The Mercenary War (240 BCE – 238 BCE)
Also called the ‘Truceless War’ and Libyan War in Polybius, this conflict occupied the two years immediately following the First Punic War (264 BCE – 241 BCE). The 20,000 or so mercenaries who the Carthaginians had hired began their revolt with a march on Tunis led by the Libyan Matho and the runaway Roman slave Spendius. After swelling to over 40,000 in number, the rebel army isolated Carthage from most of Libya. The Carthaginians rightly feared that the army would establish a new, independent Libyan state, just as the Memertines had previously done. A weak economy and ethnic tension all contributed to the creation of an independent Libyan state.

Quick Summary of Major Events:
241 BCE: The Romans impose harsh economic reparations on the defeated Carthaginians.
240 BCE: Matho and Spendius begin the war by capturing Gesco, the Carthaginian leader previously in charge of transporting mercenaries from Sicily. (Polyb. 1:70.1 – 1:71.7)
240 BCE: Hanno the Great fails to recapture Utica for the Carthaginians.
240 BCE: Hamilcar Barca takes command of the Carthaginians. (Polyb. 1:73)
240 BCE: Hamilcar defeats rebels in the Battle of the Bagradas River. (Polyb. 1:73)
240 BCE: The revolt spreads to Sardinia and Numidia
239 BCE: Matho and Spendius move their forces from Utica and Hippo to attack Tunis.
239 BCE: The Carthaginians receive support from both Syracuse and Rome. (Polyb. 1:83.1 – 1:83.11)
238 BCE: Hamilcar defeats and crucifies Spendius at Prion in the “Battle of the Saw”. (Polyb. 1:85)
238 BCE: Matho defeats and crucifies Hannibal, Hanno’s replacement, in Tunis.
238 BCE: Hamilcar withdraws from Tunis to regroup.
237 BCE: Final battle! Not much is known besides the 40,000 Carthaginians crushing the 30,000 rebels, effectively ending the revolt. (Polyb. 1:87)

Notable Quotes on the War:
Polybius, Histories, 1:79.10: [Spendius speaking on Hamilcar’s leniency] “It is not,” he said, “with the intention of sparing their lives that he has taken this course regarding his captives, but by releasing them he designs to get us into his power, so that he may take vengeance not on some, but on all of us who trust him.” Translated by Horace White on Livius.org. Spendius goes on to torture and crucify 700 Carthaginians.
Appian, The Wars on the Islands, 1.4: They [Romans] also sent deputies to Africa to arrange a peace if they could, but they returned without accomplishing anything. The Carthaginians prosecuted the war vigorously. Translated by Horace White on Livius.org.
Polybius, Histories, 1:88.7: This war had lasted for three years and four months, and it far excelled all wars we know of in cruelty and defiance of principle. Translated by W. R. Patton for the Loeb Library.

Sources:
Dexter Hoyos’s 2007 monograph, A Truceless War: Carthage’s Fight for Survival, 241 0237 BCE, is the most recent book-length (276 pg.) account of the conflict.
Naevius the Comic Poet (c. 235 BCE)
Gnaeus Naevius (270 – 201 BCE) began his extensive dramatic career (perhaps six tragedies, 28 comedies, and an epic of seven books) after serving in the First Punic War. He staged his first play in 235 BCE. His comedies often concerned contemporary political events, and his comic verses targeting the Metelli led to censorship and his exile.

Fabulae Palliatae Togataque
Acontizomenos (Speared)  Lampadio
Agitatoria (The Play of the Driver)  Leon
Agrypnumtes (The Wideawakes)  Nautae (Sailors)
Apella (The Circumcised)  Pellex (The Concubine)
Ariolus (The Soothsayer)  Personata (A Masked Play)
Cabonaria (The Collier Maid)  Proiectus (The Outcast)
Clamidaria (A Play about a Cloak)  Quadrigemini (The Quadruplets)
Colax (The Flatterer)  Stalagus
Corollaria (The Garland-Maid)  Stigmatias (The Branded Slave)
Dementes (The Madmen)  Tarentilla (The Tarentine Maid)
Demetrius  Technicus (The Charlatan)
Dolus (The Fraud)  Testicularia (A Play about Testicles)
Figulus (The Potter)  Triphallus
Glaucoma (Cataract)  Tunicularia (A Play about a Little Coat)
Gymnasticus (The Gym-Master)

