AHIS1060 - Rome: A Survey of History and Archaeology

Course Outline

Course Overview
Course Co-ordinator: Jane Bellemore
Room: tba
Ph: 4921 5231 (Callaghan)
Fax: 4921 6933
Email: Jane.Bellemore@newcastle.edu.au
Consultation hours: By appointment

Semester: Semester 2 - 2010
Unit Weighting: 10
Teaching Methods: Lecture
Tutorial

Brief Course Description
A survey of the history of Rome from the city's foundation to the end of the Julio-Claudian period (753 BC to AD 69). The focus of the course is on historical changes and developments throughout this period. It reviews the debt owed by Western Civilisation to Ancient Rome, in areas such as religion, legislation, politics, the judiciary, military matters, philosophy, literature, engineering, architecture, urban planning, society, trade, etc. The course employs evidence from ancient writers to plot intellectual developments, and it exploits the visible remains of Rome's civilisation to show the originality and adaptability of its people.

Contact Hours
Lecture for 2 Hours per Week for the Full Term
Tutorial for 1 Hour per Week for the Full Term
Tutorials commence in week 2

Students must register for a tutorial and attend at least 80% of tutorial classes

Learning Materials/Texts
Boatwright, M.T., Gargola, D.J., Talbert, R.J.A. The Romans: from village to empire. New York, Oxford: OUP, 2004
Also recommended:

Course Outline Issued and Correct as at: Week 1, Semester 2 - 2010

CTS Download Date: 8th July 2010
Course Objectives

On completion of this course students will:
1. be familiar with evidence relevant to ancient Rome (753 BC to AD 69)
2. be able to compare and contrast types of evidence in terms of credibility, and to appreciate and express the limits of ancient evidence
3. have assimilated the terminology of the discipline
4. have investigated the periods of history and major events under consideration, as well as major historical figures
5. be able to evaluate, investigate and write about problems in Roman history
6. be able to understand Roman societies in different periods
7. be able to recognize many of the archaeological features of the period
and will have developed:
1. an ability to think critically
2. an ability to conduct research
3. an enhanced ability to present arguments and analysis in written and oral form

Course Content

Content includes:
a survey of the history of the period from 753BC to AD69;
how Roman society changed and developed;
the City of Rome and its evolution;
the religion of the Romans;
Roman innovation in legislative and judicial spheres;
The 'mesh' between Roman history and politics;
the role of the military in the acquisition of empire and within society;
Roman attitudes and values, from Republic to Empire;
the development of literature and the arts;
Roman engineering and architecture.

Assessment Items

| Essays / Written Assignments | Minor essay 30% |
|                             | Major essay 40% |
| Quiz - Class                | 2 in-class quizzes (10% + 20%) 30% |

Assumed Knowledge
None

Ourimbah Timetable

AHIS1060

Rome: A Survey

Enquiries: School of Humanities and Social Science
Semester 2 - 2010

Lecture and Tutorial

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Monday</th>
<th>9:00 - 11:00</th>
<th>[O_CS201]</th>
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<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>11:00 - 12:00</td>
<td>[O_CS201]</td>
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<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>12:00 - 13:00</td>
<td>[O_CS201]</td>
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Commencing Week 2

School of Humanities and Social Science
IMPORTANT UNIVERSITY INFORMATION

ACADEMIC INTEGRITY

Academic integrity, honesty, and a respect for knowledge, truth and ethical practices are fundamental to the business of the University. These principles are at the core of all academic endeavour in teaching, learning and research. Dishonest practices contravene academic values, compromise the integrity of research and devalue the quality of learning. To preserve the quality of learning for the individual and others, the University may impose severe sanctions on activities that undermine academic integrity. There are two major categories of academic dishonesty:

Academic fraud is a form of academic dishonesty that involves making a false representation to gain an unjust advantage. Without limiting the generality of this definition, it can include:

a) falsification of data;
b) using a substitute person to undertake, in full or part, an examination or other assessment item;
c) reusing one's own work, or part thereof, that has been submitted previously and counted towards another course (without permission);
d) making contact or colluding with another person, contrary to instructions, during an examination or other assessment item;
e) bringing material or device(s) into an examination or other assessment item other than such as may be specified for that assessment item; and
f) making use of computer software or other material and device(s) during an examination or other assessment item other than such as may be specified for that assessment item.
g) contract cheating or having another writer compete for tender to produce an essay or assignment and then submitting the work as one's own.

Plagiarism is the presentation of the thoughts or works of another as one's own. University policy prohibits students plagiarising any material under any circumstances. Without limiting the generality of this definition, it may include:

a) copying or paraphrasing material from any source without due acknowledgment;
b) using another person's ideas without due acknowledgment;
c) collusion or working with others without permission, and presenting the resulting work as though it were completed independently.

Turnitin is an electronic text matching system. During assessing any assessment item the University may -

- Reproduce this assessment item and provide a copy to another member of the University; and/or
- Communicate a copy of this assessment item to a text matching service (which may then retain a copy of the item on its database for the purpose of future checking).
- Submit the assessment item to other forms of plagiarism checking

RE-MARKS AND MODERATIONS

Students can access the University’s policy at: http://www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000769.html

MARKS AND GRADES RELEASED DURING TERM

All marks and grades released during term are indicative only until formally approved by the Head of School.

SPECIAL CIRCUMSTANCES AFFECTING ASSESSMENT ITEMS

Extension of Time for Assessment Items, Deferred Assessment and Special Consideration for Assessment Items or Formal Written Examinations items must be submitted by the due date in the Course Outline unless the Course Coordinator approves an extension. Unapproved late submissions will be penalised in line with the University policy.
specified in **Late Penalty** (under student) at the link above.

**Requests for Extensions of Time** must be lodged no later than the due date of the item. This applies to students:

- applying for an extension of time for submission of an assessment item on the basis of medical, compassionate, hardship/trauma or unavoidable commitment; or
- whose attendance at or performance in an assessment item or formal written examination has been or will be affected by medical, compassionate, hardship/trauma or unavoidable commitment.

Students must report the circumstances, with supporting documentation, as outlined in the Special Circumstances Affecting Assessment Items Procedure at: [http://www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000641.html](http://www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000641.html)

**Note:** different procedures apply for minor and major assessment tasks.

**Students should be aware of the following important deadlines:**

- Special Consideration Requests must be lodged no later than 3 working days after the due date of submission or examination.
- Rescheduling Exam requests must be received no later than 10 working days prior the first date of the examination period.

*Late applications may not be accepted. Students who cannot meet the above deadlines due to extenuating circumstances should speak firstly to their Program Officer or their Program Executive if studying in Singapore.*

**STUDENTS WITH A DISABILITY OR CHRONIC ILLNESS**

University is committed to providing a range of support services for students with a disability or chronic illness. If you have a disability or chronic illness which you feel may impact on your studies please feel free to discuss your support needs with your lecturer or course coordinator.

Disability Support may also be provided by the Student Support Service (Disability). Students must be registered to receive this type of support. To register contact the Disability Liaison Officer on 02 4921 5766, email at: student-disability@newcastle.edu.au. As some forms of support can take a few weeks to implement it is extremely important that you discuss your needs with your lecturer, course coordinator or Student Support Service staff at the beginning of each semester. For more information on confidentiality and documentation visit the Student Support Service (Disability) website: [www.newcastle.edu.au/services/disability](http://www.newcastle.edu.au/services/disability).

**CHANGING YOUR ENROLMENT**

Students enrolled after the census dates listed in the link below are liable for the full cost of their student contribution or fees for that term.


Students may withdraw from a course without academic penalty on or before the last day of term. Any withdrawal from a course after the last day of term will result in a fail grade.

**Students cannot enrol in a new course after the second week of term**, except under exceptional circumstances. Any application to add a course after the second week of term must be on the appropriate form, and should be discussed with staff in the Student Hubs or with your Program Executive at PSB if you are a Singapore student.

To check or change your enrolment online go to myHub: [https://myhub.newcastle.edu.au](https://myhub.newcastle.edu.au)
STUDENT INFORMATION & CONTACTS

Various services are offered by the Student Support Unit: [www.newcastle.edu.au/service/studentsupport/](http://www.newcastle.edu.au/service/studentsupport/)

The Student Hubs are a one-stop shop for the delivery of student related services and are the first point of contact for students studying in Australia. Student Hubs are located at:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Callaghan Campus</th>
<th>Port Macquarie Student Hub</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shortland Hub: Level 3, Shortland Building</td>
<td>The University of Newcastle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunter Hub: Level 2, Student Services Centre</td>
<td>A Block, Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Precinct</td>
<td>Widderson Road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Hub &amp; Information Common, University House</td>
<td>Port Macquarie NSW 2444</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Coast Campus (Ourimbah)</td>
<td>Phone: 49215000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Student Hub: Opposite the Main Cafeteria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Singapore students contact your PSB Program Executive

OTHER CONTACT INFORMATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Faculty Websites</th>
<th>Dean of Students Office</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/business-law/">www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/business-law/</a></td>
<td>The Dean of Students and Deputy Dean of Students work to ensure that all students receive fair and equitable treatment at the University. In doing this they provide information and advice and help students resolve problems of an academic nature.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/engineering/">www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/engineering/</a></td>
<td>Phone: 02 4921 5806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/health/">www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/health/</a></td>
<td>Fax: 02 4921 7151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/science-it/">www.newcastle.edu.au/faculty/science-it/</a></td>
<td>Email: <a href="mailto:Dean-of-Students@newcastle.edu.au">Dean-of-Students@newcastle.edu.au</a></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rules Governing Undergraduate Academic Awards</td>
<td>University Complaints Managers Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000311.html">www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000311.html</a></td>
<td>The University is committed to maintaining and enhancing fair, equitable and safe work practices and promoting positive relationships with its staff and students. There is a single system to deal with all types of complaints, ranging from minor administrative matters to more serious deeply held grievances concerning unfair, unjust or unreasonable behaviour.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rules Governing Professional Doctorate Awards</td>
<td>Fax: 02 4921 7151</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><a href="http://www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000580.html">www.newcastle.edu.au/policylibrary/000580.html</a></td>
<td>Email: <a href="mailto:Complaints@newcastle.edu.au">Complaints@newcastle.edu.au</a></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

General enquiries

Callaghan, City and Port Macquarie
Phone: 02 4921 5000
Email: EnquiryCentre@newcastle.edu.au

Ourimbah
Phone: 02 4348 4030
Email: EnquiryCentre@newcastle.edu.au

Campus Care
The Campus Care program has been set up as a central point of enquiry for information, advice and support in managing inappropriate, concerning or threatening behaviour.


Phone: 02 4921 8600
Fax: 02 4921 7151
Email: campuscare@newcastle.edu.au

This course outline will not be altered after the second week of the term except under extenuating circumstances with Head of School approval. Students will be notified in advance of the change.
**Online Tutorial Registration:**

Students are required to enrol in the Lecture and a specific Tutorial time for this course via the Online Registration system. Refer - [http://www.newcastle.edu.au/study/enrolment/regdates.html](http://www.newcastle.edu.au/study/enrolment/regdates.html)

NB: Registrations close at the end of week 2 of semester.

**Studentmail and Blackboard:** Refer - [www.blackboard.newcastle.edu.au/](http://www.blackboard.newcastle.edu.au/)

This course uses Blackboard and studentmail to contact students, so you are advised to keep your email accounts within the quota to ensure you receive essential messages. To receive an expedited response to queries, post questions on the Blackboard discussion forum if there is one, or if emailing staff directly use the course code in the subject line of your email. Students are advised to check their studentmail and the course Blackboard site on a weekly basis.

**Important Additional Information**

Details about the following topics are available on your course Blackboard site (where relevant). Refer - [www.blackboard.newcastle.edu.au/](http://www.blackboard.newcastle.edu.au/)

- Written Assignment Presentation and Submission Details
- Online copy submission to Turnitin
- Penalties for Late Assignments
- Special Circumstances
- No Assignment Re-submission
- Re-marks & Moderations
- Return of Assignments
- Preferred Referencing Style
- Student Representatives
- Student Communication
- Essential Online Information for Students
# Lecture and Tutorial list

Lectures: O_CS201 (9.00-11.00)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>L. Date</th>
<th>Title of Lecture</th>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>Tutorial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>26th July</td>
<td>Introduction to course Rome</td>
<td>JB</td>
<td>JB</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>No tutorial</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>2nd August</td>
<td>Early Italy: Foundation of Rome</td>
<td>TJR</td>
<td>1. Early Italy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>9th August</td>
<td><em>Rome’s First Centuries</em></td>
<td>TJR</td>
<td>2. <em>Romulus and Remus: Foundation of Rome</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>16th August</td>
<td>In-class test (10%) and Rome and Italy in the Fourth C</td>
<td>TJR</td>
<td>3. Regal Rome</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>23rd August</td>
<td>Start of a Mediterranean Empire</td>
<td>TJR</td>
<td>4. ‘Servian’ Walls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>30th August</td>
<td>Italy and Empire</td>
<td>JB</td>
<td>5. DVD – Tiberius Gracchus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>6th September</td>
<td>Italy Threatened, Enfranchised, Divided</td>
<td>CM</td>
<td>6. Campus Martius</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>13th September</td>
<td>Domination of Sulla and legacy</td>
<td>CM</td>
<td>7. Roman utilities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>20th September</td>
<td>End of the Roman Republic Caesar’s dictatorship</td>
<td>CM</td>
<td>8. Roman Tombs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>11th October</td>
<td>Augustus and the transformation of the Roman World</td>
<td>CM</td>
<td>9. Aventine and Palatine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Short essay due Monday 30th August – Week Six (1000 words)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>L. Date</th>
<th>Title of Lecture</th>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>Tutorial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>30th August</td>
<td>Italy and Empire</td>
<td>JB</td>
<td>5. DVD – Tiberius Gracchus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>6th September</td>
<td>Italy Threatened, Enfranchised, Divided</td>
<td>CM</td>
<td>6. Campus Martius</td>
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<tr>
<td>8.</td>
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<td>CM</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>20th September</td>
<td>End of the Roman Republic Caesar’s dictatorship</td>
<td>CM</td>
<td>8. Roman Tombs</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**SEMESTER RECESS - MONDAY 27th SEPTEMBER to FRIDAY 8th OCTOBER**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>L. Date</th>
<th>Title of Lecture</th>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>Tutorial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>11th October</td>
<td>Augustus and the transformation of the Roman World</td>
<td>CM</td>
<td>9. Aventine and Palatine</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Essay Due Monday 18th October – Week Eleven (2000 words)**
Lecture and Tutorial list

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Week</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Lecture</th>
<th>Lecturer</th>
<th>Tutorial</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>11.</td>
<td>18\textsuperscript{th} October</td>
<td>Early Principate (14-69)\nInstitutions of the Principate\nCivil Wars of 68-9</td>
<td>CM</td>
<td>10. DVD - Nero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12.</td>
<td>25\textsuperscript{th} October</td>
<td>Life in the early empire</td>
<td>CM</td>
<td>11. Circus Maximus</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13.</td>
<td>1\textsuperscript{st} November</td>
<td>In-class test (20%)</td>
<td>JB</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Key to lecturers and tutors:
JB Jane Bellemore
CM Chris Matthew
TJR Terry Ryan

Summary of Assessment – see also under relevant weeks of tutorial programme:
1. First in-class test 10% (Monday, 16\textsuperscript{th} August, Week 3)
2. Short paper 30% (due Monday 30\textsuperscript{th} August, Week 6)
3. Essay 40% (due Monday, 18\textsuperscript{th} October, Week 11)
4. Second in-class test 20% (Monday, 1\textsuperscript{st} November, Week 13)

Note 1: Hints on how to do each assessment can be found in the booklet.
Note 2: Detailed topics and reading lists for the major essay will be provided during tutorials.
Note 3: All books cited as reading for the tutorials are available in the Short Loans Section of the Library and articles are online. The text by Boatwright is also available online through the library catalogue.
Note 4: Your completed minor and major essays should be handed to the tutor at the start of the relevant tutorial (in Weeks 6 and 11 respectively).
Note 5: The minor essay, when marked, will be returned during tutorial times.
Note 6: The major essay, when marked, will be available from the Ourimbah.
Note 7: Work must be put through turnitin by 5.00pm on the due date.

