

GRS 17-Roman Republic  
Winter, 2001  
Professor Stewart

Office: 309 Reed Hall, x-2911  
Office Hrs.: Tuesday, 1-3  
and by appt.

This course surveys the history of the Roman people from c. 753 (traditional date of the founding of Rome) to 44 B.C. (assassination of Julius Caesar). Beginning as a small settlement, the Romans, during this period

created a civil society  
developed an inclusive conception of citizenship  
institutionalized service to the state as the primary good of the citizen  
conquered all lands bordering on the Mediterranean  
institutionalized free food and games for the poor  
became one of history's five major slave economies

Then, it fell apart.

These processes are the subject matter of this course.

Class reading and class work are designed to develop the intellectual skills of critical reading, careful thinking, and clear and coherent argument.

### **Required Reading**

M. Cary and H.H. Scullard, *A History of Rome down to the Reign of Constantine*, 3rd ed. (New York 1975).

N. Lewis and M. Reinhold, eds. *Roman Civilization, Selected Readings, vol. 1: The Republic and the Augustan Age*, 3rd ed. revised (New York 1990).

Cicero, *Selected Political Speeches*, tr. M. Grant (Penguin 1969).

Livy, *The Early History of Rome*, tr. A. De Selincourt (Penguin 1960).

Livy, *The War with Hannibal*, tr. A. de Selincourt (Penguin 1972).

Plutarch, *Makers of Rome*, tr. I. Scott-Kilvert (Penguin 1965).

Sallust, *Jugurthine War, Conspiracy of Catiline*, tr. S.A. Handford (Penguin 1963).

### **Recommended Reading** (especially for first year students).

R. Marius, *A Short Guide to Writing about History* (Longman, 1999).

**Tentative Schedule of Classes** (Readings marked with an asterisk are on reserve in Baker library).

Jan.5, 6. Introduction

Sat: Introduction.

Jan. 8, 10, 12. Roman Origins.

Cary and Scullard 3-40.

Further Reading: T.J. Cornell, *The Beginnings of Rome. Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (c. 1000-264 B.C.)* (Routledge 1995); M. Pallottino, *A History of Earliest Italy* (Ann Arbor 1991); J. Heurgon, *The Rise of Rome* (Berkeley 1973), chs. 1-4; A. Alföldi, *Early Rome and the Latins* (Ann Arbor 1961).

W: Regal Rome.

Cary and Scullard 41-61.

Further Reading: A. Grandazzi, *The Foundation of Rome. Myth and History* (Cornell 1997).

F: Discussion: Roman Historical Thinking

Livy, *The Early History of Rome*, book I (p. 33-101).

L. Bonfante, "Etruscan Women" in *Women in the Classical World* (Oxford 1994) 243-59.\*

Further Reading: I. Donaldson, *The Rapes of Lucretia. A Myth and its Transformations* (Oxford 1982).

Jan. 15, 17, 19. Archaic Rome and the Struggle of the Orders.

M: Martin Luther King Day. Classes cancelled.

T: Plebeian anti-State

Cary and Scullard 62-69.

Lewis and Reinhold nos. 8, 23, 24, 28, 29.

Further Reading: J. Heurgon, *The Rise of Rome* (Berkeley 1973) ch. 5 (a good survey through the end of the fourth century); J.Cl. Richard, "Patricians and Plebeians: The Origin of a Social Dichotomy," in *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome*, ed. K. Raaflaub (Berkeley 1986) 105-29; A. Momigliano, "The Rise of the plebs in the Archaic Age of Rome," reprinted in *ibid.* 175-97.

W: A community of warriors

Cary and Scullard 70-75.

Lewis and Reinhold no. 27, 43, 44, 51

Plutarch, *Coriolanus*.

Livy, *The Early History of Rome*, 161-65 (=Fabii at Cremera), 211-16 (Cincinnatus)

F: Legal Definitions of Community

Lewis and Reinhold no. 31, 32.

P. Garnsey, *Famine and Food Supply in the Graeco-Roman World* (Cambridge 1988) 43-68, 167-81.\*

Further Reading: A. Watson, *Rome of the XII Tables* (Princeton 1975).