Choice Quotes from Select Comedies (All translations by E. Warmington for the Loeb Library)
Acontizomenos: Acontizomenos fabula est prime bona. ‘Speared is a first-rately fine play!’
Probably the first line of the prologue.
Appella: Ut illum di perdant, qui primum holitor protulit caepam! ‘Well, God damn him – the kitchen-gardener who first produced an onion!’ Other surviving quotes also concern onions.
Tarentilla: Quasi pila in choro ludens datatim dat se et commune facit. Alii adnictat, alii adnictat, alium amat alium tenet. Alii manus est occupata, alii pervellit pedem; alium data lii spectandum, a labris alium invoke, cum alio cantat, at tamen alii suo dat digito litteras. ‘As though she were playing at ball, give-and-take in a ring, she makes herself common property to all men. To one she nods, at another she winks; one she caresses, another embraces. Now elsewhere a hand is kept busy; now she jerks another’s foot. To one she gives her ring to look at, to another her lips blow a kiss that invites. She sings a song with one; but waves a message for another with her finger.’ Isidorus uses this passage to describe a quadam impudica.
Testicularia: Inmo quos scicidiimus conscindam atque abiciam. ‘No indeed! Those we cut off I’ll cut up and cast away.’ Priscianus quotes this passage in a discussion on scicidi.
Tribacelus?: Deos quesout adamanet et patrem et matrem meos. ‘I pray the gods may remove my father and my mother.’ Donatus quotes this passage in his commentary on Terence’s Adelphoe IV, 1, 5, saying that writers often bring to the stage young men of this sort.

Sources
Foundation of The Circus Flaminius, 221 BCE

In 221, the censor Gaius Flaminius Nepos sectioned off and enclosed the space around the Flaminian fields that would henceforth be known as the Circus Flaminius. The Circus Flaminius was originally a 500-meter long oval loop. It had no permanent seating, tiers, columns, statues, starting-boxes, or lap-markers. The only permanent fixture may have been a sundial. By 220, there were already five or six temples built in the Flaminian fields, and in later years victorious generals and emperors constructed many more buildings in the area. The Severan Marble Plan shows the location of the Circus Flaminius as between the (not-yet constructed) Porticus Octaviae and the Tiber River, northwest of the site of the (not-yet constructed) Theater of Marcellus. The Circus Flaminius was home to the ludi Taurii. These games were performed every five years in honor of the gods of the underworld. When the games were not being hosted, the Circus Flaminius functioned much like the Forum. Markets were held there, bankers set up tables there, people performed funeral orations there, and people convened there for contiones.

Ancient sources on the Circus Flaminius

Cassius Dio (Roman History 55.10) [On Augustus dedicating a temple to Mars in 2BCE and the celebrations that followed]:
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἔς τε τὸν Φλαμίνιον ἱππόδρομον ὕδωρ ἐσήχθη, καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ κροκόδειλοι ἔξας καὶ τριάκοντα κατεκόπησαν.

Afterwards water was let into the Circus Flaminius and thirty-six crocodiles were there slaughtered. (Trans. Earnest Cary, Herbert B. Foster for the Loeb Library)

Livy (History of Rome 3.54.15, 27.21.1, 40.52.4, 39.5): Location of the Circus (the southern part of the campus Martius) and events held there (triumphal ceremonies, ludi saeculares)

Varro (On the Latin Language 5.154) [Speaking about the layout of the Circus Maximus]:
“Likewise for a similar reason the Circus Flaminius ‘Flaminian Circus’ got its name, for it is built circum ‘around’ the Flaminian Plain, and there also the horses race circum ‘around’ the turning-posts at the Taurian Games.” (Trans. Roland G. Kent for the Loeb Library)

Valerius Maximus (Memorable Doings and Sayings 1.7.4):

cum plebeiis quidam ludis pater familias per circum Flaminium, prius quam pompa induceretur, servum suum verberibus mulcatum sub furca ad supplicium egisset.