Sites useful to Classics and Ancient History may be accessed via the Library:

See also the site specifically devoted to sources on Roman culture and history.
http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/home.html

There are a host of other sites to be found; for example, The Oxford Classical Dictionary [electronic resource]:

Jane Bellemore, course co-ordinator
Tutorial 1 (Week 2)

Early Italy

Consider what Livy in From the Foundation of the City tells us about the Trojan origins of the Romans (Livy 1.1.1-11).

[1] First of all, then, it is generally agreed that when Troy was taken vengeance was wreaked upon the other Trojans, but that two, Aeneas and Antenor, were spared all the penalties of war by the Achivi, owing to long-standing claims of hospitality, and because they had always advocated peace and the giving back of Helen. [2] They then experienced various vicissitudes. … [4] Aeneas, driven from home by … misfortune, but guided by fate to undertakings of greater consequence, came first to Macedonia; thence was carried, in his quest of a place of settlement, to Sicily; and from Sicily laid his course towards the land of Laurentum. This place too is called Troy. [5] Landing there, the Trojans, as men who, after their all but immeasurable wanderings, had nothing left but their swords and ships, were driving booty from the fields, when King Latinus and the Aborigines, who then occupied that country, rushed down from their city and their fields to repel with arms the violence of the invaders. From this point the tradition follows two lines. Some say that Latinus, having been defeated in the battle, made a peace with Aeneas, and later an alliance of marriage. [6] Others maintain that when the opposing lines had been drawn up, Latinus did not wait for the charge to sound, but advanced amidst his chieftains and summoned the captain of the strangers to a parley. [7] He then inquired what men they were, whence they had come, what mishap had caused them to leave their home, and what they sought in landing on the coast of Laurentum. [8] He was told that the people were Trojans and their leader Aeneas, son of Anchises and Venus; that their city had been burnt, and that, driven from home, they were looking for a dwelling-place and a site where they might build a city. Filled with wonder at the renown of the race and the hero, and at his spirit, prepared alike for war or peace, he gave him his right hand in solemn pledge of lasting friendship. [9] The commanders then made a treaty, and the armies saluted each other. Aeneas became a guest in the house of Latinus; there the latter, in the presence of his household gods, added a domestic treaty to the public one, by giving his daughter in marriage to Aeneas. [10] This event removed any doubt in the minds of the Trojans that they had brought their wanderings to an end at last in a permanent and settled habitation. [11] They founded a town, which Aeneas named Lavinium, after his wife. In a short time, moreover, there was a male scion of the new marriage, to whom his parents gave the name of Ascanius.


See also Dionysius of Halicarnassus in Roman Antiquities, who summarily covers many of the same events but relates them more closely to the foundation of Rome (Dion. Hal. 1.45.1-3)

1 At that time the Trojans who had fled with Aeneas from Troy after its capture landed at Laurentum, which is on the coast of the Aborigines facing the Tyrrenian Sea, not far from the mouth of the Tiber. And having received from the Aborigines some land for their habitation and everything else they desired, they built a town on a hill not far from the sea and called it Lavinium. 2 Soon after this they changed their ancient name and, together with the Aborigines, were called Latins, after the king of that country. And leaving Lavinium, they joined with the inhabitants of those parts in building a larger city, surrounded by a wall, which they called Alba; and setting out thence, they built many other cities, the cities of the so-called Prisci Latini, of which the greatest part were inhabited even to my day. 3 Then, sixteen generations after the taking of Troy, sending out a colony to Pallantium and Saturnia, where the Peloponnesians and the Arcadians had made their first settlement and where there were still left some remains of the ancient race,
they settled these places and surrounded Pallantium with a wall, so that it then first received the form of a city. This settlement they called Rome, after Romulus, who was the leader of the colony and the seventeenth in descent from Aeneas.


Questions:

Who were Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Livy, and what did they write?  
How would you rate the reliability of their works, given the lapse of time from the events they describe?  
What was the Trojan War? Who was Aeneas? Who were the Archivi? Who was Helen? What was the relationship of Aeneas to Rome?  
Where was Troy? Macedonia? Sicily? Laurentum? Lavinium? Locate these regions and places on the maps supplied.

Consider what Livy himself says about the distant past (Livy Preface 7-10):

Such traditions as belong to the time before the city was founded, or rather was presently to be founded, and are rather adorned with poetic legends than based upon trustworthy historical proofs, I purpose neither to affirm nor to refute. It is the privilege of antiquity to mingle divine things with human, and so to add dignity to the beginnings of cities …

[9] But to such legends as these, however they shall be regarded and judged, I shall, for my own part, attach no great importance. Here are the questions to which I would have every reader give his close attention — what life and morals were like; through what men and by what policies, in peace and in war, empire was established and enlarged; then let him note how, with the gradual relaxation of discipline, morals first gave way, as it were, then sank lower and lower, and finally began the downward plunge which has brought us to the present time, when we can endure neither our vices nor their cure.

[10] What chiefly makes the study of history wholesome and profitable is this, that you behold the lessons of every kind of experience set forth as on a conspicuous monument; from these you may choose for yourself and for your own state what to imitate, from these mark for avoidance what is shameful in the conception and shameful in the result.
Map of the Aegean region:

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Map of Italy

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Ancient Sources


Modern Reading

Boatwright, M.T., Gargola, D.J., Talbert, R.J.A.
(Available in electronic form via Library catalogue).


Cornell, T. *The beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000-264 BC)*. London; New York: Routledge, 1995 [937.01 CORN]


Map of ancient Rome (over many periods)

http://www.the-colosseum.net/images/oldromemap.jpg
(http://www.the-colosseum.net/idx-en.htm)
**Tutorial 2 (Week 3)**

**Romulus and Remus: the foundation of Rome**

**Birth of Romulus and Remus**

Dionysius 1.76.1-79.9

76 1 When Amulius succeeded to the kingdom of the Albans, after forcibly excluding his elder brother Numitor from the dignity that was his by inheritance, he not only showed great contempt for justice in everything else that he did, but he finally plotted to deprive Numitor's family of issue, both from fear of suffer punishment for his usurpation and also because of his desire never to be dispossessed of the sovereignty. … he appointed Numitor's daughter, Ilia, — or, as some state, Rhea, surnamed Silvia, — who was then ripe for marriage, to be a priestess of Vesta, lest, if she first entered a husband's house, she might bring forth avengers for her family. These holy maidens who were entrusted with the custody of the perpetual fire and with the carrying out of any other rites that it was customary for virgins to perform in behalf of the commonwealth were required to remain undefiled by marriage for a period of not less than five years…

77 1 The fourth year after this, Ilia, upon going to a grove consecrated to Mars to fetch pure water for use in the sacrifices, was ravished by somebody or other in the sacred precinct. …2 most writers relate a fabulous story to the effect that it was a spectre of the divinity to whom the place was consecrated; … And they say that the ravisher, to comfort the maiden (by which it became clear that it was a god), commanded her not to grieve at all at what had happened, since she had been united in marriage to the divinity of the place and as a result of her violation should bear two sons who would far excel all men in valour and warlike achievements. And having said this, he was wrapped in a cloud and, being lifted from the earth, was borne upwards through the air.3 This is not a proper place to consider what opinion we ought to entertain of such tales, whether we should scorn them as instances of human frailty attributed to the gods, — since God is incapable of any action that is unworthy of his incorruptible and blessed nature, — or whether we should admit even these stories, upon the supposition that all the substance of the universe is mixed, and that between the race of gods and that of men some third order of being exists which is that of the daemons, who, uniting sometimes with human beings and sometimes with the gods, beget, it is said, the fabled race of heroes. …

78 … the councillors … voted … that the law should be carried out which provided that a Vestal who suffered herself to be defiled should be scourged with rods and put to death and her offspring thrown into the current of the river…

79 4 … By the order of Amulius some of his servants took the babes in an ark and carried them to the river, distant about a hundred and twenty stades from the city, with the intention of throwing them into it. 5 But when they drew near and perceived that the Tiber, swollen by continual rains, had left its natural bed and overflowed the plains, they came down from the top of the Palatine hill to that part of the water that lay nearest (for they could no longer advance any farther) and set down the ark upon the flood where it washed the foot of the hill. The ark floated for some time, and then, as the waters retired by degrees from their extreme limits, it struck against a stone and, overturning, threw out the babes, who lay whimpering and wallowing in the mud. 6 Upon this, a she-wolf that had just whelped appeared and, her udder being distended with milk, gave them her paps to suck and with her tongue licked off the mud with which they were besmeared. In the meantime the herdsmen happened to be driving their flocks forth to pasture (for the place was now become passable) and one of them,
seeing the wolf thus fondling the babes, was for some time struck dumb with astonishment and disbelief of what he saw. … The wolf, … withdrew gently from the babes and went away … Now there was not far off a holy place, arched over by a dense wood, and a hollow rock from which springs issued; the wood was said to be consecrated to Pan, and there was an altar there to that god. To this place, then, the wolf came and hid herself. The grove, to be sure, no longer remains, but the cave from which the spring flows is still pointed out, built up against the side of the Palatine hill on the road which leads to the Circus, and near it is a sacred precinct in which there is a statue commemorating the incident; it represents a she-wolf suckling two infants, the figures being in bronze and of ancient workmanship. …

9 … Faustulus, an upright man … asked that the babes might be delivered to him, and having received them by general consent, he carried them home to his wife. 10 … And as they grew older he gave to one the name of Romulus and to the other that of Remus.

Livy 1.4.1-7

[1] But the Fates were resolved, as I suppose, upon the founding of this great City, and the beginning of the mightiest of empires, next after that of Heaven. [2] The Vestal was ravished, and having given birth to twin sons, named Mars as the father of her doubtful offspring, whether actually so believing, or because it seemed less wrong if a god were the author of her fault. [3] But neither gods nor men protected the mother herself or her babes from the king’s cruelty; the priestess he ordered to be manacled and cast into prison, the children to be committed to the river. [4] It happened by singular good fortune that the Tiber having spread beyond its banks into stagnant pools afforded nowhere any access to the regular channel of the river, and the men who brought the twins were led to hope that being infants they might be drowned, no matter how sluggish the stream. [5] So they made shift to discharge the king’s command, by exposing the babes at the nearest point of the overflow, where the fig-tree Ruminalis … now stands. [6] In those days this was a wild and uninhabited region. The story persists that when the floating basket in which the children had been exposed was left high and dry by the receding water, a she-wolf, coming down out of the surrounding hills to slake her thirst, turned her steps towards the cry of the infants, and with her teats gave them suck so gently, that the keeper of the royal flock found her licking them with her tongue. [7] Tradition assigns to this man the name of Faustulus, and adds that he carried the twins to his hut and gave them to his wife Larentia to rear. Some think that Larentia, having been free with her favours, had got the name of “she-wolf” among the shepherds, and that this gave rise to this marvellous story.

Foundation of Rome

Livy 1.6.3-7.3, 1.8.1-2

[3] Romulus and Remus were seized with the desire to found a city in the region where they had been exposed and brought up… Since the brothers were twins, and respect for their age could not determine between them, it was agreed that the gods who had those places in their protection should choose by augury who should give the new city its name, who should govern it when built. Romulus took the Palatine for his augural quarter, Remus the Aventine.

7 [1] Remus is said to have been the first to receive an augury, from the flight of six vultures. The omen had been already reported when twice that number appeared to Romulus. Thereupon each was saluted king by his own followers, the one party laying claim to the honour from priority, the other from the number of the birds. [2] They then engaged in a battle of words and, angry taunts leading to bloodshed, Remus was struck.
down in the affray. The commoner story is that Remus leaped over the new walls in mockery of his brother, whereupon Romulus in great anger slew him, and in menacing wise added these words withal, “So perish whoever else shall leap over my walls!” [3] Thus Romulus acquired sole power, and the city, thus founded, was called by its founder’s name. His first act was to fortify the Palatine, on which he had himself been reared. To other gods he sacrificed after the Alban custom, but employed the Greek for Hercules …

8 [1] When Romulus had duly attended to the worship of the gods, he called the people together and gave them the rules of law, since nothing else but law could unite them into a single body politic. [2] But these, he was persuaded, would only appear binding in the eyes of a rustic people in case he should invest his own person with majesty, by adopting emblems of authority. He therefore put on a more august state in every way, and especially by the assumption of twelve lictors [attendants].

