

## THE FALLS OF ROME

Over the course of the fourth through seventh centuries, Rome witnessed a succession of five significant political and military crises, including the Sack of Rome, the Vandal occupation, and the demise of the Senate. Historians have traditionally considered these crises as defining events, and thus critical to our understanding of the “decline and fall of Rome.” In this volume, Michele Renee Salzman offers a fresh interpretation of the tumultuous events that occurred in Rome during Late Antiquity. Focusing on the resilience of successive generations of Roman men and women and their ability to reconstitute their city and society, Salzman demonstrates the central role that the senatorial aristocracy played, and the limited influence of the papacy during this period. Her provocative study provides a new explanation for the longevity of Rome and its ability, not merely to survive, but even to thrive over the last three centuries of the Western Roman Empire.

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The Falls of Rome  
Crises, Resilience, and Resurgence  
in Late Antiquity

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This book covers more than three centuries. I have relied on and learned much from the scholarship of my predecessors and my contemporaries. There has been an explosion of historical and archaeological research, much of it in Italian, French, and German. I have tried to utilize as much of it as was relevant. I have incorporated revised versions of three earlier articles into this book, but I have added to each of these articles. And I reference my other publications in the notes as well.

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## Abbreviations for Frequently Cited Works

*All abbreviations in the notes follow standard format in the Chicago Manual of Style. Here I list the abbreviations used for frequently cited works in the notes for easy reference.*

- Anon. Val. = Anonymus Valesianus, in J. C. Rolfe (transl.), *Ammianus Marcellinus*, vol. 3, Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA, 1982, pp. 508–69.
- PCBE. *Italiae* = *Prosopographie Chrétienne du Bas-Empire Part 2. Italie (313–604)*, 2 vols., Rome, 1999–2000.
- Blockley 1983 = *The Fragmentary Classicizing Historians of the Later Roman Empire: Eunapius, Olympiodorus, Priscus and Malchus*, ed. R. C. Blockley, 2 vols.: Text, Translation and Historiographical Notes (ARCA 10), Liverpool, 1983.
- CA = *Collectio Avellana, Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum inde ab a. CCCLXVII usque ad a. DLIII datae Avellana quae dicitur collectio*, ed. O. Guenther (= CSEL 35). Part I, Prolegomena. Epistulae I–CIV. Vienna, 1895. Pars II, Epistulae CV–CCXXXIII, Vienna 1898.
- Cass. *Var.* = *Cassiodori Senatoris Variarum*, ed. T. Mommsen (*Monumenta Germaniae Historica*). Auctores Antiquissimi 12, Berlin, 1894. Translation by M. S. Bjornlie, *The Variarum. The Complete Translation*, Oakland, CA, 2019.
- CBCR = *Corpus Basilicarum Christianarum Romae*, ed. R. Krautheimer, R. V. Frankl and S. Corbett, 5 vols. Vatican City, 1937–77.
- CCSL = *Corpus Christianorum, Series latina*. Turnhout.
- CIL = *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*
- CSEL = *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*, 104 vols. Vienna.
- C. *Iust.* = *Codex Justinianus*, in P. Krüger (ed.), *Corpus iuris civilis*, 2 vols. Berlin 1887. Translation by B. W. Frier, ed. *The Codex of Justinian: a new annotated translation*, 3 vols., Cambridge, 2016.

