

### **End of the Second Punic War**

In order to focus on Carthage, the first Macedonian war with Philip V fizzled out in 205 BCE with the peace of Phoenice. With the Battle of Zama (202), Scipio Africanus brought about an official end to the war with Carthage and Hannibal. Re-examining the terms laid out in 203, Scipio: placed massive war indemnities to be paid off for the next fifty years, limited Carthage's naval capabilities, took over Carthage's foreign policy, and gave land over to the Numidian kingdom. This victory left an entanglement of empires and positioned Rome as a great power in the Western Mediterranean (Spain, Gaul, and Italy). Moreover, the massive loss of aristocratic life resulted in a generational rift amongst the aristocracy between the prominent older men who survived, and the younger men who sought to regulate their seniority.

### **Rome's Italian Allies**

In the generation after the second Punic war, the wartorn communities of Italy began emigrating to Rome and Fregellae and utilizing loopholes to gain Latin or Roman citizenship. Italians perhaps sought citizenship for economic opportunities, land conditions, and legal protection from Roman abuses. Embassies go to the Senate, and an edict is passed that expels Latin citizens from Rome, forcing them to return to their census zones. In book 42 of Livy, we have two instances of Roman abuses. In 42.1, Postumius imposes burdens on the people of Praeneste, but they feel unable to push back against him. In 42.3, Flaccus (the censor of 173 BCE) takes roof tiles from a Bruttian temple to adorn his own dedication, perhaps justifying it due to their prior alliance with Hannibal; nevertheless, when the Senate hears of his actions, he is forced to return the tiles as it goes against informal decorum.

### **Praetors**

In 197 BCE, the total number of praetors elected is inflated to six, allowing Rome to dispatch some to govern the newly acquired Spain. While provincia were originally areas that praetors could exert legal and religious imperium over, the provinces soon shift into administrative territories. With permanent garrisons installed, praetors were responsible for collecting taxes, levying grain, and extracting material goods. This increase hints at the new reality and acceptance of permanent occupations outside of the peninsula, and places further pressure on the bottleneck of the consulship.

### **Second Macedonian War**

200-197 BCE. This war was an expedition to both reassert Rome's honour in the Eastern Mediterranean and punish Philip V for allying with Hannibal. In book 31, Livy explores the reasons for this war, noting the motivations of: revenge against Philip V, the opportunity for plunder from the wealth of Macedon; positioning Rome as a protector of its Greek allies (Rhodes and Athens) in response to Macedon and Syria's alliance against Egypt; and a pre-emptive fear of Philip V invading Italy. Despite this, when the Senate gets ready for war (electing consuls, levying legions, and preparing fleets), the centuriata assembly rejects it (a first in Roman history). Nevertheless, after a rhetorical speech, the assembly casts their votes again and goes to war.

### **Three Fetter of Greece**

Corinth, Chalcis, and Demetrias. These three territories were strategically seized by Philip V, and served as strongholds within the Greek world.

### **Titus Quinctius Flamininus**

Having served in the second Punic war, Flamininus was elected from praetor to consul in 198 BCE and brought about the end of the second Macedonian war. When Flamininus treated with Philip V, he waited until knowing whether or not he would be granted proconsulship before having his allies accept or reject the peace terms. Following the war, Flamininus tours Greece, is minted in Greek coinage, and declares Greek freedom from Roman garrisons at the Isthmian Games in 196. All this fashions him after a Hellenistic king, and he achieves further glory upon returning to Rome and hosting a three day triumph in 194.

### **Battle of Cynocephalae and Aftermath**

In 197 BCE, Flamininus had a huge victory over Philip at Cynocephalae. The Roman consul allows Philip to remain in power in exchange for relinquishing the three fetters of Greece and his fleet. Following these terms, and the Senate's decision to make Flamininus proconsul, a board of ten men (comprised of former praetors and consul who were Greek 'experts') is sent to supervise the process and Macedonian garrisons are replaced with Roman ones.

### **Isthmian Games**

Accounted for in Livy 33, following the installment of Roman garrisons, Flamininus argues that Rome should recall their troops and proclaim the Greeks free, not become a new Macedon. At the Isthmian Games in 196 BCE, Flamininus announces the Greeks' free (although garrisons do remain for another few years) and, after initial confusion, he is met with thunderous applause. Flamininus is later commemorated on Greek coins and is treated as a quasi-Hellenistic king. This immediate fame is used to win his brother a consulship, but Cato pushes back against this and censors him.

