Roman History Notes
—Combining Slides and Textbook

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1 Outline and Sources

1.1 Periodization(历史分期)

1. 753 - 509 BC Kingdom

2. 509 - 28/27 BC Republic

3. 28/27 BC - 284 AD Principate

4. 284 - 476 Late Roman Empire

1.2 Sources that Underline Our Knowledge of the Past

1.2.1 Literary Texts

Wide variety of genres ranging from historiography, biography, oratory(演讲), poetry, geography, legal works, technical treatises (技术协定, e.g. on grammar, land surveying, military science), novels.

Most of the literary texts that have been (partially) preserved have been handed down to us through a **manuscript tradition**.

1. Inscriptions: 碑文, texts engraved in or written on durable material, usually stone or metal.

2. Papyri: texts written on papyrus. 莎草书

3. Material Remains: any material that remained from the time of ancient Rome, ranging from works of art and monumental buildings to the remains of ordinary dwellings, foundations, structures of a utilitarian purpose, and utensils. untensil - 器皿

4. Coinage

2 Research Methods and Resources

Why is the importance of the ancient sources emphasized in this course? Why not just providing a clear and plain narrative? What is historical research about?

2.1 Elements of Historical Research(历史研究的元素)

1. Research Question: this question usually arises from peculiarities(特点，怪癖) and/or patterns that can be detected in the ancient source material while keeping the existing scholarly debate in mind.

2. Collection of the ancient source.

3. Collection and reading of the modern scholarship.

4. Analysis and interpretation of the ancient sources.

5. Drawing up an argumentation and conclusions.

6. Present the conclusions orally and/or in writing.

2.2 Sources of Roman History

2.2.1 Early Rome(Kingdom)

1. Archaeological evidence (contemporary) 当代的考古证据

2. Traces of earlier institutions(制度, 机构) in later periods: Much else that we think we know depends upon the principle that Roman institutions were deeply conservative. 保守，意思是罗马的制度变化非常缓慢

有一些作家写的作品可以帮助我们了解早期罗马。年代里的c. = circa，拉丁语大约的意思.

1. Q(uintus) Fabius Pictor: 公元前3世纪-2世纪, writing a history, in **Greek**, of Italy and Rome up to 217/216 BC. His work is lost; only a few *testimonia* remain in later works.

   Testimonia: statements about the work or about its author. 作品或作者的介绍

   Fragments: actual citations or paraphrases of a given work or an author. 作品的碎片

2. M. Porcius Cato : 234 BC - 149 BC, *Origines* a work (now lost) in 7 books covering the story of Rome's foundation, origins of towns and customs in Italy, more recent history; his work is **fragmentary**, but it did contain at least two of his own speeches of which the one against the proposal to declare war on Rhodes is arguably the most famous one. partially-preserved.

3. Livy (Titus Livius, 59 BC – AD 17), *Books from the Founding of the City*, a work in 142 books covering the period from Rome's 'foundation'. Only books 1-10 (treating the period until 293 BC), 21-45 (219 BC - 167 BC) survive.

   Oxyrhynchus Epitome(摘要): 一本在Oxyrhynchus发现的摘要.

   in the Egyptian town Oxyrhynchus, a similar summary of books 37-40 and 48-55 was found on a scroll of papyrus that is now in Great Britain. Lost and Damaged.

   Periochae: summaries, probably made in the fourth century, of all books except 136-137.

4. M. Terentius Varro (116 BC - 27 BC), *Human and Divine Antiquities*, a work of 41 books (25 on *res humanae*, 16 on *res divinae*) from 47 BC, now lost, treating persons, places, times and various other issues. Divine - 神圣的

   Antiquarian: 研究文物的 Antiquity: 文物

   In the textbook, Potter claims Livy was able to exploit the work of Varro. But it is actually debatable to what degree he used this work (Cornell 1995, 19). Some scholars argue that Livy did not use Varro at all.

5. Dionysius of Halicarnassus (大约 60 BC - 7 AD): *Antiquities of the Romans*, 20 books written in Greek, covering the period from Rome's origins to outbreak of the First Punic War (264-241), of which 11 survive (containing the account up to 441).

6. Diodorus Siculus (c. 80 BC - 30 BC), *Universal History*, 40 books in Greek, of which 15 survive, covering the period from mythological times to 60 BC.

Q(uintus) Fabius Pictor, M. Porcius Cato, M. Terentius Varro, Diodorus Siculus都是生活在罗马共和国时期.

而Livy, Dionysius of Halicarnassus生活在元首制(Principate)时期.

2.2.2 Early and Middle Republic(c. 500 BC - 133 BC)

king Pyrrhus of Epirus: 伊庇鲁斯的皮洛士国王, 319 BC - 272 BC

For the Pyrrhic wars, we rely on Plutarch (c. 50 AD - 120 AD), *Lives of Famous Greeks and Romans: Life of Pyrrhus*.

For the Punic Wars, especially the second one:

Polybius, *Universal History* in 40 books, written in Greek, of which books 1-5 have been preserved, with fragments and excerpts for later books (no excerpts for 17, 19, 26, 37, 40) excerpt - 摘录

Livy, and Appian.

Inscriptions: *Senatus consultum de Bacchanalibus, Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum 1.581*.

2.2.3 Late Republic and Principate

M. Tullius Cicero (106-43)

C. Iulius Caesar (100-44)

Cornelius Tacitus (c. 55-120)

C. Suetonius Tranquillus (c. 70-140)

Cassius Dio (c. 164-230)

3 Arcaic Rome(古代罗马)

at one's disposal: 手头上

3.1 What types of evidence do we have at our disposal?

Archaeological evidence (contemporary): able to shed light on aspects of Rome's society

Literary sources (later):

- Later Roman ideas on the origin and early history of Rome

- (Later) Roman attitudes to certain social aspects of their society

- linguistic evidence, which in combination with archaeological evidence, can lay bare elements of archaic Rome

Inscriptions (beginning around 500, the end of our period)

3.2 What are the key characteristics of archaic Rome?

Geographical Position: located on higher ground near a curve and island in the lower stretches of the Tiber river.

The Tiber was an important north-south communication route linking the territory of the Umbri(翁布里人), the Sabines(萨宾人) and the Etruscans(伊特拉斯坎人) with the Tyrrhenian Sea(第勒尼安海). Indicative of its important role is the port at the Forum Boarium (屠牛广场：古罗马的牛市场，也是最古老的广场。位于卡比托利欧山、帕拉提诺山和阿文提诺山之间，靠近台伯河的平坦地带，是罗马最主要的港口。cattle market). South of the island was a location for fording the river(渡河口)—later improved by the creation of a bridge, allegedly(据说) during the reign of Ancus Marcius (r. 640-616): Pons Sublicius.

Bradley (2020, 139) emphasizes its peculiarity: rather than consisting of a defensible plateau(高原,台地), it was comprised of several hills. In between them ran water courses(水流, 水渠); there was a marsh(沼泽) south of the Palatine(帕拉提诺山); the Velabrum contained clay beds that were exploited for the production of pottery and tiles(瓷).

Low-lying areas suffered from floods caused by the inundation(泛滥) of the Tiber; a rise in the level of the Forum through human intervention reduced the impact of the rise of the water levels.
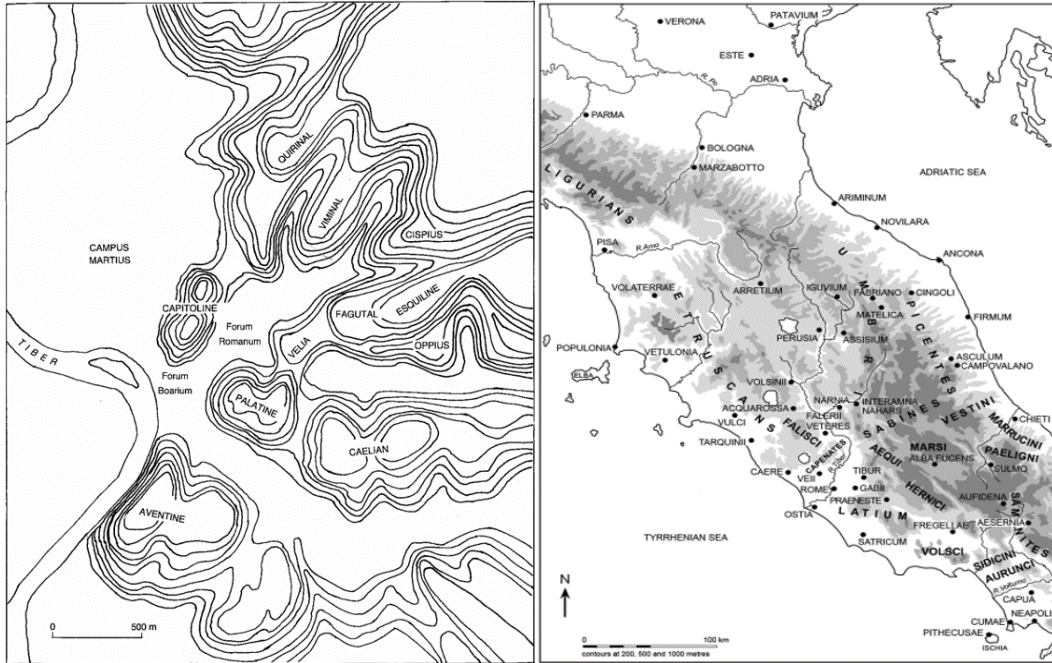
Rome was located at a vital crossroads of routes running from the interior(内陆) to the coast (via the Tiber and the Via Salaria), along the Tyrrhenian coast, and from salt pans(盐田) at the mouth of the Tiber to the Forum Boarium (Via Campana, 坎帕尼亚大道)

Via Salaria: The route is actually given to the *Sabines*, who have utilized it for trade since the second century B.C.The Romans took over the route and developed and expanded it until it became what we know today. As a result, **it is one of the oldest Roman streets ever**.

3.3 What are the earliest traces that indicate the existence of a settlement at the site of Rome? And to what period can they be dated?

意大利史前时代 Conventional Eras of Intalian Prehistory

表格 **1.** Conventional Eras of Intalian Prehistory

Eras(with their associated cultures)	Dates BC(all approximated)
Early Bronze Age	1800-1600
Middle Bronze Age(Appennine culture phases 1A and 1B)	1600-1300
Recent Bronze Age(Appennine culture phase 2)	1300-1200
Final Bronze Age(Proto-Villanovan)	1200-900
Early Iron Age(Villanovan culture)	900-730
Orientalizsing period(oriental 东方的)	730-580
Archaic period	580-480

The earliest evidence for settlement at the site of Rome can be dated to the **Middle and Recent Bronze Age**, i.e. between 1600 and 1200 BC according to Bradley (2020, 141).

"Evidence for a stable community" (Bradley 2020, 141) on the Capitoline hill in the **Final Bronze Age** (1200-900 BC):

– sherds(碎片) of pottery dating to the Middle Bronze Age; deposits of faunal(动物的) and ceramic(陶瓷的) material from the Final Bronze Age

– Bronzeworking

– Remains of buildings

4

– Redesign of the slope on the Capitoline hill

– Fragments of Recent Bronze Age (1300-1200 BC) pottery in the Forum, which at this point might have been part of the same settlement as the one on the Capitoline; the limits of this settlement are unknown; perhaps it covered the Capitoline, the Forum and the Forum Boarium

Cornell (1995, 48) dates the earliest evidence for permanent habitation in the site occupied by Rome to **the period around 1000 BC**. The evidence consists of cremation(火葬的) graves in the Forum. Similar graves have been found at other sites nearby in the Alban Hills, Pratica di Mare (Lavinium), perhaps Ficana, Palombara Sabina, Campo Reatino (green). It is important to emphasize this geographical diffusion in order to show that Rome was not unique in this respect.