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- C.Th.* = *Codex Theodosianus*, in T. Mommsen and P. Meyer et al. (eds.), *Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis*, Berlin, 1905. Translation by C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions*, Philadelphia, 1969.
- EDR* = *Epigraphic Database Roma* (<http://www.edr.-edr.it/default/index.php>).
- Frag.* = *Fragmenta*, Fragments
- Gregory, Ep.* = *S. Gregorii Magni Registrum Epistularum, Corpus Christianorum Series Latina 140, Libri I–VII: 140A, Libri VIII–XIV, Appendix*, ed. D. Norberg, Turnhout, 1982. Translation by J. R. C. Martyn, *The Letters of Gregory the Great*, 3 vols., Toronto, 2004.
- HE* = *Ecclesiastical History*
- Hist. Aug.* = *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, text and translation by D. Magie, 3 vols., *LCL*, Cambridge, MA and London, UK, 1982–91.
- ICUR* = *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, 3 vols., ed. G. B. De Rossi, Rome, 1857–1915.
- IG* = *Inscriptiones Graecae*
- ILCV* = *Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae veteres*, ed. E. Diehl, Berlin, 1925–31.
- ILS* = *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae*, ed. H. Dessau, Berlin, 1892–1916.
- Just Nov.* = Justinian, *Novellae, Corpus Iuris Civilis*, vol. 3: eds. R. Schoell and W. Kroll, Berlin, 1954 rept. of 1895 edition. Translation in *The Novels of Justinian*, by D.M.D. Miller and P. Sarris, Cambridge, 2018, 2 vols.
- Lib. Pont.* = *Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, *Le Liber Pontificalis: Texte, introduction et commentaire*, BEFAR, vol. 1, Paris, 1981 reprint of 2nd ed. of L. Duchesne (Paris, 1955–57; original edition, 2 vols. 1886–92). Translation by R. Davis, *The Book of Popes*, Liverpool, 2010 reprint.
- Lib. Pont. Eccl. Rav.* = Agnellus Ravennatis, *Liber Pontificalis Ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. D. Deliyannis, Turnhout, 2006.
- LCL* = *Loeb Classical Library*
- LSA* = *Last Statues of Antiquity* (<http://laststatues.classics.ox.ac.uk>)
- LTUR* = *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae*, 6 vols., ed. E. M. Steinby, Rome, 1993–2000.
- LTUR Suburbium* = *Lexicon topographicum urbis Romae: Suburbium*, 5 vols., ed. A. La Regina, Rome, 2001–8.
- MGH.AA* = *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Auctores Antiquissimi*, Berlin.
- N. Anth.* = Anthemius, *Novellae*, in T. Mommsen and P. Meyer, eds., *Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, vol. 2, Berlin, 1905.

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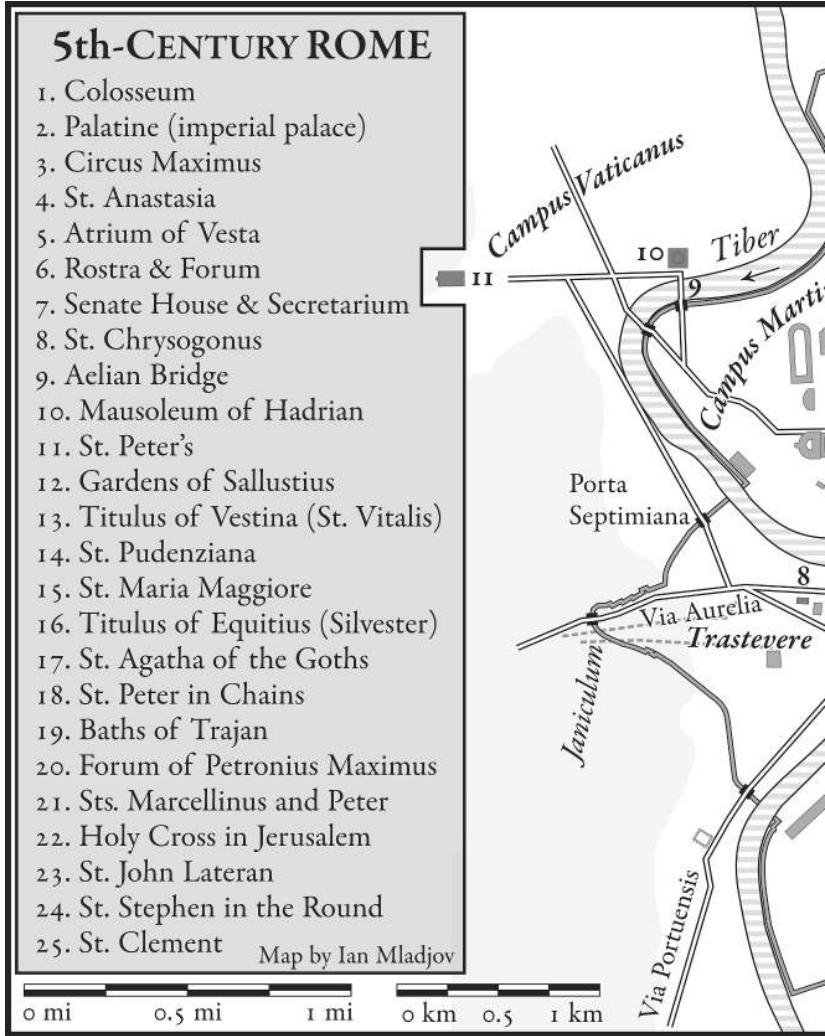
- N. Maj.* = Majorian, *Novellae*, in T. Mommsen and P. Meyer eds., *Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, vol.2, Berlin 1905.
- N. Val.* = Valentinian III, *Novellae*, in T. Mommsen and P. Meyer eds., *Theodosiani Libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis et Leges novellae ad Theodosianum pertinentes*, vol.2, Berlin, 1905.
- PL* = *Patrologia Latina*
- PLRE* = J. R. Martindale, A.H.M. Jones, and J. Morris, eds. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*. 3 vols.: Volume 1 (260–294); Volume 2 (395–527); Volumes 3A and 3B (527–641). Cambridge, UK, 1971–1992.
- Prosper, Chron.* = Prosper, *Epitoma chronicon*, ed. T. Mommsen, *Chronica Minora* 1, MGH AA 9, 1892, pp.385–485.
- PS* = *Pragmatic Sanction*. Included as Appendix VII in *Corpus Iuris Civilis* iii: *Novellae*, R. Schoell and W. Kroll, eds., Berlin, 1954 rept., pp. 799–802; also at *Iuliani Epitome Latina Novellarum Iustiniani*, G. Hänel, (ed.), Leipzig, 1873, pp. 185–91. Translation in *The Novels of Justinian*, D. J. D. Miller and P. Sarris, Cambridge, UK, 2018 pp. 1116–30.
- Procop. Wars* = Procopius, *The Wars*, 5 vols. Translation by H. B. Dewing; revised and updated by Anthony Kaldellis, Indianapolis/Cambridge, 2014 based on the original edition in the Loeb Classical Library, Cambridge, MA, 1959.
- RIC* = *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, London, 1984–94.
- SC* = *Sources Chrétiennes*
- Thiel* = *Epistolae romanorum pontificum genuinae et quae ad eos scriptae sunt a S. Hilario usque ad Pelagium II*, A. Thiel ed., 2nd ed., Braunsberg, 1868.
- VC* = *Vita Constantini* in F. Winkelmann (ed.), *Über das Leben des Kaisers Konstantins*, Berlin, 1975. Translated by A. Cameron and S. G. Hall, *Eusebius. Life of Constantine*, Oxford, 1999.
- Zos.* = Zosimus, in F. Paschoud, ed. and translation, *Zosime. Histoire Nouvelle*, 5 vols., Paris, 1971–89, first edition; 2003, second edition.