At the Plebeian Games a certain head of a household led a slave of his, who had been flogged, under the fork to execution through the Circus Flaminius before the procession was brought in. (Trans. D.R. Shackleton Bailey for the Loeb Library)

Recent Discussions/Sources


In short, the evidence suggests quite consistently that the Circus Flaminius was not a long narrow race-track like the Circus Maximus, but a broad open space unencumbered by spina, carceres or terraces of public seats. Varrò describes it as 'built round the Flaminian fields', and Livy identifies it with the fields themselves; both imply a considerable area. The word aedificatus suggests at least an enclosing wall (possibly with tabernae, since it was a market area among other things), and the basic meaning of the word circus allows the inference that it was roughly circular. (p.4)
Live Burial of Two Greeks and Two Gauls in the Forum Boarium, 226 (228?) BCE

Throughout the 230s, tensions built between Rome and Gaulish tribes in northern Italy. After the War of Ariminum in 238 and Gaius Flaminius’ land law in 232 authorizing the settling of large numbers of Romans on seized Gaulish land, Romans may have seen further war with Gaul as inevitable. In 226, a sacrifice of two Gauls and two Greeks was performed in the Forum Boarium to forestall a prophecy that Rome would fall to the Gauls. This prophecy warned the Romans to beware of the Gauls when lightning struck near the temple of Apollo. When lightning struck the Capitoline Hill in 226, the Senate ordered the live burial of a Gaulish couple and a Greek couple, so that, in this way, these “foreigners” might be said to have “come into possession” of the city. The next year, Gaul’s forces invaded Etruria and defeated the Romans at Faesulae. Five years later, the Romans defeated the Gaulish tribes and began to colonize the Po Valley.

Ancient sources on this event:

**Plutarch (Life of Marcellus 3.6-7)** [On the “extraordinary sacrifices” the Romans made before the wars with Gaul]:

> βαρβαρικὸν μὲν γὰρ ὑδέων οὐδὲν οὐδ᾿ ἐκφυλον ἐπιτηδεύοντες, ἀλλ᾿ ὡς ἐν μίλιστα ταῖς δόξαις Ἑλληνικῶς διακείμενοι καὶ πράως πρὸς τὰ θεῖα, τότε τοῦ πολέμου συμπεσόντος ἤγαγκάσθησαν εἶξα λογίως τοιν ἐκ τῶν Σιβυλλείων, καὶ δύο μὲν Ἕλληνας, ἄνδρα καὶ γυναῖκα, δύο δὲ Γαλάτας ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ καλουμένῃ βοῶν ἀγορᾷ κατορύξας... 

For though they have no barbarous or unnatural practices, but cherish towards their deities those mild and reverent sentiments which especially characterize Greek thought, at the time when this war burst upon them they were constrained to obey certain oracular commands from the Sibylline books, and to bury alive two Greeks, a man and a woman, and likewise two Gauls, in the place called the “forum boarium,” or cattle-market... (Trans. Bernadotte Perrin for the Loeb Library)

**Livy (History of Rome 22.57.6)**: Mentions the stone grave in the Forum “which even before this time had been defiled with human victims, a sacrifice wholly alien to the Roman spirit” (iam ante hostiis humanis, minime Romano sacro, imbutum) (Trans. B. O. Foster for the Loeb Library)

**Cassius Dio (Roman History 12, fragment 50)**: “The Romans were alarmed over an oracle of the Sibyl which told them that they must beware of the Gauls when a thunderbolt should fall upon the Capitol near the temple of Apollo.” (Trans. Earnest Cary for Lacus Curtius)

**Pliny the Elder (Natural History 28.2)** and **Minucius Felix (Octavius 4.30)** speak more generally about a previous Roman sacrifice of two Greeks and two Gauls.

Recent Discussions/Sources


…the symbolic aspect taken on by the sacrificial victims should not prevent us from perceiving the essence of what they symbolized: external threats to the Roman State. It is in this sense that human sacrifice at Rome can be viewed as a *Kriegsopfer*. The Romans thought of human sacrifice as an extreme and terrible act... but they lived in a harsh world. They buried their victims alive only because they feared that they, too, might one day become victims. (p.82)


Dictatorship of Quintus Fabius Maximus (217 BCE)

Quintus Fabius Maximus “Cunctator” was elected dictator in the aftermath of the battle at Lake Trasimene, which resulted in the deaths of 15,000 Roman men. He immediately busied himself with restoring the morale of the people through religious rites and rebuilding the army. His strategy was entirely different from the previous generals, who sought to defeat Hannibal in pitched battles; instead, he focused on disrupting Hannibal’s activities, while refusing engage his entire force. The master of the horse, Marcus Minucius Rufus, criticized him as timidum, and the Roman people were frustrated at his caution. The next year, two new consuls, Gaius Terentius Varro and Lucius Aemilius Paullus, who were both defeated in the disaster at Cannae…which resulted in the re-adoptation of Fabius’s strategy.