Essay no. 1. DUE BY MONDAY CLASS TIME

Reading: W. Eder, "The Political Significance of the Codification of Law in Archaic Societies: An Unconventional Hypothesis," in *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome: New Perspectives on the Conflict of the Orders*, ed. K. Raaflaub (Berkeley, 1986) 262-300.\*

Questions: What definition of law and the rule of law does Eder apply? Given what you know of the political and legal context of early Rome, is he right? in his definitions? in his analysis?

Jan. 22, 24, 26. A Patricio-plebeian community,  
M: Struggle of the Orders: Auspicia, public business and political office.  
Cary and Scullard 75-83.  
Lewis and Reinhold no. 48, 90, 184.1-4 (p.523-24).  
J. Hölkeskamp, "Conquest, Competition and Consensus: Roman  
Expansions in Italy and the Rise of the Nobilitas," *Historia* 42 (1993) 12-  
39.\*

Further Reading: J. Linderski, "The Auspices and the Struggle of the  
Orders," in *Staat und Staatlichkeit in der frühen römischen Republik*  
(Stuttgart 1990) 34-48. A. Momigliano, "The Rise of the plebs in the  
Archaic Age of Rome," *Social Struggles in Archaic Rome*, ed. K. Raafaub  
(Berkeley 1986) 175-97; J.-Cl. Richard, "Patricians and Plebeians: The  
Origin of a Social Dichotomy," *ibid.* 105-29.

T: Samnite Wars: Institutionalization of Roman warfare  
Cary and Scullard 84-96  
Lewis and Reinhold nos. 16, 17.  
Wm. Harris, "Roman Warfare in the Economic and Social Context of the  
Fourth Century B.C.," in *Staat und Staatlichkeit in der frühen römischen  
Republik* (Stuttgart 1990) 494-510.\*

W: Citizenship, Colony, Road.  
Lewis and Reinhold no. 19-22, 162 ("Charter of Bantia").  
E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (Oxford 1958), intro. and ch. 1 (p. 1-32).  
R. Laurence, *The Roads of Roman Italy. Mobility and Cultural Change*  
(Routledge 1999), chs. 2-3 (p. 11-38).\*

Further Reading: D.W. Rathbone, "The Development of Agriculture in the  
'Ager Cosanus' during the Roman Republic: Problems of Evidence and  
Interpretation," *JRS* 71 (1981) 10-23.

F: Discussion. The Politics of Warfare: citizenship and slavery  
M.I. Finley, *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (Penguin 1980) ch. 2.\*  
Lewis and Reinhold nos. 90.

Further Reading: A. Schiavone, *The End of the Past Ancient Rome and the  
Modern West*, trans. M.J. Schneider (Harvard 2000), chs. 8 ("Nobles and  
Merchants"), 9 ("Slaves, Nature, Machines"), 10 ("Ancient and Modern  
Work").

Jan. 29, 31/Feb. 2. Formation of Roman Italy  
M: Greeks, Carthaginians and the ritual definition of Roman Italy  
Cary and Scullard 113-123.  
Lewis and Reinhold no. 13, 57, 58, 90 (p. 233).

Further Reading: E. Badian, *Foreign Clientelae* (Oxford 1958), ch. 2;  
A.M. Eckstein, *Senate and General. Individual Decision-Making and  
Roman Foreign Relations, 264-194 B.C.* (Berkeley 1987), chs 3, 4; J.F.  
Lazenby, *The First Punic War* (Stanford 1996).

W: Punic Invasion: Military and political response to Hannibal  
Cary and Scullard 124-137.  
Lewis and Reinhold no. 60-61.

Livy 21-22, 23.1-13. READ CAREFULLY 21.1-18 (p. 23-42); 21.39-57 (p. 63-84); 21.62-22.11 (p. 89-106); 22.33-61 (p. 131-65), 23.1-15 (p.167-85).

F: Discussion. Changing definitions of military success and leadership?  
Plutarch, *Fabius Maximus* (p. 53-83), *Marcellus* (p. 85-118).  
Livy 28.38-29.9 (p. 547-78), 29.23-35 (596-613), 30 entire (p. 619-76).

Feb. 5, 7, 9. Rome and the Mediterranean

M: Social cohesion, deviance and Roman religion

Lewis and Reinhold no. 176-77.

