

Late Republican Rome, 88-31 BC Second Edition



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# Late Republican Rome, 88-31 BC

Second Edition

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#### **PREFACE**

This book replaces *Roman Politics 80–44 BC* as the seventh instalment of the LACTOR series. Its title, *Late Republican Rome 88–31 BC*, summarizes the two key differences with that earlier work, now out of print: a broader chronological range, which reflects that of the current OCR Ancient History A2 unit, and the choice not to take Roman politics as its only focus. The ambition is to offer a broader picture of the historical developments of the late Republican period, and do some justice to economic, social, and cultural developments.

LACTOR 7 has been out of print since 1994. Students of late Republican Rome have since been able to find valuable guidance on specific texts and problems in several LACTOR volumes (no. 3, A Short Guide to Electioneering; no. 6, Sallust. Fragments of the Histories and pseudo-Sallust: Letters to Caesar, now out of print; no. 10, Cicero's Cilician Letters; no. 14, Plutarch. Cato the Younger; and, to some extent, no. 17, The Age of Augustus). However, it was widely felt that a full, and indeed expanded, collection of evidence for the late Republic was a necessary addition to the series.

A considerable amount of work on a new LACTOR sourcebook on the late Republic was carried out in the 1990s by Michael Crawford and John Murrell, who devised a structure and selected hundreds of sources for inclusion. Their work was supported by grants from the Society for the Promotion of Roman Studies and from the Joint Association of Classical Teachers. Murrell also took care of the translations, and his version of some of those passages was included in the 2009 edition of LACTOR 3.

I am very grateful to the LACTOR Publications Sub-Committee for inviting me to bring the project to completion and for giving me access the material produced by Crawford and Murrell. I have comprehensively revisited the structure of the volume, not least in light of the need to extend its chronological focus, selected and translated a host of new sources, and provided a set of annotations. Like those produced by Murrell, the translations are intended to provide the student with a close rendering of the original in modern English: readable, but not necessarily as accessible and elegant as would be required in the Penguin or Oxford World Classics series, which are designed for a different readership.

It is a pleasure to record a number of debts I have incurred in working on this volume. Melvin Cooley has been the most knowledgeable, dedicated, and good-humoured editor I could have possibly wished to meet: his expert advice and unstinting encouragement have improved this book in countless ways, from its inception to the finishing touches. John Murrell kindly read through the first full version of the typescript and provided valuable feedback on matters large and small. Michael Crawford has generously offered advice on the selection of the numismatic material included in this volume. Few scholars can claim to have forged a stronger bond between their research and



their teaching, and to have shown greater dedication to their students than he has. I hope that at least a small measure of my debt to his example of how to think and talk about history will be apparent from what follows.

I greatly benefited from a conversation on the scope of this volume with the audience of an INSET day organized at Basingstoke by the Classical Association Teaching Board in November 2016; Peter Liddel was a most genial and supportive host. The selection and framing of the source material has been greatly aided by extensive discussion with the Newcastle third year students that took my *Fall of the Roman Republic* module in Autumn 2016. At Newcastle a group of research students – Sara Borrello, Luigi Di Iorio, Lauren Emslie, Chris Mowat, and Emilio Zucchetti – have also offered invaluable comments on an advanced version of the typescript. My thanks to them all.

I am very grateful to the Ancient World Mapping Centre for allowing us to reproduce their maps of Roman Italy, the city of Rome, the Roman Empire, and the campaigns of Caesar, Crassus and Pompey: a wonderful study resource that is also freely accessible on the web (http://awmc.unc.edu/wordpress/free-maps/).

This book is intended for the classroom, and feedback from teachers and students would be extremely welcome. Feel free to email any questions, suggestions, and corrections to federico.santangelo@ncl.ac.uk. Thank you very much.

Federico Santangelo Newcastle University, May 2017



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### NOTES ON SOURCES

**Appian**: an Alexandrian Greek of the second century AD, he wrote a history of Rome in 24 books, about half of which survive, including those on the civil wars, for which he is the main surviving source. He reproduced earlier history, but with the distinct slant of an unusual interest in ethnography, and a considerable amount of information on economic and social matters. He admired Rome and the monarchical system, held Roman citizenship, and had a distinguished career in the imperial administration.