The emergence of this material marks the beginning of a distinctive archaeological culture that has been termed the "**Latial culture**".

The term "Villanova(n) Culture" is a modern term used to refer to a culture that is characterized by **cremation burial in biconical urns**(双锥形骨灰盒) which use an inverted bowl, cup or helmet as lid (see below). The Villanovan Culture existed from c. 900 to c. 730 BC in the area of ancient Etruria, northern Latium, Tuscany, and across the Apennines into the area around Bologna and the Po plain.
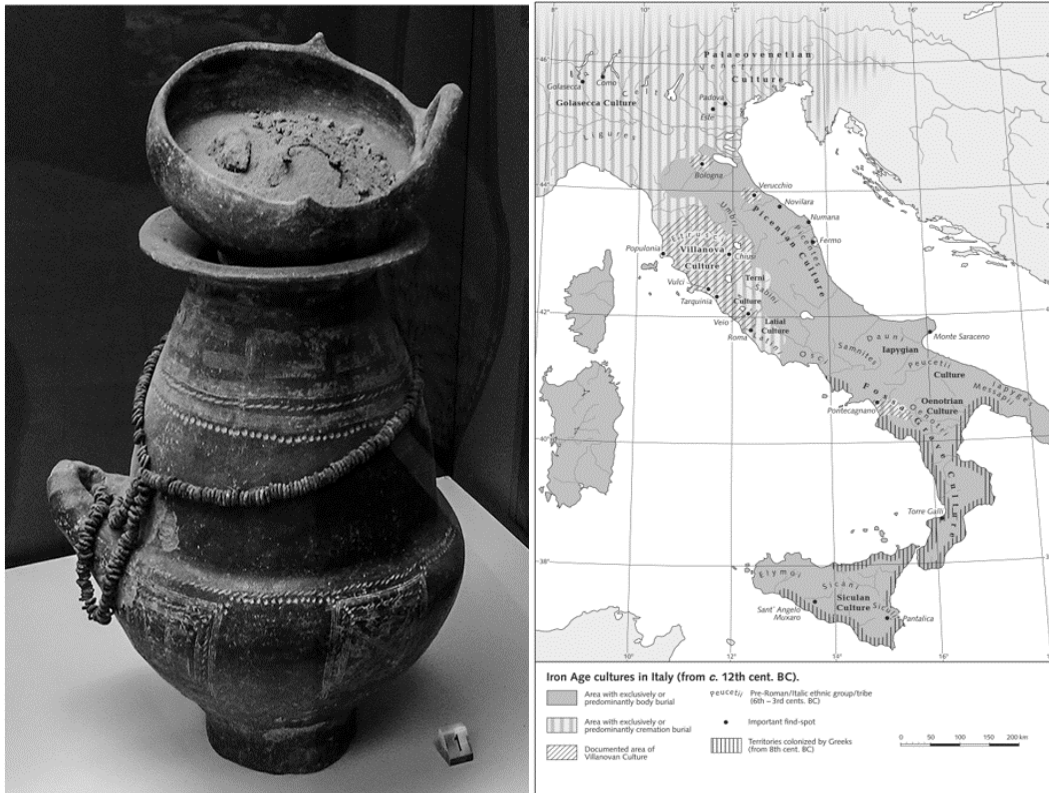
3.4 Iron-age cultures in Italy

表格 **2.** The Latial Culture. Principal chronological(年代的) definitions

Phase	Culture Definition	Dates BC	Historiacal Definition
I	Final Bronze Age(Protovillanovan)	1000-900	Pre-urban
IIA	Early Iron Age(Villanovan)	900-830	"
IIB	"	830-770	Proto-urban
III	"	770-730/20	"
IVA	Early and middle orientalising	730/20-640/30	"
IVB	Late orientalizsing	640/30-580	Urban(archaic period)

What are the chief characteristics of the burial rite(仪式) in Latial culture?

A circular jar(*dolium*) placed in a pit, containing:

- An urn with the ashes of the deceased; in phase I (c. 1000-900), the so-called hut-urn, representing a miniature(微小的) house, is attested(证实) in some tombs; it becomes common in phase II (c. 900-730)

- Pottery and bronze objects (representing daily utensils)

- Small human figure

The graves dated to phase I can tell us little about the communities in Latium where these cremation rituals were practiced.

The evidence for phase II is much more abundant and prolific(丰硕的). For this period, graves have been attested in a number of sites in Latium: Satricum, Antium, Osteria dell'Osa, Decima, La Rustica, Laurentina (blue, below).
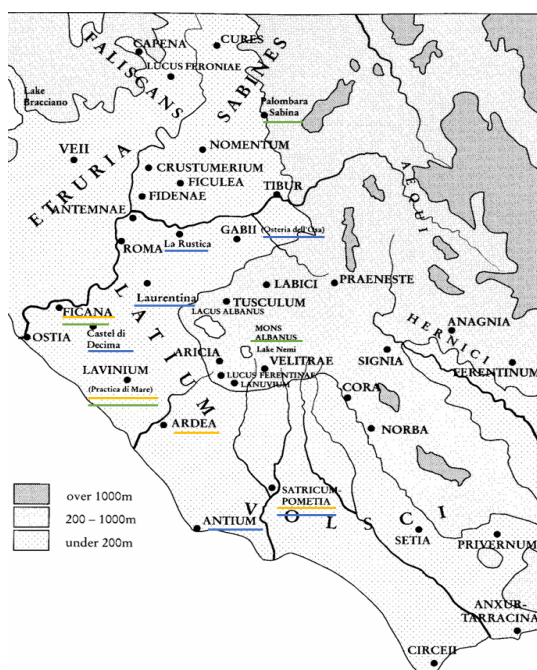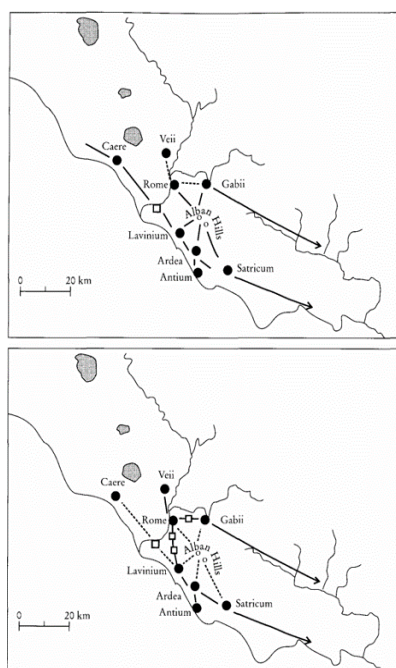

图 **1.** Graves   图 **2.** Trade Routes Rome

Of all these sites, Osteria dell'Osa is most important because of the abundance of the evidence.

What trends have been detected?

Phase IIA (c. 900-830): cremation and inhumation(土葬的) were both performed. Cremation tombs were only used for **males**, and probably a privileged group of men, because inhumation was practiced in the case of both males and females. This is confirmed by the miniature objects (the grave furniture = *corredo*) interred(埋葬) together with the ashes.

Of what did the *corredo* consist?

3-4 storage containers for food/drink, cups, plates, bowls

Bronze items comprised brooches, razor, miniature weapons (often spear; sometimes sword)

How should these objects be interpreted?

They should be seen as objects which were considered of need to the deceased as he passed from one life to the other, in order to exist and to perform social roles (warrior; head of household).

Inhumation graves were less elaborate than the cremation ones; the male deceased was accompanied by only two or three pots and a brooch(胸针); the female with few vases, personal ornaments (装饰物, brooch, ring, glass/amber beads) spindle whorl(纺锤螺旋); few female graves are more elaborate.

Graves at Osteria dell'Osa seem to suggest a social hierarchy(社会阶层) and a distinction based on kinship(血族关系).

Phase IIB (c. 830-770): the cremation tomb disappears from the archaeological record; this does not mean that cremation as a practice has disappeared; the ratio male-female with respect to the inhumation tombs for phase IIB is similar to that of phase IIA. **How should this observation then be interpreted?** Most likely men of a high status in the community were still cremated, but their ashes were deposited somewhere above ground.

3.4.1 How can the settlements in Latium during the Early Iron Age (c. 900-730 be characterized?

Social structure where distinctions were based on **kinship**; status of individuals within those groups depended on age, gender and social roles within the kinship groups and the community; **there is no evidence for lasting economic stratification(分层)**.

- Subsistence(生计) economy based on cultivation of cereals and legumes; some stock-keeping

- **Little** evidence for the division and specialization of labour: pottery appears to be self-made; the same applies to textiles(纺织业)

- The sole exception is metal-working(唯一的例外是金属加工)

During phase IIA (c. 900-830), the settlements appear to have been small. E.g. the population of the settlement at Osteria dell'Osa seems to have amounted to c. 100 persons

But several villages might have been clustered in groups. In Rome settlements might have existed on the several hills surrounding the Forum: Palatine, perhaps also the Capitoline and the Quirinal.

Similar settlements appear to have existed at Ardea and Lavinium.

In **Phase IIB** (c. 830-770), several groups of settlements appear to have merged to form larger units, such as at Lake Castiglione, and at Rome (the area of habitation increased to include the Capitoline and the Forum; the Esquiline began to serve as cemetery - 公墓).

- In Etruria, a similar development had occurred about a hundred years earlier with the introduction of the Villanova(n) Culture

- The change in settlement pattern in phase IIB was accompanied by a increase in the size of the population: older sites grew, and new sites emerged: e.g. Antemnae, Fidenae, Crustumerium, Corniculum, Tibur

- The area of the Alban Hills either experienced a decrease in population or, at most, a stabilization in phase IIB; no clustering of settlements is attested here. A change in trade routes might have caused this development

- Phase IIB did not lead to any clear changes in social structure: they are called **proto-urban**

- Housing remained rather primitive

Phase III (c. 770-730/720 BC) did not constitute a sudden break in the mode of life of the settlements in Latium. Gradual developments occurred instead:

- Growth in population

- Increase in wealth as evidenced by the material found in the graves

- Rise in productivity (in part due to innovations in agricultural techniques)

- Emergence of the cultivation of olives and vines

- During this period, pottery began to be produced as a specialized craft, replacing home-made pottery

Phase IVA (730/720-640/630) and **IVB** (640/630-580) saw radical(根本的,彻底的) changes in the social structure of Latium: Items of exceptional wealth found in some of the tombs reveal the emergence of durable social stratification, and thus the rise of a dominant heritable aristocracy(贵族统治). The evidence comes from cemeteries, especially those at Osteria dell'Osa, La Rustica, Laurentina, the Esquiline, and the Castel di Decima (the latter of which was most important with c. 350 tombs discovered).

Elements of wealth:

- Jewellery

- Bronze tripods(三脚架), cauldrons(大锅), armour chariots((古代双轮马拉)战车)

- Gold and silver vessels(容器)

- Imported ceramics(陶器) including proto-Corinthian ware(制品, 器皿), Etruscan bucchero(布凯罗陶器), Phoenician amphora(双耳细颈瓶)

3.4.2 Clan System(氏族制度)

A striking feature of the cemetery at Castel di Decima is the fact that some tombs have been **grouped together**. Within a given group the time that elapses(经过, 消逝) between each tomb approximates 25 years, suggesting that the memory of the deceased is continued by **interring successive members in nearly the same spot**.

