

# ZEUS      HERA

From the domestication of plants and animals to the present.

Holocene Era ("Recent" Epoch) of the Quaternary Period (from 12,000 YA).

Pater ipse colendi  
haud facilem esse uiam uoluit, primusque per artem  
mouit agros, curis acuens mortalia corda  
nec torpere graui passus sua regna ueterno.  
Ante Iouem nulli subigebant arua coloni:  
ne signare quidem aut partiri limite campum  
fas erat, in medium quaerebant, ipsaque tellus  
omnia liberius nullo poscente ferebat.

—*Georgics*, I.121–28

to ~2000 **Gradual end of the last—or at any rate the latest—Ice Age**

As the climate more or less stabilizes with the end of the Ice Age, forests replace grasslands and open woodlands in Europe, and the large animals that characterized the earlier landscape vanished. Sea levels rose. (*NG* 7/00.)

The current interglacial period should last about 30,000 years. (On factors contributing to glaciations, see *Astronomia*.)

**1 Neolithic Revolution**

10,000 BCE

Approximate midpoint of the developments known as the Neolithic Revolution (-2000–2000 T.H.). (The term and concept originated with V. Gordon Childe.) With respect to geology or biological evolution, the span of time since this benchmark is almost insignificantly brief. But within this span has occurred everything done by humanity that matters to us in detail. (The “Recent” Epoch of the Quaternary Period is counted as beginning 10,000 YA, about the end of the Neolithic Revolution). For a useful, if on some points dated, summary, see Cole, *NR*.

Cole, *NR*.50: “The earliest Neolithic settlements were probably situated on hill slopes above the ‘fertile crescent’ of western Asia, and on the uplands of Anatolia, where sufficient rainfall allowed the growth of wild wheat and barley; or by springs at lower levels (such as Jericho: mcv after Cole). It was not until later that communities moved to the flood plains of the great rivers of Iraq.

The development of agriculture and animal husbandry in this period transformed the life of humanity and humanity’s relationship to the rest of nature. “The domestication of livestock, together with the selective cultivation of certain plants, provided the foundations upon which all other aspects of the Neolithic Revolution must have initially depended. This guarantee of a variety of foodstuffs close at hand, and more certain throughout the year than ever before, must have occasioned considerable mental re-organization on the part of settled communities and reduced the anxieties inseparable from day-to-day survival by hunting and collecting.” (Brothwells. For more such points, v. Cole, *NR*. Recent knowledge and theories of domestication: *SN*7/8/17.21.) Sumner, *AHB* 40: Now we have the luxury of selecting food plants based on taste, texture, and color, but the earliest edible vegetables, fruits, and seeds were domesticated based strictly on practical criteria: the absence of toxic secondary compounds, the ease of propagation and preparation, and the potential for long-term storage during winter months. Grains . . . are particularly useful as a storable crop.”

Melzer, David J. *First Peoples in a New World*, 372 n 19: Grass seed is in fact nutritionally inefficient, due to the effort and time needed to process it for edibility. (mcv: it is more reliable, though). Thus it came to be eaten only late, (mcv) under pressure of increased population and depletion of more efficient resources.

The key difference between wild and domestic grains (rice and western grains, as well as quinoa and also other food plants) is that the seed-bodies of wild varieties scatter easily and mature at different times, characteristics that make the plants better adapted to changing conditions in the wild but less amenable to harvesting. Human care, either agriculture proper or “wild gardening”, would change the equation. Harvesting methods that favored the retention and re-seeding of seed with domestic characteristics, in combination with the planting of the harvested seed in new patches that had not been seeded naturally by the unselected seed, could have resulted in domesticated varieties within just a couple of centuries.

mcv: It is possible that one advantage of paddy rice culture was that it didn’t require weeding. In a *NG* article (4/30.429), some information is given on rice culture in Louisiana at that time: “The two to four inches of water, through which the rice grows until two weeks of harvest time, drowns out all weeds and choking grasses.” Irrigation, of course, contributes to overhead; in Louisiana, the cost equalled “one fifth of the rice crop”, but that normally included pumping from nearby canals by powered machinery (there were no windmills), “the usual lift of water is from six to eighteen feet.” I doubt pumping was a normal cost in early rice culture, and irrigation might be a much more time efficient activity than weeding the entire field, leaving more time and flexibility for other activities.

The development for which the period was named was the use of grinding to shape stone tools and implements (notably querns). This allowed the use of tougher stones that were not amenable to flaking, and gave many more options for shape and function. (Cf. Cole, *NR*, 30ff.) Also Wilson, *CTF* 153: use of querns first became common in this period, and spread over the next ~5K years (the first found date from ~20KYA, near galilee, with traces of barley); grinding grain became women’s work; the rotary quern is first known from Britain, ~9600–9700.

V. *SN* 8/30/08.22–25 for a summary of recent ideas on the drastic genetic and evolutionary effects of this transformation of human life, still ongoing. Among these: Greater vulnerability to disease, due to crowding (esp. amid the poor sanitation of the times—mcv); this especially affected infant & child mortality; a number of mutations related to disease resistance have been found. Despite the increased reliability of subsistence nutrition, an overall decrease in health caused by deficiencies (e.g., in iron, zinc, vitamins A and B12) due to a

change from a diet in which meat was prominent to one based on vegetable food; elsewhere the increased reliance in grains in particular has been pointed out. Increase in serious warfare (rather than small raids carried out by a very few persons) due to competition for agricultural lands. Increased demands on language abilities, both hearing and speaking—these are the main focus of the article, which describes mutations in inner-ear structures that took hold in some populations from 40,000 to as little as 2,000 (duo milia) YA.

Villages are characteristic of Neolithic culture.

An important implication of sedentary culture is that people didn't have to carry pre-ambulatory children with them as they moved from place to place, which removed a major constraint on reproduction.

"In prehistoric times, as indeed until comparatively recently, travel was mainly by water." (Cole, *NR.*) Travel, as opposed to diffusion of populations; water would be the preferred means for that, but likely to lead to conflict with previously diffused advanced populations: mcv.

Basketry predates pottery (q.v.); Cole, *NR.42* gives the earliest known remains as from Shanidar, ~1100.

Some sources say pottery and textiles were also developed in this period. But these have also been reported from earlier periods: v. supra, including 30–25 kya for textiles; also ceramic figurines (but perhaps not pots or containers) go well back into the paleolithic. Pottery found in Japan, dated to 10,000 BCE, has been called "the oldest pottery in the world". (Maddin et al.; Mithen likewise) Cole, *NR.42ff*: Pottery may have been developed from a technique of lining baskets with clay; note also the similarity of coiled pottery to coiled basketry, "the earliest and still the most important form of basketry"; early pottery was often decorated to imitate features of baskets; pottery actually requires rather a bit in the way of technology; the potter's wheel was a much later development, arising only with metal-using urban civilizations. (Note that Shinichi Fujimura, who claimed to have pushed pottery back 700,000 years, was shown to have faked findings for the last 30 years, discrediting all his own work and throwing doubt on accepted knowledge of prehistoric Japan.—*Asahi Shimbun*, 5/28/02.) Mithen has pottery, at least in Jericho, postdating other developments by about a thousand years, a period defined as the "pre-pottery Neolithic".

Wilson, *Consider the Fork* xiv–xv: "Before the adoption of cooking pots, around 10,000 years ago, the evidence from skeletons suggests that no one survived into adulthood having lost all their teeth. [sic] ... If you couldn't chew, you would starve. Pottery enabled our ancestors to make food of drinkable consistency: porridge, soupy, concoctions, which could be eaten without chewing. ([In fact, this greatly increased the usability of grains—mcv; Wilson p. 13; p. 77: cooking significantly increased the energy available for the energy-hungry human brain.) For the first time, we begin to see adult skeletons without a single tooth." P. 3: "Pots enabled the consumption of a far wider range of foods: many plants that had previously been toxic or at least indigestible became edible, once they had been boiled for several hours. Pots mark the leap from mere heating to cuisine: to the calm, considered intermingling of ingredients in a man-made vessel." [This also affected the optimal division of labor between men and women: there was more women could do at home—not only watching the pots, but making them—mcv. Then again, basketmaking and other crafts long preceded pottery.] Large stone cooking pots in Central America, 7000 BCE. Also p. 13, and 10–11 on pottery in general.

In the East, pottery was probably a prerequisite for the cooking of rice, and thus for its cultivation.

The Neolithic begins in China about this time, too. There, the lowlands are less built up by sedimentation than they are now; there are more marshes and lakes. The climate is warmer and moister.

It is thought that desertification of the Sahara [and other such areas] in the Pleistocene was a stimulus for the Neolithic Revolution.

The human population of the world during the Pleistocene has been estimated to have been between five and ten million. But such estimates are little more than educated guesses.

Sabertooth tiger fossils in the LaBrea tar pits have been dated to this time.

See Cole and Brothwells on domestication of plants and animals, eating habits, and life in the Neolithic generally.

The first curved fish-hooks appeared in the first millennium. (Earlier fishing was done with gorges.) Spears, nets, and fish-traps were also used.

Ropemaking is known from late Stone Age Swiss lacustrine settlements. (On these note that Cole, *NR.53*, says that the notion of their characteristic settlements as being built on piles out in the lake is no longer held; they were built on piles on the shore. Knotting was probably known by 300,000 YA; the following knots were known in the neolithic: overhand, half hitch, clove hitch, reef, a running noose, netting. (Budworth, *Chal. Knots*, p. 14, notes that "a captive orangutan is reported to have made a kind of rope from its bedding material and swung from it.")

The first lasting incursion of humans in Britain dates from the very beginning of this period. There is evidence of seven previous "major incursions". [BBC]

## **-4000 A.H.E. -9700 Jomon Period in Japan**

At various periods in post-glacial times, land bridges connected Japan to Manchuria (via Sakhalin), Korea (across what is now the Tsushima Strait), and to southern China via the Ryukyus and Taiwan. These bridges likely represent the several migration routes of the several cultures known from this period in Japan. (The Jomon are often spoken of as if they were the only pre-Japanese culture.)

The Japanese term 'Jomon' refers to the 'cord-patterned' pottery and clay figures of the culture that inhabited Japan from the earliest times. (The markings were made using sticks wrapped with cords.) The Jomon people are generally assumed to be the ancestors of the Ainu (with some [later] mixture with other Siberian peoples). They produced their characteristic pottery from about the beginning of the Holocene Era. (Some aspects of the dating of the earliest Japanese pottery may be controversial. However early it may be, antecedents seem to be known from the mainland.) The Jomon were stone-age hunter-gatherers for millennia, possibly because they were doing well enough that they didn't need to make the tradeoffs necessary for agriculture. They enjoyed a major cultural florescence, and increase in population, ~7000. In the 9000 millennium they developed agriculture (including dry rice culture) and began to form small settlements.

## **~1 HE Hunter-gatherer culture anticipating Gobekli Tepe**

Qermez Dere, W of the Tigris, E from the Zagros: Subterranean structures with T-shaped pillars of plastered clay, not used for domestic purposes; these were deliberately filled in and replaced; the whole reminiscent of Gobekli Tepe but on a humbler scale. Hunter-gatherers lived nearby. (Mithen, *ATI*.)

### **Possible cultural continuity with Ice-Age traditions? (mcv)**

\*\*\*\* Perhaps the quality of the art at Gobekli Tepe (v. 1000), and the large participating populations of hunter-gatherers indicated by the finds from these early Holocene cultures, indicate cultural continuity with Ice-Age hunter-gatherer traditions (mcv). With the end of the Ice Age, the 20,000-year tradition of cave paintings and carving, spread from Iberia to the Urals, had come to an abrupt end. Per Mithen, this was because, in the new climate, there was more individual hunting, and less need to communicate information within the larger groups that had been necessary to ensure survival, through sharing of food and communication of information via the art, during the Ice Age. (Mithen, *ATI*.) mcv: Maybe the break took longer, perhaps with dispersed groups still congregating periodically at a cultural center, until their dispersed populations were fixed in place by animal husbandry and, especially, by agriculture. As these new forms of culture took over, the old centers, in areas conducive to hunter-gatherer life, might well have become backwaters. The end of painting may indicate no more than the end of caves as cultural centers; paintings would not have lasted as well outside or in human-made structures, so there would have been less incentive to make them (in addition to the less-centralized cultures). Any that were made would have been much less likely to be preserved. More durable stone monuments, and sculptures, would have taken their place. (Note, however, that the scary animals that dominate the art of Gobekli Tepe and similar sites are not at all the edible prey animals of the cave paintings—whose butchered bones still abound around the sites.) Agriculture, especially, in addition to discouraging distance communication, might have taken much time previously given to cultural activity, making for an impoverishment of traditions, until new cultural activities arose, located in new power centers and carried on by dependents of elites. (Perhaps the elites came much, much later.) It has also been suggested that the general run of people in the agricultural age was less well nourished than were the hunter-gatherers. Their minds were perhaps also less free.

## **~1 HE Cyprus, long an island, first reached by humans.**

The pygmy hippos had probably been gone for a few thousand years, and there wasn't much else there, so permanent colonization did not take place for almost another 2000 years (Mithen, *ATI*, 97.)

## **500-1000 Clovis people appear in North America**

The culture of the Clovis people was related to that of the Ice-Age Beringian peoples of eastern Siberia, who were already successful hunters of large animals. Though not, as was once thought, the first humans to arrive in North America (v. Monte Verde, an accepted pre-Clovis site in Chile), they were the first to leave distinctive and widespread cultural remains.

Humans, Clovis or not, spread rapidly throughout the New World. (According to some estimates, this took as little as one or two thousand years.) They caused considerable changes in the landscape, and decimated or killed off many large animal species. (Nabhan; *SN* 4/15/00 157.244.)

On ancestry of the peoples who migrated to the Americas, cf. 24,000 YA, Mal'ta-1 skeleton. Melzer: the Yana site in NE Siberia, dated to 27KBP, shows "artifacts startlingly like those found in Clovis assemblages"; no-one was in NE Siberia during the Last Glacial Maximum (LGM, ~18,000 BP). It was just too cold, though

Siberia was not glaciated. It appears so far that NE Siberia and Beringia were not peopled until "as late as 14,000 BP".

By the end of this span, most of the "Pleistocene megafauna" of the Americas had become extinct. Human predation was probably the major factor in this, though climate change may have played a part. (Thought has changed on this since about 12000; previous orthodoxy held that climate change was the decisive factor. This was perhaps just PC thinking, not wanting to blame the Native Americans; such thinking is also behind much of the impulse to credit dubious evidence for human settlement long before the end of the last Ice Age.) Cf. Farjon, *Conifers*, p. 249, on the consistent worldwide connection between human advent and the extinction of large animals—Africa, where humans and large animals co-evolved, is the exception that proves the rule.

~500 (sic) **First steps in the domestication of rice (China). (Mithen, *ATI*.)**

~500 **Possible second wave of migration from Asia to the Americas.**

This is suggested by genetic evidence. This migration may have brought dogs to the Americas. (*SN* 4/28/18.22.)

~1000–7000 **Period of heavy rainfall in Sahara. (*SN* 2/17/18.18)**

Within this period was a dryer spell of up to a millenium, beginning ~4000.

~1000 **Domesticated sheep and agriculture (perhaps not fully sedentary) in Zagros Mountains. (~9000 BCE)**

~1000 **Göbekli Tepe "temples" (~9000 BCE)**

Mentioned by Parpola, *TROH* 307, who give it a date of 13000 BCE. Mithen, *After The Ice*, has a chapter on it. V. GöbekliTepe.txt in clippings (Smithsonian mag article by Andrew Curry, quoted below), <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history-archaeology/gobekli-tepe.html#ixzz2e6NL61Db>, <http://www.gobeklitepe.info>, W s.v. Göbekli Tepe. The dating is based on the observation that tools found at the site "closely resemble others from nearby sites previously carbon-dated to about 9000 B.C. ... Limited carbon dating undertaken ... at the site confirms this assessment." (Per W, dating is "to the 10th-8th millennium BC", = 1000–3000 HE. "Radiocarbon dating places the construction of these early sacred circles in the range of 9600 to 8800 BC [400–1200 HE]". The people who made the structures used flints, and had no metal, pottery, or domesticated animals. Excavations by a German team have been proceeding since the mid 90s.

The site is a tel, about 50 feet higher than the surrounding ground, connected by a ridge to a nearby mountain range.)

Apparently, the rings were buried after they were completed, and new ones were built alongside or on top of the old. W: "every few decades the existing pillars were buried to be replaced by new stones as part of a smaller, concentric ring inside the older one". In addition (W) "carbon dating suggests that (for reasons unknown) the enclosures were also backfilled during the Stone Age", sometime after 2000 HE.

Stone ring structures, up to 65 feet across, that look very much like temples, located in in southeastern Turkey, near the city of Urfa (pop 500K), an area much more fertile and agreeable than it is now. The complex contains at least 16 other megalith rings, and covers at least 22 acres. The rings have pillars up to sixteen feet high, some huge T-shaped pillars, and striking stone carvings. "Foxes, lions, scorpions and vultures abound, twisting and crawling on the pillars' broad sides". (Vultures were particularly prominent, and donkeys were also present.) There is also a notable crocodile, carved almost in the round. "Gobekli Tepe's pillar carvings are dominated not by edible prey like deer and cattle but by menacing creatures such as lions, spiders, snakes and scorpions." Only a few humanoid figures have been found. The structures have stone pillars in the centers, which may have supported roofs. Stone for the pillars was quarried from the limestone bedrock on the site, and the earlier pillars were set in sockets in the same bedrock.

A second layer of rectangular structures, that bear similarities (notably the T-shaped pillars) to those of the earlier layer, has been dated to 1200–2000 HE, the "pre-pottery Neolithic".

There is no evidence of human habitation at the site, reinforcing the idea that these were ceremonial centers. Some researchers apparently think that the builders lived some distance away, and it is assumed that they lived in villages for at least part of the year.

Bones of butchered animals and birds, all wild, were found at the site: 60% gazelles, plus boar, sheep, red deer, and "a dozen bird species, including vultures, cranes, ducks and geese"

Other sites in the area (there seem to be many) show evidence of domesticated wheat (dated to ~1500) and "corralled sheep, cattle and pigs" (~2000). W: "There are no comparable monumental complexes from its time. Nevalı Çori, a Neolithic settlement also excavated by the German Archaeological Institute and submerged by the Atatürk Dam since 1992, is 500 years later; its T-shaped pillars are considerably smaller, and its shrine was

located inside a village. The roughly contemporary architecture at Jericho is devoid of artistic merit or large-scale sculpture, and Çatalhöyük, perhaps the most famous Anatolian Neolithic village, is 2,000 years younger."

"To Schmidt and others, these new findings suggest a novel theory of civilization. Scholars have long believed that only after people learned to farm and live in settled communities did they have the time, organization and resources to construct temples and support complicated social structures. But Schmidt argues it was the other way around: the extensive, coordinated effort to build the monoliths literally laid the groundwork for the development of complex societies." "There's more time between Gobekli Tepe and the Sumerian clay tablets [etched in 3300 B.C.] than from Sumer to today,' says Gary Rollefson, an archaeologist at Whitman College in Walla Walla, Washington, who is familiar with Schmidt's work. 'Trying to pick out symbolism from prehistoric context is an exercise in futility.'"

"Danielle Stordeur, an archaeologist at the National Center for Scientific Research in France, emphasizes the significance of the vulture carvings. Some cultures have long believed the high-flying carrion birds transported the flesh of the dead up to the heavens. Stordeur has found similar symbols at sites from the same era as Gobekli Tepe just 50 miles away in Syria. 'You can really see it's the same culture,' she says. 'All the most important symbols are the same.'"

(W: "Vultures also feature prominently in the iconography of Çatalhöyük and Jericho; it is believed that in the early Neolithic culture of Anatolia and the Near East the deceased were deliberately exposed in order to be excarnated by vultures and other carrion birds. (The head of the deceased was sometimes removed and preserved—possibly a sign of ancestor worship.)" "Though no tombs or graves have been found so far, Schmidt believes that they remain to be discovered in niches located behind the sacred circles' walls.") (mcv: "Sky-burial" and the removal of heads are early practices noted in Parpola, who also notes that sky-burial accounts for the absence of tombs and burial sites.)

"Perhaps, Schmidt says, the site was a burial ground or the center of a death cult, the dead laid out on the hillside among the stylized gods and spirits of the afterlife. If so, Gobekli Tepe's location was no accident. 'From here the dead are looking out at the ideal view,' Schmidt says as the sun casts long shadows over the half-buried pillars. 'They're looking out over a hunter's dream.'"

W: "It is one of several sites in the vicinity of Karaca Dag, an area which geneticists suspect may have been the original source of at least some of our cultivated grains (see Einkorn). Recent DNA analysis of modern domesticated wheat compared with wild wheat has shown that its DNA is closest in sequence to wild wheat found on Mount Karaca Dag 20 miles (32 km) away from the site, suggesting that this is where modern wheat was first domesticated." "Schmidt and others believe that mobile groups in the area were compelled to cooperate with each other to protect early concentrations of wild cereals from wild animals (herds of gazelles and wild donkeys). Wild cereals may have been used for sustenance more intensively than before and were perhaps deliberately cultivated. This would have led to early social organization of various groups in the area of Göbekli Tepe. Thus, according to Schmidt, the Neolithic did not begin on a small scale in the form of individual instances of garden cultivation, but developed rapidly in the form of "a large-scale social organization".

W: "At present, though, Göbekli Tepe raises more questions for archaeology and prehistory than it answers."

Mithen, *After The Ice*, gives a general picture of small groups of people wandering about a home range, and gathering with other groups for seasonal rendezvous at fixed places. The remains of the dead temporarily buried while on the move may also have been brought to the centers for permanent interment.

A later culture similar to Gobekli Tepe at another site nearby, developed betw. 1500 and 2000. Gobekli abandoned ~2500. There is continuity of themes (including the scary iconography) between Gobekli and earlier Neolithic cultures, and with the important later culture of Catalhuyuk. (Mithen, *ATI*, 89ff.)

#### **~1500–2100\* Younger (Upper) Dryas; Definitive end of catastrophic Ice Age climate fluctuation**

(Named from *Dryas octopetala*, mountain avens, a tundra flower characteristic of that period in Europe; there was an Older Dryas, but it was too brief to matter much.) In much of Europe, the Younger Dryas was marked by the disappearance of forests and a return to tundra conditions.[mcv: extent not clear to me: possibly didn't affect tropical areas, at least as much; southern hemisphere? certainly affected China, prob NAM.]

Return to Ice-Age conditions of cold and drought, triggered by the release of vast quantities of North American meltwater into the sea. Glaciers, which had previously retreated to Scotland, advanced again somewhat. The development of village life in the Near East receives a check, while the techniques of cultivation, albeit by populations on the move within a territory, may have been critical for survival. mcv: perhaps this made for cultural discontinuity.

At the end of the Upper Dryas, temperatures rose by ~7°C within a decade.

After the end of the Younger Dryas, in the Fertile Crescent, agricultural techniques developed in higher regions find their most fruitful applications in the fertile riverlands. Village life takes off again.

2000 HE **End of wet and fertile period in central Sahara (begun 14KYA). (Mithen, ATI.)**

2000 **Sheep domesticated in E. Anatolia, originally for meat. (Not used for wool until ~ 6000–6500, when suitable breeds appeared.)**

~2000 **Beginnings of Jericho (v. ~3200)**

Jericho is definitely the largest known such settlement, but it was not unique; there were smaller settlements elsewhere in the region. Gobekli Tepe (not a settlement), with beginnings earlier than Jericho, suggests that cultural development, or at least some critical cultural developments, began elsewhere and in very different conditions.

~2000 **New Guinea–Australia land bridge disappears**

Land bridge was in existence from 1.7 MYA. (Looks like Borneo, Sumatra, Java, and the Malaysian Peninsula would also have been linked, along with, perhaps, the Philippines, and that Taiwan might have been linked to the mainland, with sea communication facilitated between Taiwan and the Philippines.—mcv). Tasmania was also cut off at this time.

~2000 **Full-size mammoths become extinct in Siberia and the Americas**

A dwarf species persists on Wrangel island, off the coast of Siberia, until ~8000.

~2000 **Beginnings of agriculture in Mesoamerica**

~8000 BCE The incentive was possibly the kill-off of the large game animals that people had previously depended on (Nabhan).

~2500 **Southern half of North Sea is dry (or at least not under salt water)**

The land is covered with peat bogs and other terrain/flora types, including forests. (Sounds like Minnesota.) The Thames flows out to join the Rhine.

~2500 **Beginning of cattle domestication in western Asia.**

It is possible that cattle were first domesticated in the Nile valley or the eastern Sahara, before 1000. This may have been prompted by the drying out of the region. (Mithen, ATI.)

~2800 **Stabilization of the Baltic area in its general present form**

Since the Ice Age, there had been several, fairly rapid, fluctuations in the geography of the area, caused by decline of the glaciers, and changes in the balance between rising land levels and rising sea levels. (The rise in land levels, due to rebound after the glaciers melted, was strongest in the north. It could be very great: 800 meters around Stockholm. (Mithen, *After the Ice*, 155.)

At various earlier times since the end of the Ice Age, the Baltic had been a freshwater lake above sea level, first blocked on the south by glaciers, and later, after a rather brief period joined to the sea, by risen land in the same area.

by 3000 **Early agriculture, mixed with hunting and gathering, in Zagros Mountains, Levant, and S. Anatolia**

by 7000 BCE Sheep, goats, and dogs domesticated. In many areas, farming was well developed before animal husbandry began.

~3000 **Repopulation of Nile valley begins; densely populated by 5000. (v. 15KYA)**

3000 **Cattle-raising people arrive in central Sahara from the east, bringing a different culture.**

Around 4200, sheep- and goat-herding arrive from the north. (Mithen, ATI.)

- 3000 Mehrgarh: earliest known farming settlement in the Indus Valley.**  
Mithen says farming came to the Indus from Mesopotamia.
- ~3000 Catastrophic tidal wave hits Doggerland; caused by underwater landslide.**
- ~3000 North American ecosystems become about what we know today.**
- 3000–5000 Boreal Period (pertains to Britain, at least)**  
The climate is actually warmer than that of the mid-11900s. Inhabitants of Britain were mesolithic hunters. The last glaciers disappear from Scotland. The southern part of the North Sea is submerged, and the Channel gradually fills.
- ~3000 Papuans (Melanesia): possible agriculture.**
- ~3000 Earliest known use of metal anywhere**
- ~7000 BCE** Lumps of native copper, hammered into shape, Çayönü, Turkey, near a source of native copper that was important in later periods. Microanalysis suggests that some were worked under heat to avoid cracking, while others were worked cold. The heating (annealing) softens the metal. (Maddin et al.)  
The anciently used non-ferrous metals are much more malleable than iron—they can be worked with hammers, and are easier to cut. Iron, on the other hand, cannot be worked by hand unless heated to plasticity, [which requires much higher temperatures than are needed for the non-ferrous metals]. Charcoal, which burns hotter than wood, was essential for developments in smelting iron. Copper hardens as it is worked, and thus needs to be annealed during lengthy workings to avoid cracking.  
The use of copper tools for flint knapping allows finer control of pressure flaking. Copper technology may have been a prerequisite for the remarkably fine Late Neolithic flint pieces known from Scandinavia and Egypt. (Whittaker.)
- by 3200 Beginnings of the earliest rice culture, in the inland Yangtze valley.**  
(The first steps toward the domestication of rice in the Yangtze date to 5000 HE., q.v.) Culture was probably originally by sowing mudflats left by the seasonal drop of the Yangtze; the plants would grow in the permanently waterlogged mud, and be harvested at the next annual flood. Paddy culture probably developed later, farther down the Yangtze valley.
- ~3200 Agriculture at Jericho**
- ~6800 BCE** [Veri date; had ~3500—as the earliest date you’ve seen—in earlier version; could be significantly earlier] Jericho is already a walled town. Pottery not yet developed there (cf. Gobleki Tepe, supra), animal domestication (except for dogs) not certain. Sedentary culture based on plant and animal domestication developed earlier in SW Asia, N & W of Mesopotamia, than in Egypt.  
V. Cole, *NR*.50f. “On present evidence, by far the most ancient town (for it was more than a village). . . . The site is exceptional, being an oasis 840 feet below sea level fed by a perennial spring, which was already frequented by Mesolithic food-gatherers soon after [2000]. A long period of increasingly permanent occupation followed. It is provisionally estimated that by [2500] the site had become a proto-Neolithic village, and within 700 years had acquired the character of a town. . . . Five successive town walls were constructed during the pre-pottery period. . . . During its pre-pottery phases the Neolithic town of Jericho must have occupied some 8 to 10 acres and may have had a population approaching 2,000 people.” Pottery appeared unusually late there, possibly because the local stoneware techniques were highly advanced (Cole, elsewhere); the appearance of pottery coincided with a “sharp break” in the archaeological record.  
Mithen seems to make the permanent settlement earlier, shortly after the end of the Younger Dryas, with the first walls (partial, and possibly meant only to hold off floods) being built a few centuries later.
- ~3500 Large settlement at Catal Huyuk (southern Anatolia) (~6500 BCE)**  
V. Cole, *NR*, 51f.

- ~3600 **Alternate date for Black Sea Flood** (~6400 BCE = 3600 HE per Mithen; others give 4500, q.v. = ~5500 BCE)
- 3600–4000 **Cold period with unreliable rainfall, Near East. “Little Ice Age”.**  
Town cultures fall apart, due to climate, and to erosion and deforestation caused by farming and woodcutting. (Mithen, ATI, 87.) Apparently most intense from ~3800–3900, the “Little Ice Age” [not limited to Near East?].
- ~4000 **mcv: SEEMS TO HAVE MARKED A TURNING POINT IN HUMAN HISTORY, WITH INCIPIENT CIVILIZATIONS RECOVERING FROM THE COLD PERIOD OF 3600–4000, WITH MIGRATIONS RESULTING IN THE LATER GENERAL HUMAN GEOGRAPHY, AND WITH MANY ADVANCES IN HUMAN CULTURE, AND ABOUT THE LAST OF THE MAJOR CHANGES IN THE POST—ICE-AGE GEOGRAPHY OF THE HUMAN WORLD. CF. 5000, FOR STABILIZATION OF CLIMATE AND GEOGRAPHY.**  
A *SN* article (LabiodentalsRecent.txt;p <https://www.sciencenews.org/article/rise-farming-altered-our-bite-and-changed-how-people-talk?tgt=nr>) on research suggesting that labiodentals (e.g. f v) were and are rare among hunter-gatherer peoples worldwide, and arose in languages only when agriculture, and the ensuing dominance of softer foods (dairy and grain), caused changes in jaw habit leading to overbite that made labiodentals pronounceable. This is thought to have happened, based on reconstructed linguistic evidence, during the period 5000–6000 HE. (What about earlier agriculture and pastoralism? The linguistic change may be real, but the dating might be very disputable.) One source interviewed notes that “Although the new findings are ‘fundamentally correct,’ human overbite increased much more after the industrial revolution” and “industrialized food processing and canning”.
- ~4000 **MODERN BREAD WHEATS APPEAR**  
Much earlier, “somewhat less than a million years ago”, normal diploid wild wheat (poss. *Triticum monococcum boeoticum*, wild einkorn; einkorn was one of the first cultivated wheats), with the two sets of chromosomes normal in most plants and animals, crossed with a wild goatgrass (poss. *Aegilops speltoides*) to yield tetraploid wheats, including emmer and durum (*T. turgidum dicoccum*, *T. turgidum durum*). Emmer (currently often known to markets as farro, the Italian name) was the dominant wheat in the Med and the Near East (barley was also important) until early Roman times, when it was superseded by durum and bread wheat.  
~ 4000, a cross between cultivated tetraploid wheat (poss. *Triticum turgidum*) and goatgrass (poss. *Aegilops tauschii*) results in hexaploid wheats (*T. aestivum* vars., including “bread wheat”, spelt). “The extra chromosomes are thought to contribute to the agricultural and culinary diversity found in modern wheats, most importantly the elasticity of the gluten proteins.” Spelt, “often confused with” the tetraploid emmer, is characteristic of northern Europe; it has been grown in S. Germany since ~6000.  
(McGee *OFAC* 465–7; q.v. for more detail on the characteristics of the various general species of wheat. The different general species are best suited to different climates. The species identifications labelled here by me “possibly” are those shown in one “plausible” account of the lineage; no definitive scientific consensus existed as of 12004.)
- ~4000 **Oldest known dyed fabrics** (~6000 BCE)  
Dyeing is presumed to date from far earlier—textile evidence is fragile. (Delamare & Guineau.)
- by 4000 **Pottery arises in Americas, in the Amazon basin. (Mithen, ATI.)**
- ~4000 **Catastrophic tsunami in North Sea**  
A tsunami of 5 meters in Doggerland (8 m in Scotland) is the presumed result of a huge submarine landslip in Norway. Doggerland, a marshy lowland watered by the combined Thames and Rhine, abandoned about this time. (Clippings\Doggerland.txt.)
- by 4000 **Ireland cut off from Britain by rising waters; Britain still connected to mainland.** (by 6000 BCE)  
About 4000, humans arrive in Ireland.
- by 4000 **NW coast of NAm had become the forested coastal strip it remained**
- by 4000 **Tasmania and New Guinea separated from Australia by rising seas.**  
Contact between Australia and New Guinea continues, but Tasmania is cut off. (Mithen, ATI.)

**~4000–~5000** **Dryer period in Sahara.** (SN 2/17/18.18. Cf. ~1000.)

Archeological evidence shows that people temporarily left the area at this time; the hunter-gatherers did not return; it was the cattle herders who repopulated the area.

**~4000** **Larger agricultural settlements in southern Mesopotamia.**

The settlements which arose in southern Mesopotamia, from ~4000 on, had their cultural origins in farming villages farther to the north, in the fertile Sinjar plain. These, in turn, derived from hunter-gatherer settlements 180 miles to the east, in the Zagros foothills, dating to 13KYA. Unlike the Jordan valley, where town culture supported by agriculture collapsed from overexploitation, the land of Mesopotamia was less vulnerable, and the towns grew into cities. By 5000, outside the Jordan valley, “substantial towns are found throughout the whole of the Fertile Crescent”, and irrigation had facilitated full exploitation of the fertile soils of the southern Tigris and Euphrates valleys. This is the Halaf period, 5000–6000, which is followed by the Uruk period. (Mithen, *ATI*.)

**4000–4500** **Possible period of the dispersal which gave rise to the sub-families of the Afro-Asiatic language family**

(Cf. also 5000, Mithen: appearance of farm culture in Nile Valley.) The Afro-Asiatic language family includes ancient Egyptian, Semitic, Cushitic, Berber, Chadic, etc., and has no ancestral relationship to African languages, from which it has, however, borrowed. The time of the dispersal which gave rise to the sub-families of the Afro-Asiatic family has been postulated to be 4000–4500 (6000–5500 BCE). Its region of origin cannot be pinpointed definitely. It might be Mesopotamia, Egypt, or elsewhere. Ethnically, the Egyptians and other peoples of North Africa in the ancient historical period were a mixture of a Semitic population coming from Southwest Asia and the Blacks who had previously occupied the whole of Africa and who remained to contribute largely to the ancestry of the later peoples of North Africa.

**early 4000M** **Earliest known metal smelting.** (early 6th M BCE)

First evidence of the smelting of a metal from its ore—lead, northern Mesopotamia, Anatolia. (Maddin et al.)

**~4300** **Eruption of Mt. Mazama, forming Crater Lake. The height of the mountain is reduced from ~12,000' to 8157'.**

**~4500** **Irrigation appears in SW Asia (~5500 BCE)**

**~4500** **Sea breaks through the land barrier at Denmark into the Baltic basin (~5500 BCE)**

Over the centuries, there was a complex interplay between rising land and sea levels.

**~4500** **The Black Sea Flood (~6400 BCE = 3600 HE per Mithen; others give ~5500 BCE)**

**~5500 BCE** The Black Sea basin, formerly containing a freshwater lake 500 feet below sea level, is flooded by sea water from the Mediterranean. Sea levels had risen since the end of the last Ice Age, and the natural dam at today's Bosphorus may have been ruptured by one or more of the great earthquakes common in the region. In any case, shell deposits in the Black Sea show that the inundation took place within a window of at most 500 years. Even if it was the result of a single cataclysm, the basin would have taken months to fill. (*NG* 7/00, pp. 64, 71.) There is evidence (*SN* online, 3/11) that the Black Sea was subject to such floods repeatedly over the last 650,000 years, with overflow coming from either the Mediterranean or the Caspian.

Mithen, *After the Ice*, 153: “The Black Sea had become a freshwater lake during the ice age. The level of the Mediterranean had fallen to below the base of the Bosphorus channel, its link to the Black Sea through which seawater had once flowed. The channel became blocked with silt. Then, when global warming began to melt the ice, the Mediterranean Sea began to rise again. As it did so, the level of the Black Sea was doing the precise opposite—it was falling, due to evaporation and reduced run-off from rivers. As the sea level rose above the base of the channel, the plug of silt held firm. It held, and it held, as a gigantic wall of marine water built up on its western face. And then it began to seep. Then it burst.” The submerged low-lying area around the erstwhile large freshwater lake was about the size of Austria, and already inhabited by farmers.

The biblical story of the Flood is based on Mesopotamian originals, which doubtless refer to the great floods that devastated that region from time to time (or to a single catastrophic regional flood: v. Sumer, *infra*), and which have left traces in the archaeological record. (The rising of land from from the sea, or draining of the sea from the land, was also a visibly rapid process at the mouths of the Euphrates and Tigris.) If the Black Sea flood made any contribution to the Flood legend (as is popularly supposed), it was probably only the indirect one of a lasting “Flood-consciousness” in the minds of humans in that part of the world.

**4550–4700 First evidence of use of cacao, Ecuador**

SN 11/24/18.12. The plant probably originated in the Amazon basin. Theobromine was found in seeds of domesticated varieties, but not in the wild ancestor, suggesting it was bred for that chemical.

**~4600 Possible rapid spread of agriculture around Mediterranean**

~5400 BCE (SN 160.308, 11/17/01) New, more accurate radiocarbon dating suggests that the dates of the first appearance of farming in Italy, France, Spain, and Portugal cluster around this time, and that the spread occurred over about 100–200 years. The researchers propose the following explanation for the spread: “Around the same time, Middle Eastern farmers lived in heavily populated communities marked by class and social divisions. To escape the conflicts that presumably resulted, some of the farmers took boats westward . . . and founded a series of small villages. . . . Rapid population growth in these settlements lead to further migrations.” (mcy: Perhaps displacement by the Black Sea Flood was a stimulus.)

**from ~4600 Migrations of peoples into Europe, bringing new cultures**

(SN 5/17/14.26ff.) (Farming peoples noted living in Germany, Austria, Hungary, ~4600–4100; hunter-gatherers continued to predominate in Europe for [over two millennia].) European hunter-gatherers were “a relatively homogeneous population, at least as far as mitochondrial types go.” DNA from remains of one of two hunter-gatherer skeletons (la Braña-1) found together in Spain, dated to 5000 HE, indicates that the men had blue eyes and dark skin.

Genetic data (based partially on mitochondrial DNA, which has its limitations as evidence) indicate that populations carrying new cultures, coming in from the southeast, replaced earlier populations, with interbreeding only a relatively minor factor. Interbreeding varied, inter alia, with distance traveled by the immigrants, which correlates with length of time for interbreeding: modern North Europeans have more forager ancestry than do modern Southern Europeans. But by 4600, “fewer than 3 percent of skeletons in central Germany” bore the mitochondrial haplotype characteristic of the hunter-gatherer population.

There was earlier genetic influx from Siberia, probably via the northern hunter-gatherers, somewhere around 4000.) Cf. 24,000 YA, Mal'ta-1 skeleton.

Genetically distinct populations could persist side by side for centuries with little mixing. The first farming population replaced the earlier hunter-gatherers, and were themselves replaced by populations carrying later cultures (marked by, e.g., different pottery styles, and diets containing major amounts of, severally, freshwater fish and domestic livestock).

One team of researchers concludes that “Modern Europeans . . . are a complex mix of at least three ancient groups: the early European farmers, Western European hunter-gatherers (like La Braña-1), and a third group the researchers call the ancient North Eurasians”.

(SN 1/26/13.16ff; cf. 4600.) The gene for lactose tolerance spreads through Europe at about the same time. Paradoxically, the earliest known evidence of cheesemaking, found in the remains of “ancient farming villages in Poland” dates from about 4700. One possible importance of cheese (in addition to storability) is that it is a way for the lactose-intolerant to use dairy food. Modern knowledge of early cheesemaking is obscure, because cheese from earlier eras of civilization can no longer be sold legally in Europe.

**4800/5700–~7000 Early Egyptian cultures**

5200/4300–~3000 BCE Beginnings of earliest known cultures of predynastic Egypt. (The range of starting and/or ending dates is denoted with a slash. See the Appendix “On the Dating of Prehistory” for discussion of the uncertainties.) They made their tools of stone, and were dependent to some degree on hunting and gathering, but raised crops and had some trade.

V. 4000–4500 (6000–5500 BCE) for the prehistory of the region and of the Afro-Asiatic languages.

The culture of Upper Egypt in the Predynastic Period is considerably more developed than that of sparsely populated Nubia, to the south. Evidence of Mesopotamian cultural influence in Egypt has been found in this period; no signs of reciprocal influence have been found in Mesopotamia. Wealth from the gold mines in this region, which seem to have been an attraction for Mesopotamian trade, may have been the reason why a more complex civilization developed earlier in Upper Egypt than in the more hospitable Lower Egypt.

- ~ 5000**      **Eruption of Kikai volcano, ~100km off S coast of Kyushu: one of the major eruptions of the Holocene. (Mithen, *ATI*.)**
- 5000–7000**      **Atlantic Period (pertains to Britain, at least)**
- The climate of Britain rather suddenly becomes wetter and more moderate, possibly due to its becoming surrounded by the sea. Deciduous forests dominated by oaks take over the landscape from conifers. The land continues to sink, until sea level was 25 feet above its present level in some spots, though higher than present in others.
- At the end of this period, neolithic peoples invade Britain, and contact between Britain and the neighboring mainland increased. They practiced agriculture (in tiny hand-worked fields) and animal husbandry (the latter dominant), and began to modify the landscape accordingly. There were still bear, wolf, beaver, boar, reindeer, aurochs, and possibly Irish elk on the land at this time, but as yet no rabbits, mice, or moles. Ireland still had a dry-land connection to Britain.
- This was the era of the megalithic tombs. (The stone circles probably date to the early Bronze Age.)
- from ~5000**      **As water rises, land configurations around SE Asia and Australia begin to take their present form**
- 5000**      **First metal fish-hooks, of copper.**
- by 5000**      **Settled village farming in much of western Asia**
- by 5000 BCE      Cattle and swine domesticated (earliest find of the former was in Greece, per *OME*). Irrigation arose in some areas by this time, later spreading (where applicable) and becoming more advanced.
- ~ 5000 BCE      Origin of *Felis catus* (probably from the African wild cat); mutual domestication of cats and man. Cats were probably attracted to human settlements by rodents attracted by human granaries and middens.
- ~ 5000**      **First known evidence of rice in India. (Mithen, *ATI*.)**
- 5000**      **Farming culture first appears in the Nile valley.**
- Likely involves an influx of people from W Asia (cf. 4000, Afro-Asiatic dispersion). Typically in conjunction with hunting-gathering and pastoralism. The Fayum Depression, then containing a much larger lake than presently (as it still did in the time of Herodotos), was a or the first stronghold of this culture. Irrigation in Egypt from ~6500. (Mithen, *ATI*.)
- after 5000**      **Ox-drawn plows come into use (after 5000 BCE)**
- ~ 5000**      **Rainfall declines in Africa, after a wetter period beginning with the HE.**
- The whole continent of Africa was much dryer during the LGM, some areas excepted, and the population apparently sparse. (Mithen, *ATI*.)
- 5000–6000**      **Extinction of giant mammals in North America; beginnings of agriculture in the Americas; Archaic Culture**
- 5000–4000 BCE      The mastodon, giant bison, and giant beaver go extinct ~5000. Climate change is a factor (v. supra), but doubtless so is man. Previous to this time, the culture of North America is that referred to as the “Big Game” or “Paleo” culture, characterized by chipped (rather than ground) stone points and lacking the use of bows. After this time, in eastern North America, the culture is that referred to as the “Eastern Archaic Culture”, a hunting-gathering culture that exploited plant foods and (often) smaller game with bows, ground stone points, and hammered native copper. By 6000, Archaic cultures occupy the whole of the New World. Archaic culture persisted until 9000+.
- Agriculture may have begun as early as 5000 in central Mexico. (Whittaker.) Area of agriculture includes southern Illinois. (Nabhan.)
- “By 3500 BC, maize was a staple in most of Mexico and Central America.” (Clampitt, *Midwest Maize*.) Its origins as domesticated from teosinte date back to at least 4300 BC to as far back as 8000 BC. It early ceased to be able to seed itself without human aid. Domesticated beans and squash developed in the same geographical area: Oaxaca—and their culture spread with maize—the latter being the most revered, and most widely useful, of the Three Sisters. Nixtamalization, processing the grain with alkali from limestone (slaked lime) (most common in Mexico) or wood ash (lye, as in NE US), removes the outer hull and makes niacin and amino acids more available, and the grain easier to grind, and capable of longer storage. This was an important factor in the use

of the grain. (The hominy process also removes the germ, which enabled the product to be stored longer. It also (mcv) reduces the nutritional value, but Clappitt seems to have overlooked this.) Cornmeal storage, as dist. from hominy, was aided by the winter that followed the grinding in the NE.

Quinoa domesticated by 5000, the primary grain of high-altitude South America. The other primary plant domestication was that of the potato, probably around Lake Titicaca, likely in the same time period. Also on this period: the domestication of vicuñas and guanacos (domestic varieties, respectively: alpaca, llama). Perhaps also the guinea pig. (Mithen, *ATI*.)

**5288 Beginning of Julian Period**

4713 BCE January 1st of this year begins the Julian Period, a standard era devised in 1583 by Joseph Scaliger, still used in astronomy and historical chronology. It is based on a cycle of 7,980 years.

**~5300 Beginning of period in which the Sun was in Taurus at the spring equinox.**

**5300–5700 First evidence of the casting of copper in Europe**

4700–4300 BCE (Late Neolithic in the Balkan peninsula) Northern Greece: first evidence of the casting (and possibly smelting) of copper in Europe. Copper ore is mined in this period in the Balkans. The technology probably spread from southeast Europe and the Black Sea area. (Maddin et al.)

Maddin et al., chapters 2–4: Note that “arsenical copper”, also called “arsenic bronze”, is intermediate between copper and bronze—not necessarily an intentional alloy, it is the natural product of certain ores. It makes for fuzzy terminology. “Arsenical copper was to remain the most common metal in Mesopotamia until well into the second millennium B.C.” Other notes of interest: Silver can come from certain lead ores. “Percentages of nickel are no longer regarded as a safe guide to meteoric iron.” These chapters are of general interest w.r.t metallurgy, including tin bronze.

General conclusions from Maddin et al.: The technical aspects of ancient metallurgy can shed light on historical questions. Much of our understanding of historical questions has been changed by research into these matters in the last twenty years, obsoleting old historical commonplaces. (Data and methodological expositions in later chapters suggest that the strictures cited in chapter 1 on the validity of the determination of metal origins by physical analysis may reflect an inadequate understanding of the science involved.) But note that chemical analysis of cast metal objects can yield significantly different results for different parts of the same object.

The use of the chisel dates from the Bronze Age.

**Some implications of metallurgy.**

With the working of metals on a scale larger than the use of chance-found pure pieces (mcv), “there came a new need for weighing and measuring and a new impetus to a system of barter which was doubtless very old even at that time.” D.E. Smith, *History of Mathematics* I.22. Later impetuses to the development of mathematics (Smith): large-scale government (taxation and record-keeping) stone-masonry (or brick work, in Mesopotamia—mcv). mcv: The gradual growth in the scale of trade ventures; advances in carpentry (wagons, etc.); systems of writing expanded the possibilities of working with mathematics.

**by 5500 Neolithic culture arrives in Scotland, displacing the earlier Mesolithic.**

Farming replaces the earlier culture in the east, pastoralism in the west. (Mithen, *ATI*.)

**5997 (Oct. 23) Creation of the world according to Abp. Ussher’s chronology. (4004 BC)**

Better data was not available until the early 11800s. Even Newton and Kepler accepted Ussher’s methods and timeframe.

**~6000 Neolithic in the Indian subcontinent**

No Neolithic (village/farming) remains have been found earlier than those from this period in Baluchistan. Given the proximity of much earlier Neolithic cultures to the west, and the early rise of urbanism in the Indus Valley, this is a surprisingly late date, and suggests that older evidence remains to be discovered. (Wolpert, p. 9.)

- 6000**      **PERHAPS A ROUGH BENCHMARK FOR THE STABILIZATION OF CLIMATE AND GEOGRAPHY OF THE LATER NEOLITHIC, ENTAILING A MORE ORDERLY COURSE FOR HUMAN HISTORY.** (mcv, based on 3600–5000; cf. ~4000, from 5000 ~6300.) Brian Fagan gives 6000 (4000 bce) as the period when sea levels stabilized.
- ~6000–8000**      **Hudson River**  
Oyster beds appeared in Haverstraw Bay during this period, evidencing a greater level of salinity than has prevailed there since.
- ~6100**      **Possible rapid spread of agriculture from England into Scandinavia**  
~3900 BCE (SN 160.308, 11/17/01, cf. 4600) New radiocarbon dating suggests that “farmers spread from England into Scandinavia over just 200 years”.
- 6100s**      **Timber trackways built in the Somerset Levels, England.**
- 6239**      **Beginning of the Jewish era** (12001 = 5762)
- ~6300**      **MAJOR WATERSHED: THE BEGINNING OF MAJOR CIVILIZATIONS—AND OF HISTORY—WITH SUMER, <6500; THIS WAS ALSO ROUGHLY THE TIME OF THE DOMESTICATION OF THE HORSE, THE USE OF THE WHEEL, AND THE EARLIEST USE OF BRONZE.** (Also the extinction of large mammals in NAm, and end of the last phase (beginning ~5000) of the more or less final stabilization of climate and geography.)
- ~6350**      **First major eruption of Mt. Witori, on New Britain; cataclysmic eruption**  
Five more major eruptions followed, including one of Witori’s neighbor Dakatua: ~8650, ~10150, ~10550, ~10750, ~10800. After the last, eruptions seem to have lessened in intensity but increased in frequency.  
The eruption is “followed by widespread changes in social organization and technological innovation across Melanesia” (Paine, *TSAC* 15). Cf. ~7000.
- 6300–6500**      **Earliest known evidence for horse domestication**  
Botai culture (6300–6900), N. Kazakhstan. This is about 1000 years earlier than was previously thought. Archaeological case for domestication first made in 12009. Anthony says (221) they probably got the technique from their western neighbors, who may have had it before 5800.  
After 6500, horses occur frequently for the first time outside the Pontic-Caspian steppe.  
Forrest, *TAOTH* 87: “Over basic domestication, humans began to add a layer of culture that set the horse apart from other mammals—it would be asked to do more than any other livestock or pet, and in ever more complex forms.” (mcv: a comparison could be made to dogs, but the physical intimacy of the relationship, with the risk of injury or death from a mishap, and the importance of the horse in war, makes the horse unique among domesticated animals and comparable to the relationship of humans to each other.)  
One other, more fundamental, thing that sets the horse apart from other mammals is the fact that horses, like humans, can sweat, cooling themselves and thus increasing their endurance above that of, e.g., other game and domesticated animals. (mcv: Also dogs, if only through their tongues?) Horses had evolved specifically for running, as forest gave way to open grassland in many regions (Forrest).  
On the other hand, horses process food less efficiently than bovids.
- 6500**      **Evidence for wheeled vehicles becomes widespread in W Eurasia.** (Patent records have been lost.)  
The wheel makes it much easier to haul heavy loads, and to delegate the hauling to animals rather than teams of adult humans. This in turn made it more feasible for farmers to live outside large communities, and may have been responsible for “the disappearance of large nucleated villages and the dispersal of many farming populations across the European landscape after about 3500 BCE.” Wagons may also have made it possible for people to move deeper into the steppes to pasture their animals. (Anthony, *THTWAL*, 72.)  
The spread was so rapid that no origin can be identified. The belief that it happened in Mesopotamia is just an assumption, per Anthony. Parpola, *TROH*, while acknowledging a Mesopotamian origin as the common opinion, maintains that the wheel was invented in the IE area.  
Cole, *NR.40*: “Wheeled vehicles had a very restricted use in early times due to the absence of roads. (mcv: cf. the early scepticism about the general usefulness of the automobile, based on the supposed unfeasibility of

creating a suitable and suitably widespread road system. Perhaps this is why the wheel never caught on in the Americas—or much in early Greece, either.) The wheel itself may have been invented first for turning pottery and perhaps applied to converting sledges into carts not long after. . . In general, the wheel seems to have come into use about 3,000 B.C. in the Middle East. . . . Wheeled vehicles were rare in Europe before the Early Iron Age (500 B.C. onwards).”

**< 6500 SUMER; ORIGIN OF WRITING**

**< 3500 BCE** Complex urban civilization, with irrigation and foreign trade, develops in Sumer (southern Mesopotamia) and, slightly later, in Egypt and the Indus valley (modern Pakistan). Note that Sumer, esp., was at an important confluence of trade routes.

The origins of the Sumerians are not definitely known. They do not seem to have been related to any of the other peoples who later came to prominence in the area. They were not Semitic or Indo-European. According to Sandars, *Gilgamesh*, they were “probably conquerors from the north and east, who had arrived during the fourth millennium.” One possibility is that they were Caucasians, in the narrow sense designating the present-day inhabitants of the Caucasus, formerly more widespread and including peoples of the mountains of western Iran [possibly] including the Elamites. (The ziggurats may have been built as substitutes for the mountains of their former home.)

They seem to have come into the land as it recovered from a catastrophic regional flood that had wiped out the less advanced culture of the previous inhabitants. (There is evidence of this in the archeological record at Ur, at least. Any knowledge of whether it was salt water or fresh?) (Cf. ~8080 in China.) Their earliest legends reflect this event, and were handed on and crystallized as a myth of a world-wide catastrophe, which was eventually adopted in the Old Testament.

They form a number of city-states, rather than a unified empire.

At this time or within the next few centuries, the Sumerians developed the system of pictographic writing that would later evolve into cuneiform. The writing system, at first adequate only for administrative records, became adapted for more complex uses, e.g., history and literature, by about the 7500s. Major deposits of literary inscriptions are first found from the first half of the 8000s millennium; the *Gilgamesh* epic was probably written down by at least this period, and possibly much earlier. (Kramer, *HBAS*; Sandars, *Gilgamesh*.)

I would surmise that writing was not a distinct invention, but a gradual development from the sort of pictographs used by many primitive peoples, which conveyed more-or-less complex information by means of more-or-less complex sets of conventions, and which presumably began as simple narrative juxtapositions of pictures.

Each stage in the development of writing made information more accurately, reliably, and rapidly cumulative and transferable, thus accelerating at ever-higher rates the growth in the powers of mankind.

“The influence of this gifted people, shown in laws, language, and ideas, persisted long after they had been conquered by their Semite neighbors. It has been justly likened to the influence of Rome on medieval Europe. Their language was still written, like the Latin of the Middle Ages, centuries after they had lost their political identity.”—Sandars, *Gilgamesh*.

The following dates are from *RHDI*, which seems to use a short chronology like that noted below for Egypt.

~7150–7550	First dynasty of Ur. (~2850–2450 BCE)
~7500	Enneatum, King of Sumer, conquers Ur and Kish (~2500 BCE)

**~6500 Beginning of the early Bronze Age in the Balkans**

**~6800 The “Iceman”**

A member of a Copper-age farming population. His modern relatives are in Sardinia and Corsica. He carried a copper axe, and wore coat, loincloth, and leggings of goatskin. He had been killed by an arrow.

**~7000 Papuans (Melanesia): irrigation; pig domesticated**

**~7000 Early stage of Stonehenge**

A ditch encircling the great stones was dug with antlers dated by <sup>14</sup>C to 7000. Neolithic peoples may not have been in northwest Europe for long.

**7000 millenium Coastal pyramid building culture in Peru.**

Fagan, *TSAC*: Pyramid-building culture arises in coastal Peru, based on the rich fishery of the Humboldt Current. (The land is hardly hospitable.) This culture declines from the early 9000 millenium. It is succeeded by the Chavin culture, based in the highlands.

**from 6500 North Africa becomes extremely arid, as today.** (Mithen, *ATI*)

Pastoralism spreads to sub-Saharan Africa with people migrating from the drying lands. It reaches the Cape after 9500. *SN* 2/17/18.18: Period of heavy rainfall in Sahara ends ~7000 (began ~1000).

**[7000]–9500 Sub-Boreal Period (pertains to Britain, at least)**

Climate becomes drier.

**~7200 “Corded-ware” culture, with a distinct population, arrives in Germany (cf. “from ~4600”)**

**~7250 Earliest known bronze artifact from China (~2750 BCE) (Maddin et al.)**

## ~7300/6700--~7315 Early Dynastic Period (dynasties I-II) in Egypt

~3300/2700--  
~2686 BCE The beginning of this period marks the first unification of Upper and Lower Egypt. Cast and beaten copper was used, though stone tools continued to be made throughout this period and after. Clippings\Egypt1stDynasty-Dating.txt: "A team from the UK found that the transformation from a land of disparate farmers into a state ruled by a king was more rapid than previously thought." The Egyptian writing system was developed during the First and Second Dynasties. This system was substantially independent of Mesopotamian writing, though there are general similarities that suggest the possibility of "stimulus diffusion". (In other words, Egyptians may have gotten the general idea from Mesopotamian writing systems, but worked out the details on their own.) At first used only to record, e.g., names and titles, by the end of the First Dynasty the hieroglyphics were being used to write down complete sentences.

### 1st Dynasty

~6900 (~6950--7000\*) Aha 1st pharaoh of the 1st Dynasty (\*dates per NG 4/05; v.q. Clippings\Egypt1stDynastyDating.txt)

~7000-- Djer succeeded Aha.

(etc.)

### 2nd Dynasty (not complete)

~7350-- Khasekhemwy

Mesopotamian influence becomes much less important in this period, and Egyptian culture develops the characteristics that will distinguish it throughout ancient history:

1) A highly centralized government, with a strong, numerous, pervasive, and often corrupt bureaucracy (the scribes), which in combination with other factors did much to stifle innovation after Egypt's first stage of growth.

2) A wide social and material gulf between the people and the elites, and again between the elites and the divine king. (There were also large classes of serfs and slaves.)

3) A largely rural population distribution, in scattered small settlements, as opposed, e.g., to the multiplicity of urban centers of Mesopotamia.

4) Stability and insularity, due to the lack of strong external enemies or competing cultures in the region, the fact that there was no place else for Egyptians to go, and the singular nature of Egypt's profoundly Nile-dependent way of life.

5) The colossal importance of funerary concerns in Egyptian life and society, found also in the Predynastic period, which led to Egypt's spending an immense proportion of its resources on tombs, tomb ornaments, and the support of priests of the dead (and large numbers of their relatives and dependents). There were periods in which temples held more than a third of Egypt's arable land; these holdings were often worked by sharecroppers. It might be asked how much else there was, in the formative period, for Egypt to spend those resources on: whether Egypt at this period had sufficient external outlets for surplus production.

But there was trade, with the Levant (especially Byblos, in modern Lebanon, which supplied Egypt with timber), Nubia, Punt (roughly modern Eritrea, reached either via Nubia or directly by sea), and, later, Minoan Crete. The latter is the only part of Greece to engage in significant trade with Egypt in this period, but here Egyptian goods from as early as the late Predynastic period are found, and stone vessels and works of art remained in circulation long after they were made. Cedar was a highly important export of Lebanon, especially to tree-poor Egypt.

On the Nile, the prevailing northerly winds were favorable to navigation against the current (Fagan, *Beyond the Blue Horizon*).

On the whole, ancient Egypt sounds a lot like a civil servant's vision of Shangri-La. A more historical analogy might be traditional Chinese society.

While other civilizations rise and fall in the ancient Middle East, Egypt endures as a cultural influence and, until 9576 (525 BCE), a major independent power (occasionally ruling Palestine and Syria, and often in conflict with the Mesopotamian empires).

The conventional dynastic divisions go back to the Egyptian priest and historian Manetho (9700s, 3rd century BCE), who based his work on inscriptions and papyri preserved in temples. But Manetho's accounts of the earliest dynasties contain much myth and apparently erroneous tradition (he begins his history with a period of 25,000 years during which Egypt was ruled by the gods in person), while his lists for the periods of fragmentation and divided rule are much neater than is warranted by the actual events.

The following tools & technology were developed in Egypt (period not known to me unless specified): A-level, plumb line, chalk line. Handsaw (of copper; pulled rather than pushed, to spare the soft metal; earliest finds date to 8500). Carpentry used pegs and holes (drilled with bow-drills), rather than nails. Glass.

Leavened bread.

Egypt was from an early period a leader in pigment technology.

**~7315--7961 Old Kingdom and First Intermediate Period in Egypt**

~2686--  
~2040 BCE The "Old Kingdom" of Egypt (dynasties III--VI), followed by the "First Intermediate Period", a period of fragmentation and civil war (~7820--7961, ~2181--2040 BCE, dynasties VII--X).

The span of time from the Old through the Middle Kingdoms appears to mark a plateau in Egypt's development. The greatest of the pyramids were built early in the Old Kingdom (~7450--7530, ~2550--2470 BCE, dynasty IV; at this time, Egypt was still in the Copper Age, and flint tools were common). Beginning under the Old Kingdom, Egypt conquers parts of Nubia, and gains influence and/or conquests in the Sinai and Palestine. (Urban civilization was already established in Palestine.)

**7302 Beginning of the Chinese era for year count (12001 HE = 4699)**

**~7400 Oldest known papyrus "book" (~2600 BCE)**

The "Prisse d'Avennes papyrus", written in black, \*\*with red used for titles. The ink was based on lampblack, and pretty opaque. Other colors of ink were also known, and there were earlier ink inscriptions on potsherds. (Delamare & Guineau.)

**~7500 Village agriculture in the Andean region ~2500 BCE**

Lima beans and potatoes (both long cultivated in the region); the cultivation of maize begins soon afterward.

