

THE LATE ROMAN REPUBLIC IN 2017: Recent Developments

Lea Beness & Tom Hillard
National Maritime Museum, 1/4/2017

Introductory:

David M. GWYNN, *The Roman Republic. A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2012)
Andrew LINTOTT, *Cicero as Evidence. A Historian's Evidence* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2008)

General Discussions and Reference Points:

Harriet I. FLOWER, *Roman Republics* (Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2010)
Harriet I. FLOWER (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Republic* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004)
Nathan ROSENSTEIN and Robert MORSTEIN-MARX (eds), *A Companion to the Roman Republic* (Malden MA, Oxford and Melbourne, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2006)
Catherine STEEL, *The End of the Roman Republic, 146 to 44 BC. Conquest and Crisis* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2013)

Tiberius Gracchus:

Edwin JUDGE, *Engaging Rome and Jerusalem. Historical Essays for our Time* (selected and edited by Stuart Piggin) (Melbourne, Australian Scholarly Publishing Pty Ltd, 2014); see esp. 'The Mind of Tiberius Gracchus', 9–33
Cf. Federico SANTANGELO, 'A Survey of Recent Scholarship on the Age of the Gracchi (1985-2005)', *Topoi. Orient-Occident* 15 (2007), 465–510

The Demography Debate:

Walter SCHEIDEL, *Debating Roman Demography* Mnemosyne Suppl. 211 (Leiden, Brill, 2001)
Cf. M.K. Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge, 1978), 106;
P. Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C. – A.D. 14* (Oxford, 1971), Appendix 28 'Some Casualty Figures', pp. 694–697

Demography and Background to the Gracchan Reforms:

Luuk DE LIGHT, 'Poverty and Demography: the Case of the Gracchan Land Reforms', *Mnemosyne* 57.6 (2004), 725–57
Luuk DE LIGHT, 'The Economy: Agrarian Change During the Second Century', in N. Rosenstein and R. Morstein-Marx (eds), *A Companion to the Roman Republic* (Oxford, 2006), 590–605
Luuk DE LIGHT and Simon NORTHWOOD (eds), *People, Land and Politics: demographic developments and the transformation of Roman Italy 300 BC – AD14* (Leiden, Brill, 2008)
John W. RICH, 'Tiberius Gracchus, Land and Manpower', in O. Hekster, G. de Kleijn and D. Slootjes (eds), *Crises and the Roman Empire* (Impact of Empire 7, Leiden, Brill, 2007), 155–166
Nathan ROSENSTEIN, *Rome at War: Farms, Families and Death in the Middle Republic* (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 2004)

The Censorship of 131 B.C.

Q. Metellus, *oratio ad populum de ducendis uxoribus* [= Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 1.6.2]:

"If we could get on without a wife, Romans, we would all avoid that annoyance; but since nature has ordained that we can neither live very comfortably with them nor at all without them, we must take thought for our lasting well-being rather than for the pleasure of the moment."

Livy *The Summaries* 59:

Quintus Pompeius and Quintus Metellus, censors both of plebeian origin—the first time this had happened—formally closed the half-decade; there were enumerated three hundred and eighteen thousand, eight hundred and twenty-three citizens, not counting wards of both sexes, and widows. - Censor Quintus Metellus proposed that everyone should be compelled to marry in order to produce children. His speech is preserved, and was read by Augustus Caesar before the senate as though written for the present day, when the emperor was discussing the problem of marriage.

Suetonius, *Divus Augustus* 89:

[Augustus] even read entire volumes to the senate and called the attention of the people to them by proclamations; for example, the speeches of Quintus Metellus "On Increasing the Family," and of Rutilius "On the Height of Buildings";

to convince them that he was not the first to give attention to such matters, but that they had aroused the interest even of their forefathers.