This feature might be seen as a forerunner to the chamber tomb that became common in Etruria in the 2nd half of the 7th century BC; some have also been discovered in Latium: Rome (on the Esquiline), in Osteria dell'Osa, Torrino near Laurentina; Satricum. They also feature objects showing off the wealth of the deceased and the family.

The chamber tomb intended to prolong the family solidarity; their existence reveals the importance of patrilineal(父子相传的) **clans** (*gentes*; singular: *gens*) who were linked by their claim in having a common ancestor. The existence of clans is still visible in later Roman nomenclature(命名法). The second name of a Roman male is called the *nomen gentilicium* (氏族名, e.g. Marcius), the first one is the *praenomen* (本名, Marcus).

What are the characteristics of the clan system?

- The clan system did not only exist in Rome; it existed throughout Italy. This is shown by inscriptions which reveals a two-name system

- clan-system occurred across all social classes

- In Etruria the clan-system had emerged by the early 7th century (based on epigraphic evidence; in Latium a bit later, but before 600.

3.4.3 Orientalising and Greek Colonization

With the most important developments in **phase IV** explained, we can now turn an key cultural feature of this phase—a feature which has been called **'orientalising'** in the field of archaeology. The evidence consists of luxury items found in so-called 'princely tombs'. They have been discovered along the Tyrrhenian coast showing similarity in contents. How can this be explained?

Scholars thought that the spread of this practice was due to conquering Etruscans moving into Latium and further south Campania. But this theory is not convincing. The advent of orientalising luxury items is due to **Greek influence**.

The Greek influence was due the Greek colonization in southern Italy during the Archaic age. **How did the colonization take shape?** The earliest colony was Pithecusae (also called Aenaria), established by Euboean settlers around 770 BC . The main reason for the founding of the settlement was the quest for metals (evidence for iron-smelting and iron-working)

- A generation later, a colony was founded at Cumae (Kyme)

- Further colonies followed to the south in southern Italy and Etruria in the following two centuries. Southern Italy was called 'Great Greece' by the 5th century.

What were the effects of the Greek colonization movement?

It had effects on structural developments during phase IV: art, architecture, religion.

Shape of the **aristocratic order**(继承顺序制度的形成): an order that gained its position to inheritance and leadership (in war especially); the prestige and honour had to be reconfirmed by social activities such as feasting, guest-friendship and gift-giving. There is evidence for such social institutions to have existed in Italy testifying to a shared aristocratic culture; the so-called 'princely tombs' also appear to be modelled on Greek examples.

3.5 Conclusion

Between the end of the 7th and the 6th centuries, Rome transformed into a city.

表格 **3.** Characterisation of the settlements in Latium during Early Iron Age

Phase IIA c.900-830	Phase IIB c.830-770	Phase III c. 770-730/720	Phase IVA c. 730/720-640/630	Phase IVB c. 640-630-580
Social structure based on kinship			Rise of a dominant heritable aristocracy, whose prestige is reconfirmed by social activities (feasting, gift-giving, guest-friendship) Patrilineal clans (*gentes*)	
Subsistence economy; Little evidence for division of labour (except metal-working)		Division of labour: e.g. pottery production Increase in wealth; Rise in productivity		
Small settlements clustered in groups	Several groups of settlements appear to have merged to form larger units; Increase in size of population	Population growth		
	Proto-urban stage; Housing remained primitive			Urban stage Rise of monumental architecture

4 Early Republic

4.1 Archaic Latin inscription in the sanctuary(圣所) of the Lapis Niger(黑色大理石)

Whosoever (will violate) this (grove), let him be cursed. (Let no one dump) refuse nor

(throw a body...). Let it be lawful for the king (to sacrifice a cow in atonement). (Let him fine) one (fine) for each (offence). Whom the king (will fine, let him give cows).

(Let the king have a ...) herald. (Let him yoke) a team, two heads, sterile...

Along the route... (Him) who (will) not (sacrifice) with a young animal... in... lawful assembly in grove...

This inscription is part of a sanctuary beneath black marble paving that contained, besides the inscription, the base of a column and an altar(祭坛, which the Romans called the Vulcanal), a shrine(神社) dedicated to Vulcan, the god of fire.

The cult(宗教习俗) was probably founded in the first half of the sixth century BC.

The Lapis Niger and inscription have also been mentioned in literary sources:

Sextus Pompeius Festus (a grammarian from the second century AD), *On the meaning of words*, p. 184 (Lindsey): "The black stone marks a fatal place in the *Comitium*, as others say, marked by the death of Romulus, but it did not happen that he was buried there; but Faustulus, his foster-father, was said to have been buried there, as well as Quinctilius, the ancestor of [...], who supported the party of Romulus, and whose family was called, from his name, Quinctilia."

Festus had produced an abridgement(删节版) of a work(with the same title) by Verrius Flaccus (c. 55 BC – c. AD 20), who served as tutor to Augustus' grandsons.

The significance of the inscription for our present purposes is that it provides evidence for the existence of kingship in Rome in the sixth century BC.

4.2 Urban Revolution

The changes in Rome that were visualized in extensive building (see e.g. below) from the middle of the seventh century BC onwards that turned Rome into a city is referred to as the 'urban revolution'; it marked the beginning of the history of Rome.
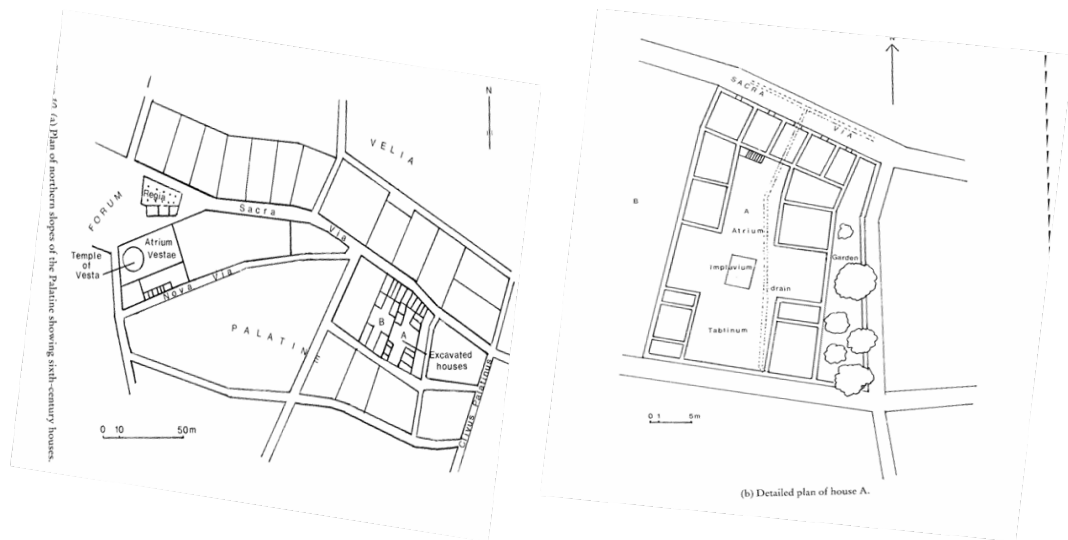

图 **3.** Six-century houses

4.3 Some of the cultural and social changes in the 7th and 6th centuries BC (when Rome transformed into a city state)

4.3.1 What are the important features when characteristic features of a city-state emerged in Rome?

The paving of the Forum; The construction of public buildings, especially religious ones, what is the earliest evidence for "communal(公共的) religious activity and the establishment of public cults" .

Cult of Vesta; Temple in the Forum attached to the Regia can both be dated (from material remains) to the second half of the 7th century BC. A temple to Jupiter (a precursor to the large temple to Jupiter Optimus Maximus constructed in the 6th century) might have been erected(建立) at the end of the 7th century.

4.3.2 what cultural and social changes occurred around this period?

1. **Alphabet to represent Latin**. In the 7th century, the earliest Latin inscriptions can be dated (slightly after the earliest Etruscan texts) giving evidence for the adoption of the alphabet to represent Latin. The alphabet was in all likelihood adopted from the Greek alphabet (most likely the Euboean variant, 希腊的欧波亚变体), which was itself adopted from the Phoenician(腓尼基人的) one around 800.

2. **Calendar**. Calendar (institution ascribed to Rome's second king Numa Pompilius, 被认为是罗马的第二个国王创造的制度). Our evidence for the pre-Julian calendar consists of literary sources and one inscription: the remains of an inscribed calendar from Antium (dated to the early 1st century BC; attached to the wall of a house), the so-called *Fasti antiates maiores*. This calendar might very well go back in time to the Archaic period.
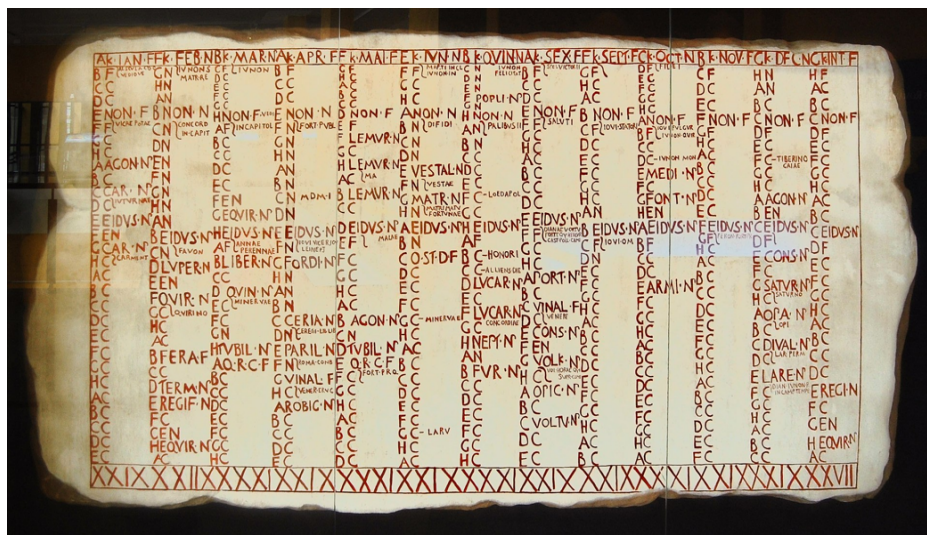

图 **4.** Clendar *Fasti antiates maiores*

4.3.3 How to read the calendar?

There are 13 columns, one for each of the 12 months, and one for the intercalary((历法)闰的) month (*mensis intercalaris*).

The months are called as follows (all adjectives): *ianuarius, februarius, martius, aprilis, maius, iunius, quinctilis, sextilis, september, october, november, december*.

The first letter in each column indicates the day in each *nundinum*. A *nundinum* is time between two *nundinae* (fem. pl. = ninth day = market day), i.e. eight days.

In the bottom you see the total number of days for each month: 29 days for each month, except March, May, Quinctilis and October (31 days), February (28 days), intercalary month (27 days)

After the letter indicating the day within each *nundinum* you will usually see letters indicating the status of the day:

F (*fastus*) = normal working day; C (*comitialis*) day on which an assembly meeting could take place; N (*nefastus*) days on which certain business was not allowed; EN (*endotercisus*) is a day which was *fastus* during the afternoon, but *nefastus* in morning and evening. NP (*nefastus publicus*), days on which great festivals took place which prohibited certain business; QRCF (*quando rex comitiavit fas*: "when the king has gone into the comitium"), indicating a day that would be fas once the people's assembly summoned by the king had been dismissed.