Dionysius 1.85.1-88.1

85 … When Numitor, upon the death of Amulius, had resumed his rule and had spent a little time in restoring the city from its late disorder to its former orderly state, he presently thought of providing an independent rule for the youths by founding another city. 2 At the same time, the inhabitants being much increased in number, he thought it good policy to get rid of some part of them … 3 Among these, as is likely to happen when a city sends out a colony, there were great numbers of the common people, but there were also a sufficient number of the prominent men of the best class, and of the Trojan element all those who were esteemed the noblest in birth, some of whose posterity remained even to my day, consisting of about fifty families. The youths were supplied with money, arms and corn, with slaves and beasts of burden and everything else that was of use in the building of a city. 4 After they had led their people out of Alba and intermingled with them the local population that still remained in Pallantium and Saturnia, they divided the whole multitude into two parts. This they did in the hope of arousing a spirit of emulation, so that through their rivalry with each other their tasks might be the sooner finished; however, it produced the greatest of evils, discord. 5 For each group, exalting its own leader, extolled him as the proper person to command them all; and the youths themselves, being now no longer one in mind or feeling it necessary to entertain brotherly sentiments toward each, since each expected to command the other, scorned equality and craved superiority. … 6 They did not both favour the same site for the building of the city; for Romulus proposed to settle the Palatine hill, among other reasons, because of the good fortune of the place where they had been preserved and brought up, whereas Remus favoured the place that is now named after him Remoria. And indeed this place is very suitable for a city, being a hill not far from the Tiber and about thirty stades from Rome. …

86 … their grandfather … advised them to leave it to the decision of the gods which of them should give his name to the colony and be its leader. … 2 The youths … appeared on the day appointed for the test. Romulus chose for his station the Palatine hill, where he proposed settling the colony, and Remus the Aventine hill adjoining it, or, according to others, Remoria … 3 When they had taken their respective stations, Romulus, after a short pause, from eagerness and jealousy of his brother, — though possibly Heaven was thus directing him, — even before he saw any omen at all, sent messengers to his brother desiring him to come immediately, as if he had been the first to see some auspicious birds. But while the persons he sent were proceeding with no great haste, feeling ashamed of the fraud, six vultures appeared to Remus, flying from the right; and he, seeing the birds, rejoiced greatly. And not long afterwards the men sent by Romulus
took him thence and brought him to the Palatine hill. When they were together, Remus asked Romulus what birds he had been the first to see, and Romulus knew not what to answer. But thereupon twelve auspicious vultures were seen flying; and upon seeing these he took courage, and pointing them out to Remus, said: "Why do you demand to know what happened a long time ago? For surely you see these birds yourself." But Remus was indignant and complained bitterly because he had been deceived by him; and he refused to yield to him his right to the colony.

87 Thereupon greater strife arose between them than before … and a sharp battle ensued in which many were slain on both sides. … 3 Remus having been slain in this action, Romulus, who had gained a most melancholy victory through the death of his brother and the mutual slaughter of citizens, buried Remus at Remoria, since when alive he had clung to it as the site for the new city. As for himself, in his grief and repentance for what had happened, he became dejected and lost all desire for life. But when Laurentia … entreated and comforted him, he listened to her and rose up, and gathering together the Latins who had not been slain in the battle … he built a city on the Palatine hill.

4 … Some, indeed, say that Remus yielded the leadership to Romulus, though not without resentment and anger at the fraud, but that after the wall was built, wishing to demonstrate the weakness of the fortification, he cried, "Well, as for this wall, one of your enemies could as easily cross it as I do," and immediately leaped over it. Thereupon Celer, one of the men standing on the wall, who was overseer of the work, said, "Well, as for this enemy, one of us could easily punish him," and striking him on the head with a mattock, he killed him then and there. Such is said to have been the outcome of the quarrel between the brothers.

88 When no obstacle now remained to the building of the city, Romulus appointed a day on which he planned to begin the work, after first propitiating the gods. And having prepared everything that would be required for the sacrifices and for the entertainment of the people, when the appointed time came, he himself first offered sacrifice to the gods and ordered all the rest to do the same according to their abilities. He then in the first place took the omens, which were favourable. After that, having commanded fires to be lighted before the tents, he caused the people to come out and leap over the flames in order to expiate their guilt.
Consider this model of early Rome.


**Questions**

What lineage is given to Romulus and Remus? Is this significant? Why is a wolf part of this legend?

What are Roman landmarks associated with the baby twins?

What are the themes common to Livy and Dionysius concerning the foundation of Rome? What are the differences, and are these significant?

What associations are made with the Palatine and Aventine Hills in the foundation myths?

How do you rate the reliability of the written traditions?
Ancient Sources


Modern Reading


[Q292.13 BREM]


Coarelli, F. *Rome and environs: an archaeological guide*, 28-41

Cornell, T. *The beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000-264 BC)*. London; New York: Routledge, 1995
[937.01 CORN]


Consider, among other early buildings, the three complexes assigned by the sources to various kings of Rome.

1. The **Regia** (‘palace’) was built on the edge of the Roman Forum allegedly by Numa, the second king of Rome (715-673). The earliest remains of this edifice have been dated close to 600BC, although the **regia** replaced huts that stood on this section of the **Sacra Via** (‘Sacred Way’). On the archaeological evidence, see Coarelli, 83-4; Claridge, 104-6.

   **Plutarch Numa** 14.1:
   
   After Numa had thus established and regulated the priestly orders, he built, near the temple of Vesta, the so-called Regia, or royal house. Here he passed most of his time, performing sacred functions, or teaching the priests, or engaged in the quiet contemplation of divine things. He also had another house on the Quirinal hill, the site of which is still pointed out. At all public and solemn processions of the priests, heralds were sent on before through the city, bidding the people make holiday, and putting a stop to all labour.

2. The **temple of Vesta** (along with the house of the Vestal Virgins) is similarly assigned to the reign of Numa (although some writers, as noted by Plutarch, considered that the cult had been established by Romulus). The temple was also located along the **Sacra Via**, in front of the **regia**. Archaeological evidence suggests that the temple was contemporaneous with the **regia** (see Coarelli, 84-9; Claridge, 100-4).

   **Dionysius 2.65.1-4**

   1 At any rate, as regards the building of the temple of Vesta, some ascribe it to Romulus, looking upon it as an inconceivable thing that, when a city was being founded by a man skilled in divination, a public hearth should not have been erected first of all, particularly since the founder had been brought up at Alba, where the temple of this goddess had been established from ancient times, and since his mother had been her priestess. ... 2 ... Those, then, who for these reasons ascribe the building of the temple to Romulus rather than to Numa seem to be right, in so far as the general principle is concerned ... but of the details relating to the building of the present temple and to the virgins who are in the service of the goddess they seem to have been ignorant. 3 For, in the first place, it was not Romulus who consecrated to the goddess this place where the sacred fire is preserved (a strong proof of this is that it is outside of what they call Roma Quadrata, which he surrounded with a wall, whereas all men place the shrine of the public hearth in the best part of a city and nobody outside of the walls); and, in the second place, he did not appoint the service of the goddess to be performed by virgins, being mindful, I believe, of the experience that had befallen his mother, who while she was serving the goddess lost her virginity; for he doubtless felt that the remembrance of his domestic misfortunes would make it impossible for him to punish according to the traditional laws any of the priestesses he should find to have been violated. 4 For this reason, therefore, he did not build a common temple of Vesta nor did he appoint virgins to be her priestesses …

   **Plutarch Numa** 11

   Furthermore, it is said that Numa built the temple of Vesta, where the perpetual fire was kept, of a circular form, not in imitation of the shape of the earth, believing Vesta to be the earth, but of the entire universe, at the centre of which the Pythagoreans place the element of fire, and call it Vesta and Unit. 2 And they hold that the earth is neither motionless nor situated in the centre of surrounding space, but that it revolves in a circle around the central fire, not being one of the most important, nor even one of the primary elements of the universe.
3. The temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus on the Capitoline


According to the traditions, the temple was promised by Tarquinius Priscus (616-578), put in train by Tarquinius Superbus (535-510), but finished only after the kings were driven from the state.

Dionysius 3.69.1-6 (see also Livy 1.55):

1 This king [Tarquinius] also undertook to construct the temple to Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, in fulfilment of the vow he had made to these gods in his last battle against the Sabines. Having, therefore, surrounded the hill on which he proposed to build the temple with high retaining walls in many places, since it required much preparation (for it was neither easy of access nor level, but steep, and terminated in a sharp peak), he filled in the space between the retaining walls and the summit with great quantities of earth and, by levelling it, made the place most suitable for receiving temples. 2 But he was prevented by death from laying the foundations of the temple; for he lived but four years after the end of the war. Many years later, however, Tarquinius, the second king after him, the one who was driven from the throne, laid the foundations of this structure and built the greater part of it. Yet even he did not complete the work, but it was finished under the annual magistrates who were consuls in the third year after his expulsion.

3 It is fitting to relate also the incidents that preceded the building of it as they have been handed down by all the compilers of Roman history. When Tarquinius was preparing to build the temple he called the augurs together and ordered them first to consult the auspices concerning the site itself, in order to learn what place in the city was the most suitable to be consecrated and the most acceptable to the gods themselves; 4 and upon their indicating the hill that commands the Forum, which was then called the Tarpeian, but now the Capitoline Hill, he ordered them to consult the auspices once more and declare in what part of the hill the foundations must be laid. But this was not at all easy; for there were upon the hill many altars both of the gods and of the lesser divinities not far apart from one another, which would have to be moved to some other place and the whole area given up to the sanctuary that was to be built to the gods. 5 The augurs thought proper to consult the auspices concerning each one of the altars that were erected there, and if the gods were willing to withdraw, then to move them elsewhere. The rest of the gods and lesser divinities, then, gave them leave to move their altars elsewhere, but Terminus and
Juventas, although the augurs besought them with great earnestness and importunity, could not be prevailed on and refused to leave their places. Accordingly, their altars were included within the circuit of the temples, and one of them now stands in the vestibule of Minerva's shrine and the other in the shrine itself near the statue of the goddess. From this circumstance the augurs concluded that no occasion would ever cause the removal of the boundaries of the Romans' city or impair its vigour; and both have proved true down to my day, which is already the twenty-fourth generation.

Examine some of the locations mentioned by Dionysius in the schematic representation below:

M. Tameanko, Monumental Coins, Iola, 1999, 139

From this note in particular the locations: the citadel (arx), the Asylum, where the the Tarpeian rock (rupes Tarpeia) must have been, and the relationship between the Capitoline, the Forum and the Sacra Via?

Livy 1.56.1-2

[1] Being intent upon completing the temple, the king called in workmen from every quarter of Etruria, and used for this purpose not only the state funds but labourers drawn from the commons. This work was far from light in itself, and was added to their military service. Yet the plebeians felt less abused at having to build with their own hands the temples of the gods, than they did when they came to be transferred to other tasks also, which, while less in show, were yet rather more laborious. [2] I mean the erection of seats in the circus, and the construction underground of the Great Sewer, as a receptacle for all the offscourings of the City, —two works for which the new splendour of these days has scarcely been able to produce a match.

See the reconstruction of the temple below.
See the link: Temple of Juppiter Optimus Maximus Aedes Iovis Optimi Maximi Capitolini, with an article by Samuel Ball Platner (as completed and revised by Thomas Ashby): A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome, London: Oxford University Press, 1929, 297-302:

On the Capitolium, see Coarelli, 29-35 (also Claridge, 229-41),

For a reconstructed view of some buildings from the imperial period, consult:
http://www.romereborn.virginia.edu/rome_reborn_2_images/gallery/hi_res/RR2.0/forum2.jpg

Questions
What ‘narrative’ does the archaeological evidence suggest for each of the three sites? How does this differ from the version found in the literary accounts? Is it possible to reconcile the legends of the builders with the archaeological evidence?
Ancient Sources


(http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Camillus*.html)

Modern Reading


Cornell, T. *The beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000-264 BC)*. London; New York: Routledge, 1995 [937.01 CORN], esp. 127-30, 167


Stamper, J.W. *The Architecture of Roman temples: the Republic to the middle empire* 2005, 6-33 [Q726.12070937 STAM]
According to literary tradition, King Servius Tullius (578-535) built its first major stone walls, those called ‘Servian’ after him.


Consider what leading writers have to say about the walls:

Livy 1.441-5:

[1] Upon the completion of the census, which had been expedited by fear of a law that threatened with death and imprisonment those who failed to register, Servius issued a proclamation calling on all Roman citizens, both horse and foot, to assemble at daybreak, each in his own century, in the Campus Martius. [2] There the whole army was drawn up, and a sacrifice of a pig, a sheep, and a bull was offered by the king for its purification. This was termed the “closing of the lustrum,” because it was the last act in the enrolment. Eighty thousand citizens are said to have been registered in that census; the most ancient of the historians, Fabius Pictor, adds that this was the number of those capable of bearing arms. [3] To meet the wants of this population it was apparent that the City must expand, and so the king added two hills, the Quirinal and the Viminal, after which he proceeded to enlarge the Esquiline, going there to live himself, that the place might obtain a good reputation. He surrounded the City with a rampart, trenches, and a wall, and so extended the “pomerium.” [4] This word is interpreted by those who look only at its etymology as
meaning “the tract behind the wall,” but it signifies rather “the tract on both sides of the wall,” the space which the Etruscans used formerly to consecrate with augural ceremonies, where they proposed to erect their wall, establishing definite limits on either side of it, so that they might at the same time keep the walls free on their inward face from contact with buildings, which now, as a rule, are actually joined to them, and on the outside keep a certain area free from human uses. [5] This space, which the gods forbade men to inhabit or to till, was called “pomerium” by the Romans, quite as much because the wall stood behind it as because it stood behind the wall; and as the city grew, these consecrated limits were always pushed out for as great a distance as the walls themselves were to be advanced.

Dionysius 4.13.2-14.2:

2 He [Servius Tullius] also added two hills to the city, those called the Viminal and the Esquiline, each of which has the size of a fairly large city. These he divided among such of the Romans as had no homes of their own, so that they might build houses there; and he himself fixed his habitation there, in the best part of the Esquiline Hill. 3 This king was the last who enlarged the circuit of the city, by adding these two hills to the other five, after he had first consulted the auspices, as the law directed, and performed the other religious rites. Farther than this the building of the city has not yet progressed, since the gods, they say, have not permitted it; but all the inhabited places round it, which are many and large, are unprotected and without walls, and very easy to be taken by any enemies who may come. 4 If anyone wishes to estimate the size of Rome by looking at these suburbs he will necessarily be misled for want of a definite clue by which to determine up to what point it is still the city and where it ceases to be the city; so closely is the city connected with the country, giving the beholder the impression of a city stretching out indefinitely. 5 But if one should wish to measure Rome by the wall, which, though hard to be discovered by reason of the buildings that surround it in many places, yet preserves in several parts of it some traces of its ancient structure, and to compare it with the circuit of the city of Athens, the circuit of Rome would not seem to him very much larger than the other...

14 After Tullius had surrounded the seven hills with one wall, he divided the city into four regions, which he named after the hills, calling the first the Palatine, the second the Suburan, the third the Colline, and the fourth the Esquiline region; and by this means he made the city contain four tribes, whereas it previously had consisted of but three. 2 And he ordered that the citizens inhabiting each of the four regions should, like persons living in villages, neither take up another abode nor be enrolled elsewhere; and the levies of troops, the collection of taxes for military purposes, and the other services which every citizen was bound to offer to the commonwealth, he … based … upon the four local tribes established by himself. ...