### **Antiochus III**

After focusing on the Eastern side of the Seleucid kingdom, Antiochus turned his attention to the Greek communities in Asia Minor, believing them to be outside of Roman interest. The territories had been seized by Philip, but after his defeat, Antiochus sought to take them back. Livy foreshadows Roman concerns in book 32-35, but for the most part, the Romans are ambivalent towards the Seleucid king. In 195, two of the Roman commissioners warn Antiochus to not cross into Europe, however he ignores their warning and sends a small army to Thrace in 192.

### **Syrian War**

192-188 BCE. With only Demetrius and the Aetolians as allies, Antiochus quickly feels the pressures of fighting Rome. In 192, a consular army is sent to Epirus in order for the war to commence as soon as the consuls are elected, and in 191 Glabrio heads to Asia Minor and meets Philip and the Achaean League to defeat Antiochus at Thermopylae. In 190, after rallying a field army that outnumbers the Romans, Antiochus is defeated yet again at Magnesia by Scipio Asiaticus and tries to offer peace terms. However, Vulso takes over the consulship and the war continues. The war concludes in 188 with the Peace of Apamea, and Antiochus is forced to pay huge war indemnities and abandons all territory west of the Taurus mountains to Pergamon and Rhodes, effectively creating an allied buffer state between Roman interests and the Seleucid kingdom.

### **Triumph of Vulso and the importation of luxury goods**

In 186 BCE, after the Syrian war had been brought to an end, Vulso pillaged the countryside and returned to Rome to celebrate a triumph. In book 39, Livy details the luxury goods brought into Rome during his triumph, noting: wealth, furniture, slaves, and cooks. While this was not the first instance of foreign goods being imported to Rome, the new scale is perceived as a corruption of Roman morality—a stance reiterated by Cato the Elder.

### **Cato the Elder**

A *novus homo* made consul in 195 BCE and censor in 184, Cato galvanized an austere Roman sensibility, often resisting the Hellenization of the Roman aristocracy despite his use of authors and teachers. During his consulship in 195, Cato oversaw fighting in Spain, imposing administrative structures for Roman rule by instating taxes on local produce and extracting wealth from the gold and silver mines. Plutarch quotes Cato as "conquering more cities than number of days he was in Spain." Cato also often involved himself with political controversies, such as the trial of Glabrio, a general who triumphed over Antiochus, but was tried for siphoning funds for his personal wealth. During his censorship in 184, Cato undertook expelling Senators who were too involved with Greek culture.

### **The Bacchanalia**

This event happened in 186 BCE and is accounted for in Livy book 39.8-20 and 40.19, and the *S.C de Bacchanalibus*. There are two traditions of how the cult came to Rome, one with a Greek religious expert who arrives in Etruria, and another with a Bacchic priestess from Campania. According to Polybius 6.13, a part of Rome's strength was its ability to absorb superstition into a cohesive state. However, unlike Magna Mater (and other accepted foreign deities), Bacchus came into Rome indirectly and celebrated that which went against Roman values: luxury, debauchery, exoticism, perjury, drinking, sex, and murder. The secret cult in brought to the consul Postumius' attention when Aebutius' family conspire to initiate with and disown him of his inheritance. Aebutius' lover, Hispala (a former slave and initiate), testifies against the cult's actions to the consul. Fearing the cult's corruption of aristocratic youth, scale of secrecy, and sexual violence against young men, Postumius begins an investigation throughout Italy. Although the Senate didn't usually dissuade foreign cults in Rome, the issue with the Bacchanalians appears to have stemmed from concerns about the scale, secrecy, and Hellenization/moral corruption of the Senatorial elite. In the Senatorial decree, which was distributed throughout the peninsula, all cultic activity (with the exception of older shrines) is either abolished, or heavily restricted and subject to approval from the praetor urbanus. While Livy's account is corroborated by the *S.C de Bacchanalibus*, considering the consul's centrality, the narrative Livy uses is likely taken from Postimius' family history combined with Greek middle-comedic tropes and other contemporary sources on the event. Concerning the legitimacy of the Senate's prosecution of the cult across the peninsula, Polybius (6.13) notes their authority over public investigations concerning collective activity (conspiracy, mass poisoning, gang murder, etc...), perhaps justifying their involvement.