K (*Kalendae*) indicates the first day of the month; NON (*Nonae*) indicates the fifth or seventh day in the month; EIDVS (*Idus*) indicates the 13th or 15th day of the month

Public festivals are indicated by name (abbreviated): e.g. AGON (*Agonalia*) a festival celebrated in January, May and December to honour several deities; CAR (*Carmentalia*) festival in honour of Carmenta, the goddess of childbirth; CONCORD IN CAPIT (*Concordiae* in Capitolio) to Concordia on the Capitol, a temple on the Capitoline hill; LVPER (*Lupercalia*) a festival arranged by the association of the Luperci(古罗马神话中的祭司团体，负责庆祝Lupercalia节日，以祈求农业丰收和生育繁衍), associated with purification(净化) and fertility(富饶).

4.4 Political and Social Institutions(政治和社会制度)

4.4.1 *Comitia Curiata*, an assembly of *Curia*, 贵族大会

One of the earliest institutions concerned the *gens* (clan); we talked about this last week.

The *gens* consisted of persons from individual *familiae*, probably all heads of family.

The *gens* was important because it could ensure that property would not leave the *gens* through inheritances. This allowed some remain wealthy for a long period of time. The Laws of the Twelve Tables (451-449 BC) already acknowledged the prerogatives(特权) of the *gens* in terms of inheritances.

The *gentes* were grouped into 30 *curiae* (sing. *curia*), which were distributed among 3 tribes (*tribus*), called the Tities, the Ramnes and Luceres.

Purpose of these subdivision:

- Tribes formed the basis for the military organization of Rome: the ancient sources indicate that the total army comprised(包含) 300 cavalry(骑兵队) and 3000 infantry(步兵团), equally drawn from each of the three tribes, but this reconstruction is too rigid, and not plausible(有道理的).

- The 30 *curiae* formed the constituent(组成的) unit of an assembly, *comitia curiata*. **It can vote on war and peace (open to all adult male citizens) and pass the law conferring(赋予) *imperium*(国王的统治权) on the king (*rex*) or senior magistrates(地方行政官).**

4.4.2 Kinship, 血族关系

(1) non-hereditary, probably based on some elective system involving the consent(允许) of the leading aristocratic families (the *patricians*, 贵族) and the people;

(2) often related by marriage;

(3) kings were often outsiders;

(4) *Tribunes*, officials from the tribe, probably performed the role of placing some check on the king by ensuring arbitrary decisions were not made within the city of Rome;

(5) The king was assisted in the performance of his tasks by a council (a *consilium*, 顾问委员会) consisting of the heads of Rome's leading families, the *patres* (fathers). They became the senate, which was an advisory body.

4.4.3 Citizenship, 公民权

Membership of a *curia* and tribe seemed to be a prerequisite(先决条件) for citizenship. Roman citizenship was acquired through birth, manumission (解放, for slaves) or a special grant to *peregrini* (foreigners).

Rome appeared to be remarkably flexible in extending citizenship to foreigners. This allowed Rome to grow faster than other states.

4.4.4 Latin League

Latin League: a modern term to refer to a league between states in Latium that emerged sometime in the late 6th century BC. The purpose of this league was to provide a structure for regulating relations between member states and also to provide for collective action against enemies outside the league. In 499 or 496, the Latin League was defeated by Rome at the battle of Lake Regillus; the League was forced into a treaty by Rome, which would henceforth dominate it.

4.4.5 *Comitia Centuriata*, 百人大会

The reason is that the division of citizens is said **to have had a military purpose**. But the centuries in the *comitia centuriata* must have been of various size excluding their use as an army.

Under Servius Tullius (traditionally r. 578-534), a new form of organizing citizens emerged: *comitia centuriata*.

Five property classes were divided into *centuriata*. They had different voting orders.

Ancient Roman military assembly, instituted c. 450 BC. It decided on war and peace, passed laws, elected consuls, praetors, and censors, and considered appeals of capital convictions(死刑上诉). Unlike the older patrician *Comitia Curiata*, it included **plebeians** as well as **patricians**, assigned to classes and *centuriae* (centuries, or groups of 100) by wealth and the equipment they could provide for military duty. Voting started with the wealthier centuries, whose votes outweighed those of the poorer.

consul: 执政官, two in number, served a one-year, non-consecutive, term, although he could serve a second or third term later, both political and military heads of state.

praetor: 民政官, 拥有执政权, 比consuls低, 2 in number

censor: often these officials were former consuls. The position was viewed as the pinnacle of an individual's career. Under the king and later the Republic, this person not only oversaw public morality but took the census, registering both citizens and their property.

The *comitia centuriata* always met outside the *pomerium*((古罗马城市的)城墙内地带) in the Campus Martius.(战神广场: 位于古罗马城市中心的一块开放空地, 用于军事训练和其他公共活动)

4.5 List of Kings

Romulus (r. 753-717)

Numa Pompilius (r. 716-674 BC)

Tullus Hostilius (r. 673-642 BC)

Ancus Marcius (r. 641-617 BC)

L. Tarquinius Priscus (r. 616-578 BC)

Servius Tullius (r. 578-534 BC)

L. Tarquinius Superbus (r. 534-509 BC)

5 Early Republic and Conflict, Conquest, Carthage

5.1 Division of Rome into tribes (*tribus*)

division of Rome into tribes (districts). How many were created during the kingdom is uncertain. As Rome expanded, new tribes were added; in 495 there were possibly 21 tribes; their number increased to 35 in 241 BC

The division of Rome into tribes (*tribus*), i.e. districts, might very well go back to the time of Servius Tullius. How many tribes he installed is uncertain. **These tribes should not be confused with the old division of the Roman people into three tribes each consisting of 10 *curiae*.**

5.2 End of Kingship

Towards the end of the 6th century BC, Rome decided to get rid of its kings. How to understand this?

Probably not an attempt to get rid of foreign (Etruscan) power.

Perhaps aristocratic competition led to the termination of kingship.

表格 4. People's assemblies in the late Republic

	Curiata	*Centuriata*	*Tributa populi*	*Tributa plebis*
Composition	30 lictors, 1 to represent each *curia*	All citizens	All citizens	All citizens
Meeting place	*Comitium*	Campus Martius	Forum, or Capitol, except for elections (Campus Martius)	As for *tributa populi*
Structure	30 curiae, 10 from each of 3 ancient tribes	193 centuries, of which 18 *equities*, 170 *pedites*, 5 unarmed	35 tribes, 4 urban, 31 rural	As for *tributa populi*
Presiding (主持会议的) officer	Consul, praetor, *pontifex maximus*	Consul, praetor, dictator, *interrex*	Consul, praetor	Tribune of the plebs or aedile of the plebs
Elections	None	Consuls, praetors, censors	Curule(显要的) aediles, quaestors	Tribunes, aediles of the plebs
Legislation	(*under consul*) confirm imperium; (*under p.m.*) wills, adoptions, etc.	Not normal after 218, except to declare war	Normal in late Republic	Laws (*plebiscita*) proposed by tribunes
Judical functions	None	Capital charges, but rare in 1st century	Serious charges, but later replaced by courts	As for *tributa populi*, but involving the tribunes

Tribune: （古罗马由平民选出的）保民官 an officer elected by the plebs to protect their interests. Originally there were two of these officers but finally there were ten

Aedile: 民选行政官 a magistrate of ancient Rome in charge of public works, games, buildings, and roads

Pontifex maximus: The **Pontifex Maximus** (which literally means ''Greatest Pontiff(教皇)") was the high priest(祭司) of the Ancient Roman College of Pontiffs.

Equities: knight, 骑兵

Pedites: 步兵

Interrex, in ancient Rome, a provisional(临时的) ruler specially appointed for a period during which the normal constituted(任命的) authority was in abeyance(搁置期) (the interregnum, 政权空白).

Quaestors: the duties of the quaestor ranged from administrating public properties and overseeing treasuries to collecting taxes and recruiting in the provinces, among other tasks.

With the termination of kingship, the Republic came into being, traditionally dated to 509 BC. From this date onwards, Rome was ruled by a board of annually elected magistrates.

5.3 Chief officials

In the later sources provided by the Romans themselves, two consuls (chief magistrates) were elected by the *comitia centuriata* to replace the king.

tenure(任期) lictor(扈从, 拿着 *fasces*) erratic(不稳定的)

表格 **5.** Magistrates in Republic

Magistracy	Powers	Age of tenure	Election	Number	History
Dictator (not more than six months)	Superior to all other officers - 24 lictors		Nominated by consul at the Senate's request	One, with a "master of the horse" below him	From 501. Rare after 3rd century but used by Sulla in 82-1; Caesar in 49-4
Censors (18 months, every five years)	Review of senate list; taking of census; "care for morals"	At least middle 40s, often older	Created by consul, after vote in *comitia centuriata*	Two	Introduced in 443; erratic after 86
Consul (One year) originally called praetors	Holds major *imperium* home and abroad - 12 lictors	After 180, at least 42 (patricians 40)	Created by consul or dictator, after vote in *comitia centuriata*	Two, the *fasces* alternating monthly	From early Republic; plebians admitted 366
Praetor (one year)	Judicial duties in Rome; command of armies outside Rome.	After 180, at least 39 (patricians 37)	Created by consul, after vote in *comitia centuriata*	1 in 366; 2 in 242; 2 more from c.230; 8 by times of Sulla; later - 10/14/16	Introduce in 366, perhaps first as military office, later legal office
Aedile (one year)	Markets, roads, food supply, archives, annual games	36	Plebian aediles in *comitia tributa*, presided over by a consul	2 plebians, 2 curule later 2 for food-supply (46)	2 plebian in 496; 2 curule in 366; 2 *cereales* in 46
Quaestor (1 year from Dec. 5) existing from the start of the Republic	Assists magistrates with treasury; archives; Italy and the provinces - esp. financial	30(after 80)	In *comtia tributa*, presided by a consul	4 early Republic; 10 by 197; 20 from 80; 40 under Caesar	Had automatic entry to Senate after Sulla
Tribune of the plebians (1 year, from Dec. 10)	Propose bills to *comitia tributa*; right to veto acts of magistrates	Unfixed, but often after quaestorship	In *comitia tributa*, presided by a tribune	10 from 366	Created by plebs alone in 496

originally called *praetores*: when the change in name from praetor to consul occurred is not certain. Zonaras, *Epitome of Histories* suggests that this change occurred after the Decemvirate (449 BC); other scholars argue for a much later date (367 BC), at least by 298.

Decemvirate(十人委员会, 编写了十二铜表法 in 451 BC): In 449 bc, when they became tyrannical(暴政的), the decemvirs were forced to abdicate(退位).

5.4 Main political issues of 5th and 4th century Rome

the division between patricians and plebeians.

Patricians were Roman citizens who constituted the ruling elite in early Republican Rome and who belonged to aristocratic families that claimed descent from Rome's earliest senators established by Romulus or from legendary heroic figures. Plebeians were all the others.

但是我们不能对国家是由几个英雄人物创造这件事信服. 那么贵族是这些英雄人物的后代也不能站得住脚.

The attribution of new developments to one mythological character should make us wary.

还有下面的事实说明了一些问题：Some of the names on the lists of Roman magistrates from the 1st half of the 5th century BC STEM FROM(出于) families that were not patrician in the later years of the Republic for which we have better evidence.

(1) The lists were not accurate: non-patrician names were fakes

(2) "aberration of naming practice" (Potter p.48)

(3) The individuals stemming from families with non-patrician names were really plebeian and held office before the patrician order had taken full shape.

The 3rd explanation is most plausible: the patrician order formed only after the end of the kingdom.

下面是贵族的特权.