15 Tullius also divided the country as a whole into twenty-six parts, according to Fabius, who calls these divisions tribes also and, adding the four city tribes to them, says that there were thirty tribes in all under Tullius. But according to Vennonius he divided the country into thirty-one parts, so that with the four city tribes the number was rounded out to the thirty-five tribes that exist down to our day. However, Cato, who is more worthy of credence than either of these authors, does not specify the number of the parts into which the country was divided.

Strabo Geography 5.3.7

In the interior, the first city above Ostia is Rome, and it is the only city that is situated on the Tiber. With regard to this city, I have already said that it was founded there as a matter of necessity, not as a matter of choice; and I must add that even those who afterwards
added certain districts to the settlement could not as masters take the better course, but as slaves must needs accommodate themselves to what had already been founded. The first founders walled the Capitolium and the Palatium and the Quirinal Hill, which last was so easy for outsiders to ascend that Titus Tatius took it at the first onset, making his attack at the time when he came to avenge the outrage of the seizure of the maidens [753 BC]. Again, Ancus Marcius took in Mt. Caelium and Mt. Aventine, and the plain between them, which were separated both from one another and from the parts that were already walled, but he did so only from necessity; for, in the first place, it was not a good thing to leave hills that were so well fortified by nature outside the walls for any who wished strongholds against the city, and, secondly, he was unable to fill out the whole circuit of hills as far as the Quirinal. Servius, however, detected the gap, for he filled it out by adding both the Esquiline Hill and the Viminal Hill. But these too are easy for outsiders to attack; and for this reason they dug a deep trench and took the earth to the inner side of the trench, and extended a mound about six stadia on the inner brow of the trench, and built thereon a wall with towers from the Colline Gate to the Esquiline. Below the centre of the mound is a third gate, bearing the same name as the Viminal Hill. Such, then, are the fortifications of the city, though they need a second set of fortifications. And, in my opinion, the first founders took the same course of reasoning both for themselves and for their successors, namely, that it was appropriate for the Romans to depend for their safety and general welfare, not on their fortifications, but on their arms and their own valour, in the belief that it is not walls that protect men but men that protect walls.

Despite the strong legends for the association of Servius with the walls, according to the archaeological evidence, the first major defensive wall, a rampart made of earth, is dated to the period 480-450 (by pottery evidence), and the ‘Servian’ wall was probably constructed only after the Gallic Invasion of Rome (ca 390BC) since the wall contains large segments constructed from stone called ‘Grotta Oscura’, which Rome could only have exploited after the fall of Veii (ca 496).

Questions

What does the relatively late date for the circumvallation of the city reveal about its defensive needs in the 8th to 5th centuries?

What constituted ‘real’ threats to Rome?

What can we deduce about the reliability of the literary traditions?

How do we understand the traditions given by these sources?

Note also the large number of authorities cited by Dionysius and Livy. Why are they cited?
Ancient Sources


(http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Plutarch/Lives/Camillus*.html)

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/5C*.html

Modern Reading:


Coarelli, F. *Rome and environs: an archaeological guide*, Berkeley, c2007, 10-18, 177-8

Cornell, T. *The beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000-264 BC)*, London, New York: Routledge, 1995 [937.01 CORN], 198-204


Tutorial 5 (Week 6)

**DVD Tiberius Gracchus**

At the usual tutorial times, a DVD will be shown reviewing the military and political actions of Tiberius Gracchus.

**First Assessment Due – hand to lecturer at class time**

**Short Essay (1000 words)**

Assignment due on Monday, 30th August

This paper is worth up to 30% of the semester’s marks

In the following account, Livy describes the military struggle between the Romans and the Albans (672-640 BC). The two sides wanted to avoid a destructive encounter and so decided to have champions fight for their respective cities. When Horatius returned to Rome in triumph over his Alban enemies, he was angered by his sister’s response to his victory and slew her. He was put on trial, found guilty but eventually released by the will of the people.

Read the following material and address the questions given below.

**Livy History of Rome (1.24.1-26.14):**

1.24.1 ‘There happened to be in each of the armies a triplet of brothers, fairly matched in years and strength. It is generally agreed that they were called Horatii and Curiatii. Few incidents in antiquity have been more widely celebrated, yet in spite of its celebrity there is a discrepancy in the accounts as to which nation each belonged. There are authorities on both sides, but I find that the majority give the name of Horatii to the Romans, and my sympathies lead me to follow them.

2 ‘The kings suggested to them that they should each fight on behalf of their country, and where victory rested, there should be the sovereignty. They raised no objection; so the time and place were fixed. But before they engaged a treaty was concluded between the Romans and the Albans, providing that the nation whose representatives proved victorious should receive the peaceable submission of the other …

1.25.1 ‘On the conclusion of the treaty the six combatants armed themselves. They were greeted with shouts of encouragement from their comrades, who reminded them that their fathers’ gods, their fatherland, their fathers, every fellow-citizen, every fellow-soldier, were now watching their weapons and the hands that wielded them. Eager for the contest and inspired by the voices round them, they advanced into the open space between the opposing lines. 2 The two armies were sitting in front of their respective camps, relieved from personal danger but not from anxiety, since upon the fortunes and courage of this little group hung the issue of dominion. Watchful and nervous, they gaze with feverish intensity on a spectacle by no means entertaining. 3 The signal was given, and with uplifted swords the six youths charged like a battle-line with the courage of a mighty host. Not one of them thought of his own danger; their sole thought was for their country, whether it would be supreme or subject; their one anxiety that they were deciding its future fortunes. 4 When, at the first encounter, the flashing swords rang on their opponents shields a deep shudder ran through the spectators, then a breathless silence followed as neither side seemed to be gaining any advantage.

5 ‘Soon, however, they saw something more than the swift movements of limbs and the rapid play of sword and shield: blood became visible flowing from open wounds. Two of the Romans fell one
on the other, breathing out their life, whilst all the three Albans were wounded. 6 The fall of the Romans was welcomed with a burst of exultation from the Alban army; whilst the Roman legions, who had lost all hope, but not all anxiety, trembled for their solitary champion surrounded by the three Curiatii. 7 It chanced that he was untouched, and though not a match for the three together, he was confident of victory against each separately. So, that he might encounter each singly, he took to flight, assuming that they would follow as well as their wounds would allow. 8 He had run some distance from the spot where the combat began, when, on looking back, he saw them following at long intervals from each other, the foremost not far from him. 9 He turned and made a desperate attack upon him, and whilst the Alban army were shouting to the other Curiatii to come to their brother's assistance, Horatius had already slain his foe, flushed with victory, was awaiting the second encounter. Then the Romans cheered their champion with a shout such as men raise when hope succeeds to despair, and he hastened to bring the fight to a close. 10 Before the third, who was not far away, could come up, he despatched the second Curiatius.

11 ‘The survivors were now equal in point of numbers, but far from equal in either confidence or strength. The one, unscathed after his double victory, was eager for the third contest; the other, dragging himself wearily along, exhausted by his wounds and by his running, vanquished already by the previous slaughter of his brothers, was an easy conquest to his victorious foe. 12 There was, in fact, no fighting. The Roman cried exultingly: “Two have I sacrificed to appease my brothers’ shades; the third I will offer for the issue of this fight, that the Roman may rule the Alban.” He thrust his sword downward into the neck of his opponent, who could no longer lift his shield, and then despoiled him as he lay. 13 Horatius was welcomed by the Romans with shouts of triumph, all the more joyous for the fears they had felt. Both sides turned their attention to burying their dead champions, but with very different feelings, the one rejoicing in wider dominion, the other deprived of their liberty and under alien rule. 14 The tombs stand on the spots where each fell; those of the Romans close together, in the direction of Alba; the three Alban tombs, at intervals, in the direction of Rome.

1.26.2 … ‘Horatius was marching at the head of the Roman army, carrying in front of him his triple spoils. His sister, who had been betrothed to one of the Curiatii, met him outside the Capene gate. She recognised on her brother’s shoulders the cloak of her betrothed, which she had made with her own hands; and bursting into tears she tore her hair and called her dead lover by name. 3 The triumphant soldier was so enraged by his sister’s outburst of grief in the midst of his own triumph and the public rejoicing that he drew his sword and stabbed the girl. 4 “Go,” he cried, in bitter reproach, “go to your betrothed with your ill-timed love, forgetful as you are of your dead brothers, of the one who still lives and of your country! 5 So perish every Roman woman who mourns for an enemy!” The deed horrified patricians and plebeians alike; but his recent services were a set-off to it. He was brought before the king for trial. To avoid responsibility for passing a harsh sentence, which would be repugnant to the populace, and then carrying it into execution, the king summoned an assembly of the people, and said: “I appoint two duumvirs to judge the treason of Horatius according to law.”

6 ‘The dreadful language of the law was: “The duumvirs shall judge cases of treason; if the accused appeal from the duumvirs the appeal shall be heard; if their sentence be confirmed the lictor shall hang him by a rope on the fatal tree and shall scourge him either within or without the pomoerium.” 7 The duumvirs appointed under this law did not think that by its provisions they had the power to acquit even an innocent person. Accordingly they condemned him; then one of them said “Publius Horatius, I pronounce you guilty of treason. Lictor, bind his hands.” 8 The lictor had approached and was fastening the cord, when Horatius, at the suggestion of Tullus [the king], who placed a merciful interpretation on the law, said “I appeal.” The appeal was accordingly brought before the people.

1 Latin *perduellio*, a hostile action against one’s country, usually ‘treason’, but in this sense an ‘atrocious action.’
9 ‘Their decision was mainly influenced by Publius Horatius the father, who declared that his daughter had been justly slain. Had it not been so, he would have exerted his authority as a father in punishing his son. Then he implored them [the people] not to bereave of all his children the man whom they had so lately seen surrounded with such noble offspring. 10 Whilst saying this he embraced his son, and then, pointing to the spoils of the Curiatii suspended on the spot now called the Pila Horatia [Horatian pillar], he said: “Can you bear, Quirites [Roman citizens], to see bound, scourged, and tortured beneath the gallows the man whom you saw, lately, coming in triumph adorned with his foemen’s spoils? Why, the Albans themselves could not bear the sight of such a hideous spectacle. 11 Go, lictor, bind those hands which when armed but a little time ago won dominion for the Roman people. Go, cover the head of the liberator of this City! Hang him on the fatal tree, scourge him within the pomoerium if only it be amongst the trophies of his foes or without if only it be amongst the tombs of the Curiatii! To what place can you take this youth where the monuments of his splendid exploits will not vindicate him from such a shameful punishment?”

12 ‘The father’s tears and the young soldier’s courage ready to meet every peril were too much for the people. They acquitted him because they admired his bravery rather than because they regarded his cause as a just one. But since a murder in broad daylight demanded some expiation, the father was commanded to make atonement for his son at the cost of the State. 13 After offering certain expiatory sacrifices he erected a beam across the street and made the young man pass under it, as under a yoke, with his head covered. This beam exists to-day, having always been kept in repair by the State: it is called “The Sister’s Beam”. 14 A tomb of hewn stone was constructed for Horatia on the spot where she was murdered.’


See also Dionysius of Halicarnassus (3.12.1-21-2), who covers many of the same events but gives an added dimension to the struggle, making the triplets also cousins.

Question:
Identify some of the important elements within the story given by Livy that are questionable. With particular reference to your discussion of these elements, suggest what Livy is illustrating through this whole account, if not strictly ‘history’?
Ancient sources (Bibliographical references)


Modern Reading


Solodow, J.B. ‘Livy and the Story of Horatius, 1.24-26’, *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 109 (1979) 251-68

Urch, E.J. ‘The Legendary Case of Horatius’, *The Classical Journal* 25.6 (1930) 445-52

*Oath of the Horatii* (1784), by Jacques-Louis David

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Horatii
Notes for students

This exercise requires you to focus in depth on the ancient evidence, the rudiments of research in this discipline, and to practise composing an essay in a style appropriate for Ancient History. You will need these skills later in the semester for the major essay. Since this is a short essay (1000 words), try to pick only one or two important points to focus on, those illustrative of your overall idea.

Your paper should be presented in essay-form, comprising the three general areas:

1. Give an examination of the problem inherent in the question and notice of the points you will examine in the essay. Briefly say how these might throw light on the problem. You may begin with a short description of the material, such as I have given here:

   ‘In this extract, Livy depicts two episodes linked by means of the character of Horatius. In the first episode, Livy relates how Rome and Alba decide to settle a large-scale military dispute through a contest fought by three selected champions from each side (1.24.1-11)), and in the second Livy tells how the victorious Horatius returned to Rome where he met and killed his sister, for which he was then put on trial but eventually exonerated (1.26.2-14).

   ‘In this paper, I shall examine a range of problems within the two episodes that, once exposed for their lack of historicity, shed light on the question of how to understand Livy’s account. First, I will examine Livy’s depiction of …; secondly …, etc.’

2. A mustering of the evidence under the areas you have outlined with the evidence connected by means of the argument that addresses the theme of the paper. An analysis is required rather than narrative of events, although some limited narrative may be required for the material to make sense – remember that the marker will know the story.

3. A conclusion based upon the evidence that will specifically address the question under examination. E.g.

   ‘So, when we consider the issue of two sets of triplets being selected as champions for their respective sides, we understand Livy to be telling the reader’ …

In general, focus on the specific text provided and its context, although reading and citation of other ancient evidence reveals that you understand that there was more than one tradition describing these event, and the other source helps expose the inadequacies of Livy’s account.

The suggested modern reading may help you form your ideas. Any works consulted should be referenced, but the ideas of others should not be a substitute for your own ideas.

In research work in Ancient History, it is common practice to base your main discussion on the ancient evidence and to cite such works in the body of your essay: [e.g. ‘This point is illustrated by the actions of the Roman king (Livy 1.24.2; also Dion. Hal. 3.16.3)’; or you may cite as follows: ‘As Livy (1.24.2) reports …’]. Note, however, that you must cite the specific book, paragraph and verse provided in the ancient source, where these are available.

Usually footnotes containing only a single reference to an ancient author are to be avoided, although footnotes might be used for multiple references to ancient works. Footnotes often contain bibliographical references to modern authors, if you have noted their ideas, or footnotes may even present a summary of the idea of a modern author, if such is relevant to your argument or you wish to refute it. If you make any point based on an ancient or modern source, you must provide an explicit reference for this, quoting the specific page or pages in the work of the modern text to
which your point refers.  

Try to avoid including lengthy passages from the modern sources, but if you do include a quote, say whether or not you agree with the material and why. Direct quotes do not count in the word tally (and most disciplines limit direct quotes to 10% of essay), and these must be clearly indicated by inverted commas or indented, as follows.