G. Dumézil, "Religion during the Second Punic War," in *Archaic Roman Religion* (Chicago 1970) 457-89.\*

Further Reading: N. Rosenstein, *Imperatores Victi. Military Defeat and Aristocratic Competition in the Middle and Late Republic* (Berkeley 1990), ch. 2 ("Defeat and the Pax Deorum"); E. Gruen, *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy* (Berkeley 1990) ch. 1 ("The Advent of the Magna Mater"), ch. 2 ("The Bacchanalian Affair").

T: War in 200 and the Roman wars for Greece.

Cary and Scullard 150-168.

Lewis and Reinhold no. 66, 68-71, 73-74.

W: Discussion. Cato's Rome: Traditional behavior and nostalgia

Cary and Scullard 186-99.

Plutarch, *Cato the Censor* (p. 119-51).

Lewis and Reinhold no. 94, 159, 166.

Further Reading: E. Gruen, *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome* (Cornell 1992), chs. 2 ("Cato and Hellenism"), 3 ("Art and Civic Life"), and 6 ("The Appeal of Hellas").

F. Carnival. Classes are cancelled.

Feb. 12, 14, 16. *Imperium Romanum*

M: Administrative accountability: Legal definitions of political power

Cary and Scullard 169-85.

Lewis and Reinhold no. 77, 79, 100, 120-23, 127, 133, 141.

Further Reading: A. Lintott, *Imperium Romanum* (London 1993).

W: Slavery and Slave Wars: The First Sicilian Slave Revolt.

Zvi Yavetz, *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Rome*, 15-44.\*

Further Reading: K. Bradley, *Slavery and Rebellion in the Roman World, 140-70 B.C.* (Bloomington 1989).

F: Discussion: Roman Imperialism?

D. Kagan, *Problems in Ancient History*, vol. 2 ("The Roman World") 148-62.\*

M.I. Finley, "War and Empire," in *Ancient History. Evidence and Models* (Penguin 1985) 67-87.\*

J. Linderski, "*Si vis pacem, para bellum*: Concepts of Defensive Imperialism," in Wm. Harris, ed. *The Imperialism of Mid-Republican Rome* (Rome 1982) 59-82.\*

Feb. 19, 21, 23. Roman Revolution

M: Ti. and C. Gracchus and the re-invention of the tribunate

Cary and Scullard 203-211.

Lewis and Reinhold, selections from Appian in nos. 94, 97, 101.

Plutarch, *Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus* (p. 153-93).

Further Reading: E. Badian, "Tiberius Gracchus and the Beginning of the Roman Revolution," ANRW 1.1 (1972) 668-731.

T: C. Marius and L. Appuleius Saturninus

Cary and Scullard 212-221.

Sallust, *Jugurthine War* (p. 35-148).

W: The Social War

Cary and Scullard 222-29.

Lewis and Reinhold no. 103, 155.

Further Reading: E. Badian, "Roman Politics and the Italians (133-91 B.C.)," *Dialoghi di Archeologia* 4-5 (1971) 373-421; E. Gabba, "The Origins of the Social War and Roman Politics after 89 B.C.," in *Republican Rome. The Army and the Allies* (Berkeley 1976) 70-130 P.A. Brunt, "Italian Aims at the Time of the Social War," in *Fall of the Roman Republic and Related Essays* (Oxford 1988) 93-143.

F: Guest lecture by Keith Bradley. Details to be announced.

Feb. 26, 28/March 2. First Century. State in Crisis

M: L. Cornelius Sulla and the legal definition of senatorial government.

Cary and Scullard 230-38.

Lewis and Reinhold no. 104.

Further Reading: E. Gabba, *Republican Rome. The Army and the Allies* (Berkeley 1976) chs. 4 and 5.

ESSAY NO. 2A DUE. Using the collection of evidence on the revolts of Aristonicus or Spartacus in Yavetz, *Slaves and Slavery in Ancient Rome*, analyze the slave revolt and Roman response to it. Questions to consider: How do the sources represent the slaves' motives and objectives? How do the Romans respond, institutionally, collectively, individually, to the slaves?

W: Pompey, Caesar and Crassus

Cary and Scullard 239-57.

Cicero, *On the Command of Cnaeus Pompeius* (p. 33-70).

F: Discussion: Catiline and the critique of Republican politics

Sallust, *Conspiracy of Catiline* (p. 175-232).

Cicero, *Against Lucius Sergius Catilina* (p. 71-145).