An important **prerogative**(特权) of the patricians was their monopoly(垄断) on the *auspicia* (占卜权, at least in the early period of the Republic), the observation of divine signs and their interpretation (divination). The declaration of adverse signs could end officials meetings (e.g. of the people's assemblies).

auctoritas patrum (authorization of the fathers): whether these *patres* were all the patricians, only those patricians who had been magistrates, or those who had served on the council (senate) is unknown.(*patres*是指所有的patrician, 成为magistrate的patrician, 还是成为元老院议员的patrician是未知的) The important element was that through this measure the *patres* approved decisions made by the people's assembly. This lasted until 339 when the *auctoritas patrum* was set prior to the vote in the people's assembly.

The traditional view also wants to make us believe that the plebeians sought protection of their right almost immediately after the abolition(废止) of the kingship. But the earliest evidence is a section of the Twelve Table laws promulgated(颁布) in 452-450 BC in which **marriages between patricians and plebeians were forbidden**: "Those who belong to the Senatorial Order and are styled Fathers, shall not contract marriage with plebeians (Cic., de rep., 2, 37, 63)" (Twelve Tables tab. 11.2).

6 Conflict, Conquest, Carthage and Imperialism

我们回顾一下第5节的最后.

Often it is claimed that **the most important political development in 5th and 4th century BC** Rome was the so-called "struggle of the orders", the conflict between patricians and plebeians; but this view needed to be adjusted somewhat.

Patrician order was probably only formed after the end of the kingdom; admission to it was perhaps only blocked from the middle of the 5th century onwards

贵族的一些特权. **Important prerogatives of the patricians**

(1) Taking of the *auspices* (Livy, 6.41.6)

In the early period of the Republic, until the passing of the *lex Ogulnia de auguribus et pontificibus* (the Ogulnian Law on *augures* and *pontifices*) in 300 BC the college of priests called the *augures* exclusively consisted of patricians, The *augures* were one of the four most important colleges of priests in the Roman state (the *pontifices* made up another important priesthood); one of their main tasks comprised the interpretation of all kinds of *auspicia*: signs which, if declared unfavourable, could halt any kind of public business, such as people's assemblies. Thus, the control of the *auspicia* became an important weapon in the hands of the patricians.

(2) *auctoritas patrum*: consent given by the *patres* who were member of a council (the senate) to decisions made by the people's assembly. These *patres*, i.e. members of the senate, were patricians. In 339, the *auctoritas patrum* was moved to the time prior to a law's passage.

6.1 Evidence exists for a struggle or a conflict between patricians and plebians, 贵族和平民冲突的证据

(1) 平民建立了tribunes of the people. The rights were established in 494 by a law (*lex sacrata*, i.e. sacred(宗教的, 神圣的) law) by the *comitia centuriata*.

1. *sacrosanctitas* (violence or murder of a people's tribune was penalized by a curse)

2. right to intercede(调停, 调解) on behalf of an individual citizen who made an appeal to the Roman people against the action of a magistrate (*auxilium*)

3. veto against actions taken by other magistrates (right of interceding: *intercessio*)

(2) 492 BC, *lex Icilia de tribunicia potestate*: law was passed by the *comitia centuriata* granting tribunes of the people the right to convene(召集) an assembly called *concilium plebis* (*comitia plebis tributa*).

(3) 471 BC, *lex Publilia Voleronis de plebeis magistratibu*s: law was passed to allow the *Concilium plebis* to elect magistrates without *imperium* (tribunes of the people and aediles—these latter magistrates were initially subordinate(隶属于) to the tribunes and supervised the temple and cult of Ceres(刻瑞斯, 谷物女神) and Diana(戴安娜, 月亮和狩猎女神) on the Aventine): 5 tribunes were to be elected. The tribe (*tribus*) became the voting unit.

(4) 457: a law was passed raising the number of tribunes of the people annually elected from 5 to 10.

(5) 449 BC: several laws were passed as reaction against the Law of the Twelve Tables:

1. election of consuls to replace the *decemviri*

2. ban on the creation of magistrates without *provocatio* (right of citizens "to appeal to the Roman people against the exercise of a magistrate's power of physical coercion(胁迫)"). Appeals could end up before the *comitia centuriata* (in case of impending(即将发生的) capital punishment) or the *comitia tributa* (in case of a fine)

3. amnesty(大赦) for citizens who had refused to serve in the army in the previous year

These 3 laws were passed in the assembly headed by a people's tribune.

(6) 449 BC, decrees(法令) of *plebs* have force of law (平民议会的法令也有法律强制力)

(7) 445, ban on marriage between patricians and plebeians was lifted (平民和贵族结婚的禁令被解除了)

(8) 进入公元前4世纪之后, 罗马面临着新的问题, 其中之一就是分配不公. By 367 Rome had expanded beyond the confines(边界) of the city and conquered southern Etruria (including the Etruscan city of Veii) and also the territory of the Volsci.

Increase in territory led to an increase in wealth that was **unevenly distributed**; subsistence farmers encountered problems in years of bad crop yields; to solve the financial distress in the short-term subsistence farmers could borrow money at high interest rates; if the debt could not be repaid, a farmer could become a *nexus*, a status that required him to work for his creditor until the loan and interest were paid off. The creditor was allowed to keep the debtor in chains.
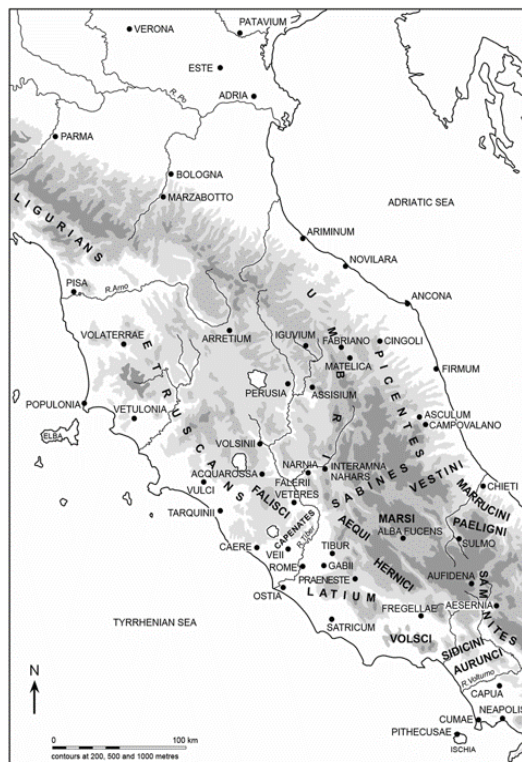
Map 1 Map of central Italy (drawing: I. Dennis)

图 5. 意大利中部地图

同时罗马公民的数量快速增加, 罗马的有钱的平民也快速增加, 他们都对现状感到不满.

Increase in the number of citizens, probably from c. 100,000 to 150,000 in the period roughly from 450 to 350 BC. The causes of this increase is likely to be immigration and the manumission of slaves.

Increase in the number of wealthy plebeian families who resented the patrician monopoly of the magistracies after 450 BC.

因而平民政治家提出了一些法律.

Important is the legislative programme initiated by tribunes of the plebs C. Licinius Stolo (cos. 364 or 361) and L. Sextius Sextinus Lateranus (cos. 366) in 367 in the *comitia plebis tributa* (so-called *Leges Liciniae Sextiae*).

1. Interest paid on debts deducted from the principal amount of the debt; debts can be repaid in three equal installments(从债务本金中扣除的债务的利息, 债务可以分三次分期偿还)

2. law limiting the amount of public land (*ager publicus*) that anyone could control to 500 *iugera*. *Ager publicus* pertains to land that belongs to the Roman state; it could be leased(出租) to individuals who paid a rent, called a *vectigal*. (不允许私人控制过多土地, 但是可以出租)

3. law stipulating(规定) that at least one consul in each year had to be a plebeian; military tribunes of consular authority were no longer elected; it is possible that only from this year, Rome's two chief magistrates were called consuls.

4. law that increased the college in charge of the Sibylline Books from 2 to 10, and stipulated that the *decemviri sacris faciundis* had to consist equally of patricians and plebeians. The Sibylline Books were a collection of prophetic sayings claimed to be compiled by a prophetess from the area around the Bay of Naples. The books were consulted in times of emergency. The priests attached to this college had to provide ritual(仪式上的) and sacrificial responses to problems.

(9) 同样是在367 BC, one of the consuls elected every year had to be a plebeian.

(10) 337 BC, praetorship open to plebeians.

(11) 287BC, *lex Hortensia*: legal authority was granted to all *plebiscites*, i.e. decision of the *comitia plebis tributa*; senatorial consent was not needed.

6.2 Rome's Expansion, 罗马的扩张

In a nutshell, Rome's success not only depended on its army, but also to incorporate former enemies into a larger political and constitutional framework.

图 6. Rome's Expansion

6.2.1 Incorporation of the Latins, 和拉丁人的合并

(1) *Foedus Cassianum* (Cassian treaty of 493 BC): in 499 or 496, a war broke out between the Latin League and Rome in which the latter emerged as victor at the Battle of Lake Regillus. In 493, a treaty was concluded between Rome and the Latin states by Spurius Cassius Vecellinus (cos. 502, 486).

What were these Latin rights (the *ius Latii*)?

1. right of *commercium*: involved the privilege to have contractual business relations with the Romans

2. right of *conubium*: right to marry Roman citizens

3. right to move to Rome

(2) The relations between Rome and the Latin League soured, and broke down in 341.

Latin War in 图6.

in 338 BC Rome emerged as victor and created separate bilateral arrangements with each of the Latin towns

In the years afterwards, as Rome expanded, it also began to confer(授予, 协商) a new type of Roman citizenship on some of Italy's communities: ***civitas sine suffragio*** (citizenship without the vote):

1. payment of taxes

2. liable to service in the army (*dilectus*)

3. rights of Romans, but no voting rights

Colonisation: establishment of Roman and Latin colonies in Italy

Conclusion of alliances with Italian communities (allies, *socii*) on whom none of the abovementioned arrangements were conferred

The *socii* served in the army, as did the Latins. All these measures allowed Rome's pool of manpower to be enlarged.

7 Carthage and Roman Imperialism

7.1 New army structure based on maniples (units of roughly 120 men)

The early Roman army consisted of infantry soldiers who fought like the Greek hoplites (armed with sword, spear, round shield, cuirass(胸甲), greaves(护胫) and helmet) in a phalanx(方阵)

This structure underwent gradual changes in the 4th and early 3rd centuries BC.

1. Sub-units consisting of smaller numbers of men were created in the phalanx-legion(方阵军团): these sub-units were called maniples (*manipuli*: handfuls) and were capable to a certain amount of independent action.

2. The round shield was replaced by the oval Italic shield, the *scutum*.

3. The thrusting spear was discarded for a throwing javelin(标枪) by most soldiers (though not all!) by the early years of the 3rd century BC the latest.

These innovations were the other pillar(支柱) on which Rome's expansion in the 3rd and 2nd centuries depended. 现在罗马的扩张一方面依靠和拉丁人的联合，另一方面依赖于新的军队结构.

The legion was the largest unit of the Roman army, consisting of c. 4200 men, but the exact size in the 4th century is not known. A legion would be commanded by a consul (sometimes prætor). In addition, each legion had 6 military tribunes (who were *equites*, i.e. belonging to the equestrian class).

How was this new manipular army structured in the middle Republic?