**Asconius** (Q. Asconius Pedianus) wrote commentaries on Cicero's speeches between AD 54 and 57, ostensibly to give his sons the benefit of his first-hand experience of senatorial procedure, albeit under the Principate. He had access to works of Cicero that no longer survive, as well as to other historical accounts.

**Gaius Asinius Pollio** (76 BC – AD 4) was a prominent politician and historian of the late Republic. His history, which does not survive, except through quotations in other writers, was an important source for Plutarch, Appian and Cassius Dio.

**Aulus Gellius** published his 'Attic Nights' around AD 180, gathering material on a great variety of topics, which he read during the long nights in Athens (Attica).

Caesar (C. Julius Caesar 100 - 44 BC). An important writer and orator as well as a major political figure. His accounts (*commentarii*) of the Gallic Wars and the Civil War were written with the stated aim of providing raw material for history, and to ensure that history would be kind to him: they are in fact sophisticated literary works in their own right.

Cassius Dio was born c. AD 163/5 into one of the most prominent Greek families in Bithynia (NW Turkey). A distinguished political career over 40 years included two consulships (c. AD 222 and 229. His *Roman History* was written in Greek in 80 books, covering the entire period from Rome's foundation to his own day. Its greatest value is in providing an extant and detailed chronological account from 69 BC onwards (the account of 146 - 69 BC is completely lost). But caution is needed too – he often writes anachronistically, viewing the political struggles of the late Republic as if they were equivalent to the 'Year of the Four Emperors' or 'Year of the Five Emperors' (AD 193, which Dio lived through). His history can be shown to include distortions, omissions, and mistakes (there is no mention of the conference of Luca, for example).

Cicero: Marcus Tullius Cicero, 106 to 43 BC. He was born at Arpinum in southern Latium, and quickly rose to prominence in Rome as an advocate. His skill as an orator and the connections he forged through the cases he took up enabled him to embark on a successful political career: he was quaestor in 75 BC, aedile in 69, praetor in 66, and consul in 63. He was the first member of his family to become a senator. His body of work is of unrivalled importance to the understanding of the history of late Republican Rome. – His surviving speeches are mostly defence speeches, although he also undertook the high-profile prosecution of Verres, a governor of Sicily who was accused of corruption. Even the speeches which are most closely focused on the legal merit of the case are crucial to the understanding of specific historical problems (e.g. the *pro Roscio Amerino* on the Sullan



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proscriptions; the *pro Flacco* on the government of Asia Minor; the *pro Fonteio* on the impact of Rome in Southern Gaul). A number of speeches deal with major political issues of the time: the speech of 66 on the grant of the command of the Mithridatic command to Pompey; those of his consular year on the agrarian bill of the tribune Servilius, and on Catiline's conspiracy; the speeches against Clodius in the aftermath of his return from the exile, in 57 and 56; and the series of interventions against Mark Antony between 44 and 43, which played a decisive role in determining his inclusion on the proscription list and his assassination, at Formiae, in December 43.

The intensity and importance of Cicero's political activity is further shown by a unique category of evidence: his correspondence. Hundreds of letters survive. They are grouped into two main collections, both in sixteen books: those to his friend T. Pomponius Atticus (ad Atticum), and those to his relatives, friends, and political counterparts (ad familiares); the latter collection also includes a considerable number of letters addressed to Cicero. Shorter collections of letters to his brother Quintus and to M. Junius Brutus also survive. The corpora are extensive, but far from comprehensive. The circumstances that led to the compilation of the collections are elusive, as well as the selection criteria, and must at least in part be explained with the political situation following Cicero's death. They only date from the last two decades of his life. The importance of these letters to the understanding of the intricacies of Roman politics is unrivalled; they also offer unique insights into Cicero's intellectual interests, and indeed on his character.