As presented by Livy this brief tale includes aetiologies for four topographic names, two legal institutions, and (probably) one law, all presumably known to the Romans of the day.  

In terms of the mechanics of footnotes, you may give full details for authors, for example, citing a modern author by name and page number (as in footnote 1 below), but you may also shorten this (as in the alternative given in note 1), to save space (Solodow, 261). In our discipline, we do not require a specific referencing system, but we ask that you be CONSISTENT and always to give the specific verse (ancient source) or page number (modern work).

Do not forget to include a bibliography on a separate page containing details about the ancient sources that you are using (including the name of the text’s translator) and of any modern commentaries, books or articles that you have read for the purposes of this task, even if not cited by name in your notes. Put these in alphabetical order by surname of author.

Separate your bibliography into Ancient and Modern sections. Italicise the titles of books or the names of journals, and place the titles of articles or book chapters within inverted commas.

Footnotes, Bibliography and Appendices are not counted in word tally.

You may double-side your work, but make sure that you use a good sized font (12 point or larger), number your pages, and leave wide margins for comments. Do not be afraid of criticising the ancient sources, since their accounts often defy logic, and they are not impartial observers of the events. On the other hand, you must supply reasons for dismissing or ignoring ancient material (e.g. that it is highly improbable that triplets could have appeared simultaneously in two nearby towns, and have survived, etc.)

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Tutorial 6 (Week 7)

*Campus Martius (Field of Mars)*

On the details of the Campus, see [http://www.romereborn.virginia.edu/ge/GF-005.html](http://www.romereborn.virginia.edu/ge/GF-005.html)

‘The level ground between the slopes of the Capitoline, the Quirinal, and the Pincian hills, and the Tiber. This term varied somewhat in its signification; for, while originally and in its widest sense it embraced all this district, other names for small sections seem to have come into use later. Thus as early as the fifth century B.C. the south portion of the plain was probably known as Prata Flaminia (q.v., Liv. III. 54, 63), and campus Martius was the ordinary designation of what lay beyond. After Augustus had divided the city into fourteen regions, the name campus Martius was restricted to that portion of Region IX (circus Flaminius) which lay west of the via Lata, the modern Corso; and here again there seems to have been a further distinction, for a cippus (CIL VI.874) found near the Pantheon indicates that the campus Martius of the time of Augustus was divided into two parts — the district between the cippus and the circus Flaminius, which had been more or less built over, and the open meadow to the north, the campus proper...’


Ancient Sources

Livy 2.5.2 [After the Tarquinian royal family had been expelled from Rome in 509 BC] … ‘their land, which lay between the city and the river, was consecrated to Mars and became the Campus Martius.’

Dionysius 5.13.2-4

2 This field their ancestors had by a public decree consecrated to Mars as a meadow for horses and the most suitable drill-field for the youth to perform their exercises in arms. The strongest proof, I think, that even before this the field had been consecrated to this god, but that Tarquinius had appropriated it to his own use and sown it, was the action then taken by the consuls in regard to the corn there. 3 For though they had given leave to the people to drive and carry away everything that belonged to the tyrants, they would not permit anyone to carry away the grain which had grown in this field and was still lying upon the threshing-flours whether in the straw or threshed, but looking upon it as accursed and quite unfit to be carried into their houses, they caused a vote to be passed that it should be thrown into the river. 4 And there is even now a conspicuous monument of what happened on that occasion, in the form of an island of goodly size consecrated to Aesculapius and washed on all sides by the river, an island which was formed, they say, out of the heap of rotten straw and was further enlarged by the silt which the river kept adding.

Festus 529: Sanctuary of Dis Pater on the Campus Martius [tr.T.J.Ryan, 2010]

_Tarentum_, the name of a place located on the Campus Martius, because in that place an altar of Dis Pater is covered over by earth.
Festus 195-196: The Rites of the October Horse [tr. T.J. Ryan, 2010]

195 The October Horse (*October equus*) is the name given to the horse which, on the Campus Martius in the month of October, is sacrificed. With regard to the head of this horse, there was a great struggle (contentio) between the residents of the Subura (*Suburanenses*) and the residents along the Sacred Way (*Sacravienses*), in order that the latter from the wall of the Regia [official residence of the Pontifex Maximus at that time], the former from the Tower of Mamilius, could hang it up on display. Its tail with great speed was conveyed into the Regia, in order that the blood from it might trickle down onto the hearth-stone, for the sake of gaining favour from being involved in a superhuman activity (*divina res*).

In place of a sacrificial-victim, certain authors say this was consecrated to Mars, god of war, not as the common people believe, because it was being consumed as an act of public supplication concerning itself, but because the Romans were sprung from Ilium (Troy), and the Trojans were captured thus by the effigy of a horse.

Dionysius 4.22.1-2 (Census of King Servius Tullius)

1 Thereupon Tullius, having completed the business of the census, commanded all the citizens to assemble in arms in the largest field before the city [Campus Martius]; and having drawn up the horse in their respective squadrons and the foot in their massed ranks, and placed the light-armed troops each in their own centuries, he performed an expiatory sacrifice for them with a bull, a ram and a boar. These victims he ordered to be led three times round the army and then sacrificed them to Mars, to whom that field is consecrated. 2 The Romans are to this day purified by this same expiatory sacrifice, after the completion of each census, by those who are invested with the most sacred magistracy, and they call the purification a lustrum.

Livy 3.63.5-11 (First Triumph authorised by the People in 449)

5 Though a double victory had been gained in two separate battles, the Senate was so mean as to decree thanksgivings in the name of the consuls for one day only. The people went unbidden on the second day also in great numbers, to offer up thanks to the gods; and this unorganized and public supplication was attended with an enthusiasm which almost exceeded that of the other. 6 The consuls (Lucius Valerius and Marcus Horatius) had arranged to approach the City within a day of one another, and summoned the Senate out into the Campus Martius. 7 While they were there holding forth on the subject of their victories, complaints were made by leading senators that the Senate was being held in the midst of the army on purpose to inspire fear.
8 And so the consuls, to allow no room for the accusation, adjourned the Senate from that place to the Flaminian Meadows (*Prata Flaminia*), where the temple of Apollo is now, and which was called even then Apollo's Precinct (*Apollinar*). When the Fathers, meeting there, refused with great unanimity to grant a triumph, Lucius Icilius the Tribune of the Plebs laid the issue before the people.
9 Many came forward to dissuade them, and Gaius Claudius was particularly vehement. It was a triumph, he said, over the patricians, not Rome's enemies, which the consuls desired; they were seeking a favour in return for personal services they had done the tribune, not an honour in requital of valour. 10 Never before had a triumph been voted by the people; the decision whether this honour had been deserved had always rested with the Senate; not even the kings had infringed the majesty of the highest order in the state; let not the tribunes so dominate all things as not to suffer the existence of any public council; if each order retained its own rights and its own dignity, then, and only then, would the state be free and the laws equal for all.
11 After many speeches had been made to the same purpose by the other older members of the Senate, all the tribes voted in favour of the motion. Then, for the first time, a triumph which lacked the authorization of the senate was celebrated at the bidding of the people.

Livy 4.22.7 (Censorship of 435BC)
That year the Censors, Gaius Furius Paculus and Marcus Geganius Macerinus, had a headquarters building (the Villa Publica) constructed in the Campus Martius, and conducted the Census of the people there for the first time.

Strabo Geography 5.3.8 (Appearance of Campus in the period of Augustus)
Especially in recent times [late C1 BC] the Romans have adorned their city with many beautiful buildings [in addition to the utilitarian works of sewers and aqueducts]. In fact, Pompey, the Deified Caesar, Augustus, his sons and friends, and wife and sister, have outdone all others in their zeal for buildings and in the expense incurred. The Campus Martius contains most of these, and thus, in addition to its natural beauty, it has received still further adornment as the result of foresight. Indeed, the size of the Campus is remarkable, since it affords space at the same time and without interference, not only for the chariot-races and every other equestrian exercise, but also for all that multitude of people who exercise themselves by ball-playing, hoop-trundling, and wrestling; and the works of art situated around the Campus Martius, and the ground, which is covered with grass throughout the year, and the crowns of those hills that are above the river and extend as far as its bed, which present to the eye the appearance of a stage-painting — all this, I say, affords a spectacle that one can hardly draw away from. And near this campus there is another campus, with colonnades round about it in very great numbers, and sacred precincts, and three theatres, and an amphitheatre, and very costly temples, in close succession to one another, giving you the impression that they are trying, as it were, to declare the rest of the city a mere accessory. For this reason, in the belief that this place was holiest of all, the Romans have erected in it the tombs of their most illustrious men and women. The most noteworthy is what is called the Mausoleum, a great mound near the river on a lofty foundation of white marble, thickly covered with ever-green trees to the very summit. Now on top is a bronze image of Augustus Caesar; beneath the mound are the tombs of himself and his kinsmen and intimates; behind the mound is a large sacred precinct with wonderful promenades; and in the centre of the Campus is the wall (this too of white marble) round his crematorium; the wall is surrounded by a circular iron fence and the space within the wall is planted with black poplars. And again, if, on passing to the old Forum, you saw one forum after another ranged along the old one, and basilicas, and temples, and saw also the Capitolium and the works of art there and those of the Palatium and Livia’s Promenade, you would easily become oblivious to everything else outside. Such is Rome.

Questions
What was the origin of the Campus Martius? What were the associations with this area?
Why were elections held on the Campus?
What else occurred in the Campus?
**Ancient Sources**


and


http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Strabo/5A*.html

**Modern Reading**


Tutorial 7 (Week 8)

Roman utilities (roads, aqueducts)

Roads

[Diagram of Roman roads]

LEGEND

1 Via Appia 312 B.C. 7 Via Annia 158 B.C.
2 Via Valeria 303 B.C. 8 Via Cassia 154 B.C.
3 Via Aurelia 241 B.C. 9 Via Postumia 148 B.C.
4 Via Clodia 3rd Century 10 Via Popilia 132 B.C.
5 Via Flaminia 220 B.C. 11 Via Domitia 121 B.C.
6 Via Aemilia 187 B.C. 12 Via Tralana A.D. 115

Map of the Roman roads leading to Rome.


See also: [http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Periods/Roman/Topics/Engineering/roads/home.html](http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Periods/Roman/Topics/Engineering/roads/home.html)
Aqueducts

A 1st Century Roman Aqua System

The elements of a Roman aqua system.

The Aqueducts of Ancient Rome

A diagramatic plan showing the aqueducts of ancient Rome.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Constructed By</th>
<th>Date</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Appia</td>
<td>Appius Claudius</td>
<td>312 B.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anio Vetus</td>
<td>M. Curius Dorciatus, F. Flaccus</td>
<td>144-140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcia</td>
<td>Q. Marcus Rex</td>
<td>125</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tepula</td>
<td>Cn. S. Caepio, L. C. Longinus</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Julia</td>
<td>M. Agrippa</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Virgo</td>
<td>M. Agrippa</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asteletina</td>
<td>Augustus</td>
<td>277-299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Claudia</td>
<td>Caligula, Claudius</td>
<td>A.D. 38-52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anio Novus</td>
<td>Caligula, Claudius</td>
<td>38-52</td>
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<td>Iunus</td>
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<td>Septimius Severus</td>
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<td>Caracalla</td>
<td>212</td>
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<td>Alexandrianna</td>
<td>Severus Alexander</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marcia-Jovia</td>
<td>Diocletian</td>
<td>A.D. 305</td>
</tr>
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</table>

M. Tameanko, Monumental coins, Iola, 1999, 89, 92

On aqueducts, see
On the censorship of Appius Claudius of 312 BC

Diodorus Siculus 20.36.1-2

1 ‘In Rome in this year censors were elected, and one of them Appius Claudius, who had his colleague, Lucius Plautius, under his influence, changed many of the laws of the fathers; for since he was following a course of action pleasing to the people, he considered the Senate of no importance. In the first place he built the Appian Aqueduct, as it is called, from a distance of eighty stades to Rome, and spent a large sum of public money for this construction without a decree of the Senate. 2 Next he paved with solid stone the greater part of the Appian Way, which was named for him, from Rome to Capua, the distance being more than a thousand stades. And since he dug through elevated places and levelled with noteworthy fills the ravines and valleys, he expended the entire revenue of the state but left behind a deathless monument to himself, having been ambitious in the public interest.’

Livy 9.29 6 … ‘noteworthy, too, in that year was the censorship of Appius Claudius and Gaius Plautius; but the name of Appius was of happier memory with succeeding generations, because he built a road, and conveyed a stream of water into the City.’

History of Aqueducts

Frontinus On Aqueducts 1.4-13

4. ‘For four hundred and forty-one years from the foundation of the City [753 BC], the Romans were satisfied with the use of such waters as they drew from the Tiber, from wells, or from springs. Esteem for springs still continues, and is observed with veneration. They are believed to bring healing to the sick, as, for example, the springs of the Camenae, of Apollo, and of Juturna. But there now run into the City: the Appian aqueduct, Old Anio, Marcia, Tepula, Julia, Virgo, Alsietina, which is also called Augusta, Claudia, New Anio.

5. ‘In the consulship of Marcus Valerius Maximus and Publius Decius Mus, in the thirtieth year after the beginning of the Samnite War [312 BC], the Appian aqueduct was brought into the City by Appius Claudius Crassus, the Censor, who afterwards received the surname of “the Blind,” the same man who had charge of constructing the Appian Way from the Porta Capena as far as the City of Capua. As colleague in the censorship Appius had Gaius Plautius, to whom was given the name of “the Hunter” for having discovered the springs of this water. But since Plautius resigned the censorship within a year and six months, under the mistaken impression that his colleague would do the same, the honour of giving his name to the aqueduct fell to Appius alone, who, by various subterfuges, is reported to have extended the term of his censorship, until he should complete both the Way and this aqueduct. The intake of the Appia is on the Lucullan estate, between the seventh and eighth milestones, on the Praenestine Way, on a cross-road, 780 paces to the left. From its intake to the Salinae at the Porta Trigemina, its channel has a length of 11,190 paces, of which 11,130 paces run underground, while above ground sixty paces are carried on substructures and, near the Porta Capena, on arches. Near Spes Vetus, on the edge of the Torquatian and Epaphroditian Gardens, there joins it a branch of Augusta, added by Augustus as a supplementary supply. This branch has its intake at the sixth milestone, on the Praenestine Way, on a cross-road, 980 paces to the left, near the Collatian Way. Its course, by underground channel, extends to 6,380 paces before reaching The Twins. The distribution of Appia begins at the foot of the Publician Ascent, near the Porta Trigemina, at the place designated as the Salinae.