### **Self Regulation of the Roman Elite**

Following the second Punic war, a few prominent figures had risen to the top of the Roman elite. This increased aristocratic competition is reflected in the number of triumphs and ovations held in the early second century. This monopoly over the *cursus honorum* lead to magistrates taking more extreme measures to distinguish themselves through merit and triumphs. In response to this, laws are passed by the Senate in an attempt to self regulate (granted, they were not always followed). Laws passed included: *Lex Villia Annalis*, *Lex Oppia*, *Lex Orchia*, and politicized trials held to limit a gens' auctoritas.

### **Ovations**

With so many triumphs and plunder being brought back from the East, ovations served as a means to delegate honours to commanders in the unprofitable regions of Spain.

### **Lex Oppia**

Introduced in 215 BCE to restrict the display of wealth amongst Roman women, this law was a response to increasing pressures from Hannibal to repurpose wealth to the aiding Rome. However, in 195, the women of Rome were slighted with their Italian counterparts being able to display their wealth and status. Women harass magistrates in the forum, showing the stakes of the law on their honour. Cato argues for the law to be upheld, ever the moralist, but Valerius sides with the women and the law is repealed.

### **Trial of the Scipio Brothers**

In 187-184 BCE, Scipio Asiaticus and Africanus were brought to trial after their triumph over Antiochus in the Syrian war. Our sources for this event are terribly, even Livy notes this, but the gist of events seem to be a trial for embezzlement that creates tension in Rome. This is likely an indirect response to the Scipiones' rising auctoritas amongst the aristocracy. Nevertheless, Africanus is exiled to one of his estates in Italy and is kept out of public consciousness and memory (not included in the Scipionic Elogia) when he dies in 183.

### **Lex Orchia**

Passed in 181 BCE, the Lex Orchia limited the amount of guests allowed at feasts. This responded to the opportunity present in hosting meals and games to bribe voters and amass support.

### **Lex Villia Annalis**

In 180 BCE, the new law set minimum ages for holding offices and affirmed an official order for magistracies in the cursus honorum. This law also limited the frequency with which an individual hold consulships (likely a 10 year gap between iterations). This was perhaps in response to figures like Scipio Africanus, who had bypassed holding any offices and became consul based on familial ties rather than experience. However, despite the conscious effort to formalize informal mechanisms, this law was often suspended and shows a concern for the issue, rather than a solution.

### **Religious Office Holdings**

Roman state religion reflected its political structures, and priesthoods were entangle in the fibers of the aristocracy. The Quindecemviri Sacris Faciundis was the board responsible for consulting the Sibylline books and was repeatedly increased in size. The Septemviri Epulones was a board put together in 196 BCE, responsible for organizing feasts and banquets to celebrate victories. Both of these developments are intrinsically linked to the aristocracy. The number of priesthoods increased to accommodate and fast track those entering the cursus honorum, and the Septemviri Epulones were instated to regulate aristocratic activity.

### **Philip V of Macedon**

Having allied with Hannibal and fought against Rome in the first and second Macedonian war, Philip was left in power following the battle of Cynocephalae and sided with the Romans against Antiochus. During this period, the Roman Senate was flooded with Greek embassies, asking for arbitration against Philip's continued presence in the Greek world. While Philip's son Demetrius was favored in Rome, his other son Perseus plots against his brother and he is assassinated in 182. Philip dies in 179, and Perseus takes over his father's kingdom in 175.

### **Liguria**

The military roads and colonies of Cremona and Placentia instigated near-constant fighting in the North of Italy. In 181 BCE (Livy 40), both consuls (Cethegus and Baebius) are sent to Liguria and displace the unsuspecting Apuani Ligurians into central Italy. Both consuls celebrate a triumph without ever having to fight a battle, but nevertheless the struggle continues to create a secure frontier through warfare.

### **Popilius Laenus**

Recounted in Livy book 42, Popilius was consul in 173 BCE and fought against the Statellani Ligurians. However, once they had surrendered, Popilius stripped the Ligurians of their weapons, destroyed their homes, and sold them into slavery. When the Senate hears of Popilius' triumph-hunting, he is told to return to reinstate the Ligurians' and return to Rome to face a trial. The next year, Popilius' brother becomes consul and delays his trial until the end of the year, allowing him to avoid repercussions for his actions. This event is exemplary of tensions in Roman foreign policy between individual magistrates' ambitions and Senatorial efforts.