Further Reading: A. Lintott, *Violence in Republican Rome* (Oxford 1972) esp. ch. 12; W. Nippel, "Policing Rome," *JRS* 74 (1984) 20-29.

F. Millar, "The Political Character of the Classical Roman Republic," *JRS* 74 (1984) 1-19.

March 5, 7. The failure of the Republic?

M: P. Clodius Pulcher and populist politics

Cary and Scullard 258-69.

Lewis and Reinhold no. 101.

Cicero, *In Defense of Titus Annius Milo* (p. 215-78).

W: Caesar and Cicero's vision of the Republican state.

Cary and Scullard 270-82.

Lewis and Reinhold no. 108, 110-13.

Cicero, *In Support of Marcus Claudius Marcellus* (p. 279-94).

ESSAY NO. 2B DUE. Using Cicero, *On the Command of Cnaeus Pompeius* and *In Support of Marcus Claudius Marcellus*, analyze Cicero's Republicanism.

Questions to consider. What are the sources of Caesar's authority? of Caesar's status? of Pompey's authority and status? What is traditional and what is new in this formulation of authority and status. What are the proper sources of authority and status? What are Cicero's prescriptions for restoring the Republic? What Republic does Cicero want to restore? Are his views of reform sufficient? realistic? What is his definition of the "State"?

## Grades and Assignments

Class		30%
Essays	40%	
Final Exam		30%

Essays are 5-7 and 7-10 pages each, typed, double spaced, 12 point font. Each essay requires a careful reading and analysis of texts within the larger framework of Roman social or political history. I am available to look at rough drafts.

The final examination will be drawn from review questions which I will distribute the last day of class.

Your class grade will be determined by

1. your citizenship, i.e. showing up, being prepared and contributing to the group learning experience, especially during class discussion.
2. Discussion means discussion. You will be expected to turn in typed responses to assigned reading questions for days marked as "discussion."

**Reading Questions for Discussion.** These are not formal essays with careful paragraphing and argument but they should be formal notes that will enable you to contribute in class discussion. At each discussion period you will be required to turn in a written answer (of 1-2 pages, **no more than** 3 pages) to ONE question. The lowest of these grades will be dropped (i.e. you may not turn in a response one week or turn in all and drop your lowest grade). These questions and your responses to them will provide the basis for discussion on the indicated day.

January 12.

1. How does Livy define history and why should one study it?

2. What are the particular privileges of Etruscan women? How does the image of Etruscan women in art/archaeology correlate with their representation in Livy?
3. Is there a positive paradigm for womanhood in Livy? What are the characteristics of this woman?

January 26.

1. How does one locate slavery within ancient society, according to Finley? What are the positive arguments (think concretely of government policies) for the increasing importance of slavery in Roman society during the fourth century?
2. What are the three preconditions for the demand for slaves? What is the evidence to suggest that Rome met these preconditions?
3. How would the increasing importance of slavery have affected the traditional hierarchies (patron-client) of Roman society? How would the *lex Poetelia* have affected the patron/client relationship?

February 2.

1. Which constituencies did Fabius Maximus, Marcellus or Scipio cultivate?
2. What actions did Fabius Maximus, Marcellus or Scipio undertake to promote or realize individual policies or strategies? Did the actions/policies follow precedent and if not how not and with what possible effects?
3. What influences (religious, social, political) can you discern on the individual's policies or goals? How do these aspirations correlate with the Roman of Livy, book 1?

February 7.

1. Compare Cato's career with that of Fabius Maximus or Marcellus. Consider constituencies, policy, strategies and objectives. How is Cato traditional? How is he revolutionary?

February 16.

1. What motives prompted Roman aggression according to Carcopino? What prompted Roman intervention in Greece according to Mommsen? according to Frank? according to Holleaux? according to Badian? How did these scholars reach such different views about the same series of events? Can we isolate distinct motives of the Roman people, Senate and elected officials?
2. How does Linderski explain the various interpretations of Roman imperialism? How does Finley approach the question of motivation in Roman aggression? Does Linderski's argument presume Finley's approach to Roman imperialism? If so, how do both understand the task of the historian.

March 2.

1. Who were Catiline's constituency according to Cicero? according to Sallust? Do the characterizations of the supporters correlate with the activities ascribed to them?
2. What role in politics does Sallust assign to the "Roman people"?