**7500><7700 Wood-henge in Ireland (~2500><2300 BCE)**

A temple that once consisted of a ring of huge oak posts (the holes were 2 meters in diameter) was found "directly beneath" the Hill of Tara. The temple probably dates from 2500--2300 BCE. (*Irish Examiner* (on-line) 11/12/02)

**7600><7800 Bluestones erected at Stonehenge (~2600><2200 BCE)**

These dates, from carbon dating, are the most accurate yet made. (Announced 9/08.)

**~7650--7851 Akkad**

~2350--2150 BCE Akkadian Empire, founded by Sargon (r. ~7650--7706, ~2350--2295 BCE), who conquers Babylon, Elam, Assyria (northern Mesopotamia), and part of Syria. The Akkadians are a Semitic people. The Akkadian empire is destroyed by invading tribes from the east, and the Sumerian cities are for a short time again independent.

**7700 (~?) Hverfjall volcano, Iceland: major eruption, likely affecting global climate**

**pre-7700--8300 Complex urban civilization in Indus Valley (Mohenjo Daro and Harappa)**

TO DIGEST: Parpola, *TROH*.

pre-2300 -- ~1700 BCE Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa are great cities with massive walls, showing strikingly similar architecture. They pre-date the Aryan invasion by at least 1000 years. Trade with Sumer, South India, and Tibet is attested from this time. Based on skeletal analysis, the people were "a mixture of predominantly proto-australoid and Mediterranean physiques, as in modern peninsular India." The Aryans noted them as dark-skinned. The civilization collapsed ~8300, probably due to natural disaster(s) (earthquake and/or flood; the Indus may have shifted its course; also drought--v. ~8000), and never recovered. Archaeological evidence for later periods reflects a different (though not necessarily ?????? p. 22) culture with a much lower level of civilization. (Wolpert, pp. 14--22.)

**~7800--8250 Xia dynasty in China; the Chinese Bronze age (v.q. 7250, 7302, 8080)**

~2200--1750 BCE First central government over large areas. Its Bronze-age culture shows a continuity with the Neolithic village cultures that preceded it.

The Xia is the first of the "Three Dynasties" (Xia, Shang, and Zhou), which marked the Chinese Bronze Age (~8000--9500). Once mainly legendary, the Three Dynasties are now documented by archaeology. All were in the Yellow River basin; their areas overlapped. Their cultures were similar, and were characterized by highly developed arts. There was little foreign sea trade, since none of the places accessible with the nautical technology of the time was then worth trading with.

The picture of early China, (including both north and south, as well as surrounding areas) is a much more homogenous one than that of early Europe or the early Middle East. (Fairbank.)

The question of external cultural influences, especially from the older civilizations of the Middle East but also from, e.g., Thailand, where bronze metallurgy predated 7000, is obscure. Fairbank points out that the question, and that of its implications, is not a simple one. Not everything in the Middle East was found in China. (Independent invention is also perfectly likely—mcv.)

The earliest known noodles were found in an archaeological site in China in 12005. Dated to ~8000, they were made from foxtail millet (*Setaria italica*) and broomcorn millet (*Panicum miliaceum*). (Digital clipping filed.)

#### **7851--8100 Akkadian empire destroyed by tribes from the east; Sumerian empire of Ur; decline of Sumer**

The Sumerian Empire of Ur arises after the destruction of Akkad, and lasts, declining, from ~7861–7971 (~2140–2030 BCE). After that date, a brief period intervenes before the foundation of the First Babylonian Empire, ~8000.

#### **~7961--8350 Middle Kingdom of Egypt**

~2040–  
~1650 BCE Dynasties XI–XII/XIII. Cf. Old Kingdom, ~7315. Expansion of influence and/or conquests in Nubia, the Sinai, and Palestine continues.

#### **~8000 Lapita people, Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) speakers, in Bismarck Archipelago (v.q. 8400, 8500)**

("Lapita" is the name of an archeological site.) They are unrelated to the people already there. They have large sailing canoes with outriggers, agriculture, and, at least by 9200, pottery that is diagnostic of their presence. The Bismarcks had been inhabited by earlier peoples since ~29 KYA.

The austronesian migration had apparently begun in S. China, then moving to Taiwan (where the Chinese did not begin to displace them until the later 11600s), the Philippines, and Borneo, with some settling mainland SE Asia, [Eastern Melanesia], and ultimately Madagascar and Polynesia. (See 8500 for later expansion)

To check: Kirch, Patrick Vinton. *The Lapita Peoples: Ancestors of the Oceanic World*. London: Blackwell, 1997.) Not in HCL.

#### **~8000 Beginnings of rice culture in the Ganges region**

Genetic studies suggest that the strain originated in China (cf. 3000–4000); other theories made it a separately domesticated subspecies.

#### **~8000--8470 First Babylonian Empire**

~2000 –  
~1530 BCE The Amorites, another Semitic people, come to power in Palestine, Syria, and Mesopotamia. Babylon, an Amorite kingdom, is founded about 8170 (~1830 BCE) in southern Mesopotamia. It rules Assyria as well. Its sixth king is Hammurabi, famous for his laws. This "first Babylonian empire" (Babylon will rise again later) endures until about 8470 (~1530 BCE), after which the region is dominated by less civilized invaders until about 8750 (~1250 BCE).

#### **by 8000 Minoan civilization in Crete**

by 2000 BCE The origins of the Minoans are obscure, but they are probably not related to the Greeks. They are seafarers, in contact with the older civilizations of Egypt and the Levant, and in their turn influencing the growth of civilization among the Greeks, especially in Mycenae. The Minoan civilization eventually declines, and succumbs to invasions from Greeks about 8600 (~1400 BCE).

Among many other achievements, the Minoans invented the flush toilet.

#### **~8000 Major drought period in Africa (& elsewhere?).**

(Evidenced by ice cores from Kilimanjaro). This climatic phenomenon has been linked to disturbances in Mesopotamian and Indus Valley civilizations at this time. (Mithen, *ATI*.)

The Nile Delta was largely abandoned around this time. (*SN* 8/17/19.28, obiter.)

#### **~8000 Abraham; first Hebrew period in Canaan**

~2000 BCE Abraham, founder of the worship of Yahweh (perhaps not a pure monotheism in its earliest period), leaves Ur in Mesopotamia and brings his clan to Canaan. Under Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, the Hebrews lived as one small group among many other peoples.

Note that the translations of many Hebrew names (in *EB11*, A's) suggest that the essential root of "Yahweh" was the "Yah" part. In *EB11* vol 3, s.v. Babylon, it is suggested that Yahweh derives from the [Sumerian] Ea. The article on Babylonian religion describes a quasi-monotheistic political movement, [~7800, Hammurabi] by the Babylonian kings who extended their rule over other cities. Formerly, each city (like the Hebrews) had its own chief god whose jurisdiction did not extend beyond the city-state. Babylon appropriated the supreme position, along with many attributes of the local chief gods, to its own Marduk.

**~8000 Pre-ceramic urban sites in Peru**

These are the oldest known urban sites in the New World. (*SN* 159.260, 4/28/01)

**~8000 Major phase of Indo-European dispersion (probably from Caucasus or the European steppe) begins.**

TO DIGEST: Parpola, *TROH*, also \*\*Anthony, David W. *The Horse, the Wheel, and Language*. Princeton U.P., 2007 (\*\*see your notes in *Master Bibl.*).

For earlier phases v. 5800.

Note Drews, Robert, *The Coming of the Greeks: Indo-European Conquests in the Aegean and the Near East*, Princeton U.P., 1988. (See *Master Bibl.* for review.) Drews dates the IE expansion several centuries later than 8000, with the Greeks arriving in Greece ~8400. He argues, cogently as far as I can tell, that earlier thought, presuming a much earlier dating, was based on disproven but tenacious ideas. Note that (e.g.) Diamond, *GGS*, accepts a much earlier period for the IE expansion [6000 HE], while Keegan (*AHOW* 160) cites "the historian William McNeill" for "the generally accepted view" that the IE dispersion took place in the second millennium BC. Though I cannot fully evaluate Drews's arguments, the 8000s millennium seems much more likely to me on linguistic grounds: it seems to me, given the the instability of language in pre-literate peoples or marginally literate peoples (e.g., early Rome), that the IE speeches would have diverged much farther than they in fact have, if their dispersion had begun 2000 years or more earlier than Drews' date—especially given the cultural conditions of the time, and the vast geographical breadth of the dispersion.

Anthony, *The Horse, The Wheel, and Language*, gives a terminus ante quem for the disappearance of the proto-IE language stock through breakup as ~7500–, and a terminus post quem of 6000–5500 at the earliest, and probably later (p. 81). He takes as proven by others what should have been obvious to me (and to others) but was not, that there is no reason to suppose that all of the IE daughter languages broke off at the same time, and cites demonstrations that this was not so, and some demonstrable knowledge of the timing of the various break-offs. Also, Proto-IE was a family of dialects, not a single dialect, and the various daughter languages descended from various of these dialects. "Pre-Germanic split away from the western edge of the late Proto-IE dialects about [6700], and pre-Greek split away about [7500], probably from a different set of dialects. Pre-Baltic split away from pre-Slavic and other northwestern dialects about [7500]. Pre-Indo-Iranian developed from a northeastern set of dialects between [7500] and [7800]." (P. 82; also diagram, 100.) As to the IE homeland, Anthony argues, on the basis of the conventional arguments strengthened by new findings, for the Pontic-Caucasian steppe. A major point in his argument is the identification of borrowings from PIE in Proto-Uralic, during the period of the development of much of the characteristic PIE vocabulary. (There may also be a much older, ancestral relationship between PIE and Proto-Uralic, accounting for shared pronouns.) (There are also links between PIE and an early proto-language of the middle Caucasus but, pace a notable but highly controversial revision of IE phonology which makes these links fundamental, the links are much weaker than those with Proto-Uralic; per Anthony, they can, like a few links with Proto-Semitic, be shown to be indirect.) The proposed linguistic dispersion seems to correspond with archaeological evidence of migrations from the proposed homeland (pp. 100–101). All of this greatly weakens the picture of a single, conquering people or culture moving out to dominate half the Eastern hemisphere. Rather, one gets the picture of the earliest phase of the eternal movement out of the steppe (for the steppe was uninhabitable by any vigorous culture until the wheel, first used in the area by IE speakers, made it possible to carry a culture's physical basis into the grasslands, whose exploitation by herd animals provided the basis for wealth. For two thousand years, it was the IE speaking peoples who did the migrating, from the proposed homeland. (The Anatolian languages, Hittite and two related tongues, may represent the very earliest migration, a period before the development of certain key characteristics of the IE culture.)

- from 8000**     **Maize cultivation spreads into North America from the south.**
- 8000–9500**     **British Bronze Age**  
 The early Bronze Age is the probable period of the great stone circles. The first 500 years of this period were marked by the invasions of the Beaker peoples. The main advances of the sea end by ~8400; the shallow inlets silt up rapidly. The Celtic invasions begin ~9000 (q.v.).
- ~8080**     **Great Flood in Yellow River Valley, China**  
 SN 9/3/16.6: Archeological evidence (dated by radiocarbon) indicates an earthquake, followed at an interval of six to nine months by a huge flood, “one of the largest known floods on Earth over the past 10,000 years.” The date roughly corresponds with the “first appearance of China’s Bronze Age urban societies”. The flood has left its mark in legends, crystallizing around a “hero named Yu who spent decades leading efforts to dredge rivers and drain floodwaters, as well as personally fighting off supernatural beasts, following catastrophic flooding of the Yellow River. Legend has it that Yu’s success enabled him to launch Chinese civilization by founding the Xia dynasty.” The historicity of the Xia dynasty has not been conclusively established (sed v. 7800), and others have estimated the appearance of that civilization at “170–300 years” before the flood (v. 7800).
- ~8100**     **Copper casting known from Hungary (~1900 BCE)**
- ~8200**     **Urban culture in the Andean region**  
 ~1800 BCE     Towns and “huge platform mounds” suggest a complex society.
- 8200–8500**     **Indo-Europeans invade Iran (1800–1500 BCE)** (Wolpert, p. 24.)  
 (See ~8000, for alternate views of the date of the IE expansion.)
- ~8209–8251**     **Reign of Hammurabi (at least according to one chronology) of the First Babylonian Dynasty**  
 Law codes. Calendar reform.
- 8221**     **Major eruption of Vesuvius**  
 1780 BCE     NG 9/12007; traces first discovered 12001. Greater than the eruption of 10079. (Though no suggestion of any impact comparable to the eruption of Thera.) It devastated the local early-Bronze-age culture; the area was abandoned for several centuries.
- ~8250–8960**     **Shang dynasty in China**  
 ~1750–~1040 BCE     Urban, literate, organized society. Chariot warfare. Massive construction. Early forms of the Chinese writing system are already in evidence in this period. [Writing in China may go back to ~7400.] Throughout China’s history, the complicated nature of this system placed a high premium on scribal and literary accomplishment. (Cf. notes on the beginnings of Egypt.)
- ~8350–8449**     **“Second Intermediate Period” in Egypt (dynasties XIII/XIV–XVII); Kush**  
 ~1650–  
 1552 BCE     Lower Egypt is invaded and ruled by the Hyksos, who came from Palestine, where a vigorous and significantly urbanized society had arisen. Egypt may have entered a period of political instability even before the invasion. Egyptian dynasties continued in Upper Egypt. Egypt loses control of lower Nubia, and the Nubian kingdom of Kush expanded to fill the vacuum. The seat of Kush was at Kerma, near the third cataract of the Nile. The higher echelons of Kush’s political culture were borrowed from Egypt, though in general Nubian culture was from its origins distinct from that of Egypt. It is probably in this period that the horse is introduced into Egypt, by the Hyksos.
- 8300s**     **Trade between Mesopotamia and Far East**  
 Cloves found in Syria, dated to this period. Cloves then were grown only on a few islands in Indonesia. The role of the Arabs as intermediaries in the trade between the Mediterranean world and the Far East apparently dates from this time, and continues as a major factor in trade and civilization for three thousand years, until the Mediterranean establishes direct links with the Far East. Indus–Gulf trade interrupted ~8400, q.v.



**8373 Eruption of Thera**

1628 BCE Probable date of the eruption of Thera, a Greek island in the southern Aegean. The tremendous eruption—one of the largest in history—altered the climate around the world for several years. Minoan civilization collapses in the following decades, and the Mycenaeans occupy Crete. (Per Paine, *TSAC*: it hung on for two centuries before the Mycenaeans took over.)

The inhabitants of Thera apparently had warning and time to flee—in the ruins covered Pompeii-like with ash, no human remains and few personal belongings have been found.

**c. 8400s INVASIONS, DECLINE OF CULTURE AND TRADE: EGYPT TO INDUS**

Fagan, *TSAC*, p.68: Hyksos rule in Egypt, Hittite invasion of Mesopotamia, decline of Indus Valley civilization; beginning of “a thousand-year hiatus in long-distance sea trade between” the Indus Valley and the Persian Gulf.

Also IE invasions; fall of 1st Babylonian Empire to less-civilized Kassites (8470).

Note also, of course, the Dark Age in the eastern Mediterranean from ~8800, q.v.

**~8400 Greeks arrive in Greece (~1600 BCE)**

(Per Drews; see ~8000, for alternate views of the date of the IE expansion.)

They come, per Drews, [via the Aegean], with the first major landings in Thessaly, and perhaps others of importance in the eastern Peloponnese. The occupation was a “takeover” that did not displace the earlier population. The major Greek dialects (Aeolian, Achaeian, Doric) developed after the arrival of the Greeks in Greece, as a result of [various movements] and various degrees of influence of the pre-Greek languages.

**~8400 Exodus and reoccupation of Canaan (~1600 BCE)**

~1600 BCE 8373 (1628 BCE) is the probable date of the eruption of Thera. (V. supra.) The eruption may have been responsible for the “plague of darkness” preceding the Jewish exodus from Egypt, which occurred at about this time. Egyptian records of the time also tell of an unusual darkness. Archaeological evidence suggests that Jericho may have been sacked about forty years later. The Philistines also enter Canaan about this time.

Moscatti dates the occupation of Canaan to the late 8700s, but notes many uncertainties in the dating. According to [Moscatti], the occupation is a process combining infiltration and warfare, fusion with Hebrew groups who had never left, and gradual assimilation of the Canaanites. The books of *Joshua* and *Judges* paint a starker picture: the earlier phases were described unequivocally, repeatedly, and at length as genocide, sparing “nothing that breathed”. At later stages, the conquered peoples were spared and made tributaries or helots, and *Judges* states that the failure to kill them constituted a violation of Israel’s covenant with Yahweh, for which they were subsequently punished.

See Appendix for further detail.

**~8400--~9500 Nuragic civilization in Sardinia**

~1600--~500 BCE [Maddin et al., ch. 9, of general interest on the prehistory of Sardinia. The modern relatives of Oetzi, ~6800, are in Sardinia and Corsica.] Sardinia traded with Mycenae as early as the 8600s, and with Cyprus from at least as early as the 8800s. Sardinia may have been technologically in advance of Italy in this period, and metallurgy may have come to Italy from Sardinia. Sardinia was an important source of iron in Phoenician times.

Sardinia, Pantelleria, Lipari, and Palmarola (an island or islands off the coast of Campania) were sources of obsidian, which was traded extensively to the mainland. (Maddin’s map shows no mainland sources in Italy, Provence, the Balearics, Tunisia, or the Adriatic.)

**8449–8932 The New Kingdom of Egypt (dynasties XVIII–XX)**

1552–1069 BCE The Kingdom of Upper Egypt defeats the Hyksos and Kushite invaders, and soon conquers Palestine, Syria, Kush, and Punt. Thutmose III, husband and brother of Hatshepsut, extends his rule east of the Euphrates. This empire, the greatest extension in Egypt’s history, was maintained until the 8800s (1100s BCE), and Egypt had much contact with the Aegean and with East Africa. Toward the end of the New Kingdom, Egypt’s internal affairs show a decline, and the territories in the Levant, Nubia, and the southern Red Sea coast were lost. (~8625, ~1375 BCE, after *RHDI*, the Hittite kingdom in Asia Minor takes Syria from Egypt. Also at this time, the “Peoples of the Sea”, of unknown origin (possibly including Greeks), invaded Anatolia and the Levant, and threatened Egypt.

Winemaking practices, including amphorae and treading in troughs, familiar from the classical era, are depicted in paintings in this period (and earlier ones, for all I know). In Tutankhamen's tomb are amphorae labeled with the year, the quality, the vineyard and its location, and the chief vintner's name. Wine was the drink of the elites; the fellaheen drank beer.

~8510–30, ~1490–1471 BCE Thutmosis III (*RHDI*.)

*18th Dynasty*

[others]

8611–48 Amenhotep III (*NG* 6/05.18)

8648–65 Akhenaten, son of Amenhotep III, husband of Nefertiti (*NG* 6/05.18)

8665–69 Smenkhkare; affiliation unknown

8669–79 Tutankhamen, son or grandson of Amenhotep III (*NG* 6/05.18)

8679–82 Aye, perh. grandfather of Tut's wife (*NG* 6/05.18)

8682–709 Horemheb; military leader; non-royal, was [vizier] to Tutankhamun and Aye; childless, made his military colleague Rameses I his heir (*NG* 6/05.18).

*19th Dynasty*

8709–11 Rameses I (*NG* 6/05.18) (dates may be problematic). Already old at accession.

8711–22 Seti I (son of Rameses I)

8722–88 Rameses II ("The Great", Sesostris to the Greeks). Son of Seti I.

**~8470–~8750 Mesopotamia: fall of the First Babylonian Empire is followed by a period of domination by "less civilized invaders". (~1530–~1250 BCE)**

Per *RHDI*, Babylonia is conquered by the Kassites ~8400–8851 (~1600–1150 BCE). The horse is now used throughout the Middle East.

**by 8500 Village agriculture in Meso-America**

by 1500 BCE Sedentary village farming in Meso-America (Mexico and Central America). Maize, beans, squash, chilis, cotton. Textiles, pottery. There was apparently no political structural beyond the village level.

**by ~8500 Indo-Europeans invade India**

by ~1500 BCE The Vedas, "the world's oldest surviving Indo-European literature" belong to the period 8500–9000 (1500–1000 BCE). The Rig Veda, among the earliest of the Vedas, was not written down before 9400. (Wolpert, p. 24.) The Aryans remain pastoral nomads until the end of this period. (See ~8000, for alternate views of the date of the IE expansion.)

**~8500 Mycenae**

~1500 BCE Beginnings of Mycenaean civilization in Greece.

**8500–~9200 Lapita people, Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) speakers, spread to Micronesia and parts of Polynesia**

Fagan, *BTBH*, dates the arrival of the Lapita people (cf. 8000, 8500) in the Bismarck Archipelago to about the time of the eruption of Witori ~8650.

Other sources say they had arrived in the Bismarcks ~8000, ~8400, qq.v. Previous peoples had only gone as far as the Solomon Islands; the Lapita people go on to settle the scattered islands to the SE as far as Tonga and Samoa.

The ancestors of today's Polynesians continued to expand eastward into today's Melanesia and Micronesia. Other groups, including Melanesians, may also have reached Micronesia.

Expansion beyond the larger islands of Melanesia is made possible by the development of better sailing craft. They spread east to Guam by 8500, and then to Tonga, Samoa (about 9050). They are in Fiji, western Polynesia, and eastern Micronesia by 9000. Expansion stopped about 9200, then resumed ~11000 (q.v.), until colonization of the Pacific was completed ~11300.

**~8625 Hittite kingdom in Asia Minor, under King Shubbiluliu, takes Syria from Egypt (~1375 BCE, after *RHDI*)**

**~8650 Largest major eruption of Mt. Witori, on New Britain; "dwarfs Krakatoa". (~8400, Fagan)**

## ~8700–9250 Urnfield Culture, LATE BRONZE AGE EUROPE

Common to all Europe, from Ukraine to Ireland, Scandinavia to Spain and Italy. Characterized by urn burial (also by a certain type of sword, bronze armor, fortified settlements, more numerous settlements, intensive forest clearance, inter alia). Gradual transition from the previous Tumulus culture, from which it grew. Local variants identified. Succeeded by Hallstatt culture.

W: "Linguistic evidence suggests that the people of this area spoke a form of Italo-Celtic, and/or early Celtic, perhaps originally Proto-Celtic." "A genetic study published in *Science* in March 2019 found a significant increase in north-central European ancestry in Iberia during the transition from the Bronze Age to the Iron Age. The authors of the study suggested that the spread of the Urnfield culture was associated with this transition, during which the Celtiberians may have emerged."

## ~8750–9396 Assyria

~1250–605 BCE The Assyrians, a Semitic people of northern Mesopotamia, gradually rise to dominance, eventually ruling Babylonia, Syria, and even, for a short time, Egypt. Their greatest city is Nineveh.

In this period, effective Mesopotamian rule for the first time reaches the shores of the Mediterranean. (Previous conquests were a matter of more-or-less temporary subjection to tribute.) The Assyrians carried out massive population transfers within their empire, to remove potential disaffected peoples from their conquered homelands, and establish them in places where their interests depended on the empire. Many Babylonians and Assyrians were moved to the Mediterranean coastal area.

Assyria is conquered by the Medes (an Indo-European people) in 9389 (612 BCE); the Babylonians rise again and take part of the Assyrian Empire around that time.

~8190, ~1810 BCE, "Shamsi-Addad frees the Assyrians from Babylonia. (Dates per *RHDI*.)

9066–89 Ashur-Dan II (935–912 BCE). Resurgence of Assyria.

9090–109 Adad-nirari II (911–892 BCE). Assyria expands, becoming the greatest empire yet known. Takes territory from Babylonia and in other areas around the Assyrian core. Major population exchanges.

9110–17 Tukulti-Ninurta II (891–884 BCE). Expands into central Anatolia and in the Zagros, where he subjugates "the newly arrived Persians, Parthians and Medes".

9118–42 Ashurnasirpal II (883–859 BCE). Reaches the Mediterranean, subjects the Phoenicians and Cimmagene to tribute. Conquests in Anatolia, including Phrygia.

9143–77 Shalmaneser III (858–824 BCE). Continues conquests in the Mediterranean area, repeatedly invades Cilicia. Reduces the Neo-Hittite states, Babylonia, the Arabs, and others to vassalage.

9177–257 Less assertion in the Mediterranean area.

9179–90 Shamshi-Adad V (822–811 BCE). Succession struggle and civil war. Later victories against Babylonia.

9191–219 Adad-nirari III (810–782 BCE). Boy-king, with effective rule in the hands of Semiramis (illa; Shammuramat), until 9195/806; she was an effective ruler and made continued successful campaigns against the Persians, Parthians, and Medes, becoming a legendary character among the Greeks and Persians. Adad-nirari continues conquests in the Levant, Iran (reaching the Caspian), Babylon, and Arabia.

9219–28 Shalmaneser IV (782–773 BCE). A weak king, but his generals maintain Assyrian power.

9229– Ashur-dan III (772– BCE). Largely ineffectual and dependent on his generals.

9247–56 Ashur-nirari V (754–45 BCE). At first the empire suffered from a constant state of internal revolution, but he later made some successful conquests. He was deposed by Tiglath-Pileser III.

9257–74 Tiglath-pileser III (744–727 BCE). Renews attacks in the Mediterranean area.

9275–78 Shalmaneser V (726–723 BCE). W: "Consolidated Assyrian power during his short reign, and repressed Egyptian attempts to gain a foothold in the near east, defeating and driving out Pharaoh Shoshenq V from the region. He is mentioned in Biblical sources as having conquered Israel and being responsible for deporting the Ten Lost Tribes of Israel to Assyria."

late 9200s: Assyria conquers Levantine coast. Sidon and Tyre appear to have retained independence, but at the cost of heavy tribute in gold. Later, the Phoenician cities became pawns in the rivalry between Egypt and Assyria.

9279–96 Sargon II (722–705 BCE). He defeats and destroys Israel, exiling much of the population, including many from Samaria, replacing them with Arabs. He subjects Cyprus to tribute ~9294, though there are no signs of invasion. Carchemish (9284/717) and then Cilicia are defeated and much of their population exiled, to be replaced with Assyrians and Babylonians.

9296–320 Sennacherib (705–681 BCE). Defeats Egypt, ravages Israel but does not take Jerusalem, destroys Babylon (9312, 689 BCE). Naval hostilities with Greeks. Cyprus still under Assyrian suzerainty.

- 9320–33   Essarhadon (681–668 BCE). Makes Egypt an Assyrian province (9330/671).  
9332–75   Ashurbanipal (669 [sic]–626 BCE). Rebellions in subject countries.  
9375–96   Assyria divided between Media and Babylonia (626–605 BCE). The conventional date of the fall of Assyria is 9389/612.

## 8800s Sacrificial deposits of advanced art in Sichuan

Objects dating from the 8800s and 8700s were found in 1986 in two sacrificial pits in Sanxingdi, Sichuan. This find was the first indication of high civilization in Sichuan in the second millennium BCE, and the first important early regional tradition known in China outside of the north. (Exhibit at MMA, 6/02.)

The reason why the deposits were made is unknown, though they were obviously part of important ceremonial occasions. The two pits were each filled all at once with sacrificial objects that had previously been broken and burnt. They were then deposited in layers, each containing one type of object. Prominent among the objects were works of bronze of all sizes, from hand-size to 13 feet tall. These included statues, masks, ceremonial vessels, and “money trees”—bronze trees encrusted with representations of coins and animals. Also found in the pits were some gold objects, objects of jade and other stone, elephant tusks, cowry shells from India, and burned animal bones.

Many of the bronze masks and vessels had been painted with black or vermilion; in some cases, the vermilion is described as having been smeared on, as if specifically for the ceremony. Some of the masks had been covered or adorned with gold leaf.

The masks all represented human or humanoid faces, variously adorned, particularly in regard to headdresses, but all with similar features and in the same unusual and impressive style, with the curves of the face forming sweeping ridges—even the eyes were ridged lengthwise—, the mouth just a line between thin lips that sometimes stretched back around the head, and the nose prominent and bringing to mind the nose of some elegant gargoyle. Some of the masks were fitted or had been fitted with ornamented extensions rising from the forehead. The largest of the masks (three feet wide or a bit less) may have been made to be attached to statues or pillars of wood. There were many statues and busts in the pits exhibiting the same features as the masks. Some were small, many of the busts and one statue were life-size or nearly so.

The masks and similar statuary, and some of the other objects, were in a style quite unlike other Chinese artifacts of the time. (One would, nonetheless, have identified many of them—but perhaps not the masks—as Chinese, though hardly typical. They also reminded me somewhat of Central Asian art, and some of the bird-heads had curved beaks and a general aspect reminiscent of the griffin, a Central Asian motif taken up by the Greeks, among others.) Many or most of the bronze vessels, however, had been imported from the middle Yangzi region. These vessels, and I believe some or many of the other objects in the pits, were not made new for the occasion, but had been around for as much as a century. But these were not old household items, even from a rich and powerful household. All were notable objects of art.

[Also exhibited was Sichuanese material, mostly tomb objects of bronze or stone, from a later period, the 5th century bce. to the 2nd century ce. (Very little is known from the seven centuries that passed between the time of the sacrificial pits and the 5th century bce.) Some of these objects followed patterns that survived in Sichuan after falling out of use elsewhere.]

## 8800–9100 Beginnings of Olmec civilization

1200–900 BCE Olmec civilization on the southern Gulf coast. Large towns are known; large earthen pyramids and great stone sculptures suggest large political units and a complex society. Olmec culture was the first great “civilizational unification” in the Americas. It spread to surrounding areas, and persisted until ~9500, when it was superseded by regional civilizations built on an Olmec heritage.

## ~8800–~8980 Israel: period of Judges

~1200–1020 BCE At first, the Hebrews are ruled by the Judges, who were not kings, but rather those local leaders who from time to time gained a wider preeminence. The High Priest exercised a primarily religious authority. The religious center is the sanctuary at Shilo. Throughout the time of the Judges and Kings, and after, the Prophets are active. They are independent mullahs, sometimes kingmakers, who claim to speak in the name of God, the one true king of the Israelites. This was the period of Deborah, Gideon, and Samson. Warfare with neighboring peoples was constant: the Philistines, Moabites, Midianites, Ammonites, and Aramaeans.

“By the end of the second millennium before Christ, Israel presented a picture of almost complete decadence; from this it was rescued by a reaction in the form of a demand for national unity, which gave rise to the monarchy.” (Moscati.)

## ~8800 The Greek Dark Age

~1200 BCE Major earthquakes shook the city of Mycenae in 8750 (is this an exact date?), and again 50 years later. The city was rebuilt after the first disaster, but did not recover from the second. The Mycenaean civilization collapses, and the “Dark Age” of Greek history begins. This is an age of petty kingdoms ruled by warrior chiefs, primarily agricultural, with little town civilization. It is Dark Age Greece that is portrayed in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

There is a similar eclipse throughout the eastern Mediterranean in this period.

## ~8800 Trojan War; THE PEOPLES OF THE SEA; “END OF THE BRONZE AGE”

~1200 BCE The traditional dating of the Trojan War, originating with Eratosthenes, is 8807–8817 (1194–84 BCE.) (Cf. *SN* 160.332, 11/24/01, where a date of ~1250 BCE [~8750] is given, and a partial reconstruction of the terrain is briefly described.)

\*\*\*\*Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age*, ch. 4, for “the Peoples of the Sea”, and also the history of theories about them since the 1800s. The names and identifications are given, as accepted. Those who attacked Egypt in the famous inscriptions were not seafaring peoples, but mercenary forces shipped over to aid the invasions or attacks of others. (Elsewhere in the book they appear as raiders. alibi: The Shardana at one point fought on the side of Egypt.)

\*\*\*\*V. Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad*, ch. 8, for an extremely valuable and interesting reconstruction of the history of the era. In sum, the Greeks, called by a name identifiable with “Achaians”, unified (at least for raiding purposes) under a dynasty including a king probably to be identified with Atreus, along with Anatolian peoples (some identifiable, including the Etruscans; note also the Shardana—might these have set-

tled, or come from, Sardinia?), all referred to as “The Peoples of the Sea”, raid Egypt, at first in conjunction with the Hittite kingdom, itself perhaps not much better integrated than the Achaians. (Apparently only the ruling elite spoke Hittite, which is why the language disappeared quickly after the empire fell in ~8820. The related Luwian language, in W. Anatolia, was more widely spoken—not least within the later Hittite empire—and lasted longer.) Some had also served as mercenaries for the Egyptians. After the Hittites make peace with Egypt, the Peoples of the Sea raid Egypt on their own, and encroach on the Hittite Empire and the Levant. They are defeated by Rameses III in ~8825 in what was, according to Rameses, a great victory. A group identifiable with the Philistines settles in the Levant. According to *NG* 10/04.37, early Phoenician cultures borrowed much, including much sea lore, from the Sea Peoples. The latter, however, did not make a major genetic impact in Canaan.

~8800–8950 Mycenaean Greeks invade Cyprus.

W: “Robert Drews [i.e., in *TEOTBA*] after having reviewed and dismissed the migration hypothesis, has suggested that the observed cultural associations may be in fact partly explained as the result of a new kind of warfare based upon the slashing Naue II sword, and with bands of infantry replacing chariots in warfare. Drews suggests that the political instability that this brought to centralised states based upon maryannu chariotry caused the breakdown of these polities.”

~8900 **Dorian invasion** or whatever it was (~1100 BCE) (date per *RHDI*)

It has been suggested that “that the Dorians moved in 1100 BC into a post Mycenaean vacuum, rather than precipitating the collapse”.

8900s **Phoenician expansion begins**

~8900–9598 **Zhou (Chou) dynasty in China**

~1100–403 BCE Last of the three Chinese Bronze Age dynasties. (The Chinese Bronze Age ended ~9500.) The Zhou conquered the Shang and absorbed much of its culture and ruling class. Called the Western Zhou before 9230, when the capital was moved from Xian to Loyang, beginning the period of the Eastern Zhou. In this period the Zhou gradually fell apart into increasingly independent subunits. In 9548 (453), the kingdom of Chin was defeated and divided among the “Wei, Han, and Chao Clans”. Modern Chinese scholars consider this as the beginning of the Warring States period, which Western scholars, it seems, date from 9598, when the division of Chin was legitimized by the Zhou emperor. Eight states remained at the close of the anarchic shakeout. The Zhou “Sons of Heaven” continued to exist as a dynasty until 9745 (9752 also seen), as sacred kings with ritual functions but only insignificant temporal power, subject politically to the warlords.

The beginning of this period is the time of the earliest known evidence of the domestication of soybeans. The soybean’s role as staple crop is dependent on fermentation or other processing; otherwise it is famine food, with serious nutritional and culinary drawbacks.

Maps: For later period, Griffith’s Sun Tzu, following p. 32. For historical background, cf. the introductions to Confucius, Sun Tzu, and Mencius.

8932–9337 **“Third Intermediate Period” in Egypt (dynasties XXI–XXV)**

1069–664 BCE The decline at the end of the New Kingdom ended in a usurpation of royal power by generals, whose holdings gradually fragmented into smaller and smaller kingdoms, while Libyans and Kushites encroached upon Egypt’s territory. A Kushite dynasty (XXV) gained ascendancy in the early 9300s (early 600s BCE), and fought against Assyria, which briefly conquered Egypt, setting up vassal kingdoms.

~8980–9079 **Israel: Unified Kingdom (~1020–922 BCE)**

~1020–922 BCE The Judges were succeeded by the kingdom of the twelve tribes under Saul, David, and Solomon. Despite the need for unity, tribal divisions remained, and the rivalry between northern and southern tribes was a constant factor in the politics of Israel. Cutting across geopolitical divisions, and complicating matters, was a rivalry between the priesthood and the kings.

~8980–~9000 (~1020–~1000 BCE): Saul. Saul was acceptable as belonging to Benjamin, the smallest and most central of the tribes.

~9000–9040 (~1000–961 BCE): David, of Bethlehem in Judah, was a bold and sagacious man, a successful and popular general under Saul, despite the growing jealousy of the latter, which David handled wisely. He succeeded to the kingship after Saul and his son were killed in battle with the Philistines. He was a strong king who carefully conciliated the northern tribes and brought religious authority into the court. His military successes included the capture of Jerusalem and the recovery of the Ark.

9040–79 (961–922 BCE): Solomon. David had handed down a secure throne to Solomon, under whose prosperous rule the kingdom held together. Trade became important, and Israel made the most of its control of the routes between Egypt and the east, and of its situation on two seas. But Solomon transformed the kingship into a typical eastern monarchy, with some foreign religious practices, flouting the nomadic independence and popular religious unruliness and particularism of his subjects, an antagonism aggravated by heavy taxation. *NG 3/06.28*: “The earliest known record of the Hebrew alphabet has been found at a site south of Jerusalem.” It consists of 22 letters carved in stone. “Scholars say the engraved symbols retain elements of the Phoenician alphabet, yet display their own markedly Hebrew characteristics.”

**~9000 Iron in India**

(~1000 BCE) Iron metallurgy makes agriculture possible in the plain of the Ganges, to which the Aryans expanded. This is the period of the *Mahabharata*, during which Aryan culture made the transition from pastoral nomadism to settled kingdoms. (Wolpert, p. 37.)

**[~9000] [Celtic expansion in Europe]**

Celts begin to invade Britain ~9000. They may have introduced a light, ox-drawn plow at this period. The Celtic spread disrupts the trade between the Baltic and the Mediterranean, from ~9600 to ~9400.

**from ~9000 Woodland Culture in [woodlands of [eastern & central] North America]**

Pottery, burial mounds. This culture persisted in some areas until the European invasion. In southern Minnesota, at least, it was replaced by the Mississippian Culture ~11000 (q.v.). Includes Adena culture, 9000–9800, Indiana–Pennsylvania, ancestor of the Hopewell Culture. (Cf. Middle Woodland Period, 10200–500.)

**from ~9000 Phoenicia**

Phoenician colonies spread throughout the Mediterranean. The Phoenicians were a Semitic people (a branch of the biblical Canaanites, who first developed alphabetic writing) from what is now Lebanon, where their major cities were Tyre and Sidon. It was from the Phoenicians that the Greeks learned the use of the alphabet. They were great traders and seafarers, who spread colonies around the shores of the Mediterranean, particularly at its eastern and western ends. By 9200, their rule is established in parts of Cyprus, where they had been present since ~9100. Carthage, in what is now Tunisia, was the most powerful of the Phoenician colonies. It was founded in 9187 (814 BCE, a traditional date), as a colony of Tyre, and emerged as an independent regional power about 300 years later, after the Phoenician home cities fell under the domination of Babylon. (Later conquest by Assyria continued the process; there was significant migration from Phoenicia to Carthage ~675 BCE. Phoenicia declined further after it was conquered by Alexander in 9669 (332 BCE).) Malta is settled by 9200. In the central Mediterranean, Carthage was the rival of the Greeks and later the Romans, until decisively defeated by Rome in the Punic Wars (9737–9855, 264–146 BCE).

Cf. ~8800, Trojan War; the Peoples of the Sea. V. *NG 10/04*.

According to ancient reports, the Phoenicians had an extensive literature.

Fagan, *TSAC*: Phoenician trading cities had little hinterland. Phoenician exports included olive oil, textiles, “perfumes and scented oils”, textiles and jewelry (Greek exports are similar; wine and pottery are not mentioned by Paine); the hinterland, including Israel, supplied grain and honey. (The trade at a later period is described in some detail in Ezekiel.) Cedar was a highly important export of Lebanon, especially to tree-poor Egypt.

There was “a Levantine seafaring tradition dating from the third millennium”; the Sea Peoples were an interruption that broke up long-distance trade routes

Gadir (Phoenician for citadel) was an ideal port site situated near the mouth of the Guadalquivir River and the Rio Tinto, which led to silver, gold, and tin mines inland. The smelting industry of SW Spain expanded notably in response to the demand. The urge to exploration southward was reinforced by the existence of “rich fishing banks between Mauritania and the Canary Islands.” (Phoenicians seem to have engaged in fishing and whaling from the island of Mogador in S. Morocco. Phoenician settlement in E. Spain and the Balearics came late: apparently it was, at first, only the metals that justified such long distance trade.

Egyptians and Phoenicians were familiar with transporting ships in pieces over land barriers. This was the basis for Egyptian trade in the Red Sea, and for Phoenician expeditions (as under Hiram and Solomon) into the Red Sea.

Sardinia was an important source of iron in Phoenician times.

## 9079–9279–9415 Kingdoms of Israel and Judah

922–722–586 BCE After Solomon, the north-south rivalry reasserted itself, and popular opposition to the court religious authorities was manifested in the activity of the Prophets. As always, popular religious fervor and foreign superstition proved quite compatible, and foreign worship and beliefs became prominent in this period, providing further fodder for the Prophets on all sides. With the revolt of Jereboam in the north, Israel was divided into two kingdoms. (The tribe of Levi was actually distributed throughout the other tribes, but the sources speak of “the ten tribes”.)

See Appendix for detail on this period, including king lists.

9079–9279 (922–722 BCE) The Kingdom of Israel, composed of the other ten tribes, was in the north, with its capital at Samaria. Its kings sought to exalt ancient sanctuaries in the north, to counter the religious prestige of Jerusalem. In 9279, the kingdom of Israel was defeated by Sargon, king of Assyria, who about this time usurped the throne of Shalmaneser, who began the conquest of Israel. (In my older notes from ?Grayzel, I have Israel being conquered by Shalmaneser in 9282 (719 BCE).) The upper echelons of its people were transported to Persia.

9079–9415 (922–586 BCE) The Kingdom of Judah (which also included the tribe of Benjamin) in the south was the weaker, but had its capital at Jerusalem, the religious center and site of Solomon’s great Temple.

In 9404 (597 BCE), under Jehoiakim, the Kingdom of Judah surrenders to Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon. Nebuchadnezzar establishes a vassal king there, and exiles some of the ruling class to Babylon.

Under Zedekiah, in the time of Jeremiah, Judah rebels against Babylon at the prompting of Egypt. It falls in 9415 (586 BCE), Nebuchadnezzar overthrows the Kingdom of Judah, destroys the Temple, kills many of its people, and transports many more to Babylon (v. infra), setting up a governor over the remaining poor and fugitives. Neighboring peoples encroach. The activity of the Prophets continues.

## 9100s Urban civilization re-emerges in Greece

800s BCE Middle Geometric pottery exported [from Athens], 9150–9250. By ~9200, the demes have fused into [sympolit-eiai]; Athens as capital apparently complete.

## 9100s Arrival and development of the Etruscan civilization in Italy (800s BCE) (date after RHDI)

(On the Etruscans, see Scullard, *TECAR*. Also Ogilvie’s introduction to the Penguin Livy, pp. 17f., extracted here.) Their rule and culture was superimposed on a simple, rural culture related to the Urnfield cultures that had flourished in Rumania over the previous eight centuries. These latter entered the Po valley from the Adriatic, and came around to the west coast of Italy by sea. Their culture in Italy is referred to as Villanovan. About 9300, they were joined by a new group from Asia Minor, probably driven out by the Cimmerian invasions. These people spoke a non-IE language, and brought a knowledge of the more advanced cultures of the eastern Mediterranean, particularly the Greek. (The settlement of Aeneas in Italy was a favorite motif among them from early times.) Superimposed upon the Villanovans, they created the civilization known as “Etruscan”. Scullard, 237: “The general picture given by our sources is one of an opulent and powerful aristocracy on the one hand and an immense body of clients, serf, and slaves on the other.” They were skilled seafarers, apparently number among the Peoples of the Sea, and masters of the sea that bears their name until they fell to the Celts and the Romans.

There are controversies as to the origin of the Etruscan people and culture, but the existence and persistence of these controversies seems not to be the consequence of any body of compelling evidence against the view that the origins of what is essential in Etruscan culture were in Anatolia (though not, as the ancients wrote, the origins of the whole people), but rather the consequence of the fact that while the evidence for that view is in mass compelling, it is maddeningly rare for it to be as clear as one would like. The space given to these controversies in print is a consequence of professional scholarly necessity, and is out of all proportion to the worth of alternative theories. (Mommsen *THOR* Bk I.ix, p. 155–6: Origin of the Etruscans. M favors Rhaetia. He gives plausible arguments, but some are contradicted flatly by examples in other areas cited elsewhere.)

## 9100–9800 Chavín culture in Peru.

“Chavín horizon”: first large-scale cultural unification in the Andean region (fl. ~9200–~9500).

Fagan, *TSAC*: The coastal pyramid building culture in Peru declines, and is succeeded by the Chavín culture, based in the highlands.

Chavín cultural influence was carried by sea from Ecuador to Mexico and Guatemala.

Chavín has connections with Amazonia, where cultures as far east as Manaus reached a higher level (including settled agriculture and roads) than is commonly thought of in connection with the area. Such Ama-

zonian cultural finds date mainly from the 10000 millenium. The cultures persisted until they were wrecked by diseases from the Old World; I presume the jungle quickly hid their remains.

**9187 Carthage founded [conventional date] (814 BCE)**

**9200s Iron in Hungary**

700s BCE Iron was present here earlier: the first iron known from Hungary was a needle found in an Urnfield grave. Iron in greater quantity is known from the 9200s. (Maddin et al., ch. 8.) Halstatt, beginning about this time, was a Celtic culture; it included local smitheries.

**9200s Beginning of archaic period in Greece (conventionally from 9225)**

[Advances in metallurgy.] Note that stainless steel, at any rate, is lighter than bronze (Dick, *TWFK* 25); likely iron is also. If so, as important for the transition as hardness.

Fagan, *Beyond the Blue Horizon*, on the Aegean and the Mediterranean generally: Prolonged calms, thus oars for calms and adverse winds (ships then could sail well into the wind); often violent winds the alternative. Steep-faced seas that can't be sailed into. Aegean islands dry, poor farming, fish not abundant, very sparsely settled. (mcv: Aegean first inhabited when many islands were still connected to the mainland at the end of the Ice Age.) Coastal areas in the Mediterranean generally always interdependent, people always moved around a lot; much small-scale trade, even for foodstuffs.

Euboea was the maritime leader in Greece in this period, until the Lelantine War (Fagan, *TSAC*).

Winds: (Fagan, *Beyond the Blue Horizon*):

Meltemi, northwest; violent, preventing navigation, unless running before it. The meltemi favored direct runs from Greece to Egypt; the N winds direct from Greece to N Africa, then coasting E to Nile delta. The return route was coasting along the Levant and Anatolia, with perhaps a stop at Cyprus.

Etesian winds, from the N (though the NW meltemi is both classed among them and contrasted w/ them by Fagan within a few pages).

The mistrals of the winter months precluded navigation.

9200s Life of Homer. (700s BCE). BUT see 9300s: West dates *Iliad* to 9320><60.

early 9200s Introduction of the alphabet in the early 9200s, derived from Phoenician. (Oldest known example ~9260.) The Greeks adapted certain letters to represent vowel sounds (which were not written down in Phoenician), making the system simpler and reading less ambiguous, and also making the written word accessible to anyone who knew the alphabet (since *everything* needed for sounding was written), rather than just the priestly and scribal castes of Egypt, Mesopotamia, or China (or Israel). (The Sanskrit writing system was not for non-specialists either.) (Perhaps it could also be argued that the letterforms were also more legible and more easily written.) (Cf. Pfeiffer, HCS I.103.)

Advances in ironworking. Rise of the polis.

9225 Traditional date of the founding of the Olympic Games. (776 BCE)

Possible period of the foundation of the Greek colony at Pithecusa (Ischia) in Campania.

late 9200s Greeks begin to colonize, [starting near the Hellespont], then elsewhere in Asia Minor, and in North Africa, the central and western Mediterranean (including Italy), and the Black Sea.

~9251 Foundation of Cumae by Chalkis. Greek factory at mouth of Orontes. (~750 BCE)

~9265–85 First Messenian War. (~736–716 BCE)

~9267 Foundation of Naxos by Chalkis; the first Greek colony in Sicily. (~734 BCE)

~9268 Foundation of Syracuse by Corinth. (~733 BCE)

~9272 Foundation of Catana and Leontini by Naxos (itself a colony of Chalkis). (~729 BCE)

~9281 Foundation of Sybaris by Achaia. (~720 BCE)

Sparta conquers Messenia

9290 Greek lord of Ashdod (Palestine) defeated by Assyria. (711 BCE)

9292 Cyprus tributary to Sargon. (709 BCE)

~9293 Foundation of Croton by Achaia. (~708 BCE)

~9295? Lelantine War. Euboean dominance seems to have been lost when Chalkis and Eritrea wore each other out in the Lelantine Wars, and gave other cities an opportunity to cut in.

**9248–492 Rome: kingdom**

9248 Conventional (Varronian) date of the founding of Rome. (1 AUC, 753 BCE.)

Rome at first is ruled by kings. (The dates given below are the traditional ones. The earliest of the kings are more or less legendary. The tradition implies an average reign of 34 years, which would seem unlikely, especially for the time.) (On early Rome, see Ogilvie's introduction to the Penguin Livy, extracted here.)

Archeological evidence shows that the small pastoral settlements that originally occupied the site did in fact begin to unite and grow into an important town at about this time. These included separate settlements evidencing distinct cultures, apparently Latin and Sabine. While the Italic peoples always retained their own identity and character, Greece was a significant influence on their development, both directly and by way of the Etruscans, also an influence, who dominated northern Italy until the rise of Rome. Latium was important to the Etruscans not only as a potential field for expansion, but for its trade routes to Magna Graecia, and for the salt pans at the mouth of the Tiber. The site of Rome was the closest ford to the mouth of the Tiber. Rome, though a Latin city, thus attracted important Etruscan migration, and Etruscan influence is evident in the archaeological record from about 9375, just before the traditional reign of Tarquinius Priscus, and afterwards the dominance of the Etruscan cultural element coincides with improvements and centralization of the city's infrastructure and government, and is evident in the distinctly Etruscan regal trappings. The late 9300s and 9400s were also the period of the short-lived general Etruscan expansion southward into Campania, from which they retreated about 9527. The development of the indigenous religion in directions more imitative of Greek religion also (per Ogilvy) occurred at this time, as did a shift from herding to farming, and a dissolution of earlier, ethnically-based political divisions (the curia), in favor of tribal organization, not based on ethnos or location.

The beginning of the Regal period coincided with the vigorous beginnings of Magna Graecia.

9248–85 Romulus. Probably wholly mythical. (1–38 AUC, 753–716 BCE)

9286–9328 Numa (39–81 AUC, 715–673 BCE)

9329–60 Tullus Hostilius (82–113 AUC, 672–641 BCE)

9361–84 Ancus Marcius (114–137 AUC, 640–617 BCE)

9385–423 Tarquinius Priscus. (The tradition that he was the son of Demaratus of Corinth finds some credit among scholars. Ogilvy, 19: "There is good evidence that Corinthian exiles settled in Etruria in this period, ousted by the policies of the tyrant Periander." Cf. Scullard, *TECAR*, who also presents evidence for Caere, rather than Tarquinius, as the home of the Tarquins.) (138–176 AUC, 616–578 BCE)

9423–66 Servius Tullius (175–219 AUC, 578–535 BCE)

Ogilvy, 20: "The earliest ditch defenses of certain weak parts of the city may date from about 540 BC [9461] although the earliest earth-wall seems not to have been constructed before about 480 BC and the so-called Servian Wall belongs to the period after the Gallic occupation."

Mommsen *THOR* Bk I.vii, p. 139 n. 1: "The 'Seven-hill-city' in the proper and religious sense was and continued to be the narrower Old-Rome of the Palatine (p. 62). Certainly the Servian Rome also regarded itself, at least as early as the time of Cicero . . . , as 'Seven-hill-city,' probably because the festival of the Septimontium, which was celebrated with great zeal even under the Empire, began to be regarded as a festival for the city generally; but there was hardly any definite agreement reached as to which of the heights embraced by the Servian ring-wall belonged to the 'seven'. The enumeration of the Seven Mounts familiar to us, viz. Palatine, Aventine, Caelian, Esquiline, Viminal, Quirinal, Capitoline, is not given by any ancient author." It is a construct of more recent historians; earlier writers, beginning in the age of Constantine, gave different lists.

Phalanxes of well-drilled hoplites superseded the earlier, cavalry-based, military organization (v. infra; cf. 9332, Argos). The need to maximize the number of soldiers equipped with expensive armor and weaponry, and the great increase in available population as the city grew and outgrew its old organization, entailed a new socio-military organization for Rome: property qualifications remained the basis for social organization and divisions, but the criterion was purchase of armor, not the breeding and maintenance of a horse (which remained the criterion for the *ordo equestris*), and mere residence, rather than birth, the prerequisite for consideration. Centuries were the unit of military organization (not, until much later, of civil), and the original three tribes were replaced by a greater number, covering the city and the hinterland, and originally geographical in basis. (On early Roman socio-military organization, cf. Scullard, *TECAR*, passim; check index s.v. "hoplites" for a start, and esp. p. 303 n. 145, for Momigliano's view that the original equites were the bodyguard of the king, not to be equated with the land-owning aristocracy, who, with their families and *clientes*, formed the infantry. "If this view is right", says Scullard, "it solves many problems such as the superior importance of the *magister populi* compared with the *magister equestris*, and the voting rights of the *sex suffragia*.")

This new organization was the basis for the *comitia centuriata*, which "largely replaced the older *curiate assembly*". Ogilvy states that the more broadly-based hoplite system typically mitigated against monarchy (in favor of oligarchy) in Greece, a development that was mirrored in subsequent events at Rome.

The new military organization coincided with a movement of military expansion that continued through the next reign. Servius Tullius established the cult of Diana on the Aventine, which may echo the function of the cult of Artemis at Ephesus as the focal point of an Ionian league.

- 9462 Phocaeans of Masillia defeated by Etruscan and Carthaginian fleets off Alalia (Corsica) (539 BCE), sealing Carthaginian control of the western Mediterranean. This marks the height of Etruscan power, soon to be challenged by Rome, Syracuse, and the Celtic invaders in northern Italy.
- 9466–91 Tarquinius Superbus (219–244 AUC, 535–510 BCE)  
Roman expansion continues, until Rome “has some sort of control” over a good chunk of Latium, at least along the coast and the left bank of the Tiber.
- 9492 The kings are expelled and the Roman Republic founded. (245 AUC, 509 BCE)

Mommsen *THOR* Bk I.vii, p. 127: When Rome established its hegemony over Latium, “the towns of Latium . . . can have been little more than the strongholds and weekly markets of the husbandmen: it was sufficient in general that the market and the seat of justice should be transferred to the new capital. M gives perhaps the best and most useful account of Rome’s early rise that I’ve seen.

Mommsen *THOR* Bk I.vi, p. 109: The plebeians were originally metoeci, a numerous class of non-citizens dependent on protection of citizen patrons, w.r.t whom they were “listeners” (*clientes*). V.q. 327, on the later development of the plebs in the Roman polity.

Military: The earliest Roman forces were centered on a mounted nobility, (note that the Dioscuri were patrons of cavalry) assisted by light infantry. This was the typical form of the early Greek military, and was used by the Etruscans. In Greece, this was superseded by phalanxes of well-drilled hoplites, to which cavalry, though still aristocratic, was a secondary adjunct. This development occurred in Greece over the period 9330–9400 (v. ~9332), and was adopted by the Etruscans and Romans between 9430 and 9460. (Thus Ogilvy; he notes that the old cavalry organization was still prevalent among the Latins in the very early 9500s, citing (p. 24) the battle of Lake Regillus as a victory of Roman hoplites over Latin cavalry.) The phalanx was in turn superseded in Rome, around the 9650s (q.v.; the period of Camillus, Torquatus, and Corvus, and the wars with neighboring peoples that followed the Gallic sack of Rome), by a more open order of spearmen, the basis for the classic legion.

Technology: the following were invented by the Romans (period unknown to me unless specified): iron saws, set saw teeth, back saws, frame saws, plane, auger (t-handle, turned with both hands). The Romans used nails in carpentry. The earliest evidence for the lathe is Etruscan, 9200s [reciprocating].

9279 **Kingdom of Israel defeated by Sargon II, king of Assyria (722 BCE) (V. supra.)**

**early 9300s Kush conquers Egypt**

early 600s BCE A Kushite dynasty (XXV) gained ascendancy in the early 9300s (*Britannica* has mid 9200s), and fought against Assyria. Kush would remain an important independent power down through the Ptolemaic period. Meroë, an iron-working center and a capital of Kush, was occupied from the 9300s to the 10300s. Meroë and Kush were destroyed and superseded by the Aksumite kingdom ~10350.

**9300s Greece: later archaic period; colonization, tyrants (600s BCE)**

Fagan, *TSAC*: Ionian colonization had the additional impetus of attacks on their cities from mainland peoples (who also destroyed Sardis) ~9300. Its direction into the Black Sea (Euxeinos, a euphemism for Axeinos) was in part because of Phoenician dominance in the Mediterranean, but the trade of Scythian grain (exchanged for bronze ware, pottery, oil, and wine) to Athens and other Greek cities was a rich one.

~9300–[~]9361 Athens: Strong hereditary oligarchy of the Eupatridae. [Social divisions.] (~700–[~]640 BCE).

9316 Foundation of Chalcedon by Megara. (685 BCE)

**9320><60 *Iliad* written, possibly by one Melesigenes (West).**

~9332 Argives defeat Sparta at Hysiae. (~669 BCE)

At about this time, Argos replaces the traditional mode of warfare based on a mounted nobility, (note that the Dioscuri were patrons of cavalry) assisted by light infantry. The Argives introduced phalanxes of well-drilled hoplites, to which cavalry, though still aristocratic, was a secondary adjunct. This innovation became prevalent in Greece over the next seventy years. Cowell, *CATR* 46: “The credit for discovering how to turn an armed horde into a victorious army is, it seems, due to the Greeks. They were the first to invent an order of battle in which drilled men acting together as a unit in formation were able to overcome unorganized enemies many times more numerous who sought to engage their opponents in battles which were nothing more or less than a vast number of single hand-to-hand encounters.”

~9341 Foundation of Byzantium by Megara. (~660 BCE)

~9347 First Greek trading post in Ukraine. (~654 BCE)

~9351 Cypselus tyrant at Corinth (650~ BCE)

**fl. 9353 Archilochus (fl. 648~ bce)**

fl. 9360–400 Mimnermus (fl. 630–600 BCE), elegiac

- ~9361 Theagenes tyrant at Megara (~640 BCE)  
 ~9365–9374 Athens: Kylon attempts to become tyrant. This is the first attempt at tyranny in Athens. Kylon had family connections with a neighboring tyrant. This is the first closely dated event in the history of Athens. (~636–627 BCE)  
**9370><400** **Odyssey written, not by the author of the *Iliad* (West).**  
 ~9370 Foundation of Cyrene by Thera. (~630 BCE)  
 ~9371 Foundation of Sinope by Miletus (~629 BCE). Miletus was a great colonizer, and had important trade ties with Egypt.  
 ~9376–419 Periander tyrant at Corinth. ( BCE)  
 ~9381 Athens: Code of Drakon. An advance, though still tribal and primitive. May have suppressed vendetta. (~620 BCE)  
 ~9391 Thrasybulus tyrant at Miletus. (~610 BCE)

**9337–9476 Saite Period in Egypt (dynasties XXVI)**

664–525 BCE The Saite Kingdom in the Nile delta, a small kingdom in the Third Intermediate period that was strengthened by an alliance with Assyria, reunites Egypt under its own rule, also conquering Palestine, Cyprus, and, briefly, Syria east to the Euphrates. (Ionian Greek and Carian mercenaries form an important part of the Saite military. Under Pharaoh Necho II (9391–9406, 610–595 BCE) an Egyptian expedition is said to have circumnavigated Africa. (Some modern scholars dispute this. But the belief in a southern land connection between Africa and Asia is not in itself decisive in this regard.) Necho also attempted construction of a canal linking the Nile and the Red Sea, and fought piracy in the Red Sea. (Darius completed the Nile–Red Sea canal, but immediately closed it out of fear that the Red Sea would flood the Nile Valley. It was re-opened—with locks—by Ptolemy II. On this canal, and its later history, v. Mommsen, *TPOTRE* I.279–80, and other loci following in the chapter on Egypt.) Throughout the ancient period, Egypt's sphere of regular direct contact seems to have extended to Nubia, the Red Sea coast, perhaps the coast farther east to Somalia, and the Mediterranean littoral as far as Cyrenaica. Egypt conquers Cyprus ~9431.

*East African navigation:*

NG 12/27.521 (Articles on the Portuguese era of discovery, and Portugal): "Trade winds and tides that pour through the sluice-gates of the East Indies create Indian Ocean currents that 'sweep round from east to west in an immense coil,' between the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea. The periphery of this giant swirl crashes against the northern shores of Madagascar and funnels a warm current southward through the Mozambique Channel, which collides with the cold Antarctic current. The Arab traders who had nosed southward along the African coast encountered in the resulting storms off Cape Corrientes a barrier no less sinister than our Rocky Mountains seem to pioneers of the covered wagon era."

**~9350 Introduction of papyrus in the Greek world**

D.E. Smith, *HOM* 71: "The fact that arithmetic and geometry (m.c.v.: not to mention literature and philosophy) took such a notable step forward at this time was due in no small measure to the introduction of Egyptian papyrus into Greece. This event occurred about 650 B.C. [note 1, on sources for this: "In the reign of King Psammetichus"; cites Gomperz, *Les Penseurs de la Grèce, Fr. ed., 1904*], and the invention of printing in the 15th century did not more surely effect a revolution in thought than did this introduction of writing material on the northern shores of the Mediterranean Sea just before the time of Thales."

74 (of Pythagoras): "[The oral] method of imparting knowledge was not due merely to a spirit of mysticism, but was quite as dependent on a lack of good writing material. Parchement had not as yet been invented, the wax tablet was serviceable only for brief epistles, the clay cylinders [sic] of Babylon were subject to similar limitations, and the fragile papyrus of Egypt was probably somewhat rare in Magna Graecia."

**9375–96 Assyria divided between Media and Babylonia (626–605 BCE).**

The overthrow of Assyria by the Medes allows the Babylonians, whose first empire had fallen to the Assyrians, to rise again.

9389 Medes conquer Mesopotamia (612 BCE)

**9376–9463 Second Babylonian Empire**

625–538 BCE The Chaldean dynasty, the second Babylonian Empire, arises when the Assyrians, who had dominated the region of Babylon, are overthrown by the Medes, allowing the Babylonian Amorites to rise again to power. (Rebellions by vassal states in Egypt and Anatolia were also a factor.) Its most famous king is Nebuchadnezzar.

It falls to the Persians under Cyrus in 9462 (539 BCE). Mesopotamia will never again be a power center in the region—that role will remain with Persia.

Kings of Babylon:

9375–96 Nabopolossar (626–605 BCE)

9396–437 Nebuchadnezzar II (605–562 BCE). Defeats Egypt. Takes Jerusalem in 9404 and again in 9415 (597, 586 BCE).