### **First Celtiberian War**

181-179 BCE. When allied Spanish tribes send embassies to Rome to complain about abusive magistrates, nothing is done and a rebellion ensues. In 180, the praetor Sempronius Gracchus is sent and fights successful and brutal campaigns. In Appian's Spanish Wars 43, Gracchus is described as a celebrated figure in Rome and Spain alike after having made carefully defined treaties with individual tribes. In Periochae 41, "Livy" notes notes the first colony established outside of the peninsula by Gracchus.

### **Carteia**

In book 43, Livy notes multiple embassies sent to Rome to complain of abuses by magistrates in Spain. One embassy is comprised of the sons of Roman soldiers and Spanish women, and the colony of Carteia is established to grant them Latin citizenship. This shift from warfare to civic complaints marks a shift in Spain as a province of imperium to one of administration.

### **Lusitanian War**

Comprising of several wars fought between 155-139 BCE and dubbed the "Fiery War" by Polybius, this was a widely unpopular war with many men avoiding military enrolment. The first phase of the war was in the process of being brought to a close by Galba in 151, but when he massacred the peoples who had come to treat with him, another round of rebellions is triggered and Viriathus escapes.

### **Second Celtiberian War**

154-152 BCE. Continuing the fighting in Liguria, the war is brought to a close by Marcellus, who is elected consul for a third time in 152 and celebrates the last triumph recorded on the Fasti Triumphales. This consulship (Marcellus' third) shows a suspension of constitutional rules in order to suppress and secure the frontier in Celtiberia. A further note on Marcellus, a statuary base was found in the forum of Luca, dedicated by himself from spoils brought back from Liguria, and perhaps indicative of Italy becoming the display context for aristocratic competition.

### **Third Macedonian War**

171-168 BCE. Loyalty to Rome amongst the Greek elite is split, and the Aetolian League is perpetually struck with debt and subjugation from Rome. Greek cities receive mixed signals of being under Rome's authority, but not its protection, leading to the defection of Rhodes. In this climate, Perseus approaches Greek cities to forge alliances, arbitrate affairs, and act in the traditional role of Macedonian king and defender of Greek interests. In 172, Eumenes of Pergamon warns Rome of Perseus' growing influence. When Perseus' embassies to Rome are rejected and Rome imposes belligerent demands on the Macedonian king, Greek cities fear war and begin choosing sides, especially once Perseus wins a battle over Rome in 171. The war is largely unsuccessful for the Romans until Aemilius Paulus is consul in 168 and wins the Battle of Pydna, resulting in a settlement and subsequent triumph. According to the settlement: Macedon is broken into four isolated republics; taxes are to be halved, but paid to the Rome; the Illyrian kingdom was abolished; hostages from disloyal states were sent to Italy (Polybius is included amongst these); local magistrates had to turn over riches to the decemviri who came to help Paulus settle the Greek world; and Rome's hands-off approach to Greece came to an end.

### **Triumph of Aemilius Paulus**

Before returning to Rome, Paulus tours Greece, replacing a statue of Perseus in Delphi with his own-fashioning himself after a Hellenistic king. In 167 BCE, the Antigonid kingdom came to an end and Perseus was marched through Rome in chains. While Paulus' naval commander celebrated a triumph over Gentius of Illyria, it paled in comparison to Paulus'. Having to compete with figures like Africanus and Flaminius in Roman memory, Paulus' triumph lasted three days and included so much plunder from Macedon that the tributum (Roman war tax) was cancelled for a century. In Plutarch's *Life of Paulus*, we are given insight into the realities of a triumph for the conquered royal family, with the Romans weeping on behalf of the children of Perseus (although Plutarch emphasis on Fortune is likely derived from Polybius' account, of which we only have fragments).

### **Rhodes**

The Rhodians had been long-time Greek allies of Rome. However, in 168 BCE (just before the end of the Third Macedonian War), an embassy is sent to Rome to try to act as mediators and negotiate a peace between the Senate and Perseus. Polybius accounts for this in 29.19 and Livy (through a pro-Roman lens) frames the Rhodians as arrogant and aggressive, and duplicates two versions of event in book 44 and 45. Nevertheless, war with Rhodes is narrowly avoided due to a speech from Cato, and Delos is declared a tax-free port to cripple Rhodian trade. This episode serves as an example of Rome's new heavy-handedness towards Greece following the Third Macedonian War.