Ancient discussion of Fabius Maximus’s Dictatorship

Itaque ad remedium iam diu neque desideratum nec adhibitum, dictatorem dicendum, civitas confugit. Et quia et consul aberat, a quo uno dici possee videbatur, nec per occupatam armis Punicis Italiam facile era taut nuntium aut litteras mitti, quod nunquam ante eam diem factum erat, dictatorem populous creavit …

And so the citizens had recourse to a remedy that had now for a long time neither been employed nor needed – the create of a dictator. And because the consul, who alone was supposed to possess the power to nominate one, was absent, and because it was no easy matter, when Italy was beset with Punic arms to get a courier or a letter through to him, they did what had never been done until that day, and created a dictator by popular election. (Livy XXII 8.5-7)

Fabius per loca alta agmen ducebat modico ab hoste intervallo, ut neque omitteret eum neque congrederetur . . . . neque universe periculo summa rerum committebat et para momenta levium certaminum ex tuto coeptorum finitimoque receptu adsuefaciebant territum pristinis cladibus militem minus iam tandem aut virtutis aut fortunae paenitere suae.

Fabius kept leading his troops along the heights at a moderate distance from the enemy, so as neither to lose touch nor yet come to blows with him . . . . He refused to stake all on a general engagement, and yet by means of little skirmishes, undertaken from a safe position and with a place of refuge close at hand, he at length accustomed his soldiers, disheartened by their former defeats, to be less diffident of their own courage and good fortune. (Livy XXII 12.8-10)

Not long after, Fabius laid down the dictatorship, and consuls were again created. Those who immediately succeeded observed the same method in managing the war, and avoided all occasions of fighting Hannibal in a pitched battle; they only succoured their allies, and preserved the towns from falling off to the enemy. But afterwards, when Terentius Varro, a man of obscure birth, but very popular and bold, had obtained the consulship, he soon made it appear that by his rashness and ignorance he would stake the whole commonwealth on the hazard. (Plutarch, Fabius 14.1)

References:

After the Battle of Cannae in 216 BCE, Rome was thrown into disarray. The senate passed a decree introduced by Gaius Oppius to place limits on women's dress and consumption. Livy does not mention this law until Book 34, when he discusses it in the context of a debate about its repeal. The famous Cato the Elder opposed its repeal on the basis that women should be modest and were too weak to resist the temptation of Rome's newly acquired luxury without the law. Lucius Valerius contested this idea, arguing that the law had been put in place to aid the state financially during a difficult time, and did not need to be in effect during such prosperity.

**Ancient Discussion of the Lex Oppia**

Equidem non sine rubore quodam Paulo ante per medium agmen mulierum in forum perveni.

For myself, I could not conceal my blushes a while ago, when I had to make my way to the Forum through a crowd of women... (Livy, XXXIV, 2.8)

Tulerat eam C. Oppius tribunus plebis Q. Fabio Ti. Sempronio consulibus, in medio ardore Punici belli, ne qua mulier plus semunciam auri haberet neu vestimento versicolori uteretur neu iuncto vehiculo in urbe oppidove aut propius inde mille passus nisi sacrorum publicorum causa veheretur.

The tribune Gaius Oppius had carried this law in the heat of the Punic War, in the consulship of Quintus Fabius and Tiberius Sempronius, that no woman should possess more than half an ounce of gold or wear a parti-coloured garment or ride in a carriage in the City or in a town within a mile thereof, except on the occasion of a religious festival. (Livy, XXXIV, 1.3)

...at such a time were the matrons so absorbed in luxury and adornment that the Oppian law was needed to restrain them, when, since the rites of Ceres had to be omitted because all the women were in mourning, the senate limited the period of mourning to thirty days? Who fails to see that the poverty and distress of the state wrote that law, since all private property had to be diverted to public use, and that the law was to remain in force so long as the cause of its enactment lasted?“ (Livy, XXXIV 6.15-16)

