Lecture Thirteen

Plato and Aristotle

Scope: Socrates wished to defend the existence of things to be known, the possibility of knowing them, and the capacity of humans to communicate their understandings intelligibly to one another. His greatest pupil, Plato, took as his life's work the defense of Socrates's teachings, but gradually, he moved far beyond his master. In doing so, he laid the foundations for the many *Platonisms* that have been a powerful current in Western thought ever since. Plato's greatest pupil, Aristotle, learned much from his teacher and, like him, wished to defend the basic views of Socrates. But Aristotle's approach was quite different from Plato's, just as Aristotelianism differs from Platonism. By the end of this lecture, we'll see why Raphael's painting *The School of Athens* has Plato pointing up and Aristotle pointing down.

Outline

Socrates was smug, pompous, cantankerous, and brilliant. An Athenian jury condemned him to death for corrupting the young. His death disillusioned many of his followers, but caused one of them, Plato, to dedicate himself to defending the master's teachings.

A. Socrates wrote nothing and almost all we know, or think we know, comes from Plato's dialogues.

B. Plato clearly defended much of his teacher's thought, but gradually, Plato's thought became his own.

C. The starting point was that there is something "out there" that we can know; that we have the tools to apprehend that something; that, having apprehended that something, we can reliably communicate about it with others.

II. Plato (429—347 B.c.) was a consummate stylist, an influential teacher, and a wide-ranging thinker. He came from a wealthy and influential family and traveled widely. He devoted his adult life to philosophy, founding his school, the Academy, around 385.

A. To begin with, let's review the problems: Change appears to be a constant, and stability, elusive; the senses are flawed tools of perception; language has severe limitations as a tool of communication; laws are human contrivances, not eternal regulations.

B. Plato addressed himself to two big questions:
   1. What is the nature of knowledge and what means do we have of obtaining and holding it?
   2. What is morality and what is the best form of human life?

C. Plato was a prolific writer. His earliest works were in dialogue form, perhaps because this accorded with Socrates's teaching methods. Gradually, the works became straightforward treatises.

D. At least three things are controversial about Plato's thought:
   1. How much of Plato is attributable to Socrates?
   2. Did he use the Socratic *elenchus* and essentially demonstrate what was wrong with other views, or did he advance positive doctrines of his own?
   3. Did he have a coherent system of thought, or is Platonism attributable to his commentators?

III. In general terms, we can understand Plato's theories of knowledge and morality.

A. In his *Republic*, Plato said, "We are accustomed to posit some one form

concerning each set of things to which we apply the same name.

1. The "form" is the very thing to which the name is applied.
2. The form is invisible and is grasped by thought, not by the senses. Its relation to the named thing is as original to copy.
3. Such knowledge as we have of the form is true knowledge and all else is mere "opinion."
4. In the "Myth of the Cave" from the *Republic*, Plato came as close as he ever did to making clear what he meant.
5. We can for purposes of discussion take two examples, a concrete one—a shoe—and an abstract one—love.
6. Plato speaks of an immortal soul. This is eternal and has knowledge of the eternal, transcendent realm that it communicates to each sentient being.

B. Also in his *Republic*, Plato reflected on the human soul before it is imprisoned in the body, on the embodied soul, and on the kind of state that properly arrayed souls could create.

1. The soul has appetites, courage, and reason.
2. Virtue, which equates to knowledge, is a proper arrangement of these three.
3. An ideal polity, therefore, would have: farmers with all desirable possessions; soldiers without property or family (Sparta?); and philosophers who had such elevated understanding that they felt a duty, not a desire, to rule and whose desires did not attach to material things.

IV. Aristotle (384—322 **B.C.**) came from the far north of the Greek world. His father was a doctor and had ties to the Macedonian court. At seventeen, Aristotle entered the Academy. He spent some time as tutor to Alexander the Great and lived in Ionia for a while after Plato's death. In 335, he founded his Lyceum in Athens.

A. Aristotle learned much from his master, and the differences between them should not be exaggerated.

B. Aristotle was a prolific writer but also a rigorously systematic one.

C. Marked by what one scholar called "inspired common sense," Aristotle based his ideas on observation and close study, not on pure thought.

1. His earliest work was in zoology and his most durable, in biology.
2. Perhaps we see here the influence of his doctor-father.
3. But we can also see the long reach of the Ionians, beginning with Thales.

D. Aristotle did not see change as illusory or as a proof of the contradictory nature of being. The fact that an acorn became an oak tree, for example, did not prove somehow that being became non-being or that being came from non-being.

1. Change is a natural process that can be explained (alternatively, there is actually no such thing as change).
2. Forms do not have existence separate from the things by which they are named. Reality is in the specific and observable.

E. Aristotle had a profound love of order.

1. He classified all sciences (that is, branches of knowledge) as theoretical (those that aim at knowledge), practical (those that aim to improve conduct), and productive (those that aim at making beautiful, useful things).
2. He wrote on specific disciplines, such as logic, rhetoric, poetics, and politics.
3. He believed that the communication of what is known (or knowable) depended on careful description. Hence, his "categories": substance, quantity, quality, relation, location, time, position, condition, action, and affection.
4. He laid down rules for syllogisms as a way of testing propositions, which in turn, helped him to discuss both knowledge and communication. He classified 256 kinds of syllogisms, with only 24 of them valid.
5. Thinkers had long understood that knowledge of being depended on causation—how things came to be. Pierre Pellegrin describes Aristotelian causation theory this way:

> There are four ways in which something "is said to be" responsible for something else. In one sense, the responsible element in the statue is the bronze from which it is made; in another sense, a certain numerical relation is responsible for the octave; in still another sense, the one who has promulgated a decree is responsible for it; finally, the health I would like to recover is responsible for the fact that I waste my time at sports... .There are four causes at work in nature: taken in the order of the above examples, these are the material, the formal, the efficient, and the final.

6. The concepts of essence and accident, act and power, provide for his way of assessing being and (non-) change.

F. Ethics for Aristotle were habits that could be inculcated by careful training from earliest youth.
   1. The goal of life is happiness, which Aristotle equated with virtue. Man's goal is to be happy, not to know what happiness is. The virtue of the shoemaker is not to understand the concept "shoe," but to be able to make a shoe.
   2. True happiness is achieved by moderation and self-control. But every person is different, and some are "high-minded."

V. Raphael's famous painting *The School of Athens* has Plato and Aristotle walking side by side.
   A. Plato points upward. Truth, reality, and knowledge of them are not here. Now we have only vague hints or impressions.

   B. Aristotle points down (or perhaps right out in front of himself). Truth, reality, and knowledge of them are right here in this world, but we must study attentively and reason correctly.
   C. As Plato and Aristotle built on the foundations of Greek thought before them, so Western thought ever since has been built on these two pillars.

Essential Reading:

Annas, "Plato," in Brunschwig, ed., *Greek Thought,* pp. 672—692.

Kraut, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to Plato.*

Pellegrin, "Aristotle," in Brunschwig, ed., *Greek Thought,* pp. 554—575.

Recommended Reading:

Plato, *The Last Days of Socrates.*

The Pocket Aristotle.

Questions to Consider:
1. In what ways can you see Plato and Aristotle responding to the challenges thrown up by pre-Socratic philosophy?
2. What do you see as the most significant similarities and differences between Plato and Aristotle?

Lecture Fourteen

The Failure of the Polis and the Rise of Alexander

Scope: Across the fourth century **B.C.,** Greek writers, Plato and Aristotle prominent among them, staunchly defended the polis even as it was failing before their eyes. We'll ask why that was the case and why they did not see alternatives—or, perhaps, in Plato's case, what kind of an alternative he imagined. In the end, it didn't matter because the squabbling Greeks were overwhelmed by their barbarian neighbors to the north, the Macedonians. The attacking wing of the army that doomed the Greeks in 338 was led by the eighteen-year-old Alexander. Two years later, he succeeded his father as king of Macedon—in dubious circumstances—and set out on an unprecedented campaign of conquest. When he died in 323, he had, the legend says, wept for lack of worlds to conquer.

Outline

The fourth century was a terribly difficult time for the Greek world, but the difficulties were not unprecedented.

A. During the Persian Wars, there were quarrels over strategy and some Greek cities *medized,* went over to the enemy.

B. During the Peloponnesian Wars, most of the Greek world was dragged into the battle. Brutality became a way of life.

C. Sparta won and threw out the Athenian democracy, but the Thirty Tyrants quickly discredited themselves, and a more moderate democracy was restored.

D. To finish off the war against the sea-wise Athenians, the Spartan landlubbers turned to Persia, the ancient enemy.

E. For a generation, the Spartans, aided by Persia, which was really pulling the strings, dominated the Greek world.

F. The Thebans then pulled together an alliance to put an end to Spartan rule and established a hegemony for about a decade.

G. The Athenians now recreated a smaller version of their former empire and liberated Greece from Thebes.

H. Meanwhile, to the north, the Macedonian storm cloud was gathering force.

II. The Macedonians were a tough people whom the Greeks called *barbarians* (essentially, "babblers," people who did not speak Greek).

A. Macedon's kings were, however, accomplished rulers.

B. By conquering important silver mines, they secured access to financial resources.

C. Philip 11(382—336 **B.C.)** was a particularly accomplished soldier, a reasonably cultivated man (he hired Aristotle to tutor his son!), and ambitious.

III. Meanwhile, in the Greek world, idealized states and "Panhellenism" were taking hold.

A. Aristotle called man a "political animal": He meant a being who naturally lives in a polis.

1. But he knew perfectly well that poleis had failed badly; he and his pupils studied 158 of them.
2. He imagined an ideal state governed by an oligarchy of aristocrats, that is, "rule by a few" and "rule by the best." It is not so clear how this could come into being.

B. Plato imagined his ideal republic where "Kings would be philosophers and philosophers would be kings." But by the end of his life, he gave up on this

ideal and settled for a very small state where a carefully chosen few saw to the implementation of the laws.

C. Jsocrates (436—338 **B.C.)** gave rise to Panhellenism (literally, "all Greek-ism").
   1. His dream was that all of Greece would unite under Athens and Sparta to undertake a crusade against Persia. He imagined that the Greeks had once been united.
   2. Then, realizing that the Greeks would not bow to one of their own, he tried to persuade people to unite under Philip of Macedon.

B. Meanwhile, Demosthenes (384—322 **B.C.),** Greece's, indeed antiquity's, greatest orator, raised his voice in defense of the autonomy of the polis.
   1. But he also would have wished for a war against Persia.
   2. He delivered four *Philippics* against Philip and saw Macedon as such a threat to Greek liberty that he actually entertained the idea of allying with the Persians against the Macedonians.

E. Amidst a welter of wars, alliances, and idealistic dreaming, Philip attacked.

IV. At Chaeronea in 338, Philip's army won a decisive victory over the Greeks.
   A. The attacking wing was led by Philip's eighteen-year-old son, Alexander.
   B. Philip created a league with himself at its head to govern Greece.
   C. He began making preparations to attack Persia. This might have been his own idea, or **it** might have been suggested to him by the Greeks.
   B. In 336, Philip was murdered in a palace intrigue, the outlines of which are still not clear.
   E. After some work to patch up relations with his father's supporters, Alexander became king.

V. Alexander (356-323 **B.C.)** is an enigmatic figure: large, handsome, athletic, intelligent, charismatic, but also ruthless and immeasurably ambitious.
   A. He was ideologically clever. He depicted his war against Persia as a crusade to even the account for the long-ago Persian attack on Greece.
      1. But he was using this as a cover for sheer imperialism.
      2. He also used his campaigns as a way to distract and reward the Macedonian nobles who might have turned against him at any moment.
   B. Still, one should not minimize the extent of Alexander's military achievement.
      1. With a force not larger than 35,000 men, he conquered the Persian Empire and marched beyond it into central Asia and northern India.
      2. His tactics and personal courage were important, but so, too, was his attention to materiel and supply lines.
   C. Scholars have long thought that Alexander was cosmopolitan, that he fostered a kind of multicultural world.
      1. He incorporated foreigners into his command structure.
      2. He married an Asian princess.
      3. He promoted the study of the regions he conquered.
   D. Alexander died, probably of malaria, shortly before his thirty-third birthday.
      1. He left no institutions in place and no plans, as far as we know.
      2. The question of what he might have done had he lived longer remains open.

VI. Alexander unintentionally inaugurated what we call the Hellenistic world.

A. This was a period when Greek values and culture would dominate the Mediterranean basin.

B. On a grand scale, this is like the other colonizing and imperializing ventures that we have encountered.
C. The spreading of a culture in this way played a decisive role in pouring the foundations for a Western civilization with deep Greek roots, instead of a Greek civilization that passed into oblivion.

Essential Reading:

Green, *Alexander of Macedon.*

Recommended Reading:

Connor, *Greek Orations.*

Questions to Consider:
1. Why do you suppose that people are inclined to adhere so firmly to ideas that they must know to be flawed?
2. Was Alexander "Great"?