1. Line of light-armed men, the *velites*: a sword, javelins and a small circular shield (*parma*)—1200 men

2. 10 maniples of *hastati* (spearmen): *scutum*, short Spanish sword (*gladius*) and two *pila* (singular *pilum*; throwing spear); earlier on they has a *hasta* (short thrusting spear)—1200 men

3. Maniples of *principes* (chief men): *scutum*, short Spanish sword (*gladius*) and two *pila* (singular *pilum*; throwing spear); earlier on they has a *hasta* (short thrusting spear)—1200 men

4. Line of *triarii* (third-rank men)—the oldest and most mature soldiers: *scutum*,short Spanish sword *hasta* (short thrusting spear)—600 men

All: bronze pectorals(胸甲), bronze helmet and greaves

Total: 4200 men; but in times of emergency 5000 men could be filled into a single legion.

The best evidence is provided by Polybius in book 6 of his *Histories*. The account in Livy, 8.8, appears not to have been altogether accurate; it is inserted into the narrative of 340 BC.

Each maniple had two *centurions* (centurions); the most senior among them held command. The centurion of the extreme right-hand maniple of the *triarii* was the *centurio primi pili* (later called the *primuspilus*); he was included along with the military tribunes into the general's war-council.

The cavalry of a legion consisted of 300, divided into 10 *turmae* of 30 cavalry. Each *turma* had 3 *decuriones*; the senior decurion commanded the *turma*.
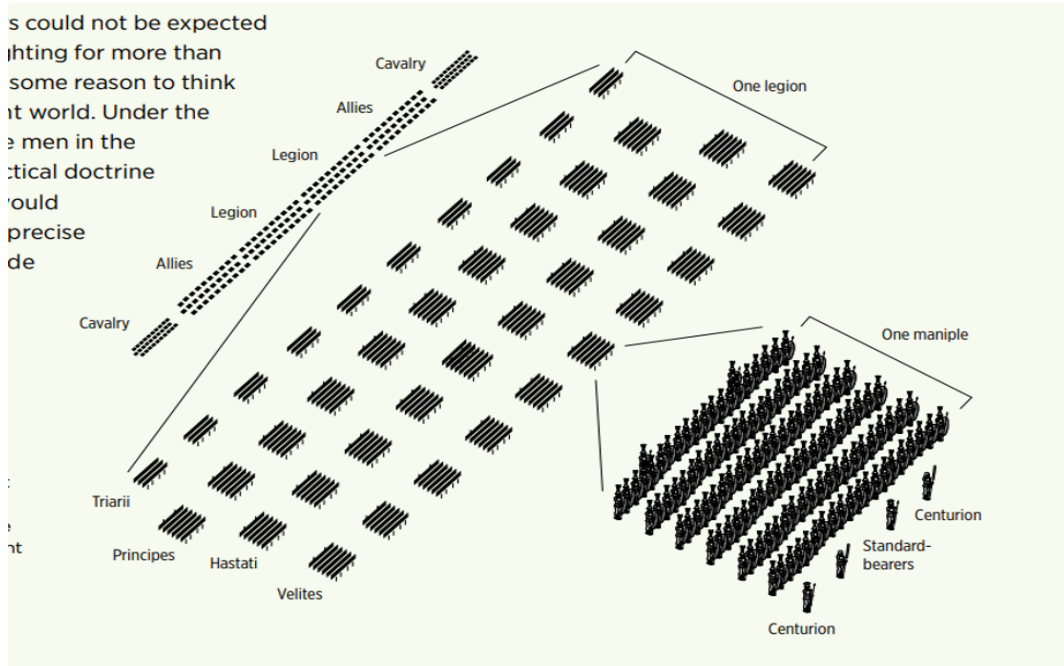

图 **7.** New Manipular Army

7.2 Middle Roman Republic: Expansion

表格 **6.** Foreign Affairs Chronology 270-129 BC

|	
280-275	Pyrrhic War(皮洛士战争)
c. 270 BC	Rome had become the leading power in Italy
264-241 BC	First Punic War between Rome and Carthage(第一次布匿战争)
241 BC	Sicily becomes Roman province
238 BC	Corsica(科西嘉岛) and Sardina(撒丁岛) become Roman provinces
218-201 BC	Second Punic War; victory of Rome
200-197 BC	Second Macedonian War; victory over Philip V of Marcedon
197 BC	Hispania Citerior(近西班牙) and Hispania Ulterior(远西班牙) become Roman provinces
171-168 BC	Third Marcedonian War; Persus defeated at Pydna; Marcedonian Kingdom dissolved
167 BC	Roman province is estabilshed in Illyrian coast (伊利里亚, 亚得里亚海东岸)
150-148 BC	Fourth Macedonian War; Roman victory over pretender Andriscus (A pretended son of Perseus, Andriscus, tried to reestablish the Macedonian monarchy, thus provoking the Fourth Macedonian War.)
146 BC	Macedonia becomes Roman province
149-146 BC	Third Punic War; Roman victory and destruction of Carthage
146 BC	Province of Africa formed
129 BC	Province of Asia formed

7.2.1 First Punic War
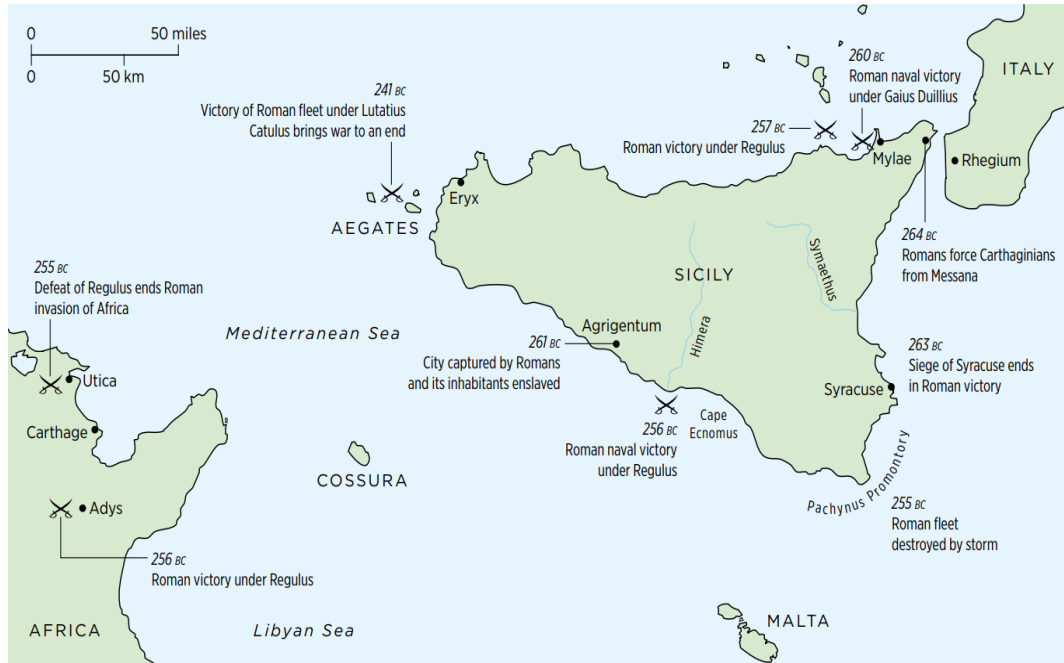
图 8. First Punic War

Sicily was acquired by Rome as a result of its victory in the First Punic War. The Carthaginians were forced to give up their military bases. The east coast remained under the control of Rome's loyal friends: the city of Messana and the realm(领土) of Hiero II of Syracuse (r. c. 271-215). It was annexed after the king's death when his grandson Hieronymus abandoned the Roman allegiance.

In the wake of its defeat in 241, Carthage faced a fierce rebellion of its mercenaries(雇佣兵) in north Africa, which was quelled(镇压, 平息) in 237.

Mercenaries on the island of **Sardinia** had also began to revolt. After the uprising in Africa had been subdued(屈服), Carthage turned its attention to Sardinia in an attempt to recover it. The rebels then asked Rome for help; it came and obtained control over Sardinia without having to fight Carthage, which submitted to Roman demands.

行省制度开始形成：With the dispatch(派遣) of praetors to Sicily and to Sardinia+Corsica, a new administrative instrument is introduced to Rome: overseas *provinciae* (plural) of a more or less permanent character. The basic meaning of *provincia* is that of "appointment" or "task". An overseas *provincia* thus indicated "a sphere of operations assigned to a magistrate".
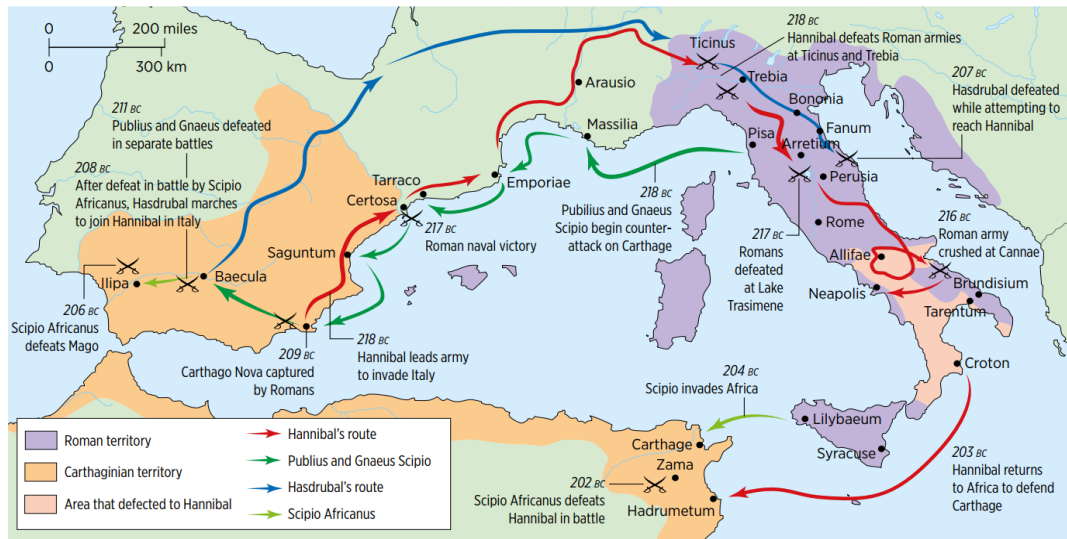
7.2.2 Second Punic War

图 9. Second Punic War

马其顿战争主要在希腊的东部开始，罗马拿下了希腊. 同时我们可以知道马其顿帝国或者亚历山大大帝的征服是像下面这张图一样.

图 10. 马其顿帝国

8 Crisis of the Roman Republic

8.1 *Prorogatio*

Praetors were Roman magistrates with *imperium*, like consuls; and thus able to command armies. Their dispatch seems to be connected to a desire to establish a permanent Roman military presence on these islands. The motives cannot be reconstructed with any degree of certainty, but might very

well be related to a desire to forestall(预先阻止) the Carthaginians from regaining the island at a later time, especially given that Carthage was expanding its rule on the Iberian peninsula(伊比利亚半岛). Another reason might be related to a need for jurisdiction on the islands. Taxation might already have been levied(征收) from when Rome acquired these islands.

Provinces (whether sphere of operations or territorial units)were ruled by magistrates with *imperium*:

1. praetors: around 244 a second praetor had been created; in 227 the number was increased to 4 to secure a sufficient supply of governors for the provinces of Sicily and Sardinia+Corsica. In 197: **increase to 6** to provide for governors of Hispania Ulterior (Further Spain) and Hispania Citerior (Nearer Spain) provincial governors.