Cicero also produced an impressive series of works on major intellectual problems. He wrote five treatises of rhetorical theory, in which his own practice as a prominent orator in judiciary and political settings plays a major role. He also developed, especially in the last fifteen years of his life, a strong interest in philosophy, and across a wide range of topics: political thought (*On the* res publica, *On laws*), moral philosophy (*On the ends of good and evil, Tusculan Disputations, On old age, On friendship, On duties*), and theological problems (*On the nature of the gods, On divination, On fate*). His ambition to produce philosophical work in Latin by critically developing the lesson of Greek philosophy was unprecedented. Far from being a politically neutral intellectual pursuit for its own sake, Cicero's philosophical work was closely integrated with his engagement in the *res publica*. – Cicero also wrote some poetry, including a poem on his consulship, which survives only in fragments. He did not write an historical work, although he did entertain the prospect of producing one, and late in his life circulated an account of his time in office, which does not survive.

**Diodoros:** (active 60–30 BC). A native of Sicily, Diodoros wrote a *Library of History* in 40 books, in Greek, which attempts to provide a universal history of mankind, setting events in Greece alongside those in Rome, and concluding in 60 BC. His work is difficult to use: it exists only in fragments for our period.

**Florus**: probably 2<sup>nd</sup> century, under the emperor Hadrian. He wrote a 'pious and ecstatic' (R. Syme) account of Rome's triumphs in 1,200 years of war until Augustus brought peace to the world, mainly, it seems, based on Livy.

**Gaius**: A famous Roman jurist of the latter half of the second century AD, whose *nomen* and *cognomen* are unknown. He wrote several commentaries on legal topics,



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and his best-known work, the *Institutes*, a highly influential introductory handbook for law students, was the basis for the imperial *Institutiones* published in the reign of Justinian.

**Hirtius:** Aulus Hirtius was an officer of Julius Caesar from *c*. 54 BC; he wrote the eighth book of Caesar's *Gallic Wars* and an account of Caesar's operations in Alexandria. He was elected consul for 43 BC, and was killed at Mutina.

**Horace** (Quintus Horatius Flaccus, 65 - 8 BC): Roman poet. Born to a wealthy freedman, fighting at Philippi on the side of the Liberators, loss of property in the confiscations, and eventual close friendship to Maecenas and Augustus gave him a unique range of experience. However, his poems vary so much in tone and *persona* that historical information is hard to deduce.

**Livy**: the foremost historian of Republican Rome. His very lengthy *History from the Founding of the City* is lost for all of our period except for very brief 'Summaries' created in the fourth century, which turn each 'book' (modern equivalent *c.* 50 pages) into a single short paragraph. His account of Cicero's death (**C4a**) survives through being quoted by the Elder Seneca.

**Nepos** (Cornelius Nepos) c. 110-24 BC, from Cisalpine Gaul, lived in Rome from the 60s. Amongst various works, some of his biographies of famous men survive, including, from a group of biographies of Roman historians, one of Atticus (110–32 BC). Nepos published his biography before Atticus' death and then a second version afterwards, claiming close familiarity with Atticus.

**Pliny the Elder** (Gaius Plinius Secundus) AD 23/4 to 79. Prominent equestrian in command of the Roman fleet at Misenum at the eruption of Vesuvius. His 37-book *Natural History*, in his words, 'tells the story of nature, that is to say, life.' It includes, according to his reckoning, 20,000 important facts derived from 2,000 books.

**Plutarch:** (before AD 50 – after AD 120, from Chaironeia in Boiotia, Central Greece), author of biographical and philosophical writings. Plutarch was a very prolific writer and diligent researcher, and he often preserves information that is otherwise lost. But on his own insistence, his *Parallel Lives* of Greeks and Romans were not history – his main aim was to draw characters which could be instructive as moral examples.

**Pomponius:** Roman lawyer of mid-second century AD, who wrote an *Introduction to Roman Law* giving an historical account of Roman law and lawyers.

**Quintilian** (Marcus Fabius Quintilianus) was born c. AD 35 in Spain and became the best known teacher of rhetoric in Rome. *The Orator's Education (Institutio Oratoria)* gives lengthy and detailed advice on writing speeches, including his judgement on Roman authors.

**Sallust** (Gaius Sallustius Crispus), c. 86-35 BC, tribune of the plebs in 52 BC and commander of a legion for Caesar in 49 BC, he turned to history after he was charged with malpractice as governor of Africa in 46 BC. He wrote two monographs on *Catiline's War* and *The Jugurthine War*, and *Histories* covering 78 to after 67 BC,



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which now survives only in fragments and in the set-piece speeches and letters he composed, following the model of the Greek historian, Thucydides. A major theme of his works is of Rome's political and moral decline.