Lecture Fifteen The Hellenistic World

Scope: The world after Alexander the Great is customarily called *He/len istic-.—~'Greek-ish,"* or "Greek-like," to differentiate it from the Hellenic, Greek proper, world of the classical period. The Hellenistic world was prosperous and marked by the dominance of Greeks and Macedonians all over the Mediterranean world and far out into the old Persian Empire. Literature and science flourished. Greek became the common language, the *koiné,* of most people. New philosophies, in particular, Stoicism and Epicureanism, spread widely and attracted many followers. We'll ask why "therapeutic" philosophies were attractive. This was a remarkably cosmopolitan time and, on the whole, a good time for women. The Hellenistic world came to an end as, one after another, the Hellenistic kingdoms were conquered by the Romans.

Outline

He/len istic is the name given to the period from the death of Alexander to the Roman triumph in the Mediterranean: 323—31 **B.C.**

A. The name is meant to distinguish between Hellenic proper and Hellenic-influenced.
B. Greek became the *koiné;* Greek art dominant in influence; Greek philosophy regnant but revised.

C. This was a world of empires and kingdoms, not of poleis.

II. On Alexander's death, his leading generals carved up his vast realm.

A. Antigonos—his descendants are called the Antigonids—took Macedon and the Balkans.
1. Gradually, the Greek lands broke away into a league of their own under nominal Antigonid supervision.
2. In the western Balkans, the kingdom of Epirus emerged (we will meet the inhabitants again as enemies of Rome).

B. Syria, Palestine, northern Mesopotamia, and southern Anatolia fell to the Seleucids.
1. Mostly named Seleucus and Antiochus, they turn up in the last books of the Hebrew Bible: Judas Maccabeus revolted against them.
2. They shared rule in Anatolia with Pergamum.

C. Egypt fell to the Ptolemies, whose last ruler was Cleopatra.

B. These kingdoms warred against, and allied with, one another repeatedly, until the Romans conquered them one by one.

III. It is the cultural, not the political, history of the Hellenistic world that is interesting and important.

A. The Hellenistic world was one of vast wealth, easy movement of peoples, rapid cultural dissemination, and genuine cosmopolitanism.

B. Developments in Alexandria are revealing.
1. The city was founded by Alexander (he founded more than twenty).
2. It had 500,000 people by 250 **B.C.** and a million by 50.
3. The scholars in its *Museum* (that is, "house of the muses," or academy of all the branches of knowledge) were learned and professional, not great civic figures as in the polis.
4. Culture was increasingly an object of study, not a part of daily life and debate.
5. Learned, elitist scholars began to develop the idea of a literary canon, of normative texts, of critically defined tastes and standards.
6. Here, we see for the first time, the "ivory-tower intellectual."
7. This opened the gap characterized by C. P. Snow in *The Two Cultures* insofar as many Alexandrians were "scientists" while philosophers worked elsewhere: hence, the division between the arts and sciences instead of the integration that had been the ideal of the Academy and Lyceum.

C. The Hellenistic world was a time of important scientific breakthroughs.
1. Euclid (c. 300) formulated the rules of geometry.
2. Archimedes (287—212 **B.C.)** created all sorts of gadgets and advanced experimental science.
3. Aristarchus (c. 275 **B.C.)** formulated the *heliocentric* theory: the sun is at the center of the "universe."
4. Eratosthenes (c. 225 **B.C.)** calculated the circumference of the earth.
5. Ptolemy (127-48 **B.C.)** systematized astronomical information, created a theory of the motion of the planets and the moon, and added a crucial mathematical element to astronomical theory.

B. The Hellenistic world spawned new literary forms.
1. Apollonius (b. c. 295) wrote *Argonautica,* a work on an epic scale but not an epic; an adventure story and a love story. Jason and his argonauts go in search of the Golden Fleece, but it is the cunning of Medea, not the bumbling brutishness of Jason, that wins the prize. Jason is a hero but not like,

say, Achilles. And no epic would have told a love story. This was entertainment.

2. Menander (342/341—293/289 **B.C.)** was the greatest writer of "new comedy." His *Curmudgeon* is the only surviving complete play. It is intricate, verbally adroit, and very funny. It treats ordinary domestic concerns, the stuff of daily life—.sort of! *Love Lucy* Hellenistic style.

IV. New, and long influential, philosophies also arose.

A. The greatest of these—Stoicism and Epicureanism—may be called "therapeutic" philosophies.
   1. Classical values seemed to have failed.
   2. The world of the citizen had vanished.
   3. Alienation was common.
   4. The focus shifted to ethics: How to live seemed more important than how to know or what to know.

B. Stoicismrose with Zeno (335—263 **B.C.),** who taught at the painted porch *(stoa poikilé)* in Athens.
   1. He believed that knowledge was possible, and he equated knowledge with virtue.
   2. He believed that there was a divine reason that permeated all creation.
   3. Virtue consisted in becoming acquainted with this divine reason, in learning its laws, and in putting oneself into harmony with reason (natural law philosophy would later derive from this way of thinking).
   4. One has, then, a moral duty to learn the laws of nature and to live in accord with them. To do so would bring happiness to individuals and justice to societies.
   5. Pain or distress in life, and even death, are not absolute, final evils. They can be overcome by apathy, which does not mean, "I don't care" but instead means, "I am beyond all pain." Suicide is permitted as, curiously, a form of happiness should pain become too great.
   6. Stoicism taught that all visible differences in the world are accidental and of no fundamental significance. The king and the slave are essentially alike.
   7. Stoicism had a deep influence on Roman and Christian writers.

C. Epicureanism takes its name from Epicurus (341—270 **B.C.),** who also taught in Athens.
   1. The aim of philosophy, for the Epicureans, was happiness, or pleasure.
   2. But this did not mean the hedonism that is often nowadays, and quite wrongly, associated with Epicureanism.
   3. Happiness was defined by Epicurus as "an absence of pain from the body and trouble from the soul." This philosophy was austere in the extreme. Pleasure was equated with renunciation.
   4. Epicurus urged withdrawal from the world, avoidance of stress, and avoidance of extremes.
   5. Pain is occasioned by unfulfilled desire. Therefore, it is sensible to desire only those things that are easily obtained.
   6. The events of life are accidental, and death is merely dissolution of the chance combination of atoms that made us in the first place. Conditions of life are not to be regretted, and death is not to be feared.

V. Rome conquered this Hellenistic world, but its culture conquered the Romans. For several centuries, Roman imperialism locked Hellenistic culture into place and stamped it deeply on all the cultures that would follow the Romans.

Essential Reading:

Green, *Alexander to Actium.*

Lloyd, *Greek Science after Aristotle.*
Long, *Hellenistic Philosophy.*

Reconunended Reading:
Apollonius of Rhodes, *The Voyage of Argo.*

Menander, *Plays and Fragments.*

Questions to Consider:
1. Do any aspects of the Hellemstic world seem comparable to aspects of our world today?
2. Can you see the debts owed by Zeno and Epicurus to Plato and Aristotle?

Lecture Sixteen

The Rise of Rome

Scope: This lecture will begin with a discussion of prehistoric Italy and the geography of the Italian peninsula, insofar as the latter played a role in Roman history. Then, the lecture will continue with a discussion of the modest settlements that gradually grew into historic Rome. We will consider, then, the monarchical period of Roman history from 752 **B.C.** to 509, when—according to tradition—the Roman Republic was founded. The lecture will conclude with remarks on the first two and a half centuries of republican history, basically the period down to the Licinian-Sextian laws in 287 and the outbreak of the First Punic War in 264. In a word, this lecture is about foundations.

Outline

The Romans have been central to the Western tradition.

A. They created stable, efficient political institutions that have been admired and emulated for centuries.

B. They created the most influential secular legal system in the history of the world.
C. They were masters of what we might call civil engineering: Need water fifty miles away? No problem. Rome will build an aqueduct. Need to conquer an enemy ensconced on a 1,300-foot-high plateau? No problem. Rome will build a ramp.

II. In many ways, the Romans were unlikely players on the world stage.

A. They emerged in the plain of Latium (which gave its name to Latin and is called Lazio today) in the center of the Italian peninsula.
B. Italy as a whole is some 750 miles long from the Alps to the sea. But Roman Italy ran from the Rubicon River to the sea.
C. The whole Italian area divides into several distinct regions:
   1. The Po River valley lies in the north, called by the Romans Cisalpine Gaul (Gaul “on this side of the Alps”). The area has rich agricultural land and

a mild continental climate.

2. Liguria-Tuscany was the region north of Latium and Rome. People called the Etruscans lived here when the Romans came on the scene.
3. Campania, literally "the countryside," was the area south of Latium. The Samnites lived here amidst high (more than 2,000 meters), rough mountain ridges.
4. Magna Graecia was the area in the south, the "heel" and "toe," as well as Sicily, where Greeks were a major presence from the eighth century.

B. The Iron Age came to central Italy circa 1000 **B.C.** The first settlements around later Rome date from circa 800. Roman tradition says that their city was founded in the year we call 753 **B.C.**

E. Rome was pretty well sited: fifteen miles inland on a navigable river at a good ford; seven hills provided residential areas above the swampy lowlands and defense in case of attack.

F. But Italy's best harbors faced west and all the "action" in the Mediterranean was in the east; north of Rome, the Etruscans and, south of Rome, the Greeks were major threats; Latium itself was a region of small villages not yet under Roman sway.

III. Tradition says that the Romans expelled the last Etruscan king, Tarquin the Proud, in 509 **B.C.** and created a republic. That tradition bears a little scrutiny.

A. During these two centuries, Rome progressed from a few scattered settlements to a city.
   1. Romans created their *firstforum,* built their first stone buildings, laid out streets, and erected the first walls.
   2. Probably the influence of the Greeks to the south was decisive.

B. This renders controversial the relationship between the Romans and the Etruscans to their north.
   1. The Etruscans are a somewhat mysterious people who lived in twelve small cities and who became rich from farming, mining, and trade.
   2. Roman legend says that the Etruscans conquered the Romans, who then liberated themselves, but probably, there was a long period of rivalry and mutual influence.

C. Tradition says that Rome was ruled by seven kings: kings, yes; seven, maybe.
   1. Kings had broad powers in war, religion, and daily life and left a deep imprint on Rome's later institutions.
   2. Kings were assisted by "fathers" *(patres,* hence *patricians,* "wellfathered ones," like the Greek *eupatrids)* who formed a council called a *Senate* (from *senex* = old man: compare Sparta).
   3. Ordinary people were *plebeians.*
   4. There was an assembly of all citizens that could take legislative initiative, although its measures had to be approved by the Senate.
   5. Early Rome was very much open to foreigners, unlike most Greek cities.

B. Almost all the evidence for the creation of the Roman Republic is late and tends to collapse into a short time development that took decades, maybe centuries.
   1. Two basic changes were crucial: *liberty,* the freedom of the people to participate rather than be ruled by a king, and *republic,* from *res puhlica,* the "public thing"—government, the state itself, was an affair that belonged to everyone. It was not *res privata,* the "private (or personal) thing" of a single ruler.
   2. Because Romans did not embrace the idea of equality, the idea of who the "people" were who were allowed to participate was worked out in the early years of the republic.

E. Two basic mechanisms drove political and institutional change in the early republic.
   1. Poor plebeians wanted land, debt relief, and published laws, while rich plebeians wanted access to public offices that were restricted to patricians.
   2. Rome's patricians carried out a policy of "expanding defense." Towns and regions around Rome were seen as potential enemies; therefore, the Romans attacked and either neutralized or conquered them. This more-or-less continuous warfare demanded participation of the plebs.

F. Several times, the plebs "seceded" from the Roman state to wrangle concessions from the patricians.
   1. Plebs organized themselves into a plebeian council that could pass laws binding on all the plebs. This created solidarity.
   2. Eventually, the plebs got ten tribunes as defenders of their interests. They could veto acts of magistrates or laws of patrician assemblies.
   3. In 449, Twelve Tables bearing laws were erected in the forum.
   4. By 367, the plebeians could be elected *consul*, the highest office in the Roman state.
   5. In 287, the Licinian-Sextian law granted the legislation of the plebeian assembly full binding power on all the Roman people.

IV. By the early decades of the third century **B.C.**, Rome was, formally at least, a democracy and dominant in central Italy.
   A. It remains for us to see how that Roman political system worked.
   B. The middle years of the third century also saw the initiation of the military activities that gained Rome an empire.

   C. Yet already we can see that Rome had been a relatively stable and efficient system, with mechanisms for reforming itself, for much longer than any of the Greek poleis had managed.

Essential Reading:
Barker and Rasmussen, *The Etruscans.*
Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome.*

Recommended Reading:

Livy, *The Early History of Rome.*

Questions to Consider:
1. Thinking about Rome's early political development, what comparisons with the Greek world suggest themselves to you?
2. Can you discern in early Roman history any durable terms or practices of the Western political tradition?

Scope: By the early decades of the third century **B.C.**, the essential characteristics of the Roman republican constitution were in place. This lecture begins by describing that constitution, emphasizing the officers and legislative mechanisms of the Roman state. Then, the lecture considers the reflections on the Roman state of the Greek historian Polybius. He noted in particular Rome's "balanced" constitution, its blend of monarchy, oligarchy, and democracy. We'll ask whether Polybius was right or not. Then we'll ask questions about Roman social values and ideologies to see how these affected the workings of the Roman system. At this lecture's heart are some musings on the distance between ideals and realities in the Roman—or, possibly, in any—system.

Outline

The Roman republican constitution was a combination of institutions, ideologies, social values, and historical experience. We are fortunate to know a great deal

about it.