Military Matters:

Fred K. DROGULA, *Commanders & Command in the Roman Republic and Early Empire* (Chapel Hill, The University of North Carolina Press, 2015)

Frederik J. VERVAET, *The High Command in the Roman Republic. The Principle of the summum imperium auspiciumque from 509 to 19 BCE* (Historia Einzelschriften 232, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner Verlag, 2014)

Political Culture:

Kavita AYER, “‘The Ways of the Ancestors’: Performing the ‘Roman Ideal’, *Ancient History: Resources for Teachers* 40.2 (2010) 180–194

Joy CONNOLLY, *The Life of Roman Republicanism* (Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2015)

Karl-Joachim HÖLKESKAMP, *Reconstructing the Roman Republic. An Ancient Political Culture and Modern Research* (Eng. trans. H. Heitmann-Gordon; Princeton and Oxford, Princeton University Press, 2010)

Fergus MILLAR, *The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic* (Ann Arbor, The University of Michigan Press, 1998)

Fergus MILLAR, *The Roman Republic in Political Thought* (Hanover and London, University Press of New England, 2002)

Robert MORSTEIN-MARX, *Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Henrik MOURITSEN, *Plebs and Politics in the Late Roman Republic* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001)

Jon HALL, *Cicero’s Use of Judicial Theater* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2014)

Ida ÖSTENBERG, Simon MALBERG and Jonas BJORNEBYE, *The Moving City. Processions, Passages and Promenades in Ancient Rome* (London, Bloomsbury, 2016) — see her opening paper: ‘Power Walks: Aristocratic Escorted Movements in Republican Rome’ (pp. 13–22)

Cristina ROSILLO-LÓPEZ, ‘The workings of public opinion in the late Roman Republic: the case study of corruption’, *Klio* 98.1 (2016), 203–227

Cristina ROSILLO-LÓPEZ (ed.), *Public Opinion and Political Culture at Rome* (forthcoming)

Amy RUSSELL, *The Politics of Public Space in Republican Rome* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2016)

C. STEEL and H. VAN DER BLOM (eds), *Community and Communication. Oratory and Politics in Republican Rome* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013), see esp. Martin Jehne, ‘Feeding the Plebs with Words, at 60: The Significance of Senatorial Public Oratory in the Small World of Roman Politics’, 49–62

Alexander YAKOBSON, *Elections and Electioneering in Rome. A Study in the Political System of the Late Republic* (Historia Einzelschriften 128, Stuttgart, Franz Steiner, 1999); and see his ‘*Petitio et Largitio*; Popular Participation in the Centuriate Assembly’, *JRS* 82 (1992), 32–52

Cf. Robert MORSTEIN-MARX, ‘Political Graffiti in the Late Roman Republic: “Hidden Transcripts” and “Common Knowledge”’, in Christina Kuhn (ed.), *Politische Kommunikation und öffentliche Meinung in der antiken Welt* (Stuttgart, Steiner, 2012), 191–217; and

Tom HILLARD, ‘Graffiti’s Engagement. The Political Graffiti of the Late Roman Republic’, in R. Laurence, P. Keegan and G. Sears (eds), *Written Space in the Latin West: 200 BC to AD 300* (London & New York, Continuum Press, 2013), 105–12

Institutions:

Andrew LINTOTT, *The Constitution of the Roman Republic* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1999)

Consuls: Hans BECK, Antonio DUPLÁ, Martin JEHNE and Francisco PINA POLO (eds), *Consuls and res publica: holding high office in the Roman*

Francisco PINA POLO, *The Consul at Rome: the Civil Functions of the Consuls in the Roman Republic* (Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 2011)

Praetors: T. Corey BRENNAN, *The Praetorship in the Roman Republic* (New York and Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2000) 2 vols

The Senate:

Catherine STEEL, ‘Rethinking Sulla: The Case of the Roman Senate’, *CQ* 64.2 (2014), 657–68

Catherine STEEL, ‘The Roman Senate and the Post-Sullan *Res Publica*’, *Historia* 63.3 (2014), 324–339

Religion:

Trevor S. LUKE, *Ushering in a New Republic: Theologies of Arrival at Rome in the First Century BCE* (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 2014)

Brent NONGBRI, *Before Religion: A History of a Modern Concept* (Yale, Yale University Press, 2013)

Jörg RÜPKE, *Religion in Republican Rome. Rationalization and Ritual Change* (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012)

Jörg RÜPKE (ed.), *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Malden MA, Oxford and Chichester, Blackwell Publishing, 2011)

Federico SANTANGELO, *Divination, Prediction and the End of the Roman Republic* (Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 2013)

John SCHEID, *An Introduction to Roman Religion* (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2003)

Cf. Jerzy Linderski, 'The Pontiff and the Tribune: the Death of Tiberius Gracchus', *Athenaeum* 90.2 (2002), 339–366

Ernst Badian, 'The Pig and the Priest', H. Heftner and K. Thomaschitz (eds) *Ad Fontes! Festschrift für Gerhard Dobesch zum fünfundsechzigsten Geburtstag am 15. September 2004* (Vienna 2004), 263–272