6. ‘Forty years after Appia was brought in, in the four hundred and eighty-first year from the founding of the City, Manius Curius Dentatus, who held the censorship with Lucius Papirius Cursor [272-69], contracted to have the waters of what is now called Old Anio brought into the City, with the proceeds of the booty captured from Pyrrhus. This was in the second consulship of Spurius Carvilius and Lucius Papirius. Then two years later the question of completing the aqueduct was
discussed in the Senate on the motion of the praetor. At the close of the discussion, Curius, who had let the original contract, and Fulvius Flaccus were appointed by decree of the Senate as a board of two to bring in the water. Within five days of the time he had been appointed, one of the two commissioners, Curius, died; thus the credit of achieving the work rested with Flaccus. The intake of Old Anio is above Tibur at the twentieth milestone outside the Gate, where it gives a part of its water to supply the Tiburtines. Owing to the exigencies of elevation, its conduit has a length of 43,000 paces. Of this, the channel runs underground for 42,779 paces, while there are above ground substructures for 221 paces.

7. ‘One hundred and twenty-seven years later, that is in the six hundred and eighth year from the founding of the City, in the consulship of Servius Sulpicius Galba and Lucius Aurelius Cotta [144-40], when the conduits of Appia and Old Anio had become leaky by reason of age, and water was also being diverted from them unlawfully by individuals, the Senate commissioned Marcius, who at that time administered the law as praetor between citizens, to reclaim and repair these conduits; and since the growth of the City was seen to demand a more bountiful supply of water, the same man was charged by the Senate to bring into the City other waters so far as he could. He restored the old channels and brought in a third supply, more wholesome than these, which is called Marcia after the man who introduced it. We read in Fenestella, that 180,000,000 sesterces were granted to Marcius for these works, and since the term of his praetorship was not sufficient for the completion of the enterprise, it was extended for a second year. At that time the Decemvirs, on consulting the Sibylline Books for another purpose, are said to have discovered that it was not right for the Marcian water, or rather the Anio (for tradition more regularly mentions this) to be brought to the Capitol. The matter is said to have been debated in the Senate, in the consulship of Appius Claudius and Quintus Caecilius, Marcus Lepidus acting as spokesman for the Board of Decemvirs; and three years later the matter is said to have been brought up again by Lucius Lentulus, in the consulship of Gaius Laelius and Quintus Servilius, but on both occasions the influence of Marcius Rex carried the day; and thus the water was brought to the Capitol. The intake of Marcia is at the thirty-sixth milestone on the Valerian Way, on a cross-road, three miles to the right as you come from Rome. But on the Sublacensian Way, which was first paved under the Emperor Nero, at the thirty-eighth milestone, within 200 paces to the left [a view of its source may be seen]. Its waters stand like a tranquil pool, of deep green hue. Its conduit has a length, from the intake to the City, of 61,710 1/2 paces; 54,247 1/2 paces of underground conduit; 7,463 paces on structures above ground, of which, at some distance from the City, in several places where it crosses valleys, there are 463 paces on arches; nearer the City, beginning at the seventh milestone, 528 paces on substructures, and the remaining 6,472 paces on arches.

8. ‘The Censors, Gnaeus Servilius Caepio and Lucius Cassius Longinus, called Ravilla, in the year 627 after the founding of the City [125], in the consulate of Marcus Plautus Hypsaeus and Marcus Fulvius Flaccus, had the water called Tepula brought to Rome and to the Capitol, from the estate of Lucullus, which some persons hold to belong to Tusculan territory. The intake of Tepula is at the tenth milestone on the Latin Way, near a cross-road, two miles to the right as you proceed from Rome. From that point it was conducted in its own channel to the City.

9. ‘Later in the second consulate of the Emperor Caesar Augustus, when Lucius Volcatius was his colleague, in the year 719 after the foundation of the City, [Marcus] Agrippa, when aedile, after his first consulship [33], took another independent source of supply, at the twelfth milestone from the City on the Latin Way, on a cross-road two miles to the right as you proceed from Rome, and also tapped Tepula. The name Julia was given to the new aqueduct by its builder, but since the waters were again divided for distribution, the name Tepula remained. The conduit of Julia has a length of 15,426 1/2 paces; 7,000 paces on masonry above ground, of which 528 paces next the City, beginning at the seventh milestone, are on substructures, the other 6,472 paces being on arches. Past the intake of Julia flows a brook, which is called Crabra. Agrippa refrained from taking in this brook either because he had condemned it, or because he thought it ought to be left to the
proprieters at Tusculum, for this is the water which all the estates of that district receive in turn, dealt out to them on regular days and in regular quantities. But our water-men, failing to practise the same restraint, have always claimed a part of it to supplement Julia, not, however, thus increasing the actual flow of Julia, since they habitually exhausted it by diverting its waters for their own profit. I therefore shut off the Crabra brook and at the Emperor's command restored it entirely to the Tusculan proprietors, who now, possibly not without surprise, take its waters, without knowing to what cause to ascribe the unusual abundance. The Julian aqueduct, on the other hand, by reason of the destruction of the branch pipes through which it was secretly plundered, has maintained its normal quantity even in times of most extraordinary drought. In the same year, Agrippa repaired the conduits of Appia, Old Anio, and Marcia, which had almost worn out, and with unique forethought provided the City with a large number of fountains.

10. ‘The same man, after his own third consulship, in the consulship of Gaius Sentius and Quintus Lucretius, twelve years after he had constructed the Julian aqueduct, also brought Virgo to Rome, taking it from the estate of Lucullus. We learn that June 9 was the day that it first began to flow in the City. It was called Virgo, because a young girl pointed out certain springs to some soldiers hunting for water, and when they followed these up and dug, they found a copious supply. A small temple, situated near the spring, contains a painting which illustrates this origin of the aqueduct. The intake of Virgo is on the Collatian Way at the eighth milestone, in a marshy spot, surrounded by a concrete enclosure for the purpose of confining the gushing waters. Its volume is augmented by several tributaries. Its length is 14,105 paces. For 12,865 paces of this distance it is carried in an underground channel, for 1,240 paces above ground. Of these 1,240 paces, it is carried for 540 paces on substructures at various points, and for 700 paces on arches. The underground conduits of the tributaries measure 1,405 paces.

11. ‘I fail to see what motive induced Augustus, a most sagacious sovereign, to bring in the Alsietinian water, also called Augusta. For this has nothing to commend it, — is in fact positively unwholesome, and for that reason is nowhere delivered for consumption by the people. It may have been that when Augustus began the construction of his Naumachia, he brought this water in a special conduit, in order not to encroach on the existing supply of wholesome water, and then granted the surplus of the Naumachia to the adjacent gardens and to private users for irrigation. It is customary, however, in the district across the Tiber, in an emergency, whenever the bridges are undergoing repairs and the water supply is cut off from this side of the river, to draw from Alsietina to maintain the flow of the public fountains. Its source is the Alsietinian Lake, at the fourteenth milestone, on the Claudian Way, on a cross-road, six miles and a half to the right. Its conduit has a length of 22,172 paces, with 358 paces on arches.

12. ‘To supplement Marcia, whenever dry seasons required an additional supply, Augustus also, by an underground channel, brought to the conduit of Marcia another water of the same excellent quality, called Augusta from the name of its donor. Its source is beyond the springs of Marcia; its conduit, up to its junction with Marcia, measures 800 paces.

13. ‘After these aqueducts, Gaius Caesar, the successor of Tiberius, in the second year of his reign, in the consulate of Marcus Aquila Julianus and Publius Nonius Asprenas, in the year 791 after the founding of the City, began two others, inasmuch as the seven then existing seemed insufficient to meet both the public needs and the luxurious private demands of the day. These works Claudius completed on the most magnificent scale, and dedicated in the consulship of Sulla and Titianus, on the 1st of August in the year 803 after the founding of the City. To the one water, which had its sources in the Caerulean and Curtiansprings, was given the name Claudia. This is next to Marcia in excellence. The second began to be designated as New Anio, in order the more readily to distinguish by title the two Anios that had now begun to flow to the City. To the former Anio the name of “Old” was added.’
General picture of roads and aqueducts in the Early Empire

Strabo 5.3.8-9

8 ‘So much, then, for the blessings with which nature supplies the city; but the Romans have added still others, which are the result of their foresight; for if the Greeks had the repute of aiming most happily in the founding of cities, in that they aimed at beauty, strength of position, harbours, and productive soil, the Romans had the best foresight in those matters which the Greeks made but little account of, such as the construction of roads and aqueducts, and of sewers that could wash out the filth of the city into the Tiber. Moreover, they have so constructed also the roads which run throughout the country, by adding both cuts through hills and embankments across valleys that their wagons can carry boat-loads; and the sewers, vaulted with close-fitting stones, have in some places left room enough for wagons loaded with hay to pass through them. And water is brought into the city through the aqueducts in such quantities that veritable rivers flow through the city and the sewers; and almost every house has cisterns, and service-pipes, and copious fountains — with which Marcus Agrippa concerned himself most, though he also adorned the city with many other structures. In a word, the early Romans made but little account of the beauty of Rome, because they were occupied with other, greater and more necessary, matters; whereas the later Romans, and particularly those of to-day and in my time, have not fallen short in this respect either — indeed, they have filled the city with many beautiful structures…

9 ‘As for the rest of the cities of Latium, their positions may be defined, some by a different set of distinctive marks, and others by the best known roads that have been constructed through Latium; for they are situated either on these roads, or near them, or between them. The best known of the roads are the Appian Way, the Latin Way, and the Valerian Way. The Appian Way marks off, as far as Sinuessa, those parts of Latium that are next to the sea, and the Valerian Way, as far as the Marsi, those parts that are next to the Sabine country; while the Latin Way is between the two — the Way that unites with the Appian Way at Casilinum, a city nineteen stadia distant from Capua. The Latin Way begins, however, at the Appian Way, since near Rome it turns off from it to the left, and then, passing through the Tusculan Mountain, and over it at a point between the city of Tusculum and the Alban Mountain, runs down to the little city of Algidum and the Inns of Pictae; and then it is joined by the Labican Way. This latter begins at the Esquiline Gate, as also does the Praenestine Way, but it leaves both the Praenestine Way and the Esquiline Plain to the left and runs on for more than one hundred and twenty stadia, and, on drawing near to Labicum (a city founded in early times, once situated on an eminence, but now demolished), leaves both it and Tusculum on the right and comes to an end at Pictae and the Latin Way; the distance of this place from Rome is two hundred and ten stadia. Then in order, as you proceed on the Latin Way itself, you come to important settlements and the cities of Ferentinum, Frusino (past which the Cosa flows), Fabrateria (past which the Trerus flows), Aquinum (it is a large city, and past it flows a large river, the Melpis), Interamnium (which is situated at the confluence of two rivers, the Liris and another), and Casinum (this too a noteworthy city), which is the last city of Latium; for what is called Teanum “Sidicinum,” which is situated next in order after Casinum, shows clearly from its epithet that it belongs to the Sidicini. These people are Osci, a tribe of Campani that has disappeared; and therefore this city might be called a part of Campania, although it is the largest of the cities on the Latin Way, as also might the city that comes next after it, that of the Caleni (this too a noteworthy city), although its territory joins that of Casilinum.’

Questions

What does the history of the construction of roads in Italy tells us of the needs of Rome at different periods?
Who were involved in the construction of Rome’s first aqueducts and why were they built?
What features of Rome does Strabo focus on?
Ancient Sources


and


Modern Reading:


De Kleijn, G. *The water supply of ancient Rome: city area, water, and population.* Amsterdam : J.C. Gieben, 2001 [363.6109376 KLEI]

Della Portella, I *The Appian Way: from its foundation to the Middle Ages. Los Angeles, Calif.; [Great Britain]: Getty, 2004 [Q388.10937 DELL]*


Laurence, R. *The roads of Roman Italy: mobility and cultural change*. London; New York: Routledge, 1999 [388.10937 LAUR]


A stretch of the Via Flaminia at Rignano, in the Lazio N of Rome.

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Gazetteer/Periods/Roman/Topics/Engineering/roads/home.html
Let us consider some of the large-scale tombs in and around ancient Rome.

1. Tomb of the Scipios (also Scipiones)

The tomb was located on a side road that linked the Via Appia and via Latina just inside the Aurelian walls. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tomb_of_the_Scipios:

‘The 30 resting places approximately correspond to the number of Scipiones who lived between the beginning of the 3rd and the middle of the 2nd century BC, according to Coarelli. There are two types of sarcophagi – “monolithic” (i.e.; carved from a single block of tufa) and “constructed”. The latter type, which is in the majority, is an arched recess sunk into the wall in which the deceased was placed, and the opening covered by an inscribed slab with the letters painted red. English writers typically called these recesses “loculi”. The recesses stand where they were, but the slabs have been moved to the Vatican. The monolithic sarcophagus of Barbatus was at the end of a corridor, in line with what once may have been a window, now the main entrance. The other sarcophagi of both types were added later as further shafts and rooms were sunk for the purpose.

‘The most important sarcophagi are those of Scipio Barbatus, now at the Vatican Museums, and that considered to belong to Ennius, both of substantial bulk. They do not entirely correspond with Etruscan sculpture, but show the elements of originality in Latin and particularly Roman culture, and are comparable with other Roman tombs (such as the Esquiline Necropolis) in other cities such as Tusculum.

‘Floor plan of the tomb, based on a plan by Coarelli.

1 is the old entrance fronting on the park road,
2 is a “calcinaura”, an intrusive mediaeval lime kiln,
3 is the arched entrance seen in the photographs (street number 6), anciently overlooking the Via Appia,
4 is the entrance to the new room (street number 12).

Letters from A to I were the sarcophagi or loculi with inscriptions. The tomb is now empty except for facsimiles; the remains were discarded or reinterred, while the sarcophagi fragments ultimately went to the Vatican.’

Consider the inscription from the sarcophagus, found at position A:
A (CIL I°, 6–7). Copy of the sarcophagus of L. Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, consul of 298 BC.

The original sarcophagus in peperino, along with all the other inscriptions, is in the Vatican Museums. This is the oldest burial in the tomb and the only decorated sarcophagus. It derives from prototypes in Greek Sicily and dates to about 280 BC. The coffin, tapered and molded at the bottom, has a Doric frieze at the top with metopes decorated with rosettes. The sides of the lid have volute bolsters (pulvini).

The inscription, painted on the lid, gives the name and patronymic of the deceased: [L. Corneli]a/s Ca. f. Scipio. The longer inscription on the coffin, in Saturnian verse, replaced the original, which was shorter (traces of the original chiseling can be seen), and likely dates to the epoch of Scipio Africanus in the first years of the second century BC. The translation of the text runs as follows:

Lucius Cornelius Scipio Barbatus, son of Gnaeus, a strong and wise man, whose appearance was fully equal to his valor, was consul, censor, aedile among you. He took Taurasia and Cisauna in Samnium, subjected all Lucania, and carried away hostages from there.