At that period the matrons dared to lay siege to the house of the Bruti, who were prepared to veto the repeal of the Oppian law. Women wanted this law annulled because it forbade them to wear multicolored dresses or to own more than half an ounce of gold for the purpose of sacrifice. And they did in fact succeed in getting abolished a statute that had been observed for twenty years. (Valerius Maximus, Memorable Doings and Sayings, 9.3)

**Recent Mentions**


The period of the late third to early second centuries BC was the epoch extraordinaire of groups sumptuary legislation, a time of unparalleled frequency in the enactment and repeal of largely ineffective regulations moderating banquets, dress and entertainments (Sauerwein, 1970; Zanda, 2005; Wallace-Hadrill, 2008: 319-329). These include the lex Orchia of 181, which limited the number of guests able to attend entertainments (Macrobius 3.17.2-3; Sauerwein, 1970: 70-6), and the lex Oppia, brought forward in the midst of the Punic War (215) and repealed in 195...

**References:**


The Roman Waiting Room: The End of One Conflict and Beginning of Another (202 BCE)

The Battle of Zama in 202 BCE, in which Scipio defeated Hannibal, ended the 2nd Punic War and forced the Carthaginians to send envoys to Rome to sue for peace. Meanwhile, Philip V of Macedon was beginning to stir up trouble. Rome had fought Macedon from 214-205 but had made peace to focus on defeating Carthage. Philip, sensing the potential weakness of Rome, sent envoys to test the waters. Livy sets up his history in such a way that the Macedonian and Carthaginian envoys show up to Rome at the same time and are forced to wait to meet with the senate.

Tum de legatis Philippi et Carthaginiensium actum. Piores Macedonas introduci placuit… partim purgantium quae questi erant missi ad regem ab Roma legati de populacione sociorum, partim ultimo accusantium quidem et socios populi Romani… partim postulantium ut Macedones duxque eorum Sopater, qui apud Hannibalem mercede militassent, tum capti in vinclis essent, sibi restituerentur… bellum quaerere regem et, si pergat, propediem inventurum… Cum hoc tam tristi responso dimissis Macedonibus, legati Carthaginiensium vocati… Qui cum varia oratione usus esset, nunc purgando crimina, nunc quaedam fatendo, ne impudenter certa negantibus difficilior venia esset, nunc monendo etiam patres conscriptos ut rebus secundis moderate uterentur… ac plus paene parcendo victis quam vincendo imperium auxisse...

Then the senate deliberated concerning the embassies of Philip and the Carthaginians. It was decided that the Macedonians should be brought in first… some of them tried to excuse acts of which envoys who were sent from Rome to the king in regard to the ravaging of allied territory had complained. Others actually turned accuser, attacking allies of the Roman people… others demanded that the Macedonians and their general, Sopater, who served with Hannibal and at the time were captives in chains, be restored to them…[The Romans responded] that the king (Philip) was looking for war and if he kept on would soon find it… With so stern an answer as this the Macedonians were dismissed and the Carthaginian ambassadors summoned… [Hasdrubal’s] speech was in different keys, now excusing what was charged, now making some admissions, lest pardon should be harder to obtain if they shamelessly denied known facts, and now even admonishing the conscript fathers to make a moderate and restrained use of their good fortune… [since] they had enlarged their empire (the Romans) almost more by sparing the vanquished than by conquest…

Appian discusses the agreements of the peace treaty [Punic Wars, Ch 9] as does Polybius [15.18], but neither of their works involve envoys from Macedonia and Carthage waiting together to meet with the Roman Senate. Cassius Dio’s account also addresses the end of the war, but unfortunately is fragmentary [17.57.83]

Secondary Sources

"Thus as Polybius saw, the Hannibalic War was far more than just the second round in the struggle with Carthage—it was, rather, the crucial stage in Rome’s rise to dominion over the Mediterranean world…Rome had emerged as a ‘super power’ and it was soon to be made clear that she had no rival.”