Omens:

Plutarch, *Life of Sulla* 7:

For fire broke forth of its own accord from the staves which supported the ensigns, and was with difficulty extinguished; and three ravens brought their young forth into the street and devoured them, and then carried the remains back again into their nest; and after mice had gnawed consecrated gold in a temple, the keepers caught one of them, a female, in a trap, and in the very trap she brought forth five young ones, and ate up three of them. But most important of all, out of a cloudless and clear air there rang out the voice of a trumpet, prolonging a shrill and dismal note, so that all were amazed and terrified at its loudness. The Tuscan wise men declared that the prodigy foretokened a change of conditions and the advent of a new age. For according to them there are eight ages in all, differing from one another in the lives and customs of men, and to each of these God has appointed a definite number of times and seasons, which is completed by the circuit of a great year. And whenever this circuit has run out, and another begins, some wonderful sign is sent from earth or heaven, so that it is at once clear to those who have studied such subjects and are versed in them, that men of other habits and modes of life have come into the world, who are either more or less of concern to the gods than their predecessors were. All things, they say, undergo great changes, as one age succeeds another, and especially the art of divination; at one period it rises in esteem and is successful in its predictions, because manifest and genuine signs are sent forth from the Deity; and again, in another age, it is in small repute, being off-hand, for the most part, and seeking to grasp the future by means of faint and blind senses. Such, at any rate, was the tale told by the wisest of the Tuscans, who were thought to know much more about it than the rest.

Philosophy:

Sean MCCONNELL, *Philosophical Life in Cicero's Letters* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2014)

Cf. David Sedley, 'The Ethics of Brutus and Cassius', *Journal of Roman Studies* 87 (1997), 41–53

The Economy and Money Matters:

Hans BECK, Martin JEHNE and John SERRATI (eds), *Money and Power in the Roman Republic* (Collection Latomus, Bruxelles, Édition Latomus, 2016), 69–81

Philip KAY, *Rome's Economic Revolution* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2014)

The Rule of Law:

O.F. ROBINSON, 'Law-making in times of disorder', in A. Burrows, D. Johnston and R. Zimmermann (eds), *Judge and Jurist. Essays in Memory of Lord Rodger of Earlsferry* (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013), 227–36

Establishing *consuetudo*

1 Varro, *de moribus* (*Logist.* frag. 74 Bolisani = Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 3.8.9), defining *mos* ('best practice'): "it concerns that *consuetudo* ('common practice') which ought to be followed (*quem sequi debeat consuetudo*)."

2 Cic. *de inventione* 2.22.67:

consuetudine autem ius esse putatur id quod voluntate omnium sine lege vetustas comprobavit

Ius established by custom (*consuetudo*) is thought to be that *ius* which by common consent is confirmed by its very antiquity, without (the sanction of) law.

Respect for Custom— and Acceptance of Innovation

- 6 Cicero, *Letters to his Friends*. 4.3.1:
nam quod exemplo fit, id etiam iure fieri putant; sed aliquid, atque adeo multa, addunt et afferunt de suo
 For it is thought that what is done by precedent is also done rightly; but they (who think so) both add and contribute something, and sometimes a great deal, of their own.
- 7 Cicero, *In favour of the Manilian Law*. 60:
at enim ne quid novi fiat contra exempla atque instituta maiorum. Non dicam hoc loco maiores nostros semper in pace consuetudini, in bello utilitati paruisse, semper ad novos casus temporum novorum consiliorum rationes accommodasse (“Let no innovation be admitted that is contrary to precedent and the principles of the ancestors. I forebear to mention here that our ancestors always bowed to custom in times of peace, but in times of war expediency prevailed; they always adapted the reasoning behind their new plans to the new exigencies of new times.”)

Julius Caesar:

Miriam GRIFFIN (ed), *A Companion to Julius Caesar* (Malden MA, Oxford and Melbourne, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2009)

Dexter HOYOS, ‘Imperial Caesar?’, *Ancient Society. Resources for Teachers* 9.3 (1979), 134–157 (reprinted in B. Marshall [ed.], *Res Romanae. Essays on Roman History* [Macquarie University, Macquarie Ancient History Association], 88–104)

Tom STEVENSON, *Julius Caesar and the Transformation of the Roman Republic* (London, Routledge, 2015)

Jeff TATUM, *Always I am Caesar* (Malden MA, Oxford & Melbourne, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2008)