A. The Roman magistrates operated on the basis of *collegiality* and *annuality:* The officers cooperated formally and informally, and they changed every year.
   1. The highest magistrate was the consul. Two, elected annually, convened the voting assemblies and led the army; ex-consuls entered the Senate automatically.
   2. *Praetors* were the judicial officers. Originally, there were two but, finally, as many as eight. They presided in courts and issued "praetor's edicts" on taking office—these added to the body of Roman law. Ex-praetors entered the Senate automatically.
   3. *Quaestors* were the financial officers of the state. They received taxes, fines, and tributes and let out state contracts for such things as waterworks. They were elected annually but could also be appointed by consuls. Originally, there were two, but this rose to an undetermined number. Ex-quaestors entered the Senate automatically.
   4. *Aediles* had responsibility for the food supply, public buildings and streets, games and entertainments.
   5. Ten tribunes were elected from the plebs and continued to have responsibility for the best interests of the ordinary people and the power to veto acts of the magistrates and assemblies.

Lecture Seventeen

The Roman Republic: Government and Politics

   6. Two censors were elected every five years and served for eighteen months. Their primary task was to set the census status of every citizen (see below) and to legislate on public morality.

B. Rome's assemblies present a slightly confusing image.
   1. The Curiate Assembly from the royal period withered under the Republic, and the Plebeian Council declined after 287.
   2. The Senate was originally restricted to patricians, then opened to former holders of high offices. It passed treaties but could not legislate.
   3. The Tribal Assembly constituted the Roman people organized according to districts, of which there were thirty-three, four in the city and twenty-nine in the surrounding countryside-always a boon to wealthy landowners.
   4. The Centuriate Assembly constituted the Roman people organized according to wealth into 192 *centuries.* The wealthiest Romans made up the majority of the centuries.
   5. Legislation could be introduced by magistrates or ordinary Romans. Bills were read three times in the Roman forum, vigorously debated, and then voted on.
   6. Assemblies used the system of "block voting": There were 33 votes in the Tribal Assembly and 192 in the Centuriate (think of the U.S. Electoral College).

II. The big question is, how did this system work?

A. The first critical point to remember is that deference was paid to age, experience, and tradition.
   1. The oldest member of the Senate—the "prince of the Senate"—spoke first.
   2. The Senate did not pass laws but issued influential opinions *(Senatusconsulta).*
   3. The Senate was made up of former holders of high offices.
   4. Tribes and Centuries caucused before voting, and the *seniores* spoke and voted before the *iuniores.*

B. Patron-client bonds were critical to the operation of Roman society as a whole. The rich and powerful had large numbers of people in various bonds of obligation.

C. A remarkably small number of families—fewer than 100—provided

almost all of the officers of the Roman Republic for the first 400 years of its existence.

1. Historians speak of a "senatorial aristocracy."
2. This is perhaps understandable before the attainment of essential equality between patricians and plebeians but harder to understand thereafter.

D. The central Roman political and social values contributed to the preservation of the system.

1. *Auctoritas:* Romans placed great stress on the eminence, the inner dignity, of their greatest citizens, past and present. This was not, in principle, a matter of wealth or birth.
2. *Mos maiorum:* The "custom of our ancestors" was to the Romans the guiding light in all things. This is how most speeches began.

III. Perhaps the greatest critique and assessment of this system came from the Greek historian Polybius (C. 200—c.1 18 **B.C.).**

A. Polybius was a learned Greek captured by the Romans in Greece and brought back to live for decades in honorable captivity among the most influential Romans.

B. He wrote a history of his times, the sixth book of which is a penetrating evaluation of Rome's system.

C. He wanted to understand how a people so recently barbarian had come to conquer the known world in such a short time.

D. He attributed their success to their "mixed" constitution.

1. Consuls were like kings: monarchy.
2. Senators were like aristocrats: oligarchy.
3. Assemblies were like demos: democracy.

E. Polybius had a characteristic Greek view of the cyclical evolution of politics:

Monarchy~oligarchy~democracy~mob rule*monarchy He believed that the Romans had escaped the cycle.

IV. Was Polybius right? Yes and no.

A. The Roman system was remarkably stable for a long time, and the "mixed" dimension of the constitution was there for all to see.

B. Polybius said nothing about the culture of deference or the senatorial aristocracy.

C. Polybius's views could not address the strains on a small, tradition-bound city-state of the acquisition of world empire.

V. The Roman system has been, in concrete institutional structures and in fundamental ideological notions, formative in later Western political development.

Essential Reading:
Brunt, *Social Conflicts in the Roman Republic.*
Scullard, *Roman Politics.*
Recommended Reading:
Polybius, *Histories* (esp. Book 6).

Lecture Eighteen

Questions to Consider:

1. Can you see how the Roman system was theoretically open and, in practice, closed?

2. Can you detect the influences of the Roman constitution on the Founding Fathers of the United States?

Roman Imperialism

Scope: First, we'll clear up some terminology. Rome, while still a republic, acquired numerous overseas possessions, that is, gained an empire. Eventually, the Roman Republic collapsed in civil wars and turned into the military dictatorship that we call the Roman Empire. This lecture focuses on the first of these phenomena. We will talk about how early Rome expanded in Italy, then encountered the western Mediterranean's "great power": Carthage. Rome fought three wars with Carthage and, in the process, became embroiled in Iberia and in the complicated politics of the eastern Mediterranean. By the end of the republic, Rome had created an empire that stretched from the Atlantic Ocean to Mesopotamia, from the North Sea to the Sahara Desert. We'll try to understand how and why this happened.

Outline

In this lecture, we will explore the emergence and early history of the Roman Empire and discuss some of the ways in which that empire affected Rome. But first, let's clear up the language that we will use.

A. Hearing the term *Roman Empire* may conjure up an image of the far-flung territories over which Rome ruled, or it may suggest the imperial regime, the government of the caesars.

B. In fact, both terms are appropriate, but in different ways at different times.

1. Under the republic—and this is the subject of the current lecture-Rome acquired provinces all over the Mediterranean world, acquired, that is, an empire.

2. Amidst civil wars, Rome's republic collapsed into a military dictatorship: The Roman Empire was born in the sense of a Roman regime in which power was in the hands of emperors. But the empire, in a physical, geographical sense, kept right on expanding.

II. Before Rome got entangled with other peoples in the Mediterranean world—in the *Hellenistic world—the* Romans waged war for two and a half centuries in Italy. (In the last lecture, we alluded to some of the political and institutional consequences of that warfare.)

A. Rome gradually forged the Latin League in Latium. The Latins revolted in the period 340-338 **B.C.,** but the Romans successfully put down the revolt.

B. In 354 **B.C.,** Rome made a treaty with the Sarnnites. A border provocation led to a series of three Samnite Wars (343—290 **B.C.),** which brought Rome to a frontier with Magna Graecia.

C. Some Greeks had aided the Samnites, which Rome considered a provocation. To protect themselves, the Greeks called in King Pyrrhus of Epirus, who was defeated by Rome (Pyrrhus lost because of "Pyrrhic victories"!) during the period 280-276 **B.C.** Rome then dominated Magna Graecia and all of Italy.

III. Certain fundamental and longstanding aspects of Roman military tactics and diplomatic practice emerged already in this Italian phase of Roman expansion.

A. Early Romans seem to have borrowed the *hoplite phalanx* from the Greeks.
   1. This demonstrates a constant theme of Roman history: a pragmatic willingness to borrow what works.
   2. But in mountainous Samnite country, the phalanx was not useful. (Ask a World War II veteran who fought through that country what it is like!) Gradually, the Romans changed their tactics.
   3. By the end of the Samnite Wars, Romans had developed and deployed the legion, bodies of troops arrayed in a checkerboard pattern with great mobility and flexibility.

B. Roman diplomacy was the stuff of legend in antiquity and has been admired and emulated ever since.
   1. Roman diplomacy's first key principle was that of the "just war":
      The gods would not give Rome a victory in a war of aggression; therefore, the Romans always had to assure themselves that they were avenging an attack or, as the theory evolved, forestalling an attack.
   2. The second key principle was generosity toward the conquered. Beginning with the Latins in 338 **B.C.,** Rome's conquered enemies (at least in Italy) were offered very favorable peace terms and accorded a second-class Roman citizenship.
   3. The third key principle was "divide and rule." The Romans rarely made the exact same deal with any two people. Thus, potential foes did not have the same grievances. A corollary of this was the Roman principle that "Your friend is your neighbor but one.
   4. A fourth element was Rome's sheer tenacity. Once embarked on a policy, Rome simply did not abandon it. Rome's enemies came to know this.

IV. In conquering the Greeks of southern Italy, Rome came face to face with the Carthaginians, who had important trading bases in Sicily and who may have lent some aid to Rome's enemies in the Pyrrhic Wars.
   A. Rome fought three Punic Wars with the Carthaginians (264-24 1 **B.C.,** 218—201, 149—146).
   B. Carthage, the old Phoenician colony, was a naval and commercial power. Some conflict of interest between Rome and Carthage was inevitable once Rome became dominant in Italy.

   C. Wars are full of great stories and famous characters.
      1. In the first war, Rome had, initially, no navy. Sources tell us of Romans building ships while would-be sailors practiced in mockups.
      2. In the second war, the brilliant general Hannibal crossed the Alps (from secure bases in Spain: Rome now had a navy!) with elephants.
      3. Faced with a large army and a superb general, Rome first adopted delaying tactics, that is, fought a guerrilla war.
      4. Astonishingly, Rome rallied from a terrible defeat at Cannae in 216.
      5. In 204, Rome took the war to Carthage when Scipio invaded North Africa.
      6. The third war was largely caused by Cato the Elder who ended every speech in the Senate with *Carthago delenda est* ("Carthage must be destroyed"). He would bring in fresh figs to show just how close Rome's foe was. (One is reminded of certain American senators and their nightmares about Cuba.)
   D. Why did Rome win?
      1. Tenacity and determination played a role.
      2. Flexibility in military tactics was important.
      3. Critical was that Rome's Italian allies did not fall away. Roman diplomacy proved its value.

V. During the Second Punic War, the Antigonids had provided some slight assistance to Hannibal. Rome remembered this affront.
   A. Rome fought three wars in the Balkans (199—197 **B.C.,** 17 1—167, 150— 146), the first against Macedon and the other two because various Greek

cities and leagues had supported the Antigonids.

B. In the Second Macedonian War, the Seleucids rendered some aid to King Philip V.
   1. In 188—187, Rome reckoned accounts with Antiochus III and swept his forces from the eastern Mediterranean.
   2. The Seleucid heartlands and Ptolemaic Egypt were still independent, but Rome was already meddling in their internal affairs.

C. After the First Punic War, Rome annexed Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica. These were the first provinces. By 146, Rome had annexed Greece and Carthage.

D. In 133 **B.C.**, King Attalus III of Pergamum, having no heirs, bequeathed his kingdom to Rome. This act symbolized Roman domination of the Mediterranean world.

VI. The consequences of empire were great for Rome.

A. The institutions of a city-state had to be adapted to govern foreign territories.

B. War provided opportunities for wealth and prestige outside the traditional Roman social and political order.

C. Being constantly at war gradually had a corrosive effect on Rome's society.

D. Veteran soldiers became a disruptive force in politics.

Essential Reading:

Badian, *Foreign Clientelae.*

Gruen, *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome.*

Harris, *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome.*

Recommended Reading:

Livy, *The War with Hannibal.*

Questions to Consider:

1.

Lecture Nineteen

The Culture of the Roman Republic

Scope: We may think of Romans primarily as politicians and warriors, but they also created a distinctive culture. We will begin by looking at the social values characteristic of the Roman family to see how foundational these were for Roman public behavior. This will entail a look at the historical and legendary sides of Cato the Elder. We'll look, too, at Roman literature, from the comic poets Plautus and Terence; to lyric poets, such as Catullus and Horace; to the greatest of all Roman poets, Virgil. Greek influences on the Romans will draw our attention, as well. We will also speak of Cicero, Rome's conscience and scold, her greatest booster and most searing critic.

Outline

Like its politics and diplomacy, Roman republican culture was staid, stable, and serious. To understand it, one must start in the Roman household.

A. An aristocratic Roman household comprised *afamilia—the* totality of persons living together in one or more associated dwellings.

B. The head of the household was the *paterfamilias~—the* oldest male member of the *familia,* who had life-and-death power over all members. This society was relentlessly male and hierarchical.

Scholars debate whether Rome was drawn into its conflicts (sometimes called "defensive imperialism") or whether the Romans were aggressive all the time. What do you think?

2. What connections do you perceive between Roman social values and military activity?

C. Romans had a positive cult of their ancestors.

1. Statues, or burial masks, of dead ancestors were kept in every house.
2. Family history was taught to children, especially to boys.

II. Shakespeare to the contrary, Cato the Elder was the noblest Roman of them all; at any rate, he was the most exemplary.

A. Cicero wrote a book on *The Old Age of Cato the Elder* to stress, in his own troubled times, how magnificent the Romans of old had been.

B. Cato (234—149) lived through momentous times. He fought in the Second Punic War and the First Macedonian War. He held the quaestorship, consulship, and censorship.

C. Cato affected a rustic demeanor to avoid all pretense of sophistication. He stood for the sturdy, manly Roman values of olden times.