Mother Knows Best: How the Magna Mater Came to Rome (204 BCE)

Natural portents during the 2nd Punic War led the senate to consult the Sibylline books. The Sibyl declared that an enemy could be driven from Rome “if the Idaean Mother should be brought from Pessinus to Rome.” [Livy, 29.10] The Idaean Mother, which was also known as “Magna Mater” or “Cybele”, was an ancient near Eastern goddess, worshiped in Pessinus in the form of a large black meteorite. In a noteworthy diplomatic move, the Romans sent envoys to Attalus, a friendly king of Pergamum, and requested that he give the stone to Rome. He agreed and the stone/goddess was brought to Rome, where the ancient sources detail its arrival:

P. Cornelius cum omnibus matronis Ostiam obviam ire deae iussus, isque eam de nave accipere et in terram elatam tradere ferendam matronis… Matronae primores civitatis, inter quas unius Claudiae Quintae insigne est nomen, accepere… Eae per manus, succedentes deinde aliae aliiis… in aedem Victoriae quae est in Palatio… Populus frequens dona deae in Palatium tulit, lectisterniumque et ludi fuere…

Publius Cornelius was ordered to go to Ostia with all the matrons to meet the goddess, and himself to receive her from the ship, and carrying her to land to turn her over to the matrons to carry…. The foremost matrons in the state, among whom the name of one in particular, that of Claudia Quinta, is conspicuous, received her... The matrons passed the goddess from hand to hand in an unbroken succession to each other… to the Temple of Victory, which is on the Palatine… The people thronged to the Palatine bearing gifts for the goddess, and there was a banquet of the gods, and games also…


Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives a different outlook on the cult:

The rites of the Idaean goddess are a case in point; for the praetors perform sacrifices and celebrate games in her honour every year according to the Roman customs, but the priest and priestess of the goddess are Phrygians, and it is they who carry her image in procession through the city…but by a law and decree of the senate no native Roman… worships the goddess with the Phrygian ceremonies. So cautious are they about admitting any foreign religious customs and so great is their aversion to all pompous display that is wanting in decorum…

(Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Roman Antiquities 2.19, Trans. Earnest Cary for Loeb Library)

Secondary Sources


“…this cult and its priests came to act as a privileged focus of debate on the nature of the Roman and the foreign… [and] effectively amounted to different claims and conflicting counterclaims on how the Roman was to be defined: on proper Roman behavior; on the proper exercise of Roman power; and on the proper Roman relations with the divine. These claims were part of an unending process of defining the identity of the ruling power.”


After the end of the 1st Macedonian War (214–205 BCE), the 2nd Punic War monopolizes Rome’s attention, while the death of Ptolemy IV Philopator in 204 BCE leaves the Ptolemaic kingdom in disarray.

Philip V of Macedon seizes the opportunity to expand the Antigonid Empire. In 201 BCE, allied with Antiochus the Great, he launches a campaign in Asia Minor, during which he openly attacks the territories of Pergamon and Rhodes, resulting in the latter calling upon Rome for help.

In the autumn of 200 BCE the 2nd Macedonian War begins, ending in 197 BCE after the decisive victory of Titus Quinctius Flamininus at the battle of Cynoscephalae (Plb.18.19-27; Liv.33.6-10).

During the opening of the Isthmian games of 196 BCE, Flamininus declares the emancipation of all independent Greek states from both Macedonian and Roman control (Plb.18.46; Liv.33.30-33; App.9.4):

…ṭροπαιόθεντος τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὸ στάδιον ἐπὶ τὸν ἀγώνα, προελθὼν ὁ κῆρυξ καὶ κατασιωπησάμενος τὰ πλήθη διὰ τοῦ σαλπικτοῦ τὸδε κῆρυμα ἀνηγόρευσεν· “Ἡ σύγκλητος ἡ Ῥωμαίων καὶ Τίτος Κοῖντιος στρατηγὸς στρατιτηγὸς ὑπατος, καταπολεμήσαντες βασιλέα Φίλιππον καὶ Μακεδόνας, ἀφιᾶσιν ἐλευθέρους, ἀφρουρήτους, ἀφορολόγητους, νόμοις χρωμένους τὸις πατρίοις, Κορινθίους Φωκέας, Λοκρούς, Εὔβοεις, Αχαιοὺς τοὺς Φθιώτας, Μάγνητας, Θετταλούς, Περραβούς.”