9437–41 Amel–Marduk (562–560 BCE)

9441–45 Nergal–shar–Usur (560–556 BCE)

9445 Labash Marduk (556 BCE)

9445–62 Nabunaid (556–539 BCE)

(Babylonia conquered by Cyrus, 9462, 539 BCE.)

Source: Bickerman. "According to the Babylonian computation. Cf. R. A. Parker and W. H. Dubberstein, *Babylonian Chronology* (1956) and D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of the Chaldean Kings* (1956)."

~9361 **First coins in Asia Minor**

~9365 **Birth of Thales of Miletus**

(~366 BCE) Predicted the eclipse of 9416 (585 BCE). "Abandoned mythological formulations" (K-R).

?~9390–?~456 **Anaximander (?~611–?~545 BCE)**

**c. 9400s RECOVERY FROM THE CATASTROPHES OF THE "END OF THE BRONZE AGE" (DREWS; v. ~8800); END OF THE HIATUS IN CULTURE AND TRADE FROM EGYPT TO THE INDUS. (Cf. c. 8400s.) mcv: THE END OF THAT HIATUS MARKS AN INTERESTING TIME IN THE HISTORY OF CULTURE AND THOUGHT.**

~9400 **Concept of zero originated in India**

**9400s Classical period in Greece (beginning)**

Starting about 9400 (~600 BCE), the greatest names in Greek philosophy and science begin to appear. Classical Greek civilization lies at the root of the cultural and intellectual heritage of Europe: while the seeds of that civilization came from Egypt and Mesopotamia, human endeavor, in Greece, took an analytic and individualistic turn that, however encumbered by the various manifestations of universal human folly, allowed it to develop more quickly, more intensely, and more diversely than in the earlier eastern civilizations. The Greeks never attained (or seemed to want) political unity (though they were perhaps tending that way at the time of the Roman conquest), but formed many independent city-states, which were often at war with one another. Athens played a central role in Greek culture and history, but many other Greek city-states, in Asia Minor and Italy as well as Greece, were brilliant and powerful.

**fl. ~9400 Sappho (~600 bce)**

~9401 Foundation of Massilia by Phocaea. (~600 BCE)

Cleisthenes tyrant at Sicyon.

fl. Sappho, Alcaeus, Pittacus

~9407 Athens: Solon elected archon and arbitrator. His reforms deprive the Eupatridae of their monopoly on political power. Establishes graded status system based solely on wealth or property qualifications. Improves justice for all, including smallholders. (~594 BCE)

~9410 First Sacred War: Athens and allies defeat Cirrha, which had controlled Delphi. (~590 BCE)

~9426 First coinage at Athens. (~575 BCE)

~9430–46 Phaleris tyrant at Akragas. (~571–555 BCE)

9440, ~9446 Athens: First attempts at tyranny by Peisistratos. (561, ~555 BCE)

~9441 Sparta wars with Tegea. (~560 BCE)

~9442 Miltiades tyrant in Thracian Chersonese. (~559 BCE)

9453 Temple at Delphi burnt. (548 BCE)

9455 Cyrus conquers Lydia and Ionia (546 BCE)

9455–9491 Athens: Peisistratid tyranny (546–510 BCE): Peisistratos; Hippias (from 9473/4; 528/7 BCE). Peisistratos is remembered as wise and benevolent. Social and infrastructure reforms; economic and military expansion. Artistic / religious (Athena) / cultural propaganda: Athens as mother of all Ionia. Homeric poems reputed to have been written down [under Peisistratos]; the epic as handed down to us contains marked Attic elements. There is an increase in the frequency of Homeric themes on pottery. The pottery market is dominated by Attic black-frame and (from ~9470; ~530 BCE) red-figure ware. The Peisistratids tend toward Medism.

- 9462 Phocaeans of Masillia defeated by Etruscan and Carthaginian fleets off Alalia (Corsica) (539 BCE), sealing Carthaginian control of the western Mediterranean. This marks the height of Etruscan power, soon to be challenged by Rome, Syracuse, and the Celtic invaders in northern Italy.
- ~9471 Pythagoras arrives in Croton. (~530 BCE)
- 9477 Greeks defeat Etruscans at Cumae. (524 BCE)
- pr. 9476/7–545/6 Aeschylus (pr. 525/4–456/5 bce)**
- ~9479 **Hipparchus institutes the regular performance of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* at the Great Panathenaea.**
- ~9482 Athens defeats Thebes. (~519 BCE)
- 9483–563 Pindar (518–438 BCE)** (Date of death per Bowra; others may make it ~430 BCE)
- 9487 Assassination of Hipparchus by Harmodius and Aristogeiton. (514 BCE)
- 9490-1 Spartan expeditions against Athens (511–510 BCE)
- 9491–97 Athens: Expulsion of the Peisistratidae, followed initially by oligarchic stasis. (510–~504 BCE)
- 9493–?9501 Athens: Reforms of Kleisthenes; tribal reorganization. (508–?500 BCE)
- 9495 Athens defeats Boeotia and Chalkis. (506 BCE)
- 9415–9463/4 Babylonian exile of the Jews (586–537/8 BCE)**
- See Appendix for detail. The kingdom of Judah is destroyed by Nebuchadnezzar. (V. supra.) New religious ideas and practices developed. The Jews are allowed to return by Cyrus.
- (mcv: the Babylonian exile marks a dividing point in the development of Jewish religion: it is after this point that such beliefs as messianism and the afterlife become prominent, ultimately forming the beliefs of the Pharisees.)
- ~9431–~526 **Xenophanes of Colophon (~570–~475 BCE)**
- ~9435–9521 **Buddha (~566–480 BCE)**
- 9441–55 Reign of Croesus, last king of Lydia**
- 560–46 BCE Son of Alyattes. He rules from Sardis. He subjugated the Greek cities of Asia Minor, but got on well with the Greeks, who seem to have returned his regard (at least the ruling and literary classes). He is overthrown by Cyrus, whose friend he then becomes.
- fl. ?–9450 Anaximenes of Miletus**
- 9451–71 Reign of Cyrus the Great, founder of the Persian Empire**
- 550–530 BCE He is succeeded by Cambyses.
- 9471–80 Reign of Cambyses, conqueror of Egypt**
- 530–521 BCE He is succeeded by Darius I.
- 9476 Egypt conquered by Persia**
- (525 BCE). Egypt (including its possession Cyprus) is conquered by Cambyses. Egypt expels the Persians briefly (9597–9658, 404–343 BCE) but afterwards will be ruled by foreign powers—Persia, Greece, Rome, Arabs, Turks, French [?], and English—until 11922. But by the time Egypt lost its independence, its history had covered a span as long as the (far less continuous) history of Europe from the Trojan War to the present. Already in the period of her decline, Egypt had begun, as humans are apt to do, to take refuge in nostalgia, chauvinism, and amplified tales of the past. This, in combination with Egypt's insularity and attitude of disdain for foreigners, and the magnitude of her genuine achievements, gave an exaggerated impression of primordial age and knowledge to the Greeks and Romans, very conscious of their youth in the face of the antiquity of the East, and with little information about Egypt except the stories told by the Egyptian priests themselves. This impression has proved very tenacious.
- 9480–516 Reign of Darius I**
- 521–485 BCE In 9502 (499 BCE), Persia, under King Darius, invades Greece. 9511 Marathon. The invasion continues under his successor, Xerxes.
- 9489 Darius crosses the Hellepont and the Danube, chasing the Scythians. (512 BCE)

- 9451–9523 Confucius** (550–478 BCE; 551–479 Fairbank; 551 “probable” per Griffith)  
 The Classical period of Chinese literature is conventionally bounded by the birth of Confucius and the final liquidation of the Zhou dynasty (q.v.) in 9752.
- late 9400s Pherecydes of Syros** (late 500s BCE)
- 9463/4–9666 Israel restored under Persia**  
 537/8–333 BCE See Appendix for detail. The Temple is rebuilt. The canon of holy books is established, and the foundations of the Talmud are laid.
- fl. ??~9470 Pythagoras of Samos**
- 9492–9550 Roman Republic: foundation up to Xviri; general** (245–303 AUC, 509–451 BCE)  
 9492 The Tarquin kings are expelled, and the Republic founded. The dates are the conventional (Varronian) ones, for the founding of the Republic and the Xvirate. Other dates for early Roman history, especially those not given as approximate, are generally traditional as well. On the question of the true date, cf. 9615, and Ogilvy, Livy II.22,32; 9492 (509) is the traditional date, at least in our time; per Ogilvy, the date based on the Roman annalists is 9491 (510), and the true date 9494 (507); he gives that date, following Polybius, for the treaty with Carthage. This four- or five-year gap may (mcv) account for some of the confusion as to events immediately subsequent to the expulsion of the Tarquins.  
 Mommsen *THOR* Bk II.i, p. 332: “The expulsion of the Tarquins was not, as the pitiful and deeply falsified accounts of it represent, the work of a people carried away by sympathy and enthusiasm for liberty, but the work of two great political parties already engaged in conflict, and clearly aware that their conflict would steadily continue—the old burgess[es] and the metoeci [i.e., the patricians and the plebeians].” P. 342: Antagonism of the expanded patricio-plebeian nobility toward the development of a middle class.  
 Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline dedicated.  
 Treaty with Carthage, defining respective spheres of influence in Latium and Africa. (And, I presume, cutting the Etruscans out of the former and perhaps the Greeks out of the latter, by precluding Etruscan-Carthaginian or Roman-Greek alliances against the other party in its sphere.) (On the date, v. notes on date of founding of Republic.)  
 Etruscan cultural influence in, and trade with, Rome, remain important in the archaeological record until about 9527 (q.v.), when the Etruscans withdrew from south of the Tiber generally (including Campania). Lars Porsenna, who on the traditional account attempted to restore the Tarquins, did in fact succeed in taking Rome, according to Ogilvy (though it doesn’t seem like he held it for long at all); cf. Scullard, *TECAR* 262–4. Mommsen *THOR* Bk II.iv p. 414: The Roman surrender in 507 was real but immediately obviated: the Etruscans never maintained dominance on the left bank of the Tiber. Loci classici for Porsenna’s conquest of Rome are Tacitus *Hist.* III.72.1, Plinius Maior 34.139. Ogilvy speaks of one other possible successful Etruscan adventure of the same period. The fall of the Tarquins impaired the dominance Rome had attained under the last kings, and left it open to such adventures, to incursions by the Sabines—with whom there were intermittent conflicts through virtually this entire period—and ultimately to the revolt of a league of Latin peoples. Over the next fifty years, there was an economic decline in Roman lands due to the loss of trade, and to the strain of constant warfare. This aggravated the social tensions (notably those connected with debt) that arose with the new socio-military order (v. Servius Tullius). There were also notable plagues, and malaria may have arrived at this time.  
 In the first century and a half of the Republic, the senior magistrates, successors of the kings, are the dominant political force in the state; afterwards they take second place to the Senate and, later, the popular assemblies. The consuls preside over law courts until the office of praetor is created in 9634.  
 Celts begin to enter Italy. They settle in the Po valley, and left tombs in Picenum ~9510.  
 Battle of Lake Regillus (near Tusculum): Rome’s hoplites decisively defeat the cavalry of the Latin League (259 AUC, 497 BCE). Roman dominance of Latium is re-established. Warfare with the next range of peoples (the hill-tribes: Volsci, Hernici, and Aequi) continues. (The story of Coriolanus is attached to a Volscian invasion.) These peoples, and the Samnites in Campania, were pushing toward the lowlands under pressure of population growth, also expanding into the vacuum left by the Etruscan withdrawal (v. 9527) with they themselves had helped to cause. Rural, but well-organized, they remind one of the Swiss of two millennia later.  
 ~9506 Latin colony at Signia. (~259 AUC, ~495 BCE)

- ~9507 First secession of the plebeians (~260 AUC, ~494 BCE). Tribunes of the plebs instituted (two initially), assisted by two aediles (the origin of this office; curule aediles were a development of 9634 or shortly thereafter). The standing of the tribunes is initially based solely on the physical support of the plebs. Tribunes and aediles are elected in the Concilium Plebis. (Not sure the term Concilium Plebis used at this point, or how formal the assembly was: mcv. A later outgrowth of and successor to this body was the Comitia Tributa, which elected quaestors.) Its enactments at first had to be confirmed by the Comitia Centuriata (the “people” as a whole) and the Senate.  
Latin colony at Velitrae.
- ~9508 Treaty of Spurius Cassius with the Latins (~261 AUC, ~493 BCE), , “which provided for joint military action and reciprocal political benefits in mutual trade (commercium), intermarriage (conubium) and mobility (migratio). In practice, Rome had acquired the position of senior partner in this alliance and had tended to act, as against Veii, unilaterally.”
- 9515 Treaty with the Hernici. (268 AUC, 486 BCE)
- ~9516 War with the Etruscans, to 9527. (269 AUC, 485 BCE)
- ~9524 Catastrophe of the Fabii at Cremera. (~277 AUC, ~477 BCE)
- 9527 Treaty of peace, to last forty years, with the Etruscans. (280 AUC, 474 BCE)  
**Etruscan withdrawal.** The Etruscans withdraw generally from the lands south of the Tiber following upon defeats at the hands of the Greeks (and others? Carthage?), notably the naval defeat at Cumae inflicted by Hieron of Syracuse in 9527, aggravated by constant pressure from the hill peoples, notably the Samnites, who seem to have been in an expansion mode at the time. The Etruscans were also pressed from the north by the Celtic invasion of Italy, which began about 9500. About this time, there is a notable decline in the archaeological evidence of Etruscan cultural influence and trade in Rome. The waning of the Etruscan presence may also have meant the loss, through departure or decline in influence, of much of the important Etruscan element in the patriciate.
- 9530 Lex Publilia Voleronis. (~283 AUC, ~471 BCE)  
Number of tribunes increased to four.
- 9543 War with the Aequi: Cincinnatus leaves his plow to lead the Romans. (296 AUC, 458 BCE)

#### ON THE HISTORY OF ROME IN THE REPUBLICAN PERIOD

The original leading families of Rome formed what was basically a hereditary ruling class under the Republic—the patricians. As the original members of the community, it was to them that the vital ritual observances—with which no Roman would take chances—were reserved when new people came in, and since only they could take auspices and perform the other ritual functions of the magistrates, only they could hold office. Their political organ was the Senate, which had existed from the earliest period under the kings. (The kingdom of Rome exhibited the classic power triangle of royalty, aristocracy, and people, with the two weaker always combined against the third—typically king and people against the aristocracy. The Senate was said to have made away with Romulus, the first king, though according to an alternate story he was taken alive up to heaven while nobody but senators happened to be present.) The Senate became the dominant element in Roman government throughout the Republican period. (Mommsen *THOR* Bk II.iii, p. \*\*\* 410–12: sum re senatorial domination.) The patricians were the military leaders of early Rome, and were numerous in the ranks. (They were “originally simply the descendants of the early patres, the heads of families who formed the Senate”: Ogilvy.) They were often important landholders, though this is very much a relative thing—in the early Republic, leading patricians might still be found behind a plow. The citizens of lesser means and privileges were called the plebs, or plebeians (literally, “the many”), though the reference of that term is problematic and may have changed over time: there were prominent plebeian families in the early republic (at any rate, the families of the same name later were plebeian), but the early tribunes of the plebs were certainly guardians of the underdogs. (V. Ogilvy, Livy, p. 26; he points out that in any case, what mattered was the distinction between privilege and vulnerability.) Primarily yeoman farmers, independent but generally poor, the plebeians formed an increasingly important part of the fighting strength of the state. As such, they were too influential, at least en masse, to be excluded entirely from its government, though for long they were excluded from the highest offices, and the law often left them legally at the mercy of the patricians, newly dominant in the new socio-military order introduced under Servius Tullius. (The poorer city dwellers, as opposed to the yeoman farmers, were mostly servants, craftsmen, and shopkeepers. These were largely dependent on the nobility and therefore not a distinct political factor.) With the kings out of the picture, the internal political history of the early Republic is largely the history of the conflict between the plebeians and the nobles. The plebeians gradually gained more rights and power, and a fairer share in society, and the families of many who attained high office eventually formed part of the ruling nobility, taking their place in the Senate alongside the patricians. (The article in *OCD* s.v. “optimates and populares”, by Ernst Badian, is an excellent summary of the process, especially in the critical period from the end of the Punic Wars to the beginning of the Empire. See also *OCD* p. 1323.)

But the Roman state was never finely-tuned enough to remain stable after its size and complexity reached a certain point. (To put this in perspective, no other state in the ancient world was ever finely-tuned enough to sustain both great size *and* complexity in the first place, much less to become coherent and innovative enough to leave the sort of mark that Rome did.) By the late Republic, the *ordo equitum* evolved as something corresponding in at least some ways to a middle

class. They could be quite wealthy, and had to be affluent to meet the property qualification, but this did not bring political status with it. (They have also been characterized as not a middle class, but the non-political section of the upper class.) The technology of the times did not provide the broad base of middle-class specialists that, in the Renaissance, enabled the bourgeoisie to challenge the nobility and eventually the kings. Eventually, the place of the plebs as a general lower class acting in its own interest (and allying itself at need with other elements in society) was taken by soldiers or urban mobs who were dependent on what they got from warlords and politicians whose interests they were in turn expected to support.

Rome's geopolitical history, under the kings and the Republic, is one of virtually continuous warfare and expansion. (On land: v. Mommsen *THOR* Bk II.vii, p. 40: Decline of Rome's original (under the kings) maritime interest, a result of the great dangers from land enemies after the beginning of the Republic.) Beginning as a tiny village, Rome grew in size and absorbed or conquered the neighboring small states, eventually dominating Italy and taking its place as a regional power. There was much necessity in this: Italy was a land of tribes and small city-states. Many of them, like Rome, were expanding, and there was no larger power to keep the peace in its own interest. It was generally a question of either dominating one's neighbor, being dominated by him, or living in a state of chronic war with him—and domination had to be continuously reaffirmed and reinforced until it amounted to rule. War was therefore frequently necessary and always possible. Where it wasn't necessary, it was apt to arise anyway, since the Roman patricians preferred to see the plebeians away at war, rather than at home looking after their own interests. But (cf. Cowell, *CATRR*, 14), like most people in most early times, the Roman commons looked forward to a short life, with little to lose and much to gain by adventure, and so were often quite willing to go to war—as long as it was for their interests, and they could look forward to keeping their gains. Rome thus came to dominate Italy, eventually taking its place as a Mediterranean power.

**fl. ~9500 Heraclitus of Ephesus**

**?-9500 The Bhagavad Gita**

**9500 Beginning of British Iron Age (Hallstatt and La Tene cultures); Sub-Atlantic period (pertains to Britain, at least) (down to present)**

The climate becomes cooler and damper. Bogs and fens expand. The same general type of climate and vegetation persists to the present, with fluctuations relatively minor, though sufficient to cross the threshold of viability for some species, e.g., grapes.

Iron metallurgy is brought in by the invasion of new groups of Celts. Most of the stone hill forts and great chalk figures date from the pre-Roman iron age.

**from ~9500 Maya, Zapotec, Totonac, Teotihuacán civilizations succeed to Olmec heritage**

from ~500 BCE The Maya civilization, in Yucatan and the nearby mainland. The Classic Maya Period, 10250–900, was characterized by hieroglyphics, mathematics, and calendar science. A distinct Maya culture persists to this day.

The Zapotec kingdom, on the coast southeast of Oaxaca, was large and powerful, surviving until the Spanish conquest.

The Totonac [civilization] [was in the area of Veracruz].

Teotihuacán, in the Valley of Mexico, 10400–600, q.v. It forms the next extensive civilization of Meso-America.

**~9500--10600 Regional civilizations in the Andean highlands and the nearby Pacific coast**

Large kingdoms with regional civilizations succeed the civilization of the "Chavín horizon": the Mochica, Early Lima, Nazca, Recuay, and Early Tihuanaco (N. Bolivia). The final development of this period is the "Tihuanaco-Huari horizon", ~10600--11000, q.v.

**9500-22 Classical Greece (continued): Persian Wars (501-479 BCE)**

9502 Ionian revolt against Persia begins. (499 BCE) Only Athens and Eritrea come to the aid of the Ionians, with a few ships.

9503-55/6 Earliest extant poem of Pindar (*Pyth.* X) –latest datable (*Pyth.* VIII). (498-446/5 BCE)

~9503 Ionians and allies (notably Athens) take and burn Sardis. (~498 BCE) This, along with the earlier Athenian aid for Ionia, explains why Xerxes had it in for Athens in particular.

~9506--95 Sophocles (~495--406 BCE)

~9507 Ionians defeated, Miletus taken. (~494 BCE)

9509 First Persian invasion of Greece proper. Mardonius (son-in-law of Darius) in Thrace. (492 BCE) The Persians lose 300 ships in a gale off Athos.

- pr. 9510s–94/5 Euripides (pr. 480s–407/6 BCE)  
 ?9510s–?70s Herodotos (?480s–?420s BCE)  
 9511 Second Persian expedition against Greece (490 BCE)  
     Marathon  
 9514 War between Athens and Aigina. (487 BCE)  
 9516 Darius succeeded by his son Xerxes, after a disputed succession. Xerxes must quell an Egyptian revolt, which had postponed Darius' plans for another invasion of Greece, before turning to Greece.  
 9517 Aeschylus wins first victory. (484 BCE)  
 ~9518 New veins in Athens' silver mine at Laurion finance naval growth. (~483 BCE)  
 9520 Xerxes at Sardis. (481 BCE)  
 9521 Xerxes invades Greece with a huge fleet and a huge army. (480 BCE) Bridging of the Hellespont; canal across the isthmus of Athos.  
     Thermopylae.  
     Salamis. The Persian fleet, already seriously reduced by storms, is destroyed, and can no longer support or supply the army.  
     Carthaginians, called in for help by Greek states threatened by Syracusan expansion under Gelon, invade Sicily with a huge fleet; defeated by Gelon at Himera. Carthage, however still continues to expand in Sicily.  
 9522 Mardonius in Attica. (479 BCE)  
     Plataea. Ionians revolt.
- †9500st Zarathustra** (5th century BCE)  
 (His period is actually conjectural, and conjectures vary very widely—v. Frye, *HOCA*. West prefers this dating; he states that the earlier dating of ~9000 is based mainly on a dubious general deduction based on the linguistically primitive nature of Zarathustra's language as compared to related Aryan languages. West notes that the language of Zarathustra's native Bactria might well have conserved those characteristics to a late date.)
- [9516–36] Reign of Xerxes**  
 [485–465] BCE Invades Greece 9521–22 (480–479 BCE). 9521 Thermopylae, Salamis. 9522 Plataea. The Persians are repulsed from Greece proper in 9522 (479 BCE), but will continue for a long time to rule or dominate the important Greek states in Asia Minor, and to meddle in the politics of mainland Greece. Xerxes is succeeded by Artaxerxes (against whom a younger brother, Cyrus, revolts unsuccessfully as described in the *Anabasis*).
- 9523–69 Classical Greece (continued): Rise of Athens (478–432 BCE). First Peloponnesian War.**  
 fl. ? ~9530--~60 Parmenides of Elea (fl. ? 470–440 BCE)  
     Zeno of Elea  
     Melissus of Samos (defeated Athens in a naval battle, 9560/1, 441/40 BCE)  
     Empedocles of Akragas  
     Anaxagoras of Clazomenae  
     Archelaus of Athens. Pupil of Anaxagoras, teacher of Socrates.  
     Leucippus. Originated the theory of atomism that was developed by Democritus.  
 9523 Expedition of Pausanias to Cyprus and Byzantium. (478 BCE)  
     Hieron tyrant at Syracuse. Syracuse's interests are remote from those of Hellas not only because of distance, but because an expanding Carthage is an immediate danger to Syracuse.  
 9523/4 Foundation of Delian League, treaty organization of Athens and Ionians against Persia. (478/7 BCE)  
     Athens, dominant after the Persian wars, gradually transforms the League into its own empire. The reaction sparks war in 9541, q.v.  
 9527 Hieron defeats Etruscans off Cumae. (474 BCE)  
 9530 Ostracism of Themistocles. (471 BCE)  
 9530--~600 Thucydides (471--~401 BCE)  
 9533 Sophocles wins first victory. (468 BCE)  
 9533–9602 Socrates (468–399 BCE)  
 9534 Death of Hieron. (467 BCE)  
 mid 9530s Major eruption of Aetna.  
 9534/5 Athenians defeat Persians at Eurymedon. (467/6 BCE)  
 9537 Sparta: earthquake, revolt of Helots and Messenians. (464 BCE)  
 9539 Sparta appeals for Athenian help. (462 BCE)  
     Athens: reforms of Ephialtes. ( BCE)

- pr. 9540s–~615 Aristophanes (pr. 450s–~386 BCE)
- 9541 Athenian expedition to Egypt; capture of Memphis. (460 BCE)
- 9541–55 **First Peloponnesian War**, lasting fifteen years, between Athens and the Peloponnesian cities; Sparta joins them in 9544.
- 9541– Hippocrates (460– BCE)
- 9542–72 Primacy of Pericles, as leader of popular party. (461–429 BCE)
- ~9542/3 Athens wars against Megara and Corinth. (~461/60 BCE)
- 9544 Athens conquers Boeotia, builds Long Walls. (457 BCE)
- 9546 Euripides: first production. (455 BCE)
- 9547 Athens defeated in Egypt. (454 BCE)
- Treasury of the Delian league removed to Athens.
- 9553 Delian league becomes the Athenian Empire when Pericles appropriates its treasury for Athens. (448 BCE)
- 9554 Athens loses Boeotia. (447 BCE)
- 9554–69 Parthenon built. Ictinus and Callicrates, architects, Phidias sculptor.
- 9555 Athens loses Megara. Peace between Athens, Sparta, and Peloponnesians. (446 BCE)
- 9564 Expedition of Pericles to the Euxine. (437 BCE)
- 9566 Conflict between Corinth and Corcyra. (435 BCE)
- ~9566–647 Xenophon (~435–354 BCE)
- 9563 Death of **Pindar** (per Bowra; others may make it ~430 BCE)
- 9533–9602 Socrates** (468–399 BCE)
- 9550–611 Roman Republic: Xviri up to the Sack of Rome by the Gauls** (303–364 AUC, 451–390 BCE)  
The period begins with a series of major political reforms.
- 9550–52 Decemviri, XII Tabulae (303–305 AUC, 451–49 BCE). The language and content of the Tables are consonant with the traditional date.
- 9552 Secession of the plebs; Valerio-Horatian laws. (305 AUC, 449 BCE)  
Resolutions of the Concilium Plebis given the force of law. (But no bill could be put before it without the approval of the Senate; this restriction held.) Sacred character of the Tribunate established.
- 9556 Lex Canuleia (445 BCE). Military tribunes with consular power instituted, allowing the election of non-patricians to positions of supreme command. “Consular tribunes, although not necessarily elected every year, seem to have lasted from 444 to 367 [9957–9634].” Few plebeians made it into the highest office in this period.) Per Cowell, *CATRR* 171, the patricians in effect saw to it that this name was given to the consulship whenever a plebeian held it; apparently in those years, instead of two consuls, three to eight military tribunes with consular power, plebeian or patrician, were elected.  
Marriage between patrician and plebeian legalized.  
Censorship established (effective 9957): patricians alone are eligible, and some consular powers are transferred to this office, to keep them out of the hands of the plebeians. Their main duty at this time was the general census; they held office for eighteen months. Only from about 9689 were the Censors given control over the senatorial register. The Censors also (from this time, or later?) let public contracts. (On quaestorship, v. 9580.)
- 9559 Latin colony at Ardea. (442 BCE)
- 9570 Defeat of Aequi and Volsci on the Algidus. (There will be further conflict with both peoples.) (431 BCE)
- 9575 War with Fidenae (Veii’s bridgehead on the left bank of the Tiber). (426 BCE)
- (9578, 80) Capua and Cumae fall to the Samnites.)
- 9580 Quaestorship opened to plebeians. (First plebeian quaestor, ‘92.)
- 9600 First recorded plebeian senator. (There may have been earlier ones.)
- 9605 Capture of Veii. (396 BCE)
- 9606 Defeat of the Etruscan city of Capena. (395 BCE)
- 9607 Defeat of the Etruscan city of Falerii. (394 BCE)
- 9608 Latin colony at Circeii. Aequi and Volsci subdued, for a time. (393 BCE.) Like all the neighboring peoples, they will rise up in the future whenever Rome is weakened.
- Gauls invade central Italy, inflicting heavy losses on the Etruscans, and eventually taking Rome.

**late 9500s**      **Meton** (late 400s BCE)

**9570–97**      **Classical Greece (continued): Second Peloponnesian War** (431–404 BCE)

Second Peloponnesian War, between Athens and Sparta for dominance in Greece. Athens reaches the height of its culture and power, but is ultimately defeated and loses predominance to Sparta. (431–404 BCE)

9570      Sparta invades Attica. (431 BCE)

9571      Sparta invades Attica again. (430 BCE)

9572      Death of Pericles. (429 BCE)

9573      Sparta invades Attica again. (428 BCE)

9573–654      Plato (428–347 BCE)

9574      Sparta invades Attica again. Expedition to Sicily, against Syracuse, under Laches. One motivation is to cut off Sicilian grain supplies to Sparta and its allies. (The Black Sea grain supply was likewise critical to Athens throughout its period of greatness.) (427 BCE)

9578      The Greco-Etruscan city of Capua falls to the Samnites. (423 BCE)

9580      Cumae (“perhaps the most prestigious of all the Greek colonies in the West) falls to the Samnites. (421 BCE)

9588      Athenian fleet sails against Syracuse, is annihilated. (413 BCE) Alcibiades exiled.

9594      Return of Alcibiades. (407 BCE)

9595      Carthaginian expedition to Sicily; fall of Akragas. (406 BCE)

9595      Deaths of Sophocles and Euripides.

9596      Athenian fleet destroyed at Aegospotami. Athens besieged. (405 BCE)

9596–634      Dionysus tyrant at Syracuse (405–367 BCE). Peace with Carthage, which he checks in Sicily. Syracusan expansion in S. Italy.

9597      Athens submits, Long Walls pulled down, oligarchy imposed on Athens. Sparta predominant in Greece for next 30 years. (404 BCE)

**fl. ?–9600**      **Democritus of Abdera**

**9597–630**      **Classical Greece (continued): Spartan supremacy.** (404–371 BCE)

9597      Thirty Tyrants at Athens. (404 BCE)

9598      Fall of the Thirty, restoration of democracy. (403 BCE)

9600–1      Anabasis. (401–400 BCE)

9601–71      Praxiteles. (400–330 BCE)

9604–9      War between Carthage and Syracuse. (397–392 BCE)

9605      Siege of Syracuse. (396 BCE)

9606–15      Corinthian War, between Sparta and Persia. (395–386 BCE)

9607–10      Long Walls rebuilt. 394–391( BCE)

9609      Peace conference at Sparta; Athens rejects terms. 392 BCE)

9612–13      Plato in W. Greece, Sicily. (389–388 BCE)

9612      Cyprus, allied with Athens, revolts against Persia. (389 BCE)

9614      “King’s Peace” ends Corinthian War: Persian dominion over Ionia recognized; Persia agrees not to support Athens and Thebes against Sparta. (387 BCE)

9617–79      Aristotle. (384–322 BCE)

9617–79      Demosthenes. (384–322 BCE)

9618      Dionysus wars with Carthage. (383 BCE)

9623      Alliance of Athens with Thebes, against Sparta. (378 BCE)

9625      Athens defeats Sparta at sea. (376 BCE)

9628      Jason of Pherae allies with Amyntas. (373 BCE)

9630      Thebes defeats Sparta at Battle of Leuctra; Spartan supremacy ends. (371 BCE). Thebes, Eueoa, Chalkis leave Athenian Naval League.

**9598–9780**      **Warring States period in China**

403–221 BCE      A beginning date of 9548 (453), the date of the defeat and division of the kingdom of Chin by the “Wei, Han, and Chao Clans”, is preferred by modern Chinese scholarship.

Eight states survived from among those into which the Zhou dynasty (~8900–9598, q.v.) had fragmented; these continued to war among themselves. “Yen in the north and Yüeh in the east were peripheral to the political action of the Warring States period. The largest of the Warring States were Zhao (Chao) and Yan (Yen) in the north, Chu centered on the Yangtze, and Qin (Ch’in) in the west. (Griffith: “The ‘Big Six’ were Ch’i,

Ch'u, Ch'in, and 'The Three Chins'—Wei, Han, and Chao.") Qin was a tightly but effectively organized bureaucratic police state which developed an impressive infrastructure. Its (aggressively) dominant philosophy was Legalism. The Qin eventually unified China under its rule.

Sun Tzu (fl. between 9500 and 9600)

During the course of the 9500s, iron metallurgy had been revolutionized by technological advances that made iron implements an industrial product, common in warfare and agriculture. Steel was developed shortly afterwards. The crossbow was introduced in this period, probably ~9600; it revolutionized warfare. In the late 9600s, cavalry warfare came into use in imitation of Central Asian practice, an innovation that involved the adoption of trousers. Generalship, under the Zhou the prerogative of rulers and high state ministers, becomes a specialized and mercenary profession. Sun Tzu's *Art of War* was written sometime between ~9600 and ~9680 (before cavalry became important); it is probably the work of one author, but his identity is problematic. (The traditional date of ~9500, given by Ssu-ma Ch'ien, is accepted by virtually no-one.)

The period was one of constant warfare, with the usual consequences. Brigandage and outlawry were rife, and agriculture (I presume) was handicapped. Trade, however, was vigorous.

Political conditions and technological progress fostered an intellectual and cultural climate similar to that of Renaissance Europe. Scholars, sophists, and specialists of all sorts found a ready, if risky, market in the courts of the warlords, where arts and entertainment also flourished.

The "Hundred Schools" of philosophy developed during this period, including that of Confucius (9451–9523, predating the Warring States) and Mencius (9629–9712; 372–289 BCE), whose philosophy did not attain great social importance until the Han period. Social thought was dominated by a yearning for, and idealization of, the unity and simple benevolence of the previous ages. This is an important theme in Confucius, and Mencius develops it to such an extent that it must have seriously impaired his credibility in his own era.

Other philosophers of the period include (the selection is random): Hsün Tzu (≠ Sun Tzu), Confucian, ~9681–9766 (~320–235). Mo Tzu (Mo Ti), ~9522–9620 (~479–381), who protested against the warfare of the age.

Maps: For later period, Griffith's Sun Tzu, preceding p. 33. For historical background, cf. the introductions to Confucius, Sun Tzu, and Mencius.

#### ~9611--~9661 Eudoxus (~390--~340 BCE)

Student of Socrates. General philosopher as well as mathematician and scientist. First to apply geometrical method to astronomy, and the first to divide the entire heavens into constellations; his constellations became canonical. Produced system of homocentric spheres, adopted by Aristotle and thus transmitted to Middle Ages. His *Phainomena* was versified by Aratus.

#### 9615–58 Roman Republic: Sack of Rome by the Gauls, up to the First Samnite War (368–411 AUC, 386–43 BCE)

9615(/14/11) Battle of Allia. Sack of Rome by the Gauls under Brennus ("Vae victis", dixit); only the Capitol holds out. (386/387/390 BCE. On the difficulties over this date, v. Bickerman, pp. 69–70; Ogilvy, Livy II.32, who speaks of a four- or five-year gap in the sources that was artificially filled by Livy, et al., and affected also the dating of the foundation of the Republic. 9614 (387 BCE) is the Polybian date, accepted by Cowell and said to be more probable by *OCD*, s.v Brennus. Ogilvy states that 386 "is the true date". 390 is the date based on the Roman annalists. Pomponius 9615, quod, mihi videtur, frequentius traditur.) (There is no archaeological record of destruction at this time, so perhaps the sack was not physically devastating. Thus Cowell, but Ogilvy, vol. I: "The traces of that conflagration are found in every excavation in the Roman forum"; contradicting this is his statement in vol. II.20: "In fact, there is no archaeological evidence for a conflagration of Rome.") The Gauls are bought off and depart, but Rome's dominance in Central Italy is challenged, to be re-established by further conflicts with neighboring peoples, lasting until the Latins are united with Rome in 9663—after which the conflicts would be with greater powers over wider fields—for, in the middle distance, the Samnites were expanding into the lowlands throughout this period (at the end of it, they had reached the Liris in SE Latium).

Mommsen *THOR* Bk II.iv, p. 431: "The conflict between the Gauls and the Romans was not, like that between Rome and Etruria or between Rome and Samnium, a collision of two political powers which affect and modify each other; it may be compared to those catastrophes of nature, after which the organism, if it is not destroyed, immediately resumes its equilibrium.

On the political relations between Rome and the Italian peoples she came to dominate in this period, v. Cowell, *CATR*, 20ff. Rome included to unite, but insisted on dominance, repulsing any tendencies toward federalism such as the proposals the Latins were said to have made before the Latin War (9661–63).

9613–15 Etruscan incursions against Rome. (388–86 BCE)

9615–16 Rome defeats Latins, Volsci, Hernici. (386–385 BCE)

9616 Latin colony at Satricum. (385 BCE)

~9618 Latin colony at Nepete (between Veii and Falerii). (~383 BCE)

- 9619 Tusculum, after fighting Rome, is annexed, its inhabitants receiving Roman citizenship—the first city to do so. (381 BCE)
- 9620 Latin colony at Setia (southeast of Lanuvium). (382 BCE)
- 9620s “Massive civil disturbances” over the question of plebeian rights. On the hiatus in magistracies alleged by Livy, v. Ogilvy, Livy II.32 (& supra, 9492), who disputes it, saying Livy is merely accounting for a chronological discrepancy in his sources.
- ~9627 Rome fortified with a major wall, [later identified by tradition as that of Servius Tullius].
- 9634 Licinio-Sextian rogations open consulship to plebeians and relieve debtors (367 BCE)
- The institution of military tribunes with consular powers (v. 9556) apparently ceases. (Ogilvy, Livy II.31.)
- One consul required by law to be plebeian. (Per Ogilvy, plebeian status of one consul permitted, but not mandatory, saying that the patricians seems to have maintained a monopoly on the office down to 9659.)
- Praetorship created (or 9635?), reserved to patricians; takes over the formerly consular duty of presiding in law courts. The practice of annual praetorian edicts grew up later. Though their main duties while in office were in the courts, a praetor, like a consul, held imperium, could convene and preside over the Senate in the absence of a consul, could hold a military command without a special appointment, and could go out to provinces as propraetors following their year of office. In later years, the number of praetors was increased to fill the need for propraetors to govern the provinces.
- Curule aedileship created (cf. 9507). Originally reserved to patricians, but soon opened to plebeians in alternate years, they were aides to the consuls in legal enforcement, and were responsible for the city’s grain supply. They held curule dignity superior to that of the plebeian aediles, but were otherwise much like them (neither possessed imperium.)
- Later laws opened further offices to plebeians.
- The office of dictator seems to be peculiarly (or especially?) characteristic of the period 9638–9701.
- A law forbids any Roman to lease more than 500 iugera of public land.
- 9642 Tarquinii revolts from Rome. (359 BCE)
- 9643 Hernici re-admitted to Roman alliance. Renewal of treaty with the Latins. (358 BCE)
- 9645 First plebeian dictator, C. Marcus Rutulus (356 BCE). (Ogilvy, Livy II.32: “probably neither plebeian nor dictator”.)
- 9647 Roman treaty with the Samnites (354 BCE), apparently defining their respective spheres (and thus recognizing Rome’s supremacy in Latium), and providing for cooperation against the Gauls. (The Samnites supported Rome in the war with the Latins.)
- 9648 Caere defeated. (353 BCE)
- 9649–50 First plebeian censor. (352–1 BCE)
- 9650 Tarquinii and Falerii make 40-year truce with Rome.
- ~9650s The phalanx was superseded in Rome by a more open order of spearmen, better organized than the phalanx, the basis for the famous legion of the early Republic, divided into (in increasing order of seniority) hastati, principes, and triarii (the first two armed with short sword and throwing spears, the last with sword and long thrusting spear). The whole was organized in thirty maniples of 100–120 men each, each maniple consisting of two centuries. (Mommsen *THOR* Bk II.viii, p. 74: legion vs. phalanx—legion requires more training and discipline.) The legion was supplemented with about 1200 velites, lightly-armed foot skirmishers; there was also a cavalry of mounted nobility, its functions not of primary importance—the Romans never got much good out of Roman cavalry after the hoplite era began, perhaps because they had no stirrups. This order of battle persisted until the reforms of Marius. Posts higher than centurion were reserved to the senatorial class. The senior centurion (primipilus) attended councils of war. Under the centurions were lesser officers, called principales, whom Cowell equates with non-coms. Sworwork was based on thrusting, which was deadlier and exposed the soldier less. (Cf. notes on military organization in early kingdom, and v. Cowell, *CATRR*, 45–51.)
- 9651 L. Furius Camillus (ille) dictator. (Date per Livy.)
- 9652 L. Furius Camillus cos. (Livy.)
- 9653 M. Valerius Corvus cos. Rome renews treaty with Carthage. (348 BCE)
- 9654 T. Manlius Torquatus cos. (347 BCE)
- 9655 M. Valerius Corvus cos. II. (346 BCE)
- 9656 L. Furius Camillus (ille aut alius istius nomen, cos. ’63) dictator.
- 9657 T. Manlius Torquatus cos. II. (344 BCE)

- 9600s**      **Revival of trade between the Mediterranean and Northern Europe, after two centuries of disruption by the Celtic migrations.**
- 9631–65**      **Classical Greece (continued): end of Spartan supremacy to the Macedonian conquest. (370–336 BCE)**  
 [Power plays by Thebes (Campaigns of Epaminondas), Athens (re-establishes dominance over some lesser states, as Athenian League), Sparta (?); rise of Macedon.]
- 9631      First Peloponnesian campaign of Epaminondas. (370 BCE)  
             Jason of Pherae assassinated.  
             Arcadian League formed, allies with Thebes.  
             Messene founded.
- 9632      Foundation of Megalopolis. (369 BCE)
- 9633      Aleuadae in Larissa seek help from Macedon. (368 BCE)
- ~9633–4      Dionysus wars with Carthage. (~368–367 BCE)
- 9634      Athens allies with Dionysus. (367 BCE)  
             Death of Dionysus, succeeded by Dionysus II.  
             Peace between Syracuse and Carthage.  
             Plato visits Syracuse.  
             Aristotle joins Academy.
- 9635      Third Peloponnesian campaign of Epaminondas. (366 BCE)
- 9639      Battle of Mantinea (Thebes against Athenian confederacy); Epaminondas killed. End of Theban dominance. (362 BCE)  
             General peace, except Sparta.
- 9640      Thessalian Confederacy allies with Athens against Macedon. (361 BCE)  
             Plato and Speusippus visit Syracuse.
- 9641–726      Pyrrho of Elis (360–375 BCE)
- 9642–65      Philip II regent, then king, of Macedonia. He restores order and organizes army. (359–336 BCE)
- 9643      Philip II of Macedon makes peace with Athens. (358 BCE)
- 9644      Byzantium, Cos revolt from Athenian League. (357 BCE)
- 9645      Philip captures Potidaea and Pydna, defeats Illyrians, Paeonians. (356 BCE)  
             Birth of Alexander.
- 9646–55      Third Sacred War, between Athens and Macedonia. (355–346 BCE)
- 9649      Philip marches to Thermopylae. (352 BCE)
- 9654      Death of Plato. (347 BCE)
- 9655      Philip makes peace with Athens, subdues Phocis, presides over Pythian games. (346 BCE)
- 9656      Syracuse appeals to Corinth. Hicetas intrigues with the Carthaginians. (345 BCE)
- 9658      Aristotle becomes tutor to Alexander (aet. 13). (343 BCE)
- 9659–760      Menander (342–241 BCE)
- 9659/60–731      Epicurus (342/1–270 BCE)
- 9660–62      Carthaginian expedition against Syracuse. (341–339 BCE)
- 9661      Philip besieges Byzantium. Athens declares war on Philip (Fourth Sacred War). (340 BCE)
- 9663      Battle of Chaeronea; Macedon conquers Greece, forms Greek Confederacy. (338 BCE)
- 9664      Greek Confederacy under Philip declares war on Persia. (337 BCE)
- 9665      Philip assassinated; Alexander succeeds. (336 BCE)
- 9658–9674**      **Roman Republic: First Samnite War and after (411–427 AUC, 343–327 BCE)**
- 9658–60      First Samnite War (343–341 BCE): conflicts over Campania between the two expanding powers. (Cf. Ogilvy, Livy II, p. 26, defending the actuality of this conflict, which has been disputed due to lack of evidence other than Livy.)
- 9658      M. Valerius Corvus cos. III. (343 BCE)
- 9659      Plebiscites (three) of the tribune Lucius Genucius (342 BCE): No-one may hold an office more than once in ten years; no-one may hold two offices simultaneously; both consulships opened to plebeians. (Like term limits, the first two acted to break an insider monopoly on office.) End of the patrician monopoly on the consulship, per Ogilvy (cf. 9634); in any case, plebeians (from the leading plebeian families, not the lower or middle classes) now become unmistakably prominent in office.  
             The urban proletariat becomes more important at this time also, with demobilized soldiers moving to the city, were they were joined by countrymen displaced by the replacement of uneconomical peasant farms with the slave-worked estates owned by landlords enriched by the plunder of the wars of the time.

The same newly rich class supported an increasing number of urban craftsmen, specialists, and service workers.

~~'60 Gallic incursions renewed.

9661 T. Manlius Torquatus cos. III. (340 BCE)

9661–63 Latin War: Latins in Latin League revolt against Roman dominance. (340–338 BCE)

9662 Leges Publiliae. (339 BCE)

Comitia Centuriata granted legislative initiative, the right to consider bills that had not been previously approved by the Senate.

9663 Latin League dissolved, formal Roman hegemony in Latium (338 BCE). The Latin towns receive varying types of affiliation with Rome: some retain the old reciprocal rights (cf. Treaty of Spurius Cassius, ~9508), others full Roman citizenship, which ends their independent identity; for others, the status of *civitas sine suffragio* is created, entailing military service and taxation, with many citizen privileges in return, [but some independent administration, and no political rights at Rome]; note that it was not in any case practical for communities at all distant from Rome to exercise political rights there.

The settlement with Latium formed the precedent for the political mechanics of Rome's expansion for the rest of its history.

9666 M. Valerius Corvus cos. IV. (335 BCE)

9668 "Dictator Year". (333 BCE)

9969 Roman inroads into northern Campania: Cumae, Suessula, Acerrae taken by this year. Rome, according to Ogilvy (Livy II) at this time was deliberately laying the groundwork for expansion into Campania and conflict with the Samnites, which ensued. In diplomatic preparations, alliances are contracted with Epirus, Lucania, and Apulia.

9672 Rome takes Privernum. Roman colony at Tarracina (Anxur). (329 BCE)

9673 Latin colony at Fregellae (328 BCE). Fregellae, a strategic site on the left bank of the Liris, was Samnite territory under the treaty of 9647.

#### 9665–9678 The reign of Alexander the Great; the Greek East (336–323 BCE)

Reign of Alexander the Great, who conquers the Persian Empire (including Egypt) in 9667–72 (333–29 BCE) (death of Darius III, 9671, 330 BCE) and extends Greek influence as far as northwestern India. (His father, Philip of Macedon, had conquered Greece and created the Macedonian military machine, introducing significant innovations. The Macedonians were related to the Greeks, but the Greeks tended to regard them as outsiders unless interest dictated otherwise.) There is unrest in Greece while Alexander is away.

9666–738 Zeno of Citium (335–263 BCE)

9667 Battle of Granicus (334 BCE)

9668 Battle of Issus. (333 BCE)

9669 Egypt conquered. (332 BCE)

9670 Cyrene submits. Babylon, Susa, Persepolis occupied. (331 BCE)

9671 Alexander at Ecbatana. Death of Darius III. (330 BCE)

9672 Alexander in Bactria. (329 BCE)

9673 Bactria and Sogdiana conquered. Murder of Cleitus. (328 BCE)

9674 Invasion of India. (327 BCE)

9675 Indus crossed, Porus defeated. Mutiny. (326 BCE)

Voyage of Nearchus begins.

9677 Alexander in Susa. (324 BCE)

9678 Death of Alexander at Babylon. (323 BCE)

9678 Euclid's *Elements*.

The Persian empire was ripe for the picking, though a lesser man than Alexander could probably not have taken advantage of this to anything like the extent that Alexander did. A. Jones, *Art of War*, p. 60: "The Macedonian king could take advantage of a favorable political situation in that for more than half a century the Persian empire had displayed marked centripetal tendencies with frequent revolts led by the local rulers, called satraps. Only with difficulty and frequent conflict had the kings maintained their authority over the whole of the empire. Darius III had ruled for only two years and as yet lacked established authority and prestige, if only because he came from a distant branch of the royal family and had come to the throne by the assassination of his two predecessors. Alexander exploited this situation and usually secured the submission of most satrapies even before he crossed their borders. Wisely, he then carefully conserved vested interests, often confirming in power the Persian satrap who had yielded to him.\* Even without this political weakness of the central government, local authorities would have found it difficult to make a strong resistance after Alexander had defeated the Persian army. Unlike the Greeks, Persian cities and provinces lacked a militia. Most of the non-Greek citizens of the empire had no tradition of or training for military service, having long relied on the professional forces of the king and the satrap." Alexander's conquest of the Levant and Egypt

before moving deeper into the Persian empire was dictated by the necessity of consolidating his rear, and particularly of neutralizing the Persian fleet, which dominated the seas of the Levant. Weakness in his rear might also have encouraged revolt in Greece. See Jones, *passim*, on the intrinsic superiority of Macedonian military organization over that of Persia. [\*The satraps probably calculated in this fashion: As long as they could retain their positions, they could not lose. Even if the Greeks maintained their conquest, the satraps had even better hope of prevailing in the long run over the foreign conqueror from a distant land than they had against a Persian king. And if the Greeks fell apart, the satraps would fill the power vacuum. Alexander—and the Diadochoi after him—doubtless calculated as astutely, but on a broader basis of fact and possibility: they set down roots, and their rule endured long enough, in most cases, to disappoint the highest hopes of the satraps.—mcv]

Alexander's empire falls apart after his death—but into very large chunks, ruled by his generals, who found Greek dynasties that last for several centuries.

Alexander had envisioned a united empire, whose culture would be a mixture of the best elements of the cultures of the Greeks and Macedonians with the best of the cultures of the Persians and other conquered peoples. If only out of political necessity, his successors often did much to realize that vision in their own empires, planting Greek colonies over a wide area. (Finley, *Anc. Econ.*, p. 172.) The language and culture of the ruling circles and of much long-distance communication were Greek. While Greek culture never came close to supplanting the native cultures, this Greek layer served as a conduit for cultural influences in all directions, and made the lands of the East a regular part of the Greek world and Greek consciousness. Greeks traveled and traded throughout the region and beyond, into India. Greek influences are detectable in the art of northwestern India, Central Asia, and even China. An interesting example of cultural interchange is an important early Buddhist writing, the *Milindapanha*, which is a dialogue between a Buddhist philosopher and a Greek king named Menander (Milinda). (For a fuller picture of Greek influence, which was in fact quite important, see Frye, both in relevant chapters and *obiter*, *passim*. See also Bickerman, *Chronology*, for a list of Indo-Greek kings, 9745–9946; 256–55 BCE.)

One of the Greek dynasties, the Ptolemies, will rule Egypt until it is acquired by Rome in 9971 (30 BCE). Greek colonies appear in Egypt. The Ptolemies make some attempts to unify the two cultures, and there is some mutual influence, but by and large the cultures remain distinct, and the Egyptians continue to regard their rulers as aliens. The last of the Ptolemies is the famous Cleopatra—and she was the first of the Ptolemies who could speak Egyptian.

#### 9668–~9834 Israel under the Seleucids; beginnings of the Diaspora

333--167 BCE Alexander conquered Palestine in 9668–9 (333–2 BCE). Under the Greek dynasties, the Jews begin to look to the West, and many settled throughout the Greek world. There were considerable populations of Jews established in Egypt, Cyrene, and Cyprus. They occasionally influenced the politics of these nations, especially Egypt. (See Appendix for the Septuagint.)

Among the successors of Alexander, both the Ptolemies and the Seleucids claimed Palestine, which was held at first by the Ptolemies. In 9803 (198 BCE), Palestine was taken by the Seleucid Antiochus the Great (who had been forbidden by the Romans to war against Egypt. He pillaged Jerusalem, persecuted the Jews, and attempted to suppress their religion and force them to follow Greek ways, which led to the revolt of the Maccabees (also called the Hasmoneans), about 9834 (167 BCE).

#### 9674–97 Roman Republic: Second Samnite War (427–450 AUC, 327–304 BCE)

Rome, accordign to Ogilvy (Livy II) had deliberately provoked this war in the preceding period, desiring expansion into Campania.

- 9674 Samnites respond to Roman aggression by taking Paleapolis ("the old city of Neapolis").
  - 9675 Rome allies with Neapolis, Nuceria, and the Apulians. (326 BCE)
  - 9677 "Dictator Year" (324 BCE)
  - 9680 Defeat at the Caudine Forks. (321 BCE)
  - 9686 War renewed. Samnites defeat Romans at Lautulae. (315 BCE)
  - 9687 Roman victory at Tarracina. Capua and the Aurunci reduced. Latin colony at Luceria. (314 BCE)
  - 9688 Latin colonies at Suessa Aurunca, Pontia, Saticula. (313 BCE)
  - 9689 Censorship of Appius Claudius Caecus (312 BCE). Appius takes many measures to relieve popular discontent (cf. 9659). The poorer citizens, previously enrolled only in the four urban tribes, were distributed through all the tribes, securing them a majority in the *comitia tributa*. The sons of freedmen were made eligible for office and the Senate (soon repealed). Measures to reduce oppression of debtors. Military reforms giving more importance and responsibility to ordinary soldiers. Major public works undertaken in part to provide employment.
- About this time seems to have begun the practice of admitting senior magistrates to the Senate after their term of office ended, opening membership in the Senate to a wider circle. Also about this time, the Censors were given control over the senatorial register (cf. 9556). The effect was to replace the old patriciate with a senatorial nobility of ex-magistrates.

Mommsen *THOR* Bk II.iii, p. \*\*\* 410–12: sum re senatorial domination

Via Appia begun (completed, per Ogilvy, Livy), the first of the great Roman highways. “longarum regina viarum” (*Silvae*, II.2.12). The highway into the former Samnite sphere, it originally terminated at Capua, and was later extended to Tarentum and Brundisium. (It was in part an element in a sort of WPA program, supra.)

Latin colony at Interamna.

9691 Ilviri navales appointed. (310 BCE)

Rome advances into Etruria.

9692 “Dictator Year”. (309 BCE)

9693 Alliance with Tarquinii renewed. (308 BCE)

9694 Hernici revolt. (307 BCE)

9695 Third treaty of Rome with Carthage. (306 BCE)

Romans storm Anagnia, grant it civitas sine suffragio.

9697 End of the Second Samnite War (304 BCE). Aequi defeated. Roman alliance with Marsi, Paeligni, Marrucini, and Frentani. Samnite overtures result in a treaty. The Samnites are not subdued, but are restricted to the highlands. Rome is supreme in Campania, and still looking toward further expansion at Samnium’s expense, which the Samnites prepare to fight.

Formulas used in court by the Pontiffs are written down and published, under the patronage of Appius Claudius, ending the practical excuse for the monopoly of the patrician pontiffs on court procedure. (Traditional story.)

#### ~9675 **Voyage of Pytheas of Massalia** (~325 BCE)

Dating per Cunliffe (v. praecipue pp. 154–5); who makes ~9780 the likely date of publication of his account of the voyage.

#### 9675–9817 **Maurya Empire in India**

326–184 BCE Founded by Chandragupta. (Sarton says he had met Alexander. Perhaps he was inspired by the example and military techniques.) Much Persian influence. Under the great Buddhist ruler Ashoka, the empire included the entire subcontinent except the southernmost region, and maintained contact with kingdoms as far west as Egypt and Epirus. (Wolpert, pp. 54ff.)

#### 9678–9720 **The Former Alexandrian Empire: Wars of the Diádochoi** (323–281 BCE); **The Greek East**

9678 Death of Alexander. (323 BCE)

Perdiccas hold power in Asia.

Greece revolts against Antipater.

9679 Perdiccas invaded Cappadocia, established Eumenes as satrap. (322 BCE)

Cyrene conquered by a general of Ptolemy.

9680 Death of Perdiccas. Antipater becomes regent. (321 BCE)

9682 Death of Antipater. Polyperchon regent. (319 BCE)

Ptolemy annexes Syria.

9683 Polyperchon declares Greece free. (320 BCE)

9686–90 War of the satraps Seleucus, Ptolemy, Cassander, and Lysimachus against Antigonus. (315–311 BCE)

Antigonus occupies Syria.

9689 Seleucus takes Babylon. Ptolemy defeats Demetrius Antigonus at Gaza. (312 BCE)

9690 Satraps, except Seleucus, make peace with Antigonus. (311 BCE)

9695 Antigonus and Demetrius assume royal titles. (306 BCE)

9696 Ptolemy, Cassander, Lysimachus, and Seleucus assume royal titles. (305 BCE)

9700 Battle of Ipsus: Antigonus defeated and killed. (301 BCE)

Kingdom of Antigonus partitioned by Seleucus and Lysimachus.

9706 Ptolemy acquires Cyprus, Seleucus Cilicia, and Lysimachus (ultimately) Ionia. (295 BCE)

9707 Demetrius Poliorcetes takes Athens, becomes king of Macedonia. (294 BCE)

9713 Fall of Demetrius. (288 BCE)

Pyrrhus (ille) and Lysimachus partition Macedonia.

9715 Ptolemy acquires Tyre, Sidon, “the Island League”, and command of the sea. (286 BCE)

Library at Alexandria founded

9716 Pyrrhus driven from Macedonia; Lysimachus sole king. (285 BCE)

9718 Death of Demetrius. His son, Antigonus Gonatas, takes the royal title. (283 BCE)

9720 Death of Ptolemy I. Ptolemy II, already ruling jointly, becomes sole king.  
Lysimachus defeated and killed by Seleucus at battle of Corupedion. (281 BCE)  
Antigonus takes Athens.

Death of Seleucus and accession of Antiochus I.

With the battle of Corupedion (9720), the main political boundaries of the Hellenistic world are fixed for the next century:

The Ptolemies in Egypt (to 9971, 30 BCE, following a period of dependence on Rome).

The Seleucids in Babylon (Babylon, Media, Persia, Elam, and parts of Bactria fall to the Parthians from 9830, 171 BCE; monarchy lasts until 9937, 64 BCE; their empire, extending originally from Phrygia to the Indus, gradually fragments; Greco-Bactrian kingdoms will persist until ~9950).

Antigonus and his successors in Asia. [Until conquered by Antiochus The Great?]

Cassander and his successors in Macedon. (Until conquered by Rome in 9834, 167 BCE.)

#### 9683–721 Greece after Alexander (318–280 BCE)

9683 Polyperchon declares Greece free. (Various other rulers will do the same in the future.) (318 BCE)

9684 Demetrius of Phaleron established in power at Athens by Cassander of Macedon. (317 BCE)

Agathocles takes power at Syracuse with the aid of Carthage, with which he is subsequently at war.

9689 Carthaginians invade Sicily. (312 BCE)

9691 Agathocles invades Africa. (310 BCE)

9694 Agathocles defeated, withdraws to Sicily. (307 BCE)

9695 Peace between Syracuse and Carthage. (306 BCE)

Note: After this point, Sicily and Magna Graecia will be treated as part of the Roman sphere.

Epicurus opens his school at Athens.

Third treaty of Rome with Carthage.

9700 Zeno founds the Stoa. (301 BCE)

9707 Demetrius Poliorcetes takes Athens, becomes king of Macedonia. (294 BCE)

#### 9698–711 Roman Republic: end of Second Samnite War through Third Samnite War (451–464 AUC, 303–290 BCE)

Samnium, under the leadership of Gellius Egnatius, seeks out alliances with the Etruscans and Umbrians, also threatened by Rome, and with the Gauls. Rome continues a program of strategic expansion and colonization, and diplomacy including renewed alliances with Lucania and Apulia. (This includes the Via Valeria, across central Italy.)

“The Iguvine Tables were a series of seven bronze tablets discovered at Iguvium, contemporary Gubbio, in Italy in the year 1444. The earliest tablets were probably written in the 3rd century BC in the native Umbrian alphabet, the latest in the 1st century BC in the Latin alphabet. The tablets contain religious inscriptions that memorialize the acts and rites of the Atiedian Brethren, a group of 12 priests of Jupiter with important municipal functions at Iguvium. They appear to be written in an accentual metre, similar to the Saturnian metre that is encountered in the earliest Latin poetry.” (Blurb for Poultney, James Wilson, *The Bronze Tables of Iguvium*, American Philological Assoc., 1959. Includes Grammar, text, translation and extensive commentary. \$125.00 AWB, 6/08.)

Among the Greek practices introduced at Rome about this time was that of shaving.

9698 Latin colonies at Alba Fucens and Sora. Arpinum receives civitas sine suffragio. (303 BCE)

9699 Alliance with the Vestini. (302 BCE)

9700 “Dictator Year” (301 BCE). (Few dictators were created afterward.)

9701 Lex Valeria de provocatione. (300 BCE)

Lex Ogulnia: Carried by a tribune, opposed by Appius Claudius Caecus: five of the nine augurs, four of the eight pontiffs, required to be plebeians.

9702 Latin colony at Nequinum (Narnia), in the territory of the Umbri. (299 BCE)

Alliance with the Picentes.

Gauls raid Roman territory.

9703–11 Third Samnite War: Rome against Samnites, Gauls, Etruscans, and Lucanians. (298–290 BCE)

9705 After two years of inconclusive fighting (perhaps—mcv—small forces in the hill country, where the Samnites had the advantage, but which could never be decisive?) the Samnites under Egnatius join with their allies and present a large force in Etruria.

9706 Battle of Sentinum (295 BCE). Romans, under cos. P. Decius Mus, defeat the Samnites and Gauls at Sentinum (Sassoferrato), while the Etruscans and Umbrians were engaged elsewhere. Samnium’s military power is decimated and broken.

9708 Lex Maenia. (293 BCE)

First sundial in Rome (per OFA).