1. He helped to pass sumptuary laws regulating women's public appearance with respect to cosmetics and jewelry.
2. He also helped to pass a law aimed at keeping "philosophers"— that is, Greeks—out of Rome. He disliked all alien influences.

D. He wrote a book, *Origines,* for his son. It was the first history of Rome written in Latin and was designed less to tell all the facts than to parade examples of Roman virtue.

E. He also wrote *De agricultura,* a manual of farming. Cato's ideal was the citizen-farmer-soldier.

shall be loved then was the time
of love's *insouciance,*
your lust as her will
matching.

III. But as his attempt to ban Greeks shows, the current was already against Cato.

A. From their conquest of the south and their introduction to the

Hellenistic world, Romans learned the culture of the Greeks.

B. Rome's earliest writings, of which little survives, were in Greek.

C. High-born Romans began regularly to hire Greek tutors to instruct the *familia.*

D. In 155 **B.C.,** Carneades (214/213—129/128 **B.C.),** the head of Plato's Academy, lectured in Rome and launched Greek philosophy on its course among the Roman elite. This is what Cato objected to.

E. When Latin literary forms began to emerge, they were deeply influenced by Greeks.

1. The comedian Plautus (254-184 **B.C.)** brought the Greek ~'new comedy" of Menander to Rome. Plautus used stock figures: misers, spendthrifts, braggarts, parasites, courtesans, and conniving slaves. He is riotously funny but not very original or literarily polished.
2. Terence (c. 190- 159 **B.C.)** was likewise influenced by Greek comedy, but his plays present elegant Latin, well-developed characters, and restrained comedy.
3. It is worth noting that the Romans refused to build a theater.

IV. By the last decades of the Roman Republic, Greek influences and a growing Latin literary maturity and confidence had begun to produce poetry of a very high order.

A. Catullus (84-54), from Verona in northern Italy, emulated Greek poets, mastered poetic meters, and treated themes of love with sympathy and emotion.

B. Two poems by Catullus may stand for the others:
1. No.8

Break off
fallen Catullus
time to cut losses,
bright days shone once,
you followed a girl
here & there
loved as no other
perhaps
Bright days shone
on both of you.
Now
a woman is unwilling.
Follow suit
weak as you are
no chasing of mirages
no fallen love,
a clean break
hard against the past.
Not again Lesbia.
No more.
Catullus is clear.
He won't miss you.
He won't crave it.
It is cold.
But you will whine.
You are ruined.

What will your life be?
Who will "visit" your room?
Who uncover that beauty?
Whom will you love?
Whose girl will you be?
Whom kiss?
Whose lips bite?
Enough. Break.
Catullus.
Against the past.

2. No. 70

Lesbia says she'd rather marry me
than anyone,
though Jupiter himself came asking
or so she says,
but what a woman tells her lover in desire should be written out on air & running water.

V. In many ways, the greatest—the most prolific, profound, and synthetic—of the republican writers was Marcus Tullius Cicero (106—43 **B.C.**).
   A. Cicero was an influential public figure in his own day and widely read and admired ever since.
   B. His most well-known writings are his forensic speeches.
      1. These evince a mastery of the rhetorical arts second to none.
      2. Cicero upheld standards of absolute integrity in the conduct of public life (remember that Cato was his ideal).

   C. His political writings, especially *On the Republic*, *On the Laws*, and *On Duties*, took the harvest of classical Greek political thought and added to it Stoic concepts of natural law and traditional Roman ethics.

Recommended Reading:

Cicero, *Selected Works*.

Grant, ed., *Latin Literature: An Anthology*.

Questions to Consider:

1. How do the Roman public values that we have discussed here compare with those of the Greek pole is?

2. Can you see actual examples of these values in practice in the political life of Rome?
   D. He attempted to make a case that "advantage can never conflict with right for.. .everything that is morally right is advantageous, and there can be no advantage in anything that is not morally right."
   E. He also spoke eloquently, but in the end, ineffectively, against tyranny.

VI. We may sum up this account of Roman republican culture by thinking about Rome's greatest hero, Aeneas, the central figure in Rome's epic, *The Aeneid*.

A. We will come back to Virgil and his *Aeneid* in a later lecture, but Virgil lived through the late republic and, in writing his great poem, he looked back ruefully at what might have been.
B. He created, in his Aeneas—Pius Aeneas~—perhaps the dullest figure in epic literature.
C. But he endowed Aeneas with qualities that the best of the Romans always wished to believe were their natural inheritance.
   1. *Pietas:* This does not mean piety in our sense. It means loyalty, reliability, honor.
   2. *Gravitas:* This literally means "weightiness," that is, seriousness.
   3. *Constantia:* This means perseverance, commitment, dedication.
   4. *Magnitudo animi:* Literally, this means "greatness of spirit," but by extension, it implies a devotion to higher causes, not to praise, power, or material well being.

D. It may be that few Romans lived up to these ideals, but the ideals themselves reveal much to us about what the Romans, at their best, wished to be.

Essential Reading:
Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family.*
Ogilvie, *Roman Literature and Society.*
Rawson, *Cicero.*

Lecture Twenty

Rome: From Republic to Empire

Scope: The Roman Republic collapsed in more than a century of civil war, political skullduggery, and ideological realignment. We'll start by asking, simply, what happened in the time between Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus in 133 **B.C.** and the definitive victory of Octavian (that is, Gaius Julius Caesar Octavianus, better know as Augustus) in 31. Then, we'll study why people began to manipulate the stable and centuries-old Roman system. We'll ask what tensions the empire engendered. We will conclude by asking whether people gave up on the old Roman values or whether they—and we—could see that those values were shams all the time.

Outline

Now we will watch the Roman Republic turn into the Roman Empire even as—mind the terms—the Roman Empire goes right on expanding. We'll ask why a system that was so stable for so long collapsed.
A. Was the system itself intrinsically flawed?
B. Did the men who operated within this system in the last century of its existence twist it all out of shape?

II. When Attalus of Pergamum willed his kingdom to Rome, there was a sharp public quarrel.
A. A conservative party wanted no part of the legacy for fear it would just lead to more entanglements in the East.

B. A progressive party led by the brothers Tiberius (d. 133 **B.C.)** and Gaius (d. 121) Gracchus wanted to accept the legacy.

1. The Gracchi wanted to use the money to fund land redistribution to put idle farmers back to work.
2. Conservatives feared that this was a scheme to win political supporters, and some of them illegally held a good deal of the land that was to be redistributed.
3. Tribunes were bribed, and when he himself tried to stand for the tribunate for a second consecutive year, Tiberius Gracchus was murdered. This was the first instance of political bloodshed in Rome.
4. When Gaius carried on with his brother's plans, he and 250 of his allies were murdered by senatorial agents.
5. Perhaps 75,000 people got land, and after the deaths of the Gracchi, the Senate began trying to take the land back
6. The Roman people now were increasingly factionalized into *optimates* and *populares.*

III. Amidst these political crises, Roman armies under traditional senatorial leadership were faring badly in several places, especially in North Africa.

A. In 107, Marius (157—86 **B.C.),** a "New Man" (a man without a family history of political office), was elected consul.
   1. He took over the Numidian campaign and quickly had success. He was a fine soldier and an honest man.
   2. He also professionalized the Roman army, which made the army proper, in addition to veterans, a force to be reckoned with in Roman politics.
   3. Senators were furious at Marius, even before he held the consulship several times in a row. This was not strictly illegal, but it was highly unusual.

B. After 100, Marius withdrew a bit from the public scene, but he remained an influential *popularis* leader.
   1. In 90, Rome's allies in Italy rebelled.
   2. Marius won the "Social War" (war with the *socii)* of 90—88 **B.C.,** and in the end, the allies got Roman citizenship.
   3. Marius's recent successes alarmed the *optimates* even more.

C. Simultaneously, in Anatolia, Mithridates attacked Roman territory and killed Roman merchants and tax collectors.
   1. The Senate assigned to the *optimate* Sulla (138—78 **B.C.)** the task of punishing Mithridates.
   2. Marius was jealous and waged a battle against Sulla and his forces.
   3. When Sulla returned from the east, Marius was dead, but Sulla marched on Rome and massacred Marius's followers, then issued proscription lists.
   4. This was the first time that such violence, on such a scale, had been seen in Roman politics.

D. One immediate lesson of the careers of Marius and Sulla was that a man had to gain control of an army to make his way in the new Roman politics.
   1. The first to act on this lesson was Pompey (106—48 **B.C.),** who began with a command to clear pirates from the Mediterranean and wound up with several further campaigns.
   2. Close on his heels came Julius Caesar (100—44 **B.C.),** who got a consulship in 63 and began angling for a major military campaign.

E. Caesar, Pomp ey, and Crassus wound up pooling their financial and political resources in the "First Triumvirate," an ad hoc arrangement forged in 60 **B.C.**
   1. Caesar wanted a military command in Gaul to win wealth and glory and enhance his political support.
   2. Crassus was the richest man in Rome but a rather unsavory character. He wanted a military command in the East to gain an aura of legitimacy.
   3. Pompey wanted laws passed providing for landed pensions for his veterans.
   4. Cicero and others protested in vain against this outrageous manipulation of the Roman system.

IV. While Caesar was spending eight years in Gaul, Roman politics changed dramatically.

A. Crassus, a better swindler than soldier, died on campaign and vanished from the scene.

B. Pompey became the creature of the *optimates* and helped to pass laws designed to ruin Caesar.
C. By 49 **B.C.,** Caesar had been backed into a corner: If he laid down his command and returned to Rome as a private citizen, he would be destroyed judicially. If he retained his command, he was, in effect, declaring war on Rome. Believing he had no choice, he "crossed the Rubicon."

V. Rome now plunged into a generation of civil war.
A. In the first phase, Caesar defeated the forces of Pompey and established himself as dictator.
1. Many key figures of late republican politics lost their lives in this period, including Cicero.
2. Caesar's dictatorship was reasonably enlightened and included many reforms, such as the calendar.
3. In general, Caesar, and everyone else for that matter, was trying to find a solution to the almost complete collapse, or corruption, of the traditional Roman political system.
B. In 44, a group of disgruntled senators murdered Caesar. They may have honestly believed that Caesar was the obstacle to a return of republican politics and values, but this was a foolish hope.
6. But what was Octavian's position? We'll answer this question in the next lecture.

VI. What happened to the Roman Republic?
A. The opportunities and challenges presented by the empire devastated the old political system.
B. Power, influence, and unimaginable wealth could be won in the empire and deployed in Rome with no checks by the traditional system.
C. People became inured to violence and quite willing to use it against fellow citizens.
D. Disruptions in the countryside led to countless numbers of landless, rootless people who felt no sense of commitment to any old-fashioned values.
E. Greek culture, for all its glories, eroded the simple, sturdy values of traditional Rome.
F. Aristotle once said that in an ideal state, all citizens could be summoned by the cry of a herald. That may not be practical, but the Roman experience makes one think.

Essential Reading:
Bernstein, *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus.*
Gelzer, *Caesar.*

Gruen, *Last Generation of the Roman Republic.*

Questions to Consider:
1. Can you think of other political systems in which people manipulated the rules to gain their own advantage?

2. In looking at the last century of the Roman Republic, do you see a story of human failures or of the crush of impersonal trends and forces?
C. Rome now degenerated into thirteen years of renewed civil war.
1. There was, first, a "Second Triumvirate," consisting of Marcus Antonius (Shakespeare's Mark Antony), the heir to Caesar's forces; Octavian, Caesar's nephew and adopted heir; and Lepidus, who happened to have an army under his command.
2. The triumvirs first defeated the forces of those who killed Caesar.

3. Then Lepidus was shunted aside.
4. For several years, Octavian and Antony stared each other down.
5. At Actium in 31, Octavian defeated Antony and became supreme in the Roman world.

Lecture Twenty-One

The Pax Romana

cope: When Augustus emerged triumphant from the civil wars, he was named *princeps*—~*'first* citizen." Historians refer to the regime he inaugurated as the *principate.* Generally, this regime is held to have lasted until **AD.** 180, when Marcus Aurelius, the last of the "Good Emperors," died. This period was marked by peace, security, prosperity, and good government. But it had a darker side, too: The historian Tacitus wryly remarked, "Rome made a vast desert and called it peace." We will take up Tacitus's challenge and try to decide if the "Roman Peace" was a good thing or a bad thing. But first, we'll try to understand how it worked.

Outline

Moving quickly and deftly, Octavian (31 **B.C—AD.** 14) inaugurated a new regime at Rome that proved stable and successful for two centuries.

A. The brute reality was that Octavian controlled Rome's armies.
B. Instead of flaunting his military power, of ru ling like a dictator or despot, Octavian, in 27 **B.C.,** made a show of offering to return all his powers and authority to the Senate.
C. Even those who opposed him realized that without Octavian, the state would descend into anarchy.
   1. Therefore, Octavian was confirmed in power and awarded a number of honorific titles.
   2. Among these titles, *Augustus* became the commonest.
D. Augustus decided to rule as *princeps,* "first citizen," and his new regime has been called the "Augustan Principate."
E. Central to the principate were two basic policies.
   1. Augustus sometimes held one or more of the republican magistracies but regularly permitted elections to be held and prominent citizens to hold office.
   2. Augustus retained control of the richest or most militarily insecure provinces but permitted elite citizens to hold important posts in other provinces.
F. Augustus was also personally committed to traditional Roman morality and culture; even those who opposed his political control nevertheless embraced his cultural orientation.
G. Most important, Augustus brought peace and security after a century of chaos.