2. consuls

When Rome created new provinces, it dispensed with(免除, 没有也行) creating new praetors; instead the *imperium* of a consul or praetor was prorogued (*prorogatio*), i.e. extended after their year in office to serve in a province for one or a few years. These governors then held the rank "instead of a consul" or "instead of a praetor". 罗马没有想着多搞一点praetor或者consul，反而是加强了他们的权力

Prorogatio was a procedure performed, until Sulla's *lex Cornelia de provinciis ordinandis* of 81 BC by the senate and/or people's assembly.

consul → proconsul, praetor → propraetor, magistrate → promagistrate

The praetorian and consular provinces were generally determined by the Senate at the beginning of the new year. The provinces were then allocated by lot to the praetors and consuls, although the consuls could also determine the province by mutual agreement.

The *lex Sempronia de provinciis consularibus* of 123 BC altered the time at which the consular provinces were determined to the period prior to the consular elections.

8.2 Senate, 元老院

8.2.1 Main Characteristics

(1) Early history shrouded in mist(早期历史笼罩在谜团中)

(2) Initially council of kings; later of Rome's chief magistrates; yet, at the same time the Senate was autonomous.

(3) Powers and prerogatives were grounded in custom: *mos and consuetudo*(权利和特权建立在习俗的基础上)

(4) Advice covers domestic/foreign policy, finance, religion

8.2.2 Preprogatives

(1) Prior advice of the Senate before proposal of bill to People's Assemblies was based on custom(元老院在向人民议会提出法案前根据惯例事先提出意见)

(2) Senate could invalidate laws already passed(元老院可以使得通过的法律无效)

(3) Senate was the only permanent political body in Rome. It gained control over finances, levy of troops, allocation of provinces, external relations, law and order in Italy, communal religion(集体宗教) during the 3rd and 2nd centuries BC.

8.2.3 Composition and Recruitment

(1) Little is known of its composition from earlier times, but it probably consisted of patricians and plebeians (in a very early age), given that senators were addressed *patres et conscripti*. The *patres* were the patricians; the *conscripti* were not. 同时拥有贵族和平民

(2) For the early Republic, we know little about the recruitment of senators. Their number was probably lower than during the second century BC. It is nevertheless doubtful if during the early Republic senators were former magistrates (as was the case during the late Republic). The number of magistrates was low; iteration was common. Consuls seem to have had a hand in selecting senators. The Senate thus appears to have been an *ad hoc* council until the *lex Ovinia*. 人数少, 迭代快.

(3) The earliest known occasion of the implementation of fixed criteria is the passing of the *lex Ovinia* (c. 339/318 BC): censors were to draw up a list of senators.(应当由censors来拟定一份参议员名单) Serious misconduct could lead to omission(遗漏) from the list, and disgrace. This law probably introduced the practice of automatic membership of ex-magistrates (consuls, praetor, dictator, possibly aedile). But there is no record of the criteria. Some elements are clear, though:

1. Additional members could be enrolled at the census(人口普查可以额外登记成员)

2. Membership of the equestrian order (property of 400,000 sesterces古罗马货币)

3. 300 members (late 2nd century BC); perhaps 600 under Sulla; possibly 900 under Caesar's dictatorship; 600 under Augustus

4. *Lex Atinia* (sometime 122-102 BC) may have granted admittance to the Senate to the People's Tribunes

5. From Sulla's time onwards quaestorship qualified for Senate membership.(praetor可以直接成为元老院成员)
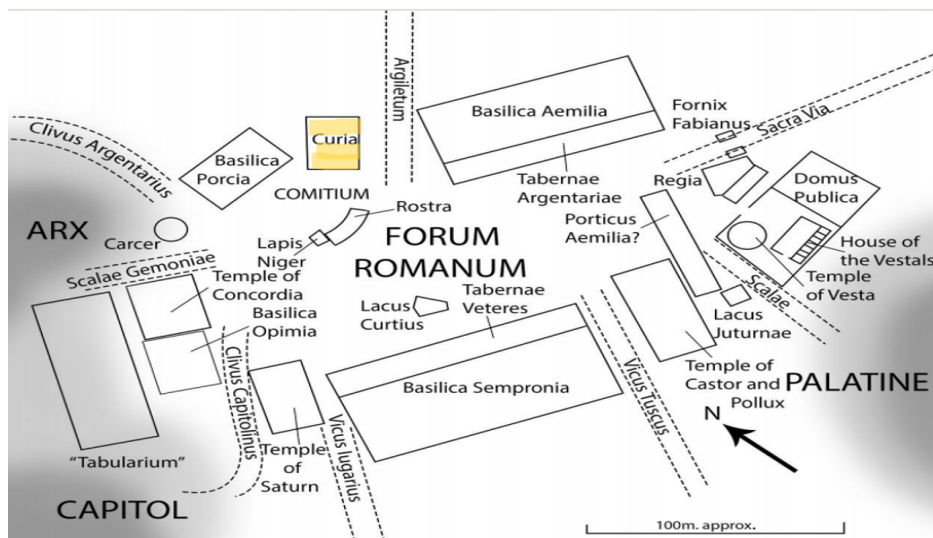

图 **11.** *Curia* was the Senate House

8.2.4 *Senatus Consultum*(Senarotial Decree), 元老院法令

(1) **Characteristics**

1. During the Republic, it lacked legal force

2. Nevertheless, almost always followed

(2) **Structure/Contents**

1. Name of the presiding magistrate

2. Statement by the proposing magistrate, ending with the formula *de ea re ita censuerunt* ("concerning the matter in hand they decreed as follows")

3. Decree itself, generally expressed in the form of an advice

4. Mark of approval: *censuerunt* ("they decreed")

(3) **Archiving**

1. The decrees were deposited in the *aerarium*

2. Copies were kept by the plebeian aediles in the Temple of Ceres.

8.3 Socio-Cultural Developments in Third and Second centuries BC, 公元前3世纪-2世纪的社会文化发展

(1) 希腊文化的进入

In middle of the third century BC, **Greek cultural influence** on Roman society became firmly established—in a period before the political expansion of Rome into the eastern Mediterranean. This is reflected in art, architecture, literature (epic—e.g. L. Livius Andronicus, c. 280/70-200, writing a Latin translation of the *Odyssey*, also tragedies and comedies, Cn. Naevius, c. 280/60-200 (also drama), Q. Ennius, 239-169; drama—e.g. playwright(剧作家) T. Maccius Plautus, end of third century, P. Terentius (Terence) Afer, first half second century; and historiography—M. Porcius Cato, 234-149, e.g. *Origines*; Q. Fabius Pictor had written in Greek)

(2) 罗马人口的快速增长

Roman population changed significantly as a result of the spread of citizenship (through grants to entire communities and manumission of slaves)

(3) 宗教的发展, 众多希腊神灵进入罗马人的崇拜中

As in earlier years—prior to the conquest of Italy—Romans displayed a preparedness to accept foreign cults and religious practices; there seems to have been no sign—at least in the third century BC—of this development undermining(冲刷, 削弱) the Roman nature of religion.

(正如早些年——在征服意大利之前——罗马人表现出接受外国邪教和宗教习俗的准备; 似乎没有迹象——至少在公元前三世纪——表明这种发展破坏了罗马宗教的本质。)

Best informed are we about innovations during the Punic Wars, which were much less a reflection of panic or the unusual as of established attitudes: *Cybele* (*Magna Mater*) was brought to Rome in 205/204 after consultation of the Sibylline Books.

库伯勒女神(伟大的母神): 从共和国时代开始, 罗马人便开始对库伯勒进行崇拜。关于这位女神的崇拜被引入罗马, 还有一段颇具传奇色彩的传说, 辑录于此:

> 布匿战争期间, 当时罗马的敌人——迦太基的将领汉尼拔·巴卡满怀雄心壮志, 自从他就任西班牙军队的最高统帅以来, 他一直准备着与罗马人的战争。战争打响后, 他的军队翻过阿尔卑斯山, 如雄狮般直扑意大利。
>
> 当时的罗马连吃败仗, 粮食歉收, 象征凶兆的流星雨划过天际。罗马人陷入了恐慌之中, 他们便立刻试图从古老的《西卜林神谕》(Sibylline Books)中寻找逢凶化吉之策。他们得出的结果是, 应当引入"伟大的母神"的信仰, 这样才能击败迦太基。
>
> 陷入绝望的罗马人也只好死马当活马医了, 不过这也好办, 罗马的盟友帕加玛王国一直保持着对库伯勒女神的崇拜, 于是罗马人便要把女神请过来, 作为罗马的守护神。不久后一块陨石坠落大地, 这被看成是库伯勒降临的征兆。不久后库伯勒便正式被罗马人的神庙所供奉。
>
> 说来也巧, 不久之后汉尼拔·巴卡就开始吃瘪, 罗马人取得了战争的胜利。库伯勒从此被罗马人顶礼膜拜, 得到了一个崇高的称号——"*Magna Mater*"(意即"伟大的母神")。

古罗马酒神节, Bacchanalia.

Key characteristics:

1. Origins: Greek cities in southern Italy

2. Spread: throughout Italy, especially the centre and south

Suppression of the cult:

1. *SC de Bacchanalibus* and Livy; *tresviri capitales*(保持公众秩序的法令)

Motivations of the suppression:

1. The disruption(断裂) of traditional patterns of family life caused by the oaths of loyalty, the organization, funding and leadership of the cult centres.

2. Possibly also the idea that the organisation of the cult might undermine(减弱) or develop into a politically disruptive(破坏性的) element, just like certain other *collegia* have been a disruptive force in Roman politics (e.g. riots(骚乱) in the People's Assemblies)

Aftermath:

1. Little is known

8.4 Administration of Roman provinces during the Republic

Initially all the provinces were administered by <u>praetors</u> who would be in charge of a province allocated to them during their one-year term in office. Their main tasks were defence of the province and the execution of justice.

Governors had a small staff including a quaestor (for financial purposes).

Local administrative system was largely retained.

<u>Tax collection</u>: performed by local administration and handed over to the quaestor or to *publicani* (singular: *publicanus*, 税收官), who mostly designated(指定) men of equestrian rank (i.e. one rank below that of senator) who had gained the right to collect taxes on behalf of Rome in a province.

That does not mean that Rome in each province depended on such *publicani* for the collection.

9 Crisis of the Roman Republic (2)

9.1 Tax Collection, 税收

The different taxes raised by the Roman state can be classified into the following categories:

9.1.1 根据人口普查确定的税收, Taxes that were raised on the basis of the census lists (*tributa*; sing. *tributum*)

(1) *Tabula Heracleensis* (Census List) Census lists were drafted by the censors, Roman magistrates (generally ex-consuls) who were elected from 443 BC onwards in the *comitia centuriata* once in 4 or 5 years for 18 months—although in the first century BC there were extended periods without censors. Individuals had to give their full name, age, name of father (or *patronus*), domicile(户籍, 本籍), and the amount of their property. Censors then allocated citizens to tribes (*tribus*) and to centuries. 人口普查官员是如何进行人口普查的.

Praefecturae were municipalities(市政府) without political rights (sine *suffragio*); jurisdiction in these communities resided(属于) with the praetor in Rome who exercised it through a special delegate, a *praefectus iuri dicundo*.

地方政府是没有政治权利的市政当局; 这些社区的管辖权属于罗马的民政官，他通过一个特别代表——地方政府官员行使。

(2) *tributum capitis* (poll tax, 人头税)

(3) *tributum soli* (land tax, 土地税) Roman citizens did not pay *tributa* any more from 167 BC onwards.