- Roman victory at Aquilonia, on the border of Samnium, opens the way to the Samnite heartland.
- 9709 Reduction of Falerii by Rome. (292 BCE)
- 9711 End of the Third Samnite War (290 BCE). Unconditional surrender of the Samnites. Rome annexes Sabines as *cives sine suffragio*. Rome's southern frontier moves from the Liris to the Volturnus (thus encompassing northern Campania), and the eastern frontier reaches the Adriatic, with a Latin colony at Hadria and another colony at Castrum Novum Piceni. Final collapse of Etruscan power about this time. Huge loot reaches Rome. Samnium and Umbria become subordinate "allies". The stage is set for conflicts on a larger field, with the jostling Mediterranean powers whose ranks Rome has joined.

**9700–10250 Yayoi Period in Japan (Preceded by Jomon, from ~4000 A.H.E.). Metallurgy and wet rice agriculture; arrival of the Japanese.**

Traditional dating 9700–10300. The period is named after the location near Tokyo where remains of that era were first found.

In the 9600s, the Chinese state of Yan invades the Korean peninsula. (Cf. 9598–9780, Warring States period in China.) Refugees settle Japan, sparking the transition from the Jomon culture to the Yayoi.

This is the period of the invasion of the ancestors of the modern Japanese, via southwest Japan, who mingled with the indigenous peoples for a time before pushing them out or subsuming them. Skeletal remains show that by the Kofun period the new race is dominant through much of Japan (according to one source), though the Ainu were not finally pushed from Honshu until about 10800.

The new culture is characterized by wet rice agriculture and the use of bronze (made with copper that, at that period, must have come from the mainland). Iron metallurgy appeared between 10100 and 10300. Japan soon annexes the southeast tip of Korea to control iron mines there. These advances supported an increasing population. Yayoi culture reached the Tokyo area by the 10200s.

The Chinese *Wei Chi* (<10297) refers to an exchange of envoys, around the year 10240, with the kingdom of Wa, perhaps located on Kyushu. (Wa is elsewhere said to have been the name for Japan until the Asuka period.) The Japanese are described as growing rice and mulberries, but keeping no horses, oxen, or sheep. They painted and/or tattooed themselves to indicate rank. Numerous local kingdoms are described as being subject to a queen in "Yamatai", which may be identified readily enough (though not without dispute) with Yamato, seat of the imperial house.

Wikip.: "Many other elements of Japanese culture also may date from this period and reflect a mingled migration from the northern Asian continent and the southern Pacific areas. Among these elements are Shinto mythology, marriage customs, architectural styles, and technological developments such as lacquerware, textiles, laminated bows, metalworking, and glass making."

It is to the histories of the Nara period (q.v.), with all their flaws as sources—particularly that they borrow much, including mythology, from their Chinese models—that we owe much of our knowledge of early Shinto beliefs and practices. What is known bears much resemblance to primitive polytheism-cum-ancestor-worship around the world, including that of Greece and Rome—and China. (The term "onmyodo" refers to animism, and perhaps to native religion in general when seen in juxtaposition to Buddhism, Taoism, etc.)

**9712–59 Roman Republic: end of the Samnite Wars to end of First Punic War (465–512 AUC, 290–242 BCE)**

- 9712 Death of Agathocles. Mamertines invade Messana. (289 BCE)
- 9714 Secession of the plebs, "the last serious civic upheaval before the days of Cicero". The Senate appoints Q. Hortensius dictator, to effect a settlement.
- Lex Hortensia: legal equality between patricians and plebians. (287 BCE)
- The Comitia Tributa (derived from the Concilium Plebis voting by tribes), presided over by tribunes, replaces the Comitia Centuriata as a legislative body. The latter, after passing the Lex Hortensia, "is not known to have passed another law for 200 years", though it continued to elect the Consuls, Praetors, and Censors, and to act as a court of appeal in certain capital cases. The enactments of the Comitia Tributa had had the force of law since 9552; the restriction that only bills approved by the Senate could be put before it is now removed. (But custom continued deferential: it remained the usual procedure to obtain Senatorial approval, and the tribunes were generally subservient to the Senate until the time of the Gracchi.)
- Tribunes receive the right to summon the Senate and preside in the absence of a consul or praetor. (Effective next year.)
- This is apparently the last major constitutional change until the time of Sulla.
- 9716 Gauls invade again; they are defeated and driven back across the Rubicon.
- 9717 M'. Curius defeats the Senones, after they approached within fifty miles of Rome. (284 BCE)

- 9718 Defeat of Boii and Etruscans at Lake Vadimo. (283 BCE.) Afterwards, the northern peoples give relatively little trouble until the time of Marius.
- 9719–29 **War with Pyrrhus.** (282–272 BCE)  
 As a result of this war, contacts with mainland Greece and Asia Minor became a regular and important feature of Roman life and history from this point on (cf. Mommsen *THOR* Bk II.vii, p. 40: Decline of Rome's original maritime interest under the kings, a result of the great dangers from land enemies after the beginning of the Republic; Paine *TSAC* 117: the *coloniae maritimae* were Rome's measure for guarding its shores, mainly geared toward defense on land against sea raiders and bands moving along the coast), a development that was intensified by the First and Second Punic Wars, by the end of which Rome's involvement in the East had become hegemony.
- 9719 Rome aids Thurii against the Lucanians (282 BCE). Thurii's appeal to Rome flouted the traditional protectorate of Tarentum ("whose 'protection' was becoming too expensive" (Cowell)). Rome sails ships beyond the area to which they were limited by a treaty with Tarentum. Tarentum sinks some Roman ships.
- 9720 Rome declares war on Tarentum; Tarentum calls in Pyrrhus.
- 9721 Pyrrhus lands in Italy; Rome defeated at Heraclea (on the bay of Tarentum). (280 BCE)
- 9722 Rome defeated at Asculum. Treaty with Carthage: a Carthaginian fleet of 120 sailed to Ostia to offer the treaty, a display the Romans will not have forgotten. (279 BCE)
- 9723 Pyrrhus crosses into Sicily. (278 BCE)
- 9726 Pyrrhus returns to Italy; defeated near Beneventum, crosses to Epirus. (275 BCE)
- 9728 Egyptian envoys received at Rome. (273 BCE)
- 9729 Capture of Tarentum by Papirius Cursor (272 BCE). Rome becomes dominant throughout South Italy (not including Sicily).
- Livius Andronicus comes to Rome.
- 9731 Capture of Rhegium. (270 BCE)
- 9732 First Roman silver coinage. (269 BCE)
- 9736 Rome supreme in Italy south of the Po. (Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica remain outside Rome's sphere—v. infra, de Carthagine.) Mommsen *THOR* Bk II.vii, p. 46–7: Indefinite legal/formal nature of Rome's sovereignty over Italy, completed after the Pyrrhic Wars. (Cf. 54.) Rome definitely had exclusive rights to foreign relations and coinage.  
 Mommsen *THOR* Bk II.vii, p. 61: Natural alliance of the Italian Mediterranean power with the Ptolemies, against Carthage and Macedon.
- 9737 Rome allies with Mamertines. Appius Claudius dispatched to Sicily. (264 BCE)  
 Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.xii, p. 126: First gladiatorial games at Rome.
- 9737–59 **First Punic War.** (490–512 AUC, 264–242 BCE)  
 Mommsen *THOR* Bk II.vii, p. 61: Natural alliance of the Italian Mediterranean power with the Ptolemies, against Carthage and Macedon.  
 On Carthage, and the nature of its society, v. Cowell, *CATRR*, 28. It was a great trading republic, of a rare (and rather magnificent) type later exemplified (mcv) by Venice—but with the weaknesses characteristic of that pattern: superficial hold and inadequate base on land, contrasted with control of the seas, conflict between the core interests of the republic in commerce and the land-based entanglements that came with success and wealth, and a fatal dependence on mercenaries and slaves. (mcv after Cowell; the similarity in the role of slaves perhaps not clear for Venice, but la Serenissima did at least carry on a roaring slave trade, in defiance of the mores of the time. The Venetian plantations abroad—Crete or Cyprus—were perhaps slave-worked.)  
 Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.i, p. 132: Phoenician = Canaanites. Ch. on Carthage v.g. general source on this topic. Int. parallels to Venice (cf. 160; but note the considerable importance of agriculture in Carthage (cf. 150ff), which was, however, based on large plantations and slave labor (as in the overseas plantations of later Venice); there was no yeomanry. 149: neither was there a middle class. "The multitude remained without leaders in consequence of the material advantages which the governing oligarchy was able to offer to all ambitious or necessitous men of rank, and was satisfied with the crumbs which in the form of electoral corruption or otherwise fell to it from the table of the rich." (The popular party became more powerful later, and was Hannibal's domestic base.) "The body of citizens in Carthage, which is compared by well-informed Greeks to the people of Alexandria, was so disorderly that to that extent it had well deserved to be powerless; and it might well be asked, what good could arise from revolutions, where, as in Carthage, the boys helped to make them." Surpassing wealth of Carthage.  
 Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.i, p. 160: Carthage & Rome equally matched at first, but Carthage weaker for lack of a native land army and natural allies. On the strategic fundamentals of the Punic Wars. "Fleets were not yet in those times of the infancy of navigation a permanent heirloom of nations, but could be fitted out wherever

there were trees, iron, and water. It was clear, and had been several times tested in Africa itself, that even powerful maritime states were not able to prevent enemies weaker by sea from landing. When Agathocles had shown the way thither, a Roman general could follow the same course; and while in Italy the entrance of an invading army simply began the war, the same event in Libya put an end to it by converting it into a siege.”

Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica are outside Rome’s sphere at the start of the Punic Wars, the former divided between Greeks and Carthaginians, the latter controlled by Carthage; control on all cases was (mcv, some element of conjecture), esp. in the Carthaginian sphere, not so much a matter of complete control of all territory and indigenous peoples as of control over towns and their hinterland, decisive for international affairs except in rare occasions where indigenous hostility or indifference played a role.)

Carthage’s dominance of the sea—and even its habit of sinking on sight any foreign ships found in its waters—was itself of little moment to the dirt-farming Rome of the earlier Republic. But the expansion of Rome’s territory and interests made clashes caused by land-based international issues inevitable, and also made the sea more of a concern to Rome—at least indirectly, as involving trade—particularly the grain supply—and the interests of Greek players in international affairs.

Rome’s successful challenge to to Carthaginian sea power was aided by the sea-wise Greeks, but also by a Roman innovation in tactics: Sea-tactics had previously been based on ramming (rowers could not fight); the Romans shipped marines, who grappled an enemy ship, boarded and made an infantry fight of it.

9738 Hieron allies with Rome. (263 BCE)

9739 War in Sicily, Rome takes Agrigentum. Naval victory of Duilius. (264 BCE)

9744 Naval victory of Regulus off Tyndaris. (257 BCE)

9745 Naval victory off Ecnomus. Regulus in Africa; defeats Carthaginians. (256 BCE)

9746 Defeat of Regulus (255 BCE)

9747 Rome captures Panormus. (254 BCE)

9754 Hamilcar Barca begins offensive in Sicily. (247 BCE)

9757 Rome builds new fleet. (244 BCE)

9759 Naval victory of Catulus over Hanno of Drepana. Carthage sues for peace. (242 BCE)

Rome occupies Sicily, except for the territory of Syracuse. Greek cultural influence strengthens in Rome, and the Sicilian grain harvest now flows to Rome: enough was received annually in taxes to feed the city for half a year, and as much again was purchased on the market. Direct Roman rule of Sicily was a departure from the ways in which Rome had dominated its Italian dependencies. Rome also takes Sardinia and Corsica (though these should have been retained by Carthage under the terms of the treaty), gains a foothold in Illyria, and greater involvement with Greece proper.

**~9714–89/90 Archimedes (~287–212/11 BCE)**

Created a complex, gear-regulated celestial globe. (V. Rybczynski, last chapter; also clippings in *Astro* (or *Classics*)); an exemplar was seen by Cicero; another was found in a shipwreck; on the reconstruction of the latter, v. *SN* 12/2/06.358). Invented compound pulley, windlass, hydraulic organ, Archimedes screw.

**~9716–807 Eratosthenes (~285–194 BCE)**

**fl. mid-9700s Hero of Alexandria**

Many inventions including, according to Plinius Maior, the screw press.

**~9721– Aristarchus of Samos (~280 BCE–)**

Heliocentric hypothesis.

**9721–60 The Former Alexandrian Empire: Successors of the Diádochoi, through Third Syrian War (280–241 BCE); The Greek East**

9721 War between Ptolemy II and Antiochus. (280 BCE)

9722 Gauls invade Macedonia, and Greece; repulsed at Delphi. (279 BCE)

9723 Gauls cross to Asia. (278 BCE)

Miletus becomes Egyptian.

9724 Anarchy in Macedonia. Gallic terror in Asia Minor. (277 BCE)

9725–62 Antigonus Gonatas king in Macedonia; he wars with Greece, which he briefly rules. (276–239 BCE)

9726 Antiochus I defeats the Gauls. (275 BCE)

9727 Pyrrhus overruns Macedonia (274 BCE)

Antiochus I defeats Ptolemy in Syria. First Syrian War (9727–30).

- 9729 Pyrrhus finally dies. (272 BCE)
- 9734 Athens, Sparta, Egypt allied against Antigonus. (267 BCE)
- 9739 Antigonus takes Athens. (262 BCE)
- 9739/40 Death of Antiochus I, accession of Antiochus II. (262/1 BCE)
- 9740–48 Second Syrian War: Ptolemy II vs. Antiochus II and Antigonus Gonatas. (261–253 BCE)
- 9755 Death of Antiochus II, accession of Seleucus II. (246 BCE)  
Death of Ptolemy II, accession of Ptolemy III.
- 9755–[60] Third Syrian War: Ptolemy vs. Seleucus. (246–[241] BCE)
- 9757 Brundisium becomes a Roman colony. Subsequently, the Via Appia is extended to Brundisium.
- 9721–772 Greece: period of the Achaean League (to Rome’s First Illyrian War) (280–229 BCE)**
- 9721 Achaean League formed. (280 BCE)
- 9722 Gauls invade Macedonia, and Greece; repulsed at Delphi. (279 BCE)
- 9731 Death of Epicurus. (270 BCE)
- 9734 Athens, Sparta, Egypt allied against Antigonus. (267 BCE)
- 9739 Antigonus takes Athens. (262 BCE)
- ~9739 Death of Zeno. Succeeded by Cleanthes. (~262 BCE)
- 9750 Aratus frees Sicyon. (251 BCE)  
Achaean policy in this period is directed against threat of Macedon, and accordingly seeks friendship with Egypt (as perhaps close enough to be interested but too far to be a threat—mcv).
- 9758 Aratus takes Corinth. (243 BCE)
- 9770 Chrysippus head of Stoic schools. (231 BCE)
- 9788 Death of Aratus. (213 BCE)
- 9759–9781 Roman Republic: end of First Punic War to beginning of Second Punic War (Hannibalic War) (512–534 AUC, 242–220 BCE)**
- Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.iv, p. 243: “The policy of the Romans was always more remarkable for tenacity, cunning, and consistency, than for grandeur of conception or power of rapid organization.”
- EARLY ROMAN LITERATURE, AND HIGH CULTURE IN ROME  
See also *Register Philologicorum*.
- Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.xiv (ch. on lit & arts) (same points also illustrated elsewhere): Italian national culture dissolved in Italy because of the cosmopolitan imperium, to be replaced by the available cosmopolitan culture of Hellenism (wording per mcv). P. 133ff: Lack of native roots in Roman lit. 134–5: “Roman poetry above all had its immediate origin not from the inward impulse of the poets, but from the outward demands of the school, which needed Latin manuals, and of the stage which needed Latin dramas.” 197: None of the early literary figures can be shown to have been natives of Latium; none were “persons of rank”. 198–202: Sum re early Roman lit. Interesting and balanced. Libraries. 203ff on the measured anti-Hellenistic stance of Cato et al., and on the importance of Cato’s own literary production.
- 9759 Office of praetor peregrinus created, presiding over cases involving foreigners.
- 9760 The Comitia Centuriata is reorganized to coordinate it with the Comitia Tributa. It too is now organized by tribes, but the details are not clear.
- 9761 Livius Andronicus produces a comedy and a tragedy for the *Ludi Romani*, both translations of Greek plays.
- 9761–64 Wars of the Mercenaries against Carthage (which had neglected to pay them for their services in the First Punic War). (240–237 BCE)
- 9762–832 Ennius (239–169 BCE)
- 9763 Rome occupies Sardinia and Corsica, violating the provisions of the treaty with Carthage. (238 BCE)
- 9764 Hamilcar goes to Spain. (237 BCE) Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.iv: [The preparation in Spain of war against Rome by Hamilcar and Hannibal was sort of a freelance operation, not sanctioned by the ruling oligarchy at Carthage, to which the Barcas were always opposed.]
- 9766 Carthaginian conquests in Spain (235 BCE), whither Carthaginian energies are now diverted. This damages the interests of the Greek cities concerned with Spain or Spanish trade—notably Massilia, and threatens directly those in Spain. The war party in Carthage was certainly looking forward to a rematch with Rome. Gates of the Temple of Janus closed.
- 9766><97 Period within which Naevius wrote his plays.
- 9767–852 Cato Maior (520–605 AUC, 234–149 BCE)  
Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.xi, p. 45ff: Portrait of Cato—worth consulting. Here, and circa, on the rural roots of the conservatism Cato represented, as opp. to the urban aristocracy—thus not quite an opposition between

- prisci and moderni. Cf. esp. 54–5. Bk III.xiv (ch. on lit & arts), 203ff on the measured anti-Hellenistic stance of Cato et al., and on the importance of Cato's own literary production
- 9769 Flaminius carries distribution of the Ager Gallicus in small lots. (232 BCE)
- 9771 Death of Hamilcar. Hasdrubal becomes general in Spain. (230 BCE)
- Office of Pontifex Maximus made elective. Other priesthoods follow. The patricians retained their monopoly on the offices of Rex Sacrorum, Flamen, and the Salian fraternity.
- 9772 First Illyrian War. Corcyra, Dyrrhacium become Roman allies. (229 BCE)
- 9773 Roman protectorate over Illyrian coast. (228 BCE)
- 9775 Ebro Treaty between Rome and Hasdrubal. (226 BCE)
- 9776 Gauls invade Italy; routed at Telamon by a huge Roman army, and driven north across the Po. (225 BCE)
- 9778 Flaminius defeats the Insubres. (223 BCE)
- 9779 Battle of Clastidium. Insubres surrender. (222 BCE)
- 9780 Death of Hasdrubal. Hannibal becomes general in Spain. (221 BCE)
- 9781 Censorship of Flaminius. Via Flaminia (Rome–Ariminum) completed. (220 BCE)
- First Greek physician practicing at Rome.

**~9750--~9950 Greco-Bactrian kingdoms (~250--~50 BCE)**

Greek rule extended into northwest India. Their rulers [and much of their ruling class] were Greek. Like most of India's invaders, they were gradually assimilated into Indian culture. (Wolpert, pp. 70ff. See also Bickerman, *Chronology*, for a list of Indo-Greek kings, 9745–9946; 256–55 BCE.)

**9760–804 The Former Alexandrian Empire: Successors of the Diádochoi, end of Third Syrian War to Antiochus' involvement with Rome. (241–197 BCE); The Greek East**

- 9770 Expedition of Seleucus against the Parthians. (231 BCE)
- 9778–814 Reign of the Seleucid Antiochus III (The Great); Seleucid Empire at its height, until Antiochus is defeated by Rome; Asia and, later, Armenia and Bactria are then lost by Antiochus. (223–187 BCE)
- 9782 Fourth Syrian War: Antiochus II vs. Ptolemy IV. (219 BCE)
- 9785 Native risings in Egypt. (216 BCE)
- 9789 Antiochus recovers Armenia. (212 BCE)
- 9791 Antiochus in Media. (210 BCE)
- 9793 Antiochus attacks Bactria. (208 BCE)
- 9804 Antiochus occupies Ephesus. (197 BCE)
- Egypt from this point will be treated with Rome.*

**9772–783 Greece: period of the Achaean League (Rome's First Illyrian War to beginning of Hannibalic War) (229–218 BCE)**

- 9772 First Illyrian War (Rome). Corcyra, Dyrrhachium become Roman allies. (229 BCE)
- Great expansion of Aetolia.
- Argos joins Achaean League. Athens independent.
- 9776 Argos and Corinth join with Sparta. (225 BCE)
- 9777 Achaea, threatened by Sparta under Cleomenes (9766–79, "tyrant" because ruling alone, without a co-king, who restored the ancient militaristic system at Sparta, and claimed dominance in the Peloponnese), turns to Macedon, under Antigonos III Doston. Antigonos takes Argos, and forms the Hellenic League. (224 BCE)
- 9778 War in Peloponnese. (223 BCE)
- 9779 Antigonos takes Sparta (222 BCE). Several tyrant-kings rule Sparta in succession.
- 9781 War of the Allies. Philip V of Macedon leads Hellenic League against Aetolia, Sparta, and Elis. (220 BCE)
- 9783– *From the beginning of the Hannibalic War, Greece and Macedon are treated as part of Rome's orbit. (218 BCE) The Achaean League is finally defeated by Rome in 9855 (146 BCE).*

**9780–9795 Qin dynasty in China**

- 221–206 BCE Qin (pr. Cheen; probably the origin of "China") was one of the largest of the Warring States, a tightly, but effectively, organized bureaucratic police state which developed an impressive infrastructure. It eventually came to the top under the rule of Qin Shi Huangdi (ille; "Qin the First Emperor"). Lord of a state centering on Xian in central China, he unifies an area from Canton to Beijing and east to the Pacific, creating the Chinese Empire. He laid the foundations for its administrative system, standardized writing, currency, weights, and measures. He also standardized thought: under the influence of Legalist scholars, he killed great numbers of scholars from other schools, especially Confucians, and suppressed their works. (Important numbers of works survived, how-

ever, and were sought out and preserved by later emperors, beginning with the early Han.) He destroyed the archives of conquered states. He sought the elixir of immortality. (It is Qin Shi Huangdi who was entombed with an army of life-size clay figures. He began work on the tomb—apparently a pyramidal structure—upon coming to power as lord of Qin. New excavations, revealing artifacts unlike those previously known, is reported in *NG* 10/01, which is also interesting on the Qin and Han dynasties in general.) Though his administrative advances persisted, the Empire disintegrated rapidly after his death in 9791, to be replaced by the Han. (“The hoary legend that Qin built the Great Wall of China has long since been exploded. The vast wall system visible today was mainly built by the Chinese Ming dynasty in the sixteenth century.”—Fairbank. I have read that he built an earlier version of the Wall.)

**9781–9799 Roman Republic: Second Punic War (Hannibalic War) (534–552 AUC, 219–201 BCE)**

Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.v, p. 291: Hannibal’s grand strategy (cf. 305ff): The invasion of Italy was just an opening move; he intended to bring in the powers of West (reinforcements from Spain) and East (alliances with E. Mediterranean powers) to complete the destruction of Rome. Scipio frustrated that policy in Spain.

9782 Hannibal takes Saguntum. (219 BCE)

Second Illyrian War.

9783–99 Second Punic War (Hannibalic War). Rome, Aetolia, Attalus aligned against Carthage, Macedon, [other parties in Greece] (218–202 BCE)

9783 Hannibal marches to Italy, defeats Romans at Ticinus and Trebia. (218 BCE)

Cowell notes that Hannibal’s famous land march was in fact a symptom of Carthage’s loss of naval dominance. (The consideration of what might have happened had Hannibal been able to invade by sea was Mahan’s initial inspiration.)

9784 Roman naval victory off the Ebro. (217 BCE)

Hannibal crosses the Apennines.

Carthaginian victory at L. Trasimene; Rome lies open to Hannibal.

Fabius Maximus dictator.

9785 Cannae (216 BCE).

After Cannae, a disaster caused by dissension between the Dictator and the Magister Equitum, dictators were only appointed to supervise elections, until the office was abolished in 9801.

Revolts in Central Italy, including Capua. (But Hannibal’s hopes for Italian aid against Rome were never realized to the extent required by his plans—Carthage was more foreign than Rome, and not safely remote, especially with its armies living off the land in Italy. Also, the Italians feared his other allies, the Gauls. As always, Carthage’s army was essentially a mercenary force, not a national army as was the huge force of Rome. (Cf. Venice.) Hannibal was further weakened by unreliable support from the home government, and the problems of overseas supply lines without complete control of the sea, or control of an adequate port.)

9786 Scipios defeat Hasdrubal near Dertosa. (215 BCE)

Hannibal in S. Italy.

Syracuse allies with Carthage.

Hannibal allies with Philip V of Macedon (**First Macedonian War**, in which Greek states aid Rome against Macedon, ~9796, 205 BCE).

Revolt of Syphax in Africa.

9787 Roman forces in Illyria. (214 BCE)

9788 Marcellus begins siege of Syracuse. (213 BCE)

Hannibal occupies Tarentum, citadel holds out.

Philip takes Lissus on Adriatic coast.

9789 Carthage makes peace with Syphax. (212 BCE)

Rome allies with Aetolian League. (9790 per *OCD*.)

Siege of Capua.

~9789–817 Plautus active (~542–570 AUC, ~212–184 BCE)

9790 Scipios (father and uncle of Africanus) defeated and killed in Spain. (211 BCE)

Hannibal marches on Rome. (His reasons for not attacking the city are endlessly puzzling. With Hannibal, it is safe to assume that he had some good and concrete reason for his actions. The City’s confidence at the time was egregious: perhaps Hannibal and the Romans were both reasoning from the same premisses, obvious at the time. Cowell notes lack of siege equipment as one possibility. Note also Burns, *Ostrogoths*, 207, on the Italian campaign of Belisarius, who was in a similar situation to Hannibal’s, with his need to live off the land: “Sieges and countersieges often hinged on the supply trains’ getting through. That was especially true around Rome, where living off the swampy land was virtually impossible.” On the other hand, it’s possible that drainage works around Rome were in better shape in the 9700s than in the

10500s.) Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.vi, p. 338: Hannibal's second approach to Rome was just an attempt to draw the Roman armies from the siege of Capua, which was about to fall—Hannibal had no chance of taking Rome, and doubtless knew it. (Elsewhere—Jones?—I recall reading that an attempt by Hannibal to take Rome would, in the general nature of the case, have been unlikely to succeed for general military reasons, which Hannibal above all was likely to have appreciated.)

Fall of Capua.

Capture and sack of Syracuse; death of Archimedes (or '89?).

9791 C. Claudius Nero holds Ebro line. (210 BCE)

Scipio (aet. 24, later Africanus) lands at Emporion, to take command of all Roman forces in Iberia. He will turn the tide of the war in Iberia, but fail to bottle up Hasdrubal and prevent his marching to Italy.

Sulpicius captures Aegina.

9792 Scipio takes Carthago Nova. (209 BCE)

Rome retakes Tarentum.

9793 Scipio's victory at Baecula. (208 BCE)

Hasdrubal leaves Spain for Italy, winters in Gaul.

Naval campaign of Attalus and Sulpicius.

9794 Scipio's victory at Ilipa. (207 BCE)

Hasdrubal arrives in Italy, is defeated at the Metaurus, when Roman troops facing Hannibal in the south made a lightning march north.

Philopoemen, general of Achaean League, defeats Sparta at Mantinea.

Nabis (9794–9809) tyrant-king at Sparta.

9795 Q. Caecilius Metellus cos. His brother (?) M. Caecilius Metellus praetor. (206 BCE)

Gades surrenders to Scipio. Scipio leaves for Rome.

Aetolians make separate peace with Philip.

Probable date of the imprisonment of Naevius, who had insulted the Metelli. He is soon freed, but "is said to have withdrawn from Rome to Utica after the defeat of Carthage in 9799, and to have died there, possibly in 201." (201=9800; Cicero dates his death to 9797, q.v.) His imprisonment is apparently alluded to in the *Miles Gloriosus*, which would then have been performed in this year or soon after.

9796 Scipio, consul in Sicily, retakes Locri. (205 BCE)

Mago in Liguria.

Rome makes peace with Philip. (or '97).

Scipio "practically forces" the Senate to give him command in Africa.

9797

Scipio lands in Africa. (550 AUC, 204 BCE)

Ennius brought to Rome by Cato. Death of Naevius, per Cicero, *Brutus* XV.60, "ut in veteribus commentariis scriptum est."

Cretan War begins.

9798 Scipio defeats Syphax. (203 BCE)

Scipio's victory at the Great Plains.

Mago in Gaul.

Hannibal recalled from Italy.

Philip of Macedon plots with Antiochus to divide "the outlying possessions" of Egypt.

9799 Zama (552 AUC, 202 BCE). End of war. Hannibal escapes.

Rome rejects Aetolian appeal for aid [against Macedon].

Roman campaigns to secure northern Italy against the Cisalpine Gauls (–9809), and the coastal connection to Gallia Provincia and Spain from disruption by the Liguri (–9819).

Not until the last generations of the Western Empire was Rome brought so near defeat as it had been in the Second Punic War. But if the threat and the devastation wrought in Italy were tremendous, no less tremendous was Rome's courage, endurance, and resourcefulness—and its ability to renew those resources apparently as needed, for example sending reinforcements off to Spain while Hannibal was at the gates of Rome, an act, moreover, of singular courage and confidence. The contrast with Carthage's chronic supply problems reflected the fundamental advantage, in a long war for control of extensive territory, of a territorial power over a naval and commercial one.

With victory, Rome gains its first overseas possessions (Sicily and Spain), and becomes the dominant power in the Mediterranean, which all others had to either obey (while, of course, seeking to circumvent) or oppose. Rome's increased size and widening political and economic interests draw it into further conflicts with other Mediterranean powers such as Macedon, the Seleucid (Greek) dynasty of Syria, and the Ptolemaic (Greek) dynasty of Egypt. The resulting conquests over the next two centuries extended Rome's rule and influence from Britain to Palestine, and from northwest Africa to Germany.

Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.vi, p. 364: Political state of the Mediterranean at the close of the 2nd Punic War. (Continued in succeeding chapters. Bk III.viii, p.396: Domination of Greece by Macedonia; 398ff Seleucid and Ptolemaic empires; Egypt as

*the* leading commercial and maritime power (and successor to the Phoenicians—*mcv*), whence its possessions in the islands of Asia Minor, the Cyclades, etc. also as intellectual center. 403ff: Greece. 407: The free Greek cities around Asia Minor as a Hansa.

Egypt, in the latter part of the period of the Punic Wars, was basically a dependent ally, since Rome alone preserved it from conquest by the Seleucids. Rome's "protectorate" of Greece, which soon became political rule, was a part of this picture. Greece was weak in itself, and a prize for which all neighboring powers were contending. The good will of the Greeks was essential if the Seleucids, Ptolemies, or the kings of Macedon were not to establish a Greek power base that could threaten Rome.

The war had notable effects on the Roman constitution, summarized by Radice (Livy III.13): The Senate, as the most efficient (and best-informed) decision-making body gained in power and prestige at the expense of other assemblies and institutions. Since there were too many commands to be supplied by the statutory number of magistrates in office, and since it was sometimes essential that the command of an able general be continued at need, the interval between offices, hitherto prescribed by law, was dropped (Fabius Maximus was consul two years running, and again five years later), and commands could be retained by a proconsul or propraetor; Scipio commanded in Spain as *privatus cum imperio*.

#### **POLITICAL & SOCIAL STATE OF ROME AFTER THE SECOND PUNIC WAR. (NOT SURE OF UNMARKED DATES OF EVENTS REFERRED TO IN THE PASSAGES FROM MOMMSEN HERE.)**

Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.xi, beginning: The closing of the Senate, which became an exclusive, hereditary noble order; its consequent decline in ability, and increases in abuse. Bk III.xi, p. 33–4: "Even though the tribunals had been as strict as they were lax, the liability to a judicial reckoning could only check the worst evils. The true security for a good administration lay in a strict and uniform supervision by the supreme administrative authority: and this the Senate utterly failed to provide. Bk III.xi, p. 53–4: On the limited effects of reforms of the *comitia*. Bk III.xi, p. 56: On the practical abolition of the dictatorship (and its effective replacement with the *s.c. ultimum*).

The social effects of the war were also critical for later history, though not without precedent in the earlier history of Roman—see, eg., the notes on the first Samnite war. Again, and on a much larger scale than before, great wealth was brought to Rome, social divisions between rich and poor were aggravated, the yeoman farmers of the countryside were replaced by *latifundia* and slaves, and drifted to the cities, and foreign peoples and influences pervaded the Roman scene. (Mommsen *THOR* Bk II.viii, p. 82: Absence of artisanal middle class in early Rome—because of concentration of capital in the upper crust, and employment of slave labor.)

Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.xii, p. 75–6: Antecedents of the grain dole. 76ff: Artificially and drastically lowered price of grain in Italy, and its effects on agriculture, and on the Italian economy, which depended largely on agriculture. Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.xii, p. 81–2: *Lex Claudia* (shortly before 218 BCE) (cf. 94—creation of two upper classes—political and business (and clandestine business by Senators) barring Senators from non-agricultural business, diverting their capital to land, which tended to increase the size of estates, drive small farmers into the cities and replace them with slaves in the fields. Cattle raising on large ranches was favored by various legal and economic factors. Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.xii, p. 101: On the economic transformation following the Hannibalic Wars "Cato and Polybius agree in stating that Italy was at the end of the sixth century [a.u.c.] far weaker in population than at the end of the fifth, and was no longer able to furnish armies so large as in the first Punic war."

"Political infighting was the bane of the Republic, but it probably saved us from monarchs for more than two hundred years."—Decius Caecilius Metellus

#### **9795–10220 Han dynasty in China; China expands, Chinese troops cross the Pamirs**

206 BCE–220 CE Somewhat more flexible institutionally than the Qin, the Han nonetheless continued to develop its bureaucracy (alongside the established aristocracy) and the mechanisms of state control. The state and its economy expanded. The nomadic peoples of the west were a constant problem which the Han attempted to deal with largely by means of subsidies and diplomacy, playing one people off against another. The Han did, at times, send emissaries and armies into the west, seeking allies or other advantages against the nomads. The armies [under Pan Chao—*veri*] even crossed the Pamirs.

The excavation of the tomb of Han Jing Di (r. 9844–60, 157–141 BCE) is reported in *NG* 10/01, which is also interesting on the Qin and Han dynasties in general.

Under Han Wudi Confucianism, in a combination with the despotic legalistic philosophy of the Qin, was institutionalized as the state ideology, referred to as "Imperial Confucianism", to be distinguished from the freely-accepted Confucianism of earlier and later periods. State Confucianism declined with the Han, as Buddhism, which arrived in the 9900s, became popular, eventually eclipsing Confucianism in the following centuries.

**fl. 9800 Apollonius of Perge**

Pioneering work on conics; important work on theoretical astronomy.

**from ~9800 Central Asian peoples pushed westward and southward in chain reaction by Han China**

from ~200 BCE The unification of China under the Han dynasty (founded 9799; 202 BCE) expands China's borders, pushing migratory Central Asian peoples westward in a chain reaction that would reach Europe and send Kushan (Yueh-chih) and Scythian (Shaka) peoples into northwest India, where they founded kingdoms. (Wolpert, p. 72.)

**9800–10500 Hopewell Culture in North America**

Descended from the Adena culture, 9000–9800, Indiana–Pennsylvania. The Hopewell Culture (like the Adena, a subdivision of the Woodland Culture) eventually covers a region from western NY to Ohio, Michigan, Tennessee, Missouri, Iowa, northern rim of Great Lakes, Minnesota, lower Mississippi to LA. Distinguished from previous cultures by agriculture (developed here independently, with North American plants, not corn and beans which came later from the south) and pottery. Mounds, astronomical structures, widespread trade network. Ancestors of, inter multa alia, the Mississippian culture of Cahokia.

**9800–30 Roman Republic: Dominance in the Mediterranean;  
Second Macedonian War to Third Macedonian War (553–583 AUC, 201–146 BCE)**

Rome struggles to control and organize Spain, in turmoil after the Carthaginian withdrawal.

Philip of Macedon, in a program of territorial aggression concerted with Antiochus the Great (Seleucid) (v. 9798), attacks Greek states, selling their inhabitants into slavery. Macedon then consisted of most of the Balkans north of Greece, and was threatened by Rome's presence in Illyria. The agreement with Antiochus presented a serious threat to Rome. Antiochus has a strong navy in the eastern Mediterranean, and claims on Asia Minor. (Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.viii, p. 413–14: Roman motives for the 2nd Macedonian War.)

9800 Massinissa King of Greater Numidia (providing a check on Carthage); Carthage a client state restricted by treaty to its home area. (201 BCE)

Attalus I of Pergamum, Rhodes, and Athens, ask Rome's aid against Philip V of Macedon, and Egypt calls for aid against Philip and Antiochus. Over some opposition, the Senate gained approval for war (year?): Rome was exhausted from the long Punic War, but determined to be free at last from all threat of foreign invasion.

War between Achaians and Sparta.

Philip in Asia Minor.

Antiochus takes Gaza.

About this time, Q. Fabius Pictor writes the first history of Rome (in Greek).

Possible date of death of Naevius.

9801 Roman mission to Greece and the East; ultimatum to Philip. (200 BCE)

Roman envoys visit Antiochus the Great.

Office of Dictator abolished. (Since Cannae, dictators had been appointed only to supervise elections.)

11/4–17 Plautus: *Stichus* (performed at the Ludi Plebei)

- 9801–5 **Second Macedonian War:** Rome and Greeks (Aetolia, Sparta under Nabis, Achaea, [others?]) against Macedon. (200–196 BCE)
- ~9801--~83 Polybius (~200--~118 BCE)
- 9802 Sulpicius in Macedon. Aetolia joins Rome. (199 BCE)  
Cato plebeian aedile  
Number (usual) of praetors increased to six, to fill need for propraetors to govern provinces.
- 9803 Achaeans join Rome. (198 BCE)  
Cato praetor.
- 9804 Cethegus defeats Insubres. (197 BCE)  
Flaminius defeats Philip at Cynoscephalae. Peace with Macedonia.  
Antiochus the Great occupies Ephesus.  
Accession of Eumenes II in Pergamum.  
Massinissa expands into Carthaginian territory (~9808).  
Revolts against Rome in Spain; war there continues until 9868.
- 9805 Hannibal begins democratic reforms at Carthage. (196 BCE)  
Smyrna and Lampsacus appeal to Rome.  
Marcellus defeats Insubres.  
Flaminius at Isthmian Games declares “Freedom of Greece”, without garrisons or tribute. Settlement of Greek affairs—or attempt thereat: Roman involvement in the fragmented and contentious politics of Greece is inevitably very troublesome to Rome.  
Roman envoys meet Antiochus in Thrace, asserting Roman protection of all Greeks.
- 9806 Roman embassy at Carthage: Hannibal goes into exile. (195 BCE)  
Cato, cos., quells revolts in Spain, and organizes government of the two provinces of Iberia.  
Repeal of Lex Oppia.  
War against Nabis of Sparta, who submits.  
Peace between Antiochus and Egypt; Antiochus forms an alliance with Egypt against Rome, marrying his daughter, the first Cleopatra, to Ptolemy V.  
Hannibal joins Antiochus at Ephesus.  
Death of Eratosthenes.
- 9807 Lusitani at war with Rome. (194 BCE)  
Flaminius evacuates Greece.
- 9808 Aetolian League, its ambitions not satisfied by Rome, offers support to Antiochus (193 BCE). The Syrian War ensues. Nabis of Sparta breaks treaty with Rome and attacks Achaeans.
- 9809–12 **Syrian War:** Rome against Antiochus and Aetolia (192–89 BCE). (Philip supports Rome in Greece.)  
Mommsen *THOR* Bk III.ix, p. 472–3: “It is a significant indication of the feeble and loose organization of the kingdom of the Seleucidae, that it alone of all the great states conquered by Rome never after the first conquest desired a second appeal to the decision of arms.”
- 9809 Rome declares war on Antiochus, who crosses to Greece, invited by the Aetolians. (192 BCE)  
L. Scipio to Greece as commander, accompanied by his brother Africanus.
- 9810 Defeat of Boii by Nasica. (191 BCE)  
4/4–10 Plautus: *Pseudolus* (performed at the Ludi Megalenses, on the dedication of the Temple of Cybele)  
Lex Acilia alters calendar. The College of Pontiffs is given authority over the calendar, and the responsibility of keeping it in line with the seasons.  
Acilius lands in Greece.  
Antiochus defeated at Thermopylae, flees to Ephesus. War in Aetolia.  
Roman fleet goes to Asia Minor. Eumenes and Rhodes join Rome.  
Antiochus’s fleet defeated off Corycus.
- 9811 Naval victories over Antiochus. (190 BCE)
- 9812 Aetolia is reduced to a Roman dependency (189 BCE).  
January: final defeat of Antiochus (accompanied by Hannibal) at Magnesia, by Scipio Africanus. He renounces his claims in Asia Minor.
- 9813 Philopoemen and Achaeans subdue Sparta, which had seceded from the Achaean League. (188 BCE)  
Treaty with Antiochus. Settlement of Asian affairs. The Romans leave Asia, without occupying it or asserting territorial ambitions there. Vast amounts of plunder brought back to Rome with the returning army. As Cowell points out, the richer the loot, the greater the temptation for further easy plunder.
- 9814 First issuance of the Roman denarius ( = 10 asses), a silver coin that became a standard, the first precious-metal coinage regularly issued for domestic use (as opposed to issues for foreign trade, to meet demand for payment in specie. [Appx. date per Cowell, disputing the much earlier traditional date of 9732. On the history of the Roman coinage, v. *CATRR*, 94ff.]

- Via Aemilia (Ariminium–Placentia) built by the consul M. Aemilius Lepidus, who was campaigning against the Ligures.
- 9815 S.c. de bacchanalibus. (568 AUC, 186 BCE)
- 9816 Death of P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus. (185 BCE)
- ~9816–92 Panaetius of Rhodes. He studies under Crates of Mallus and at the Stoa in Athens. To Rome in the '50s (q.v.)
- 9817 Censorship of Cato and L. Valerius Flaccus. Death of Plautus. (571 AUC, 184 BCE)
- 9818 (Appx. date.) Hannibal in Bithynia: he attempts to incite its king to fight Rome, and commits suicide to avoid being turned over to Rome.
- 9819 Death of Philopoemen. (182 BCE)
- 9820–22 Sempronius Gracchus commands in war with Celtiberians in Spain, culminating in a peace settlement that would hold for a generation. 40,000 Ligurii transported to Samnium. (181–179 BCE)
- 9821 Last of the Latin colonies, at Luca. (180 BCE)
- Cursus honorum seems to have been formalized at this time. (Cowell, *CATRR* 216.)
- 9824 Istria annexed, Sardinia subdued. (177 BCE)
- 9828 Two Epicurean philosophers expelled from Rome. (173 BCE)
- 9829 First year in which both consuls were plebeian.
- Said (by Plinius Maior, somewhere) to be the date of the opening of the first bakery (or public oven) at Rome. Per Montanari, this marks the replacement, in the City, of spelt (far, cooked into puls; most homes had no equipment for baking) with baked wheaten bread.
- 9804–55 The Seleucids: Antiochus' involvement with Rome to Third Punic War (197–146 BCE)**  
*See Rome for detail on the western affairs of the Seleucid Empire.*
- 9805 Roman envoys meet Antiochus in Thrace. (196 BCE)
- 9806 Peace between Antiochus and Egypt. (195 BCE)
- 9806–13 Antiochus and Rome: see Rome. (195–188 BCE)
- 9814 Death of Antiochus, accession of Seleucus IV. (187 BCE)
- ~9834–38 Revolts of the Maccabees (v. infra). (~167–163 BCE)
- 9836 Antiochus in the East, menace from Parthia. (165 BCE)
- 9830–63 Mithridates I takes Babylonia from the Seleucids, Media, and later Persia, Elam, and parts of Bactria. (171–138 BCE)
- 9830–[10227/40] Parthian Empire**
- OCD s.v. is succinct and interesting on the nature and importance of the Parthian empire. See also Appendix Annalium, for king list. The last date for a Parthian king I have is 10227, the first for a Sassanid is 10240.*
- 9830–63 Mithridates I takes Babylonia from the Seleucids, Media, and later Persia, Elam, and parts of Bactria. (171–138 BCE)
- 9863–77 Reign of Phraates II, successor to Mithridates I. He defeats Antiochus VII in Media, and is killed fighting the Scythians. (138–124 BCE)
- 9877–9913 Reign of Mithridates II (the Great). He defeats the Scythians and makes a treaty with Rome. (124–88 BCE)
- ~9830–55 Roman Republic: Third Macedonian War to Third Punic War (~583–608 AUC, ~171–146 BCE)**
- About the beginning of this period, the equites attain considerable prominence in Roman society, after a rise that began after the Second Punic War.
- 9830–34 Third Macedonian War (with Perseus) begins. (Allies in Balkans, Greece, Asia will waver.) (171–167 BCE)
- 9832 Death of Ennius (169 BCE)
- 9833 L. Aemilius Paullus defeats Perseus at Pydna. Captured documents proved connivance with prominent Greeks. Romans take Scodra in Illyria. (168 BCE)
- Antiochus checked by Rome. Weakening of Pergamum and Rhodes by Rome.
- 9834 End of the Macedonian kingdom: Macedonia divided into four separate states subject to Rome. Epirus plundered (in reprisal for connivance with Perseus). Achaean hostages to Italy (Polybius at Rome). Library of Perseus brought to Rome. (167 BCE)
- Romans in Italy freed from taxes.
- 9835 Terence's first play, the *Andria*, produced (166 BCE). Terence was born at Carthage (according to Suetonius), and came to Rome as a slave. He was soon freed, and enjoyed the patronage of the Scipios.
- 9838 Roman mission to weaken Syria. (163 BCE)
- 9840 Jewish embassy to Rome, treaty made. (161 BCE)

- 9842 Greek philosophers expelled from Rome.  
 9842 Death of Terence, at a very young age (159 BCE).  
 9845–915 Marius (156–86 BCE)  
 9846 Carneades, Critolaos, and Diogenes come to Rome as envoys, and lecture. (155 BCE)  
 9847–63 War with Lusitanians. (154–138 BCE)  
 9850 Carthage declares war on Massinissa, who has been raiding their territory. (151 BCE)  
 Return of Achaean hostages.  
 mid-9800s Leges Aelia et Fufia. Apparently gave magistrates some powers over plebeian assemblies and the tribunes, based on the privilege of taking auspices. (Cf. *OCD* s.v.; Cic. *Har.* 27/58.)  
 9850s **Panaetius** to Rome, part of the Scipionic circle of P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus. He modifies Stoicism in ways that make it more interesting to Romans, apparently rejecting or questioning such doctrines as astrology, divination, the universal conflagration (but retaining a belief in divine providence), and shift the emphasis of his ethical teaching from the tenets appropriate to the perfect sage to those fitted for normal good men. Panaetius continued to spend time in Athens, and succeeded Antipater as head of the Stoa in 9872. He died in Athens in 9892.  
 9851 Carthage defeated. Rome decides to intervene. (150 BCE)  
 Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.i: The final fall of Carthage marked the beginning of the Roman policy of converting client states to provinces.  
 9852 Rome lands in Africa. Siege of Carthage begun. (149 BCE)  
 Lex Calpurnia establishes permanent court de repetundis.  
 Deaths of Cato and Massinissa.  
 Rising of the pretender Andriscus in Macedon is suppressed (Fourth Macedonian War); rumblings in the Peloponnese.  
 War with Viriathus (–63)  
 9854 Scipio Aemilianus, by a plebiscite (an exceptional procedure, v. 9893 or thereabouts), given command against Carthage.  
 9855 Sack of Carthage (608 AUC, 146 BCE). Rome takes the Carthaginian lands, including Malta.  
 War with Achaean League.  
 Macedonia, ungovernable as subject states, annexed as a Roman province.  
 Sack of Corinth: apparently not so much an act of war as a reaction to the general unruliness of the Greeks.  
 Greece is never organized as a Roman province until the Empire, but gradual comes under the authority of the governor of Macedonia, [and of general Roman influence].  
 Temple of Iuppiter and Iuno: per Cowell, the first use of marble in building at Rome.
- 9834–9938 Hasmonean (Maccabee) Dynasty under Seleucid suzerainty**
- ~167–63 BCE The Maccabees (also called the Hasmoneans) revolted against Antiochus the Great about 9834 (167 BCE). The revolt was led at first by Judah, son of Mattathias, of a priestly family. The house of the Maccabees at first struggled against the Greek rulers and the assimilationist Jews, and the establishment of the Hasmoneans meant an end to an important Hellenizing impulse among the Jews, since the Hellenizers were inextricably linked to the foreign enemy. Jonathan, Judah's youngest brother and successor, was able to take advantage of a civil war in the Seleucid Empire to get himself recognized as high priest and governor of Judea, effectively installing a Hasmonean dynasty. He and all his successors extended their territory. Jonathan's brother Simon succeeded him, ruling until 9866 (135 BCE), and defeating the last of the Hellenizers.
- The Hasmoneans enjoyed considerable independence under the suzerainty of the Greek emperors, who were studious of their good will because of their strategic location in contests between the Ptolemies and the Seleucids, and in succession struggles within the Seleucid house. They showed considerable ability in playing off Seleucids claimants and Ptolemies against each other, while involving the Romans as well through ties of official friendship (they also had friendly relations with Athens and Sparta).
- Simon's son third son John Hyrcanus made Judea, still nominally subject to the Seleucids, into an expansionist territorial state, extending its rule to neighboring peoples, some of whom were forcibly converted to Judaism. The Hasmoneans ruled as high priests until the Aristobulus I, son of Hyrcanus, proclaimed himself king. The two sons of Salome Alexandra, Hyrcanus II and Aristobulus II, disputed the kingship in a civil war which was interrupted by Pompeius, who took Jerusalem in 9938 (63 BCE).
- See Appendix for additional detail, including king list and Jewish internal affairs (Pharisees/Sadducees, etc.). Also see Bickerman's chronology.

~9850--~9920 **Belgae invade Britain, in successive waves**

They establish themselves in Sussex, Kent, the Thames Valley, and East Anglia. They introduce a heavier plow, possibly wheeled, which turns over the slice. Their agriculture was successful enough to allow exports of grain and cattle. The last of the invasions is only 25 years before the expedition of Caesar, who thus found many divisions among the inhabitants.

**9855--81 Roman Republic: End of Third Punic War through the Gracchi** (608--634 AUC, 146--119 BCE)

Cf. Cowell, *CATRR*, 57ff.

9855 *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus, L. Mummius coss.* (146 BCE)

9856 *Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus, L. Hostilius Mancinus coss.*

~9856 Laelius attempts agrarian law, but withdraws it in the face of senatorial opposition. (~145 BCE)

9857 *Ser. Sulpicius Galba, L. Aurelius Cotta coss.*

9858-- *Ap. Claudius Pulcher, Q. Caecilius Metellus Macedonicus coss.* (143 BCE)

Celtiberian revolt: Numantine War.

9859 *L. Caecilius Metellus Calvus, Q. Fabius Maximus Servilianus coss.* (142 BCE)

First stone bridge over Tiber completed.

9860 *Cn. Servilius Caepio, Q. Pompeius coss.*

9861 *C. Laelius, Q. Servilius Caepio coss.*

9862 *Cn. Calpurnius Piso, M. Popilius Laenas coss.* (139 BCE)

Lex Gabinia introduces ballot for elections in the Comita Centuriata, replacing oral voting. (Cf. 9870.)

9863 *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio, D. Iunius Brutus (Callaicus) coss.*

9864 *M. Aemilius Lepidus Porcina, C. Hostilius Mancinus coss.* (137 BCE)

Lex Cassia introduces ballot in law courts.

Mancinus defeated in Spain; quaestor Ti. Gracchus, who is with Mancinus, makes a treaty later disowned by Senate on motion of Scipio Aemilianus, he of the "Scipionic circle". (This is taken to be the origin of the opposition of the Gracchi to Scipio Aemilianus, who was cousin to the Gracchi and married to their sister. Scipio emerged as a leader of the opposition to the Gracchan reforms. He incurred the hatred of the popular party in consequence.)

9865 *L. Furius Philus, Sex. Atilius Serranus coss.*

9866 *Ser. Fulvius Flaccus, Q. Calpurnius Piso coss.*

9866--69 First Sicilian Slave War. (135--132 BCE)

9867 *P. Cornelius Scipio Africanus Aemilianus II* (first was 9854), *C. Fulvius Flaccus coss.*

9868 *P. Mucius Scaevola, Calpurnius Piso Frugi* [no praenomen in EB] *coss.* (621 AUC, 133 BCE)

Ti. Gracchus, tribune, proposes lex agraria, dividing among the poor (for a small rent) the public lands leased to large landholders since the Second Punic War, aimed at restoring the yeoman class. Though providing for large tracts to be left in the hands of the wealthy, the law is only passed over the stiffest opposition: enough country folk came to town to vote in favor of the reforms to pass the measure in the plebeian assembly, normally dominated by the wealthy resident at Rome—and, of course, their large clientele. (Keeghan, *AHOW* 273f, states that the Gracchi had also "attempted to reduce both the burden of the military levy and the independence of the military authorities", the former, at least, also an issue for the *socii*.)

The landowners got another tribune to veto the measure. Tiberius then took the radical, unprecedented step, wholly at odds with the principles of the Roman constitution, of having the opposing tribune removed by vote of the assembly. Only then was the bill enacted. Much land was distributed, but the operation of the law was soon brought to an end by the influence of the large landowners.

(V. *OCD* s.v. Sempronius for this period. Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi, was a daughter of Africanus; cf. 9864; she was a prominent and influential woman.)

Attalus III dies and bequeaths Pergamum to Rome.

Ti. Gracchus, running for unprecedented second tribunate, murdered by oligarchic mob on eve of election. Scipio approves of the murder, and, dying shortly afterward, was said by some to have been assassinated by the populares.

The tribunate of Ti. Gracchus "marks the beginning of 'the Roman Revolution': the introduction of murder into politics and the breakdown of *concordia* (the tradition of not pushing legal powers to extremes) on which the republic was based." (Ernst Badian, in *OCD*; Cowell similiter.) It also marks the end of the period of the unquestioned dominance of the Senate in Roman affairs.

Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.ii: On the Gracchan reforms and their historical and political background, M is illuminating as always, but not amenable to detailed notes at this time. Worth noting, however, is M's thesis that Ti. Gracchus had to go further along the road of reform than originally envisioned in order to

keep the people *actively* on his side, this being the only way to ensure his personal survival. Also his legal point that (p. 327) “The distribution of the domains, moreover, was in itself no political party question; it might have been carried out to the last sod without changing the existing constitution or at all shaking the government of the aristocracy. Also the contrary considerations raised at 328: given the long standing (in some cases 300 years) of the occupation of the public lands, “The jurist might say what he would; to men of business the measure appeared to be an ejection of the great landholders for the benefit of the agricultural proletariat; and in fact no statesman could give it any other name.” And on the third hand, his summary on 329ff, esp. 330: “the fundamental defect of the policy (p.e. for ‘polity’?) of antiquity—that it never fully advanced from the urban form of constitution to that of a state or, which is the same thing, from the system of primary assemblies to a parliamentary system—in this case avenged itself”: there was no effective representation at all; and his point re the contiones, which “ruled the streets” though having no legal standing and consisting in significant part of non-citizens. 332: The Senate, while putting down Ti. Gracchus, or allowing him to be put down, saw well enough to continue the land distribution. (334 ff: There was a significant pro-reform party in the Senate.) 333: “The aristocratic government was so thoroughly pernicious, that the citizen, who was able to depose the senate and to put himself in its place, might perhaps benefit the commonwealth more than he injured it. But such a bold player Tiberius Gracchus was not.”

Scipio Aemilianus (son of L. Aemilius Paulus Macedonicus, adopted by the Cornelii Scipiones) captures Numantia, finally pacifying Spain. (Cf. 9804, 9858, [etc?].) Cowell: “Thereafter until the overthrow of the Republic, Spain seems to have been treated with harsh brutality, valued only for what could be gotten out of it.”

- 9869 *P. Popillius Laenas, P. Rupilius coss.* (132 BCE)  
 Quaestio to punish Gracchans. Victory in Slave War.  
 Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.iii, p. 342: “The democratic party, always poor in leaders of ability, . . . from sheer necessity remained virtually at rest for nine years” [after the death of Ti. Gracchus]. C. Gracchus filled the vacuum at last.
- 9870 *P. Licinius Crassus Mucianus, L. Valerius Flaccus coss.* (131 BCE)  
 Lex tabellaria of the tribune Carbo extends ballot to the Comitia Tributa (thus, to legislation), replacing oral votes. (Cf. 9862.)  
 Civil war in Egypt. (to ?)
- 9871 *L. Cornelius Lentulus, M. Perperna coss.*; Ap. Claudius Pulcher suff.
- 9872 *C. Sempronius Tuditanus, M. Aquillius coss.* (129 BCE)  
 Province of Asia organized.
- 9873 *C. Octavius, T. Annius Rufus coss.*
- 9874 *L. Cassius Longinus Ravilla, L. Cornelius Cinna coss.*
- 9875 *M. Aemilius Lepidus, L. Aurelius Orestes coss.*
- 9876 *M. Plautius Hypsaesus, M. Fulvius Flaccus coss.* (125 BCE)  
 Consul Flaccus proposes enfranchising Latins; dissuaded by Senate.  
 Latin colony of Fregellae revolts, is crushed.
- 9877 *C. Cassius Longinus, C. Sextius Calvinus coss.* (124 BCE)  
 War with Arverni and Allobroges.
- 9878 *Q. Caecilius Metellus (Baliaricus), T. Quinctius Flaminius coss.* (123 BCE)  
 First tribunate of C. Gracchus (Begins 12/10/77); he is elected with a slate of nine other tribunes, none of who opposed the revived land reform measures he intended to introduce. Re-elected for '79. He also championed colonization programs, “WPA” programs, and price controls on wheat. (Wheat was thus made available to the commons at an artificially low price—it was left to Clodius to dole it out for free. The state continued to subsidized wheat until 9920, when Sulla dropped the program; it was revived in 9928, and continued until the dole was made free.) He gains support from the equites, who had come to prominence since the Hannibalic War, by granting them tax-farming privileges in the provinces, and by replacing Senators with equites in the juries by whom were tried, among other matters, charges of abuse officials in the provinces. Not only was this a means by which speculation by officials, or connivance at speculation by publicani, could be defended: it was also used a means of attacking those governors who refuse to connive. The new monopoly of the juries gave the equites dealmaking leverage, and thus, effectively political power. It was with their backing that Marius came to power, over the opposition of the nobility. His repeated consulships were unconstitutional (Taylor). Like subsequent warlords, his power was in large part based on sending his soldiers to vote at Rome. (Taylor compares the relationship of a late Republican warlord to his soldiers with the client-patron relationship among the Quirites.)  
 Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.iii, p. 344–5: Motivation and effect of the corn laws of C. Gracchus: empowering the urban proletariat. (Cf. Bk III.xii, p. 75–6: Antecedents of the grain dole.) 349ff: Ordo Equitum,

courted by C. Gracchus with the gift of lucrative privileges (replacing the Senate in the jury courts, which were not subject to tribunicial veto), and with distinctions that tended to define them more and more as a third order. 354f: Sum re C. Gracchus's reforms and "personal rule": Gracchus seen as aspiring to a classical tyranny. 358: "An absolute monarchy is a great misfortune for a nation, but it is a less misfortune than an absolute oligarchy." On internal conflicts within Gracchus' methods and aims. 359–60: C. Gracchus compared to Caesar (and Pericles and Napoleon); he was the primary founder of the revolution that tore Rome in the following century, and of the sway of the Roman mob. But Gracchus was also "the regenerator of his country", as the constitutional founder of monarchy in Rome (with its constant antagonism to the nobility). 361: "Right and wrong, fortune and misfortune were so inextricably blended in this singular man and in this marvellous political constellation, that it may well beseem history—though it beseems her but seldom—to reserve her judgment."

- 9879 *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, C. Fannius* *cos.* (122 BCE)  
Reforms of C. Gracchus (elected tribune for a second successive year) successfully opposed; Gracchus fails in bid for third term in '80. His proposals to grant citizenship to Italian peoples had lost him the support of the citizen smallholders and the urban mob (and the equites?), whose benefits as citizens would have been diluted.  
Balearic Islands conquered.
- 9880 *L. Opimius, Q. Fabius Maximus (Allobrogicus)* *cos.* (121 BCE)  
First use of s.c. ultimum. Civil disorder between Gracchans and supporters of the optimates. C. Gracchus is killed. Opimius executes his followers.  
Defeat of Arverni and Allobroges. The latter were brought under Roman rule, but remained restless.
- 9881 *P. Manilius, C. Papirius Carbo* *cos.* (120 BCE)  
Opimius acquitted.  
First known use of concrete, in the Temple of Concord. (Cement was known to Cato Maior.)

#### late 9800s **Hipparchus** (late 100s BCE)

(V.q. *OCD* s.vv. Astronomical Instruments, Astronomy.) First used geometrical method for prediction. Developed trigonometry. Brought much Babylonian learning (esp. periods and arithmetic techniques) to Greece, and used it in conjunction with the geometric theoretical framework of the Greeks. Recorded many star positions on a globe. Correctly estimated distance of Moon. Discovered precession of the equinoxes.

#### 9855–937 **The Seleucids: Third Punic War to end of Seleucid monarchy** (146–64 BCE)

- 9860 Mithridates I of Parthia annexes Babylonia. (141 BCE)  
9871 Antiochus VII Sidetes killed in war with Parthia. (130 BCE)  
9937 Pompeius in Syria. End of Seleucid monarchy. (64 BCE)

#### 9882–9901 **Roman Republic: rise of Marius; Jugurthine War** (635–654 AUC, 119–100 BCE) (Note chronology, maps, and general info in G&K Cicero.)

Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.iv, p. 371–2ff: Nature of the restoration—the Senate, with no opposition after the death of C. Gracchus, now resumed its supremacy, but governing thenceforth with the political tools of Gracchus, abandoning only the true reforms in aid of which Gracchus created those tools—especially the merging of Rome with Italy and Italy with the provinces. The new status awarded to the mob could be a means for the Senate of bribing the Equites and the mob; the Senate was powerless to rescind that status. And the Senate was permanently frightened by the possibilities opened by the Gracchan revolution, and thus rendered increasingly reactionary and increasingly predatory (380). (P. 378: Before the period of the Gracchi, "an observer favorably predisposed might be of opinion that the senate maintained a certain moderation in injustice and a certain decorum in misgovernment. This aristocracy had been overthrown and then reinstated; henceforth there rested on it the curse of restoration.") Predation in the provinces was aggravated by the new necessity of conniving with prominent publicans whose order was now in charge of the quaestiones de repetundis. 378: Before the period of the Gracchi, "an observer favorably predisposed might be of opinion that the senate maintained a certain moderation in injustice and a certain decorum in misgovernment. This aristocracy had been overthrown and then reinstated; henceforth there rested on it the curse of restoration." 411–12: The oligarchy discredited by the Jugurthine War, but no opposing political body existed, only individuals. 412: "The so-called popular party . . ." The only new element was the installation of military leaders by popular acclaim, combined with the elimination of the property qualification for service in the legions. (This was part of the Marian reforms, and was defensible and desirable on purely practical grounds, though, like any extension of civic standing, a threat to the oligarchy and, like any extension of civil standing to those who had nothing to lose, a

- threat to stability of any sort.) The type for this development was Marius, who was made into an opposition force only by the scorn of the aristocracy, his original sponsors and natural associates, when his achievements brought him to prominence.
- 9882 *L. Caecilius L.f. Metellus (Delmaticus), L. Aurelius Cotta* *cos.* (119 BCE)  
Marius, as tribune, improves election procedure, carries law checking influence on voters.
- 9883 *M. Porcius Cato, Q. Marcius Rex* *cos.* (118 BCE)  
Death of Micipsa, successor of Massinissa. Numidia ruled jointly by Jugurtha et al.
- 9884 *L. Caecilius Q.f. Metellus Diadematus, Q. Mucius Scaevola* *cos.*
- 9885 *C. Licinius Geta, Q. Fabius Maximus Eburnus* *cos.* (116 BCE)  
Jugurtha begins to consolidate power. Senatorial commission sent to Numidia.  
Varro, 9885–974. (116–27 BCE)
- 9886 *M. Aemilius Scaurus, M. Caecilius Metellus* *cos.* (115 BCE)  
Scaurus in Pannonia.  
Mithridates VI takes power in Pontus, begins territorial expansion.
- 9887 *M. Acilius Balbus, C. Porcius Cato* *cos.* (114 BCE)  
Marius in Spain.  
Hortensius born.
- 9988 *C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius, Cn. Papirius Carbo* *cos.*
- 9889 *M. Livius Drusus, L. Calpurnius Piso Caesonianus* *cos.* (112 BCE)
- 9889–96 **Jugurthine War** (642–649 AUC, 112–105 BCE)  
Jugurtha sacks Cirta, many Italians killed. Senate declares war.
- 9890 *P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio, L. Calpurnius Bestia* *cos.* (111 BCE)  
Lex agraria: leaseholders (large and small) on public lands granted ownership.
- 9891 *M. Minucius Rufus, Sp. Postumius Albinus* *cos.*
- 9892 *Q. Caecilius Metellus (Numidicus), M. Iunius Silanus* *cos.*  
Censor M. Aemilius Scaurus; plans the Via Aemilia Scaura, coast road from Luna to Genoa.  
Death of Panaetius at Athens.  
Marius, serving under Metellus, his patron, requests leave to seek the consulship, which is most haughtily denied. Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.iv, p. 404: On Marius: “If the aristocracy had supported the constitutional, and in other respects quite justifiable, candidature of this able man, who was not at all inclined to take part with the opposition, nothing would have come of the matter but the enrollment of a new family in the consular fasti. Instead of this, [Marius] was reviled by the whole governing caste as a daring innovator and revolutionist.” (The sneers came also from his patron Metellus.) This drove him to rely on popular support. Ch. v, p. 439: Gross incompetence of the oligarchy, in the Jugurthine and Cimbrian wars. “The sure instinctive feeling of the public, that there was no resource against the oligarchy except the tyrannis, was once more apparent.” Thus the unconstitutional re-election of Marius, repeated in four succeeding years. Ch. vi, p. 454: Marius a moderate, and a man of integrity, with the cspdg impulse to reform—driven into opposition by the reactionary nobility, and pulled into it by his unequalled popularity with the rest of Rome, and his need for associates with the political savvy he lacked (460).
- 9893 *Ser. Sulpicius Galba, Q.(?) Hortensius* *cos.*; suff. M. Aemilius Scaurus  
[Veri year] Marius gets himself appointed to succeed Metellus by having a Tribune carry a law in the Comitia Tributa. Though not without precedent (9796, 9854), such extraordinary commands had been rare, the Senate regularly having disposal of provinces and military commands. The frequency of extraordinary commands henceforward removed a key element of senatorial control, and opened the way to the warlords.
- 9894 *L. Cassius Longinus, C. Marius* *cos.* (107 BCE)  
Marius begins recruiting volunteers and proletarii.  
The Tigurini, one of four “pagi” of the Helvetii, defeat and kill the consul Cassius at Lacus Lemannus (Lake of Geneva), and lead his army under the yoke. (*BG* I.7.4.) (~9900, the Helvetii move from S. Germany to the lands in W. Switzerland they occupied before—and after—invading Gaul at the start of Caesar’s command there.
- 9895 *C. Atilius Serranus, Q. Servilius Caepio* *cos.* (648 AUC, 106 BCE)  
Marius in Numidia. Bocchus of Mauretania surrenders Jugurtha to Sulla.  
Lex Caecilia tabellaria extends ballot to trials for perduellio.
- 1/3 **Cicero** born, at Arpinum ~65 miles by road from Rome. His father, of local Volscian stock, had the status of an eques Romanus and, though his wife, Helvia, he had connections to the Senatorial nobility at Rome.

Cicero's grandmother, Gratidia, was connected with prominent men at Rome, and, by adoption closely connected to Marius.

- 9/30 Pompeius (Magnus) born.
- 9896 *P. Rutilius Rufus, Cn. Mallius Maximus* *cons.* (105 BCE)  
Cimbri and Teutones (with elements of the Helvetii) destroy Roman armies.
- 9897 *C. Marius II, C. Flavius Fimbria* *cons.* (104 BCE)  
Marius re-organizes army, replacing conscripts who brought their own arms with long-service professionals recruited from the entire citizen body, and supplied at the cost of the state. The division between differently armed hastati, principes, and triarii was eliminated, and all legionaries were armed alike. The old division of 30 maniples of two centuries each was replaced with ten cohorts of three maniples each. (Cohorts had been used by P. Scipio in Spain.) Recruitment was the responsibility of the general appointed to command—originally the regular consuls, but later the warlords as well. Professionalization of the army and the consequent change in the ranks from middle- and upper-class citizens to the poorest only, and the autonomy and personal power and loyalty given to generals, were to have grave consequences for the republican form of government. (Cf. Cowell, *CATRR*, 49ff.) Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.vi, p. 457f: Military reforms and transformation generally: Hastati, principes, and triarii supersede the earlier distinctions of armament and order of battle based on property classes. Decay and disappearance of the cavalry as a noble unit during the 9800s; last heard of as a sort of guard of honor during the Jugurthine War. Increasing use of allied and non-Italian troops. Improvements and intensification of training (“essentially based on” gladiatorial training). 460–62: Int. sum re the political ramifications of the military reforms—all unintended; the reforms were valid on purely military necessity.  
Second Sicilian Slave War (to 9901, 100 BCE)  
Laws of the tribune C. Cassius Longinus, restricting the power of the Senate.
- 9898 *C. Marius III, L. Aurelius Orestes* *cons.* (103 BCE)  
Marius trains army in Gallia Transalpina.  
Saturninus provides land grants in Africa for Marian veterans. (Saturninus had, with the connivance of Marius, killed one A. Nonius, his rival for the tribunate. The land law was carried by violence.)
- 9899 *C. Marius IV, Q. Lutatius Catulus* (orator) *cons.* (102 BCE)  
Marius defeats Teutoni at Aquae Sextiae, near Massilia.  
War with pirates conducted by M. Antonius (cos. '02) as proconsul in Cilicia.  
Q. Cicero born. Archias comes to Rome; Cicero is [influenced] by him from a very early age.  
(Alternate year of Caesar's birth: v. '01.)
- 9900 *C. Marius V, M'. Aquillius* *cons.* (101 BCE)  
Cimbri defeated by Marius at Vercellae (west of Mediolanum).  
Mithridates and Nicomedes in Paphlagonia and Galatia.  
Slave war in Sicily.
- 9901 *C. Marius VI, L. Valerius Flaccus* *cons.* (654 AUC, 100 BCE)  
Marian party holding major offices, begins fundamental reforms—including extra-Italian colonization schemes involving Roman citizens and Italian allies receiving land distribution in, inter alia, as-yet-unconquered lands in Gaul—a factor in the time of the Gracchi as well. (Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.vi, p. 467, 100 BCE.)  
Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.vi, p.472: Marius was “in politics utterly incapable”; his ambition “was not that of the statesman who desires to govern because he feels within him the power to do so”. As with the Gracchi, the espousal of the interests of the Italian allies by the party of Marius and Saturninus drove the Roman citizens into the arms of the oligarchs, and the radical program of the street demagogues alienated all the propertied classes. Marius' own stance w.r.t the radicals was ambiguous—which further weakened his political power, and soon broke up the reform alliance.  
Marius' coalition with Glaucia and Saturninus dissolves; rioting. [Veri yr.: Saturninus kills Memmius, a candidate for the consulship, and works for the election of Glaucia.] The S.C. ultimum is voted. Marius restores order.  
Q. Metellus Creticus goes into exile at Rhodes. He is accompanied by L. Aelius Stilo, who may have studied the Alexandrian scholarship there under Dionysius Thrax, and who in any case brought some of its techniques back to Rome.
- 7/12 Julius Caesar born (9901 *OCD*, following Suet.; 9899, per, e.g., Mommsen, Rice Holmes). His paternal aunt was the wife of Marius.

**9902–9913 Roman Republic: Marius and Sulla; Social War; war in Asia.** (655–666 AUC, 99–88 BCE)

The screw press was known in Rome in the 9900s. (Compare Cato Maior's beam press.) Pliny Maior credits its invention

to Hero of Alexandria (mid-9700s).

9902 *M. Antonius* (orator), *A. Postumius Albinus* *cos.* (99 BCE)

Reaction in favor of Senate. Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.vi, p. 478f: All those with anything to lose having peeked into the abyss of mob rule, the radicalized opposition loses the support of all who could keep it going. There followed a popular and aristocratic reaction. (Some of the opposition diehards took refuge with Mithradates the Great.) There was also a reaction among the aristocracy in favor of wakefulness and sense. This led to conflicts with the publicani in the *qaestiones de repetundis*. But the aristocracy was by no means united against the publicani, with whom a deal could always be made in aid of personal gain. It was the true *prisci*, on my presentation, who constituted the movement, led by M. Livius Drusus, and they co-opted some of the tools of the demagogues—the corn dole and expanding the citizenship to the Italian allies. The latter tactic, as before, split the movement, which was also irresolute or insufficiently powerful in the face of the firm opposition of the *equites* and their sympathizers, led by the consul Philippus. Drusus was assassinated.

Death of Saturninus and Glaucia.

Lucretius, 9902–46 (hypothetical or approximate years). (99–55 BCE)

9903 *Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos*, *T. Didius* *cos.* (98 BCE)  
(Nepos, per *Ol.* is the father of Cicero's friend, the historian.)  
Marius leaves Rome for Asia.

9904 *C. Cornelius Lentulus*, *P. Licinius Crassus* *cos.* (97 BCE)  
Sulla praetor.

9905 *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus*, *C. Cassius Longinus* *cos.* (96 BCE)  
Cyrene bequeathed to Rome in the will of its deceased king, Ptolemy Apion.

9906 *L. Licinius Crassus*, *Q. Mucius Scaevola* *cos.*  
Hortensius begins activity at the bar, immediately coming to prominence. (Year per *mcv*, based on Hortensius' age of 19 at the time.)

9907 *C. Coelius Caldus* (*novus homo*), *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus* *cos.*

9908 *C. Valerius Flaccus*, *M. Herennius* *cos.*  
Probable year of birth of Clodius.

"Totum annum domi forisque tranquillum fuisse Obsequens scribit." (*Ol.*)

9909 *C. Claudius Pulcher*, *M. Perperna* *cos.* (92 BCE)  
Celebrated inheritance case, Curius v Coponius, with the consuls of '06, Crassus and Scaevola, on opposing sides. (Date after *Ol.*)

9910 *L. Marcus Philippus*, *Sex. Iulius Caesar* *cos.* (91 BCE)  
Tribunate of Drusus; his schemes of pro-senatorial reform and in favor of citizenship for the allies fail; he is opposed by the Senate (*sic.*, *Ol.* citing Velleius II.13)

**Social (Marsic) War** begins (663–666 AUC, 91–88 BCE)

*med./ex. Sept.* Drusus is assassinated in his home by Q. Varius, after leaving the Forum surrounded by a great crowd of followers.

9/4–13 Dramatic period of Cicero's dialogue *De Oratore* (the time of the *ludi Romani*).

9/20 (19?) Death of L. Crassus.

*aut./hiems* C. Cotta (*cos.* '26) exiled.

The war begins in the winter of 9910–11

9911 *L. Iulius Caesar*, *P. Rutilius Lupus* *cos.* (90 BCE)

The war begins in the winter of 9910–11

Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.vii, p. 490ff: The failure of the reform movement triggered the Social War (498). Abuses of the Italians and Latins by Rome, described. They are aggravated by the reaction against the reform of the status of the allies. 494: Cf. the stance of the allies with that of the colonies prior to the American Revolution (a parallel Mommsen himself draws on p. 496–7). 502: "The forefathers of the city had based their dominion over Italy on an aristocratic classification, and with skillful adjustment of the degrees of dependence had kept in subjection the less privileged communities by means of the municipal aristocracy." 505–6: The rebelling Italians set up a counter-Rome, with a capital at Corfinium renamed Italia and with all the faults of Rome's constitution. M points out the inadequacy of a constitution built for a city-state to the government of a large region, and notes that the remedy—representative government—was a modern notion.

Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.vii, p. 507–8: Int. on the general strategic aspects of the war, the course of which can no longer be traced in detail. The war went badly for Rome in the first year, and more towns and cities went over to the insurgency. Rome stopped this by granting the Roman franchise to all the communities on the mainland south of the Po that remained loyal, and allied status to those beyond the Po. (Some Greek cities, so as not to be disadvantaged by the change in status, retained their old Greek constitutions; M notes that the Greek language remained official in Neapolis. The tide of war turned against the

insurgents, who were defeated by 88, with the exception of Samnium, Lucania, and some holdouts elsewhere. In that year Rome had to go to war against Mithradates in Asia.

Cicero assumes the toga virilis, and begins to go to the Forum, under the tutelage of selected elders, to observe the business there, esp. court cases, though the courts were suspended at this time (v. Lex Varia). (Cf. Ol. I.9B–10A, citing *Brutus* 88.) In particular, Cicero, at the wish of his father, attends on Q. Mucius Scaevola (cos.'06; augur; another Scaevola was pontifex; Cicero also frequented him, after the death of the augur). On Cicero's training at Rome, v. G&K xiv. He and Quintus had been previously brought to Rome by their father, to further their education, and Marcus (at least) frequented, in addition to Scaevola, M. Antonius and L. Crassus; was taught by Archias; and frequented Accius the poet and Roscius and Aesopus, the actors, studying theatrical delivery. Companions of his own age included Atticus and the younger Marius.

[Lex Varia, carried by the [tribune] Q. Varius and favored by the equites, prosecuting those responsible for the revolt. many were unjustly prosecuted, and the Senate suspended the courts, under the pretext of a period of mourning to last while the war endured.]

Ex. anno Lex Julia (of the Consul) offers citizenship to all communities not in revolt. Many accept.

9912 Cn. Pompeius Strabo, L. Porcius Cato coss. (89 BCE)

Offer of citizenship to Italians extended by Lex Plautia Papiria.

Cicero does military service as a tiro under Cn. Pompeius Strabo (*Phil.* XII.11), [and as a legate under Sulla he was present at the taking of Nola. (*Div.* I.33)]. (Hortensius also served in the war, as miles, then as tribunus militum.)

Victory of Sulla.

#### 9913–9922 Roman Republic: Mario-Sullan war; war in Asia; dictatorship of Sulla. (666–675 AUC, 88–79 BCE)

The beginning of a period of civil wars in Rome 9913–9970 (666–723 AUC, 88–31 BCE), between several generations of political strong men, whom the duly constituted government, with the Senate at its head, was often powerless to restrain.

9913 L. Cornelius Sulla (Felix), Q. Pompeius Rufus coss. (88 BCE)

Samnites, the last remaining in revolt, are suppressed, ending the Social War. (88 BCE)

Cicero returns to Rome [veri year], and resumes his studies.

**First Civil War.** Beginning of civil war between Marius and Sulla.

Marius, making a comeback from retirement, seeks honors and commands.

Mithridates IV overruns Asia Minor; massacre of Italians. He is joined by Athens.

**First Mithridatic War.** 9913–17 (88–84 BCE). Mithridates overruns Asia Minor and fights the Romans in Greece. He is defeated by Sulla, and loses most of his conquests.

Tribune Sulpicius carries laws giving extraordinary command (cf. 9893) in Asia against Mithridates of Pontus to Marius in place of Sulla (who had been put in command, in accordance with regular procedure, by the Senate). Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.vii: In response to the oligarchic reaction, P. Sulpicius Rufus took up the mantle, political stance, and liabilities of Gracchus and Drusus (including extension of the franchise to Italy, calling for removal of the 2nd-class status that was abusively attached to the recent concessions to the loyal allies), and the same scenario was played out. Sulpicius allied himself with Marius, and the attempt to supersede Sulla with Marius, in the command of the winding up of the Social War and the upcoming war with Mithradates, prompted Sulla's march on Rome—the decisive assertion of the new rule of armies in Roman politics, and the superiority of armies to urban mobs.

Sulla refuses to obey, marches on Rome (meeting little opposition), overturns leges Sulpiciani (Sulpicius is killed in a riot), passes laws to strengthen Senate (removing legislative initiative and power of approval from the Comitia Tributa, restoring approval to the Comitia Centuriata and exclusive initiative to the Senate). Marius flees to Africa.

Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.vii, p. 545: Election of Cinna—a pillar of the opposition—against Sulla's wishes; seen by M as the doing of the equites, angered by Sulla's limitations on interest. (541: In Sulla's time, interest was limited to 10%—characterized as naive by M on p. 545.)

Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.vii, p. 546: Cn. Strabo connected with equestrian interests; "passive" during the Sulpician period, thus making the aristocracy anxious about him. Sulla had him superseded, though with as much consideration as possible. But the replacement general was murdered, presumably at the instigation of Strabo, who resumed his command and was left in it.

Mommsen *THOR* Bk IV.vii, p. Despite preparations for a political counterattack by the opposition under Cinna, Sulla departs for the East.

9914 Cn. Octavius, L. Cornelius Cinna coss.; suff. L. Cornelius Merula (87 BCE)

Cinna acts against the Sullan measures, and renews proposals of the late Tribune Sulpicius in favor of Italian voting rights. Opposed by Octavius, Cinna leaves Rome and raises an army. Marius recruits an army of

his veterans, joins with Cinna. They march on Rome and begin widespread, uncontrolled and indiscriminate massacres of optimates. (At one point Cinna had to set his soldiers on the slaves of Marius, who were running amok.) Octavius is killed. The massacres eliminate the leaders of the Senatorial class, which never recovered from the losses.

Sulla lands in Greece.

At some point during Cinna's power, Caesar marries his daughter and is created Flamen Dialis. They have a daughter.

- 9915 L. *Cornelius Cinna II*, C. *Marius VII* (obit) *coss.*; suff. L. Valerius Flaccus. (86 BCE)  
Marius dies. Cinna dominates Rome; he is cos. from '14 to '17, when he is killed.  
Battle of Caeronea; Archelaus, general of Mithridates, is defeated with great loss.  
Sulla takes Athens, brings Mithridates to terms.  
Probable date of Sallust's birth.  
Bronze coinage ceases to be issued: the currency had become so debased during the recent troubles that the bronze stuff was worthless.  
Appx date of the death of Caesar's father, who died when Caesar was sixteen.
- 9916 L. *Cornelius Cinna III*, Cn. *Papirius Carbo* *coss.*  
Cinna makes plans to fight Sulla in Greece.
- 9917 Cn. *Papirius Carbo II*, L. *Cornelius Cinna IV* *coss.*  
Sulla finishes the war against Mithridates, concluding an armistice. Murena (one of Sulla's generals—he had commanded a wing at Chaeronea—, and father of Cicero's friend) is left in command of Asia.  
Murder of Cinna by his troops, as he prepared to sail for Greece. Carbo awaits Sulla in Italy.  
Cicero: *De inventione*.  
Sulla lands in Italy (or 9918?); supported by Pompeius. Brings text of Aristotle's works to Rome. He is opposed by the consular armies and by the Italians.
- 9918 L. *Cornelius Scipio Asiaticus*, C. *Norbanus* *coss.* (83 BCE)  
Murena, in search of plunder and honors, begins **Second Mithridatic War** (83–81 BCE), on the pretext that Mithridates had failed to evacuate Cappadocia. Mithridates complains to the Senate, whose orders are defied by Murena, who advances to the Halys. He is later severely defeated, and forced to withdraw to Phrygia.  
Lightning strikes the temple of Iuppiter Capitolinus, which is destroyed by fire. The Sibylline Books are also lost in the fire; they are replaced by other writings, but their authority diminishes.
- 9919 C. *Marius* (filius illius), Cn. *Papirius Carbo III* *coss.* (82 BCE)  
Carbo and Marius kill more optimates, among them Q. Mucius Scaevola, Pontifex Maximus.  
Sulla defeats consular armies and Samnites at Colline Gate, massacres 8000 prisoners. Reign of terror follows at Rome, motivated by plunder as well as by politics. The equites, many of whom opposed the Senate, and many of whom were rich and offered good plunder, are hard hit. An estimated half a million died in the civil war.  
Sulla's lieutenants include M. Licinius Crassus (later Dives), much of whose wealth may derive from proscriptions, and Pompeius, whom he nicknames Magnus; he trusts neither of them.  
C. Iulius Caesar survives, though his wife was a daughter of Cinna and his paternal aunt the wife of Marius; he refused Sulla's orders to put away his wife and resign his priesthood voluntarily (the latter was taken from him by Sulla's annulment of the acts of Marius and Cinna). According to Suet., Caesar also lost his family inheritance. He had to go into hiding for a time; his life was saved when the intercession of his connections prevailed over Sulla's reluctance and distrust of Caesar. (Suetonius tells of this in ch. II.)  
Sullan proscriptions begin. Sulla elected dictator in the Comita Centuriata.
- 9920 M. *Tullius Decula*, Cn. *Cornelius Dolabella* *coss.* (81 BCE)  
*Sulla dictator legibus scribundis et rei publicae constituendae*. Many of his opponents killed or proscribed. Government reforms (effective 9921), include augmenting the Senate to 600 (many from the equites, whose support he hoped to transfer to the Senate), bringing Quaestors into the Senate upon their election, abolishing the Censorship, and re-formalizing the *cursus honorum*: minimum ages 30 quaestor (20 elected each year), 39 praetor (8/yr.), 42 consul; min. 10-year interval before re-election). Tribunes barred from all other office, min. 10-year interval before re-election.  
Sulla "sends strict orders to Murena to discontinue hostilities". Murena returns to Rome.  
Pompeius successful in Africa against Marians.  
Rome victorious against Mithridates; return to status quo ante.  
Cicero: *Pro Quinctio* (post id. Mart.), opposed by Hortensius and powerful political influence.  
Sulla ends the subsidized distribution of wheat instituted by C. Gracchus in 9978.  
[veri year] Caesar holds a military command on the staff of M. Thermus, governor of Asia.
- 6/1 Proscriptions end.

- 9921 *L. Cornelius Sulla Felix II, Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius* *coss.* (80 BCE)  
*Sulla dictator.*  
 Sulla's government reforms come into effect. The courts re-open.  
 About this time, the number of praetors was increased to eight.  
 [veri year] Caesar does military service under Thermus, governor of Asia. While on Thermus' staff, he makes his notorious visits to Nicomedes of Bithynia. He remains in Anatolia until 9923, serving briefly under Servilius Isauricus in Cilicia.  
 Murena triumphs for the Mithridatic War; Freese suggests that the wholly unmerited honors were intended "as a kind of set-off to the trophies erected by Mithridates".  
 in. anno Cicero: *Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino*, a courageous action against Sullan influence; Cicero won.  
**Revolt of Sertorius:** leads revolt of Lusitani; defeats Fufidius. 9921–29 (80–72 BCE).
- 9922 *P. Servilius Vatia (Isauricus), Ap. Claudius Pulcher* *coss.* (79 BCE)  
 Sulla lays down dictatorship.  
 Victories of Sertorius.  
 Cicero: *Pro Aretina* (perdita). G&K xvi; "the case of a woman of Arretium", again boldly opposing Sulla.  
 Cicero leaves for two years in Greece, studying at Athens and Rhodes. Translates Aratus in this year or earlier.
- 9923–40 Roman Republic: end of Sulla's dictatorship to formation of the First Triumvirate** (676–693 AUC, 78–61 BCE)
- 9923 *M. Aemilius Lepidus, Q. Lutatius Catulus* *coss.* (78 BCE)  
 Death of Sulla.  
 The consul Lepidus [with Catulus] raises an army and attempts to overthrow Sullan constitution. The Senate appoints Pompeius (later Magnus) to command against him. (As in the future, they do not trust him, but his abilities and family recruiting-ground of Picenum make him a necessary choice.)  
 Caesar returns to Rome on the death of Sulla. Doubtful of Lepidus' ability and prospects, he refuses generous offers to join the rebellion. (Suet.)
- 9924 *D. Iunius Brutus, Mam. Aemilius Lepidus Livianus* *coss.* (77 BCE)  
 Defeat of Lepidus by Pompeius.  
 Pompeius (at his own request) appointed to command against Sertorius; crushes revolt in Gallia Transalpina on the way.  
 Cicero returns to Italy, marries Terentia (marriage possibly earlier).  
 Caesar prosecutes ex- Sullans (notably Cn. Cornelius Dolabella, who was acquitted), gaining a reputation as an orator and, according to Suetonius, ill-will that helps prompt him to go to Rhodes to study rhetoric.
- 9925 *Cn. Octavius, C. Scribonius Curio* *coss.* (76 BCE)  
 Successes of Sertorius; his agreements with Mithridates.  
 Cicero: *Pro Roscio comoedo*.  
 Cicero runs for quaestor, suo anno, Hortensius for praetor, Cotta (another great rival in advocacy) for the consulship; all are elected.
- 9926 *L. Octavius, C. Aurelius Cotta* *coss.* (75 BCE)  
 Cicero quaestor in Sicily (Lilybaeum), under Sextus Peducaeus. Cicero's ability gains him a clientele in Sicily.
- 9927–38 **Third Mithridatic War** (74–63 BCE). Lucullus (appointed by the Senate) drives Mithridates into Armenia; the Romans withdraw and he returns. Pompeius defeats him; he dies in 9935 (66 BCE).
- 9927 *L. Licinius Lucullus, M. Aurelius Cotta* *coss.* (74 BCE)  
 Cicero returns from Sicily to Rome, enters the Senate.  
 Murena and Ser. Sulpicius Rufus (Cicero's friend, the jurisconsult) elected quaestors.  
 Mithridates invades Bithynia; Nicomedes dies, bequeathing it to Rome. Command of Lucullus against Mithridates. Murena (the younger, Cicero's friend) commands under him.  
 Caesar captured and ransomed by pirates on his way to study oratory in Rhodes. Ransomed, he mounts an expedition, returns, and crucifies his captors (after first cutting their throats). (Suet. *Div. Iul.* 4, 74.)  
 Suet. IV, V: At some point between now and 9931 (the dates may be known), Caesar, unwilling to be inactive while Rome was at war, levies auxiliaries in Asia and defeats a subordinate force under Mithridates.
- 9928 *M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, C. Cassius Longinus (Varus!)* *coss.* (73 BCE)  
**Revolt of Spartacus** at Capua, 9928–30 (73–71 BCE).  
 Successes of Lucullus in the East.  
 Subsidized distribution of wheat revived. (It had been instituted by C. Gracchus in 9978, and dropped by Sulla in 9920.)

- Caesar made Pontifex Maximus, and returns to Rome. He is also elected tribunus militum. He actively supports the overthrow of the Sullan order and the recall of those who revolted under Lepidus and fled to Sertorius.
- 9929 L. *Gellius Poplicola*, Cn. *Cornelius Lentulus Clodianus* *cons.* (72 BCE)  
Assassination of Sertorius. Peperna, last of the Sertorians, defeated by Pompeius in Spain. Spartacus defeats both consuls. M. Licinius Crassus takes command against them.  
Cicero: *Pro M. Tullio* (9929/30).
- 9930 P. *Cornelius Lentulus Sura*, Cn. *Aufidius Orestes* *cons.* (71 BCE)  
Crassus is initially unsuccessful against Spartacus, and the Senate calls Pompeius back from Spain to deal with them. Crassus then crushes Spartacus in Lucania, after which Pompeius mops up. Some in the Senate hope to play the strong men Pompeius and Crassus off against each other. Instead, though trusting each other no more than anyone else trusts either of them, they combine against the Senate.  
Mithridates flees to Armenia.
- 9931 Cn. *Pompeius Magnus*, M. *Licinius Crassus* *cons.* (both under the legal age, Pompeius, at least, without prior office). (70 BCE)  
Sullan reforms overturned by Crassus and Pompeius: courts restored to equites, tribunician powers re-established, right to approve measures submitted to the Comitia Tributa removed from Senate. Censorship restored with its authority over the Senate; purge of the Senate  
Iun.? Cicero: *Divinatio in Q. Caecilium*.  
Cicero elected curule aedile.  
8/5 Trial of Verres. Hortensius defends Verres, who is widely favored among the nobility, though the people and many other nobles appreciated the justice of the case against Verres  
10/15 Vergil (born October 15) (9931–82, 684–735 AUC, 70–19 BCE). He later goes to school at Cremona. Cornelius Gallus may have been born about this time. He was later an acquaintance of Cicero and Asinius Pollio, and a benefactor of Vergil. He wrote love elegies, creating a genre and influencing Propertius. He was also the first prefect of Egypt under Octavian, and campaigned up the Nile.
- 9932 Q. *Hortensius Hortalus*, Q. *Caecilius Metellus (Creticus)* *cons.* (69 BCE)  
**Cicero** curule aedile.  
Lucullus invades Armenia.  
Cicero: *Pro Fonteio*.  
Cicero: *Pro Caecina*.  
Caesar quaestor. His first wife, a daughter of Cinna, and his aunt, widow of Marius both die, and their funerals provide a platform for Caesar to parade his Marian connections (displaying the imago of Marius), and his claims to divine and royal descent, before the mob. (Cf. *OCD*, Suet. *Div. Iul.* 6.)
- 9933 L. *Caecilius Metellus*, Q. *Marcus Rex* *cons.*; suff. Servilius Vatia. L. *Sergius Catilina* praetor. (68 BCE)  
Catilina praetor. Caesar quaestor in Further Spain (veri year; looks like he might have entered the office in '33 and been in Spain in '34. The years given by the editor in the Loeb Suet. may be a year off.) According to Suetonius, he is inspired, by a statue of Alexander in the Temple of Hercules at Gades, to hasten the attainment of his ambitions. He accordingly resigns the quaestorship and returns to Rome to seek power. On the way, he excites agitation for citizenship in the Transpadine, prompting the consuls to hold some legions there. He canvasses successfully for the aedileship.  
Mithridates returns to Pontus. Defeats of Lucullus' lieutenants, discontent in his army.  
Cicero: beginning of extant *Epp. ad Atticum*.
- 9934 C. *Calpurnius Piso*, M'. *Acilius Glabrio* *cons.* (67 BCE)  
Glabrio supersedes Lucullus in war against Mithridates.  
Lex Gabinia: extraordinary command for Pompeius against the pirates, whose activities had come to seriously threaten the corn supply of Rome, and were greatly damaging the interests of the commercial class, who were a force behind the law.  
Caesar supports the Lex Gabinia. (He and Crassus make the most of Pompeius' absence.) He marries Pompeia, daughter of Q. Pompeius and granddaughter of L. Sulla. (*OCD* has a Q. Pompeius Rufus whose daughter married a son of the dictator. He was only a distant connection of Cn. Pompeius Strabo—and a rival: Strabo had him killed.)  
Lex Calpurnia (Acilia-Calpurnia): Those convicted of electoral bribery deprived of office, if elected and barred from office and the Senate. One of many laws passed to curb the rampant electoral corruption of the times.  
Cicero elected praetor [urbanus], with widespread support.  
Catilina governor of Africa.
- 9935 M. *Aemilius Lepidus*, L. *Volcatius* (EB: Volcacius) *Tullus* *cons.* (66 BCE)

**Cicero** praetor [urbanus], presiding over the quaestio repetundae. Cicero refuses the province (with the chance for “honest graft”—or outright plunder) that normally follows the praetorship, preferring to stay at Rome and canvass for the consulship, which he commences to do immediately.

Cicero: *Pro lege Manilia* (*De imp. Cn. Pom.*), parte priore anni. The law gives Pompeius command against Mithridates, replacing Lucullus, who had been appointed by the Senate in 9927. A popular position, and one allying Cicero with Pompeius. (Caesar supported the measure also.)

Pompeius clears up the pirates.

Pompeius agrees with Phraates of Parthia; latter attacks Mithridates; final defeat and death of same.

Cicero: *Pro Cluentio*.

[12] Cicero: *Pro Manilio*.

9936 L. Aurelius Cotta, L. Manlius Torquatus coss. (65 BCE)

M. Licinius Crassus Censor

Murena and Ser. Sulpicius Rufus praetors (Murena had skipped holding the office of aedile).

Caesar aedile (his colleague is M. Bibulus), also curator of the Via Appia. He gives immensely expensive entertainments, paid for by Crassus. The two are brought together, Caesar by ambition, and Crassus by fear of Pompeius; both factors direct them toward a popular power base. Suetonius (citing his historical authorities) recounts a conspiracy with Crassus and others for the violent overthrow of the Republic in the year of Caesar's aedileship. The plan was aborted because of the death of one of the conspirators.

J.M. Roberts, *The Tribune's Curse*, p. 2: “Caesar ... as aedile incurred such tremendous debts that everyone assumed he had foolishly ruined himself in order to win favor with the mob. Then, much to their astonishment, some of the most important men in Rome woke up to discover that, if they were to have any hope of recovering their loans, they had to push Caesar into higher office so he could get rich. It worked neatly for Caesar, but it meant that the voters were now accustomed to an even more lavish standard in the Games.”

Catilina prosecuted de repetundis for actions in Africa (Clodius accusing); acquitted.

Pompeius campaigns in Caucasus.

“First conspiracy” of Catiline.

Cicero: *Pro Cornelio* (perdita).

Cicero's son born.

Horace (9936–93) born at Venusiae, December 8. (65–8 BCE)

9937 L. Iulius Caesar, Q. Marcius Figulus coss. (64 BCE)

Pompeius in Syria. End of Seleucid monarchy.

Murena propraetor of Gallia Transalpina.

Caesar, presiding over a murder court, promotes prosecutions of those active in the proscriptions of Sulla.

Cicero: *In toga candida* (perdita) (~2/4).

*Commentariolum Petitionis* (parte priore anni)

Cicero and Antonius elected consuls, Catilina defeated.

9938 M. Tullius Cicero, C. Antonius Hybrida coss. (Kal. Ian. = March 14.) (691 AUC, 63 BCE)

Antonius is no vir bonus, but he isn't much of anything else either, and Cicero easily buys his compliance with the promise of Macedonia as proconsular province,

1/1 Cicero: *Contra Rullum* (*De lege agr.*) The bill was a popular land redistribution measure, originating with Caesar though moved by the tribune Rullus, designed so that, if it was not passed, it would aggravate the divide between optimates and populares. It was opposed by Pompeius and the optimates. Cicero, who could never have supported it, was pushed to the optimate side, and incurred popular hatred.

Murena returns to Rome to canvass for the consulship, leaving his brother in charge of Gallia Transalpina. Murena, Catilina, Ser. Sulpicius Rufus, Decius Iunius Silanus contend for the consulship. Catilina has ties to Caesar and Crassus.

In the tumults of the year, Clodius makes one of Cicero's bodyguard.

Lex Tullia: stringent sanctions against electoral largitio (e.g., mass donations of free meals and theater seats) and the use of hired followings.

early Cicero: *Pro Rabirio*. Rabirius was prosecuted for the killing of a popularis in 9901, supposedly justified by the S.C. ultimum. Nisbet, *Dom.*: “The trial was cut short by a technical interruption, but the prosecution was doubtless instituted to warn Cicero and others that the populares meant business.”

3 Caesar elected Pontifex Maximus. The office was customarily given to “eminent ex-consuls”. Two such ran (P. Servilius Isauricus, to whom Caesar might be said to have owed some loyalty, and Q. Lutatius Catulus). Caesar got the office through “lavish bribery”. “This and his election to a praetorship for 62 established him as a man of power and importance.” (*OCD*.)

Mithridates dies.

7 Consular elections postponed until 10/21 (reason unknown, per Freese).

Pompeius in Damascus and Jerusalem.

Cicero: *De Othone* (perdita), *De proscriptorum filiis*, *Cum provinciam in contionem deposuit*.

9/23 Octavian born.

[10] Catiline meets with his supporters in private, outlining his plans if elected consul.

As Catilina's plans become more and more dangerous, Crassus and Caesar may have distanced themselves, and aided Cicero with information.

10/21<sup>2</sup> *Senatus consultum ultimum*. "Consuls invested with extraordinary powers." This was the date fixed for the consular comitia, after postponement of the regular elections in July; in the emergency the elections were postponed again until the 28th.

Allobrogan envoys reveal approaches by Catilinarians; they act as double agents, and secure graphic proofs.

10/27 Manlius, an adherent of Catiline, begins armed revolt at Faesulae.

10/28 Consular elections; Murena and Silanus chosen, Catilina again defeated.

"Catiline prosecuted under the *Lex Plautia de vi*."

11/6 "Meeting of the conspirators at the house of M. Laeca." (Freese: dates assigned to the meeting and the first two Cailinarians vary by a day or two.)

11/8 Cicero: *Oratio prima in Catilinam in Senatu*. Catiline leaves Rome that night for the camp of Manlius at Faesulae.

11/9 Cicero: *Oratio secunda in Catilinam ad populum*.

Sulpicius prosecutes Murena de ambitu, in hopes of being chosen in his place. He is aided by Cato, and by a tribune also named Sulpicius, whose relationship, if any, to the jurisconsult is unknown.

med. 11 Catilina and Manlius declared public enemies.

Cicero: *Pro Murena*. (11/8><12/5; latter half of Nov., per Freese.) Hortensius and Crassus also defend.

12/2 (night) Allobroges arrested ([staged arrest]) with documents proving the guilt of the four leading conspirators at Rome.

12/3 Cicero: *Oratio tertia in Catilinam ad populum*. The leading conspirators at Rome are arrested.

12/5 Cicero: *Oratio quarta in Catilinam in Senatu*. The conspirators are executed.

On the modern controversy about the legality of the executions, v. Nisbet, *De Domo Sua*, viii.

Cato made a speech on this day, demanding the death penalty. According to Plutarch's life of Cato, this was the first speech to be taken down in shorthand.

12/29 (Last day of the year.) Metellus Nepos forbids Cicero to address the people, because he had executed Roman citizens without a trial.

9939

*D. Iunius Silanus, L. Licinius Murena* coss. (62 BCE) (Kal. Ian. = March 4.)

Caesar praetor.

Ian. in. *Contra contionem Q. Metelli* (Cic.)

Caesar supports (along with the tribune Q. Caecilius Metellus) the recall of Pompeius to deal with the Catilinarians.

Removed from office during the year, he submits, and is reinstated.

Ian. Defeat and death of Catiline at Pistoria.

Pompeius lands in Italy, having immensely augmented the imperium and revenue of Rome; disbands forces, to the surprise of many at Rome. His motivations in this are a puzzle. The personal fortune he made in the East puts him on a financial level with Crassus. He hopes for another extraordinary command. The excessive opposition of Senatorial ultras, who refuse even to ratify his arrangements in Asia, much less provide land for his veterans, eventually (9941) drives him into alliance with Caesar and Crassus. (Senatorial positions also alienated the equites, and especially the publicani, whom Cicero championed.)

Cicero buys the house of Crassus on the Palatine.

Cicero is continually attacked for (or with the pretext of) the execution of the conspirators. G&K: "Almost the whole time from his consulship to the year of his banishment was spent in seeking support against his enemies. He attached himself more closely to Pompeius, and pleaded causes of all kinds to win friends, but his efforts were useless."

Popular riots stirred up by the tribune Metellus.

Cato, in a bid for popular support, greatly expands the subsidized distribution of wheat.

? Cicero: *Pro Sulla*. (Mai.–Nov., most likely Quint.)

Cicero: beginning of extant *Epp. ad Familiares*.

Cicero: *Pro Archia*. (Perhaps not early in the year, since C. mentions the death of Roscius that same year.)

- 12/3 Clodius profanes rites of Bona Dea, entering [Caesar's] house before being ejected; there are rumors of an intrigue with Caesar's wife Pompeia. Caesar asserts the innocence of both Clodius and Pompeiam but subsequently divorces Pompeia, saying that even the appearance of wrong cannot be allowed to Caesar's wife. (*OCD* notes that with his rise to power, he could now expect to make a better marriage.) (The date is the normal date of the festival, per Adkins.)
- 9940 *M. Pupius Piso Frugi Calpurnianus, M. Valerius Messala Niger* *cons.* (61 BCE)  
 Clodius quaestor.  
 Caesar governor of Farther Spain. He was nearly distraised by his debtors, preventing him from going to his province. Crassus stands surety for part of his debts; it is understood that his plundering in the province will clear him. He pursues this vigorously, by "attacking independent tribes".  
 Revolt of Allobroges. The Aedui appeal to Rome. About this year, the Sequani invite the Germans into Gaul to aid them against the Aedui, who are defeated. (V. 9943, July.)  
 Acquittal of Clodius for sacrilege in violating the mysteries of Bona Dea. Cicero testified against Clodius' claim of an alibi. Crassus bribes the jury, which acquits by a small minority.  
 Cicero makes a stinging, and very witty attack on Clodius in the Senate, to thunderous applause.  
 Conflict between Cicero and Clodius.  
 9/28: Pompeius celebrates triumph for his Eastern victories.
- ~9925 **Origins of the Silla Kingdom in Korea, which endured (as one of two or three kingdoms in the peninsula) until the early 10900s.**
- 9938–62 **Israel under Roman rule: the later Hasmoneans** (63–39 BCE)  
 Independent politics in Judea ended when Pompeius, arriving in the midst of a civil war, took Jerusalem in 9938 (63 BCE), during the consulship of Cicero. He treated the Temple with respect after the initial sack. He ordered the affairs of the Levant, making Syria a province, attaching to it Judea and some of the peoples conquered by the Maccabees. Aristobulus was imprisoned, and Hyrcanus, a weak man who owed his dominance to Rome, made ethnarch of a curtailed jurisdiction (called Judea?) administered by Rome. Roman forces remained to quell revolts, subdue neighboring countries, and intervene in Egypt. Crassus pillaged the Temple on his way to defeat by the Parthians. Jewish resistance to the Romans had been stiff throughout, and the reprisals were correspondingly bloody.  
 Revolts in the name of Aristobulus (who remained alive in captivity) or his sons continued during the ethnarchy of Hyrcanus. In the power vacuum under the weak Hyrcanus arose Antipater, an Idumaeen (which nation had earlier been forcibly converted by the Maccabees). Antipater and his son Herod successfully played the civil wars of Judea and Rome to their own advantage, changing sides as required. Antipater cultivated the Romans, and rose to become the power behind the throne. His two sons followed in his footsteps. One of them, Herod, with the support of Antony and Octavian, was named king by Rome in 9962 (39 BCE).  
 During the Parthian invasion in 9961, Hyrcanus was overthrown and replaced by Antigonus, a son of Aristobulus, "who was beheaded on Antony's orders when Jerusalem fell to Herod" in 9964 (37 BCE). On this occasion Jerusalem was again sacked.  
 See Appendix for king list.
- 9943 **[Beginning of Hindu era]** (12001 HE = 2058) Hindu calendar is solar.
- 9941–50 **Roman Republic: First Triumvirate to Civil War** (694–703 AUC, 60–51 BCE)  
 During the civil wars and the preceding Mithridatic wars, Roman generals conquer Gaul (modern France), Palestine and other parts of the eastern Mediterranean. Caesar invades Britain, though no Roman presence is maintained there.
- 9941 *Q. Caecilius Metellus Celer, L. Afranius* *cons.* (60 BCE)  
 Pompeius attempts again to obtain a land bill for his veterans; the Senate refuses.  
 mid-year Caesar returns from Spain, with a military reputation and augmented authority. He has his eye on the consulship of '42, and then a further extraordinary command. (Following after *OCD*.) He is voted a triumph, but needs to enter the city "to announce his candidacy for the consulship". "The Senate was ready to give him a dispensation, but his enemy, M. Porcius Cato, although only an ex-tribune, arranged to be asked to speak and talked the matter out." Caesar foregoes the triumph.  
**First Triumvirate:** Caesar, Crassus, Pompeius. Terms of the agreement included the ratification of Pompeius' settlements in the East, and provision for his veterans, and support of Caesar's candidacy; Crassus wanted a break for the publicani farming taxes in Asia (*OCD*). Pompeius and Crassus had been unable to attain their ends previously (partly because each opposed the other). (*OCD* dates "what is sometimes erroneously called

the First Triumvirate" to the open alliance of the following year, marked by marriages.) Caesar invites Cicero to make a fourth (*Prov.* 41); Cicero refuses.

The Triumvirate arrange for L. Lucceius to run alongside Caesar, Pompeius (and presumably also Crassus) to cover the bribery. The optimates put up M. Calpurnius Bibulus, son-in-law of Cato, and also an intransigent.)

With Caesar's election likely, the Senate arranged that his "province" after the consulship would be a sort of forestry commission in Italy, carrying no command.

Helvetii decide to migrate.

Caesar elected consul for the coming year, with Bibulus in second place.

Unsuccessful attempt of Clodius to become a plebeian.

Cicero: beginning of extant *Epp. ad Quintum fratrem* (ex. anno). *De consulato suo*, post. parte anni.

9942

C. *Iulius Caesar, M. Calpurnius Bibulus* cons. (59 BCE)

Open alliance of the Triumvirate. Pompeius marries Iulia, Caesar marries Calpurnia, daughter of L. Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus (of *In Pisone*), who was consul the following year with Pompeius's man Gabinius. Caesar was to be given Illyricum and Cisalpine Gaul for five years.

Livy, ~9942–10017. (59 BCE–17 CE.) (Other dates have been argued for.)

Caesar's political acts throughout the year are in flagrant disregard for Roman constitutional forms, carried through the assembly under threat of violence. Bibulus attempts to suspend the assembly by announcing he will watch the skies. (The legality of this is doubtful, per *OCD*.) Caesar ignores him.

early Lex Vatinia: The Tribune Vatinius carries a law granting Caesar the proconsular province of Cisalpine Gaul, with three legions, for five years. Upon the death the new governor off Transalpine Gaul, the Senate (apparently despairing), adds that province with another legion. Caesar recruits his legions—and stations them near Rome.

The land bill for Pompeius' veterans is illegally put through by Caesar.

Caesar ratifies Pompeius' settlements in the East.

Rome recognizes Ariovistus as king and a friend of Rome (cf. 9943).

Cicero opposes a popular law passed under Caesar's influence bestowing land in Campania (purchased with the proceeds of Pompeius' victories in the East) upon the lower classes of Rome; [after it is passed], he refuses to serve on the board appointed to administer it. This alienates him from both the mob and the Triumvirate; the latter withdraws it protection, though Caesar and Pompeius continue to profess friendship.

Caesar is hissed in the theater after proposing to restrict the subsidized wheat program.

Caesar mandates public records of the proceedings of the Senate.

3 Clodius adopted by Fonteius (who was 19 years old), becoming a plebeian. The move had to be approved by Caesar as Pontifex Maximus; Caesar held off until after Cicero, defending his former colleague Antonius, made remarks that displeased Caesar. Caesar, hours later, saw to it that the law enabling Clodius's transfer was passed; Pompeius as augur also approved.

Cicero: *Pro Flacco*. [post Maium: mcv after Fabr. ap. Ol.]

7 Clodius elected tribune, along with Ligus and Ninnius.

10 Consular elections.

Caesar, before leaving for Gaul, offered Cicero a choice of honorable posts that would have taken him away from Rome, and prevented him from challenging the acts of the Triumviri. Cicero refuses, and Caesar gives Clodius, tribune in the coming year, a free hand against him.

9943

L. *Calpurnius Piso Caesoninus, A. Gabinius* cons. (58 BCE)

Gabinius is a staunch Pompeian.

Clodius tribune. Other tribunes are Aelius Ligus, L. Ninnius Quadratus.

**Caesar in Gaul, 9943–50 (58–51 BCE)** (In the following digests of his *De Bello Gallico*, the qualification "Caesar states that . . ." should be understood. For a synopsis of Books I–IV, with commentary on selected points (esp. chronology), and further notes on the later books, see Caesar notes. Unless other authority is cited, bracketed dates for events of the Gallic Wars are guesstimates by mcv based solely on information in the *BG*. Unbracketed dates are based on some reliable authority. Caesar gives almost no dates, at least in I–IV.)

Clodius passes laws granting free grain to all citizens, legalizing political clubs (conlegia), restricting the power of the Censors to control membership in the Senate, and forbidding magistrates to watch the skies before assemblies (apparently annulling the powers granted under the *leges Fufia et Aelia* of the mid 9800s.)

Clodius, as tribune, in service of the Triumvirate, rules the streets with armed mobs, a following purchased with the corn dole and the legalizing of political clubs (which, I would imagine, provided a form of organization for his mobs).

- early Attempts are made to prosecute Caesar. Moderates in the Senate attempt reconciliation by offering to pass Caesar's acts in proper form; he refuses, since this would be an admission of guilt. This, per *OCD*, marks the end of any possibility of reconciliation with the Senate majority.
- Feb. Leges [Clodiae] de capite civis Romani (banishing those who had executed citizens without trial), de provinciis (allowing the consuls for the year to choose their own provinces), de Cypro promulgated.
- Cicero finds little effective support. Piso followed his own interests, though he had earlier that year praised Cicero and was related to Cicero's son-in-law Dolabella. Pompeius, despite Cicero's abject entreaties, goes back on earlier assurances of protection. "Caesar was waiting at the gates of Rome till Clodius' bill should be carried." (Nisbet, *Domo*.) Hortensius advises Cicero that there would be violent conflict unless Cicero left.
- 3/20 Cicero leaves Rome, goes to Brundisium. Leges de capite civis Romani, de provinciis, de Cypro passed.
- Cicero's house was destroyed immediately after his departure, as were his villas at Formiae and Tusculum. When the town property was put up for auction, there were no bidders until Clodius put up one of his own followers.
- ~3/25 Lex Clodia de exsilio Ciceronis promulgated.
- 3/28 (a.d. V Kal. Apr.) The Helvetii and their allies, beginning their migration, gather on the banks of the Rhodanus opposite the territory of the Allobroges in the Roman province. (Caesar describes the political machinations of their leader, Orgetorix, with other leading men in Gaul.) When news of this comes to Caesar at Rome, he summons the legion then in Gallia Provincia, and hastens to Genava, the oppidum of the Allobroges nearest to the lands of the Helvetii. (*BG* 1.6.4ff.) Caesar meets Helvetian envoys at Genava before 4/13, the date he sets for his decision on the request of the Helvetii to pass through the Roman province.
- Apr. Lex Clodia de Catone promulgated.
- 4/3 Revised Lex Clodia de exsilio Ciceronis (outlawing Cicero) promulgated.
- 4/13 Caesar denies the request of the Helvetii. Afterwards, they attempt to force a passage across the Rhodanus, and are repulsed.
- 4/24 Leges Clodiae de exsilio Ciceronis, de Catone passed by the tribes (the plebeian assembly). The former provides for the confiscation of Cicero's possessions, and their administration by Clodius, and forbids anyone to harbor Cicero, but amends earlier provisions of unconditional banishment, instead making Cicero an outlaw within 500 miles of Rome. The latter sends Cato, honorably, to annex Cyprus. (There was considerable legal precedent for Clodius' enactments, the chief point of dispute, at the time, and among modern scholars, being the fact that, contrary to usage, Cicero had never been formally accused.)
- [4 ex.] Repulsed from the Province by Caesar, the Helvetii proceed through the land of the Sequani. Their destination of the Helvetii is the land of the Santones near the mouth the the Garonne, where they would be a threat to the Province. Caesar posts back to N. Italy, where he raises two legions and orders three more from quarters in Aquileia.
- Clodius, initially aligned with the Triumvirate, begins to get out of hand. He dominates Rome with his mobs, and has the upper hand over the consuls as a result of his connivance in the law granting them their choice of provinces. Defying Pompeius, he accepts a bribe from Tigranes, king of Armenia, to free his son from the custody in which Pompeius had placed him. (Account of these and subsequent events based on Nisbet, *Domo*, xix ff.)
- 4/29 Cicero embarks from Brundisium.
- 5/23 Cicero arrives in Thessalonika in Macedonia (throughout his exile, he remains within the zone in which he was outlawed), where he stays with Plancius, there as quaestor, also enjoying the protection of the propraetor L. Appuleius.
- [5 ex. vel 6 in.] Caesar and the legions from Italy cross the Alps in seven days, overcoming opposition from mountain tribes. (*BG* I.10.3). (The total Roman strength in Gaul is thus brought to six legions, plus about 4000 cavalry drawn from the Province: I.15.1.) They then pass through the Province and into the lands of the Segusiavi, near Lugdunum at the confluence of the Arar and the Rhodanus. In Gaul, Caesar receives envoys from the Aedui and others, reporting the devastation of their lands by the Helvetii and requesting his aid, which Caesar resolves to give.
- 6/1 Ninnius' proposal for the recall of Cicero is vetoed by Aelius Ligus.
- Gabinus, as a follower of Pompeius, turns against Clodius, who consecrates Gabinus's goods as if the latter had violated the sacrosanct status of a tribune. (Clodius apparently maintained his ties with Piso.) Clodius, according to Cicero, broke with Caesar, and threatened to bring back Cicero "on his own shoulders". Pompeius was convinced that Clodius could not be controlled in the absence of Caesar.

- [6 2/4] Caesar surprises the Helvetii while they are crossing the Arar (Saône), routing them and killing many. The Helvetii send envoys, led by Divicus, the general who had defeated Cassius a generation before. They offer to go where Caesar directs them if he is willing to make peace, threatening to make another Cassius of Caesar otherwise. Caesar replies fittingly. He offers to accept the proposed terms if the Helvetii give hostages. They proudly refuse, and the meeting comes to nothing. The day after the meeting, both sides break camp and move out, Caesar following the Helvetii at a distance of five or six miles. There is some skirmishing.
- [6 ex.] (D&E also make it about the end of June.) Having continued his march for about fifteen days, Caesar's supplies are running low. In council, he presses the Gallic chieftains in his camp for the provisions they had promised. They cite openly, for the first time, the interference of Dumnorix, an Aeduan strong man and his party (who are marching with the Romans), and the intelligence these give to the enemy. (For a summary of the Gallic politics, see Caesar notes. Dumnorix's activities are described in I.17; cf. V.6–7. His methods are notably similar to those of the Triumvirate.)
- The next day Helvetii move their camp, slipping out from a planned attack by Caesar, who follows. The day after that, Caesar, with supplies on his mind, decides to leave the track of the Helvetii and head for Bibracte. The Helvetii turn to follow, provoking Caesar's rear (material for a septenarius there). About two miles NW of Toulon-sur-Arroux, Caesar chooses favorable ground, turns to give battle, and defeats the Helvetii after a long, hard-fought, and uncertain battle. The Helvetii flee north for four days to the lands of the Lingones. Caesar follows several days later.
- 7 From July, Pompeius did what he could, at Rome and elsewhere in Italy, to promote Cicero's recall, apparently interceding with Caesar to that effect, with the stipulation that Cicero cease his opposition to the Triumviri. Of the consuls-elect, Spinther called for Cicero's recall, and Metellus Nepos acquiesced, though a cousin of Clodius, and though as tribune in '38 he had opposed Cicero.
- [7 in.] The Helvetii send envoys to Caesar with offers of abject surrender. He takes hostages, disarms them, and orders them to return to their former lands. (Caesar notes that he did not wish the territory of the Helvetii to be vacant, lest the Germani move in.)
- [7 med.] Envoys and chieftains from most of Gaul convene at Caesar's camp. After they depart, those who had been in Caesar's train before returned to address him, after receiving his assurances of secrecy. They describe the power politics in Gaul that led to the invitation of some Germans to cross the Rhine, and the German invasion under Ariovistus that followed. (For details, see the synopsis.) The leading Gauls (with the exception of Diviciacus, who spoke for them here) had sworn to submit and seek no help from Rome. The exactions of the Germans were intolerable, they said, and if no help was forthcoming from Rome, the Gauls would have to migrate. (The implied threat is obvious, especially to any Roman; Caesar does not mention it.)
- Caesar promises his aid. (He reviews his reasons in I.33, noting the potential German threat to Rome.) He sends envoys to Ariovistus, asking for a meeting. Ariovistus rebuffs this. Caesar ups the ante asking (postulare) that Ariovistus not bring any more Germans across the Rhine, and that he cease to trouble Rome's Gallic allies. Fearing in particular lest a large group of Suebi, then gathered at the Rhine, join its forces to those of Ariovistus, Caesar resolves to confront Ariovistus as soon as possible. He sets out by forced marches to the north.
- [7 2/2] After three days on the march, Caesar hears that Ariovistus is moving against Vesontio, chief oppidum of the Sequani, strategic and rich in supplies. Caesar reaches the town first and garrisons it, spending a few days there before marching against Ariovistus.
- [8 1/4] Caesar's patrols report Ariovistus' army 24 miles away. Ariovistus sends envoys proposing a meeting, since Caesar has come to him. The fourth day following ("quintus") is set. Caesar describes the speeches made by himself and Ariovistus at the conference. Ariovistus notes that if he were to kill Caesar, "multis sese nobilibus principibusque populi Romani gratum esse facturum: id se ab ipsis per eorum nuntios compertum habere, quorum omnium gratiam atque amicitiam eius morte redimere posset." (44.12.) But he offers a large bribe if Caesar leaves Gaul to him. German cavalry make a treacherous attack. Caesar withdraws without fighting, lest he in turn be accused of treachery.
- [8 2/4] Caesar in Gaul: The day after their meeting, Ariovistus sends to Caesar asking to continue the talks, in person or through envoys. Caesar sends two Gauls, one of them a guest-friend of Ariovistus. These were accused of spying and put in chains. That same day, Ariovistus advanced and encamped six miles from Caesar. The armies then maneuver, skirmish, and fight some minor battles for five days.

- [8 med.] [~8/15.] Caesar in Gaul: A pitched battle is finally fought. After a tough fight (the leadership of P. Crassus, son of the Triumvir is cited), the Germans were routed and fled to the Rhine, about five miles distant. A few, including Ariovistus, managed to cross; the rest were killed.
- [8 ½] On the news of the German defeat, the Suebi assembled at the Rhine turned back; many were killed when their hosts, the neighboring Ubii, turned on them. Caesar, though the summer was not yet out, took his troops into winter quarters in the lands of the Sequani. Leaving them under the command of Labienus, he went to hold court in Gallia Citerior.
- 8 Clodius threatens Pompeius' life; Pompeius is practically besieged in his home. Clodius turns against Caesar, threatening to nullify his land laws.
- 10/29 Eight tribunes promulgate a bill for the recall of Cicero; vetoed by Aelius Ligus.
- 11 Cicero goes to Dyrrachium.
- P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, Q. Caecilius Metellus Nepos* coss. (57 BCE)
- Appius Claudius Pulcher praetor; tribunes include T. Annius Milo, P. Sestius.
- Pompeius inclines toward the optimates.
- 1/1 Consul Spinther proposes law for the recall of Cicero; vetoed by a tribune.
- 1/23 Meeting of the popular assembly to consider a bill for Cicero's recall hindered by bloody rioting. Gang warfare between Clodius and Milo.
- med. 7 Senate resolution passed, 416–1, asking the the consul Lentulus to put before the Comitia Centuriata a law for Cicero's recall.
- Ver Caesar in Gaul (*BG* lib. II.): Caesar, in Gallia Citerior, had received reports that the Belgae were concerting action against Rome, with some support from elsewhere in Gaul. [2] Caesar raises two new legions in Gallia Citerior.
- Aest. in. At the beginning of the summer, Caesar sends the two newly-raised legions to Gaul under Q. Pedius.
- [6 ex.] Caesar proceeds to Gaul when the season was far enough advanced to provide forage (an issue the preceding year).
- [7 ¼] Caesar reaches the camp in the ager Sequanorum. Reports come of the gathering of the Belgic force. Caesar sets out for the borders of the Belgae.
- [7 ¾] Caesar reaches the borders of the Belgae, after a march of 15 days, [3] surprising them by his speed. The Remi, the nearest Belgic tribe, offer submission to Rome. [4] Caesar receives much intelligence from them, and gives a brief account of the Belgae. He requested that the Aedui proceed to devastate the lands of the Bellovaci, an important Belgic tribe. Hearing that the Belgae had united their forces and were not far away, Caesar hastened to cross the Axona, making camp eight miles from Bibrax, oppidum of the Remi, facing the camp of the Belgae on a hill on the other side.
- [8 in.] Caesar in Gaul: [8] Because of the superior numbers and exceptional reputation of the Belgae, Caesar avoided a decisive battle at first, for some days testing the enemy and his own troops with cavalry skirmishes.
- 8/4 Law passed in Comitia Centuriata, by an overwhelming majority, recalling Cicero from exile.
- [8 ¾] Caesar, after preparing the ground before his camp, invited battle. The fight was hard. The Belgae were finally routed, and many killed. [12] The following day Caesar marched against the Suessiones. Cowed by the Roman siegeworks, they surrendered after a day. Caesar then marched against the Bellovaci, who surrendered at his approach. Ditto for the Ambiani.
- [8 ¾] Caesar then [16] marches through the lands of the Nervii for four days. The Nervii had assembled with two other tribes to await the Romans at the Sabis (Sambre) River. Caesar approached their position, intending to make camp on a hill opposite that occupied by the Nervii and their allies. [18] The Belgae attacked the Romans as they began to make camp. The battle is dramatically described. The Romans were taken off guard, and the fight was hard and confused. [27] The Romans finally gained their upper hand. [28] The fighting strength of the Nervii was practically wiped out. [29] The Aduatuci, who had been on the way to reinforce the Nervii, turned back at the news. [30] Caesar marched against them in their stronghold.
- [8 ¾] Caesar arrives at the stronghold of the Aduatuci. [31] Cowed by the unaccustomed sight of the Roman siege machinery, the Aduatuci sued for peace, [32] and surrendered that day on Caesar's terms, pretending to disarm. [33] They made a sally with all their force during the night, and were beaten back into the town. The next day, the gates were broken, and the entire town sold into slavery. [34] At this time, Caesar received news from P. Crassus, who had been sent against the peoples of Armorica: these had been subdued and brought under Roman power.
- [9] [*BG* II.35] "His rebus gestis, omnia Gallia pacata", Caesar, in a hurry to return to Italy and Illyricum, establishes his legions in winter quarters in the theaters of that year's fighting. "Ob easque res ex litteris Caesaris dies quindecim supplicatio decreta est, quod ante id tempus

accedit nulli." (Pompey had gotten twelve for his victory over Mithridates; the previous record had been ten.) [On my chronology, I'd guess that Caesar got to Italy in late September, and Illyricum in early October.]