II. Augustus was faced with a succession problem.

A. Partly this was attributable to the central contradiction of the regime: a despotism masquerading as a magistracy.
B. Partly this was attributable to the fact that Augustus had no heir: He had only one child, a daughter, Julia, who did not produce an heir.
C. Finally, Augustus adopted as his heir Tiberius, a son of his second wife by her first marriage. He assumed the imperial office without incident; there was no return to civil wars.

III. From 14 to 68, Rome was ruled by members of the Julio-Claudian family, direct or indirect descendants of Julius and Augustus Caesar.

A. The Julio-Claudians were an odd lot: Tiberius was old and suspicious and probably a pederast; Caligula was crazy; Claudius was physically handicapped and paranoid; Nero was an unbalanced genius.

B. Caligula was assassinated, Claudius was poisoned, and Nero committed suicide.

C. Nevertheless, new territories were added (for example, Britain), the empire was well governed, and Roman finances were put on a sound footing.

D. The Julio-Claudian period is an eloquent tribute to the genius of Augustus's regime.

IV. A year of civil war in 69 did not return Rome to the turbulence of the late republic.

A. Four generals in succession competed for the imperial office, with the last of them, Vespasian (69—79), making good his claim.

B. The Flavian dynasty of Vespasian and his sons, Titus (79—8 1) and Domitian (8 1—96), ruled effectively until Domitian's growing autocracy earned him assassination.

C. Rome then experienced a century of stability, prosperity, and good government under the "Five Good Emperors": Nerva (96-98), Trajan (98—117), Hadrian (117—138), Antoninus Pius (138—161), and Marcus Aurelius (161—180).

1. Under Trajan, the empire reached its greatest extent in territory with the conquest of Dacia (roughly today's Romania).
2. Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius were serious intellectuals.

D. Of this world, the incomparable Edward Gibbon said:

> In the second century of the Christian era, the Empire of Rome comprehended the fairest part of the earth, and the most civilized portion of mankind. The frontiers of that extensive monarchy were guarded by ancient renown and disciplined valor. The gentle but powerful influence of laws and manners gradually cemented the union of the provinces. The peaceful inhabitants enjoyed and abused the advantages of wealth and luxury. The image of a free constitution was preserved with decent reverence: the Roman senate appeared to possess the sovereign authority and devolved on the emperors all the executive power of government. During a happy period **(AD.** 98—180) of more than fourscore years, the public administration was conducted by the virtue and abilities of Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, and the two antonines.

Historians refer to the period from Augustus to Marcus Aurelius as the *Pax Romana:* the "Roman Peace."

A. The wry historian Tacitus (whom we will meet in more detail in the next lecture) made two critical points about this period.

1. First, he said, the "Romans have made a great desert and called it peace.
2. Second, he observed that the unspoken secret of the principate was that the army could make, and unmake, the emperor.

B. Nevertheless, at the heart of the regime, a partnership between the emperors and the senatorial elite worked well.

1. It was important here that Augustus had remade and expanded the old republican elite, incorporating more Italians and even some provincials.
2. Senators did not try to seize the imperial office or to restore the republic.

C. Even if Rome's peace was imposed by force on people who had not asked for it, it provided many benefits.

1. Peace within a vast zone promoted trade, and a lack of local disturbances permitted agriculture to flourish.
2. Provincials did not have to fear cross-border depredations.

3. Roman law, roads, public amenities (baths, theaters, temples, markets) served the interests of all people.
4. Cities flourished.

D. How did the Pax Romana work?
1. First, Rome asked for relatively little, primarily, taxes and loyalty.
2. The Roman regime was too small to demand much, and Rome had no desire to interfere in people's daily lives.
3. The process of Romanization was a slow, steady, largely voluntary project.
4. Local elites wanted to get on good terms with the Romans and eagerly adopted Roman ways.

VI. Despite all the positives, and Gibbon's glowing assessment, the storm clouds were gathering, as we will see in a later lecture. Still, the fact that Rome's empire eventually vanished should not blind us to the remarkable successes of its first two centuries. A betting person would have put a substantial wager on Rome in 180.

Essential Reading:

Garnsey and Saller, *The Roman Empire*.

Millar, *The Emperor in the Roman World.*

Raaflaub and Toher, eds., *Between Republic and Empire.*

Shotter, *Augustus Caesar*.

Syme, *The Roman Revolution.*

Questions to Consider:

1. Put yourself in Octavian's position in 31 **B.C.** What would *you* have done?
2. Do you agree with Tacitus's assessment of the Pax Romana?

Lecture Twenty-Two

Rome's Golden and Silver Ages

cope: Whatever we may think of the stark realities of political and military life under the principate, this was a time of stunning cultural achievements. Indeed, albeit not always quite accurately, much of what people think of as characteristically Roman was built or written in this period. We'll talk about the poets—Ovid and Virgil, again—of the Golden Age (essentially the age of Augustus himself) and the Silver Age (the period after Augustus, running into the second century). We'll talk of historians, such as Tacitus; philosophers, such as Seneca and Marcus Aurelius; and satirists, such as Martial and Juvenal. Having gotten a feel for the literature of the principate, we will turn to its architecture, both to see what is distinctive and interesting about it and to see how it expresses the values of the age.

Outline

The inception of the principate established several crucial conditions that were conducive to a high level of cultural achievement:

A. Peace and security after a century of disturbances.
B. Wealth and a willingness to use it to promote culture—patronage.
C. **A** climate in which reflection on Rome's past and character was natural.

I. The reign of Augustus, often called the "Golden Age," was one of the greatest ages of poetic achievement in all of Western history.
A. Virgil (70-19 **B.C.**), called by Tennyson "wielder of the stateliest measure ever formed by the mouth of man," was incomparably the greatest of them.
1. His is a "composed" epic: Although there are stories and legends behind the *Aeneid*, Virgil composed this poem from beginning to end.
2. Although remembered mainly for the *Aeneid*, Virgil also composed the *Georgics* and *Eclogues*, moving and technically accomplished poems in praise of the countryside and the charms of traditional rural life.
3. But the *Aeneid* is one of the true masterpieces of world literature. Its theme is the somber dignity of Rome's past.
4. In the almost dirge-like quality of the poem's dactylic hexameters (six-footed lines, the fifth foot of which is always a dactyl), we meet, at line 33 of Book I: *Tuntae molis erat Romanarn condere gen tern.* No pompous cheerleader, Virgil! This means: "Oh what a tremendous job it was to found the Roman people."
5. From the time when Aeneas carries his aged father, Anchises, on his back out of a burning Troy, we know that he has embarked on a mission from which he will not be deterred.
6. Along the way, we see family devotion, honesty and integrity, determination, courage, and humanity: all the "typical" Roman virtues.
7. Yet Aeneas was harried by Juno, the goddess who had favored the Trojans. Venus, Aeneas's patroness, went to her father, Jupiter, to ask if he were going to remain true to his promises. Virgil put these words into the mouth of the chief of the gods and, in doing so, told us something about the optimism of the early years of Augustus's reign and of the ways the Romans saw themselves:

ate remains unmoved
For the Roman generations. You will witness
Lavinium's rise, her walls fulfill the promise;
You will bring to heaven lofty-souled Aeneas.
There has been no change in me whatever. Listen!
To ease this care, I will prophesy a little,
I will open the book of fate. Your son Aeneas
Will wage a mighty war in Italy,
Beat down proud nations, give his people laws,
Found for them a city...
To these I set no bounds in space or time;
They shall rule forever. Even bitter Juno
Whose fear now harries earth and sea and heaven
Will change to better counsels and will cherish
The race that wears the toga, Roman masters
Of all the world. It is decreed.

B. Ovid (43 **B.C—AD.** 18) was learned, accomplished, and prolific.

1. He wrote love elegies (the *Amores)*, a didactic spoof *(The Art of Love)*, an epic-scale encyclopedia of mythological tales *(The Metamorp hoses)*, and other works.
2. There is, in Ovid, a spirit of play and a sense of deep feeling.
3. Consider one of his elegies:

Maidens, give ear, and you shall hear
What is your chiefest duty,
Pray listen well and I will tell
You how to keep your beauty.
'Tis care that makes the barren earth
Produce the ripened grain.
'Tis care that brings tree-fruit to birth
With grafting and much pain.
Things that are cared for always please,
And now each man's a dandy, A girl must be as spruce as he
And have her powder handy.

C. The elegant Horace (65—8 **B.C.),** sage, urbane, Epicurean, was prized in his own time and ever since.
1. Patronized by Macaenas (who gives his name to patrons and patronage), Horace was one of those who flourished under Augustus.
2. He wrote odes, epodes, satires, letters, and a treatise on poetry.
3. Here is a seventeenth-century translation of one of the odes:

Strive not, Leuconoe, to know what end
The gods above to me or thee will send;
Nor with astrologers consult at all,
That thou mayest know what better can befall:
Whether thou livest more winters, or thy last
Be this, which Tyrrhene waves 'gainst rocks do cast.
Be wise! Drink free, and in so short a space
Do not protracted hopes of life embrace:
Whilst we are talking, envious time doth slide;
This day's thine own; the next may be denied.

D. Epic in scale, uncommonly beautiful in language, but all in prose was the great *History* of Livy (59 **B.C—AD.** 17).
1. He did in prose what Virgil had done in verse: told the Romans the tale they wanted to hear about themselves.
2. In the process, he tells us a great deal of what we actually know about early Rome and how the Romans in the time of Augustus "constructed" their own past.

III. The period after Augustus until well into the second century produced another literary outpouring, usually called the "Silver Age." History, philosophy,

rhetoric, and satire were its chief achievements.

A. In history, three authors command attention.
   1. Tacitus (c. 55—c. 117) was the greatest of Rome's imperial historians. He wrote monographs, such as *On Britain* and *On Gerrnany,* but is chiefly remembered for his *Histories* and *Annals* that treated the imperial period. He created fine pen portraits of individuals but ma inly wished to put virtue and vice on display. He had made his peace with the imperial regime but not with the excesses it produced.
   2. Suetonius (c. 70—c. 140) was not a great stylist, but his *Lives of the Twelve Caesars* (that is, of the emperors beginning with Julius Caesar) created unforgettable portraits.
   3. Lucan (39—65) was a Spanish poet and historian who was put to death by Nero. He wrote the *Pharsalia,* a verse account of the civil wars of the late republic between Caesar and his foes. His work is full of trenchant political commentary, often providing a ringing defense of political freedom.

B. Among philosophical writers, pride of place goes to the Stoic Seneca (4 **B.C—AD.** 65), another writer who fell afoul of Nero. He wrote tragedies, dialogues, treatises, and letters.
   1. The emperor Marcus Aurelius was also a significant Stoic writer.
   2. His brooding *Meditations* was read for centuries as the deep reflections of a man faced with the awesome responsibilities of power who was all too aware of his huma n shortcomings.

C. In rhetoric, one name stands out, that of Quintilian (c. 35—c. 100), whose *Institutions of Oratory* constituted for the West the standard manual of the rhetorical art until modern times. These works remind us that in classical antiquity, education was based on training in public speaking.

D. Rome produced several satirists.
   1. Lucian (c. 125—c. 200) came from Syria and wrote prose satires in Greek in which he poked fun at both mythical and historical characters and, by implication, at almo st anyone.
   2. Juvenal (c. 60—c. 136) wrote sixteen verse satires dealing with hypocrites, the travails of the poor (especially of poor writers like himself), women's faults (as he saw them!), ambition, pretentiousness, and people's despicable treatment of one another. He language is rhetorically sophisticated, but his message is earthy and unsparing.
   3. Martial (c. 40-104), a Spaniard, composed some 1,500 mostly satirical epigrams. He could be rough and crude for effect, but he was a polished stylist and, a t his best, hilarious. Consider:

> You disappoint no creditor, you say?
> True, no one ever thought that you would pay...
> You blame my verse; to publish you decline;
> Show us your own, or cease to carp at mine...
> The verse is mine; but friend when you declaim it, It seems
> like yours, so grievously you maim **it...**
> Why don't I send my book to you
> Although you often ask me to?
> The reason's good, for if I did,
> You'd send me yours-which God forbid!

V. The principate was also a time of stunning architectural achievements.

A. Some of these were at once remarkable pieces of engineering and powerful ideological statements.
   1. The Pont du Gard was a bridge built in the time of Augustus as part of the aqueduct that brought water to the city of Nimes from the hills near Uzès some fifty miles away.
   2. Hadrian's Wall stretched right across Britain, partly to control the movement of people and partly to make a statement in the landscape about the might of Rome.

B. Other buildings were urban amenities that also made ideological s tatements and have been recognized as masterpieces of architecture.
   1. The Pantheon in Rome (27—25 **B.C.)** was round, with an arched roof and architectural details as decorative elements. The use of the arch, in the roofing and as supporting elements in relieving arches, permitted the Romans to span greater spaces than Greek post-and-lintel construction could.
   2. The Flavian Amphitheater (that is, the Colosseum) is a felicitous mixture of architectural styles both structural and decorative. Seating some 80,000, it permitted games and displays on a vast scale in Rome.