### **Antiochus IV**

Accounted for in Livy 45.12, in 168 BCE, Ptolemy and Antiochus are fighting over an Alexandria. The Egyptian king sends an embassy to Rome, and Laenas (praetor) is sent to arbitrate between the two kingdoms. Laenas meet Antiochus on his way to Alexandria, and warns him to cease actions against Rome's allies. Antiochus wishes to consult with his generals, but the praetor draws a circle around the king and tells him he must make a decision before leaving the circle (i.e. accept the decree or go to war with Rome). Antiochus is thus forced to bow to Roman pressure and returns to the Seleucid kingdom.

### **Carthage and Numidia**

Following the Second Punic War, Carthage was forced to pay a war indemnity and have a restricted military for 50 years. Furthermore, they were forced to cede Carthaginian land to the kingdom of Numidia. Masinissa, a Numidian king and vocal Roman supporter, exploited this cession to occupy Carthaginian land throughout the early second century. Although Carthage tries to show goodwill to Rome—sending grain, exiling Hannibal, and supplying ships—the Senate continually sides with Masinissa on arbitrations. In Livy 34.62, Carthage sends a delegation to Rome to complain, and Masinissa sends his son. The Senate doesn't reach a conclusion and instead Cato is sent in 152 BCE to investigate Carthage. After seeing the city's wealth, Cato begins to argue: *Carthago delenda est*.

### **Third Punic War**

149-146 BCE (Polybius 36). Perhaps thinking they were no longer bound by their treaty with Rome, Carthage fights back (and loses) against Numidia's abuses, and there is immediate military preparation in Rome. Embassies are sent, begging the Romans for peace, and the Carthaginians are told to send hostages to Sicily and obey the consul there. Upon the hostages' arrival, the consul demands they demilitarize, they do. The consul then tells them Rome's terms for peace: in order to cripple Carthage's trading and naval power, the city must be abandoned and the people relocated at least ten miles away. Unable to accept, the Third Punic War begins. The Romans are unable to penetrate Carthage's defenses, but in 146 BCE, when Scipio Aemilianus arrives, the city is blockaded and sacked. Following this, spoils from Carthage are 'returned' to Sicily, furthering the aristocratic performance of *auctoritas* beyond the peninsula. This event (and the sack of Corinth) marked a confirmation of Rome's new foreign policy, and incited varied perceptions of Roman authority in Greece (some agreeing with their actions, and others seeing a desertion of principle).

### **Scipio Aemilianus**

Aemilianus was from a very prominent aristocratic background. He was the son of Aemilius Paulus, adopted by Scipio Africanus (due to Paulus' inability to concentrate honours on his many sons), and married into the Gracchi. With military experience in Pydna (168), the *Lex Villia Annalis* were suspended to elect him consul in 147 BCE to sack Carthage (*Periochae* 50). This legal repeal is indicative of politicians' mobilizing a rhetoric of the people's will to ratify and pressure political activity and justify electoral irregularities. Aemilianus was once again elected in the Numantine War against Viriathus in 134 BCE.

### **Fourth Macedonian War**

150-148 BCE. Following Rome's heavy-handed approach to Greece post-Perseus, Andriscus take advantage of resentment towards Rome, proclaims himself the secret-son of Perseus, and instigates a rebellion. After Thalna (praetor) is defeated and Greek cities begin to join Andriscus, Metellus (praetor) smashes the rebellion in 148. Macedon is reduced to a 'province', and Leagues throughout Greece are abolished. Roman governors are installed in Greece and deal with local appeals and the defense of Roman hegemony in frontier areas, however it would take generations for this apparatus to develop into a fledged province.

### **Mummius and the Achaean War**

146 BCE. The Achaean League resists Metellus' dissolution of Greek leagues following Andriscus' defeat. However, they are quickly defeated by Mummius (consul), who razes Corinth (the city identified as the ringleader) to the ground and returns to the peninsula with an abundance of art and manubial dedications, showing an extension of the aristocratic competition throughout Italy.

### **Lex Agraria**

111 BCE. Perhaps referenced by Appian, the Lex Agraria is a long and fragmented law concerning who can own public land and how much. The law includes lands throughout Italy, Africa, Greece, and Corinth. The Lex Agraria is indicative of Roman perceptions of the Mediterranean as conquered possessions.

### **Viriathus**

After escaping Galba's massacre (151 BCE), Viriathus becomes a Celtiberian war-hero and leads a rebellion, defeating the Roman commanders in many battles. He is eventually assassinated in 139 and the Lusitanian War is brought to a close.