## Abbreviations for Imperial Offices in Late Antiquity

com.	<i>comes</i> (count/ a senior military/civilian official)
com. dom.	<i>comes domesticorum</i> (commander in charge of the imperial bodyguard)
com. Or.	<i>comes Orientis</i> (count/official in charge of the diocese of the East)
cons.	<i>consularis</i> (consular, title of governor of certain provinces, of the lowest senatorial rank of <i>clarissimus</i> )
cos.	<i>consul</i> (highest magistrate in the Roman Republic, two designated every year. By the late third century, it was an honor with no function.)
CRP	<i>comes rei privatae</i> (count/official in charge of the private estates of the emperor)
CSL	<i>comes sacrarum largitionum</i> (count/official in charge of the sacred largesses or imperial treasury, oversees taxes and revenues)
iud.	<i>iudex</i> (judge or title for a high official)
mag. equ.	<i>magister equitum</i> (master of the horse, commander in chief of the cavalry)
mag. mil.	<i>magister militum</i> (master of the military, commander in chief of the army.)
mag. off.	<i>magister officiorum</i> (master of offices, head of the bureaucracy of the court and communications)
mag. ped.	<i>magister peditum</i> (master of the soldiers, commander in chief of the infantry)
MUM	<i>magister utriusque militum</i> (master of the army and cavalry, commander in chief of all armed forces. They commanded regional armies. For example, MUM Africae)

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS FOR IMPERIAL OFFICES IN LATE ANTIQUITY xv