Seneca the Elder (Lucius Annaeus Seneca),  $c.50 \, \text{BC} - c.$  AD 40, was born in Corduba in Spain, but seems to have spent much time in Rome. His *Controversiae* and *Suasoriae*, a collection of high points from rhetoricians he had heard, were addressed to his three sons (one of whom was the great philosopher and writer Seneca the Younger).

**Strabo**, *c*. 64 BC–AD 21 or later, was born into a well-connected family in Amasia in Pontus. His 17-book *Geography*, which was compiled during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, provides an account of the entire world known to the Romans, albeit one largely compiled from earlier literary sources.

**Suetonius** (Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus) c. AD 70–130. Author of *The Lives of the Caesars* (biographies of Julius Caesar and the emperors from Augustus to Domitian). He held important posts in imperial administration under Trajan and Hadrian. His biographies concentrate on personality and characteristics, often conveyed by anecdotes and with only a loose chronological framework. The first few chapters of his biography of Caesar are lost.

**Tacitus** (born *c*. AD 56): the great historian of the early Principate with his *Histories* (AD 69–96) and then *Annals* (AD 14–68). His insight, sense of perspective, and literary style make occasional digressions into Republican period interesting and important.

**Valerius Maximus** compiled his book of 'memorable deeds and sayings from the City of Rome and foreign nations' in the reign of Tiberius (AD 14–37). He makes no claim to originality, compiling a convenient selection of exemplary, morally instructive stories from famous authors.

**Varro** (Marcus Terentius Varro) 116–27 BC, great polymath of the period (see **L25–L30**): of his very many works including historical information, only a tiny proportion survives, in the shape of occasional quotations and a work on agriculture.

**Velleius Paterculus:** Velleius (20/19 BC -c. AD 31) served and wrote under Tiberius, whom he regards (with reason) as a superb general and (with less reason) as a superb emperor. His *History of Rome* in just two books is extremely summary to begin with, becoming highly detailed on Tiberius' achievements as commander under Augustus and then as emperor. His praise extends to Tiberius' adoptive father, Augustus and *his* adoptive father, Julius Caesar. Velleius' forebears won citizenship in the Social War and his grandfather served with Pompey and Brutus.

**Virgil** (Publius Vergilius Maro, 70 - 19 BC): Rome's greatest poet, from Mantua in Northern Italy; his family suffered in the Triumviral confiscations. After his move to Rome, he became part of the circle of Maecenas and Augustus, writing the great national epic, *The Aeneid*.



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#### **GLOSSARY**

aedile: a junior magistrate in Rome, mainly in charge of buildings and games.

*ambitus*: this word, originally meaning simply 'going around', comes to be used as the term for unlawful canvassing for office, usually by bribery. A standing court of law (*quaestio perpetua*) investigated cases.

as (pl. asses): the base-unit of Roman currency, a small value coin.

*auctoritas*: authority rather than actual power (*potestas*), hence the ability to obtain a result by one's personal standing rather than magisterial office.

**augur**: a priest, especially responsible for interpreting the will of the gods based on flights of birds.

aureus: the highest value coin, made of gold, worth 100 sesterces.

**boni** – good men or good citizens (male gender is shown by the ending). Used in politics (esp. in Cicero's writing) it essentially means men of sound views, i.e. those in support of the speaker/writer!

**censor**: traditionally one of two senior senators, elected for eighteen months every five years, responsible for carrying out a comprehensive assessment of the wealth and circumstances of the citizens, chiefly for military purposes, and for revising the roll of the Senate, according to financial and moral standards.

**client**: a citizen who voluntarily paid his respects to a richer, more powerful patron, in return for his protection.

*cognomen*: the last of a Roman's names, sometimes a type of 'nickname', often distinguishing not just an individual, but a branch of a large family.

*collegia*: private associations of a political, professional or religious kind (see **L10b**). **colony**: a settlement of Roman citizens (often, esp. in the late Republic, army veterans) with its own local constitution.