### **Numantine War**

143-133 BCE, overlapping with the Second Celtiberian War, there is a major lack of narrative sources, leaving Appian as our problematic source (his thesis is that Roman dominance is a natural trajectory). Viriathus leads the Spanish in a series of successful battles against multiple consuls, and the war drags on until the Senate turns to Scipio Aemilianus (replaying his adopted grandfather's career in reverse: Carthage > Spain). As consul in 134 BCE, Aemilianus raises a special legates, since the Roman levies were unable to amass enough troops, and he drives the Numantines into a defensive position into Numantia. There, the city is besieged for months until the Numantine are starved into submission in 133 (Appian, Spanish Wars 97-98).

### **Note on second-century sources and legal developments**

Our source for the first half of the second century are fairly awful. There are annals, bits and snippets, but few continuous narratives (we have Appian, but he is heavily biased and condenses chronology to fit narrative arches). One area where we do have sources is in legal developments. When Cicero wrote circa 100 BCE, he made substantial references to the creation of Roman laws in his rhetoric and orations. There was plenty for Cicero to reference considering the phrenetic activity as imperial growth put pressures on the socio-political system and the aristocracy attempted to regulate themselves through reactive (not proactive) legislations. While these legislations denote an effort to systematize controls, the courts system become a new political tool to charge rivals and prominent aristocrats with high-crimes.

### **Electoral Laws**

With the aristocratic elite coming up with more formal rules to moderate political activity and prominence, there is a growing concern over powerful and wealthy families exploiting new modes of competitive display (triumphs, ovations, dedications, spoils, artworks, etc...). Cicero notes a series of controversial laws that were proposed that favored private ballots over votes by show of hands--which often led to intimidation and peer pressure dictating a unanimous vote. These included: Lex Gabinia Tabellaria (139 BCE, electing magistrates by ballot), Lex Cassia Tabellaria (137, trial conducted in public assemblies and jurors voting by ballot to combat political pressures following Cotta's intimidation of jurors), and Lex Papiria (131, voting on legislation by ballot). Granted, despite the motivations, secret ballots lead to more bribery and falsified vote counts.

### **Sumptuary Laws**

Motivated by moralizing Roman discipline (and aristocratic self-regulation), rather than socialist concerns over the distribution of wealth, these laws concerned the display of wealth following the Second Punic War and massive influx of luxury from the East. The Lex Fannia (161 BCE) limited banquet spending and guests, and the Lex Didia (143) expanded this to the whole of Italy. This indicates that when Roman elite's cultural capital was restricted in Rome, they engaged with local elite throughout the peninsula (either through political or material support).

### **Courts (Quaestio/Quaestiones)**

Proposed by Frugi in 149 BCE, the Lex Calpurnia concerning extorted moneys established a standing (permanent) court to deal with complaint brought against magistrates by people in the provinces. This was the first standing court in Rome and took responsibility out of the hands of magistrates into a formal institutional machination (preventing cases such as Popilius Laenas' from repeating). Unfortunately, the jury composition becomes highly politicized and made up almost entirely of the senatorial elite, creating tension amongst the aristocracy (equestrian and senatorial).

### **Tribune of the Plebs**

Although the ten seats had been a low-ranking office and pressured to follow the whims of higher offices or defer decisions to the Senate, much of the legislation passed in the second century was driven by the tribunes of the plebs and the Plebeian assembly. This shift in legal auctoritas from the Senate to the Tribunes of the Plebs is noted by Cicero and Plutarch; although they attribute the action to different tribunes (Crassus and Gracchus), both authors account for a Tribune of the Plebs turning their backs on the Senate house and addressing the forum. This growing popular and legal influence emboldens the office and sets the stage for the Gracchi in the later second century.

### **Hellenization of Roman Elite**

As the Romans came into increasing proximity to the Greek world (triumphs, deities, Greek 'experts', and trading), virtually every Roman aristocrats educated themselves and their children through Greek thinkers, artisans, and slave tutors. Although Latin's use in Senatorial decrees and dedication reaffirmed Roman authority, Greek culture painted the peninsula. While history was a Greek genre, when Cato wrote his *Origines*, he broke from tradition (followed by Pictor and Albinus) and did so in Latin. Cato's history writing, Ennius' Latin dactylic hexameter, and Plautus/Terence's comedies were all indicative of the ways in which Roman elites wanted not only to acquire Greek culture, but adapt it to Roman sensibilities.