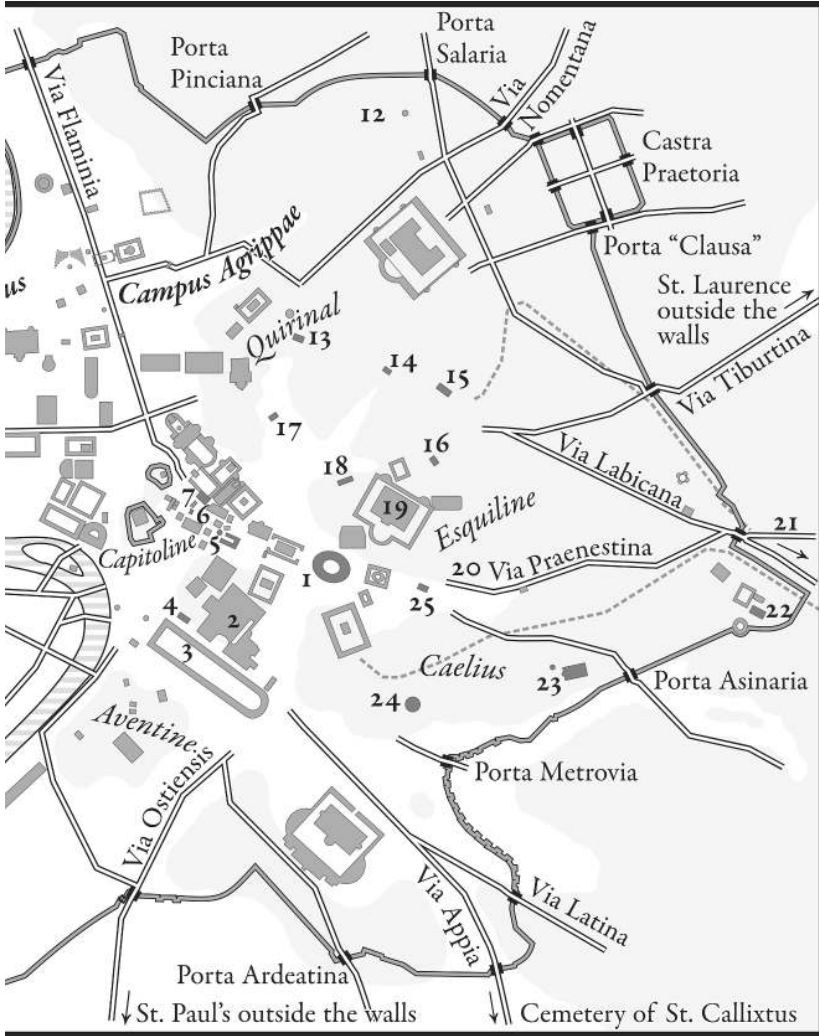
	= <i>magister utriusque militiae Africae</i> , the commander in chief of Africa.)
pat.	<i>patricius</i> (patrician, honorific title of great distinction revived by Constantine)
PPO	<i>praefectus praetorio</i> (praetorian prefect. In late antiquity, the most important civil official, linked to regions. So, for example, the PPO Ital. was the praetorian prefect of Italy; PPO Gall. was the praetorian prefect of Gaul.)
praep.	<i>praepositus</i> (title for the official in charge, used for various posts in the imperial military or civil administration)
proc.	<i>proconsul</i> (title of the highest-ranking governors of certain provinces)
PSC	<i>praepositus sacri cubiculi</i> (grand chamberlain, normally the highest-ranking eunuch in the imperial service. Responsible for the imperial family's security and their palace.)
PUC	<i>praefectus urbis Constantinopolitanae</i> (prefect of the city of Constantinople, principal civilian authority who responds directly to the imperial court)
PUR	<i>praefectus urbis Romae</i> (prefect of the city of Rome, principal civilian authority for replaces in Rome, Ostia and Portus who responds directly to the imperial court)
QSP	<i>quaestor sacri palatii</i> (quaestor of the sacred palace, the emperor's chief legal advisor and drafter of laws)
quaest.	<i>quaestor</i> (civic official, traditionally the first step in the career of a senatorial aristocrat)
trib. et not.	<i>tribunus et notarius</i> (imperial notary/clerk)
v.c.	<i>vir clarissimus</i> (literally, "most outstanding man," title for the lowest of the three senatorial ranks)
v.glor.	<i>vir gloriossimus</i> (literally, "most glorious man," a senatorial honorific title)
vic.	<i>vicarius</i> (vicar who, by late antiquity, was the deputy of the praetorian prefect and supervised the provincial governors, located in dioceses)
v.inl. or v.ill.	<i>vir inlustris/illustris</i> (literally, "most illustrious man," title for the highest of the three senatorial ranks)
v. sp.	<i>vir spectabilis</i> (literally, "admirable man," the middle of three senatorial ranks)



Map 1 Fifth-century Rome.



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Map 1 (cont.)