(4) *stipendia* (sing. *stipendium*): tax for the upkeep of the army(维持军队的税收)

9.1.2 只预先确定比例的税收, Taxes where only the ratio to be paid was determined in advance

vectigalia (sing. *vectigal*, 关税) and *portoria* (custom duties, 海关的职责, 港口税)

Magistracy in Tax Collection

Involved in the tax collection were quaestors, but also *publicani* (sing. *publicanus*) grouped together into companies leasing(出租, 这里有点不理解) *tributa* during the period of the Republic and *vectigalia* during both Republic and Principate.

The exaction(强求) of taxes by *publicani* could lead to problems as the following decree of the *koinon* of Asia (passed in 71 BC) shows.

A *koinon* was a league consisting of several cities as member states.

Patronage, 赞助

Through the consensus of the town councillors and of the prefect T. Fa[...] and the whole prefecture(地方行政区域) of Fundi to make ties of friendship with T.C[...] we hand ourselves entirely and we come into his *fides* in consulship of M. Claudius, son of Marcus[...]. — Latin Inscriptions of the Free Republic

通过市议员、省长 T. Fa (...)和整个方迪县(地方行政区域)的共识，我们与 T.C 建立了友好关系，我们完全自愿地成为了马库斯之子 M. Claudius 的忠实顾问。

9.2 Character of Roman Expansion

(1) <u>defensive</u>: Th. Mommsen, *The History of Rome*, English trans. (London 1877-1890); T. Frank, *Roman Imperialism* (New York [NY] 1914); M. Holleaux, Rome, *la Grèce et les monarchies hellénistiques au IIIe siècle avant J.-C.* (273-205) (Paris 1921):

fear whether justified or not, unsought, not economic gain. 认为是不公正的, 毫无收获的, 不够经济的

But, what about the high value attached to military accomplishments, and such institutions as the triumph? What about the almost continuous warfare and economic gains?

但是，对军事成就的高度重视，以及诸如胜利之类的制度又如何呢? 那几乎持续不断的战争和经济收益呢?

(2) <u>offensive</u>: W. V. Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome 327-70 BC* (Oxford 1979):

aggressive, imperialistic, glory, economic benefits

(3) '<u>third way</u>': J. Rich, 'Fear. Greed and glory: the causes of Roman war-making in the middle Republic', in: J. Rich, G. Shipley (eds), *War and Society in the Roman World* (London 1993) 38-68.

Problems to the second view: (a) relative quiet in 178-154 and after 133 BC; (b) decision-making process in the Senate

9.3 Roman Society, Developments from about 150 BC

Increase in number of Romans without property; main causes:

Growth of large-scale landownership?

Over-population in Italy, although the Roman policy-makers seem to have thought that Italy's population was decreasing, because of the difficulty in recruiting new soldiers.

Republican army until the first century BC was recruited only for the occasion of warfare (mostly confined to summer, 大多局限于夏季):

1. Roman citizens

2. Property qualification (without property, no means to provide weapons)

3. Provision(提供) of own weapons

4. Soldiers shared in the booty(战利品) to some extent

罗马人以前打仗是要自己准备武器的.

对于为什么招募的士兵数量不足的解释. Concern about the number of recruits. Explanations:

Roman policy-makers seem to have thought that a decrease in number of recruits occurred and that it was the result of a decrease in population and an increase in number of Roman citizens without property. The measures they took were aimed at countering(对抗) these problems. The increase in the number of citizens without property will have played a role.

Yet, it should not be ignored that an important factor contributing to a decrease in the number of recruits seems to have been the reluctance of Roman citizens to be recruited for the dangerous and unprofitable wars in Spain waged intermittently(间歇地, 时断时续地) from 154-133 BC. These citizens failed to register.

解决士兵数量不足的政策. Policies to relieve the problems of recruits:

(1) 放宽财产限制. In first instance, lowering of the property threshold for serving in army

(2) 分发土地. Tiberius Gracchus in 133 BC as Tribune of the *Plebs* implemented policies to **distribute land among the urban poor (proletariat)** as a means to increase the number of recruits. With Appian's Civil Wars, Plutarch's biography of Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus can be reckoned(评定) among the most detailed accounts of the land reforms of this people's tribune. The explanations provided by Plutarch for the social problems that triggered the land reforms are not entirely convincing. Tiberius' policy was successful only temporarily.

(3) 直接取消财产限制. C. Marius (156-86 BC) c. 100 BC reorganised the Roman army, abolished the property qualification, and made that poor soldiers were provided with weapons and with property after discharge from military service.

As a possible result of these reforms of the army and the distribution of property to veterans(退伍军人), soldiers became loyal to their commanders, i.e. to the proconsuls and propraetors who were placed in command of Rome's legions, instead of the Roman Republic. Promagistrates could use their armies to further their own ends. Conflicts among Rome's elite were henceforth no longer only fought in the Senate and the People's assemblies, but also on the battlefield. 但是这导致了士兵是忠于指挥官而不是罗马共和国, 这也导致了政治家们不仅在元老院中斗争, 还在战场上斗争.

9.4 Social and political developments from Marius to Augustus

This dissension(纷争, 指士兵对指挥官的忠诚导致了官员在战场上斗争) manifested(表明) itself in the following ways (although the precise relationship between these phenomena is difficult to determine):

1. Unconstitutionally long duration of a magistracy (违宪的长期任职, e.g. the consulship by Marius in 107 and 104-100).

2. Holding magistracies before required age and before having served in minor magistracies (e.g. Cn. Pompeius – better known as Pompey the Great – was consul in 70 at the age of 36 instead of the required 42 years). 不到年纪就当选官员

3. Bypassing of Senate by tribunes of the *plebs* (平民护民官绕过元老院, e.g. in 133 by Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus; in 67 by Aulus Gabinius). After Tiberius Gracchus, Roman politicians began to see the people's tribunate as another source of power. Tribunes began to implement populist policies (民粹政策, necessarily on account of a supposed innate(先天的) favour of middle and lower-class Roman citizens, but because they saw these policies as a means to gain political support that could facilitate their political agenda and advance their careers)

4. Civil Wars (e.g. in 88 BC between L. Cornelius Sulla (c. 138-78 BC) and C. Marius concerning the command over the war against the Pontic king Mithridates VI; in 83-82; in 49-44 and in 44-31 BC)

5. Unconstitutional offices (e.g. in 52 when Pompey held the consulship without colleague)

6. Dictatorships (e.g. Sulla in 82-81; Julius Caesar in the 40s BC)

9.5   Cicero, 西塞罗

M. Tullius Cicero (106-43 BC)

表格 **7.** Key biographical facts and relevant names/terms

106 BC	Birth Cicero into an equestrian family
90/89 BC	Military Service
81 BC	Cicero's defense of P. Quinctius (first case)
79-77 BC	Cicero studied in Athens(雅典) and Rhodes
75 BC	Quaestor in Sicily
70 BC	Trial against C. Verres (In Verrem)
60 BC	Praetor; Cicero pleaded(辩护) in favor of transferring command of the war against Mithridates VI to Pompey (*Pro lege Manilia*)
63 BC	Consul (*novus homo*, 后起之秀) with C. Antonius 'Hybrida'; conspiracy of L. Sergius Catilina; execution conspirators
60 BC	Pact(协议) between C. Iulius Caesar (cos. 59, 48, 46-44), Cn. Pompeius (Pompey) (cos. 70, 55, 52) and M. Licinius Crassus (cos. 70, 55)
59 BC	Marriage between Pompey and Julia (Caesar's daughter)
58 BC	Cicero exiled by law which P. Clodius Pulcher (tr. pl. of that year; hostile(敌意的) to Cicero since trial of 61) promulgated(颁布)
57 BC	Cicero recalled by law

9.6   Pompey, 庞培

Cn. Pompeius (Pompey) (106-48 BC)

Political aims:

1. Ratification(批准, 认可) of eastern settlement

2. Grants of land to his veterans

But: opposition in the Senate:

1. Detailed examination

2. Agrarian(农业的) bill proposed, L. Flavius, a friendly tribune, rejected

   一位友好的护民官弗拉维乌斯(L. Flavius)提出了一项农业法案，但遭到否决

9.7 Caesar, 凯撒

C. Iulius Caesar (100-44 BC)

Political aims: returning in c. June 60 from a propraetorship in Further Spain, Caesar requested a triumph, and hoped to win a consulship and subsequent(随后的) provincial command.

But: opposition in Senate:

1. No special dispensation to stand in absence; Caesar renounced his right to a triumph

2. Senate decided that the consuls of 59 were to have *silvae callesque* (Suet. *Iul.* 19.1) as their provinces (the *lex Sempronia de provinciis consularibus* of 123 stipulated(规定) that the consular provinces should be determined prior to the elections, which usually took place in July)

Pompey and Caesar forged a coalition(联盟): Caesar was elected as consul for 59; Pompey married Caesar's daughter Julia.

9.8 Crassus, 克拉苏

M. Licinius Crassus (c. 112-53 BC)

Political aims:

1. Rebate(削弱) of the sum owed by the *publicani* for their contract to collect the tithes(什一税) of Asia

2. Check on Pompey

3. Rebate opposed by the Senate, especially Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer and M. Porcius Cato in 61.

10 Transition from Republic to Principate

10.1 Coalition, 罗马三巨头

(1) On the instigation(教唆, 煽动) of Caesar, laws were passed (under violence) to use the wealth collected by Pompey in the East for buying land from private owners, and to settle Pompey's veterans and other Roman citizens on public land in Campania. Opposition by Caesar's colleague M. Calpurnius Bibulus, M. Porcius Cato (praet. 54) and several others proved futile(徒然的).

(2) Pompey's eastern rearrangements were ratified by law.

(3) A remission(免除, 赦免) of a third of the sum due by the *publicani*.(减免税款1/3)

(4) Friendly tribune of the *plebs*, P. Vatinius, had a law passed bestowing(给予) upon Caesar the command of Cisalpine Gaul and Illyricum (extended by the Senate with Transalpine Gaul, when the intended governor, Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer—cos. 60—died) for five years (from 1 March 59).

(5) For 58, consuls were elected friendly to the three men: L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, whose daughter (Calpurnia) Caesar married, and A. Gabinius.

Cicero对此有什么反应呢? Initially he kept quiet, but eventually he openly criticised Caesar—a fateful move as demonstrated by his exile in 58. 最后因为批评而被驱逐了

Caesar's reaction: offers of membership of the land commission and of Caesar's staff in Gaul. Cicero refused.

P. Clodius Pulcher had been transferred(调任) in 59 by a law passed in the *comitia curiata* (Caesar played a role as *pontifex maximus*) to the plebeian order. As tribune of the plebs in 58, he passed a variety of laws: e.g.

1. free distribution of grain;

2. abrogation(废止) of a law prohibiting *collegia* (clubs), a move that led to an increase in rioting;

3. alteration(改动) of the *lex or leges Aelia (et) Fufia*, which regulated *obnuntiatio*, the reporting of unfavourable signs/omens(预兆) by curule magistrates and tribunes. What Clodius did is unknown; according to one interpretation, he took away this right from curule magistrates at legislative assemblies.

4. More important for our purposes, a law, passed in March, (*de capite civis Romani*) imposing(强制实行) *aqua et igni interdictio* on anyone who had executed Roman citizens without trial. 对未经审判就处决罗马公民的人实行某种禁令.

Cicero expected the outcome and had left Rome already.

April, a law was adopted banning Cicero

Law declaring Cyprus a Roman province and bestowing(给予) upon Cato the task of annexing the island (Cato only returned in 56).

Cicero began working on his recall almost immediately after the law that had outlawed(取缔) him had been passed. Pompey seemed willing.

- BUT: Clodius engineered the escape of Tigranes the Younger from custody(羁押). 克罗迪斯策划了小提格雷斯的越狱。