9/4 Cicero arrives at Rome.

9/5 Cicero: *Post reditum in senatu*. Thanks to the Senate, and praise of Pompeius. In response to a grain shortage of which Clodius was making political capital, Cicero proposes a law giving Pompeius extraordinary powers over the grain market.

p.p. 9/5 Cicero: *Post reditum ad quirites*.

9/5^6 Senate agrees to negotiate with Pompeius de curatione annonae.

~9 Cato returns from Cyprus.

autumno Campaign of Galba in the Alps. (BG III.1-6.)

9/29 Cicero: *De domo sua ad pontifices*. Clodius is present, and attacks Cicero in a speech.

hieme in. Caesar goes to Illyricum, to learn more of the province. (BG III.7.)

11 Rebuilding of Cicero's houses hindered by Clodius' mobs.

Ptolemy Auletes flees to Rome from [civil war or court intrigues].

J.M. Roberts, *The Tribune's Curse* (AUC 699 HE 9946, Pompeio Magno Crasso Divite coss. II), p. 185: "Egypt had been a problem for us for a hundred years. Within its docile, priest-ridden population and its absurd Macedonian royal family, we could have annexed it at any time, but we didn't want to. Egypt was just too rich. Put a Roman governor there with an army, and he'd make himself king and raise a rebellion, as had Sertorius in Spain. No Roman trusted another with that much wealth and power. So we propped up one idiotic weakling after another, as the Ptolemaic dynasty grew more degenerate with each passing generation."

9945 C. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, L. Marcius Philippus coss. (56 BCE)

hieme '44-5 [BG III.7] Revolt breaks out in Armorica, where P. Crassus was wintering with the 7th Legion. Informed of events by Crassus, Caesar orders ships to be built and equipped.

Tension in the Triumvirate; attempts to attack or divide it. L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, a strong contender for the consulship of '46, promises to prosecute Caesar. The optimates, including Cicero, attempt to win the alliance of Pompeius. Crassus alerts Caesar, and the conference at Luca is arranged.

Cicero attacks Caesar's Campanian land law.

Cicero: *De rege Ptolemaeo* (perdita).

Caesar announces the annexation of Gaul (which is far from subdued).

3/14 Cicero: *Pro Sestio* (Sestius had worked for Cicero's recall), *In Vatinius*.

4/4 Cicero: *Pro Caelio*. Caelius, having jilted Clodia not long before, is acquitted of the charge of robbing Clodia and attempting to poison her.

5^4^9 Cicero: *De haruspicum responsis*. ('44: G&K.) Consulted on "subterranean rumblings" heard in Latium, the haruspices had found that, inter alia, holy places had been violated. Clodius used this against Cicero's rebuilding on ground Clodius had consecrated. Cicero responded with this speech in the Senate, arguing that the impieties referred to were those of Clodius. The Senate found in favor of Cicero.

4 (Month per D'oooge & Eastman; elsewhere I seem to have found May.) Conference at Luca (the southernmost town in Caesar's province of Cisalpine Gaul). Dozens of senators are in attendance, to promise support and ask favors. It is agreed that Pompeius and Crassus will be consuls the following year, while Caesar's command in Gaul will be extended for five years after the term which ends this year, with his force to be increased from eight legions to ten, all to be paid from the public treasury. Pompey and Crassus will receive, as proconsular provinces, Spain and Syria, respectively, both for the term of five years. Pompeius will govern through legates, remaining at Rome to guard their common interests. The alliance holds together for another two years.

[4-6?] [9] After the conference at Luca, Caesar proceeds to Armorica as soon as the season permits. The Armoricans prepare for a major maritime war. Caesar's first concern was to prevent a general rising in Gaul. He therefore distributed his forces strategically throughout Gaul.

5^6 Cicero: *De provinciis consularibus*.

[5-6?] [14] Caesar took several oppida of the Veneti and found his trouble wasted: the inhabitants always escaped unhurt by sea. He decided accordingly to await the Roman fleet and fight a naval war. When the fleet appeared about 220 well-armed Veneti warships came out of port against it. Despite the disadvantages of their ships, and their unfamiliarity with warfare on the Ocean, the Romans devised a means, turning the oar power of the galleys to advantage, of disabling the rigging of the Armorican ships; after which they boarded, several Roman ships against one Veneti ship, and fought as infantry, with the legions' usual success. [15] Nearly all the Veneti ships were taken; those that had attempted to flee were becalmed, at the mercy of the galleys. [16] With this battle,

Veneti lost the whole of their leadership and fighting strength, and surrendered. To make an example of them for their violation the "ius legatorum", their elders were killed and the rest sold into slavery.

[17] In the meantime, Sabinus was operating against several tribes in Normandy, who had rebelled and collected vagrant men from all over Gaul. Hemmed in in camp, Sabinus by a ruse enticed the Gauls into fighting at a disadvantage, and defeated them decisively. The peoples of Normandy surrendered forthwith. "Nam ut ad bella suscipienda Gallorum alacer at promptus est animus, sic mollis ac minime resistens ad calamitates preferendas mens eorum est." Caesar and Sabinus got the news of each other's victories at the same time.

[7-8?] [20] At about this time, P. Crassus put down a revolt in Aquitania, scene of two notable Roman defeats in earlier years (9923, to be specific, when the Aquitani had allied with Sertorius). The Aquitani had sent across the Pyrenees and obtained men and leaders, experienced in Roman warfare, who had been with Sertorius throughout his rule. Despite the uncharacteristic professionalism of their conduct, Crassus defeated them decisively. [27] At the news, most of Aquitania submitted.

[8-9?] [28] At about the same time, though summer was almost over, Caesar went against the Morini and the Menapii, the only tribes in Gaul not to have submitted, the northernmost peoples in Gaul, occupying the region from Calais to the first bend in the Rhine. They fled into the forests, and their lands were devastated. But continuous rains cut short the Roman campaign. Caesar distributed his forces in winter quarters in the theaters of that year's campaigns.

Cicero: *Pro Balbo*.

9946 Cn. Pompeius Magnus II, M. Licinius Crassus II *cos.* (55 BCE)

C. Sallustius Crispus quaestor ~9946.

Vergil, aet. 16 (9946/7), assumes toga virilis, goes to Mediolanum to continue his education.

Death of Lucretius (hypothetical or approximate year).

hiems **Caesar in Gaul:** (*BG* lib. IV.) The Usipetes and Tencteri, long pressed by the Suebi, cross the Rhine not far from the sea, occupying the lands of the Menapii.

(This year or next, while crossing the Alps, Caesar writes the *De analogia*, which is dedicated to Cicero. V. *OCD* s.v. "analogia".)

[ver] [5,6] Caesar, in [Italy], heard the news of the German crossing of the Rhine. Fearing complications from the flightiness and credulity of the Gauls (colorfully described), he went out to the army in Gaul at an earlier season than usual. Some of the Gauls had sent envoys to the Germans, inviting them to move farther into Gaul, presumably to counter the Romans. Concealing his knowledge of their doings, Caesar called a council of the leading Gauls, and on the basis of what he learned decided to levy cavalry and make war on the Germans.

[5^6?] [7] Caesar, after a decisive battle, routed the Usipetes and Tencteri and sent them fleeing back across the Rhine, with heavy losses.

[7-8] [16] "Germanico bello confecto", Caesar saw the need to make a show across the Rhine, to address the contagious German confidence about crossing it into Gaul. The Ubii had asked help of Caesar, and offered hostages, requesting that he aid them against the Suebi, or at least make a crossing as an earnest of his support. [17] At first ordering ships for the crossing (16.8), Caesar decided that safety and "dignitas" required that the Rhine be bridged. (He was doubtless considering that the Gauls and Germans were regularly overawed by Roman artifice and speed, and that the bridging of the Rhine—presumably unprecedented—would send a shock wave throughout Germany.) [18] The bridge was completed in ten days. Caesar crossed into Germany, and marched to the country of the Sugambri, who continued hostile. He received envoys from a number of other peoples (civitates) seeking peace and friendly relations. [19] Caesar remained a few days in the country of the Sugambri. He then went to the lands of the Ubii, promising them his aid against the Suebi. From them, he learned that the Suebi had prepared for a major war, encamping in the middle of their lands to await the arrival of the Romans. Caesar, though, having done all he came to Germany to do, "satis ad laudem et ad utilitatem profectum arbitratus", withdrew to Gaul, destroying the bridge behind him, having spent a total of eighteen days beyond the Rhine.

[8-9 1/4] Expedition to Britannia (preparation). [20] Though only a small part of the summer remained, affording no time for a war, Caesar decided on an exploratory expedition to Britain, which was of interest because his enemies in Gaul had always drawn support from the island. (He may well have been surprised by the tiresome extra-Gallic complications in all his wars, and hoped to gain some time and security with his expeditions beyond the borders of Gaul. mcv) Little could be learned about Britain from the Gauls. (See 9850, on invasions of Britain by the Belgae. The last of their invasions was only 25 years before the expedition of Caesar, who thus found many divisions among the inhabitants.) [21] Envoys came to

him from many of the tribes of Britain, who had heard of his designs and came to offer obedience to Rome. [22] He assembled a total of about 98 freight ships in addition to his war galleys, enough to transport two legions and some cavalry.

[~9/7--20] Caesar in Britannia. [23] Caesar set out at night from Boulogne or nearby. He reached Britain the next day, to find armed Britons on all the hills, occupying commanding positions on the cliffs. He moved on seven miles, to a beach. [24] The Britons came to meet the Romans. Caesar's resourceful tactics enabled the legions to make a difficult landing against British resistance. Once on dry land, they put the Britons to flight. Caesar was unable to pursue, since the boats carrying his cavalry had not yet arrived. [27] The defeated Britons sent envoys to Caesar, promising obedience, as did chieftains from all around. [29] Afterwards, a storm wrecked or damaged many of Caesar's ships. [30] The British chieftains decided to seize the opportunity, preventing the Romans from provisioning themselves, holding them there into the winter, and either defeating them utterly if their return could be prevented, or sending them back badly beaten. [31] Caesar took a prudent defensive while the Britons gathered their forces, foraging and repairing his ships. [32] In an indecisive action Caesar rescued a large part of his force from an ambush. Further British troops came in, and large force of infantry and cavalry arrived before the Roman camp.

[9 4/4] Caesar in Britannia: [35] A pitched battle was joined. The Britons, unable to withstand the onset of the Romans, turned tail. The Romans pursued as best they could without cavalry, and returned to camp. That same day the Britons sent envoys asking peace. Caesar doubled the number of hostages he had previously demanded, ordering them sent to him on the continent, since he planned to sail soon: the equinox was approaching, and he wished to avoid a winter crossing. That same night (as it appears), he took advantage of favorable weather and cast off for Gaul. [38] In Gaul Caesar sent Labienus, with the legions returned from Britain, against the rebellious Morini, who submitted. Sabinus and Cotta returned after devastating the lands of the Menapii. Caesar established all his legions in winter quarters in Belgium. Of the British tribes who had promised hostages, only two sent them.

10-12 Caesar apparently remains in Northern Gaul through the end of the year (assuming the coss. for the following year did not take office until that year, and assuming the calendar at that time wasn't too far out of synch with the seasons), since Book V opens "L. Domitio App. Claudio consulibus, discedens ab hibernis Caesar in Italiam, ut quotannis facere consuevit, legatis imperat quos legionibus praefecerat. . . ." (The orders had to do with the ships used in Gaul.)

On the basis of Caesar's letters, a thanksgiving of twenty days was proclaimed at Rome.

Lex Licinia de ambitu et sodaliciis: Sanctions against the political clubs that organized canvassing down to the ward level (small subdivisions—decuriationes—of tribes).

Cicero: *in Pisonem*, posteriore parte anni

Reconciliation between Cicero and Crassus, at the behest of Pompeius and Caesar. (Prob. later in year.)

Cicero: *De oratore*, in. hieme

9947

L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, Ap. Claudius Pulcher coss. (54 BCE)

Pompeius remains at Rome, governs his consular province (Spain) through legates.

Crassus in Syria (in accordance with an agreement among the Triumviri), preparing for Parthian war, which begins later this year.

Probable year of the death of Catullus.

Ostensible date of the pseudo-Sallustian *Invectiva in Ciceronem*.

Propertius born during period 9947-54.

Cicero: *Pro A. Gabinio* (frr.) Gabinius was a follower of Pompeius.

Clodius out of control throughout this year and the next, save for opposition from Milo's gangs—the Triumviri do nothing decisive. Rioting prevents consular elections.

hieme [1] Caesar orders the legates in Gaul to build ships of a special design for use in the Ocean. He then goes to Gallia Citerior, where he holds court as required, and on to Illyria to deal with incursions by the Pirustes into the nearer parts of that province. He raised troops there. The Pirustes sent envoys with excuses, and promised restitution in return for peace, to which Caesar agreed. [2] After holding his court in Illyricum, he returned to Gallia Citerior.

[4-5?] Caesar returns to the army in Gaul, where he is gratified by the success of the shipbuilding program. He orders the fleet to gather at Portus Itius (Boulogne).

Cicero: *De republica* (Begun '47, prob. May, finished in '48, or 1/2 '49.)

Gabinus, governor of Syria, restores Ptolemy Auletes. [sometime this year]

[6] Caesar takes a force to the lands of the Treveri, where a power struggle needs settling, and gets it. [5] Returning with the legions to Portus Itius, he found all ready for departure. [7] But they were delayed for twenty-five days by the prevailing wind of the season.

- [7 1/2] [8] Caesar left Labienus in charge at Portus Itius, and took five legions and 2000 cavalry to Britannia. There he learned that a large force had assembled, but, overawed by the size of the fleet, had withdrawn inland. [9] Caesar left a guard for the ships, and set out with the rest of his force against the British, who were driven away. [10] The next morning, Caesar sent out a force to pursue them, but messengers came from the shore announcing that a storm that night had cast the fleet on shore, with great damage. [11] Caesar went to the shore, and found that most of the ships were repairable, but only with great labor. Ten days were spent drawing the ships up in order on the beach, and building a strong camp to protect them.
- [7 2/2–8 2/2] Caesar then left a guard as before, and returned to the scene of the inland battle. There he found the Britons returned in greater numbers, united under the command of Cassivellaunus, chieftain of an inland people from north of the Tamesis. [15] Caesar puts Cassivellaunus on the run in a campaign across the Tamesis. The final blow is the defeat, by the guard of the Roman beachhead camp, of a force sent against them. Cassivellaunus offers surrender. Caesar gives him terms, since “neque multum aestatis superesset”, and he wished to winter in Gaul to counter risings there.
- ex. 8 Cicero: *Pro Vatinius* (fr.) Vatinius (, whom Cicero had attacked in the past,) was a follower of Caesar.
- 9/2 Cicero: *Pro Scauro* (fragmenta).
- Sept. Cicero: *Pro Plancio*.
- 9 Death of Julia. Relations between Pompeius and Caesar deteriorate.
- [9 1/2] [23] Caesar brought his force back to the beachhead, where he found the fleet repaired and ready. With a great number of captives, two crossings were required for the return. Most of the ships returning to Britannia were blown back to the continent. Caesar awaited them for some time, and then, “quod aequinoctium suberat”, not wishing a winter crossing, he crammed his troops into the ships he had, and crossed without loss.
- [9 2/2] [24] A council of the Gauls was held at Samarobriua (Amiens, on the Somme). A grain shortage due to drought had to be taken into consideration in the disposition of the legions for the winter. All, however, were within a space of one hundred miles (except one in a thoroughly pacified area). Four legions were disposed variously. Q. Cicero and one legion wintered among the Nervii. Labienus, with another, among the Remi on the borders of the Treveri. Sabinus and Cotta were sent to the Eburones, between the Rhenus and the Mosa, with a legion recently raised in Transpadane Gaul, and an additional five cohorts. Caesar planned to stay in Gaul until all the winter camps were fortified. [25] Caesar had to move the legion of Plancus from Belgium to keep control of the Carnutes, whose chieftain, Tasgetius, loyal to Caesar, had been killed at the instigation of enemies outside his tribe.
- [10 2/2] Ruina sesquilegio Sabini Cottaeque. [26] After the legions had been in winter quarters for fifteen days, Ambiorix and Catuvolcus, leaders of the Eburones, went into revolt, incited by Indutiomarus, one of two contenders for supremacy among the Treveri. The Eburones besieged the camp of Sabinus and Cotta. They deceive the Romans into marching out under truce, ambush them, and then kill Sabinus and most of the Roman officers by treachery. The remaining force is annihilated. [38] Ambiorix made all speed to incite the neighboring peoples to revolt, promising the Nervii his aid in an attack on Cicero's camp, to be made [39] before the news of the disaster of Sabinus could reach Cicero. (Caesar is careful to absolve Cicero of any culpability, and he is treated most favorably.) Cicero made an exemplary defense, and was not fooled by offers similar to those made to Sabinus. [42] The Gauls continued, with siegeworks that showed they were picking up the general idea from the Romans, though many details, particularly the appropriate ironmongery, were still lacking (having no shovels they used swords instead).
- Cicero: post. parte anni. Poema de Caesare, alia de incursione eius in Britannia, ambo perditae.  
p.10/25 Cicero: *Pro Rabirio Postumo*.
- 11/3 Clodius' mobs disrupt work on the rebuilding of Cicero's home, and fire Quintus' home.
- [11 1/2] [43] The siege of Cicero's camp continued for over seven days more, [45] Cicero finally succeeded in getting a message through to Caesar, [46] who immediately set out with the forces from his headquarters, apparently in Samarobriua (Amiens, on the Somme), ordering two other legions up to reinforce him. [47] Labienus, facing attack by the Treveri, sent word that he could not march. [48] Caesar then put his trust in speed, proceeding by forced marches to the country of the Nervii. [49] At the news of his approach, the Gauls besieging Cicero lifted the siege and moved against Caesar, who was warned of the move by Cicero. Caesar advanced a few more miles, to find the Gallic force facing him across a river in its valley. [50] Feigning trepidation, he enticed the Gauls to attack his camp on unfavorable ground. [51] After a feigned cavalry retreat, Caesar made an eruption from all the gates, and quickly put the Gauls to flight, inflicting heavy losses. [52] He advanced that same

day to Cicero's camp. [53] The news of Caesar's victory travelled the sixty miles to the camps of Labienus and his opponents before midnight of the same night. Indutiomarus, who had ordered the siege to begin the next day, withdrew his forces.

[11 2/2-12+] Caesar sent Fabius with his legion back to their camp, and himself established three legions in camps protecting Samarobriva. He proclaimed his intention to winter in Gaul, since the news of the disaster of Sabinus had excited general conspiracy throughout Gaul. [54] Caesar summoned the leaders of the Gauls to him, and held them in order for the moment. [55] Indutiomarus tried throughout the winter, unsuccessfully, to entice the Germans across the Rhine; he gathered a large force of his own, and received embassies from everywhere in Gaul. [56] He then called an armed assembly, and announced plans to ally with the Senones and the Carnutes, to attack Labienus and then invade the Remi. [57] Labienus, confident in the strength of his camp, by a ruse [58] put them to flight, making absolutely sure that Indutiomarus was killed. That done, Gaul was relatively quiet for a time.

9948

C. *Domitius Calvinus*, M. *Valerius Messala Rufus* *cons.* (53 BCE)

Consuls for this year not elected until July, due to gang warfare between Clodius and Milo.

Cicero made augur.

hieme [1] Caesar raises two new legions and borrows another from Pompeius. [2] After the defeat and death of Indutiomarus, the Treveri continued to solicit German help. They also contract alliances in other Gallic tribes. Caesar plans prompt action. [3] He makes a rapid campaign against the Nervii, devastates their lands, and receives their submission.

vere Caesar convenes a council of Gaul at the beginning of spring. He subdues the Senones, and the Carnutes. He then devastates the country of the Menapii, to subdue them and prevent their giving aid or shelter to the neighboring Eburones and Treveri. The Menapii sue for peace, and Caesar sets out against the Treveri. Labienus, meanwhile, cleverly defeats a force of Treveri. The Germans who had been coming to aid them went back home. Cingetorix, friendly to Caesar, takes the leadership of the Treveri.

5 Defeat of Crassus at Carrhae (Haran) on the Euphrates. (His son had been killed earlier.) The Roman army cannot cope with Parthian tactics on Parthian ground. He is slain by treachery when discussing terms with the Parthians. Cassius succeeds him in command. Only a quarter of his force returns to Syria.

7 News of Crassus' disaster reaches Rome.

[6-7 2/2] [9] Caesar decides to make another campaign across the Rhine, and builds another bridge. The Ubii are again friendly and submissive. It is determined that it was the Suebi who had been preparing to enter Gaul; they have now gathered all their forces to await the Romans in a stronghold in the farthest part of their lands. [29] Caesar is unwilling to advance farther into Germany, since the Germans are not fond of agriculture and it would thus be impossible to live off the country. To leave a threat to the Germans, he takes down 200 feet of the bridge at the German end and fortifies the bridge strongly, leaving twelve cohorts. Caesar sets off to campaign against Ambiorix.

[8 4/4-9 1/4?][30] Ambiorix manages to escape after a defeat. [31] The Eburones do not gather their forces again, but scatter and take refuge in the remote parts of their lands. [32] Caesar divides up his force for the remaining campaign. The impedimenta of all the legions are left in the camp built by Sabinus and Cotta the previous year, guarded by a legion and 200 cavalry under the command of Q. Cicero. [33] Three legions go to the coast of the Menapii, another three are sent to lay waste the country of the Aduatuci. Caesar takes the remaining three to the Scaldis, where he has heard that Ambiorix has taken refuge. [34] The dangers from the Gauls scattered in the forests are described, as is the difficulty of fighting them in such terrain. (The British regiments fighting in America come to mind.) Among other countermeasures, Caesar invites all the surrounding tribes in to plunder the Eburones (a measure not unknown to the British in America). The invitation gets an enthusiastic response. [35] The Sugambri hear of the situation, and two thousand of their cavalry decide to join in the plunder. They learn from captives that Cicero's camp with one legion and all the impedimenta is handy. [37-41] They surprise the camp on the day that Cicero, contrary to orders, has sent five cohorts out to forage. The camp holds out, but there is shameful disorder and panic there and in the foraging party, part of which is surrounded and destroyed. The Sugambri see no prospect of taking the camp, and depart. The men in camp remained terrified, believing the other nine legions destroyed; even an advance cavalry party from Caesar's force could not convince them otherwise. (For Caesar's treatment of the matter, see the fuller notes on *BG*.)

[9 3/4-9 3/4?][43] Caesar returns to devastating the lands of those tribes in Northern Gaul who remained recalcitrant. He notes that he did a thorough job. [44] His total losses for the year amount to the

number of two cohorts. He calls a Gallic assembly in Durocororum of the Remi, and formally punishes and interdicts those who had rebelled. He places two legions in winter quarters on the borders of the Treveri, two among the Lingones, and six among the Senones, and then returns to Italy to hold court.

- 9949 *Cn. Pompeius Magnus III* (sole consul until August), *Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio* *cos.* (52 BCE)  
(1 Jan. '49= ~15 Nov. 48 natural date)  
Sallust tribune of the plebs; opposed Cicero and Milo. (This is the earliest information about his career.)  
1/20 Killing of Clodius. The Senate house is burnt in the ensuing riots.  
2/25 Pompeius elected consul III sine collega.  
Pompeius initiates "a law postponing the provincial administration of consuls and praetors until five years after their year of office. The interval was to be filled by such magistrates as had never held a province," including Cicero, whom the lot assigned to Cilicia.  
Rising of Vercingetorix. Gergovia. Alesia.  
Around now, Vergil leaves Mediolanum for Naples, where he studies under the poet and grammarian Parthenius.  
4/10 Cicero: *Pro Milone*. Milo convicted and exiled.  
Cicero: *De legibus* (1/2 9949-).  
8 Q. Caecilius Metellus, an enemy of Cesar, becomes Pompeius' colleague in the consulship.  
Pompeius [had] married the daughter of Metellus [earlier] this year.  
Caesar winters in Gaul.  
Tibullus born during period 9949-55.
- 9950 *Ser. Sulpicius Rufus*, *M. Claudius Marcellus* *cos.* (51 BCE)  
M. Caelius Rufus, Curule Aedile.  
Optimate moves against Caesar. Caesar wins over Scribonius Curio with major bribes, who serves him, and opposes Pompeius, while pretending to champion the Senate.  
Revolt of Bellovaci.  
Parthian invasion of Syria.  
Bibulus to Syria.  
~5/1 Cicero departs for Cilicia.  
5/10 Cicero leaves his villa at Pompeii.  
5/15 Cicero leaves Venusia.  
5/18-21 Cicero in Tarentum, conferring with Pompeius.  
5/22 Cicero reaches Brundisium.  
6/15 Sick of sea voyaging, Cicero disembarks at Actium to continue by land.  
6/24 Cicero arrives at Athens, staying for ten days.  
7/22 Cicero arrives in Ephesus.  
In Cilicia, Cicero campaigns successfully against the mountain banditti.  
Death of Ptolemy Auletes.

**9950-57 Roman Republic: Civil War to death of Caesar (703-710 AUC, 51-44 BCE)**

- 9951 *L. Aemilius Paullus Lepidus*, *C. Claudius C.f. Marcellus* *cos.* (50 BCE)  
Tribune Curio prevents decision on renewal of Caesar's command. (Caesar needs a consulship or continued command to preserve his legal immunity from prosecution, among other reasons. He is judiciously reasonable in his demands, under the circumstances, asking only what is needed to guarantee his life and dignity.)  
Curio proposes Caesar and Pompeius both lay down commands. Passed, vetoed.  
Sallust expelled from Senate. (*OCD*: "*Inv. in Sall.* 16 alleges immorality, but the real grounds were probably his actions in 52."). ~9951: Ostensible date of one of the pseudo-Sallustian *Epistulae ad Caesarem senem*.  
Death of Hortensius.  
10/1 Cicero, returning from his province, sails from Ephesus.  
10/14 Cicero arrives in Athens.  
11/9 Cicero reaches Corcyra, where he is delayed by weather until 11/22.  
11/24 Cicero arrives at Tarentum.  
Cicero is still endeavoring to secure permission for a triumph (and thus has not laid down his imperium) when civil war breaks out in the following year.  
Rumors of revolt by Caesar.  
Marcellus, cos., bids Pompeius save the state.

*C. Claudius M.f. Marcellus, L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus* coss. (49 BCE)

**Civil War** between Caesar and Pompeius (9952–55). Both court Cicero, who at first remains in Italy in hopes of mediating between the two. (Cato later pointed out that he would have done better to stick to this course.) Cicero finally decides for Pompeius, out of preference for the optimates and gravely mistaken loyalty to the notoriously ungrateful Pompeius.

1/10 Caesar crosses Rubicon with a single legion. His pretext is the defense of the rights of some tribunes who had fled to him. He raises troops in Pompeius' home ground of Picenum. Pompeius is unprepared.

3/17 Caesar's rapid advance preserves the initiative to him. *OCD*: "As he moved down the peninsula, he kept making specious peace offers, retailed with considerable distortion in book I of his Civil War." Ahenobarbus, in inept charge of part of the Senatorial resistance, surrenders. Caesar catches up to Pompeius at Brundisium, but failed (or chose not to? mcv) to prevent his departure. Pompeius leaves for Epirus, counting on his strength in the provinces and control of the seas in a plan to surround Caesar on an Empire-wide scale.

Cicero receives friendly overtures from Caesar.

Caesar stays briefly in Rome, where he empties the treasury.

4 in. Caesar leaves for Spain (Pompeius' province), to secure the West before dealing with Pompeius in the East.

Caesar defeats Pompeians in Spain. (Final victory at Ilerda.)

6/11 Cicero leaves, to join Pompeius at Dyrrachium. There he finds much cause for despair, which he is too open about voicing.

Caesar, with Decimus Brutus, takes Massillia, which had declared for Pompeius.

Caesarian forces defeated in Africa.

*Caesar dictator*. (Briefly, officially for supervising elections.)

Civil war in Egypt.

Sallust commands a legion under Caesar; continues as an officer under Caesar to 45. His second quaestorship, 9952/3, due to the influence of Caesar, gives him re-entry to the Senate.

Caesar returns to Rome.

*C. Iulius Caesar II, P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus* coss. (48 BCE)

M. Caelius Rufus, Praetor; initially a partisan of Caesar.

Caelius and Milo (the latter, at least, desperate for money) cause disturbances in Campania, raising mobs of gladiators and jaibirds, ostensibly on behalf of Pompeius, Caelius is killed, Milo executed.

1 Caesar goes to Greece. Pompey is preparing a blockade of Italy.

Caesar defeated near Dyrrachium. *OCD*: "A tactical defeat there turned into de facto strategic victory when Pompey withdrew to Thessaly, where both sides received reinforcements."

8/9 Caesar, outnumbered two to one, defeats Pompeius at Pharsalus.

Optimates retreat to Africa.

In Egypt, Ptolemy XII and his sister Cleopatra are co-rulers; but army and ministers refuse to recognize Cleopatra.

Pompeius murdered in Egypt—the Egyptians want no imported troubles.

Caesar goes to secure Egypt. The Egyptians bottle him up in Alexandria for six months; reinforced by troops from Asia and a Jewish force under Antipater, he breaks out. Ptolemy is defeated and killed; Caesar sets Cleopatra on the throne, to gain her support, and remains in Egypt for several months. Shortly after he leaves, Cleopatra has a son named Caesarion.

7 (9?) Cicero returns to Italy, abandoning the Republican cause. He remains at Brundisium until Caesar's return from Egypt in 9/54. His daughter is with Dolabella, her husband, there are troubles between Cicero and Terentia, and Quintus and Quintus' son have been denouncing him.

10 Caesar re-appointed dictator.

Caesar did what he could to conciliate the Senate. But his political power base consisted to a large extent of discredited outsiders with nothing to lose, so the Senate had every reason to fear his partisans, even if the senatorial class had been willing to give up their independence for the sake of an end to civil war. Caesar is assassinated in 9957 (44 BCE), in a thoughtless attempt to restore the rule of the senatorial nobility.

9953/4 Aet. 23, Vergil leaves Naples for Rome, to complete his education under the Epicurean Syro, philosopher, mathematician, and physicist. He then returns to his family farm in Andes, where he is found ~9959.

Ostensible date of one of the pseudo-Sallustian *Epistulae ad Caesarem senem*.

- 9954 Q. *Fufius Calenus*, P. *Vatinius coss.* (47 BCE)  
*Caesar dictator* (in absentia). M. Antonius, magister equitum, struggles in Italy.  
 Sallust praetor; participates in Caesar's African campaign.  
 Caesar leaves Egypt to deal with Pharnaces II, son of Mithridates, in Syria and Asia Minor. He reorganizes the eastern provinces.  
 8 in. Caesar's final defeat of Pharnaces at Zela. ("Veni, vidi, vici.")  
 9 Caesar returns from Egypt, quells mutiny in Campania, and unrest led by Milo and Caelius.  
 Cicero seeks Caesar's pardon, which is magnanimously and kindly granted, with permission to return to Rome. Until the assassination of Caesar, he spends most of his time in retirement and intensive literary pursuits at his Tusculan villa.  
 12 Caesar goes to Africa, to campaign against the optimates who had been gathering forces there for a year and a half. (They were commanded by Metellus Scipio and aided by Iuba.)
- 9955 C. *Iulius Caesar III*, M. *Aemilius Lepidus coss.* (46 BCE)  
 4/6 Caesar victorious over the optimates at Thapsus in Africa. Suicide of Cato. Metellus Scipio and many other optimate leaders die. The remaining optimates flee to Spain.  
 Caesar returns to Italy. Domestic legislation, Senate enlarged, calendar reform. Numerous colonies of veterani and urban plebs.  
 Cleopatra, with her son Caesarion, comes to live in Caesar's villa at Rome; her Eastern state and regal attitudes excite widespread revulsion among the Optimates. (Cf. Horace, later on.)  
 Caesar restricts the free grain dole (which remains quite extensive), abolishes the collegia that had been the power base of the demagogues.  
 Cicero divorces Terentia, marries Publilia, his wealthy young ward. (Divorce required repayment of dowry.)  
 Ia.-Ap. Cicero: *Brutus* (dialogus).  
 in. ver. Cicero: *Paradoxa Stoicorum*.  
 Cicero: *De optimo genere oratorum*.  
 aest. Caesar appointed Dictator for ten years, with proconsular power giving him command of all armies, censor's control over the register of Senators, equites, and citizens, first vote in the Senate, immunity from tribunal veto, control over the treasury, and authority to issue edicts without consulting the Comitia. Pontifex Maximus since '38, he is made a member of all other priestly colleges. He is in effective control of all government, and makes tentative divine, Eastern-monarch-type noises. Caesar made huge donations to his veterans (the warlords had had to do a lot of outbidding); consequent rampant taxation and confiscations.  
 Cicero: *Cato*, [medio vel posteriore parte anni].  
 Cicero: *Orator ad M. Brutum*, posteriore parte anni.  
 Sept. Cicero: *Pro Marcello*.  
 9/20-10/1 Caesar celebrates four triumphs (nominally over foreign enemies) at Rome.  
 The sons of Pompeius, C. and S., with T. Labienus ("consul for the second time", per *OCD*), establish themselves formidably in Spain, with thirteen legions and strong native support. (The peoples of Iberia had little reason to love Caesar, who had plundered them mercilessly to finance an earlier stage of his career.)  
 11 Caesar leaves Rome to deal with the opposition in Spain.  
 11/26? Cicero: *Pro Ligario*.  
 Menses intercalarii II inter Nov. et Dec.  
 Cicero: *De partitione oratoriae* (9955/6).  
 Sallust, after the African campaign, becomes (9955 or later) the first governor of Africa Nova; his plundering of the province is exceptional even by Roman standards (Syme disputes this, but I do not find his case persuasive). He was charged with his misdeeds, and escaped only through Caesar's influence.
- 9956 C. *Iulius Caesar IV cos. sine collega* (to Sept); suff. Q. Fabius Maximus, C. Trebonius, C. Caninius Rebilus (45 BCE)  
 Caesar adopts his nephew Octavianus. The latter is made a pontifex.  
 2 ex. Death of Tullia.  
 3/17 Caesar forces the Pompeians to battle and annihilates them at Munda, in what *OCD* describes as "Caesar's hardest-fought battle". Returns to Italy.  
 Cicero divorces Publilia.  
 -Iun. Cicero: *Academica*.  
 aest. Cicero: *De finibus*.  
 -Sext. Cicero: *De natura deorum*.  
 Quin.-'57 Cicero: *Tusculanae Disputationes*.  
 Sext.-'57 Cicero: *De divinatione*.

- 3/4 Cicero: *Pro rege Deiotaro*.  
 '56/7 Cicero: *De senectute*.  
 '56/7 Cicero: *Timaetus*.
- 9957 C. *Iulius Caesar V, M. Antonius coss.*; suff. P. Cornelius Dolabella. (710 AUC, 44 BCE)  
 2 in. Caesar made Dictator for life.  
 OCD: He adopted the insignia of Roman kings, though refusing the name; he aimed instead at recognition as a god, which was granted [by the Senate] shortly before his assassination; Antonius became his flamen. Octavianus (aet. 18, with no military experience) made magister equitum.  
 Caesar plans for war in Parthia. OCD: "As all remembered the disruption caused by his temporary absences during the Civil War, the prospect of being ruled by an absent divine monarch for years ahead proved intolerable even to his friends." The conspiracy for his assassination was "hastily stitched together to anticipate his departure".
- 3/15 Assassination of Caesar. Cicero had not been included in the conspiracy, but its leaders counted on his sympathy [[, calling his name aloud]], and Cicero had greeted the news with immoderate glee. Civil conflict breaks out anew: the optimates had unwisely left Antonius alive, and had given no thought to the practicalities of consolidating their power with Caesar gone, adhering to constitutional forms and thus, in effect, handing power to Antonius as surviving consul.
- 9957–70 Roman Republic: Civil War: death of Caesar to the triumph of Augustus (710–723 AUC, 44–31 BCE)**
- 9957 (porro) Antonius, consul, dominant in Rome. His chief rival is Octavian, who at first allies himself with the optimates. Cicero remains in retirement until August, with a low opinion of the political prudence of the leading optimates. Sallust retires from public life after the death of Caesar.  
 Decimus Brutus gathers an army in Cisalpine Gaul, his province.  
 4 Return of Octavian (aet. 19, great-nephew and heir of Caesar) from Apollonia. He raises an army (on no constitutional authority) to back his claims for Caesar's estate—which had not been distinguished, under Caesar, from the assets of the Republic. This sets him against Antonius, who enjoyed effective control of all that Octavianus claimed.  
 The month Quintilis is renamed Iulius.  
 The People gives Antonius five-year command in the Gauls.  
 Cicero: *De fato, De gloria*.  
 ex. 5 Cicero: *De officiis*.  
 7 Cicero, dismayed at the confusion following the death of Caesar, sets out for Greece, but returns on hearing better news from Rome.  
 8 Cicero back in Rome.  
 7/20–28 Cicero: *Topica*.  
 9/2 Cicero: *Philippica I in Senatu*. (*Philippica II scripta, non habita*.)  
 ex. aut. Cicero: *De amicitia*.  
 12/20 Cicero: *Philippica III in Senatu, IV ad quirites*.
- 9958 C. *Vibius Pansa Caetronianus, A. Hirtius coss.*; suff. C. Iulius C.f. Caesar (Octavianus), Q. Pedius, P. Ventidius, C. Carrinas. (711 AUC, 43 BCE)  
 Antonius besieges D. Brutus in Mutina; the armies of the consuls Hirtius and Pansa fail to break the siege. Death of Sulpicius while on an embassy to Antonius at Mutina.  
 1/1 Cicero: *Philippica V in Senatu*.  
 1/4 Cicero: *Philippica VI ad quirites*.  
 1 ex. Cicero: *Philippica VII in Senatu*.  
 2 Cicero: *Philippica VIII, IX, X in Senatu*.  
 ~3 Cicero: *Philippica XI, XII in Senatu*.  
 3/20 Cicero: *Philippica XIII in Senatu*.  
 3– Cicero: *Epp. ad Brutum* (quae exstant).  
 4/22 Cicero: *Philippica XIV in Senatu*.  
 On Cicero's advice, the Senate allies itself with Octavianus.  
 4 ex. Battle of Mutina. The combined forces of the Senate and Octavianus defeat Antonius; both consuls are killed.  
 The Senate, thinking its dominance secure, foolishly dumps Octavianus (against the advice of Cicero) and declares the veterans of Antonius to be outlaws. The armies assert themselves, demanding that Octavianus be made consul.  
 Antonius in Gaul; the Senatorial armies of Lepidus (formerly Magister Equitum to Caesar as Dictator) and Plancus defect to Antonius, as does the army of D. Brutus, who is killed at Antonius' orders.

- 8/19 Octavian declared consul by the Senate.  
 Antonius now has superior military force, but is unsure of its loyalties with the heir of Caesar on the other side.
- 11/27 **Second Triumvirate**: Antonius, Octavian, and Lepidus. Proscriptions and confiscations begin immediately. 300 Senators, 2000 Equites, and others are killed.  
 Cicero, then at Tusculum, “makes a half-hearted attempt to leave Italy and escape proscription.  
 12/7 Cicero overtaken by triumviral soldiers near Formiae, and killed.  
 M. Brutus in Athens. Cassius controls Syria. They join, raising forces and funds.  
 Ovid born to an equestrian family at Sulmo in the Paelignian country of the Appenines (the Abruzzi).
- 9959 *M. Aemilius Lepidus II, L. Munatius Plancus* *cons.* (42 BCE)  
 Maecenas, an early supporter and confidant of Octavian, fights for the Triumvirate.  
 Horace, in Athens, joins Brutus, serving as military tribune. Horace’s family property is lost, but he is able to return to Italy, where he becomes *scriba quaestorius* and begins to write poetry. He writes the *Epodes* and *Sermones* between this point and ’71.  
 aut. Antonius and Octavianus bring their armies to Macedon.  
 9 First battle of **Philippi**.  
 10/23 Second battle of **Philippi**. Antonius and Octavianus defeat Cassius and then Brutus in two battles at Philippi; each commits suicide upon defeat.  
 Vergil, about now, begins the *Eclogues*, at the request of C. Asinius Pollio. The second, third, and fifth (Daphnis = Iulius Caesar) eclogues are written, then the fourth. The demobilized veterans of Octavian are given the lands of Italian cities in that had supported Brutus; they also take part of the lands of Mantua, including Andes. Vergil is protected by Pollio.  
 Pollio, one of M. Antonius’ most important lieutenants, in Gaul in 9959, is both a literary and political figure, early an associate of Catullus, later of Horace. His work included poetry, tragedy, and oratory, and, most notably, history and literary criticism.  
 Sallust: *Bellum Catilinarium*, ~9959/60.
- 9960 *L. Antonius, P. Servilius Vatia Isauricus II* *cons.* (41 BCE)  
 The occupation by the veterans sparks the Perusine War in Italy: L. Antonius vs. Octavian. War with M. Antonius, then in Egypt, seems imminent. Pollio marches to the support of L. Antonius.  
 Vergil, with Pollio away, goes to Rome to seek the protection of Octavian against the veterans. He is well received, and expresses his gratitude in the first *Bucolic* (written in summer). At the close of the Perusine War, the veterans again threaten Vergil, and he has to flee for his life. He again seeks the protection of Octavian. In the autumn, while awaiting the result, he writes the ninth *Bucolic*. He is again reinstated.  
 Sallust: *Bellum Iugurthinum*, ~9960/61.
- 9961 *Cn. Domitius Calvinus II, C. Asinius Pollio* (*ille*) *cons.*; suff. L. Cornelius Balbus, P. Canidius Crassus. (40 BCE)  
**Pact of Brundisium** divides the Roman world. (Mediated by Maecenas for Octavianus, Asinius Pollio for Antonius, and L. Cocceius Nerva, a friend of both and possibly great-granduncle of the emperor Nerva.)  
 Antonius marries Octavia.  
 Parthian invasion of Syria.  
 Vergil writes the fourth *Bucolic*. The earliest of Horace’s *Epodes* written about this time.  
 9961–66> period of Sallust’s *Historiae* (his latest work).
- 9962 *L. Marcus Censorinus, C. Calvisius Sabinus* *cons.*; suff. C. Cocceius (Balbus), P. Alfenus Varus. (39 BCE)  
**Concordat of Misenum** between Octavian, Antonius, and Sextus Pompeius.  
 Vergil: 9962/3 is the probable date for the publication of the *Bucolics*. They make Vergil’s reputation: Roman literature had seen nothing before to equal him. After the *Bucolics* appear, Vergil joins the circle of Maecenas. He moves to Naples, likely for his health, which was not good.
- 9963 *Ap. Claudius Pulcher, C. Norbanus Flaccus* *cons.*; suff. L. Cornelius, L. Marcus Philippus. (38 BCE)  
 Success of Pompeius against Octavian in Straits of Messina. Antonius takes Samosata. Maecenas sent to Athens to meet with Antonius; he is accompanied by Fonteius Capito and L. Cocceius Nerva; this (or, perhaps less likely, Maecenas’ trip to Tarentum in the following year) is the occasion for the journey to Brundisium recounted in Horace, *Sermo V*.  
 Horace joined the circle of Maecenas in this year, introduced by Vergil. Maecenas later gives Horace a farm in the Sabine country, freeing him to pursue poetry.
- 9964 *M. Vipsanius Agrippa, L. Caninius Gallus* *cons.*; suff. T. Statilius Taurus. (37 BCE)  
**Pact of Tarentum**; Maecenas represents Octavian. Triumvirate probably renewed.  
 Antonius marries Cleopatra (36 BCE per *RHDI*). Wars on Parthia.  
 Varro’s *De Re Rustica* published.  
 Vergil writes the *Georgics* at Naples, 9964–71.

- 9965 *L. Gellius Poplicola, M. Cocceius Nerva* *coss.*; suff. L. Nonius (Asprenas), Marcius {sic EB}. (36 BCE)  
Pompeius and Octavian at war. Lepidus ceases to be Triumvir. Antonius defeated in Armenia.
- 9965–68 Maecenas, with no official status, rules Italy while Octavian is absent.
- 9966 *L. Cornificius, Sex. Pompeius* *coss.*; suff. P. Cornelius (Scipio), T. Peducaeus. (35 BCE)  
Pompeius killed in Asia.  
Horace publishes Book I of the *Sermones*.  
Sallust dies ~9966.
- 9967 *M. Antonius II, L. Scribonius Libo* *coss.*; suff. L. Sempronius Atratinus, Paullus Aemilius Lepidus {sic EB}, C. Memmius, M. Herennius. (34 BCE)  
Octavian in Dalmatia.  
Antonius invades Armenia, triumphs in Alexandria.
- 9968 *Imp. Caesar Divi f. II, L. Volcacius Tullus* *coss.*; suff. L. Autronius Paetus, L. Flavius, C. Fonteius Capito, M. Acilius Glabrio, L. Vinicius Laronius. (33 BCE)  
Mauretania passes to Rome at death of Bocchus.  
Antonius in Armenia.  
Antonius and Cleopatra winter at Ephesus, 9968–9. (33–32 BCE)
- 9969 *Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus, C. Sosius* *coss.*; suff. L. Cornelius, M. Valerius Messalla. (32 BCE)  
Antonius divorces Octavia.  
Antonius and Cleopatra winter in Greece, 9969–70. (32–31 BCE)
- 9970 *Imp. Caesar Divi f. III, M. Valerius Messala Corvinus* *coss.*; suff. M. Titius, Cn. Pompeius. (31 BCE)  
Octavian holds successive consulships to '78.  
**Actium:** Defeat of Antonius. Octavian winters in Asia.
- 9970–72 Maecenas again rules Italy in Octavian's absence, again without official status. Confiscations are one likely source for his immense wealth.

The period of civil strife ends in 9970 (31 BCE), when the nephew of Julius Caesar, Octavian (later called Augustus) defeats Marcus Antonius (who was allied with Cleopatra, the last of the Ptolemies) at the battle of Actium. Antony and Cleopatra escape, but commit suicide the following year when Octavian comes to Egypt, leaving no more contenders in the field.

#### 9900s (prob.) Hippalus discovers navigation to India using the monsoons.

The winds themselves had been known to the Greeks in Hellenistic times. Their use in navigation between India and the west may well have been known before Hippalus, but only as a trade secret, which Hippalus publicized. W: "Before [Hippalus] Greek geographers thought that the Indian coast stretched from west to east. Hippalus was probably the first (in the west) to recognize the north-south direction of India's west coast. Only someone who has this insight will think crossing the Indian Ocean might be a faster way to south India than following the coastline."

Fagan, *Beyond the Blue Horizon*, 114-7: monsoon system; this and weather generally were highly favorable to long-distance navigation in Indian Ocean (much more so than in, e.g., Atlantic).

#### 9962–10044 Israel under Roman rule: The house of Herod

39 BCE–44 CE One of the sons of Antipater (v. supra), Herod (~9928–97), became a local administrator. With the support of Antony and Octavian, he defeated Antigonus (who had taken power during a Parthian invasion; v. supra for background) in 9964, and was named king by Rome in 9962 (39 BCE). He married a granddaughter of both Hyrcanus and Aristobulus. See Appendix for detail on the history of the House of Herod.

#### 9970–10014 Reign of Augustus; beginning of the Roman Empire (723–767 AUC, 31 BCE–14 CE)

On the Julio-Claudian house, see your own genealogical table, and the one in the front of Smith. See Starr, ch. 1, on Augustus' constitutional settlement.

The system of institutionalized and relatively stable one-man rule begun by Augustus is what distinguishes the Roman Empire from the Roman Republic. Though what remained of the Senate's independent power ended when Augustus came to power, there is no definite legal dividing line between Republic and Empire. (The beginning of the Roman Empire is conventionally dated to 9974 (27 BCE). Augustus maintained the forms of Republican government, only gradually formalizing his own effective position as supreme ruler. He gave the senatorial class as much respect as possible, and employed them in many important, but subordinate, government positions. Augustus rules until his death in 10014, laying strong foundations for the Empire.

By the time Augustus came to power, even the Roman ruling class, though strongly attached to the independence it had enjoyed under the Republic, was so sick of civil war that it welcomed the arrival of an able monarch, recognizing that, under the circumstances, nothing else could have brought peace to Rome. (As for the common people, once the Republic

had degenerated into an anarchy of warring strong men, they had nothing to gain from its continuance. They didn't count for much, though, in the political equation—they were so easily led that there was no need to take their interests into account.) But the stiff resistance of the senatorial nobility throughout the civil wars had taught Julius Caesar and his nephew Augustus a considerable respect for its power and its notions of society, and if the Empire brought stability to Rome, it was in large part because that respect, and those notions of society, were embodied as far as possible in the imperial institutions, along with a consideration for the equites, whom Cicero had championed in the name of “concordia ordinum”. The Roman Republic was a great and singular creation. That it was succeeded by a great and singular Empire is no coincidence.

With the emperors in control, the senatorial class could no longer produce warlords, and their only political outlet (outside of aggrandizement within the limits imposed by the new dispensation) was their traditional devotion to Roma, its power and good government, as their patria and the fount of their interests. This ideology was solidified by the peculiarly Roman form of Stoicism that provided the nobility with its only effective unifying force (insofar as it had any at all). Qualifications notwithstanding, the senatorial culture remained a strong and living one, being passed on in full strength to the new nobility who largely replaced the old in the first century of the Empire. And, though there was now a limit placed on the political aspirations of individuals, the political power of the nobility as a whole remained immense: the emperors could not immediately replace them as the governing class or as military commanders. Thus, for the first two centuries of the Empire, the senatorial class and its peripheral nobility remained the cultural and political norm of the empire.

In time, however, the power of the senatorial class and the traditional political nobility declined. The emperors, in continually rubbing up against the power of the senators and nobles, resorted, both programmatically and in a continuum of ad hoc maneuvers, to playing other social powers against them, particularly the people and the wealthy equestrians, and also, later on, Christianity. The nobility were many and of diverse interests, the imperial throne was one, with clear and persistent interests and a policy that was usually persistent, if not always subtle. The people was also, in its own way, a monolith, and politically passive even—indeed especially—at its fringes. The nobility and its belief system weakened, and the emperors were gradually able to replace it with an imperial bureaucracy that did not share that belief system, and was politically dependent on the imperial hierarchy. As this process became marked, the Empire began to decline, perhaps not entirely a coincidence, though Rome's external enemies also gained in power relative to Rome by virtue of the lessons they had learned from Rome itself. But whether it is a social or merely a chronological fact, the basis of Rome's power during the latter era of its greatness was the senatorial nobility.

[Octavian above all, as well as other strong men, and the senatorial class as a whole (as a collection of individuals perhaps more than as a gene pool) as the product of a *relatively* straightforward process of Darwinian selection for ability to rule. The only main factors [consider this further—any others?] that could substitute for fitness in a crunch were class and existing wealth, both of which are themselves not unrelated to fitness, esp. given the fluidity of the Roman class system and the relative openness of the economy—both perhaps exceptional factors in the ancient world, as was also the freedom from foreign threat and disruption. Neither religion nor bureaucracy could substitute other attributes for ability to survive and to create a viable system on a larger scale than that on which religion and bureaucracy operate. Thus the manifest superiority of the early emperors—Augustus above all—and the senatorial class to those in later times and places who, though coming from dissimilar backgrounds, ape them and invoke their precedent.]

V. Salway, *Roman Britain* 384, v. int. on the dynamics of empire. Provincial autonomy was a pragmatic means of preventing the burden of governance from exceeding the means of Rome. Moves for greater control of the provinces were in some degree the result of their inability to govern themselves.

9971 *Imp. Caesar Divi f. IV, M. Licinius Crassus coss.*; suff. C. Antistius Vetus, M. Tullius Cicero, L. Saenius. (30 BCE)

Octavian receives tribunician power for life. Suicides of Antonius and Cleopatra. Egypt made a province. Maecenas executes a son of the Triumvir Lepidus, alleging conspiracy.

Horace publishes the *Epodes (Iambi)* and Book II of the *Sermones (Saturnae)*. Some of his works are dedicated to Maecenas. The earliest of the *Carmina (Odes)* predate this year.

9972 *Imp. Caesar Divi f. V, Sex. Appuleius coss.*; suff. Potitus Valerius Messalla {sic}

Vergil publishes the *Georgics* (this is the date usually given, it is not positive). He is said to have read them to Octavian on the latter's return to Italy in this year. He begins the *Aeneid*.

9973 *Imp. Caesar Divi f. VI, M. Vipsanius Agrippa II coss.*

Propertius' first book probably published; the others were published through at least 9985. He is a member of the circle of Maecenas, and an intimate friend of Ovid. Politically, he is irreverent and independent.

9974 *Imp. Caesar Divi f. VII, M. Vipsanius Agrippa III coss.* (27 BCE)

Octavian now called Augustus. Receives provincial imperium for ten years.

Division of senatorial and imperial provinces.

Pantheon (original state) built by Agrippa.

- Tibullus: Terminus post quem for the publication of his first book. Ovid and Tibullus enjoy the patronage of M. Valerius Messala Corvinus.  
 Fall and suicide of Cornelius Gallus, 9974/5. (25/6 BCE)
- 9975 *Imp. Caesar Divi f. VIII, T. Statilius Taurus II* *cos.*
- 9976 *Imp. Caesar Divi f. IX, M. Iunius Silanus* *cos.* (25 BCE)  
 Galatia annexed. Two-year expedition of Aelius Gallus to Arabia Felix.
- 9977 *Imp. Caesar Divi f. X, C. Norbanus Flaccus* *cos.*
- 9978 *Imp. Caesar Divi f. XI, A. Terentius Varro Murena* *cos.*; suff. L. Sestius Quirinalis, Cn. Calpurnius Piso. (23 BCE)  
 Augustus resigns consulship, receives proconsulare imperium maius and full tribunicia potestas.  
 Horace publishes books I–III of the *Carmina* (*Odes*). (The earliest predate 9971.)  
 Relations between Octavian and Maecenas cool, apparently because Maecenas warned his brother-in-law that he had been detected in conspiracy.
- 9979 *M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus, L. Arruntius* *cos.*
- 9979–82 Augustus in Greece and Asia. (22–19 BCE)
- 9980 *M. Lollius, Q. Aemilius Lepidus* *cos.*
- 9981 *M. Appuleius, P. Silius Nerva* *cos.* (20 BCE)  
 Tiberius in Armenia; makes Tigranes king.
- 9982 *C. Sentius Saturninus, Q. Lucretius Vespillo* *cos.*; suff. M. Vinicius. (19 BCE)  
 Expedition of Balbus against the Garamantes.  
 Death of Vergil. He had traveled to Athens as the start of a proposed voyage to Asia and Africa, planning to spend three years correcting the *Aeneid*. There he met Octavian, with whom he returned Romewards, dying at Brundisium. He is said to have asked his friends to destroy the unfinished *Aeneid*.  
 Horace: Terminus post quem for the publication of book I of the *Epistles* (*B@R* gives 9981 as the date of publication); book II is written by '86.  
 Tibullus dies.
- 9983 *P. Cornelius Lentulus Marcellinus, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* *cos.*
- 9984 *C. Furius, C. Iunius Silanus* *cos.* (17 BCE)  
 Horace composes the *Carmen Saeculare* at the bidding of Augustus.
- 9985 *L. Domitius Ahenobarbus, P. Cornelius Scipio* *cos.*; suff. L. Taurius Rufus. (16 BCE)  
 Noricum part of Rome.  
 Ovid: Terminus post quem for *Amores*.
- 9985–88 Augustus in Gaul. (16–13 BCE)
- 9986 *M. Livius Drusus Libo, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi* (*Pontifex*) *cos.* (15 BCE)  
 Tiberius and Drusus defeat Raeti and Vindelici, reach Danube.  
 Quintus Curtius Rufus, <~9986–10053. (<~15 BCE–53 CE)
- 9987 *M. Licinius Crassus, Cn. Cornelius Lentulus* *cos.* (14 BCE)  
 Horace publishes Book II of the *Epistulae*, including the *Ars Poetica* (written '81–2)
- 9988 *Ti. Claudius Nero, P. Quinctilius Varus* *cos.*  
 Horace publishes the fourth book of the *Carmina* (*Odes*).
- 9989 *M. Valerius Messalla Barbatulus Appianus, P. Sulpicius Quirinus* *cos.*; suff. C. Valgius Rufus, C. Caninius Rebilus, L. Volusius Saturninus. (12 BCE)  
 Tiberius in Pannonia.
- 9990 *Q. Aelius Tubero, Paullus* *{sic}* *Fabius Maximus* *cos.*
- 9991 *Africanus Fabius Maximus, Iullus Antonius* *cos.*
- 9992 *Nero Claudius Drusus, T. Quinctius Crispinus* (*Sulpicianus*) *cos.*
- 9993 *C. Marcius Censorinus, C. Asinius Gallus* *cos.* (8 BCE)  
 Tiberius in Germany.  
 Deaths of Horace, Maecenas.  
 The month Sextilis is renamed Augustus.
- 9994 *Ti. Claudius Nero II, Cn. Calpurnius Piso* *cos.*
- 9995 *D. Laelius Balbus, C. Antistius Vetus* *cos.*
- 9996 *Imp. Caesar Divi f. XII, L. Cornelius Sulla* *cos.*; suff. L. Vinicius, Q. Haterius, C. Sulpicius Galba
- 9997 *C. Calvisius Sabinus, L. Passienus Rufus* *cos.*; suff. C. Caelius, Galus *{sic}* Sulpicius. (4 BCE)  
 Seneca born, Corduba.
- 9998 *L. Cornelius Lentulus, M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus* *cos.* (3 BCE)  
 Galba born.
- 9999 *Imp. Caesar Divi f. XIII, M. Plautius Silvanus* *cos.*; suff. L. Caninius Gallus, C. Fufius Geminus, Q. Fabricius.

- 10000 *Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, L. Calpurnius Piso (Augur) coss.*; suff. A. Plautius, A. Caecina (Severus). (1 BCE)  
First books of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* written.
- 10001 *C. Caesar Aug. f., L. Aemilius Paulli f. Paullus coss.*; suff. M. Herennius Picens
- 10002 *P. Vinicius, P. Alfenus Varus coss.*; suff. P. Cornelius (Lentulus) Scipio, T. Quinctius Crispinus Valerianus.  
Propertius is dead by this year.
- 10003 *L. Aelius Lamis, M. Servilius coss.*; suff. P. Silius, L. Volusius Saturninus
- 10004 *Sex. Aelius Catus, C. Sentius C.f. Saturninus coss.*; suff. C. Sentius C.f. Saturninus {sic EB}, C. Clodius Licinius  
Tiberius adopted by Augustus, required to adopt Germanicus.  
Germanicus in Germany.
- 10005 *L. Valerius Potiti f. Messalla Volesus, Cn. Cornelius Cinna Magnus coss.*; C. Vibius Postumus, C. Ateius Capito.  
Tiberius reaches the Elbe.  
Seneca in Rome. He studies under Stoic and other philosophers, including the Sextians Sotion and Papirius Fabianus, pupils of Q. **Sextius** (a contemporary of Caesar), founder of "the only native Roman [philosophical] sect". This school, short-lived but influential, described by Seneca as a kind of Stoicism, combined elements of Stoicism, Neopythagoreanism (e.g., vegetarianism), and Cynic asceticism. (*OCD* s.v. For more on Sextius and his sect, v. Rose, *RIGAR*, 258. On Stoicism at Rome, cf. Panaetius, ~9816. On a general revival of neo-Pythagoreanism in the early 9900s, and its relation to the Stoicism of the time, v. Cumont, *AATGAR*, 49.)
- 10006 *M. Aemilius Paulli f. Lepidus, L. Arruntius coss.*; suff. L. Nonius Asprenas.  
Revolt in Pannonia (-8) and Illyricum (-9). Maroboduus king of Marcomanni.
- 10007 *Q. Caecilius Metellus Creticus Silanus, A. Licinius Nerva Silianus coss.*; suff. Lucilius Longus.
- 10008 *M. Furius Camillus, Sex. Nonius Quinctilianus coss.*; suff. L. Apronius, A. Vibius Habitus.  
Ovid exiled ~10008. The *Metamorphoses* had been written in the preceding years. The composition of the *Fasti* was terminated by his exile, though in Tomi he revised the books already written.
- 10009 *C. Poppaeus Sabinus, Q. Sulpicius Camerinus coss.*; suff. M. Papius Mutilus, Q. Poppaeus Secundus.  
Disaster of Varus in the Teutoburger Forest: defeat by Ariminus, three legions lost.  
Vespasian born.
- 10010 *P. Cornelius Dolabella, C. Iunius Silanus coss.*; suff. Ser. Cornelius Lentulus Maluginensis, Q. Iunius Blaesus.
- 10011 *M. Aemilius Lepidus, T. Statilus Taurus coss.*; suff. L. Cassius Longinus
- 10012 *Germanicus Ti.f. Caesar, C. Fonteius Capito coss.*; suff. C. Visellius Varro.
- 10013 *C. Silius P.f., A. Caecina Largus, L. Munatius L.f. Plancus* {sic EB, sed cum punctis pro commatis} *coss.*
- 10014 *Sex. Pompeius, Sex. Appuleius coss.*  
Death of Augustus.

**(9993-7)--10029/30      Life of Jesus** (from between 8 and 4 BCE to probably 10029 or '30)

Judaism at this time was divided between the Sadducees, typically urban, better-off, better educated, and more cosmopolitan, who accepted only the Pentateuch, and the Pharisees, generally poorer, rural, and ignorant, characterized by a detailed observance of Jewish law (as they understood it), and combining Jewish particularism with the unwitting acceptance of many non-Jewish beliefs. Among the notions that had recently become current among the Pharisees were belief in an apocalypse, resurrection, and angels. (Other distinct groups were the Zealots, and such sects as the Essenes.)