V. Today's traveler in the Mediterranean world can see the ghosts of Rome all around. Until recently, schools taught the authors of the principate. Architects still study the buildings of this era. All roads still lead to Rome, in a way.

gssential Reading:
3alinsky, *Augustan Culture.* vlcNeill, *Horace.*)gilvie, *Roman Literature and Society*. ~amage, *Roman Art.*

F~ecommended Reading:
Virgil, *The Aeneid.*

)uestions to Consider:
I. Are you familiar with Roman authors of this period? If so, what can you discern about the period from the authors you know?

Roman architecture was to a degree ideological. Can you think of ideological messages connected with modern buildings?

Lecture Twenty-Three

Jesus and the New Testament

Scope: It is a safe bet that no one in the early first century would have predicted that a movement of world-shaking proportions was going to arise in the small, poor, insignificant region of Palestine. Yet this is what happened. This lecture will begin with a look at the world in which Jesus lived, then turn to the writings that came to be called the New Testament. Our interest will focus on how those documents can be used as historical sources for the life and teachings of Jesus. The lecture will conclude with the relatively modest information about Jesus and his work that can be stated with confidence.

Outline

In the long run, the most momentous development of the Pax Romana was the emergence of a new religious faith that would eventually sweep the Roman world before it.

A. This is not a phenomenon that contemporaries expected or that seems so obvious in prospect as it does in retrospect.
   1. Christians were a tiny sect in a small, backward, unimportant province.
   2. The Mediterranean world was rich in mythical, religious, and philosophical experience. It would not have been easy for any newcomer to make its way.
   3. The cults of the Roman world were not casual, not parts of people's private sphere.
   4. Religion constituted *ta patria*, one's paternal inheritance.
   5. The calendar, basic events of life, public buildings, literary culture, and so on were all deeply marked by religion.

B. In the second place, from *a strictly historical point of view*, our sources are late and limited in what they tell us.
   1. The oldest written materials are the Pauline and Catholic Epistles that date from 49 to 62. These represent a first attempt to begin to systematize teaching and to create an official version of the past. They give evidence of controversy.
   2. The Gospels were written between the 60s and the 80s, perhaps even the early 90s.
   3. Mark is the first Gospel, circa 65, but Papias said in the second century, "Matthew wrote the oracles in Hebrew." No such text survives, but it is possible that Matthew prepared an Aramaic book of some kind, then revised it, in Greek, in line with Mark's narration.
   4. The Gospels differ a good deal: Only Matthew and Luke have the "infancy narrative" (the Christmas story), and they differ. The version most people have in their minds is a composite. Matthew's is the most Jewish of the Gospels and begins with the long narration of the genealogy of Jesus (all the "begats"). Luke frankly admits that some others have told the story, but he is going to try again. John offers less narration and more focus on doctrines.
   5. Scholars have long discussed the "synoptic problem": the literary relationship among the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke. Of the 661 verses in Mark, more than 600 appear in Matthew and some 350 in Luke. But there are about 200 in Matthew and Luke that do not appear in Mark.
   6. The commonest explanation is the "two document hypothesis Mark plus "Q" *(quelle,* German for "source") yields Matthew and Luke with the differences between them attributable to authorial style and intent. No one has ever seen Q. It is, by the hypothesis, a collection of the *logoi,* the sayings of Jesus. (In older Bibles, these were the words printed in red.)
   7. In antiquity, history was "the public deeds of great men" and biography was the revelation of character. Thus, we cannot expect biographical accounts of the life of Jesus to tell us all that we would like to know.

II. What, then, do we know with reasonable certainty?

A. Jesus was born in Bethlehem, in Judaea, but grew up in Nazareth, in Galilee. He was presented in the temple for his circumcision a few days, presumably, after his birth, and he appeared in the temple at about the age of twelve. These are the only surviving details of his youth.
   1. When already a man, Jesus went down to the Jordan River and was baptized by John ("the Baptist"). Jesus then began to preach publicly throughout Galilee. After a period that is traditionally said to be three years, but the length of which cannot be fixed precisely, Jesus went down to Jerusalem.
   2. In Jerusalem, the teaching of Jesus aroused the ire of various factions, who denounced him to the Romans. To maintain peace, the Romans acquiesced in Jesus's public execution on a Friday. In the firm belief of his followers, Jesus rose from the dead on the following Sunday. For a few weeks more, he appeared from time to time to various groups of people before he ascended into heaven.

B. This narrative has to be patched together from the four Gospels because no single one of them gives the whole story straight through.

C. The account is riddled with historical puzzles. We can mention only a few by way of example.

1. Luke says that when Jesus was born, Quirinius was governor of Syria and that Jesus was born in Bethlehem, where his parents had gone to register for a census. Inscriptions prove that there was a census when Quirinius was in Syria, but this was in what we call **AD.** 6 or 7. There was another census in what we call 8 **B.C.,** but no Quirinius in Syria as yet. Matthew and Luke both mention King Herod. He died in what we call 4 **B.C.** Most scholars, therefore, believe that Jesus was born between 8 and 4 **B.C.**
2. Luke says (3.1—3) that John the Baptist began preaching in the fifteenth year of the reign of the Emperor Tiberius. This would be **AD.** 26—27 AD in the Syrian reckoning and 28—29 in the Roman. Did Jesus meet John immediately after he began preaching or some time later?
3. Tradition—and only tradition—says that Jesus was thirty when he began his ministry and that he preached for three years. Much later, Christian chronographers decided that he began his ministry in what we call **AD.** 30 and that he died in 33. In fact, he would have been somewhere between thirty and thirty-six when he began his ministry, and we have no sure information on when he died.

D. We need to remember that these are historian's puzzles left for us by writers who did not share our interests or curiosity.

III. What can we say about the teaching of Jesus?

A. As to technique, we have a number of indications.

1. Jesus used parables, an old Jewish custom.
2. He regularly quoted the Hebrew Scriptures, then explained their meanings; this is just what a rabbi would do.
3. He spoke in all sorts of places, before all kinds of different groups. What seems most striking is his relative familiarity with women.
4. On occasion, he appeared as a charismatic healer; he let his actions speak for him.

B. Jesus himself and those who wrote about him anchored him in the Jewish tradition.

1. He, and they, spoke constantly of fulfilling prophecies.
2. He said he had come to fulfill, not abolish, the law.
3. When a Pharisee tried to trick him, he quoted the law (these are the two great laws, love God and love your neighbor).

C. The central elements in his own teaching were few and simple.

1. He had come to call people to repentance.
2. The Kingdom of God was at hand (although what this meant was, and is, subject to interpretation).
3. He subverted the world's ways: Love the poor, the meek, the hungry, the suffering; take up for the Samaritan; hurl accusations only if you are totally pure.
4. The disposition of the heart is more important than the letter of the law, as we see in many different parables.

V. Still, however attractive he and his teachings may have been, Jesus had been executed as a common criminal and he did not appear to have many followers. As things stood in the mid-30s, Jesus was no more than a minor footnote in ancient history. But we *know* that things turned out rather differently. We'll turn to that story in the next lecture.

~ssential Reading:

ohnson, *The Real Jesus.*

~ecommended Reading:

~ew Testament (esp. Matthew, Romans, I Corinthians, Acts).

7~uestions to Consider:

I. Compared with other figures from antiquity, do you have the impression that we know more or less about Jesus than we do about them?

~. How does Jesus compare, in both methods and ideas, with other great teachers from antiquity?

Lecture Twenty-Four

The Emergence of a Christian Church

Scope: This lecture opens with a return to the New Testament writings, this time to see what they can tell us about the formation of a durable church in the last decades of the first century. Then, we turn to writings of various kinds, both authentic and apocryphal, from the second century to see what light they shed on the continuing growth of the Christian church as an institutional reality and as an increasingly self-conscious community of beliefs and practices. We end by summing up the various factors that contributed to the success of the Christian movement.

Outline

What sort of a movement did Jesus think he was founding?

A. This matter is deeply controversial, and history can provide only some clues.

B. In Matthew's Gospel, Jesus twice used the word *church*. This does not appear to be the same as the Kingdom of God. By the second century, *church* was a name for an institution that had emerged because of the teachings of Jesus. The question that each person who cares must answer for himself is whether this institution was foreseen by Jesus.

C. Some clues come from his earliest followers.

1. After the resurrection, a group of about 120 met to choose a successor to Judas, who had betrayed Jesus. This implies a certain "corporate" mentality.

2. In Acts of the Apostles (2.42), we read, "They remained faithful to the teachings of the apostles, to the brotherhood, to the breaking of bread, and to prayers." This implies communities that assumed they were to behave in common ways.

3. The apostles were the original disciples of Jesus who accompanied him during his ministry. After Jesus's death, they decided, consciously and as a body, to obey his last command to them: "Go forth and teach all nations."

4. Paul, an early Jewish convert to Christianity and the new faith's greatest missionary and second greatest teacher, founded new communities, corresponded with communities, and corresponded with other leaders. There was clearly some sense of a network of leaders and, implicitly, some kinds of connections among different communities (at the very least, they received visitors and prayed for one another).

5. Paul uses the word *church* regularly of the community in a particular place.

From some of Paul's letters, we get hints about the organization of individual Christian communities.

A. We read in various places in Paul's letters of officials called *overseers, elders,* and *servants.* These words have passed most commonly into English usage as *bishop, priest,* and *deacon.*

B. It is hard to see how bishops and priests differed in Paul's thinking. They both presided at worship, taught the faithful, and instructed new converts. It appears that every community had officers like this. It is not clear, but initially unlikely, that there was any hierarchical distinction between them.

C. Deacons were clearly people (usually, but not exclusively, men) who facilitated the work of the leaders and served the community.

D. Around 100, Bishop Ignatius of Antioch speaks of "monarchical bishops." By the end of the second century and the beginning of the third, we hear of "metropolitan bishops."

E. It appears that the expanding Christian church was adapting itself to the administrative geography of the Roman Empire.

1. Many communities (we might say "parishes" today) existed in most cities, and gradually, the oldest priest (or elder) came to have a hierarchical and supervisory role over all the communities in the town. He was the overseer in a literal sense.

2. Within provinces of the empire, there were "mother cities," that is, provincial capitals, and the overseers in those cities began to supervise the overseers in individual towns. A highly articulated structure was growing.

II. Early Christian apologists began to explain the new faith to the ancient world.

A. Justin Martyr (c. 100—c. 165) wrote *A Dialogue with Trypho the Jew* to differentiate between Christianity and Judaism, and he wrote his *First Apology* to Emperor Antoninus Pius to argue that Christians were good and loyal subjects of the empire.

B. Bishop Ignatius of Antioch (c. 35—c. 107) wrote a series of letters to other Christian communities affirming basic doctrines and warning against false teachers.

C. In the second century, then, we can see a clear sense that Christianity was a distinctive faith, not a version of something else, and that it had teachings that were regarded by some, but not by all, as authentic atid binding.

[V. What factors primarily account for the success and spread of Christianity?

A. Most converts were not articulate. Those who were stressed the compelling nature of the basic teachings.

B. Even Christianity's bitterest foes praised the admirable quality of the lives of the Christians.

C. The heroism of the martyrs attracted people. From the time of Domitian, Christianity was illegal, but Christians were not harassed systematically before the third century.

D. Christianity was a universal faith: open to all ethnic groups, all social classes, both genders. Most ancient cults, by contrast, were severely restricted.

E. Christianity was an exclusive faith. Christians could not just add one more god to all the old ones. They had to renounce all other religious allegiances.

F. Christianity was compatible with many aspects of classical culture and particularly similar to Stoicism.

G. Christianity was a historical faith. Jesus had lived and taught in the present. Roman writers (such as Tacitus) mentioned him. This was not one more

myth placed at the dawn of time.

H. Christianity had a particularly strong appeal to women.

I. Christianity developed a large-scale and highly articulated organization, something no pagan cult had.

J. The peace, security, and ease of transportation provided by the Pax Romana aided Christianity immensely.

Essential Reading:
Fox, *Pagans and Christians.*
Frend, *Rise of Christianity.*
Meeks, *First Urban Christians.*

Questions to Consider:
1. Can you think of ways in which a historical view of Christianity's growth might conflict with a doctrinal view of the same topic?

2. How would you assess the various factors offered in this lecture to account for Christianity's success?

Abbasids: Dynasty of caliphs (q.v.) from 750 to 1258. Moved capital to Baghdad and fostered brilliant culture. Gradually declined in power as regions broke away and Turkish mercenaries acquired real power.

Acropolis: The elevated region of a polis used for civic celebrations and defense.

Aediles: Roman republican officers, two elected annually, who had responsibility for food supply, public buildings, games.

Aeneid: Twelve-book epic poem on Roman origins by Virgil, characterized by praise of traditional Roman virtues.

Agoge: Name for the "training," the traditional way of bringing up Spartan males.

Agora: The market; a key component of any Greek polis.

Anabaptists: Literally "rebaptizers," this is a catchall name for adherents of the "radical reformation," those who felt that Lutherans and Calvinists had not gone far enough in rooting out "papism." Prominent on Europe's frontiers.

Angevin Empire: Name for the lands in France held by the kings of England of the Angevin dynasty beginning with Henry II (r. 1154-1189).

