pontifex Maximus in the Republic.

Rhetors Officially-paid orators and oratory-teachers.

'Rostra' 'The Beak', the platform where speakers addressed the populace in the Forum Romanum. So-called because it was adorned with the beak-shaped prows of Carthaginian ships captured in the First Punic War.

'Sacra Via' 'Sacred/Holy Street', the street up which official and religious processions entered the Forum Romanum.

Saturnalia The feast of Saturn, the divine father and predecessor of Jupiter, around 17 December; its riotous customs of unbridled feasting, its present-giving among household members, and its 'topsy-turvy' practice of masters waiting on their servants were connected to the legend of the ancient 'reign of Saturn' as a golden age of wealth, ease, and no servitude. The overthrow of Saturn by his son Jupiter as king of the gods was partly if not wholly taken from the Greek legend of Chronos and Zeus; but in Italian

myth Saturn had been banished to an island in the far West. (The return of the age of Saturn was promised in Augustan propaganda, especially by Vergil). The post-300 Church became particularly averse to its behaviour, some of which was transferred in popular culture to Christmas.

Saxa Rubra The marker-stone in northern Rome from which all distances across the Empire were measured.

Scholae The most prestigious regiments of aristocratic officers attending the Emperor in the Late Empire. Their commander, the 'Domestic of the Scholae', ranked after the 'Magistri Militiae' in the military hierarchy. They were originally the two new Palace regiments created by Diocletian, each 500 strong.

Scutarii One of Diocletian's two new Palace regiments, as above; The other was the 'Gentiles' ('Foreigners').

'Sebastos Olympios' 'Exalted Olympian', honorific given to Hadrian in Greece.

Senators Membership of the Senate, initially determined by birth within the hereditary 'closed shop' of the patricians class (the original families, 'patres', and later-added 'conscripti') but later added to by holding particular offices. Legendarily 100 in membership as founded by Romulus, supposed to be 300 under the Early Republic, and rose in number to around 700 in the first century; membership was originally for life but later the censors could evict members for unseemly or disgraceful conduct. Augustus cut back membership drastically. Senators were entitled to wear a tunic with a broad purple stripe, special shoes, and a gold ring.

Senatus consultus ultimum The 'ultimate Senatorial decree', which authorized the consuls to take whatever steps were necessary to save the Republic. This included legal immunity from the consequences of killing, and was as such open to abuse.

Sesterces Originally 'semi tertius', meaning 'two and a half' as worth two and a half 'ases' (a small coin). The basic unit of Republican coinage; four of them made a gold 'denarius'.

Severi turmarum equitum Romanorum A second-century honorary cavalry unit of Romans, performing at ceremonial parades.

Sicarii 'Knife-men', an extreme Jewish nationalist sect in the first century AD which stabbed Romans and their 'collaborators'. It has been speculated that Judas 'Iscairiot' was really 'the Sicariot', an ex-member.

Sol Invictus 'The Unconquered Sun', an Oriental cult venerating the triumphant sun-god which became very popular among the Roman army in the Balkans in the third century. As such it was promoted by locally-born military rulers such as Aurelian, as a form of monotheism with the Emperor as the 'Companion' of the sun-god. Aurelian built a huge temple to the god in Rome.

Spolia optima The spoils of war dedicated on the Capitol by a triumphant

general who had achieved the feat of killing an enemy commander in single combat; a rare honour.

Strategos 'General' (Greek); commander of the army of a Greek city.

Suffetes Alternative term for the 'consul suffectus' (qv).

Supplicatio A festival of prayers and religious offerings, usually declared (by the Senate) to coincide with celebrations of a military victory; the greater the victory, the more days awarded for the 'supplicatio' (sometimes up to fourteen).

Talent A Greek measurement for bullion, taken on by Rome; it was used for coins, but as measured in weight not numbers. It could be used for other materials too.

Tetrarch Term for the rulers who sub-divided Herod's kingdom on his death in 4 BC, and later for the four (two senior and two junior) who ruled the Empire from AD 293. Term means 'one of four/ruling a quarter', from Greek.

Theos Epiphanes 'Manifest God', honorific for Greek ruler.

Theotokos 'Mother of God', theological term used for the Virgin Mary. First appeared in the 430s AD over the Nestorian controversy, as a riposte to Nestorian claims that Jesus was not fully human so Mary had not given birth in a normal human manner (which was seen as an insult to her).

Toga virilis The Roman robe of manhood (toga) assumed at a boy's formal 'coming-of-age', usually at the age of fourteen. This was the unadorned 'toga alba' (white toga) or 'toga pura'; a specially whitened 'toga canadida' was worn by electoral candidates and a decorated 'toga picta' by triumphing generals.

Tresvires rei publicae constituendae 'Three men designated to direct the Republic/public affairs', technical name for the triumvirs (qv). The second triumvirate was designated as such legally; the first was informal. Tribune Officials from the plebeian order, originally ten a year in the fifth century BC, elected annually by the Popular Assembly (from 494) to look after the people's political interests and keep abuses by the Senate in check. Took office on 10 December; elected by the Assembly in its 'tribal' version (i.e. voting by tribes), hence the name. Could initiate legislation in the Assembly, or veto legislation there and in the Senate; could veto any election or magisterial appointment. From 149 BC members of the Senate; hence the office was used by ambitious plebeians to gain access to it if they lacked the means or backing to be elected to a magistracy. The tribune was regarded as a 'sacrosanct' person, inviolable from violence, and the Assembly took an oath to protect them; thus their status (as well as their powers) was seen as a useful tool for the 'First Citizen' and was assumed by Augustus. The grant of 'tribunician power' to a ruler, together with that of 'imperium', was the equivalent of accession in the Early Empire – but it was also sometimes given to the Emperor's heir to ease his ascent to power, e.g. to Agrippa and Tiberius by Augustus and to Titus by Vespasian. The

'Military Tribunes' were originally a body of young aristocrats (initially twenty-four in the fifth century BC) elected annually by the Assembly to assist the consuls on military service, and to command legions if no consul was present. A smaller group of them – probably older and more experienced than usual – indeed superseded the consuls in charge of the State at times until 367 BC. By the Late Republic and Early Empire the rank, granted more widely, was that of the middle-ranking officers in an army, commanding infantry and cavalry detachments.

Triremes War-galleys with three banks of oars; the normal Roman warship.

Triumvirate Rule by three men – unofficial term for the rule of Pompeius, Crassus, and Caesar from 60 to 53 BC, and official term (as above) for the rule of Antonius, Octavian, and Lepidus from 43 BC to Lepidus' removal (36 BC) and its legal expiry in January 32 BC.

Tropaeum Trajani 'Trophy of Trajan', monument on the Danube to Trajan's conquest of Dacia.

Ulpia Victrix 'Ulpian (from Trajan's family name) Victorious'. A legionary motto belonging to one of Trajan's favourite legions.

Vexillations Detachments of troops from a legion.

Vicariates or 'dioceses' The groups of provinces given a new 'over-governor', a 'vicar', in charge of their governors by Diocletian and Constantine. As eventually constituted, there were thirteen of these regions across the Late Empire, but the office gradually faded in importance and was phased out. The term for their 'over-governor', 'vicar', was taken on by the Church.

Vicennalia Celebrations of a ruler's twenty years on the throne.

Vigiles The 'Watch' and 'fire brigade' in Rome, keeping guard against crime, disorder, and arson/accidental fires. Founded under Augustus.

Vigintiviri A board of twenty officials.

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