…the crowd being now collected in the stadium to witness the games, the herald came forward and, having imposed universal silence by his bugler, read this proclamation: “The senate of Rome and Titus Quinctius the proconsul having overcome King Philip and the Macedonians, leave the following peoples free, without garrisons and subject to no tribute and governed by their countries’ laws — the Corinthians, Phocians, Locrians, Euboeans, Phthiotic Achaeans, Magnesians, Thessalians, and Perrhaebians.” (Plb.18.46.5-6; trans. W. R. Paton, *LCL*)

The enthusiasm of the people attending the games is so great that they ask the herald to repeat the announcement, which was followed by frenzied applause:

iterata deinde pronuntiatio praeconis tanta caelum clamoris alacritate compleverunt ut certe constet aves quae supervolabant attonitas paventesque decidisse.

Then, when the herald’s pronunciation was repeated, they filled the heavens with so enthusiastic a shout that according to general and sure report birds flying overhead fell to the ground in stupefaction and fear. (Val.Max.4.8.5; trans. D. R. Shackleton Bailey, *LCL*)

Flamininus is proclaimed Savior (Σωτήρ) by the Greeks, golden crowns are sent to the Capitol, and statues are erected in his honor.

**BIBLIOGRAPHY**


Established in 204 BCE with the introduction of the cult of Cybele from the Phrygia, the ludi Megalenses (< Μεγάλη Μήτηρ; April 4-10) were at first comprising circus games (ludi circenses) and a procession at which images of deities were displayed (Ov.Fast.4.377, 391).

Livy tells us that these ludi also became scaenici, as early as 194 BCE, when Publius Scipio returned to Rome after defeating the Boii at the Battle of Placentia:

P. Scipio ex provincia Gallia ad consules subrogandos venit... Megalesia ludos scaenicos A. Atilius Serranus, L. Scribonius Libo aediles curules primi fecerunt.

Publius Scipio came back from the province of Gaul to choose the new consuls... At the Megalesian Games dramatic performances were for the first time introduced by the curule aediles Aulus Atilius Serranus and Lucius Scribonius Libo. (Liv.34.54.1-3; trans. Evan T. Sage, LCL)

Later in his historical account, however, Livy tells us that a certain Valerius Antias placed the introduction of the ludi scaenici in the Megale(n)sia of 191 BCE:

Per idem fere tempus aedes Matris Magnae Idaeae dedicata est quam deam is P. Cornelius advectam ex Asia ... in Palatium a mari detulerat. Locaverant aedem faciendam ex senatus consulto... tredecim annis postquam locata erat, dedicavit eam M. Iunius Brutus, ludique ob dedicationem eius facti, quos primos scenicos fuisset Antias Valerius est auctor, Megalesia appellatos.

About the same time a temple was dedicated to the Great Idaean Mother, a goddess whom this same Publius Cornelius, when she came from Asia ... had escorted to the Palatine from the harbour. The contract for the construction of the temple, under a decree of the senate, was let... thirteen years after the contract was let, Marcus Junius Brutus dedicated the temple, and games were given by reason of the dedication, which Valerius Antias says were the first to be held with dramatic performances, and called the Megalesia. (Liv.36.36.3-5; trans. Evan T. Sage, LCL)

At this time, as we learn from the didascalia, Plautus' Pseudolus was performed in the ludi Megalenses:

M. IVNIO. M. FIL. PR. VRB. AC. ME. (Marco Iunio Marci filio praetore urbano acta Megalesiis)

Acted at the Megalesian games when Marcus Junius, son of Marcus, was city praetor.

PROLOGVS

exporgi meliust lumbos atque exsurgier:
Plautina longa fabula in scenam uenit.

It's better to stretch your loins and get to your feet: a long play by Plautus is about to come onstage. (trans. Wolfgang De Melo, LCL)

The prologue provides an interesting stagecraft detail regarding the venue of the ludi Megalenses. As Goldberg explains (p.3), “Plautus’ Pseudolus was performed at the dedication of Cybele’s temple in 191 B.C., and four of Terence's six plays were produced for her ludi in the 160s. All of them must therefore have been performed, as Cicero says, not just in the general area of the Palatine but immediately before her temple.”

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Rome’s War with Antiochus III (192-188 BCE) or the “Syrian War”

Following the 2nd Macedonian War, T. Quinctius Flamininus declared that all Greek states were “free” (Polyb. 18.46.5-7). This declaration, however, was seen as forced submission to Rome by cities in the Aetolian League (Polyb. 18.45.1-6). This discontented the Aetolians, prompting to petition Antiochus III of Syria to “liberate Greece,” a request which he accepted, with hesitation (Grainger, 190-191). This war pitted Rome against the only major Mediterranean power still standing: The Seleucid Kingdom.