Anglo-Saxons: Catchall name for various peoples from northern Germany and southern Denmark who settled in England from 450 to 600 and built small kingdoms.

Antigonids: Dynasty of rulers who succeeded to one of Alexander's generals. They ruled the Balkans until the Romans conquered them in a series of secondcentury wars.

Arianism: See Anus in Biographical Notes.

Armada: Great fleet sent by Catholic Spain against Protestant England in 1588 that ended in failure.

Assyrians: A Semitic-speaking people who arose in Mesopotamia in the second millennium **B.C.** and, after about 900 **B.C.,** built a large and cruel empire centered on Nineveh. Defeated by a coalition led by Neo-Babylonians and Medes.

Augsburg Confession: A statement made in 1530 of the essential doctrines of Lutheranism. Prepared by Luther's associate Philip Melanchthon (1497—1560).

Augsburg, Peace of: A settlement made in 1555 between Lutherans and Catholics in Germany, which included the principle ***"cuius regio, eius religio."*** Princes could dictate the religion of their lands and people were free to stay and

practice that religion or migrate elsewhere. The settlement ignored Calvinists, yet was the first example of religious toleration in Europe.

Avesta: Holy books of Zoroastrianism (q.v.).

Babylonian captivity: Derisive name for the period when the popes were in Avignon (1305—1378).

Barbarians: To Greeks, babblers, people who did not speak Greek; to Romans, people outside the empire. The word gradually acquired more acutely negative connotations.

Beowuif Finest Anglo-Saxon poem. Epic account of the struggles of Beowulf, his kin, and companions with legendary monsters. Variously dated from 750 to 900 or even later.

Bishops: "Overseers" in Greek, the chief religious and administrative officers of the Christian church.

Black Death: Devastating outbreak of bubonic plague in 1348; killed one-fourth to one-third of the population.

Book of Common Prayer: Issued under the aegis of Queen Elizabeth I (r. 155 8—1603) in 1569 as a service book for, and theological statement of, what came to be called Anglicanism, that is, the English *via media* between Catholicism and Protestantism.

Bretwalda: Contemporary name for early Anglo-Saxon kings who claimed some wide-ranging authority: "broad-wielders" or "Britain-wielders."

Caliph: Successor to the prophet in Islam. Originally held only Muhammad's secular authority but, over time, acquired some responsibility for custody of the faith.

Capetians: Name for the ruling dynasty of France from 987 to 1328.

Capitularies: Legislation in chapters *(capitula)* issued by Frankish kings.

Cappadocian fathers: Basil the Great (c. 330-379), his brother Gregory of Nyssa (c. 330—395), and Gregory Nazianzus (329—389) were among the greatest Greek Church fathers. They wrote especially on Trinitarian and Chris tological issues.

Cardinals: Key officers of the Catholic Church. Emerged in late antiquity and achieved real institutional prominence in the twelfth century. Served as papal electors.

Carolingians: Dynasty of Frankish rulers whose most famous member was

Charlemagne *(Carolus Magnus).* Became kings in 751 and ruled until 911 in Germany and 987 in France.

Cathars: Dualist heretics, in the ancient Zoroastrian-Manichaean tradition, who were prominent in southern France from the mid-twelfth century to the early thirteenth. Especially common around Albi, whence the name Albigensians.

Censors: Roman republican officers, two in number, elected every five years to serve for eighteen months. They determined the economic status of citizens for voting purposes and legislated on public morality.

Centuriate Assembly: Roman republican voting assembly consisting of all Roman citizens organized by "centuries," or wealth groups. Used "block" voting, that is, there were always 192 votes, one for each century.

Chaeronea, Battle of: Macedonians, led by King Philip II and his son Alexander, defeated the Greeks in 338 **B.C.**

Chivalry: The social ethos of the medieval wari-ior-aristocracy that emphasized prowess, courage, loyalty, and generosity. The conduct proper for a knight, a man who rode and fought on a horse *(cheval).*

Christian humanism: Term applied to scholarship of Renaissance figures in northern Europe who tended to study the Bible and Church fathers rather than the Greco-Roman classics.

Christology: The branch of Christian theology that explores how Jesus Christ can be true God and true man.

Church fathers: Greek and Latin Christian writers (from the time 300-750 but, especially, 350—450) who set norms for biblical interpretation and explained key Christian doctrines.

Cisalpine Gaul: Roman name for the Italian area between the Alps and the Rubicon River, literally "Gaul on this side of the Alps."

Cistercians: Monks of Citeaux, in Burgundy, or their allies; a community of reformed Benedictine monks who sought primitive purity. Spread rapidly in the twelfth century.

Cluny: Great monastery founded in Burgundy in 910 to be free of all lay control. Tremendously influential well into the twelfth century, not least because of its famous abbots.

Columbian exchange: Name for the process whereby Europeans and peoples in the New World exchanged crops, livestock, and germs.

Comedy: A dramatic work that may be fantastic or ridiculous, whose humor may be riotous or mordant, and which may have powerful contemporary resonance.

Communes: Urban institutions in Italy involving fairly wide political participation by the elites.

Complutensian Polyglot Bible: Produced around 1500 at the University of

Alcala in Spain, a scholarly edition of the Bible with parallel columns in different languages and elaborate notes.

Conciliarism: Doctrine spawned during the Great Schism (q.v.) maintaining that Church councils and not the popes are supreme in the Church.

Consul: Highest officer in the Roman Republic. There were two, elected annually, who led armies, proposed legislation, and convened assemblies.

Corinthian: Name for one of the three Greek orders; pertains particularly to the columns characterized by fluting, more-or-less elaborate pedestals, and Acanthus-leaf capitals. This style was especially favored by the Romans.

Corpus Iuris Civilis: Massive codification of Roman law carried out (529—532) by a commission headed by Tribonian under the aegis of Justinian (see Biographical Notes).

Council of Trent (1545—1563): Most important Catholic Church council of the Reformation era. Affirmed traditional Catholic teachings and instituted many reforms.

Counter-Reformation: From the 1560s, an effort by the Catholic Church to win back areas lost to Protestants. Most effective in Poland and southern Germany.

Covenant: Central idea in religious faith of the Hebrews. Calls for a mutual, reciprocal pact between God and his chosen people.

Crusades: Long series of "armed pilgrimages" between 1095 and 1291 designed to liberate the Holy Land from the "Infidel," that is, Muslims. The French were most prominent in the Crusades. Papal leadership was sometimes effective, but the overall results were limited.

Cuneiform: Literally "wedge shaped"; customary name for the writing used in Mesopotamia.

Dominicans: Mendicant order founded by Dominic de Guzman (1170-1221) in southern France. Their ideal was to combat heresy by acquiring great learning and living exemplary lives. The order produced many great scholars.

Dorians: Greek speakers who migrated from Thessaly to Peloponnesus after about 1200 **B.C.** and settled around Sparta. Greek legend remembered them as invaders.

Doric: Name for one of the three Greek orders; pertains particularly to the columns characterized by convex shape, fluting, lack of pedestals, and simple capitals.

Edict of Milan: Decree in 313 whereby Constantine granted legal toleration to Christianity.

Ephors: Overseers who, in the Spartan system, judged the validity of laws.

Epicureanism: Philosophy that stressed happiness or pleasure, defined as absence of pain or strife (not hedonism, as it later came to be understood).

Equals: See *homoioi*.

Etruscans: Mysterious people, probably of eastern Mediterranean origin, who

lived north of Latium and dominated the emerging Romans until about 500 **B.C.** Excommunication: Ecclesiastical punishment by which a person is denied the sacraments of the Church and forbidden most kind of ordinary human interactions.

Federates: People who had *afoedus*, a treaty, with Rome; usually along frontiers.

Feudalism: Social and political regime in which public services and private bonds alike were arranged by vassals (q.v.), men who have sworn mutual pledges to one another, and fiefs (q.v.; from *feudum)*, something of value, usually land, (a manor q.v.), which was exchanged between the lord and the vassal. There never was a uniform "feudal system" in medieval Europe in any one place or time.

Fief: From *Latinfeudum*, this was something of value that was assigned by a lord to a vassal in exchange for loyalty and some particular service, normally military.

Five Good Emperors: Extremely competent and successful Roman emperors from 96 to 180: Nerva, Trajan, Hadrian, Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius.

Franciscans: Mendicant order founded by Francis of Assisi (1181/1182—1226) based on poverty and service to outcasts. Tremendously popular but riven by factional strife over the question of individual versus corporate property.

Franks: Germanic peoples who gradually moved south from the Rhine mouth toward Paris, and built powerful kingdoms under the Merovingian and Carolingian families of kings.

Frieze: A continuous, usually narrative, sculptural program incised into or attached to the surface of a building.

Great Schism: Period between 1378 and 1417 when two or even three rivals claimed to be the legitimate pope.

Hadith: The sayings of the prophet Muhammad. Collected and written down, they are studied in the Islamic world as a source of religious guidance, although not on a par with the Quran.

Hagia Sophia: The church of "Holy Wisdom" built in Constantinople on Justinian's orders. Owed much to traditional Roman architecture but also innovated. Isidore of Miletus and Anthemius of Tralles were the principal architects.
Hellenistic world: Period from the death of Alexander the Great in 322 **B.C.** to the Roman triumph in the Mediterranean in 31. A time of large kingdoms and empires in which Greek cultural influences were dominant.

Helots: State-owned slaves in ancient Sparta, mainly Messenian people who lived to the west of Sparta and whom the Spartans conquered after 750 **B.C.**

Henotheism: Belief by some group or people in one god without denying the existence of other gods. (Sometimes called *monolatry.)*

Hieroglyphics: A pictographic form of writing in which representational symbols stand for words or ideas. Prominently used in ancient Egypt.

Hiyra: The "flight," or pilgrimage, of the prophet Muhammad from Mecca to Medina in 622. Taken in the Islamic world to inaugurate a new era.

Hittites: Indo-European—speaking and institutionally precocious people who rose in Anatolia in the third millennium **B.C.,** expanded south into Syria and Palestine, and fought debilitating wars with the Egyptians after about 1400 **B.C.**

Homoioi: Adult male Spartans. Full citizens at Sparta.

Hoplites: Heavily armed Greek infantrymen who fought in phalanx formation.

Huguenots: Name for French Protestants of the Calvinist variety; derives from a medieval romance about a King Hugo.

Humanism: Term with varied meanings: love for literary culture of antiquity; concern for human beings; interest in secular rather than theological issues. Often coupled with Renaissance figures.

Hundred Years War: Conflict between France and England (1337—1453) rooted in the longstanding controversy over English royal holdings in France. The English won most battles, but the French won the war.

Huns: Fierce nomadic warriors from the frontiers of China who appeared on the Roman scene around 370 and pressured the western empire until their defeat in 451.

Hyksos: Semitic-speaking peoples from Palestine who conquered Egypt about 1700 **B.C.** and ruled at least the Nile delta region for approximately 150 years.

Iliad: Poem about Ilion (= Troy) by the mysterious poet Homer, who may have come from Asia Minor. The Greeks believed that Homer composed the poem, but he may have done no more than give familiar form to one telling of a tale that circulated orally in many versions. Probably dates from about 750 **B.C.**

Indulgences: In Catholic theology, the remission of some portion of the temporal punishment for sin. Subject to massive abuses in the late Middle Ages.

Inquisition: Ecclesiastical judicial process for the identification and reconciliation of heretics. Followed basic principles of Roman law.

Institutes of the Christian Religion: Text by John Calvin (see the Biographical Notes), originally written in 1536, that became the standard exposition of Reformed Christianity. Based on the Ten Commandments, Lord's Prayer, and Apostles Creed.

Interdict: Ecclesiastical censure whereby most sacramental services are forbidden in a defined area to pressure the rulers of that region.

Investiture Controversy: Institutional and ideological battle between popes and German emperors in the eleventh and twelfth centuries; finally won by the popes at great cost to the Germans.

Ionic: Name for one of the three Greek orders; pertains particularly to the columns characterized by graceful thinness, fluting, complex pedestals, and scroll-like capitals.

Isaurians: Ruling dynasty in Byzantium (717—802). Defended frontiers, issued new laws, carried on with development of the *theme* system, and promoted iconoclasm (the removal or destruction of devotional images).

Islam: From *al-Islam,* "the surrender," the customary name for the faith taught by the prophet Muhammad and involving a complete surrender of the self to Allah.

Israel: Collective name for the Hebrew people or the name of the northernmost of the two kingdoms that emerged after the death of Solomon with a capital at Samaria. Conquered by the Assyrians in 722 **B.C.**

Jesuits: Common name for the religious order called the Society of Jesus, founded in 1534 by Ignatius Loyola (see Biographical Notes). The order is dedicated to poverty, chastity, and obedience to the pope. Its members are famous as teachers, scholars, and missionaries.

Judah: Southernmost of the two kingdoms that emerged after the death of Solomon with a capital at Jerusalem. Conquered by the Neo-Babylonians in 586 **B.C.**

Julio-Claudians: Direct or indirect heirs of Julius Caesar: Augustus, Tiberius, Caligula, Claudius, Nero.

Knossos: Site of huge palace complex built by Minoan kings of Crete.

Krypteia: The Spartan secret police who watched over the *helots* and the Spartans.