Nevertheless, despite Cato positioning Greek culture as a corruption of Roman discipline, he himself adopted Greek rhetorical teachings and used Greek figures to educate his children (as well as Paulus). However, there was a limit to the aristocracy's acceptance of Greek culture; there were two instances (161 and 155 BCE, the later by Cato) wherein Greek philosophers were expelled from Rome in order to maintain emphasis on martial deeds rather than rhetorical skill.

### **Urban Transformation of Rome**

Responding to a growing population and needs for complex political structures, massive building projects were undertaken in Rome. Although we don't have much archaeological evidence for these (due to rebuilding and demolition), there is a plethora of literary references to dedications of temples and public works made by generals and fulfilled during censorships using plunder (especially from the East, Corinth, and Carthage). The Campus Martius was a particularly popular site for dedications (close to the center of the city, but outside of the pomerium) and quickly transformed from an open field to cluttered site. Hellenistic architecture (like basilicas and porticos) begin to feature more prominently in public Roman spaces; however, unlike Greek buildings that were named after cities and deities, these building projects were named after Roman gentes to perpetuate glory. More broadly, the Italian city of Pietrabbondante had a second century permanent stone theatre, indicating a peninsula-wide influx of Hellenistic aesthetics and luxury goods.

### **Porticus of Metellus**

Dedicated by Metellus in 146 BCE (against Andriscus), two temples (to Juno and Jupiter) were built side by side at the edge of the Campus Martius. Although it is unclear whether Metellus built or simply repaired the Juno temple, the mini-complex denotes a growing interest in uniform building programs (rather than the hodge-podge space Rome had become). Harmodorus of Salamis is brought back from Greece to design the complex and the temples are adorned with Greek art.

### **Round Temple**

Built after a Hellenistic style, it is probably the temple of Hercules Victor. If so, it was likely dedicated by Mummius, designed by Harmodorus, and adorned with art brought back from the sack of Corinth.

### **Area Sacra di Largo Argentina**

A neighbourhood complex in Rome comprised of four temples constructed throughout the third-second centuries. The temples were built in dialogue with one another and surrounded by the Porticus Minucia, reflecting a further Roman interest in architectural cohesion from the East. Furthermore, built along the triumphal route, the temple complex would have served as a backdrop to subsequent triumphs and created a monumental space celebrating Roman victories (adorned with spoils, artworks, and paintings of victorious battle scenes).

### **Transformation of Rural Italy**

Toynbee argues that deprivations of the Second Punic War were devastating, especially in Southern Italy and that these areas never recovered. Hopkins says following the war, the Romans' pursuit of overseas wars leads to soldiers' farms going bankrupt. The influx of wealth and slaves further contributed to aristocrats driving smaller farms out of business. These displaced farmers become integrated into cities and rally for change. This leads to the Gracchi (Plutarch in particular highlights Tiberius Gracchus' witnessing of rural Roman realities when travelling to Numantia with Aemilianus). Bearing this in mind, the decline in census figures following the Second Punic War can be attributed to the urban poor who do not meet property qualifications; this would also explain the difficulty in levying troops for the Numantine War. Sources indicate something is going on in the countryside, but archaeological evidence (dressel pottery used for trading) and Rosenstein (Rome at War, 2004) propose that small farming and warfare are not incompatible. That the countryside isn't subjected to the failure of small farms, but depopulation due to warfare (displaced by death, not an influx of slaves and aristocratic ventures). People who are left have more land at their disposal, leading to a population boom. This leads to not enough land for all the people to meet property qualifications, leading to tensions from growing proximity, abuse, and disparity of power between the Roman elite and Italian allies. All culminating in the rise of the Gracchi.

### **Rise of the Gracchi**

Coupled with the increasing influence of the Tribune of the Plebs office, the growing tensions between the Roman elite and Italian allies within the peninsula set the stage for the civil war. Gaius Gracchus proposes a series of laws to extend citizenship to Italian communities (providing legal defense against magisterial abuses), as well as laws to redistribute public land to poor Romans. Some Italians go to Aemilianus to challenge Gaius' laws on their behalf, not wanting to be displaced from the public lands they were squatting on. However, Gaius and Aemilianus are both killed in acts of political violence, and the destabilization of the system and civil war lead to the rise of the Gracchi (Appian, Civil Wars 1.19-20).