*centuria*, pl. *centuriae*: these were voting-groups at an assembly of the people, the *comitia centuriata*, which elected consuls and praetors. Membership and voting-order depended on property-qualifications.

**Comitium** and *comitia*: the Comitium was the main area for political assemblies, situated at the North of the Forum, at the foot of the Capitoline Hill. A meeting of the people there or elsewhere, summoned by a magistrate, to vote on a specific proposal was called *comitia* (technically plural in Latin).

*curia*: a senate-house, usually that in the forum, the *curia Hostilia*, later replaced by the *curia Julia*. But the Senate also met elsewhere, albeit always within a consecrated precinct (*templum*).

**confiscations**: in the late Republic, the terms usually refers to the seizure of land or wealth in Italy to pay off veterans upon discharge.

**consul**: the highest political office in the Republic. Two consuls were elected each year to serve for one year.

**consular**: (Latin 'consularis') (1) adjective from 'consul'; (2) as noun, it refers to someone who has previously been consul.

*contio*: originally '*conventio*' – a coming together, designating a meeting or assembly called by a magistrate or priest. Hence the term also comes to mean a speech given as such an assembly. (see **B51a** for both uses and **B105**).

*decuriones*: councillors in a self-governing town.

denarius: small silver coin worth 4 sesterces.

*dictator*: magistrate appointed in time of emergency in the Roman Republic, with sweeping powers. The word is connected with Latin *dico*, 'I say', i.e. a dictator's word was enough (the usual legislative process was not necessary).

dignitas: 'dignity', 'worthiness', but especially the holding of high office that reinforced the social status of a member of Rome's upper classes.



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dominatio: this Latin word is closely connected to dominus – a master, in the original sense of someone who has conquered; in everyday Latin, dominus meant 'slave-master' (with absolute power over his slaves). Hence in political discourse, dominatio almost always means unrestricted power – closest in our language to 'despotism', with all its negative connotations.

**Divus**: 'God', especially of those officially deified, like Julius Caesar (see C19).

*eques* (*pl. equites*) or equestrian(s): a member of a class in Rome below that of the senatorial class, based on property qualification of 400,000 sesterces. Equestrians were not usually involved in Roman politics.

*factio*: 'faction' – used to describe a group of political opponents, usually with the implication that this group is aiming to take power for themselves as an oligarchy.

**fasces**: bundles of rods and an axe carried by the attendants of a magistrate as symbols of his authority, including to inflict corporal or even capital punishment.

*fasti*: publicly inscribed lists of various sorts: dates, consuls, notable events.

**fathers**: the term used within the Roman Senate of its members, *patres conscripti* = 'conscript (because their names were written on a list) fathers'.

flamen: a senior priest.

**freedman**: a slave formally set free by his master, automatically becoming a Roman citizen (and the client of his former master).

*gratia*: favour or kindness, perhaps incurring an obligation (for which one would say 'gratias (ago)' - 'thanks').

*honor*: this term covers both the abstract English 'honour', but also the idea of holding public office.

*hostis*: 'enemy', but since Latin has a separate word, '*inimicus*' (= 'not-friend') to describe a personal enemy, *hostes* (plural) usually describes foreign foes in battle, and the singular, *hostis* means a 'public enemy'.

*imagines* – wax portrait-busts of distinguished ancestors displayed in aristocratic houses and at funerals.

*imperator*: originally a title given by Roman troops to their general after a major victory, such as would merit a triumph, it becomes effectively a title, used permanently by Julius Caesar and usurped as a *praenomen* by Octavian (from 38 BC).

*imperium*: the power to command invested in a magistrate (*e.g.* consul, praetor or governor); hence the power of Rome to rule others; hence 'the empire'.

*improbi*: 'wicked men' or 'trouble-makers' in political discourse, the opposite of *boni*, i.e. a term used to impugn the morals and motives of the other side.

**interregnum**: literally a period between reigns, hence in Latin as English, a gap when no one is holding (consular) office, meant to be filled by ex-consuls acting as *interreges* to supervise elections.

iustitium: cessation of legal business (see L18).