Lateran Councils: Church councils called by the popes to facilitate the governance of the Church. The most important was the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215.

Latium: The semi-circular plain surrounding Rome. Called Lazio today, it gave its name to Latin.
Lepanto, Battle of: Great victory by Spanish naval forces over the Turkish fleet in 1571 as part of Spain's self-appointed role as protector of Christendom.

Licinian-Sextian Law: In 287, this law granted the decisions of the plebeian assembly the full force of law and made the plebs equal in the Roman constitution.

Linear A: Name for writing found on Minoan Crete. Not yet deciphered.

Linear B: Name for writing found in Mycenean Greece. Deciphered by Michael Ventris in the early 1950s as a primitive form of Greek.

Lombards: Germanic people who entered Italy in 568 and gradually built a strong kingdom with rich culture, especially in law, only to fall to the more powerful Franks in 773—774.

Macedonians: Byzantine dynasty (867—1034), which presided over military successes, economic prosperity, and brilliant cultural achievements.

Magna Carta: The "Great Charter" that English barons forced King John to sign in 1215. The charter forced John to cease abusing royal and feudal prerogatives and to accept the superiority of law to royal whim.

Manor: Normal English name for medieval estate consisting of a lord, the person for whom the estate was exploited, and the dependent peasants, often but not always serfs. Manors were usually bipartite in that some portion was reserved to the support of the lord and some part reserved to the peasants themselves.

Medes: People who lived in the Zagros Mountains, aided in the fall of the Assyrians, and allied with the Persians.

Mediterranean triad: Name for the three traditional and widely disseminated crops: cereal grains, olives, and grapes.

Mendicants: Begging orders that arose in the thirteenth century. Franciscans (q.v.) and Dominicans (q.v.) were the most prominent.

Metics: Resident aliens in Athens; a substantial fraction of the population and unable to participate politically, although sometimes rich and influential.

Minoan: Name (from the legendary Minos) for the brilliant culture on the island of Crete between 2200 and 1500 **B.C.** Its main center was at Knossos.

Missi Dominici: Itinerant envoys of the Carolingian kings who inspected the work of local officials and implemented royal decisions.

Monk: Christian ascetic who in principle lives alone but in practice lives in some form of community.

Monolatry: See henotheism.
Monophysitism: Christian heresy prominent in the eastern Mediterranean holding that Jesus Christ had only one true (divine) nature. Condemned by the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Still influential among west Asian Christians.

Monotheism: The belief in the existence of only one God.

Mycenae: City (flourished 1400-1200 **B.C.)** ruled by Agamemnon, leader of the Greek forces at Troy. Also gives its name to the earliest phase of Greek history.

Neo-Babylonians: See Nebuchadnezzar in Biographical Notes.

Neolithic Revolution: A set of processes that began about 10,000 years ago leading to the rise of agriculture and the domestication of animals.

Ostrogoths: Germanic people who built a kingdom in Italy under their king, Theodoric (r. 493—526), only to fall to the armies **of** Justinian (see Biographical

Notes).

Papal State: Lands in central Italy ruled by the papacy beginning in the eighth century.

Parliament: An English institution that grew from the royal court and the consultative function of the king's leading men. Emerged in the thirteenth century but took hundreds of years to reach the full potential of its powers.

Parthenon: Magnificent Doric temple built on Athenian acropolis between 447/446 and 438, with sculptures completed in 432. Chief architects were Ictinus and Callicrates; the chief sculptor was Pheidias.

Paterfamilias: Eldest male in a Roman household, who possessed life-or-death powers over all members of the family.

Patricians: "Well-fathered ones," the original social and political elite of Rome.

Patristic Era: The period of the Church fathers *(patres;* q.v.).

Peloponnesian War: Contest between Athens and its empire and Sparta and the Peloponnesian League (431-404). At issue was Sparta's fear of Athenian dominance in the Greek world.

Peroikoi: "Dwellers about"; resident aliens in ancient Sparta.

Persians: People from the Persian (now Iranian) plains who allied with the Medes, built a huge empire, and provided many examples in government and culture.

Persian Wars (490, 480—478 **B.C.):** Wars fought heroically on Greek soil and waters; took place when Persians invaded to avenge mainland Greek assistance given to Asia Minor Greeks who had rebelled against Persian rule.

Petrine theory: Idea advanced by Roman bishops that as Peter was leader of the Apostles, the successor to Peter is the leader of the Church. Based on Matthew 16. 16-19.

Pharaoh: Customary name (from *per* aa, meaning "great house") of the rulers of ancient Egypt.

Phoencians: A Semitic-speaking Canaanite people who inhabited roughly what is now Lebanon and who began planting trading colonies in the western Mediterranean after about 900 **B.C.**

Pillars of Islam: Five practices that characterize the Islamic faith: profession of faith, fasting, daily prayer, generous almsgiving, pilgrimage to Mecca.

Plebeians: Original lower classes—economically, socially, politically—at

Rome, who struggled over some two centuries to gain full political participation.

Poetics: Title of a book by Aristotle that is the first work of literary criticism.

Polis: City-state, the classic Greek political institution, consisting of an urban core and an agricultural hinterland.

Polytheism: The belief in the simultaneous existence of many gods.

Pope: The bishop of Rome who, on the basis of the Petrine theory (q.v.), the historical resonances of Rome, and various historical circumstances, achieved a leading position in the Catholic Church.

Praetors: Chief judicial officers of the Roman Republic. Initially two, then as many as eight. Elected annually.

Predestination: Doctrine particularly associated with John Calvin holding that all souls were absolutely predestined from before all time to either salvation or damnation.

Primogeniture: From *primus genitus,* "first born," a social and political system whereby lands, offices, and titles were transmitted to the oldest male.

Principate: Name for the Roman regime inaugurated by Augustus Caesar as *princeps*, or "First Citizen." Contrasted with "Dominate" of Diocletian (see Biographical Notes).

Protestant: Latin word meaning "they protest" that appeared in a document of 1529. Became a catchall designation for persons who left the Catholic Church and their descendants.

Ptolemies: Dynasty of rulers in Egypt descended from one of Alexander's generals. The last one, Cleopatra, was defeated by Rome in 31 **B.C.**

Punic Wars: Three wars (264—241 B.C., 218—201, 149—146) between the Romans and the Carthaginians (the "Puni," or "Poeni," that is," purple people," meaning Phoenicians). Roman victory brought domination of the western Mediterranean.

Pyrrhic War: War between the Romans and King Pyrrhus of Epirus (280-276 **B.C.)** in which Pyrrhus won battles but so depleted his resources that he eventually lost (hence, "Pyrrhic victory"). The war was occasioned by Roman expansion into southern Italy and generated Roman involvement in the Balkans.

Quaestors: Chief financial officers of the Roman Republic. Initially two in number, elected annually.

Quran: The sacred book of Islam. A series of recitations, gathered in chapters called *surahs,* given by the angel Gabriel to the prophet Muhammad.

Reconquista: The centuries-long (eighth to fifteenth) and frequently interrupted war in which Christian powers beginning in the northwest of Iberia retook the peninsula from the Muslims who invaded in 711.

Renaissance: Generally means "rebirth," specifically of the literary culture of Greco-Roman antiquity. The term was traditionally applied to Italy during the period 1300 to 1550 but is increasingly applied to all periods of significant cultural efflorescence.

Romances: Works, usually in prose but sometimes in verse, in many languages, often set in Arthurian contexts, about entanglements of love, loyalty, honor, and duty. Often reveal the courtly side of chivalry, the aspect involving relations between men and women.

Samnite Wars: A series of three wars (343—290 **B.C.)** in which the Romans defeated the Samnites, peoples who lived to the south of Latium. This war brought the Romans directly into contact with the Greeks of southern Italy.

Scholasticism: Catchall name for the intellectual culture of high medieval Europe; more technically, the intellectual methods of the schools and universities based on logic.

Seleucids: Dynasty of rulers in Syria, Palestine, and Mesopotamia who descended from one of Alexander's generals. Conquered by the Romans in the first century **B.C.**

Senate: Originally the patrician-dominated assembly of Rome but later a body of
former office holders. Made treaties and issued influential opinions but did not legislate.

Septuagint: Greek version of the Hebrew Bible, allegedly prepared by seventy translators in seventy days in Alexandria. Seven books longer than the Hebrew version. Authoritative still in Orthodox churches.

Song of Roland (c. 1100): First work of French literature. Heroic account of Charlemagne and his peers on a virtual crusade. Breathes the chivalric ethos.

Sophists: Popular but controversial wandering teachers in the second half of the
fifth century who, for often exorbitant fees, would teach the arts of rhetoric, that is, the arts of persuasion.
Stoicism: Hellenistic philosophy that stressed calm, obedience to natural law, adherence to moral duty, essential equality of all. Founded by Zeno.

Summa: A compendious, systematic work purporting to survey a whole field of knowledge. Best known are the *summas* of Thomas Aquinas (see Biographical Notes).

Sunna: The "good practice," or the habits and customs of the prophet Muhammad, studied in the Islamic world as a guide to life but not on a par with the Quran.

Syncretism: The tendency, often manifest in religion, to adopt and adapt ideas and practices from neighbors, conquerors, or even those whom one has conquered.

Synoptic problem: Term that refers to the perceived literary relationships among the "synoptic" Gospels: Matthew, Mark, and Luke.

Tetrarchy: "Rule by four" instituted by Diocletian. Two *augustuses* and two *caesars* would jointly rule the empire and provide for orderly succession. Only partially successful in practice.

Themes: Byzantine military districts having soldiers settled on the land who were mustered by local generals. *Themes* developed gradually after 600 and partially replaced the professional standing army paid by general tax revenues.

Theocratic kingship: Form of royal rule that emerged in Mesopotamia, then appeared in many Western societies. Maintained that kings ruled as specially designated agents of the gods to whom they were answerable.

Three-field system: Agricultural regime with one field in spring crops, one in fall crops, and one fallow. Increased productivity over the two-field system. Introduced, probably, in Carolingian period and disseminated later.

Torah: The first five books of the Hebrew scriptures, traditionally ascribed to Moses.

Tragedy: A dramatic work meant to evoke fear and/or pity whose major character, perhaps owing to a fatal flaw, suffers deeply and may be brought to ruin. The character may also earn the audience's respect through a heroic struggle against fate.

Tribal Assembly: Roman republican assembly consisting of all Roman citizens
organized into thirty-three voting districts. Used "block" voting, that is, there were thirty-three votes, one per "tribe."

Tribunes: Plebeian officers in Roman Republic, ten in number elected annually,
charged with looking out for the interests of the plebs.

Trinity: The Christian doctrine according to which one God exists in three distinct persons (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit).
Triumvirate, First: Informal alliance of Caesar, Crassus, and Pompey in 60 B.C.
designed to secure military commands for the first two and generous settlements for the military veterans who had served under the third.

Triumvirate, Second: Formal alliance among Octavian, Lepidus, and Antonius in 43 **B.C.** by which they were to share rule in the Roman Empire.

Trojan War: Traditional date 1194-1184 B.C. Contest between Greeks (i.e., Myceneans) and Trojans immortalized in Homer's *Iliad.* Allegedly, the Greeks were avenging the abduction of Helen, the wife of King Menelaus of Sparta. Probably a commercial conflict or one incident in a long economic rivalry.

Troubadours: Wandering poets, both men and women, of love themes , they revealed the ethos of courtly love. Most well known are the French but comparable to the German *Minnesänger.*

Twelve Tables: First codification of Roman law, posted in the forum in 449 **B.C.**

Tyranny: A form of one-man rule, usually with popular support after social struggles, that emerged in many Greek cities between 700 and 500 **B.C.**

Um.ma Muslima: The community of all those who have made *"al Islam,"* not confined to any political or ethnic boundaries.

Umniayyads: Dynasty of caliphs (q.v.) from 661 to 750 who moved the capital of the caliphate to Damascus and did much of the work of building institutions.

University: Medieval institution made up of either a guild of masters or of students. Faculties included arts, theology, law, medicine. Oldest were Bologna in Italy and Paris in France.

Vandals: Germanic people who crossed the Rhine in 406, raided in Spain for a generation, crossed to North Africa, practiced piracy in the Mediterranean, and fell to Justiman (see Biographical Notes) in 532—534.

Vassal: A free man who willingly pledged *auxilium et consilium,* aid and advice, to another man in return for protection and maintenance, the latter often a fief (q.v.).

Vernacular: Languages, or other cultural manifestations, that are not in Latin.

Vikings: Catchall name for those Scandinavians who raided Western Europe, the north Atlantic islands, and Slavic realms between 793 and the mid-eleventh century.

Visigoths: Germanic federates who crossed the Danube into Roman territory in 376, defeated a Roman array in 378, sacked Rome in 410, settled in Gaul under Roman auspices in 418, lost to the Franks in 507, and migrated into Spain and created a kingdom that finally fell to the Muslims in 711.

Vulgate: Latin translation of the Bible prepared by Saint Jerome (see Biographical Notes) on the order of Pope Damasus.

Ziggurat:Temples built in Mesopotamia of mud brick and timber and having the form of a trapezoid.

Zoroastrianism: Principal religion of the ancient Persians. Revealed in songs *(gathas)* in the Aves ta, the holy books of the religion. Consisted of the teachings of Zarathustra (dates controversial), who stressed dualities.