The teaching of Jesus should be seen against this background. In his doctrine and popular focus, he had much in common with the Pharisees, but criticized their devotion to the religious minutiae of a tradition identified (by the Pharisees, and popularly) with Mosaic law. The question of whether Jesus' teachings were for Jews alone or for all the world was apparently not decided in his lifetime, but the teaching at first was directed mainly toward Jews. (Early Christianity was mainly urban. Note "pagani", rustics, as a term of contempt among early Christians. This suggests a picture of Christianity as appealing to urban Pharisees, grounded neither in the learning of the upper classes nor in the rustic common sense of the countryman, and ineligible due to means or psychology for common social responsibilities. mcv)

The sole sources of knowledge of the life of Jesus are the four canonical Gospels, a few probably authentic sayings preserved independently (agrapha), including those in the Gospel of Thomas, found in 11945 in Egypt, and the letters of Paul (in circulation by '90). Allusions in non-Christian sources (Josephus (actually an interpolation), Tacitus, Suetonius, and the Talmud) are all but negligible. Of the Gospels, those of Mark, Matthew, and Luke are linked to one another (Mark was probably one basis for the others) and are called the "synoptic Gospels". They are relatively matter-of-fact, and make the divine presence in Jesus a matter of inspiration. The Gospel of John takes a more interpretive and allegorical approach to the life of Jesus, and makes the divine

presence a matter of incarnation. Oral tradition was the primary medium of Christian history at first; with the world expected to end soon, there wasn't much point in writing anything down.

**10000 World population estimated at ~300 million**

**10014–68 LATER JULIO-CLAUDIAN DYNASTY IN ROME** Cf. Starr 57–59. Further detailed chronology in the notes to Plinius Minor.

**10014–37 Tiberius (767–790 AUC)**

10015 *Drusus Caesar, C. Nortanus Flaccus* *co*ss.  
Vitellius born.

10016 *Sisenna Statilius Taurus, L. Scribonus Libo* *co*ss.

10017 *L. Pomponius Flaccus, C. Caelius Rufus (or Nepos)* *co*ss.  
Ovid dies, 10017/18.

10018 *Ti. Caesar Augustus III, Germanicus Caesar II* *co*ss.

10019 *M. Iunius Silanus Torquatus, L. Norbanus Balbus* *co*ss.  
Deaths of Ariminus and Germanicus.

10020 *M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus, M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus Messalinus* *co*ss.

10021 *Ti. Caesar IV, Drusus Caesar II* *co*ss.

10022 *D. Haterius Agrippa, C. Sulpicius Galba* *co*ss.

10023 *C. Asinius Pollio, C. Antistius Vetus* *co*ss.

Pliny the Elder born at Novum Comum, 10023/24.

10024 *Ser. Cornelius Cethegus, L. Visellius Varro* *co*ss.

10025 *Cossus Cornelius Lentulus, M. Asinius Agrippa* *co*ss.

10026 *Cn. Cornelius Lentulus Gaetulicus, C. Calvisius Sabinus* *co*ss.

10027 *L. Calpurnius Piso, M. Licinius Crassus Frugi* *co*ss.

Tiberius withdraws to Capreae.

10028 *C. Appius Iunius Silanus, P. Silius Nerva* *co*ss.

10029 *C. Fufius Geminus, L. Rubellius Geminus* *co*ss.

10030 *M. Vinicius, L. Cassius Longinus* *co*ss.

Musonius Rufus, <10030–<101/2, Stoic philosopher, teacher of Epictetus and many leading Romans. (See lemmata to Pliny.)

10031 *Ti. Caesar V, L. Aelius Seianus* *co*ss.

Death of Seianus.

Lucius Arruntius, *co*ss. 10006, one of the leading senators of Rome, trusted by Tiberius but at odds with his ministers, is accused by one of them and commits suicide.

10032 *C. Domitius Ahenobarbus, L. Arruntius (Furius) Camillus Scribonianus* *co*ss.

The Consul Scribonianus is the adopted son of L. Arruntius, v. 10031.

Otho born.

10033 *L. Livius Ocella Sulpicius Galba, L. Cornelius Sulla Felix* *co*ss.

10034 *Paullus Fabius Persicus, L. Vitellius* *co*ss.

Persius, 10034–62. A Stoic, but apparently not one of the more mature or sophisticated ones. (V. Ogilvie, *RLAS*.)

10035 *C. Cestius Gallus, M. Servilius Nonianus* *co*ss.

Nerva (later Imp.) born 10035?. Likely period for birth of Sex. Iulius Frontinus.

10036 *Sex. Papinius Allenius, Q. Plautius* *co*ss.

10037 *Cn. Accerionius Proculus, C. Petronius Pontius Nigrinus* *co*ss.

Nero born.

**10030–~100 Apostolic period in Christianity**

Christianity is first extensively preached to Gentiles. Paul (d. '64, missionary travels '34–60) is [a or the] leader in this, in opposition to the Jewish followers of Jesus, especially those under the leadership of Jesus' brother James in Jerusalem. Peter (d. '64, at Rome) was somewhere in the middle. Paul's teachings allowed for a better accommodation with Rome than the Jews, or Jewish Christians, could manage. (Christianity in general was more amenable to Rome, due to its doctrine of obedience to temporal power, part and parcel of its eschatological "ethics".)

The fall of Jerusalem in '70, and later developments under Rome, led to the decline of Jewish Christian communities, leaving the field to the Pauline approach.

Early Christianity borrowed much from Platonism and Stoicism. From Jewish particularism was inherited the notion of a chosen people, now seen as manifested in a fundamental separation from pagans.

Christianity had (and retains) a particular appeal to women, who were often the first converts in a family. There was some notion of the equality of the sexes in the Christian fellowship. Early on, women could be priests; later they could still be members and leaders of monastic communities. Christianity's eschatological ethics also made childbearing and child rearing into matters of, at best, secondary importance.

Christianity became the object of legal sanctions and popular hostility after 10064, when Christians were made scapegoats for the great fire in Rome in that year.

The Apostolic Fathers are: The Didache, Epistle of Barnabas, Polycarp, Ignatius, Clement of Rome. (Smith, p. x.)

#### 10037–41 **Caligula (Gaius)** (790–794 AUC)

10038 *M. Aquila Iulianus, P. Nonius Asprenas* *cos.*

Martial born (March 1 (10038><41). ) at Bilbilis, in Hispania Tarraconensis, on the river Salo southwest of Caesaraugusta (mod. Zaragoza). He is presumably of native stock, according to Syme, who notes his gentilicium, suggestive of a native ancestor's Roman patron; Syme also states that Celtiberia is a very different province from the Baetica of the Senecas and other Roman colonial families. (His birthday was not necessarily the first of the month, as is often stated. "At this period, Romans often preferred to celebrate their anniversaries on the Kalends of their birth month rather than the actual day." (Shackleton Bailey, intro to Loeb Martial.))  *OCD*, s.v. "birthday", has nothing of this, and gives the impression that celebrating the actual day was the norm. But Shackleton Bailey speaks of a practice peculiar to the period, and not universally observed.)

10039 *C. Caesar Augustus Germanicus II, L. Apronius Caesianus* *cos.*

Titus born. He is raised at court.

10040 *C. Caesar III, C. Laecanius Bassus* *cos.*

Agricola born.

Quintilian, 10040–?~118.

10041 *C. Caesar IV, Cn. Sentius Saturninus* *cos.*

Caligula murdered.

#### 10041–54 **Claudius** (794–807 AUC)

Of no real account before the death of Caligula, due to his various illnesses and defects, he was placed in power by the praetorians, whose support he retained. His proclamation quashed a senatorial impulse for the restoration of the Republic. See  *OCD* for the characteristics of his reign. In sum, he meant well toward everyone, including the Senate, but he was often inept, and his reliance on the military, his freedmen, and his wives aggravated the initial friction with the Senate. He was poisoned by Agrippina, and apocolocytosized upon his death.

10041 porro Seneca exiled (10041–49), on charges by Messalina of adultery with Iulia (v.  *OCD* s.v., 5), sister of Caligula.

10042 *Ti. Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus II, C. Caecina Largus* *cos.*

Scribonian conspiracy (v. 10031, -32): Scribonianus, supported by many senators and equites, revolts with his legions in the name of the Republic and liberty. (Cf. Starr 111–12.) The legions soon abandon him, and he is murdered. Many are condemned in connection with the conspiracy. Among them is Caecina Paetus; his wife is Arria the elder: "Paete, non dolet."

10043 *Ti. Claudius III, L. Vitellius II* *cos.*

Expedition to Britain under Claudius; southern Britain made a province. (Vespasian participates.) V. infra, 10043.

10044 *T. Statilius Taurus, C. (Sallustius) Passienus Crispus II* *cos.*

10045 *M. Vinicius II, T. Statilius Taurus Corvinus* *cos.*

10046 *D. Valerius Asiaticus II, M. Iunius Silanus* *cos.*

Pliny the Elder an army officer on the Rhine, ?10046–58; he probably comes to know Titus there.

Plutarch, ~10046–~120.

10047 *Ti. Claudius IV, L. Vitellius III* *cos.*

10048 *A. Vitellius, L. Vipstanus Publicola Messalla* *cos.*

Fall of Messallina.

10049 *Q. Veranius, C. Pompeius Longinus Gallus* *cos.*

Claudius takes Agrippina as his fourth wife. Daughter of Claudius' late brother Germanicus, she maneuvered her son, Nero, into preeminence over Britannicus, Claudius' son by Messallina. Seneca is recalled (through the influence of Agrippina), made praetor and tutor to Nero.

10050 *C. Antistius Vetus II, M. Suillius Nerullinus* *cos.*

Nero adopted by Claudius as guardian for Britannicus.

Columella floruit, ~10050.

Epictetus born in Phrygia, mid-century In his youth he is a slave in Rome. Freed, he teaches there until Domitian banishes the philosophers in 10089. He studied under Musonius Rufus. His pupils included Arrian.

10051 *Ti. Claudius V, Ser. Cornelius (Scipio) Salvidienus Orfitus* *coss.*  
Domitian born.

10052 *Faustus Cornelius Sulla Felix, L. Salvius Otho Titianus* *coss.*

10053 *D. Iunius Silanus Torquatus, Q. Haterius Antoninus* *coss.*

Trajan born (probable date) in Italica, in Baetica, near Hispalis (mod. Seville), the provincial capital. Italica was a Roman colony founded in 9796 (205) by Scipio Africanus.

10054 *M. Acilius Aviola, M. Asinius Marcellus* *coss.*

#### 10043–85 Roman conquest of Britain, expansion in Germany (796–838 AUC)

On the landscape of Britain in Roman times, see Stamp, pp. 17ff. Claudius establishes the Classis Germanica, guarding the Rhine and the seas at its mouth, and the Classis Britannica, based at Boulogne.

#### 10044–136 Israel under Roman governors; rebellions against Rome

Under the sway of Rome, chronic differences between the Jews and the rest of the world were aggravated by several abusive Roman governors of Palestine. After the intolerable excesses of Florus, the unrest became a rebellion in 10066. (Cf. Agrippa II, supra.) Not a coherent movement with more or less rational goals, the rebellion as portrayed by Josephus involved a civil war between those Jews who saw the futility of a war against Rome, and the ignorant who did not. The expelled Agrippa II sided with Rome, and many other Jews joined or welcomed the Roman forces. The rebelling side, though it included a few, such as Josephus, who sought to make it effective, followed a pattern familiar from brushfire rebellions and religious wars in the more backward parts of the world today: it shaded imperceptibly into anarchic banditry, mutual pogroms with neighboring peoples, dissensions and power grabs among the rebels, slaughters by extremists of non-combatants who did not actively aid them, and occasional acts of mass fanaticism.

In 10066, Vespasian was sent by Nero to put down the revolt. He was accompanied by his son Titus, who remained to finish the war when Vespasian returned to Rome in 10069 to claim the Empire. Jerusalem fell to Titus in 10070, ending the rebellion. The Temple was destroyed, and Jews throughout the Empire were punished with special taxes, which continued under the Flavians.

The Jews rebelled again in 10115/16, while the Emperor Trajan was in Parthia. Jews in Cyrene, Cyprus, and Egypt rose up and slaughtered thousands of Greeks, wrecking the cities of Cyrene, Alexandria, and Salamis. The rebellion involved elements of messianism and proto-Zionism. It spread to Mesopotamia and Palestine, and lasted for three years. Its suppression was followed by an increasing withdrawal of Jews from Greco-Roman culture.

Hadrian attempted to resolve the continuing problems with the Jews by suppressing Jewish practices (including circumcision), rebuilding Jerusalem as a Roman city, and establishing Roman worship in Palestine. The result was the rebellion of Bar Kochba in 10132, which was aided by the authority of Rabbi Akiva, who proclaimed Bar Kochba king and messiah. The rebellion was in the image of its predecessors, with the addition of institutionalized Jewish hostility to Christians, which helped bring about the final separation of the two religions. The war, a guerrilla affair reminiscent of Viet Nam, drew many legions from the eastern half of the Empire, and cost the Romans much. It was put down in 10136. Palestine had been devastated, and its Jewish population dwindled. The name given to Roman Jerusalem, Aelia, remained current until the 10600s; the Arabs derived their name for the city from it. (It is still found in modern Latin, e.g., *Archaeologica Aeliana*.)

For later Jewish history, see Appendix.

#### 10054–68 Nero (807–821 AUC)

Seneca and Burrus are salutary influences (relatively speaking) on Nero in the first part of his reign, which part was regarded as exemplary by the ancients. Agrippina is effective co-regent at first.

10054 porro Seneca is suffect consul for six months, an exceptional term (*veri '54* is definite).

10055 *Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus Germanicus, L. Antistius Vetus* *coss.*

Murder of Britannicus.

10056 *Q. Volusius Saturninus, P. Cornelius (Lentulus?) Scipio* *coss.*

Thrasea Paetus suffect consul; his wife is Arria the Younger, daughter of Arria the Elder, and a relative of Persius. Helvidius Priscus tribune; he had taken Fannia, daughter of Thrasea Paetus and Arria, as his second wife, ~55.

Tacitus, 10056/7–118><38.

- 10057 *Nero II, L. Calpurnius Piso* *cons.*
- 10058 *Nero III, M. Valerius Messalla Corvinus* *cons.*  
Pliny the Elder returns to Italy, and retires from public affairs for the duration of Nero's reign.
- 10059 *C. Vipstanus Apronianus, C. Fonteius Capito* *cons.*  
Nero succeeds in murdering his mother, Agrippina, after [several] spectacular failures.
- 10060 *Nero IV, Cossus Cornelius Lentulus* *cons.*  
Rubellius Plautus, Stoic, descendant of Tiberius, *capax imperii*, withdraws to Asia at the behest of Nero.  
Musonius Rufus follows him.  
Revolt of Boudicca.  
Columella writes *De Re Rustica*, ~10060–65.
- 10061 *P. Petronius Turpilianus, L. Caesennius Paetus* *cons.*  
Plinius Minor, 10061/2--10112. Born at Novum Comum (Mod. Como) in 61/62. (VI.20.5: he was 18 when Vesuvius erupted, 8/24/79). Son of Caecilius Cilo and of Plinia, sister of Gaius Plinius Secundus. His father died when Pliny was young, and Pliny was adopted by his maternal uncle.
- 10062 *P. Marius Celsus, L. Asinius Gallus* *cons.*; Suff. T. Petronius Niger, Vibius Crispus, T. Clodius Epruius Marcellus (*ille*).  
Rubellius Plautus is killed. Musonius returns to Rome.  
Persius dies.  
Death of Burrus. Seneca, his influence declining, attempts to retire; formally refused, he nonetheless withdraws largely from affairs, writing philosophical works.  
Earthquake at Pompeii, causing severe damage. The city is still rebuilding when it is finally destroyed in the eruption of '79.
- 10063 *C. Memmius Regulus, L. Verginius Rufus (ille)* *cons.*
- 10064 *C. Laecanius Bassus, M. Licinius Crassus Frugi* *cons.*  
Great fire at Rome: Two-thirds of the city, including the Palatine, is destroyed.  
Exploratory mission to Ethiopia.  
Martial comes to Rome. (probable date.) He is patronized by the younger Seneca, C. Calpurnius Piso, Memmius Regulus (*cos.* '63), and Vibius Crispus (*cos.* '61), probably in recognition of poetic activity, which also brought him some public note (Citroni, citing II.6). (Martial's connection to Seneca seems undisputed; Shackleton Bailey is quite positive about it.) Martial never marries—the wife mentioned in some of the epigrams is a fiction (Shackleton Bailey).  
Death of Paul.  
Pliny writes a Greek tragedy, *aet.* 13 (10064/5). As a youth, he frequents Quintilian and Nicetes Sacerdos. (VI.6.)
- 10065 *A. Licinius Nerva Silanus Firmus Pasidienus, M. (Iulius) Vestinus Atticus* *cons.*  
Conspiracy of Piso; suicides of Seneca, Lucan. Musonius Rufus banished.  
Martial probably lost important patronage with the fall of the Senecas and Piso. He continues friendships with the survivors of that circle.
- 10066 *C. Luccius Telesinus, C. Suetonius Paullinus II?* *cons.*  
Condemnation of Paetus, who commits suicide in the presence of Helvidius Priscus; exile of Priscus. Suicide of Petronius.  
Rebellion in Palestine; Vespasian sent by Nero to put it down; he is accompanied by Titus. Trajan's father commands a legion. (See also separate entry.)
- 10067– *L. Iulius Rufus, Fonteius Capito* *cons.*  
Verginius Rufus governor of Upper Germany.  
Nero's murderous jealousy of his generals incites revolt, which spreads when he fails to respond effectively.
- 10068 *Ti. Catius Asconius Silius Italicus, P. Galerius Trachalus* *cons.*  
C. Iulius Vindex, governor of Gallia Lugdunensis (son of a senator and descendant of the kings of Aquitania) revolts against Nero in the spring, with only Gallic support, and that partial. He appealed to other governors for support. Verginius refused him; Galba in Spain came to his aid. He is defeated by Verginius at Vesontio, but Verginius' position is ambiguous. (See *lemmata s.v. Verginius*). Verginius' legions in any case attempted to proclaim him emperor, an honor he succeeded in refusing.  
Nero commits suicide when the Praetorians and the Senate declare for Galba.

- 10069**      **Year of the three emperors** "Longum et unum annum." (Tacitus, *Dialogus* 17.4). (822 AUC)
- 10068–1/69    Galba: "capax imperii si non imperasset", born 997 (3 BCE). Vespasian sends Titus to Galba with his congratulations on his acclamation. Helvidius Priscus returns to Rome under Galba. Musonius returns, also, probably, under Galba.
- 10069      *Ser. Sulpicius Galba Imp. Caesar Augustus II, T. Vinius (Rufinus?)* *cos.*; suff. L. Verginius Rufus II, Arrius Antoninus, T. Flavius Sabinus.  
The Capitol is burnt, and the records office destroyed.
- 1–4/10069    Otho (proclaimed 1/15/69, defeated by Vitellius in N. Italy, d. 4/16).  
Verginius Rufus suff. *cos.* II under Otho; refuses empire again on Otho's murder.
- 1–12/10069    Vitellius (proclaimed 1/2/69, entered Rome 7/69, d. 12/21/69).
- 10069–96**    **FLAVIAN DYNASTY IN ROME.** Further detailed chronology in the notes to Plinius Minor.
- 10069–79**    **Vespasian** (822–832 AUC)
- He is proclaimed 7/1/69, leaves Titus in charge of the war in Palestine; moves against Vitellius, enters Rome 12/21, the day after Vitellius dies. Domitian is in Rome, and in danger, during the reign of Vitellius.) Pliny the Elder, returning to affairs, was a supporter and a member of Vespasian's council. (Cf. Starr 69: an "amicus"?)
- After the fall of Vitellius, the Senate became assertive, and a backlash against delatores developed, in which Helvidius Priscus and Musonius Rufus (though only an equestrian) were prominent. (V. Musonius, in lemmata ad Plinium.)
- 10070      *Imp. Caesar Vespasianus Augustus II, Titus Caesar Vespasianus* *cos.*; suff. ? T. Aurelius Fulvus, C. Licinius Mucianus II, Q. Petilius Cerialis. Sex. Iulius Frontinus praetor urbanus.  
Helvidius Priscus praetor. Formerly a friend of Vespasian, he becomes a vehement critic of the Flavians from the beginning of the dynasty. "He was exiled by 75 [poss. 74] and subsequently executed." Musonius is also exiled during the reign of Vespasian. A major issue for the Stoic opposition was the dynastic plans of the Flavii. (V. Starr, 39,45.)  
Fall of Jerusalem to Titus.  
Suetonius born ~10070.
- 10071      *Imp. Vespasianus III, M. Cocceius Nerva* *cos.*  
Philosophers (especially Stoics) and astrologers banished from Rome.  
Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum) begun, on the site of Nero's Domus Aurea. (Finished '80.)
- 10072      *Imp. Vespasianus IV, Titus Caesar II* *cos.*; suff. C. Licinius Mucianus III & T. Flavius Sabinus  
Sex. Iulius Frontinus suffect consul 10072/3; T. Vestricius Spurinna suff. ~73.
- 10073      *Caesar Domitianus II, L. Valerius Catullus Messallinus* *cos.*; suff. M. Arrecinus Clemens  
10073–4      Operations in Upper Germany.  
10073/4–7      Sex. Iulius Frontinus governor of Britain, where he campaigns successfully, subduing the Silures. He is described as an able governor by Tacitus.  
10073/4–7(+?)    Command of M. Ulpius Traianus (pater) in Syria.
- 10074      *Imp. Vespasianus IV, Titus Caesar III* *cos.*; suff. Ti. Plautius Silvanus Aelianus II (I 45), Q. Petilius Cerialis II & T. Clodius Eprius Marcellus II (ille).  
Possible date for banishment of Helvidius (S104).
- 10075      *Imp. Vespasianus V, Titus IV Caesar* *cos.*; suff. T. Atilius Rufus.  
Alani invade Media and Armenia.  
Tacitus is in Rome by this year. He states that he owed his first advancement to Vespasian. '75 is the dramatic date of the *Dialogus*.  
Trajan's father governor of Syria, ~10075; Trajan is there.
- 10076      *Imp. Vespasianus VI, Titus Caesar V* *cos.*  
Hadrian (P. Aelius Hadrianus) born in Italica, Baetica. (On the town and its inhabitants, cf. 10053 on Trajan.) He is the grandson of Trajan's maternal aunt. His father, of praetorian rank, dies when Hadrian is 10; the boy becomes a ward of Trajan and Attianus, the latter an eques of Italica.  
Pliny the Elder returns to Rome from a series of procuratorships in the provinces. He takes up duties that involve seeing Vespasian daily.
- 10077      *Imp. Vespasianus VII, Titus Caesar VI* *cos.*; suff. C. Iulius Agricola.  
Tacitus is betrothed to Agricola's daughter.  
Pliny the Elder's *Historia Naturalis* appears, dedicated to Titus.
- 10078      *D. Iunius Novius Priscus (Rufus?)*, *L. Ceionius Commodus* *cos.*; suff. ? Corellius Rufus, ? L. Funisulanus Vettonianus.  
Sex. Iulius Frontinus returns to Rome.  
10078–84      Agricola governor in Britain. (His term was unusually long.)

10079 *Imp. Vespasianus IX, Titus Caesar VII* *coss.*; suff. P. Calvisius Ruso, Iulius Frontinus, Cn. Domitius Tullus, Cn. Domitius Lucanus.

**10079–81 Titus** (832–834 AUC)

(6/24.) He was remembered as a man of excellent character and diverse abilities, and treated the Senate and all others as considerately as possible. But the hand of Caesar still fell heavily at times on those in his way, and some opposition, mainly on inflexible principle, remained. Titus was close to Pliny the Elder, whom he probably knew from Germany, and who served on his council as on that of his father.

10079 porro Eruption of Vesuvius (8/24). Death of Pliny the Elder; Pliny the Younger inherits.  
Pliny begins to plead cases, 10079/80. (“Unodevicesimo aetatis anno dicere in foro coepi.” V.8.)  
M. Ulpius Traianus (pater) proconsul of Asia.

10080 *Imp. Titus Caesar Vespasianus Augustus VIII, Caesar Domitianus VII* *coss.*; suff. Q. Aurelius Pactumeius Fronto, A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento II.

Fire and plague at Rome. The Pantheon and several temples and libraries are destroyed.

Amphitheatrum Flavium (Colosseum) completed (begun '71). “It was the pride of Rome, whose ruler engraved it on his coins.”

Martial publishes the *Epigrammaton Liber* (called the *Liber Spectaculorum*), inspired by the spectacles staged for the inauguration of the Flavian Amphitheater in that year. (Only selections from the book have survived.) The book makes his reputation at Rome, and may have occasioned Titus' grant of the *ius trium liberorum*. Also under Titus (veri; certainly Titus or Domitian), Martial is given the honorary rank of *tribunus militum* (III.95.9), which confers equestrian rank.

10081 *L. Flavius Silva Nonius Bassus, L. Asinius Pollio Verrucosus* *coss.*

Pliny *tribunus militum legionis III* [SW; VI: Hack.] Gallicae in Syria. He cultivates Musonius Rufus, “quantum licitum est per aetatem”, and Artemidorus, already son-in-law to Musonius, becoming close to Artemidorus. (I.10; III.11.)

Tacitus quaestor, 10081/[82], (his bailiwick is not known). [veri dates, prob. Syme.]

**10081–96 Domitian** (834–849 AUC)

He is a capable administrator and general, popular with the troops, but is so blatantly and persistently autocratic that serious senatorial opposition arose and persisted, to which he responded tyrannically and ultimately paranoically. Corruption, as often fostered by such autocracy, was also notable in his reign. Per Perowne, he hated the people as much as he did the Senate, having had to flee a Roman mob in his youth.

Pliny's first two marriages begin during Domitian's reign. Nothing is known of his first wife. His second, whose name is unknown, was a daughter of Pompeia Celerina, who remained a correspondent of Pliny's. (On Pliny's marriages, see *Vita Plinii*.)

Quintilian and Martial enjoy the favor of Domitian. Plutarch is in Rome during Domitian's reign (v.s.v Rusticus); he was exiled in '93. Florus' youth probably falls in Domitian's reign.

10082 *Imp. Domitianus VIII, T. Flavius Sabinus* *coss.*

10083 *Imp. Domitianus IX, Q. Petilius Rufus II* *coss.*; suff. L. Tettius Iulianus, ? Q. Vibius Crispus III, ? A. Didius Gallus Fabricius Veiento (ille) III.

10084 *Imp. Domitianus X, C. Oppius Sabinus* *coss.*; suff. L. Iulius Ursus, Cn. Pedanius Fuscus Salinator.

Martial, from this date or later, owns a farm at Nomentum. (Post says it was apparently the gift of Seneca, but the latter died in '65. Seneca, however, did own good land around Nomentum, per Columella, III.3.3.)

Martial has good relations with Domitian (who confirms the grant of *ius trium liberorum*) and his freedmen. Other patrons of Martial included Nerva (even before his accession), Regulus, and Sura.

10083–86 Martial publishes the *Xenia* and *Apophoreta*, for the Saturnalia of two different years. (Post: '85 and/or '86.)

10085 *Imp. Domitianus XI, T. Aurelius Fulvus II* *coss.* (EB lists only Domitian); suff. [? Ignotus &] L. Valerius Catullus Messalinus II, M. Arrecinus Clemens II & L. Baebius Honoratus, (duo ignoti), D. Aburius Bassus & Q. Iulius Balbus.

Dacians under Decebalus invade Moesia, killing the Roman governor. Domitian campaigns there in this and the following year.

10086 *Imp. Domitianus XII, Ser. Cornelius Dolabella Petronianus* *coss.*; suff. C. Secius Campanus (replacing Domitian), ignotus & Q. Vibius Secundus, Sex. Octavius Fronto & Ti. Iulius Candidus, A. Lappius Maximus & L. Iavolenus Priscus. Ti. Iulius Candidus Marius Celsus (S644)

Hadrian comes to Rome, brought by Attianus. He remains for five years, then returns to Italica for two years, after which he goes again to Rome. (Perowne says Trajan recalled him because a jealous Servianus tried to discredit him with Trajan.)

- Antoninus Pius (T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus) born at Lanuvium (son of Titus Aurelius Fulvus, cos. 89 and Arria Fadilla; maternal grandson of Arrius Antoninus).  
Frontinus proconsul of Asia  
Martial publishes Books I (later re-edited) and II of the epigrams. (Early in the year, less likely in '85.)  
Arrian (Lucius Flavius Arrianus, ~10086--160) born in Nicomedia in Bithynia. He holds local offices there, and writes a history of Bithynia, now lost.
- 10087 *Imp. Domitianus XIII, L. Volusius Saturninus* *cos.*; suff. C. Calpurnius Crassus Frugi Piso Licinianus (replacing Domitian), C. Bellicus Natalis Tebanianus & C. Ducenius Proculus, C. Cilnius Proculus & L. Neratius Priscus.  
Conspiracy against Domitian.  
Pliny quaestor Augusti (a particularly prestigious quaestorship) in 10087/8/9. (S 75: "with the duty of reading out the ruler's communications to the high assembly." "The quaestores Augusti tend to be men of birth", and to become consuls. On the grounds for the date, inferred from the usual *cursus*, S 653; Mommsen's date, '89, is least likely.) Calestrius Tiro is quaestor Augusti at the same time.  
Martial removes to Cisalpine Gaul (10087/88), apparently living in Forum Corneliae. There he publishes Book III of the epigrams (late in the year). He soon returns to Rome.
- 10088 *Imp. Domitianus XIV, L. Minicius Rufus* *cos.*; suff. D. (or L.) Plotius Grypus & Q. Ninnius Hasta, M. Otacilius Catulus & Sex. Iulius Sparsus.  
Tacitus praetor; by this time he is one of the XVviri sacris faciundis, and perhaps already noted as an orator and man of letters.  
Martial publishes Book IV of the epigrams. (Late in the year.)
- 10089 *T. Aurelius Fulvus* (father of Antoninus Pius), *M. Asinius Atratinus* *cos.*; suff. P. Sallustius Blaesus & M. Peducaeus Saenianus, A. Vicirius Proculus & M'. Laberius Maximus.  
Domitian campaigns against the Marcomanni and Quadi in Pannonia.  
L. Antonius Saturninus, governor of Upper Germany, rebels against Domitian, proclaiming himself emperor on January 1. He finds little support, and is quickly crushed. Trajan, then legionary legate in Spain, marches against him. Domitian's jealousy and ruthlessness grow. At least 12 ex-consuls are executed. (V. Syme, *Tacitus*, 32.)  
Domitian banishes the philosophers from Rome. (But see 93.) Among those who leave is Epictetus, who sets up a school in Epirus, which attracts many upper-class Romans. His teachings were published by Arrian. Dio Cocceianus (Chrysostom) is also banished.  
Martial publishes Book V of the epigrams. (Late in the year.)  
Tacitus away from Rome, 10089-93, presumably in office.
- 10090 *Imp. Domitianus XV, M. Cocceius Nerva II* *cos.*; suff. L. Cornelius Piso (replacing Domitian), L. Antistius Rusticus & Ser. Iulius Servianus, Q. Accaeus Rufus & C. Caristianus Fronto, P. Baebius Italicus & C. Aquillius Proculus, L. Albius Pullaienus Pollio & Cn. Pompeius Longinus (cf. S647), M. Tullius Cerialis & Cn. Pompeius Catullinus. (L. Iulius Ursus Servianus, per S644.)  
Terminus ante quem for the circulation of the letters of Paul.  
Martial publishes Book VI of the epigrams, 10090-91.  
~10090-92 A poor grain harvest prompts the edict of Domitian to encourage grain cultivation by prohibiting new vine plantings in Italy and reducing vineyard acreage in the rest of Europe by half. (Not fully implemented. Cf. Unwin, pp. 114-15.)  
Appian, ?10090s-160s.
- 10091 *M'. Acilius Glabrio, M. Ulpius Traianus* *cos.*; suff. D. Minicius Faustinus & P. Valerius Marinus, Q. Valerius Vegetus & P. (or L.) Metilius Nepos.  
Statius completes his *Thebaid*.
- 10092 *Imp. Domitianus XVI, Q. Volusius Saturninus* *cos.*; suff. L. Venuleius Montanus Apronianus (replacing Domitian), L. Stertinius Avitus & Ti. Iulius Celsus Polemaeanus, C. Iulius Silanus & Q. Iunius Arulenus Rusticus.  
Pliny tribunus plebis. (Date per S 653. Tribune mentioned in VII.16.2.)  
The Iazyges and Suebi invade Pannonia; they are contained by Domitian, commanding personally.  
Martial publishes Book VII of the epigrams. (December per Citroni.) Avitus, consul, "significantly honors Martial" (Post) [IX, praefatio, X.96].
- 10093 *Sex. Pompeius Collega, Q. Peducaeus Priscus* *cos.*; suff. T. Avidius Quietus & ignotus, C. Cornelius Rarus Sextius Na[so] & ignotus; ? L. Dasumius (S794), ? L. Licinius Sura, ? [L.] Iulius Marinus.  
Murders of Clemens and Sabinus, relatives of Domitian, and of the consulars Helvidius Priscus (son of ille), Acilius Glabrio, Arulenus Rusticus, Cornelius Salvidienus, L. Salvius Otho, Mettius Pompusianus, and L. Aelius Lamia. (Syme, p. 76ff, for this and Pliny's activities for the remainder of Domitian's reign.)

The philosophers were expelled from Rome in this year (S657, q.v., & Suet. *Dom.* X.3), including Plutarch, Epictetus, and Artemidorus. (Dates per Ogilvie. But see 89; there appear to be varying opinions as to which year saw the banishment of these major figures.) Pliny aided Artemidorus during his praetorship and after the executions and banishments, an act dangerously conspicuous in a praetor (III.11).

Pliny praetor. ('94 cannot be absolutely excluded, '93 is the earliest possible year: S 653.) His advance to the office was accelerated by Domitian. As praetor, with Herennius Senecio, he prosecutes Baebius Massa de repetundis on a complaint from his former province of Baetica. (The case was going on as of 8.23: Tac. *Agr.* 45.1.) Massa was convicted, but impeached Senecio for treason by way of defense; Pliny protested that if Massa had been honest, Pliny would have been named too. He is congratulated on this action by Nerva. The charge against Senecio stuck, however, and he was put to death in the latter part of the same year. The condemnation of Senecio's "friends and allies", including Iunius Rusticus followed, as did the exile of Iunius Mauricus. Iuvenal may have been exiled to Egypt in this year, but this is conjectural.

Death of Agricola, 8/23.

10094 *L. Nonius Calpurnius Asprenas Torquatus, T. Sextius Magius Lateranus* *cons.*; suff. M. Lollius Paullinus D. Valerius Asiaticus Saturninus & C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus, L. Silius Decianus & T. Pomponius Bassus  
Pliny praefectus aerarium militaris –96 (or poss. 95–97; both assume the normal triennium, cf. S 657). (On this office, v. Starr 18.)

Martial publishes Books VIII (January; mid-'93 per Post) and IX (autumn) of the epigrams. From this year at the latest, he owns a townhouse at Rome.

10095 *Imp. Domitianus XVII, T. Flavius Clemens* *cons.*; suff. L. Neratius Marcellus (replacing Domitian), A. Lapius Maximus II & P. Ducenius Verus, Q. Pomponius Rufus & L. Baebius Tullus.

Domitian executes Flavius Clemens, his cousin and father of his adopted heirs; none, it seems are now safe from his jealousy.

Hadrian, as tribunus militum of Legio II Adiutrix, goes to the border fort Aquincum (Budapest).

Martial publishes the first edition of Book X of the epigrams.

M. Cornelius Fronto, ~10095–166. "Leading advocate under Hadrian, appointed by Antoninus Pius as tutor to Marcus Aurelius and Verus, with whom he remained intimate." Suff. 143.

10096 *C. Manlius Valens, C. Antistius Vetus* *cons.*; suff. Q. Fabius Postuminus & T. Priferinius [Paetus], Ti. Catius Fronto & M. Calpurnius [...]icus

Hadrian is transferred to Legio V [Macedonica], in Lower Moesia.

9/18: Domitian is killed by conspirators among his own entourage, possibly including his wife. He leaves no successor. Pliny's death-warrant was found in the palace.

Pliny's term as praefectus aerarium militaris (v. '94) ends in this year or '97.

**10096–138 NERVA, TRAJAN, HADRIAN.** Further detailed chronology in the notes to Plinius Minor.

**10096–98 Nerva** (849–851 AUC)

There is unrest in the legions, where Domitian had been popular. The Praetorians at Rome compel Nerva to accede humiliate in the execution of Domitian's murderers, costing him much face. Nerva retained Domitian's "amici", formally recognized advisors. (Starr 69.) Nonetheless, the senatorial backlash against Domitian's creatures "came close to anarchy", per  *OCD s.v. Nerva*. Nerva is "the last strictly Italian emperor." Under him, persecution of Jews and Christians is stopped. On Nerva, see Syme, *T*, pp. 1–12.

There had been much corruption under Domitian. Nerva and Trajan sponsor a reform movement, of which such able and devoted public servants as Frontinus and Pliny were exemplars.

Pliny's second wife, a daughter of Pompeia Celerina, dies during Nerva's reign.

10096 porro Pliny: Letters in Book I, 10096–99.

Martial publishes Book XI of the epigrams, for the Saturnalia of this year.

10097 *Imp. Nerva Caesar Augustus III, L. Verginius Rufus III* *cons.*; suff.: Tacitus, Arrius Antoninus II (first was in 69; his consulship in this year is "almost certain": S) & [L. Vibius] Sabinus (Sabinus assumes Arrius; L.V. was husband of Trajan's niece; cf. S 794), (the following are in sequence:) [M.] Annius Verus & L. Neratius Priscus, L. Domitius Apollinaris & Se[...], Q. Atilius Agricola & ignotus. Other possibilities: M. Ostorius Scapula, L. Licinius Sura I; see also '98.

Nerva adopts Trajan, a popular general who had gone to Upper Germany as governor that same year, as his heir. (~ year-end.) Trajan is named as Caesar by the Senate. He is the first non-Italian to be designated as imperial heir.

Hadrian is sent to Trajan in Germany with the congratulations of his fellow officers, and is transferred to Legio XXII in Upper Germany.

Death of Verginius; Tacitus, while consul, delivers his funeral oration.

Frontinus curator aquarum, presumably until his death. He writes his *De Aquis* while holding this office, a matter of acquiring and preserving expertise through diligent and often on-the spot research. Governorships of Marius Priscus (Africa) & Caecilius Classicus (Baetica), for which they were prosecuted by Pliny ('99–100).

Pliny: I.5 to Voconius Romanus (Regulus and I); I.13 to Sosius Senecio (The recitation scene); (?) I.11 to Fabius Iustus (Scribe, si solum "Valeo".); II.1 Voconio Romano (Life and death of Verginius Rufus). Pliny suffers a near-fatal illness, probably in this year (mentioned in X.5; it preceded an illness of Nerva; see Vita Plinii).

Martial dedicates an anthology of his Books X and XI to the new emperor, who had been his patron; apparently his complete current works were too obscene for such a dedication. The anthology has not been preserved; its opening epigrams were published in Book XII. ('97 per Shackleton Bailey; '96 per some.)

Pliny: I.6, ~10097/8, to Cornelius Tacitus ("Pliny goes a-hunting")

Tacitus publishes *Agricola*; *Germania* published shortly after.

Suetonius is noted as a scholar by this time.

#### 10098–117 Trajan. (851–870 AUC)

Nerva dies 1/28/98 (1/25: Perowne). Trajan goes first to the Danube, not arriving in Rome until the summer of '99. He executes the Praetorians who had rebelled against Nerva, but is at complete peace with the nobility, except for some at various times who had actively intrigued against him—these he banished.

Servianus succeeds Trajan as governor, and again (according to Perowne), unsuccessfully, interferes with Hadrian, who is again sent to Trajan with congratulations, and becomes the clear favorite of the childless Trajan, whose wife also esteems the young man.

Among Trajan's many other virtues and accomplishments, he was patron of the sort of humanitarian works that Pliny exemplifies in some of his letters. (Cf. X.3A: "omnia facta dictaque mea probare sanctissimis moribus tuis cupiam.") He also gave lavish games. Cf. Starr 59.

Under Trajan, Rome reaches its limits. Rome, under Trajan, takes Mesopotamia from the Persian Empire, though Rome does not hold it for long. Dacia (modern Romania) is also conquered. (Buck, *CGGL* §33: "Rumanian reflects not so much the short-lived Roman occupation of Dacia as the much longer and more intensive Romanization of Illyria. The Romanized inhabitants were submerged by the invading Slavs and adopted a vast number of Slavic words.") After Trajan's time, Rome's impulse will generally be to preserve its existing borders rather than to extend them.

Trajan grants Pliny the *ius trium liberorum*, though he is childless. Pliny marries Calpurnia during Trajan's reign. (On Pliny's marriages, see Vita Plinii.)

10098 *Imp. Nerva IV, Imp. Caesar Nerva Traianus Augustus II* *coss.*; suff. As colleagues of Trajan: Sex. Iulius Frontinus II, Cn. Domitius Tullus II] (1/13–; Nerva's illness was apparently protracted, *Ep.* X.8), L. Iulius Ursus [II?], T. Vestricius Spurinna II, C. Pomponius [Pius] (5/1–6/30); ? & ? (7/1–?8/31), ? & ? (?9/1–), ? Q. Fulvius Gillo Bititius Proculus (end of yr; stepfather of P's 2nd wife; or poss. end 97) & [?P. Iulius Lupus], L. Maecius Postumus (S655)

Pliny: X.1 to Trajan (Plinius prosperum imperium Traiano precatur)

Martial publishes the second edition of Book X of the epigrams (April–October), omitting many pieces that flattered Domitian. (After accession of Traianus.) He returns to Bilbilis (the date of '100 is also given), where he is given a rather comfortable estate by Marcella.

Pliny praefectus aerari Saturni (head of state treasury), 10098–100, with Cornutus [Tertullus] as colleague. (In X.3A, he says the office was given him by Trajan, thus begun in '98; *PB* says '98, "soon after the accession of Nerva" He and Cornutus continued in this office during their consulates.) (On the state treasury, v. Starr 79: it was second in importance to the imperial treasury.) Pliny abstains from his law practice during this term, though he made an exception at the behest of the Senate for the trial of Marius Priscus.

Pliny: II.6 (~10098) to [Iunius] Avitus (Nova luxuria et sordium societas). I.10 (10098/9) to Attius Clemens (Euphrates philosophos; de negotio)

10099 A. *Cornelius Palma Frontonianus*, Q. *Sosius Senecio* *coss.*; suff. Q. Sosius Senecio, A. Caecilius Faustinus, (3 others known) ?Ti. Iulius Ferox.

Trajan arrives in Rome for the first time since succeeding to Nerva.

Pliny: X.3A&B (O.k. to take the Priscus case?) (S658 prefers 98.) On the trial of Marius Priscus, v.s.v. in *lemmata*, also S658. Pliny undertakes another senatorial prosecution, against Caecilius Classicus, at about the same time; it drags on into (at least) 100.

10100 *Imp. Traianus III, Sex. Iulius Frontinus III* *coss.*; suff. (at least 8); T. Vestricius Spurinna III, **Pliny** & Cornutus [Tertullus] (Sept./Oct.), Q. Acutius Nerva, ? M. Pompeius Macrinus Theophanes (or 101), L. Herennius Saturninus, L. Roscius Aelianus.

- Pliny delivers the *Panegyric* on the occasion of Trajan's third consulship. (The speech was later expanded for publication.)  
 Conclusion of the extortion trial of Marius Priscus (January), before the Senate, with Trajan presiding, Pliny and Tacitus prosecuting; Priscus is exiled.  
 Pliny: II.11 to Arrianus [Maturus] (Trial of Marius Priscus); II.12 to Arrianus [Maturus] (Trial of Marius Priscus, cont'd); ?II.13 [Neratio] Prisco (Recommendation of Voconius)  
 Hadrian, aet. 24, (10100?) marries Sabina, granddaughter of Trajan's sister. The match, arranged by Trajan's wife Plotina, is an offer he can't refuse.  
 Pliny: IV.19 (10100+) to Calpurnia Hispulla (My wife, your niece)  
 Tacitus publishes *Historiae*, 10100>~105. (*Annales* published latter half of either first or second decade of the century.)
- 10101 *Imp. Traianus IV, Q. Articuleius Paetus* *cos.*; suff. Ti. Caepio Hispo, ? L. Arruntius Stella & L. Iulius Marinus (Oct.; v. S655), Sex. Attius Suburanus Aemilianus [Praetorian Prefect, S225]. (See also 100.)  
 Hadrian quaestor.  
 Pliny: III.9 Cornelio Miniciano (Prosecutions for extortion in Baetica); ?II.9 [Domitio] Apollinari (Petitio Sexti Eruci); ?III.8 Suetonio Tranquillo (Giving your tribunate to a friend) (~101).  
 Trajan campaigns in Dacia, against Decebalus (who may have been encouraged by Parthia). Hadrian, quaestor augusti, goes to Dacia with Trajan. The wars there last until 10106.  
 Tacitus possibly away from Rome, 10101–4. (S103.)
- 10102 *L. Iulius Ursus Servianus II* (= Ser. Iulius Servianus *cos.* 90), *L. Licinius Sura II* (first possibly 93 or 97) *cos.*; suff.: Fabius Iustus (succeeding Sura [was Sura ill, or did he serve out his term? he held a later consulship]), L. Publilius Celsus, M. Iunius Homullus, ? D. Terentius Scaurianus (or 104).  
 Second campaign of Trajan in Dacia. A few years of precarious peace follow in that province.  
 Pliny: III.21 to Cornelius Priscus (Death of Martial. His verse on P.)  
 (Less likely, '01.) Martial publishes Book XII of the epigrams. "From Bilbilis, he sent to Rome the nucleus of Book XII, later expanded to what we have, perhaps after his death." (Shackleton Bailey.) He dies not long afterwards, certainly no later than '104. (Plinii *Ep.* III.21.)  
 Suetonius, ~10102, obtains a military tribunate in Britain with the aid of Pliny, but declines to take up the office.  
 Pliny defends Iulius Bassus on charges of corruption, 10102–3 (Syme, p. 79). *Epp.* IV.9 to Cornelius Ursus (Bassus); ?IV.4 Sosio Senecioni (A tribunate for a friend).  
 Tacitus publishes *Dialogus*, 10102><107?, dedicated to Fabius Iustus. (Benario's tentative dates; Brink says prob. 98–103; Mellor says the publication is generally thought to date from the early reign of Trajan, with 102 likely.)
- 10103 *Imp. Traianus V, M'. Laberius Maximus II* *cos.*; suff. Q. Baebius Macer, C. Mettius Modestus, P. Calpurnius Macer, Q. Glitius Atilius Agricola, P. Metilius Sabinus Nepos; 2 others known.  
 Hadrian is clerk of the Senate in the interval between the Dacian wars.  
 Pliny becomes augur from '103/4 (IV.8 to Matur[us] Arrianus, on Pliny's becoming an augur) Date apparently presumes that the Frontinus Pliny succeeds as augur is Sextus Iulius Frontinus; he is, per McElwain, ed. of Loeb Frontinus. Pliny solicits the augurate in X.13. Cf. S659.) Probably around this time and/or within the next few years, Pliny publishes two books of poems. (Cf. IV.14, VII.9, VIII.21.)  
 Death of Frontinus.
- 10104 *Sex. Attius Suburanus Aemilianus II, M. Asinius Marcellus* *cos.*; suff. ? D. Terentius Scaurianus (or 102)  
 Pliny visits Comum, having been away for at least eight years (Syme, pp. 71 n. 3, 79, app. 19).  
 Earliest date for publication of any of Pliny's letters, per S663; Syme prefers 105, probably late in the year, for first publication.  
 Martial dies.  
 Pliny: IV.13 (10104/5) to Tacitus (A schoolmaster for Comum); notes Tacitus' return to Rome  
 ? Death of Regulus.  
 Pliny curator alvei Tiberis et riparum et cloacarum urbis (a post reserved for consulars), 10104–7, (cf. V.14; S659.); about this time, he is "thrice a member of the judicial council of Trajan."  
 Pliny: IV.22 (c10104+) to Sempronius Rufus ("Nobiscum cenaret;" Ludi). Letters in Book III, <10105.
- 10105 *Ti. Iulius Candidus Marius Celsus II, C. Antius A. Iulius Quadratus II* *cos.*; suff. Cn. Afranius Dexter (5/1–6/24, assassinated), C. Caecilius Strabo (9/1–), C. Iulius Quadratus Bassus (S232), Marcus Vitorius Marcellus. (All are known.)  
 Praetorship of Nepos. Hadrian tribunus plebis.  
 One Nigrinus (poss. suff. 110) tribunus plebis (S225, citing *Epp.* V.13.16)  
 War breaks out in Dacia. Trajan campaigns there, into the following year, aiming for a decisive victory and conquest. Hadrian commands Legio I [Minervae], with distinction, receiving further marks of Trajan's

- favor and of his status as heir apparent. (That he was not formally adopted was, opines Perowne, because Hadrian was disliked by many others close to Trajan who would have been seriously antagonized by an adoption.)
- Pliny: IV.29 to Romatius Firmus (Heia tu! Ecce Licinius Nepos praetor); IV.15 Minicio Fundano (Recommendation of Asinius Bassus) (before 9/1); V.4 to Iulius Valerianus (Nepos opens a can of worms); V.9 to Sempronius Rufus (Nepos forbids fees to advocates); V.13 to (Iulius) Valerianus (Can of worms, cont'd).  
Hadrian praetor 105/106, previous to governing Pannonia Inferior.  
Fabius Iustus governor of Lower Moesia, 10105–108.  
Pliny: VII.2 (10105+?) to [Fabius?] Iustus (Pliny threatens to write).  
Pliny: V.8 (~10105/6) to Titinius Capito (“Suades ut historiam scribam.”).
- 10106 L. Ceionius Commodus, Sex. Vettulenus Civica Cerialis coss.; suff. L. Minicius Natalis, [L. Acilius] Rufus (S662).  
Dacia is subdued and made a province; Decebalus commits suicide. Hadrian governs Pannonia Inferior (E. Hungary); is praetor this year or next.  
Annexation of Arabia (= Transjordan) (or '106) by the governor of Syria, “no doubt without serious trouble” (S222).  
Pliny: VI.31 Corneliano (Cognitiones imperiales; portus novus) (autumn 106 or later).  
Trial of Varenus Rufus, 10106–7, Pliny defending. V.20 to Cornelius Ursus (Iterum Bithyni; de repetundis: Varenus); VI.5 to [Cornelius] Ursus (Theatrics of Nepos: Varenus); VI.13 to [Cornelius] Ursus (Trial of Varenus, cont'd); VII.6, 10 to Macrinus, recounting the later stages of the trial.
- 10107 L. Licinius Sura III, Q. Sosius Senecio II coss.; suff. [L. Acilius] Rufus (3/1–; S661), C. Vettenius Severus & C. Minicius Fundanus (5/1–; S661), [C. Valerius] Paullinus (9/1–). (All are known.)  
Calestrius Tiro proconsul in Baetica.  
Pliny: VI.10 (10107+/-) to Albinus (The tomb of Verginius).
- 10108 Ap. Annius Trebonius Gallus, M. Atilius Metilius Bradua coss.; suff. Q. Roscius Coelius Murena Pompeius Falco (9/1–), P. Aelius Hadrianus. (Most are known.)  
Pliny: VIII.23 Marcellino (108; later year is not excluded); IX.15 [Pompeio] Falco (autumn 108). None of Pliny's letters (except those of Book X) can be proven to be later than the end of 108 (S660).  
Fabius Iustus governor of Syria, 10108/9–.  
Arrian in Greece, 10108><12; he befriends Hadrian, “who later adlects him to the senatorial rank”.
- 10109 A. Cornelius Palma Frontonianus II, P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso coss.; suff. C. Iulius Proculus, P. Calvisius Tullus Ruso. (All are known.)  
Possible conclusion of Tacitus' *Historiae* (S219).  
Pliny goes to Bithynia (10109/110) as legatus pro praetore provinciae Ponti et Bithyniae consulari potestate (legatus Augusti consulari potestate), to deal with “administrative and financial problems” there. Suetonius may have accompanied him. On the administration of Provinces, v. Starr 72ff; governors regularly made circuits (conventus) through the provinces. Letters X.15 et seq.
- 10110 M. Peducaeus Priscinus, Ser. (Cornelius) Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus coss.; suff. L. Catilius Severus Iulianus Claudius Reginus, A. Larcus Priscus, C. Avidius Nigrinus. (All are known.)  
Pliny dies in office, ~10111/112, in Bithynia. He is succeeded by Cornutus Tertullus.  
Suetonius, in the later years of Trajan's reign, holds important imperial secretarial offices, in which he continues under Hadrian.
- 10111 C. Calpurnius Piso, M. Vettius Bolanus coss.; suff. (All are known.)
- 10112 Imp. Traianus VI, T. Sextius Africanus coss.; suff. T. Iulius Maximus. (All are known.)  
Forum and Basilica of Trajan dedicated. Hadrian elected archon of Athens, the first foreign commoner to be so honored. (V. Perowne 41.)  
**Tacitus** proconsul of Asia, 10112–13 (term began and ended in mid-year).
- 10113 L. Publius Celsus II, C. Clodius Crispinus coss.; suff. (All are known.)  
War with Parthia begins.  
Column of Trajan dedicated.
- 10114 Q. Ninnius Hasta, P. Manilius Vopiscus Vicinillianus coss.  
Annexation of Armenia (Parthia had interfered with the traditional Roman protectorate there), then Mesopotamia, and Assyria.
- 10115 L. Vipstanus Messala, M. Peto Vergilianus coss.  
Trajan campaigns against Parthia in Mesopotamia, 10115–16. Mesopotamia becomes a province, and a king is imposed on the Parthians.  
Jewish revolt: Cyrene, Egypt, Cyprus, spreading to Mesopotamia. (See above for detail.) Unrest among the Moors, Britons, and Sarmatians. Trajan is compelled to withdraw from the Parthian conquests and head for Rome, leaving Hadrian as governor of Syria and commander of Roman forces in the east. Trajan's

health declines, and he dies in Cilicia, 8/8/117, after adopting Hadrian; the documents were signed by Plotina, as Trajan had been paralyzed by a stroke. The only other witness, Trajan's valet, dies four days later, cause unknown.

Juvenal's satires, possible period 10115–30 per S 500; others make it '110–130.

10116 *L. Fundanus Lamis Aelianus, Sex. Carminius Vetus coss.*; suff. C. Iulius Alexander Berenicianus. (All are known.)

Revolts in the Levant.

### ~10100 **Paper perfected in China**

Paper replaced slips of bamboo or wood as the primary book material in the 10200s, and was widely used for many purposes in the 11400s. Papermaking spread to the Arab world by the mid 10700s (q.v.)

(Source: exhibition catalogue, "On Paper: The History of an Art". NYPL, 12/90.)

### 10117–38 **Hadrian** (870–891 AUC)

Trajan dies in Cilicia, 8/8/117. Hadrian hears of his adoption on 9/8, in Antioch, and two days later of Trajan's death. Hadrian was disliked by the senate, but supported by the army. His five eastern legions put him in a commanding position. His enemies maintain that Neratius, then 70 and on Trajan's council, was the intended successor. Hadrian is conciliatory, and at first responds with leniency to warnings of plots against him. Further plots arose, however, and the executions of Cornelius Palma, Publilius Celsus, Avidius Nigrinus, and Lusius Quietus ensued. Hadrian claimed not to have authorized the executions, which were engineered by Attianus at Rome, and approved by the Senate. He makes further conciliatory moves, and cultivates the populace with games and charities, as did Trajan. He is correct but distant to Servianus, and recognizes senatorial dislike of Attianus by inducing the latter to resign as praetorian prefect. The other praetorian prefect resigns willingly. They are replaced by Turbo, an experienced and reliable general, and Septicius Clarus, a friend of Hadrian's on the literary side.

Hadrian abandons the new provinces of Armenia, Mesopotamia, and Assyria, and Trajan's conquests in trans-Danubian Moesia. He visits the lower Danube on his way to Rome, where he arrives in '118.

Hadrian codifies law, rebuilds the Pantheon.

Suetonius continues in the imperial secretarial office held under Trajan. Florus, a poet usually identified with the historian of that name, is a friend of Hadrian. His writings probably date from the reigns of Hadrian and Antoninus. (V. *OCD* s.v.)

10117 Suff. Sex. Erucius Clarus (S87), Ti. Iulius Alexander Iulianus.

10118 Hadrian, Pedanius Fuscus Salinator coss.

Hadrian arrives in Rome, 7/9.

Quintilian dies.

10118><38 Tacitus dies.

10119 Hadrian consul.

10120 Antoninus Pius (T. Aurelius Fulvus Boionius Arrius Antoninus) consul.

~10120 Plutarch dies.

10121 Marcus Aurelius (M. Annius Verus, son of idem, relative of Hadrian) born. He is "from early childhood a favorite of Hadrian" (*OCT*).

~10119 or 10121/+ (Both datings are found.) Suetonius dismissed from secretarial office, and C. Septicius Clarus dismissed as Praetorian Prefect, due to some affair whose nature is not known. (Perowne says they showed insufficient respect to Sabina.)

~10123–70 Aulus Gellius

~10123– Apuleius

?10129 Suffect consulship of Arrian.

?~10030 Suetonius dies.

10131–5 Jewish revolt.

10134 Alani invade Parthia.

### 10100–313 **Patristic period in Christianity, to the Edict of Milan**

After the death of James and the Apostles, the question arose of authority [at the local level] in the Church, persisting through the 10300s. Bishops came to be seen by the mainstream as members of a "historical succession of authorized teachers", the clergy as an order distinct from the laity, and charismatic and gnostic sects as outsiders.

"By the third century the old notion of the church as a society of holy people was being replaced by the conception that it was a school for frail sinners." (*Britannica*.) Absolution became an issue; it was seen as a privilege of the clergy.

The canonical New Testament was established [by 10200] in the face of variant teachings and proliferating apocryphal writings.

Arian (~10250–336) taught a distinction between the incarnate Lord who was crucified and the transcendent Creator.

Bishops in the west were fewer, and had larger dioceses than in the east. The subordination of bishops in a region to an archbishop or metropolitan in the chief city became established around 10300. Those of Rome, Antioch, and Alexandria had some supra-regional authority. (To these were soon added Jerusalem and Constantinople, to make up the five Greek patriarchates.) "Papa", originally a term of particular respect that might be applied to any bishop, began to be used especially of the bishop of Rome in the 10500s; this use was almost exclusive by the 10800s. Rome's claims of supreme authority seem apparent from at least 10165. These claims were based on Jesus' commission to Peter from at least '256. In 10190, a bishop of Rome threatened to excommunicate communities in Asia Minor who persisted in celebrating Easter on Passover instead of on the Sunday after the first full moon after the spring equinox.

With time, the hierarchy's power grew, and the subordination of the laity increased.

Christianity, adjusting to its emerging role as a going concern, developed its own philosophy, literature, and practice (e.g., holidays, all calques of pagan or Jewish festivals). Mariolatry and hagiolatry took the place in the popular mind of the worship of various pagan gods; by 10400, saints were being assigned particular spheres of action, like the old gods, and pilgrimages and relics became Christian institutions. The Church, after some initial opposition to carrying veneration to the point of worship, became resigned. In both popular and higher culture, an attempt was made to reinforce distinctions between Christians and both pagans and Jews, and to distinguish that part of classical culture, and of Jewish belief, that was compatible with Christianity.

Worship was in private houses at first (perhaps later sometimes in special chapel rooms [mcv]; one such is known from '232); special church buildings were built from the '300s.

Popular and official persecutions of Christians continued, reaching peaks in troubled times and alternating with edicts of toleration. The persecutions were ended in 10313 by the Edict of Milan, of the joint emperors Licinius and Constantine.

(I do not have, as yet, a canonical list of the Church Fathers, or any formal definition of the Patristic period. Smith gives a list of "Patristic literature", p. x, digested here in the appropriate sections, that runs from the Apostolic Fathers to Post-Nicene Fathers.) The following are listed as "Greek Apologists" and "Latin Apologists and Fathers":

--10165	Justin Martyr
--10200	Irenaeus
~10150--~215	Clement of Alexandria
~10160--225	Tertullian
~10185--254	Origen (began N.T. textual investigations)
~10260--340	Eusebius

Also Aristides, Athenagoras, Minucius Felix, Arnobius, Lactantius, Cyprian, Hippolytus.

## ?10100s–600s The early Slavs

The area of modern European Russia was dominated from the 9500s successively by Cimmerians, Scyths, and Alans, and from the 10100s by the Goths, who brought larger-scale organization. The origin of Kiev, on an important north–south water route at the border between taiga and steppe, probably dates from the Gothic period. The Goths were expelled or subjugated by the Huns in the 10300s. The Huns were superseded by the Avars in the 10500s, and later by the Magyars. The Finns were a presence in the north from the earliest historical times.

Before the Dark Ages, the Slavs had little organization, and that ephemeral, beyond clan, tribe, and family. They were unable to keep out better-organized invaders. They typically held land in common. The region of their earliest habitation is not known; it was probably within the area of Ukraine, Carpathians, and lower Danube; they very likely shifted back and forth over time. [Their spread to central Europe and northern Russia seems to have begun in the early Dark Ages or the preceding century or two.]

According to *EB11* s.v. Germany, p. 831, the invasion of the Huns (mcv: 10360s–453: beginning of westward expansion – death of Attila) "was soon followed by a great westward movement of the Slavs".

Only a few documents relate events in Russia before 11000. Kirchner cites a "Nestor Chronicle", "the first Russian historical work, dating from the 11000s". Other "chronicles" existed. An excerpt from the 12th-century Laurentian Chronicle, dealing with the early history of the Slavs, is published in Bannan (xeroxed); it

states that "Over a long period the Slavs settled beside the Danube, where the Hungarian and Bulgarian lands now lie. From among these Slavs, parties were scattered throughout the country, and were known by appropriate names, according to the places where they settled." The account provides few indications of date, but gives the names and locations of many groups, from the Czechs and Moravians to the people of Novgorod (referred to twice as "Slavs", *simpliciter*), and a bit about the migrations and history of a few. Their common language was called "Slavic". A trade route connecting the "Varangians" and the "Greeks" is described, as are legends connected with the founding of Kiev in the country of the Polyanians, of whom it is said that at first they "lived apart and governed their families . . . each one lived with his gens on his own land, ruling over his kinsfolk". Later, the "gens" of the legendary founders of Kiev is said to have become supreme among the Polyanians; other such "principalities" are noted, including those of Novgorod and Smolensk. Standing out in the absence of detail on customs is a full account of the sauna practiced by the people of Novgorod, which astonished St. Andrew, said to have traveled through the country of the Slavs. The chronicle describes the successive incursions of the Bulgars, the White Ugrians (said to have appeared in the time of Emperor Heraclius [r. 10610–41], "warring on Chosroes, king of Persia"; they are described as "inheriting the country of the Slavs", presumably from the Bulgars), the Avars (appearing at the same time as the White Ugrians), all of whom are described as oppressing the Slavs, and then the Pechenegs, and ("during the time of Oleg", [fl. 10880]) the Magyars.