From Coarelli, Rome and Environs, 369

2. Monument for Caecilia Metella on the Appian Way

This is one of the most famous sights still visible on Appian Way, just outside the city. What is notable about this tomb are its size, shape, presumed decoration, important location, etc., which would be rare for an aristocratic Roman man but nearly unheard of for a woman. The tomb is dated ca 25 BC.

View images of the tomb at (cresnellations were added in 12th C):
http://wings.buffalo.edu/AandL/Maecenas/rome/tomb_caecilia/thumbnails_contents.html
http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=2394
See also the inscription on the tomb, which identifies her as the daughter of Quintus Creticus (Caecilius Metellus):
http://ancientrome.ru/art/artworken/img.htm?id=2400

3. Tomb of Eurysaces (Marcus Virgilius Eurysaces), the baker

This man began life as a slave, but was freed and clearly became very rich. His tomb is located on the Aurelian Wall at the Porta Maggiore, dated ca 30-20 BC.

For views, see
http://www.livius.org/ro-rr/rome/rome_tomb_eurysaces.html
http://images.google.com.au/images?sourceid=chrome&q=Tomb+of+Eurysaces&um=1&ie=UTF-8&ei=K1xzS9SyBZDq7APU_BJDw&sa=X&oi=image_result_group&ct=title&resnum=4&ved=0CBwQsAQwAw
4. Pyramid of Cestius

This tomb is dated ca 18-12 BC, and it lies very near the Ostian gate, in a fork between the Via Ostiensis and a road that once crossed the Tiber. What information do the inscriptions on the sides of the pyramid reveal about Cestius and the building of his tomb? (Go to websites to consult inscriptions.)


The information that follows is taken from http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Pyramid_of_Cestius

‘A dedicatory inscription is carved into the east and west flanks of the pyramid, so as to be visible from both sides. It reads:

C · CESTIVS · L · F · POB · EPULO · PR · TR · PL
VII · VIR · EPOLONVM

Caius Cestius Epulo, son of Lucius, praetor, tribune of the plebs, septemvir epulonum

Below the inscription on the east-facing side is a second inscription recording the circumstances of the tomb's construction. This reads:

OPVS · APSOLVTVM · EX · TESTAMENTO · DIEBVS · CCCXXX
ARBITRATV
PONTI · P · F · CLA · MELAE · HEREDIS · ET · POTHI · L

The work was completed, in accordance with the will, in 330 days, by the decision of the heir [Lucius] Pontus Mela, son of Publius of the Claudia, and Pothus, freedman’

Questions

What do the tombs tell us about the families of the deceased and their status? Consider in particular what their inscriptions reveal.
Modern Reading:

Claridge, A.  

Coarelli, F.  
*Rome and environs: an archaeological guide*, Berkeley, c2007, 204-5, 346-7, 367-73, 393-4

Petersen, L.H.  
The *Freedman in Roman art and art history*, New York : Cambridge University Press, 2006 [704.08625 PETE]

Petersen, L.H.  

Wallace-Hadrill, A.  
‘Housing the Dead: the tomb as house in Roman Italy’


Wallace-Hadrill's paper was from a conference entitled 'Commemorating the Dead: Texts and Artifacts in Context. The Shohet Conference on Roman, Jewish and Christian Burials.' May 22-24, 2005 The University of Chicago Divinity School, Swift Hall, 1025 East 58th Street, Chicago, Illinois.

The paper seems to have been published, however, by Laurie Brink, editor, under the overall title, 'Roman Burial and Memorial Practices and Earliest Christianity: Reading Texts and Inscriptions in Context', but there are no publication details, nor date. This makes this form of citation a bit useless.

Mausleum of Augustus (reconstruction)

[http://etext.virginia.edu/users/morford/](http://etext.virginia.edu/users/morford/)
Aventine Mount

1. Inclusion of the Aventine within the City

   **The Pomoerium**

   Dionysius 3.43.1-2

   1 In the first place, Ancus Marcius made no small addition to the City by enclosing the hill called the Aventine within its walls. This is a hill of moderate height and about 18 *stades* [stade = ca 180m] in circumference, which was then covered with trees of every kind, particularly with many laurels, so that one place on the hill is called Lauretum or ‘Laurel Grove’ by the Romans. But the whole is now covered with buildings, including among others, the temple of Artemis (Diana). The Aventine is separated from another of the hills that is included within the City of Rome, called the Palatine Hill, round which was built the first City to be established, by a deep and narrow ravine, but in after times the whole hollow between the two hills was filled up. 2 Marcius, observing that this hill would serve as a stronghold against the City for any army that approached, encompassed it with a wall and ditch and settled here the populations that he had transferred from Tellenae and Politorium and the other cities he had taken. This is one peace-time achievement recorded of this king that was at once splendid and practical; thereby the City was not only enlarged by the addition of another city but also rendered less vulnerable to the attack of a strong enemy force.
2. Main religious centres on the Aventine

The Temple of Diana:

Livy 1.45.2-3

1.45.2 ‘The temple of Diana (Artemis) at Ephesus was already famous at that age, and it was well known that it had been built as a joint effort by the cities of Asia. Servius was lavish in his praise of their co-operation in uniting for religious purposes when speaking to the Latin nobles, with whom he had purposely cultivated ties of hospitality (hospitium) and friendship (amicitia), both official and personal. His constant talk on the subject finally led to the agreement that the Latin peoples would unite with the Romans in building a temple of Diana at Rome. 3 This was tantamount to conceding primacy (caput rerum) to Rome, the very issue over which they had fought for so long.’

Dionysius 4.26.5

Dionysius (4.26.1-5) repeats much of the same material as Livy, but he adds documentary proof

26.5 ‘And to the end that no lapse of time should obliterate these laws, he erected a bronze pillar upon which he engraved both the decrees of the council and the names of the cities which had taken part in it. This pillar still existed down to my time in the Temple of Diana, with the inscription in the characters that were ancietly used in Greece. This alone would serve as no slight proof that the founders of Rome were not barbarians; for if they had been, they would not have used Greek characters.’
Juno of Veii, installed on the Aventine in 396BC

Livy 5.22.3-7

5.22.3 ‘After the things belonging to men had been carried from Veii, they began removal of the dedications to the gods and of the gods themselves, acting more like worshippers than despoilers. 4 For a select group of young men picked from the army as a whole, who had been assigned to transport Queen Juno (Juno Regina) to Rome, having ritually bathed and clothed in white, entered her temple in awe, 5 at first hesitantly stretching forth their hands in reverence, because in Etruscan ritual only a priest from a particular clan was accustomed to touch her statue. Then a certain soldier, either divinely inspired as as a young man’s joke, asked, “Would you like to go to Rome, Juno?” At this his companions exclaimed that the goddess had nodded “yes”; then to conclude the scene, came this addition: she was heard to say that she was willing. 6 In any event, tradition affirms that she was moved from her place with little effort, being light and easy to carry, as if she were moving with them, 7 and that she was brought without harm to the Aventine to dwell forever, where the vows of the Dictator Camillus had summoned her, and where later the same man dedicated the temple to her that he had vowed.’

3. Settlement on the Aventine

Livy 1.33.1-2

[Following the sack of the Latin centre of Politorium], ‘following the custom of earlier kings, who had enlarged the City by receiving enemies into citizenship (civitas), Ancus moved the entire population to Rome. 2 And because the Palatine, the site (sedes) of the original Roman settlement, was surrounded on both sides by already settled populations – the Sabines on the Capitol and citadel (Arx) and the Albans on the Caelian mount (mons) – he assigned the Aventine to the new throng; not much later new citizens (cives) from the subsequently captured towns of Tellenae and Ficana joined them.’

Action by law, Lex Icilia, in 456-2BC

Dionysius 10.31-32

31.2 ‘The Tribunes of 456BC were the first who undertook to convene the Senate, led by Lucius Icilius….who was at that time proposing a new measure, asking that the region called the Aventine be divided among the plebeians for the building of houses. This is a hill of moderate height, not less than twelve stades in circuit, and is included within the City; not all of it was then inhabited, but it was public land and thickly wooded. 3 In order to get this measure introduced, the Tribune went to the Consuls of the year and to the Senate, asking them to pass the preliminary vote for the law embodying the measure and to submit it to the populace (demos = populus Romanus).’

(Considerable resistance to the measure ensued)

32.2 ‘Icilius proceeded to introduce his law concerning the (Aventine) hill. It was to this effect: All the parcels of land held by private citizens, if justly acquired, should remain in the possession of the owners, but such parcels as had been taken by force or fraud by any persons and built upon should be turned over to the demos and the present occupants reimbursed for their expenditures according to the appraisal of the arbitrators; all the remainder, belonging to the public, the demos should receive free of cost and divide up among themselves.

3 ‘He also pointed out that this measure would be advantageous to the politeia, not only in many other ways, but particularly in this, that it would put an end to the disturbances raised by the poor concerning the public land that was held by the Patricians. For he said they would be contented with receiving a portion of the City, inasmuch as they could have no part of the land lying in the country because of the number and power of those who had appropriated it.

4 ‘After he had spoken thus, Gaius Claudius was the only person who opposed the law; …it was voted to give the district to the demos. Later, at the Comitia Centuriata called by the Consuls, the
Pontiffs being present together with the Augurs and two sacrificers and offering the customary vows and imprecations, the law was ratified. It is inscribed on a column of bronze, which they set up on the Aventine after taking it into the sanctuary of Diana.

5 ‘When the law had been ratified, the plebeians assembled, and after drawing lots for the plots of ground, began to build, each man taking as large an area as he could; and sometimes two, three, or even more joined together to build one house, and drawing lots, some had the lower and others the upper stories. That year, then, was employed in building houses.’

4. Conflict between Patricians and the Plebs

First Secession (Secessio) of the Plebs in 494BC

Livy 2.28.1

28.1 ‘Aulus Verginius and Titus Vetusius next entered the Consulship. At this juncture, the plebs, uncertain what sort of Consuls they would turn out to be, began to gather nightly, some on the Esquiline, others on the Aventine, because they did not wish to be stampeded in the open Forum in to making hasty decisions.’

Second Secession of the Plebs to the Aventine in 449BC

Livy 3.50.12-5, 3.51.8, 3.52.1-4, 3.54.8

50.12 ‘Conciliatory moves brought no response, while displays of force were met with the assertion that they were men and were armed. 13 So the soldiers marched to the City and settled down on the Aventine, urging the plebeians they met to reclaim their liberty (libertas) and elect Tribunes of the Plebs. No extreme actions beyond these were proposed…. 15 Three Consular envoys were sent… who were instructed to ask in the name of the Senate by whose order they had left their camp and what their aim was in settling on the Aventine in arms and in occupying their own country, while abandoning the fight against the enemy (the Sabines).’

51.8 ‘When Lucius Icilius (Tr.Pl.) heard that Military Tribunes had been chosen on the Aventine, he did not want the citizen assembly in the City (urbana comitia) to follow the lead (praerogativa) of the soldiers (comitia militaria) by electing the same men Tribunes of the Plebs.’

52.1 ‘When Marcus Duilius, a former Tribune, told the Plebs that no progress could be made amid this constant wrangling, the Plebs moved from the Aventine to the Sacred Mountain, 2 for Duilius maintained that nothing but the abandonment of the City would prompt the Senate to deal with the situation … 4 They pitched camp on the Sacred Mountain, following the restraint (modestia) of their ancestors in violating nothing. Every able-bodied citizen followed the army, with wives and children accompanying them for time, piteously asking what protection there could be for them in a City in which chastity (pudicitia) and liberty (libertas) counted for nothing.’

54.8 [Upon resolution of the conflict, the Envoys said, inter alia]

“Return to your country, your household gods (penates), your wives and children. But continue to show the same restraint (modestia) in entering the City that you have shown hitherto; for you have violated no man’s property despite the need of this great throng for so many basic necessities. Go to the Aventine, from which you set out; there, in that auspicious spot (felix locus), where your liberty (libertas) first began, you will elect Tribunes of the Plebs. The Pontifex Maximus will be there to preside over your meeting (comitia).”
Palatine Hill

Consider the information given by Platner/Ashby (1929):

Palatinus Mons: the centremost of the seven hills of Rome, an irregular quadrilateral in shape, and about 2 kilometres in circuit. Its highest point is 43 metres above the level of the Tiber, and 51.20 above sea-level; and its area was about 25 acres. According to tradition, it was the first of the hills to be occupied by a settlement … It was a flat-topped hill with two distinct summits, the Palatium and Cermalus … protected by lofty cliffs far more formidable than they seem at present … and almost entirely surrounded by two marshy valleys traversed by winding streams, being connected only by the narrow ridge of the Velia … with the Oppius, an outlying part of the Esquiline. It was thus a position of great natural strength, and its neighbourhood to the river gave it the command of the crossing of the Tiber, probably a ford at or near the site of the pons Sublicius. This crossing was of great importance, for it was the only permanent one on the whole of the lower course of the river. The ancient tradition … is unanimous in placing on the Palatine the earliest nucleus of Rome … . the Palatine had three gates — the porta Romana, the porta Mugonia and the porta Ianualis … . The Scalae Caci … formed a footway, avoiding the long winding road, down to the bottom of the hill.


1. Some Republican Evidence

In 58 BC, Cicero the orator was deemed an enemy of the state and his house on the Palatine Hill was torn down and replaced with a shrine to Liberty, and his other properties were also sequestered and damaged. In the following year, Cicero was exonerated, which entailed his getting back his properties, along with compensation. From Cicero’s letters of October and November 57 BC, we receive information about the relative value of his Palatine house and the troubles continuing to be inflicted upon him, his brother and his supporters by his arch-enemy Clodius (who also lived on the Palatine).

Cicero Letters to Atticus 4.2.5
‘The consuls with their assessors valued my house, that is the building, at HS 2,000,000 and the other properties at very ungenerous figures – the Tusculum villa at 500,000, the Formian at HS 250,000.’
Note: Cicero paid HS 3,500,000 for this house in December 62 (Cic. To his Friends 5.6.2; cf. Cic. Att. 1.13.6 – mention of a similar house costing HS 13,400,000).

Cicero Letters to Atticus 4.2.7
‘My house is being built, you know at what expense and trouble. My Formian villa is being reconstructed, and I cannot bear to let it go nor yet look at it. I have put up the Tusculan property for sale, although I can’t easily do without a place near Rome.’

Cicero Letters to Atticus 4.3.2
On 3 November an armed gang drove the workmen from my site … smashed up my brother’s house by throwing stones from my site, and then set it on fire.’