**laurel crown**: worn by a general in his triumph, but adopted as a symbol of military distinction.

**legate**: anyone to whom authority is delegated, *e.g.* a military officer, or an ambassador. **magistrate**: an official elected for a year at Rome or in local government.

maiestas: originally 'crimen maiestatis' – an offence against the 'majesty' or 'greatness' of the Roman people. 'The crime of maiestas, because he dared to overthrow and carry off monuments of the glory of our rule and of our achievements' (Cicero, Verrines 2.4.41). A standing court of law (quaestio perpetua) dealt with those cases.

**manumission**: the formal freeing of a slave, resulting in his attaining citizenship. *municeps*: inhabitant of a *municipium*, see **D3**.



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- **municipium** (pl. *municipia*): town, usually in Italy, whose inhabitants possessed Roman citizenship and also the rights to make their own local laws, and elect their own local magistrates.
- **nobiles**: 'nobles', with the technical sense of someone whose direct ancestor had held a senior magistracy in Rome (as aedile, praetor, but, especially, consul)
- novus homo: literally 'new man', the term could apply to someone in politics, none of whose direct ancestors had been a senator; or to someone, none of whose direct ancestors had been a consul (but had still reached the Senate); or, especially, to someone like Cicero, who reached the consulship despite having no senatorial ancestors.
- *optimates* (Latin plural): connected with *optimus* 'best', in politics it refers to those who broadly wished to preserve the *status quo*, as against more radical, democratic policies (see *popularis*). This was certainly no organized political party.
- *otium:* 'leisure', 'free-time'. A rather complex term with meanings ranging from idleness (**B33**) through to peace (**B115**). It could also refer, for example, to Cicero having the time away from the *negotium* (literally non-*otium*) of his involvement in law-courts/politics to devote to literature.
- **patrician**: the Roman nobility, a status attainable only by birth into one of the original noble families of the early Republic or even the period of kings.
- **patron**: a wealthy and influential citizen who looked after the interests of poorer clients in return for their support and public deference.
- **plebs**: the proper term for the ordinary citizen body of Rome, defining all the citizens who do not belong to a patrician family.
- pontifex maximus: the most senior priest in the college of the pontiffs.
- *popularis* (pl. *populares*): adjective referring to a politician or policy espousing the support of the *populus* ('people'), and thus through popular assemblies rather than the Senate.
- praetor: one of eight annually elected magistrates, ranking between consul and quaestor. Ex-praetors usually governed the less important provinces. They had imperium, but their main functions were mainly judicial, and included presiding over courts.
- prefect: someone 'put in charge of' something.
- princeps: the word, meaning 'leader' of 'chief' was the one chosen by Augustus to designate his position, hence the term 'Principate' to describe the period of his rule.
- *privilegium*: literally a 'special law' *privus-lex*, in other words one that was aimed at a particular case or individual, see **B132**.
- **proconsul**: a former consul, retaining his former official power, usually as governor of a major province.
- **propraetor**: someone granted the power of a praetor, usually as governor of a minor province.
- **proscription**: 'legalized murder' (Syme). The procedure by which Sulla and later the triumvirs outlawed their enemies, making their lives and property forfeit.
- publicani: 'tax-collectors'. They were of equestrian standing, and formed companies that typically bid to collect the taxes from a particular province on behalf of the Roman government. This formed a binding contract: if they could not collect this amount, it was their loss, but any excess formed their profit, see B93b.
- *quaestiones perpetuae*: standing courts of enquiry, dealing with particular offences (*repetundae*, *ambitus*, *maiestas*, *vis* (see those entries). A magistrate presided, but there was no appeal against the majority verdict of the juries (75 or 51), which from 70–46 BC comprised equal numbers of senators, equestrians, and treasury tribunes.



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**quaestor**: one of twenty men elected annually to serve in various capacities, including two in charge of the treasury, and others as assistants to provincial governors. They gained entry to the Senate.

**repetundae**: extortion, usually of money, by a provincial governor. A standing court of law (quaestio perpetua) investigated cases.

**Republic(an)**: modern usage to refer to the period when Rome was governed by elected magistrates (rather than emperors), roughly from 510/9 BC to Caesar's dictatorship.

res publica: literally 'the public thing', i.e. the state, the commonwealth.