The importance of geography and climate to Russian history is particularly clear. Rivers were important avenues of communication. The Valdai Hills (<1000 feet) formed an easily portaged watershed between Moscow and Novgorod. The Urals are an ancient, worn-down mountain range like the Appalachians, with an average elevation of 1500 ft. and maximum of 5000 ft. The steppes south of the taiga are windy and have little rain. The soil can be very fertile, but it is often productive only with modern methods. (Cf. the Great Plains.) Ease of invasion also, doubtless, discouraged agriculture. (But the Scyths, nonetheless, exported important quantities of wheat—grown by subject peoples—to the Mediterranean.)

**10138–80 The Antonine Age (891–933 AUC)**

10138–61 Antoninus Pius

10143 Antonine Wall built in Britain

10145/6 Arrian archon of Athens.

10157–8 Operations in Dacia.

10160 Risings in Africa suppressed.

~10160–210 Sextus Empiricus

10161–80 Marcus Aurelius

On his character and achievements, v. Mommsen, *TPOTRE* I.232.

10162–4 Parthia declares war, invades Armenia; Armenia recaptured.

Parthia defeated, destruction of Seleucia and Ctesiphon.

**10165–7 Plague sweeps Europe.**

10169–75 Wars in the north: Pannonia, N. Italy invaded, Germany, Sarmatae.

10173 Revolt in Egypt. (Settled.)

10175 Revolt of governor of Syria. (Settled.)

10178 Unrest among Marcomanni. Marcus goes north.

10180 Death of Marcus.

**fl. 10146--70 Claudius Ptolemy (Ptolemaeus)**

Wrote 146--~170. *Canobic Inscription*, 146/7. *Almagest* (μαθηματικὴ σύνταξις), c. 150. *Planetary Hypotheses*. *Planisphaerium* (geocentric system of spheres, leading to perception of universe as a much smaller, and closed, system, than a heliocentric hypothesis would entail; influenced entire Middle Ages). *Analemma*. *Handy Tables*. A work on the heliacal risings and settings of bright stars, predicting weather. *Geography*. *Astrological Influences* (Tetrabiblos). *Optics*. *Harmonics*.

**~10150 Major eruption of Mt. Witori, on New Britain.**

- 10180–93 Roman Empire: Commodus, Pertinax, Didius** (933–946 AUC)
- 10180–92 Commodus (murdered).  
 10180–85 Romans driven from Antonine and Hadrian’s walls; they regain the latter, which remains the northern boundary of Roman Britain until it is finally abandoned in 383.  
 Pacification of Quadi, Daci, Iazyges, Vandali.  
 10188 Revolt in Germany defeated.
- 10193 Pertinax (important general under Commodus); murdered by Praetorians.  
 10193 Didius Iulianus buys the imperial title at auction from the Praetorians.

**10193–249 Roman Empire: Severus, Elagabalus, Philip the Arab, et al.** (946–1002 AUC)

For the influential Severan sponsorship of of their native Syrian Sun-cult, and related matters, v. Cumont, *AATGAR*, 54ff.

- 10193–211 Septimius Severus. Proclaimed by his soldiers.  
 10193–97 Clodius Albinus. Caesar under Severus, goes into revolt.  
 10193–94 Pescennius Niger. Proclaimed by Syrian legions, defeated by Severus.  
 10205–69/70 Plotinus  
 10205–11 Revolt of Britain; Severus killed in battle against Caledonians.
- 10211–217 Caracalla, son of Severus. Caesar under Severus from '198. Assassinated while campaigning in the East against Persia.  
 10209–12 Geta. [Caesar under Severus], killed by his elder brother Caracalla.  
 10121 Citizenship granted to most free residents of the Empire.
- 10217–18 Macrinus.  
 10218 Diadumenianus.  
 10218–22 Elagabalus or Heliogabalus. Defeats Macrinus. Murdered by Praetorian Guard.  
 10222–35 Severus Alexander. Caesar under Elagabalus.  
 10230 Persians invade Mesopotamia.
- 10235–38 Maximinus.  
 10236 Campaigns against Sarmatians and Dacians.
- 10238 Gordian I.  
 10238 Gordian II.  
 10238 Balbinus.  
 10238 Pupienus.  
 10238–44 Gordian III.  
 10242–4 War with Persia, which is defeated and pushed back across the Euphrates.
- 10244–49 Philip the Arab.  
 10247 1000 AUC

**10200s Advances in angling techniques.**

In this century, in Macedonia, occurred the first known instance of fly fishing, using rods. The rod and reel were probably invented in China about this time. (Hook-and-line fishing, often with poles, was far older—and worldwide—, dating to the beginning of the Neolithic; gorges were used in earlier ages.)

**10200–500 Middle Woodland Period in North America**

(Cf. Woodland Culture, 9500– .)

A people referred to as the Connestee, possibly the ancestors of the Cherokee, lived in North Carolina. They made pottery, and built mounds and large structures on posts.  
 Southern Ohio was inhabited by Indians of the Hopewell Culture. They made pottery.

**10220–589 China divided**

The “Three Kingdoms” period (10220–65); brief reunification (10280–304); and (10317–589) the Six Dynasties of South China and the Sixteen Kingdoms in the north. The Hsiung-nu (Xiongnu) seize north China, beginning in 10304, impelling a southward migration of Han Chinese to the southern Yangzi area. The Northern Wei dynasty (10386–535), Turkic in origin and Buddhist by religion, united North China under its rule.

## ~10250--~800 Kingdom of Aksum

The kingdom of Aksum (modern central Eritrea and northeast Ethiopia). Semitic, per *Britannica*, but if so that element came to be submerged in the native population. Its language was Geez, the first written language of Ethiopia. (Cf. 10350.) The kingdom fell after being in decline for centuries.

## 10250–538 Kofun (Early Yamato) Period in Japan

(Yamato is the collective term for the Kofun and Asuka periods.)

The Japanese word 'kofun' refers to the type of burial mounds characteristic of this period. The earliest, on the Nara plain, date from 10250–350. (The only antecedents were on the mainland.) It is the earliest period known to history, albeit mostly indirectly, via the histories of the Nara period, whose interpretation is most problematic (see below on the Nara). Wikip.: "The Kofun period is divided from the Asuka period by its cultural differences. The Kofun period is characterized by a Shinto culture which existed prior to the introduction of Buddhism.

These mounds, and other artifacts speak to the existence of a more complex and wealthier society—that of the Yamato kingdom or whatever political structure later history identified with the origins of that kingdom. The society continued to develop, and artifacts from the period give evidence of many of its physical aspects, including mounted warriors and their trappings.

Before the time of Ojin (fl. 10400, q.v.), the Yamato kingdom had already extended its rule north and west from Nara. Earlier emperors were also already involved in Korea—at least Chuai, 14th emperor.

½ 10200s      Sujin, first non-legendary (albeit still shadowy) emperor of Japan, 10th in the traditional succession. A solid origin is Ojin, 15th emperor, q.v.

## 10249–84 Roman Empire: Barbarian invasions begin (1002–1037 AUC)

Beginning of barbarian raids and invasions of Roman territory by Germanic peoples, including the Franks and the Goths, who will eventually conquer the Western Empire piecemeal, and later found many of the nations of modern Europe. Later invaders were the Alani, probably pushed by the Huns, and the Huns themselves (see separate entry, 10370).

Organized industrial iron production in Scandinavia reached a peak during the period of the great migrations. Bloomery iron smelting was viable as a cottage industry, as a sideline to farming. (Not sure if latter refers to migration period; v. pp. 119, 122–4.) (Maddin et al., chh. 10, 11.)

10249–51 Decius. (Widespread persecutions of Christians.)

10249 Attacks by Goths.

10251 Decius killed on the Danube fighting the Goths.

10251–53 Trebonianus Gallus.

10252 Goths, Franks, Alemanni invade European provinces, where the cities begin to build walls. Persians invade Mesopotamia.

10251–53 Volusianus.

10253 Aemilianus.

10253–60 Valerian.

10253 Goths raid Asia Minor by sea (again in '56).

10254 Marcomanni in Pannonia; raid Italy as far as Ravenna. Goths ravage Thrace.

10257 Renewed Persian invasion. Valerian is eventually captured.

10258 Alemanni defeated.

10260–68 Gallienus. Son of Valerian.

10267 Goths invade Asia Minor.

10268 Large Gothic forces in Thrace, Greece.

10268–70 Claudius II, Gothicus.

10269 Successes against the Goths.

10270 Palmyrene troops in Alexandria.

10270 Quintillus, brother of Claudius, chosen by the Senate.

10270–75 Aurelian. He consolidates the Empire, recovers Gaul and curbs the Alemanni, builds walls around Rome.

10271 Romans in Dacia withdraw south of the Danube.

10273 Rome destroys Palmyra.

10275–76 Tacitus.

10276 Florianus, brother of Tacitus.

10276–82 Probus.

10277 Gaul saved from Germans and Goths.

10282–83 Carus.

- 10283–85 Carinus, in West, son of Carus.  
 10283–84 Numerianus, in East, son of Carus.
- 10250–900 Classic Maya Period, characterized by hieroglyphics, mathematics, and calendar science.**
- 10284–306 Roman Empire: Division of the Empire; Diocletian and colleagues (1037–1059 AUC)**
- 10284–305 Diocletianus, with Maximianus from 10286. They abdicate.  
 10286–7 Revolt of Carausius (Britain and Gaul).  
 10288 Revolt in Egypt suppressed.  
 10289 Campaigns against Sarmatians (again in '92). Maximian defeated by Carausius.
- 10285 First division of Roman Empire into Eastern and Western Empires. The Emperor of the East is generally at least nominally superior to the Emperor of the West. Both halves of the empire will later be united for brief periods, under Constantine and then Theodosius. The final division will take place in 10394. The division reflects the difficulty of governing a state as large and complex as the Roman Empire—and also of defending it, against external invaders and the usurpers who cropped up regularly in the late Empire. It also reflects the great and growing differences between the eastern and western halves of the empire. Latin language and culture dominate in the western half of the empire, Greek language and culture dominate in the east, whose inhabitants often refer to themselves as Ῥωμαῖοι (Norwich, *Venice*, p. 22). The east is wealthier, more advanced, more thickly populated, and its civilizations are older. The west is more threatened by the barbarian invasions. The Eastern Empire will become known as the Byzantine Empire or Byzantium, and will endure until 11453.
- 10293–306 Constantius I. Caesar in the West. Augustus from '305.
- 10293–311 Galerius. Caesar in the East. Augustus from '305.  
 10293 Carausius loses Boulogne to Constantius, is killed by his minister Allectus, who continues to hold Britain.  
 10296 Constantius recovers Britain.  
 10297 Galerius wars against Persia.  
 10303–13 Persecution of Christians.
- 10305 Abdication of Diocletianus and Maximianus.

## ~10300–11000 Austronesian (Malayo-Polynesian) speakers complete settlement of Polynesia

from ~1500 BCE In the Marquesas possibly as early as 9800, certainly by 10300. Hawaii is settled possibly ~10300, certainly between 10500 and 11000. Hawaii is settled from the Marquesas and later from the Societies. Easter Island may have been settled as early as 10400. The Society Islands are settled by 10900. New Zealand is settled from the Societies or the Marquesas by 11000. (The Maori have traditions, including genealogies, that go back to the settlement.)

New Zealand was already inhabited by Melanesians. Though the islands are far closer to the origins of settlers than is much of Polynesia, they are more difficult to sail to, which accounts for their late settlement and the fact that later contact with nearby inhabited areas was limited.

## early 10300s Three Kingdoms in Korea

Chinese control of Korea, established by the Han, collapses. Three Korean kingdoms arise and struggle for power. Japan intervenes.

## 10306–63 Roman Empire: House of Constantine (1059–1116 AUC)

10306–37 Constantine I. Son of Constantius I, with expectations of succeeding him as co-emperor. Proclaimed on the latter's death. Contest with Maximian and his son Maxentius (~312); Constantine marries daughter of Maximian.

Constantinople becomes imperial seat in 10330 (preparing since 10324).

10308–24 Licinius

10311 Constantine [sole ruler].

10312, Constantine converts to Christianity (other histories say he converted on his deathbed; note [in early Christianity baptism was not the first stage of adherence]).

10313 Edict of Milan, by Licinius and Constantine, gives equal rights to all religions, ending the status of Christians as outsiders. Constantine's adherence enhanced Christianity's prestige, and opened public life to Christians. The new foundation of Constantinople "as a Christian city" (*Britannica*) reinforced the idea of a new Christian era. (See also separate entry on Christianity for this period.)

10313 Constantine repels Germans and Franks on the Rhine.

10314 Partition of Empire between Constantine and Licinius.

10324 War between Constantine and Licinius. Death of Licinius.

~10325--95 Ammianus Marcellinus

10325 Council of Nicaea. Constantine "virtually presided over" the Council. The Council condemned Arianism (v. supra), affirming the identity of Father and Son.

10330 Foundation of Constantinople by Constantine the Great, who moves the capital of the Empire there. The ancient city of Byzantium already existed on the site, and that name continued to be used, along with Constantinople, for the new capital and its empire. (The official name of Constantine's city was at first New Rome.) Constantine was a general who had risen, through military service and wars with rival generals, to dominate both Eastern and Western Empires. He converted to Christianity in 10313, the first emperor to do so, and gave Christianity equal rights with paganism. His motives were very likely political, aimed at gaining the support of the Christians in his struggle with his rivals.

[Byzantium a continuation of Greek civilization as much as that of Rome. Continuity: Classical Greece—Alexander & successors—Roman Greece (& Grecian Rome)—Byzantium.]

On the nature of the later Byzantine Empire, Montesquieu, *Grandeur et décadence*, is illuminating: Commerce, modo Venetiarum, was its great strength. Religious mania, a continuation of the frivolous quarrelsomeness of the Greeks, its great weakness in combination with superstition that made the church, and particularly the monks, equipotent with the state (the movement against icons, the chief fetish of superstition manipulated for gain by the priests, was a sort of reformation movement), and geography and external geopolitics its accidental support.

Survives through Dark Ages. Remained an important power, and with its fall (and even before), the refugees bring with them to the West of the Renaissance some elements of their ancient heritage that had survived nowhere else.

On the death of Constantinus, the Empire is divided between his three sons.

10337–340 Constantinus II (West); defeated by Constans in 10340.

10337–350 Constans, rules West from 10340, murdered by the revolting Magnentius, 10350.

10337–361 Constantius II (East); rules entire Empire from 10351/2, when he defeats Magnentius.

10357 Iulianus defeats Alemanni near Argentoratum.

10359 War with Persia, which gains by the final treaty.

10360–63 Iulianus. 10331/2–63)

### 10313–476 Christianity becomes the establishment

The Edict of Milan, by Licinius and Constantine, ended the status of Christians as outsiders. Constantine's adherence enhanced Christianity's prestige, and opened public life to Christians. The new foundation of Constantinople "as a Christian city" (*Britannica*) reinforced the idea of a new Christian era.

10325 Council of Nicaea. Constantine "virtually presided over" the Council. The Council condemned Arianism (v. supra), affirming the identity of Father and Son.

Theodosius I (r 10379–95) began suppressing some pagan temples, and officially promoting Christianity. Bishops began to be aulic figures. But pagans were largely left alone until the time of Justinian (r. 10527–65). Heretics were vigorously persecuted. Heresies such as Donatism, Pelagianism, Arianism, and Monophysitism were major issues in Christianity. (Augustine, despairing of the use of reason (!), came around to the idea that coercion had its place.—*Britannica*) Monophysitism was the teaching of Nestorius, patriarch of Constantinople, according to which the incarnate Jesus was not the same person as the divine Word, and therefore not properly divine.

The development of Christian institutions and material culture (notably liturgical music) continues. (CR R&W, 34.)

### 10300s Knowledge of hieroglyphics is lost with the Christianization of Egypt.

Greek and Latin Post-Nicene Fathers:

10340?–97 Ambrose (bp. 10374–97)

~10340–10420 Jerome

~10347–407 John Chrysostom

10354–430 Augustine

Leo the Great, Vincent, Prudentius, Athanasius, Eusebius, Basil, Gregory of Nazianzen, Gregory of Nyssa, Cyril of Alexandria, Cyril of Jerusalem, John Damascene.

10366–84 Papacy of Damasus. (Jerome was his secretary.) Cameron, *Last Pagans of Rome* 350: "Damasus has already appeared in these pages as the author of *C[armen ]C[ontra ]P[aganos]*" (according to Cameron, a poor and stereotyped invective, directly inspired by Jerome and written in D's limited style.) "Damasus's greatest achievement was what has been called **the Invention of Christian Rome**. During the eighteen years of his papacy he discovered and adorned the tombs of scores of martyrs in and (especially) around Rome, and inscribed their tombs with often-substantial elogia in his own classicizing hexameters, magnificently carved by Furius Dionysius Filocalus, the greatest calligrapher of the age. After Damasus, Rome could lay claim to a glorious Christian past that in its own way was as extensive and tangible as its pagan past. These verses, if neither genuinely learned nor subtle, were steeped in Vergilian echoes. While it would go too far to suggest that they made conversion more acceptable to pagan nobles [why not?—mcv], they did at any rate give Rome's Christian past a distinctively Roman, classical color."

~10370 The Roman church switches from Greek to Latin for liturgy.

10381 Council of Constantinople. Further measures against Arianism. Declared the see of Constantinople to be second in importance only to that of Rome, antagonizing Alexandria, traditionally second, and Rome, jealous of a rising power.

**Monasticism** emerged in the 10300s (raising the issue of the subordination of monastic establishments to the bishops). Benedict of Nursia lived ~10480–~547.

10402–17 Papacy of Innocent; he maintains the supremacy of the Papacy over the entire Church.

10431 Council of Ephesus. Condemned Monophysitism (v. supra), affirming "one nature of the Word incarnate".

10432 Saint Patrick arrives in Ireland.

10440–61 Papacy of Leo I. Supported by Valentinian III, he asserts Papal supremacy.

10451 Council of Chalcedon. Further condemned Monophysitism, affirming Christ to be two natures in one person.

Monophysitism, the belief of important communities in the east, remained an issue within the Church for several more centuries, until mooted by schism. Conciliatory moves made by Byzantium alienated Rome. The creed of Chalcedon is rejected (to this day) by the Coptic church and churches in Armenia, Ethiopia, and Syria.

### 10320--10700 "Classical Age" of India

The Gupta Empire (10320–550) and the reign of Harsha Vardhana (10606–47). New popular forms of Hinduism emerge. Literature included the works of Kalidasa, and much great art was created. There was extensive trade with the West, China, and Southeast Asia. Hindu culture expanded into Southeast Asia. The six schools of

classical Hindu philosophy developed: Yoga, Samkhya, Nyaya (logic), Vaishesika ("atomic", but not exclusively materialistic), Purva-Mimamsa (Vedic fundamentalism), and Vedanta (derived more from the Upanishads than from the Vedas; this was Hinduism's most influential philosophical system). Varieties of these philosophy-religions eventually came to dominance at the expense of Buddhism and Jainism [?and of the earlier Vedic religion—MCV]. (Wolpert, pp. 88ff.)

**~10340–50    Goths converted to Arianism by Ulfilas**

Unwarlike passages of the bible were omitted in Ulfilas' translation.

**~10350--~10550    "Unparalleled" wave of major earthquakes strikes Anatolia**

All major cities are affected. (*NG* 7/00, p. 65.)

**~10350    Aksum and Kush**

King Ezana of Aksum converted to Christianity in the 10300s making Aksum one of the first Christian states in the world. Under Ezana, Meroë and Kush are destroyed and superseded by Aksum.

According to Britannica, a "culture inherited from Cush" survived, however, its cohesiveness aided by Nubia's adoption of Christianity in the 10400s, to disappear in the 11300s. Perhaps (mcv) it survived merged with the culture of Aksum, whose ancient Christian tradition survives to this day. (*NG* 7/2001.) Ethiopian Christianity has many echoes of Judaism, including a tradition that the Ark of the Covenant was and is preserved in the town of Aksum, now a small agricultural village, where it is guarded by a priest who alone is permitted to see it. Geez, the language of Aksum, remains the liturgical tongue

**10363–408    Roman Empire: Huns (see detail below), Visigoths, Alaric (1116–1161 AUC)**

On the later stages of paganism and the noble families in which it was preserved at the level of high culture, v. R&W pp. 33ff, 45, 75, 219.

10363–64    Jovian. Loses Mesopotamia to Persia.

10364–75    Valentinian I (West).

10364–78    Valens (East), brother of Valentinian.

10367    Saxons, Picts, Scots attack Britain, quelled by Theodosius.

10375–83    Gratian (West), son of Valentinian. (Augustus from '67)

10375–92    Valentinian II (West).

10376    Huns drive Visigoths across the Danube.

10378    Valens defeated and killed by Visigoths at Hadrianople.

10378–95    Theodosius I (The Great).

~10382    Visigoths settled in Moesia.

10382    Altar of Victory removed from the Senate house.

10383    Maximus revolts in Britain. The bulk of the legions are withdrawn from Britain; Hadrian's Wall is abandoned.

10391    Edicts against paganism. (Theodosius also combats Arianism.) Destruction of the Serapeum. In 10390, Theodosius does public penance before Ambrose of Milan for a massacre.

10388    Maximus is defeated and killed by Theodosius.

10392–4    Revolt of Arbogast. Valentinian II murdered, Empire briefly reunited under Theodosius.

10395    On the death of Theodosius in the Empire is again divided.

Visigoths revolt under Alaric.

10383–408    Arcadius (East from 10395).

10394–423    Honorius (West from 10395).

10396    Stilicho defeats Alaric in Greece.

10406    Barbarian invasion of Gaul.

10407    Rome evacuates Britain.

**10363–455 et seq.    Huns in Europe**

**EARLY HISTORY; HISTORIOGRAPHY**

Recent historians tend to treat the name "Hun" as referring to ruling groups within agglomerations, as opposed to the picture of a large, more-or-less ethnically distinct people. (De Guignes himself had focussed more on political entities than ethnoi.)

The early invaders of Rome include the Huns, whose ancestors/predecessors/connections had probably, a few centuries before, similarly harassed China, which called them the Hsiung-Nu. The Huns were mainly an Asian group, that

incorporated Slavic and Germanic peoples as the Huns moved westward. Originally they were Turkic and/or Mongolian, though it is highly likely that they were one of the conglomerations typical of the steppes in all periods, in which the continuity of name and culture with earlier peoples/confederations is only partial. (The above reflects my own conclusions from what I have read. A discussion of the historiography follows.)

The identification of the Huns with the Hsiung-Nu, a hypothesis which dates from De Guignes in the 1700s, has been debated ever since. The Hsiung Nu had left Mongolia several centuries before the Huns appeared in the West. Barring additional knowledge (perhaps from archaeological studies), it seems like the final word on this question is that there's no data beyond the similarity of name and the chronological sequence; the value of archaeological evidence is lessened by the flux of steppe history and the general similarity of steppe material culture.

From what little I know of it, the dissent since the mid- or late 1900s sounds like largely a matter of hairsplitting and ideology, on a pattern familiar elsewhere. There is definite evidence, beyond the coincidence of names, for some continuity between the Huns and the Hsiung-Nu, in addition to the general plausibility of the hypothesis, especially under steppe conditions. (The Huns apparently had their own language, but linguistic evidence is too scanty to warrant any conclusions.) There are said also to be compelling arguments (e.g., in Maenchen-Helfer) against continuity, but I do not know whether these arguments bear against any informed and nuanced notion of continuity, or against anything but a straw man concocted by the anti-essentialists. It looks like the typical dissenters are probably branding any notion of continuity in any degree as simplistic "essentialism", exaggerating the importance of genuine critiques of simplistic racial notions as to ethnic unity generally and ethnic unity in the steppes in particular. Therefore, a point seems to be made of refusing to acknowledge, even as a live hypothesis, any connection at all, in any degree, between Huns and Hsiung-Nu. A real taboo seems to be present in public discussions: the Hsiung-Nu hypothesis may be mentioned as exploded or controversial, but deniability must be preserved as to the possibility that the writer might be taking the hypothesis seriously. The real evidence for it may be mentioned in a suitably reticent tone or a context that excludes it from the present debate.

Hunnoi mentioned by Tacitus ("91 A.D.": Germania?) as being near the Caspian. By about 150 they were in the Caucasus.

Huns described by Ammianus, ~395 (not on the basis of first-hand knowledge). ~412: Olympiodorus of Egyptian Thebes on an embassy to the Huns, of which he left a written account, mostly lost, though later historians, including Sozomen and Zosimus, drew on him in surviving works. (Zosimus also drew on the notoriously unreliable Enapius. Thompson: "Of Eunapius himself we need say nothing here: would that we could avoid him throughout.") The Byzantine History of Priscus, published "soon after 10476", gives a detailed account of the Huns, centered on Priscus' embassy to the Huns. Priscus was hostile to the Emperor Theodosius II; the historian favored a resolute stance as regards the Huns, which was not the (arguable successful) approach of Theodosius and his ministers. (Historians in succeeding centuries, including Jordanes, are very largely dependent on Priscus for their material on the Huns. They also disliked Theodosius II, and his powerful minister, the eunuch Chrysapius, because he adopted heretical religious positions—and because he compelled the Church, along with the Senatorial class, to contribute to meet the exactions of the Huns.) Priscus is unreliable, sometimes flagrantly mistaken, on the Huns.

Ammianus first places the Huns north or northeast of the Azov. No writer of this era knew more than this, of their origins or the motivations for their movements. (The identification of the Huns with Ptolemy's Chounoi, living north of the Pontus, is unlikely.) Later writers added only myth. It was Orosius who accounted for them as a punishment sent by Yahweh. John Tzetzes, in the 11100s, had the Huns fighting under Achilles at Troy.

Gibbon on the Huns: *Wom.* II.294f. His portrait of Attila (p. 296) is famous.

Main source: Thompson, E.A. *The Huns*; revised and with an afterword by Peter Heather. (Series: Peoples of Europe). Oxford: Blackwell, 1996. (Original edition: *A History of Attila and the Huns*, 1948.) RD: D141.T5 2000. Judging from Heather's afterword, the updating does not sound like it is as complete as could be desired, given the new scholarship, and newly accessible Eastern European scholarship, that has appeared since 1948. Thomson was aware of these advances, would have taken them into account, and provided many notes to that effect, but he died before the revision was far along, and Heather has not been bold or, it seems, very industrious, in doing even what Thomson would have wanted done. Thompson owes much in tone and content to Gibbon. (Based on cpsn with the first part of Gibbon's chapter on the Huns.) Thompson's own orientation is Marxist.

#### HUN SOCIETY AND MILITARY ORGANIZATION

The Huns had a distinctive language, which almost no-one in Rome ever learned. (Translation was provided by Goths, who were closely associated with the Huns.) Per Thompson, almost no examples survive, so its affiliations cannot be deduced.

The Huns' social organization before the time of the incursion into the west seems much like that, very simple, of the plains Indians in North America before the European invasion. They lived in small dispersed bands—the land could support no larger groups—and had no regular government. Chiefs of bands, or of confederacies of tribes, appeared only in time of war, and subject to the assent of their followers. Barring plunder on a large enough scale, there was no material support for anything beyond the individual trying to feed himself and his family, in association with a small band or ephemeral larger confederation for the purpose of plunder. Rich plunder enabled chiefs to retain and attract followers for

successive campaigns. Regular tribute made for more continuity. (mcv: It was probably a continuation of smaller-scale extortion practiced by small bands upon sedentary neighbors.) There was no continuity between the ephemeral confederacies that surface from time to time from the darkness of the historical record.

Tribal names were often derived from real or legendary leaders. New tribes and clans continually arose, and old ones dissolved.

The Huns' relationship with agricultural societies at the edge of the steppes was determined by the fact that the steppe by itself provided inadequate sustenance for the nomads—they existed on the edge of starvation, and had to buy or rob from the agriculturists. (V.q. Gibbon, *Wom.* II.303–4.) Having no wood or metals, they were also totally dependent on settled communities for any weapons not made of horn or bone. Luxury items, too, were essential to the social organization of the Hun ruling class. In trade, the Huns could offer “horses, meat, furs, and slaves”. Trade with the Huns may have been of considerable importance to the Romans, especially in the East.

“There is no indication in our sources that in the days of Attila the Huns still drove flocks and herds from summer to winter pastures an back again. They had now learned the more profitable business of herding men.” They had become “a parasitic community of marauders.”

As the Huns began to be known to the West there was an increase in concentration of power, as the plunder accumulated and agricultural populations (Ostrogoths) of the newly occupied Ukraine were kept under tribute (to the east, whence the Huns had come, there was no agricultural surplus) and the lure of plunder kept the whole people in a permanent state of war, under war leaders. Produce, principally grain, from the agricultural subjects was essential to the growth of the Hun power structure. These subjects were regarded as chattel slaves. They were systematically augmented by large numbers of prisoners set to work on the land. Their kings, who led subject military forces, were inferior in status to the lieutenants of the Hun kings. The Germanic kings nonetheless had a strong guarantee of their own rule as long as Hun power and favor lasted.

There was, says Thompson, no institution of joint rule over the same jurisdiction: where two kings are mentioned (e.g., Rua and Octar, Attila and Bleda), it looks like they ruled in different territories, though they appear to have acted in concert in military matters; at any rate, says Thompson, “Attila and Bleda ... seem never to have undertaken separate campaigns.” Nonetheless, the Huns fragmented after the partition between Attila's sons.

The inheritance of rule that is seen in the family of Rua is an innovation, showing that the rulers no “derive their authority not from military prowess, which cannot be inherited, but from wealth, which can.” Attila, unlike primitive Hun leaders, is an absolute autocrat, regarded as a god. Even his lieutenants, commanding subordinate forces and territories, are firmly subordinated. (T attributes to Attila as an innovation the replacement, at the highest levels of power, of tribal chiefs with lieutenants who had no power base but the favor of Attila.)

Thompson doubts the six-digit figures given for Hun forces. He doubts that even Attila knew, even approximately, how large a force was at his disposal, and believes that large confederacies were ephemeral (and likely drawn together by the success of a smaller group that promised large-scale booty), the typical large force was at most about 6000 and more typically about 1000, the likely muster of a single tribe. The advantage of the Huns lay in their toughness, speed, and mobility, all remaining beyond anything the Romans, or the Germans, ever learned to anticipate; in their total unity with their mounts (they lived on horseback and were said to have difficulty walking); their skilled archery with their uniquely powerful bows (swords were optional and metal scarce; after bows—with bone-tipped arrows—the typical weapon was the lasso); their typical steppe strategy, which left them always able to escape the retaliation of a settled people (T cites Herodotus on the Scyths, 4.46.3), while their enemies could not occupy and hold the nomads bases, for the nomads had none; and above all in their utter schrecklichkeit, which dominated the impression they made on every other people.

According to Thompson, an important additional advantage was the abject and oppressed condition of most of the population of Rome, which might regard even the Huns as a better alternative (or at least, mcv, as the only available revenge, or as a force to be played off against their oppressors at home; the Huns regarded their subjects as chattel slaves). (Note p. 205-6, Priscus' Greek merchant who was better off among the Huns.) (Cf. Gibbon, *Wom.* II.307.) Betrayals of strong places to the Huns were not unknown. “Attila, it has been said, was only the Scourge of God for the Roman priests and administrators interested in keeping the nations under the domination of Rome.” (P.45, citing one Saffet; T's bibliography is unhelpful.) However (229), the Huns did not make a program of exploiting this: they were hardy class warriors.

The Huns also had their value to certain elements in both Roman empires, as allies to be played off against other threats, and because the Hun empire enabled an important trade to develop with the north, and perhaps (mcv) eastern Asia. Doubtless much of the tribute paid to the Huns came back in trade

A major weakness, in addition to their dependence on other peoples for food and other essentials, was dispersion of their forces from N Europe to the Caucasus, and the small number of the Huns in proportion to that of subject peoples. It was this that necessitated the retention of kings of subject peoples. Finally, gifts were the foundation of a Hun ruler's power. As more plunder circulated through the force of the Huns, more was demanded at each level to maintain the distinctions of esteem and appearance over those in lower levels, and the loyalty of more followers had to be bought with more gifts in order to keep up the flow. Eventually a point was reached where the system could not sustain itself. In addition, as the Huns became dependent on subject agricultural peoples, they sacrificed the steppe advantage of having no fixed base.

- 10363–64 Jovian. Loses Mesopotamia to Persia.
- 10363 Jovian signs a treaty with Sapor of Persia, promising to aid the Persians in fortifying the passes of the Caucasus against invaders from the north previously unknown to both nations. Per Thompson, these are not the Huns of Attila et al., but the “Black Huns”.
- 10360s Hunnic expansion westward begins. The Alans, east of the Don, are subjugated by the Huns, with great slaughter. Soon after 370, the Huns begin their assault on the Ostrogoths, whose land was bounded by the Dniester and the Don, the Black Sea and the Pripet Marshes. According to *EB11* s.v. Germany, p. 831, the invasion of the Huns “was soon followed by a great westward movement of the Slavs”.
- 10364–75 Valentinian I (West).
- 10364–78 Valens (East), brother of Valentinian.  
10367 Saxons, Picts, Scots attack Britain, quelled by Theodosius.
- 10375–83 Gratian (West), son of Valentinian. (Augustus from '67)
- 10375–92 Valentinian II (West).
- 10378 Valens defeated and killed by Visigoths at Hadrianople.
- 10378–95 Theodosius I (The Great). (Decisive moves against paganism.)
- ~10376 Ostrogothic kingdom of Ermanarich falls to the Huns. The Goths are soon forced westward beyond the Dniester. The Huns then confront the Visigoths, established west of the Dniester. These too are crushed, and refugees begin to stream across the Danube in 376. At first panned in by the Romans, they called on the Huns for aid, with promises of rich plunder, and defeated the Emperor Valens at Adrianople in 10378. The Huns take part in the devastation of the northern Balkan peninsula in following years, and probably overrun Pannonia. A few years later, a Hunnish band approaches Gaul. In hostilities with the Huns, there are typically Huns fighting on both sides, and Hun mercenaries were a presence in the private guards of prominent figures such as Stilicho.
- 10379 Accession of Theodosius. Some victories over the invaders.
- ~10382 Visigoths settled in Moesia.
- 10383 Maximus revolts in Britain. The bulk of the legions are withdrawn from Britain; Hadrian's Wall is abandoned.  
10388 Maximus is defeated and killed by Theodosius.
- 10388 Theodosius, with Hunnic cavalry performing decisive actions in his service, defeats Maximus. At about this time, while Valentinian II was defeating a group of Huns approaching Roman Gaul, other Huns helped Rome against the Iuthungi in Rhaetia.
- 10392–4 Revolt of Arbogast. Valentinian II murdered, Empire briefly reunited under Theodosius.
- 10395 On the death of Theodosius in the Empire is again divided.  
Visigoths revolt under Alaric.
- 10395 First large-scale invasion of the Roman Empire by the Huns, who crossed the frozen Danube. Theodosius is barely able to check them.
- ??<=10398 While Roman armies are occupied in the West, Huns invade the Empire across the Caucasus, devastating Armenia, eastern Anatolia, and Syria, approaching the Halys and Antioch. Eutropius checks them in 10398.
- 10400 The German rebel Gainas, repelled by local resistance in Thrace and the Imperial fleet from entering Asia Minor, is defeated and killed by Uldin, acting on his own account. He wanted no rivals in the area, and demanded and got presents from Constantinople for the service, with an alliance (involving tribute to Uldin) concluded in 401.
- 10405 Huns strike through Central Europe, driving the horde of Radagaisus into Italy, and the Vandals, Suebi, and Alani across the Rhine (December 406), breaching that frontier for ever. Radagaisus is defeated by Stilicho, with the aid of Goths and of some of Uldin's Huns, who fought in the decisive battle at Faesulae. Rome wants the Huns as allies against the Germanic tribes, and among the hostages sent to the Huns as sureties is Aetius, later captain of the West.
- 10408 Murder of Stilicho. Alaric invades Italy.
- 10408 (veri) Uldin, “the first Hun whom we know by name”, crosses the Danube and overruns Thrace. He would accept no offer to be bought out by Rome, so Rome bought off his chief followers, and he lost his support and had to flee back across the Danube. The Emperor, and his praetorian prefect Anthemius, strengthened the Danube fleet, guarded the border minutely, and constructed the great Theodosian walls on the land side of Constantinople.
- 10409 (veri) The Huns aid Rome significantly (to the tune of 10,000 men) in Italy against Alaric (who also had Huns in his troops).
- 10409 Spain invaded by Vandals, Alans, Suevi.
- 10410 Goths under Alaric capture and sack Rome; Alaric dies; Honorius tells Britain it's on its own.
- 10412 Embassy of Olympius to the Hun king “Donatus”. They treacherously encompass the murder of Donatus, and manage to buy peace with his successor Charato.
- 10413 Burgundians settled on the left bank of the middle Rhine, as foederati. (Others remained on the right bank, where they were under attack by the Huns, probably under Octar.

- ~10415–20 Unsuccessful Hun raid on Persia, as reported to Priscus in 10449 by a Roman living in Attila's camp.
- 10422 Roman war with Persia since 420 weakens Rome's northern defenses, and the Huns invade Thrace again. Thompson says that "we have no details and know nothing of how they were expelled." No further hostilities are known until the appearance of Rua.
- 10425 Aetius, in the service of the [Western] usurper John, brings back an army of Huns to fight the Eastern Empire, which he checks in a battle shortly after the death of John. Aetius manages to send the Hun army back.
- early 420s Rua (the name is very variously spelled, e.g., Rugilas), with his brother Octar, comes to the military leadership of "the last and greatest of the Hun confederacies". Another brother, Mundiuch, not ruling (on 230, however, T says he probably shared power), was the father of Attila and Bleda. Nothing is known of their antecedents or earlier careers. Octar is dead by 432, when Rua first appears in the historical record.
- 10429– Vandals invade and conquer western north Africa.
- 10430 Huns attacking the Burgundians east of the Rhine are defeated when their ruler, Octar, dies. (Probable interpretation of a story reported by one Socrates, an ecclesiastical historian.)  
About this time, Rua makes a treaty by which The Eastern Empire entitling him to 350 lbs of gold a year in tribute.
- 10432 Aetius, defeated by Boniface, Count of Africa and magister militum, flees to Rua's Huns, and surrenders to them the Province of Pannonia Prima (which could not have held out much longer anyway), presumably as the price of the Hun aid with which he then re-establishes himself in Italy, against Sebastian and the Empress Placidia, and later in Gaul, where, with Hun help, he withstands the Burgundians.
- 10434 Rua demands the return of some refugees, perhaps Hunnic tribes who refused to acknowledge Rua's overlordship, threatening war on Byzantium if not satisfied (early 434). Byzantium's military is still diverted to Africa by the invasion of the Vandals in 429. Beginning of the period covered by the history of Priscus.  
Rua dies "on the eve of the campaigning season". His death was widely celebrated in the East as an act of God, which created some problems of theodicy for those who saw the reign of Attila.  
*Accession of Attila and Bleda* (the eldest of the two), nephews of Rua. The brothers receive the embassy from Theodosius II sent to respond to Rua's demands; a treaty humiliating to Rome is agreed at Margus in 435; it includes doubling the tribute in gold, and the return of Romans who had escaped from the Huns. (These treaties typically stipulate a fee per head for ransoming Roman prisoners.) Theodosius probably never meant to keep all the terms of the agreement, did not return any whole tribes that were of military value to him, and apparently did not pay the tribute. Nothing more is known of Attila until 439. A passage in Priscus suggests that he was occupied in extending his power to the east. Priscus also states that Attila's rule extended to the "islands in the Ocean", thought most likely to refer to tribute from Baltic islands. There remained, however, independent Huns to the east [until 448]. Nothing specific is known of any geographic division of power between Attila and Bleda. The Huns sent by Rua continue to serve Rome in Gaul, and Rome's northern frontier appears to have been at peace.
- 10435 Burgundians attack Upper Belgica; are defeated by Aetius.
- 10435 The Bagaudae in NW France (Garonne to Orleans to Normandy), "peasants, slaves, and brigands", declare themselves independent of the Empire. They are a major threat, but are defeated by Litorius (lieutenant of Aetius), with Hun aid, in 437.
- [437]–39 In this period, Aetius, with Hun aid, fights against the Visigoths under Theodoric I in S. France, relieving Narbonne in 437, and, under Litorius besieging Theodoric's capital Toulouse in 439. There they are routed. Aetius strikes back, draws a battle, and Avitus arranges a peace. (Aetius receives no further troops from Attila after this.) The Visigoths and Bagaudae continue to trouble the West.
- 10437 Huns attack the Burgundians on the left bank of the Rhine, slaughtering many; the survivors are settled in the Savoy in 443.
- 10439 Theodosius completes the fortifications of Constantinople with walls on the seaward side. (Sea-raiding Vandals allied to the Huns were a possibility.) Carthage falls to the Vandals on Oct. 19th; Italy arms for defense.
- 10440 Theodosius sends a great fleet to the aid of the Western Empire; the Vandals were no less of a threat to the East than they were to the West. Vandals had raided Rhodes, and there were fears they would attack Egypt.  
Persia attacks Rome; they retire due to threats from the Ephthalite Huns to their east, but presumably diverted a large Roman force.
- 10441 (Veri not begun in 440; Thompson not clear.) The Huns cross the Danube into Roman territory, destroying the city of Viminacium. A hoard of 100,000 coins was buried by the Romans, for the later enjoyment of archaeologists. (Enflamed by the gold, renegade archaeologists devastated the district in scenes of plunder and debauchery, and their colleagues from around the world flocked to join the heirs of Attila.) The Bishop of Margus (on the R. Margus = Morava, in upper Moesia) had given the Huns a pretext (in addition to Rome's violation of the treaty, not that the Huns couldn't find pretexts if none were handed to them) by plundering Hunnic tombs on the east side of the Danube. The Huns demanded his surrender, and in fear of being handed over, he deserted to the Huns and promised to deliver the city to them; he did, and the city was destroyed, never to be

- rebuilt. Constantia was taken, Singidium (Belgrade) and Sirmium razed. There is no organized military resistance from Rome.
- 10442 A truce is arranged, and the Huns remain quiet (as Huns go) for the year. Theodosius prepares for war. The fleet returns from North Africa, having achieved nothing there except to oppress Sicily, which was not in enemy hands.
- 10443 Attila renews his demands, which are not met. He moves eastward along the Danube, destroying Ratiaria, provincial capital and base of the Danube fleet. Turning inland he takes other important cities, including Sardica (Sofia) and then Philippopolis. Attila then pens up the responding Roman forces in the Chersonesus and destroys them there. Theodosius seeks terms, and agrees (in August) to triple the tribute, pay all arrears, receive no refugees from the Huns, etc. Persian forces, withdrawn in 440, remain massed on the frontier. Various lesser threats in the east divert some troops.
- 10444 Theodosius attempts to repair the frontier. Attila makes no incursion, contenting himself with sending his friends on embassies to Rome so that they may collect the customary rich gifts.
- 10445 Attila murders Bleda. (Variously dated 444–446; Thompson is sure of 445.) Nothing is known of the background. Attila may have spent this year and the next north of the Pontus; there are no aggressions against Rome.
- 10447 Attila invades the Eastern Empire, along with subject peoples including the Goths and Gepids. There is no information on the background for this. No military distractions are known, but the years 445 and 446 in the Eastern Empire were marked by plague, exceptionally harsh winters, famine, and Circus riots in the capital, and unprecedented earthquakes occurred in 447 before the invasion was launched. The attack comes through “Lower Scythia and Moesia”, bypassing the previous invasion routes to the west, where the border had since been strengthened. The earthquake threw down some of the wall of Constantinople, but this was speedily repaired by the populace (“led by the Circus parties” and the praetorian prefect), and a new wall was also built in front of it, so that the city was now triple-walled. The Romans lost the first major battle, but inflicted such damage that they may have crippled the power of the Huns, for this was “the last of Attila’s victories over the Romans.” The Huns nevertheless devastate Illyricum, Thrace, Dacia, Moesia, and Scythia, and are stopped in Greece at Thermopylae. “Nothing is known of the further course of this invasion.”
- 1044[7/8] Attila active against an important nomadic people, the Alcatziri (probably Turkic, perhaps Hunnic) north of the Pontus, probably towards the approaches to Persia. Attila’s cause or pretext may have been a bungled approach to the Alcatziri by Roman diplomats; the later bypassed the paramount chief of the Alcatziri, who called in Attila against the subchiefs given gifts by Rome, with predictable results. (Cf. Uldin, 408.) A treaty with Rome is signed, depriving Rome of the Danube frontier.
- 10449 Among the Hun ambassadors to Constantinople is one Orestes, a Roman born in Pannonia to a West Roman, and son-in-law of one Romulus, both of whom appear during the embassy of Maximinus, as envoys from the Western Emperor; Orestes was the father of Romulus Augustulus, the last Emperor of the West. Attila makes further demands through an ambassador, Edeco, claiming non-compliance by Rome. The Emperor’s interpreter plots with Edeco to murder Attila. An embassy is sent back with Edeco to Attila, including the historian Priscus, as a friend and sort of personal attaché to Maximinus, the Roman ambassador (who, along with Priscus, knew nothing of the plot). Edeco reports the plot to Attila. (In the end, no-one is the worse for the plot except the interpreter, who is toyed with, held hostage, terrified, soaked for ransom, and then released. The plot is notable because Edeco is believed to be the father of Odoacer.) There are complicated maneuverings, and many gifts to the Huns. A further embassy confirms the peace of 448, and actually regains the Danube frontier. A third treaty also benefits Rome. Attila apparently wished to settle the East so he could attack the West—though he may originally have intended only to attack the Visigoths, which would have benefited the Western Empire. This, at any rate, was the intention he announced in 450. Geiseric, [Vandal king in Africa] and a subtle diplomatic strategist and maneuverer, works to encourage Attila to act against the Visigoths.
- 10440–449 Throughout the 40s, the West (Gaul and Iberia) is troubled by the continued activity of the Visigoths in S. Gaul and Iberia, Baguadae, and peasant unrest. Relations between Aetius (patrician under the Western Emperor(s)) and Attila, once friendly, had deteriorated (probably in preparation for Attila’s attack). A silly intrigue by one Honoria, royal daughter of Gallia Placidia, enables Attila to raise an unfounded but tactically useful claim on half the Western Empire, as her fiancé.
- 10450 Theodosius dies as the result of a riding accident. He is succeeded by Marcian, who promptly renounces the treaties with the Huns. The Huns are promised “‘gifts’” if they remain at peace, but there is no question of tribute or the acceptance of humiliating terms. The eldest son of the deceased king of the Riparian Franks, with little support at home, appeals to Attila for aid in a succession quarrel. Aetius and Valentinian court him too; they are seen to be preparing for a breach

- with the Huns. The Franks, as well as the Visigoths, thus become an additional objective (and/or pretext) for Attila.
- 10450–57 Marcian (East).
- 10451 The Huns start for the West early in the year. The Western Empire does nothing at first, hoping, despite Attila's claims on Honoria and the Empire, that he would obligingly confine his attention to the Visigoths. When this is seen to be futile, Aetius seeks alliance with his enemies of two decades, the Visigoths, who are preparing to defend their own kingdom in S. Gaul and will have to be persuaded to expand their field of action to the rest of the Western Empire (which included Italy), despite the long previous friendship between Aetius and Attila. The agreement is arranged by the future Emperor Avitus (father in law of Sidonius Appollinaris. (Says T, 229, of Attila's diplomatic strategy, specifically his departure from the pretence of fighting the Visigoths's friends of Rome, in favor of pursuing the claims opened by Honoria, "Only a bungler of the first order could have thrown Aetius and Theodoric into each other's arms.") Aetius brings an poor army from Italy, which has been weakened by famine. They are joined by a number of peoples, including the Ripuarian Franks (presumably the remnant of the people presumably stricken by Attila earlier in the campaign), some Salian Franks, who had been within the Empire for a century, and, it is said, the Armoricans, whose alliance with their old enemies is unexplained.
- Attila takes Metz, and proceeds toward Orleans, which the Alani, settled in the region as a check on the Bagaudae, were plotting to betray to him. Aetius and Theodoric, aware of the plot, relieve Orleans at the last minute, inflicting a severe reverse on the Huns, who withdraw to the Catalaunian Plains (Champagne). The opposing forces meet there, a few miles from Troyes (site unknown), probably in June. The battle was long, Theodoric is killed, the Huns retreat to circled wagons. The Visigoths wish to finish them there, but Aetius apparently hopes to use the Huns against the Visigoths in the future. Aetius persuades the king's son on the spot, Thorismund, that he would be wise to return to Toulouse to secure his rule against his brothers. Aetius then does much the same with the Franks, presumably led by the king whom the Romans had presumably placed on his throne against a stronger claimant allied with the Huns. Attila is allowed to retreat.
- The Eastern Empire maintains its intransigence towards Attila's demands.
- 10452 Attila enters Italy from Pannonia, across the undefended passes of the Alps. The move takes Aetius completely by surprise; he decides to abandon Ravenna and Italy, taking the Emperor Valentinian with him. Attila besieges Aquileia, then a great city with famously strong fortification. After a difficult campaign, the city is taken and razed to the ground. Venetia and its cities are destroyed, and the Huns advance west, taking Milan. Aetius decides that something must be done to retain Italy, and sends an embassy to Attila, including Pope Leo. Attila is willing to settle: The Eastern Empire had sent a successful force across the Danube, routing a Hun force, while Italy, devastated and still famine-stricken could not support his force, and there had been instances of plague.
- 10453 *Death of Attila:* Attila, back in Hungary, promises to destroy the Eastern Empire, which was not strong. But Attila dies: prone to nosebleeds, he had another on the night of his latest wedding, and, being dead drunk, had suffocated. (Thus the body showed no wounds to account for his death, which was taken as natural and happy, so that no vengeance was sought, though there were murmurings later.)
- Hun rule is partitioned between Attila's many sons. The Huns as a unified force fall apart, and their Germanic subject peoples rebel and re-establish themselves, under the leadership of the Gepidae and their king Ardaric, former companion of Attila; some of the Ostrogoths continue to support the Huns, fostering a lasting division between the Gepidae and Ostrogoths.
- 10454 Ostrogoths settle in Pannonia.
- 10455 Maximus (West).
- Vandals sack Rome under Genseric .
- 10455–56 Avitus (West).
- 10455– A coalition led by the Gepidae, and including Suebi, Rugi, Helruli, and Sciri, crushes the Huns in Pannonia. The remnants of the Huns flee to the Black Sea, but some return and fall on the Ostrogoths, who get no support from the other Germanic peoples. The Ostrogoths nonetheless defeat the Huns, whose remnants flee to the Empire and are settled on the Danube at the Theiss. Other Hun bands raid around for the next two decades or so; some of these are also settled in the Empire. No further raids are known in the 400s after about the late 470s. Huns are found serving, not always faithfully, in the Roman armies. The Huns could not return to the steppe, which was already being taken over by new waves of barbarians pushed by other peoples to the East, notably the Avars.
- Attila's former lieutenant Orestes returns to the Western Empire, rebels against the Emperor Iulius Nepos, and places his son Romulus on the throne for a year, until he is overthrown by Odoacer—who is believed to be the son of Attila's envoy Edeco (v. 449).
- 10457–74 Leo I (East).
- 10457–61 Maiorian (West).

Later history Variants of the name are noted in the Caucasus until the early 700s. There was a tendency to refer to any similar barbarians as "Huns".

**10400s--~11240 Kingdom of Ghana**

The Kingdom of Ghana arises in about this period. It is an important center for West African and trans-Saharan trade. It may owe its origins to traders from the north. It is conquered ~11076 by the Almoravids, but survives, weakened, until ~11240.

**10400-600 Teotihuacán**

Teotihuacán was an urban center in the Valley of Mexico, by the northeast corner of Lake Texcoco. At its height ~10600, its population is estimated to have been ~150,000. From it arises the next great "civilizational unification" in Meso-America after the Olmecs. (Other important kingdoms, however, survived until the Spanish conquest.) (Cf. 9500.) Its decline is followed by the rise of smaller states and a "Time of Troubles".

**fl. 10400 Ojin, 15th emperor of Japan and the first of whom history can say anything of much substance. His reign extended from the late 10300s to the early 10400s.**

One theory, unpopular in Japan taken over about this time by a ruling stratum of horse-warriors from Korea, perhaps under Ojin. The literary treatment of Ojin in the Sinicizing histories of the Nara period is much like that accorded to founders of dynasties in Chinese histories.

In the 10400s, the power of the clans (uji) and their heads was still great. Wikip.: "Each clan was headed by a patriarch who performed sacred rites for the clan's kami to ensure the long-term welfare of the clan. Clan members were the aristocracy, and the kingly line that controlled the Yamato polity was at its pinnacle." The clans formed alliances that had kings and queens; the Yamato by the time of Ojin could claim to be at the head of "a federation of federations".

From the time of Ojin a royal administration began to develop.

Ojin and his successors continue Yamato involvement in Korean power politics. Through Korea, Japan developed connections with China. Trade and loot (including prisoners, some skilled) increased Japanese wealth and prestige, the benefits accruing above all to the House of Yamato.

early 10400s Nintoku, 16th emperor, son of Ojin.

From this time, the Yamato monarchy became more powerful, and the culture displayed notable Korean aspects.

**10405 Traditional date for the introduction of writing into Japan, by a Korean scholar.**

Wikip.: "Chinese characters were used to express sounds of Japanese until kana were invented. The Chinese characters used to express the sounds of Japanese are known as man'yōgana."

**10408-76 End of the Western Roman Empire (1161-1229 AUC)**

10408-50 Theodosius II (East).

10408 Murder of Stilicho. Alaric invades Italy.

10409 Spain invaded by Vandals, Alans, Suevi.

10410 Goths under Alaric capture and sack Rome; Alaric dies; Honorius tells Britain it's on its own.

10438 Theodosian Code.

10425-55 Valentinian II (West).

10429 Vandals invade Africa. (Capture Hippo in '431 after a long siege.)

10439 Vandals capture Carthage, which is their capital until their defeat by Belisarius in 10533.)

10451 The Roman general Aëtius, allied with the Visigoths under Theodoric I, defeats the Huns at Chalons.

10452 Huns enter Italy, but withdraw without taking Rome.

10453 Death of Attila.

10450-57 Marcian (East).

10454 Ostrogoths settle in Pannonia.

10455 Maximus (West).

10455. Vandals sack Rome under Genseric .

10455-56 Avitus (West).

10457-74 Leo I (East).

10457-61 Maiorian (West).

10461-65 Severus (West).

10467–72 Anthemius (West).  
10472 Rome taken by Ricimer.  
Olybrius (West), 10472, Glycerius 10473, Iulius Nepos 10473–75.  
10474–5,76–91 Zeno (East; entire remaining Empire from 10475).  
10475–76 Romulus Augustulus; deposed by Odoacer, who is recognized de facto as ruler of the West by Zeno. (1228–1229 AUC). Romulus is exiled to the villa of Lucullus in Naples.

~10450 **Seven liberal arts established as standard course of study**

late 10400s **Decadence of Yamato Japan**

By the time of the 25th emperor, Muretsu, who died without an heir in the late 10400s, the Yamato were showing signs of decadence. Muretsu's successor, an obscure man, was chosen by senior members of the court.

Wikip.: "The Yamato polity, which had emerged by the late 5th century, was distinguished by powerful great clans or extended families, including their dependents."

10400s– **Slavic expansion into the lands of the Balts**

The Balts had previously been established from Pomerania in the west, to south of the Pripet Marshes, east almost to Moscow, and southeast towards the Volga. The Slavs expelled them or (notably in Belorussia) assimilated them.

10410–582 **Romano-British period in Britain**

Roman Britain, left on its own, gradually gives way before the invasions of Picts, Scots, and Anglo-Saxons. Little is known of the period: written records are very scarce, and construction, even of major edifices, is virtually all of wood until Norman times. The landscape patterns established in Britain in the Middle Ages persist, forming the basis of the modern parishes, shires, and cities.

Stamp, p. 41: "As the village settlement grew a demarcation of boundaries became necessary and the delimitation of parishes resulted. Such settlements were essentially self-sufficient. The village subsisted on the produce of the village tract. It is small wonder that the settlers turned their backs on the Roman roads and took small account of the cities those urban-minded people left behind. More important was a place where villagers from a number of settlements could meet: a crossing place of natural routeways by land and water such as a good fording place. Naturally the villagers had need of farm roads, of trackways leading from the village to the common fields, the common grazing, and the woodland beyond. Almost by accident the trackways of one village joined up with those of another and a through way from village to village was established. In this way the network of narrow winding roads linking the villages grew up in strange contrast to the straight lines of the geometrically-minded Romans."

10457 The Romano-British suffer a major defeat; withdrawal to the cities follows.

~10500–50 A king identified with Arthur effects a partial restoration of Romano-British civilization.

10400s **Sea levels rise in NW Europe**

Lacus Flevo in the Low Countries is flooded, forming the Zuider Zee, and turning the Frisians, afloat willy-nilly, into a maritime people. It is from them that the habit and technology of seafaring spreads to the Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, and later to the Danes and other Northmen. (It seems that previously the northerners had not even used the sail.)

10450–650 **Pagan Saxon period in Britain**

The Saxons, Angles, and Jutes (often lumped together as "Anglo-Saxons" or just "Saxons", cf. Scots 'Sassenach') invade and establish themselves during this period, [completely superseding the Romano-British by the end of the 10500s]. The kingdoms of "Saxon" England in this period were:

Sussex (South Saxons), established by 10500

Kent (Jutes), established by 10500

Essex (East Saxons), probably from 10520 or 530

East Anglian Kingdom, from the early 10500s; later divided into South Folk (Suffolk) and North Folk (Norfolk)

Wessex (West Saxons), origins obscure

Mercia (Angles), established in the 10600s, during the Saxon expansion westward. (Offa, of the Dike, was king of Mercia.)

Lindsey  
Deira  
Bernicia

In the 10600s, the Saxon Kingdoms expanded westward. For the spread of Christianity among the Saxons, see below.

**10476–89/93 Reign of Odoacer (1229–1242/46 AUC)**

Odoacer was the son of “an important follower of Attila”. He served Rome before rebelling. He is recognized as de facto ruler of the West by Zeno

**10486–752 The origins of France: the Merovingian dynasty**

The Franks, under Clovis (r. 10481–511), conquer Gaul, then a patchwork of states, most of them more or less Romanized, that had appeared after the retreat of Rome. In 10486, Clovis defeats the Romans at Soissons, ending their presence in Gaul. Clovis converts to Catholicism in 10496—the first of the germanic tribes to do so. (The Goths were Arians.) The Franks, along with the Gauls whom Rome had ruled, are the ancestors of the modern French. Clovis is considered the first king of France.

The rise of a powerful Christian state in the north means much to Europe. But the kingdom is divided after the death of Clovis, and remains so almost continuously while the dynasty lasted. One historian called the Merovingians something like “the union of barbarism with decadence”. R&W: “Though traces of the older Roman culture lingered on among the upper classes in Gaul, the . . . Merovingian dynasty . . . was grotesquely ill-suited to foster any cultural continuity. They eventually left the effective rule to the Mayors of the Palace. Charles Martel, victor of Tours, was Mayor of the Palace. His son, Pepin, deposed the last Merovingian king in 10752.

**10493–526 & after Reign of Theoderic; end of the Roman West; transition to the Middle Ages (1246–1279 AUC)**

Theoderic was king of the Goths in Pannonia, succeeding his father ~10474. He invaded the Balkans, and continued the process begun by his father of uniting various Gothic groups, filling the vacuum left by the collapse of the Huns, to form the group known as the Ostrogoths. Friction with nearby Byzantium was resolved by agreement that he should go to Italy, which he invades in 10488. He overthrows Odoacer in (or by) 10493. “Essentially independent, he recognized certain prerogatives of Constantinople” and claimed hegemony over other kingdoms in the former western Empire. He extended his direct rule to southern Gaul and Spain. He was an Arian, like Odoacer, but got on well with the Roman church.

Theoderic presented himself as the restorer and continuer of the Roman Empire. Roman culture, institutions, and civil engineering, inter alia, continued under his rule. The real break came with the destruction of the Ostrogothic kingdom by Byzantium under Justinian (q.v., 10527–65).

**~10500 Arabs invade Palestine**

**10524–32 War between Byzantium and Persia**

**10527–65 Reign of Justinian; darkness falls on Rome; Byzantium’s reconquest of North Africa and Italy; Byzantium in the Middle Ages (1280–1318 AUC)**

With his generals Narses and Belisarius he recaptures North Africa (10533–43) and Italy (10535–54). Code of Justinian. Builds Hagia Sophia.

The destruction of the Ostrogothic kingdom in Italy by Byzantium under Justinian was followed by a “spectacular cultural decline” (R&W) in Italy, marking the real break with the Roman past.

Byzantium for a short time rules parts of Spain and the western Mediterranean.

It would be in northern Italy, southern France, and Spain that Roman ways persisted longest.

On the strategic factors behind the development of the feudal system, and on the early Middle Ages generally, see Jones, *AWWW*, pp. 103.

Jones, *AWWW*, p. 99: “In spite of defeats that deprived it of all of its Asiatic possessions except Asia Minor [lost in 1071, q.v.], the Byzantine Empire maintained itself for centuries as a formidable Eastern power. Its survival depended on its excellent army, one animated by professionalism and religious zeal. The Byzantines codified their tactics and strategy into what today one would call doctrine, which stressed the defensive and winning at minimum cost. Viewing their expensively equipped and well-trained professional soldiers as a capital asset, they preferred winning without a battle and always carefully measured the benefits of victory against

the costs of defeat. . . . Such a strategy assumed the status quo as the only reasonable political and military objective and implicitly presumed that that the Byzantines occupied a more fragile position than the enemy.”  
10547 Justinian allows the Lombards to settle in Hungary and Eastern Austria.