Cicero Letters to Atticus 4.3.3
… ‘on 11 November as I was going down the Via Sacra, he [Clodius] came after me with his men. Uproar! Stones flying, cudgels and swords in evidence. And all like a bolt from the blue! I retired to Tettius Damio’s forecourt … . On 12 November he tried to storm Milo’s house in the Cermalus, bringing out fellows with drawn swords and shields and other with lighted firebrands, all in full view at 11 o’clock in the morning. He himself made P. Sulla’s house his assault base. Then out came Q. Flaccus with some stout warriors from Milo’s other house … and killed off the most notorious bandits of the whole Clodian gang.’
2. Some Imperial Evidence

Suetonius *Life of Augustus* 29.3

‘He [Augustus] reared the temple of Apollo in that part of his house on the Palatine for which the soothsayers declared that the god had shown his desire by striking it with lightning. He joined to it colonnades with Latin and Greek libraries, and when he was getting to be an old man he often held meetings of the senate there as well, and revised the lists of jurors. He dedicated the shrine to Jupiter the Thunderer …’

‘To rebuild his house on the Palatine, which had been destroyed by fire, the veterans, the guilds, the tribes, and even individuals of other conditions gladly contributed money, each according to his means; but he merely took a little from each pile as a matter of form, not more than a denarius from any of them.’ (Suet. *Aug.* 57.2)

‘He [Augustus] lived at first near the Forum Romanum, above the Stairs of the Ringmakers, in a house which had belonged to the orator Calvus; afterwards, on the Palatine, but in the no less modest dwelling of Hortensius, which was remarkable neither for size nor elegance, having but short colonnades with columns of Alban stone, and rooms without any marble decorations or handsome pavements. For more than forty years too he used the same bedroom in winter and summer; although he found the city unfavourable to his health in the winter, yet continued to winter there. If ever he planned to do anything in private or without interruption, he had a retired place at the top of the house, which he called “Syracuse” and “techynphion.”’ (Suet. *Aug.* 72.1)

Reconstruction of the Palatine in the imperial period:
http://www.romereborn.virginia.edu/rome_reborn_2_images/gallery/lo_res/RR2.0/circus.jpg
Questions

What is the connection between the plebeians and the Aventine?

Locate the Servian Wall on the map shown.

Why was the Palatine sought after as a location for housing in the Republican period by the aristocrats?

Examine the other features of the Aventine and Palatine for religious and cultural significance.

What does the overall aspect of the city reveal about relations between the patricians and plebs in the early period?
Why would Augustus have chosen to move to the Palatine and to have made it the focus of the imperial family?

**Ancient Sources**


http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Suetonius/12Caesars/home.html

**Modern Reading**


Cornell, T. *The beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000-264 BC)*, London, New York: Routledge, 1995 [937.01 CORN], esp. 68-73


Week 11

*DVD on the end of Nero’s reign*

*Major Essay due in class Monday 18th October*

Topics for the essay will relate to the following tutorial areas covered in

1. Roman topography
2. Roman utilities
3. Roman Tombs
4. Sources for the period

Precise details for the essay question will be distributed in the first half of the semester.
Reconstruction of the Circus Maximus with Palatine Hill behind:

http://images.google.com.au/images?hl=en&resnum=0&q=Circus+Maximus&um=1&ie=UTF-8&ei=fXtzS4_BMo7m7APkiM2dBg&sa=X&oi=image_result_group&ct=title&resnum=4&ved=0CCUQsAQwAw
**Tutorial 11 (Week 12)**

**The Circus Maximus**

There are many images of the Circus Maximus. See, for example, the large range appearing on: [http://images.google.com.au/images?hl=en&resnum=0&q=Circus+Maximus&um=1&ie=UTF-8&ei=fXtzS4_BMo7m7APkiM2dBg&sa=X&oi=image_result_group&ct=title&resnum=4&ved=0CCUQsAQwAw](http://images.google.com.au/images?hl=en&resnum=0&q=Circus+Maximus&um=1&ie=UTF-8&ei=fXtzS4_BMo7m7APkiM2dBg&sa=X&oi=image_result_group&ct=title&resnum=4&ved=0CCUQsAQwAw)

There is a clip from the movie *Ben Hur* that features the chariot race (ca 9 minutes), set in the Circus Maximus. This gives a fairly good idea of how the Circus was used, its dimensions, and some of its architecture. See ‘youtube’: [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pbQvpJsTvxU](http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=pbQvpJsTvxU)

See also a reconstruction of the Circus Maximus in front of the Palatine:

![Circus Maximus Reconstruction](http://example.com/circus_reconstruction.png)

Coarelli, 134.

**Dionysius (3.68) describes the building of the Circus Maximus:**

1 Tarquinius also built the Circus Maximus, which lies between the Aventine and Palatine Hills, and was the first to erect covered seats round it on scaffolding (for till then the spectators had stood), the wooden stands being supported by beams. And dividing the places among the thirty curiae, he assigned to each curia a particular section, so that every spectator was seated in his proper place. 2 This work also was destined to become in time one of the most beautiful and most admirable structures in Rome. For the Circus is three stades and a half in length and four plethra in breadth. Round about it on the two longer sides and one of the shorter sides a canal has been dug, ten feet in depth and width, to receive water. Behind the canal are erected porticos three stories high, of which the lowest story has stone seats, gradually rising, as in the theatres, one above the other, and the two upper stories wooden seats. 3 The two longer porticos are united into one and joined together by means of the shorter one, which is crescent-shaped, so that all three form a single portico like an amphitheatre, eight stades in circuit and capable of holding 150,000 persons. The other of the shorter sides is left uncovered and contains vaulted starting-places for the horses, which are all opened by means of a single rope. 4 On the outside of the Circus there is another portico of one
story which has shops in it and habitations over them. In this portico there are entrances and ascents for the spectators at every shop, so that the countless thousands of people may enter and depart without inconvenience.

Pliny (Natural Histories 8.20-1, tr. J. Bellemore, 2010): beast hunts in the Circus in 55 BC:
20 … ‘in the second consulship of Pompey, at the dedication of the temple of Venus Victrix, twenty elephants, or some say eighteen, fought in the circus, while Gaetulians were throwing spears at them. There was an amazing struggle by one of them, which, when his feet had been repeatedly pierced, crawled on its knees towards the crowd, throwing up in the air the shields it had snatched. To the pleasure of the spectators, these shields, when falling had formed a wheel on the ground, as though they were lying by art, not by the madness of the beast. In the case of another elephant, there was the hugely amazing feat of having been killed by one blow; but the spear had entered into a vulnerable part of the head, having been driven in under the eye.

21 ‘All of the beasts attempted an escape, which disturbed the populace, although there were strong fences all around. For this reason Caesar the dictator afterwards, when going to put on a similar spectacle, surrounded the arena with a moat, which Nero, when emperor, built over for the equestrian class. But Pompey’s elephants, unable to escape, sought the pity of the people by crying out in an indescribable manner, begging help with a kind of lamentation. This aroused so much empathy in the people that they forgot their general and the display given to honour them, and they rose as one, weeping, and they heaped curses on Pompey which later came to pass.’

Dio Cassius (49.43.2) makes a references to the Circus in 33 BC:
‘The next year Agrippa agreed to be made aedile, and without taking anything from the public treasury repaired all the public buildings and all the streets, cleaned out the sewers, and sailed through them underground into the Tiber. 2 And seeing that in the circus men made mistakes about the number of laps completed, he set up the dolphins and egg-shaped objects, so that by their aid the number of times the course had been circled might be clearly shown.’

Under 31 BC, Dio (50.10.3-4) reports as follows:
‘A wolf was caught as it was running into the temple of Fortune and killed, 3 and in the Circus at the very time of the horse-race a dog killed and devoured another dog. Fire also consumed a considerable portion of the Circus itself, along with the temple of Ceres, another shrine dedicated to Spes, and a large number of other structures. 4 The freedmen were thought to have caused this; for all of them who were in Italy and possessed property worth two hundred thousand sesterces or more had been ordered to contribute an eighth of it. This resulted in numerous riots, murders, and the burning of many buildings on their part, and they were not brought to order until they were subdued by armed force.’

In his ‘Lives of the Caesars’ Suetonius notes the interest of Caesar and the Julio-Claudian emperors in various aspects of the activities in the circus, as we see from the following excerpts.

Suetonius Caesar 39.2 … ‘For the races the circus was lengthened at either end and a broad canal was dug all about it; then young men of the highest rank drove four-horse and two-horse chariots and rode pairs of horses, vaulting from one to the other. The game called Troy was performed by two troops, of younger and of older boys. 3 Combats with wild beasts were presented on five successive days, and last of all there was a battle between two opposing armies, in which five hundred foot-soldiers, twenty elephants, and thirty horsemen engaged on each side. To make room for this, the goals were taken down and in their place two camps were pitched over against each other.’

Augustus 43.1 ‘He gave them [games] sometimes in all the wards and on many stages with actors in all languages, and combats of gladiators not only in the Forum or the amphitheatre, but in the
Circus and in the Saepta; sometimes, however, he gave nothing except a fight with wild beasts. … 2 In the Circus he exhibited charioteers, runners, and slayers of wild animals, who were sometimes young men of the highest rank. Besides he gave frequent performances of the game of Troy by older and younger boys, thinking it a time-honoured and worthy custom for the flower of the nobility to become known in this way.’

Augustus 43.1 ‘He himself usually watched the games in the Circus from the upper rooms of his friends and freedmen, but sometimes from the imperial box, and even in company with his wife and children. He was sometimes absent for several hours, and now and then for whole days, making his excuses and appointing presiding officers to take his place. But whenever he was present, he gave his entire attention to the performance’ …

Tiberius 26.1 ‘Once relieved of fear, he at first played a most unassuming part, almost humbler than that of a private citizen. Of many high honours he accepted only a few of the more modest. He barely consented to allow his birthday, which came at the time of the Plebeian games in the Circus, to be recognized by the addition of a single two-horse chariot.’

Gaius 15.1 ‘He appointed funeral sacrifices, too, to be offered each year with due ceremony, as well as games in the Circus in honour of his mother, providing a carriage to carry her image in the procession.’

Gaius 18.3 ‘He also gave many games in the Circus, lasting from early morning until evening, introducing between the races now a baiting of panthers and now the manoeuvres of the game called Troy; some, too, of special splendour, in which the Circus was strewn with red and green, while the charioteers were all men of senatorial rank. He also started some games off-hand, when a few people called for them from the neighbouring balconies, as he was inspecting the outfit of the Circus from the Gelotian house.’

Gaius 26.4 ‘He treated the other orders with like insolence and cruelty. Being disturbed by the noise made by those who came in the middle of the night to secure the free seats in the Circus, he drove them all out with cudgels; in the confusion more than twenty Roman knights were crushed to death, with as many matrons and a countless number of others.’

Claudius 4.3 (quoted from a letter by Augustus about Claudius) ‘That he should view the games in the Circus from the Imperial box does not meet with my approval; for he will be conspicuous if exposed to full view in front of the auditorium.’

Claudius 21.3 ‘He often gave games in the Vatican Circus also, at times with a beast-baiting between every five races. 3 But the Great Circus he adorned with barriers of marble and gilded goals, whereas before they had been of tufa and wood, and assigned special seats to the senators, who had been in the habit of viewing the games with the rest of the people. In addition to the chariot races he exhibited the game called Troy and also panthers, which were hunted down by a squadron of the prætorian cavalry under the lead of the tribunes and the prefect himself; likewise Thessalian horsemen, who drive wild bulls all over the arena, leaping upon them when they are tired out and throwing them to the ground by the horns.’

Nero 11.1 ‘He gave many entertainments of different kinds: the Juvenales, chariot races in the Circus, stage-plays, and a gladiatorial show. … For the games in the Circus he assigned places to the knights apart from the rest, and even matched chariots drawn by four camels.’

Nero 22.1-2 ‘From his earliest years he had a special passion for horses and talked constantly about the games in the Circus, though he was forbidden to do so. Once when he was lamenting with his fellow pupils the fate of a charioteer of the ‘Greens’, who was dragged by his horses, and his preceptor scolded him, he told a lie and pretended that he was talking of Hector. … 2 He made no secret of his wish to have the number of prizes increased, and in consequence more races were
added and the performance was continued to a late hour, while the managers of the troupes no longer thought it worth while to produce their drivers at all except for a full day’s racing. He soon longed to drive a chariot himself and even to show himself frequently to the public; so after a trial exhibition in his gardens before his slaves and the dregs of the populace, he gave all an opportunity of seeing him in the Circus Maximus, one of his freedmen dropping the napkin from the place usually occupied by the magistrates.’

Nero 27.2 ‘Sometimes too he closed the inlets and banqueted in public in the great tank, in the Campus Martius, or in the Circus Maximus, waited on by harlots and dancing girls from all over the city.’

During the Julio-Claudian period there were numerous fires in Rome, but there were two serious ones that affected the Circus Maximus, one in AD 36 during the reign of Tiberius, and the more famous fire of AD 64, during the rule of Nero.

Tacitus Annals 6.45.1 (cf. Dio 58.26.5): ‘The same year saw the capital visited by a serious fire, the part of the Circus adjoining the Aventine being burnt down along with the Aventine itself: a disaster which the Caesar [Tiberius] converted to his own glory by paying the full value of the mansions and tenement-blocks destroyed. One hundred million sesterces were invested in this act of munificence’

…

Tacitus Annals 15.38: ‘There followed a disaster, whether due to chance or to the malice of the sovereign [Nero] is uncertain — for each version has its sponsors — but graver and more terrible than any other which has befallen this city by the ravages of fire. It took its rise in the part of the Circus touching the Palatine and Caelian Hills; where, among the shops packed with inflammable goods, the conflagration broke out, gathered strength in the same moment, and, impelled by the wind, swept the full length of the Circus: for there were neither mansions screened by boundary walls, nor temples surrounded by stone enclosures, nor obstructions of any description, to bar its progress. The flames, which in full career overran the level districts first, then shot up to the heights, and sank again to harry the lower parts, kept ahead of all remedial measures, the mischief travelling fast, and the town being an easy prey owing to the narrow, twisting lanes and formless streets typical of old Rome.’

For the whole account of the fire of AD 64 given by Tacitus, see Annals 15.38-47

Questions

From the references given, discuss the range of activities that went on in the Circus.

How important a venue was this during the Republic? Why

How important was imperial support for chariot races in the Circus?

In what ways did the Circus bring together the lower orders and the ruling echelons of Rome?
Ancient Sources


http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Suetonius/12Caesars/home.html

http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/Texts/Tacitus/home.html

Modern Reading


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Dilke, O.A.W. *The ancient Romans*. South Melbourne, Vic.: Wren, 1975, 143-64 [913.37 DILK]


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