*rostra*: a speaker's platform, especially that near the *Comitium*. The name reflects its decoration of prows of ships captured in a naval battle of 338 BC.

senatus consultum: decree of the senate. Technically this gave advice on an issue to the magistrates, but, unless vetoed by a tribune, had force of law (see L26).

sesterces: the units of currency in Rome.

suffect: replacement magistrate, especially a consul, appointed after the death of the incumbent.

toga picta: an embroidered toga worn by a victor in his triumph (see B38).

**tribe**: all citizens were formally a member of one of 35 tribes (voting districts), and voted in these tribes.

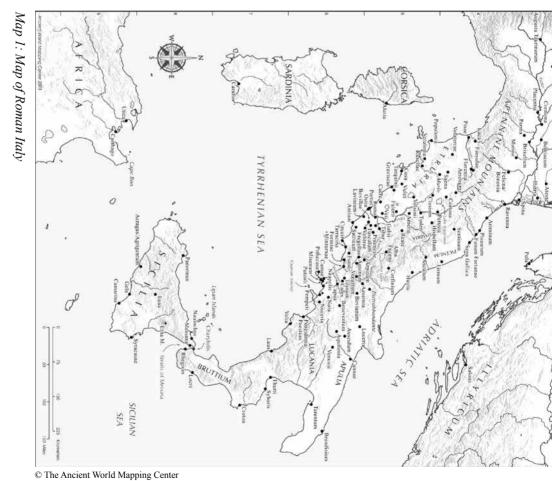
*tribuni aerarii*: literally 'tribunes of the treasury'; their role was as one of the three panels from which jurymen were drawn for the *quaestiones perpetuae* (see above). Their precise status and property qualification are disputed, though perhaps similar to those of the equestrians.

*tribunus* (pl. – *tribuni*) *plebis*: the *tribuni plebis*, tribunes of the plebs (often just 'tribunes'), were ten annually elected officers armed with negative or obstructive powers designed to protect the plebeians from victimization by magistrates. A tribune could intercede on behalf of an individual, arrest any magistrate, and veto assemblies and any decision of the Senate. Tribunes were the main proposers of legislation in the later Republic.

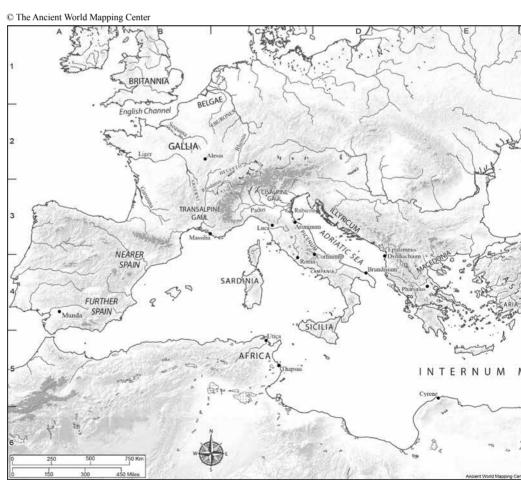
**triumvirate** (board of three men): the formal set of powers given to Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian under the *lex Titia* of 43 BC (properly 'triumvirs for settling the *res publica*' and see C1 and C2).

vis: 'force' or, as a criminal offence, any sort of 'violence', ranging from an attack on a house to arson and murder (B132). A standing court of law (quaestio perpetua) investigated cases.





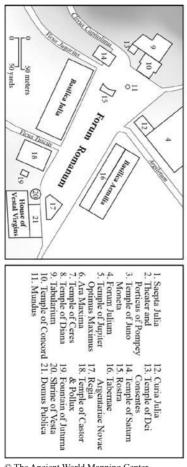


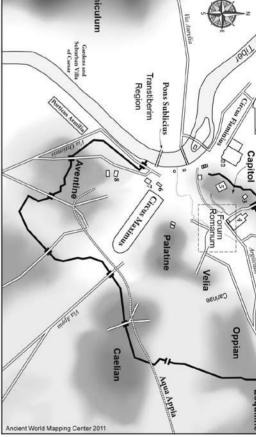


Map 2: Roman Empire, with Campaigns of Caesar, Crassus, and Pompey



Map 3: Rome in the Late Republic





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