1. Timeline of the major events
   a. 192 BCE:
      i. Aetolian’s successful insurrection at Demetrius (Livy 35.34.4-11)
      ii. Menippus slaughters Roman troops at Delium (Livy 35.51)
   b. 191 BCE:
      i. The Fetiales acknowledge war against Antiochus and Aetolians (Livy 36.3.9-12)
      ii. Battle of Thermopylae (defeat for Antiochus) (Livy 36.18; App.Syr.19; Plut.Cat.Mai.13.1-7)
   c. 190 BCE:
      i. Naval Battle of Myonessus (defeat for Antiochus) (Livy 37.29-30)
      ii. Battle of Magnesia (defeat for Antiochus) (Livy 37.43)
   d. 189 BCE:
      i. First Peace Talks at Sardis: Antiochus’ indemnity is decided (Livy 37.45)
   e. 188 BCE:
      i. Treaty of Apamea: official end of Syrian War (Polyb.21.43; Livy 38.38; App.Syr.39)

2. Quotations
   a. Aetolos ullo sibi bellum indixisse, cum Demetriadam, sociorum urbem, per vim occupassent. (Livy.36.3.11) Besides, the Aetolians had declared war themselves when they took possession of Demetrias, an allied city, through force.¹
   b. Ἀντίοχον τὸν μέγαν…φοβήσαντα Ῥωμαίοις ὡς οὐδένα ἔτερον μετ’ Ἀννίβαν… ἐπήρτῳ συμπεσεὶ Ῥωμαίοις ὡς μῶνος ἐπὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀξιομάχοις οὐσιν. εὑρετῆ δὲ τοῦ πολέμου ποιημένου αἰτίαν τοὺς Ἑλλήνας ἐλευθεροῦν, οὐδὲν δεομένους, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐλευθέρους καὶ αὐτονόμους χάριτι τῇ Ῥωμαίοις. (Plut.Cat.Mai.12.1-2) Antiochus the Great, who terrified the Romans more than anyone after Hannibal…was excited to fight against the Romans, because they were the only worthy enemies left before him, making a false justification for war that he was freeing the Greeks; they did not need this, but were already free and autonomous by the favor of Rome.
   c. Antiochus epistulis bellum gerit, calamo et atramento militat. (ORF¹, Cato fr. 20) Antiochus fights his war with letters; he soldiers with pen and ink.
   d. ἔπηγεν ἀμα σάλπηγξι καὶ ἀλαλαγῳ, πρῶτος σπασάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν. οἱ δ’ ὡς εἶδον ἀπὸ τῶν κρίμων ἐπιφερομένους, φεύγοντες εἰς τὸ μέγα στρατόπεδον κατεπίπλαςαν ταραχῆς ἀπαντάς. (Plut.Cat.Mai.13.7) [Cato] led the charge, with war-trumpets and shouting, the first man to draw his sword. When [the enemy] saw them charging from the cliffs, they fled to the main camp, and filled everyone with turmoil.
      i. “[The Aetolians] were expecting [sic.] Cato and his two thousand men to attack from the hills, and so when this actually happened panic set in. The whole army broke and fled” (Grainger, 246).
   e. ἐκείνη γὰρ ἡ νίκη περιφανῶς ἔργον οὖσα Κάτωνος ἔξηλασε τής Ἑλλάδος τὴν Ασίαν καὶ παρέσετον ἐπιβατὴς σύμβης Σκηπτίον. (Plut.Comp. Arist. et Cat.Mai.) That victory, clearly the work of Cato, drove Asia from Greece and allowed Scipio to march in after.

3. Bibliography

¹ All translations are my own. Editions of Greek and Latin texts are cited in bibliography.
Cato the Censor: a multifaceted reception

The *novus homo* Marcus Porcius Cato became censor in 184 BCE after having served as Praetor in Sardinia (198) and Consul (195), in addition to a litany of other achievements. Despite his prolific literary output, only his *De Agri Cultura* survives. Of his *Origines* and numerous speeches, we have only fragments. A look at some of these, as well as the biographical tradition, reveal that there is much more to the Elder Cato than senator who opposed the repeal of the *Lex Oppia* in Livy.

1. **The Biographers**
   a. *Cornelius Nepos*: This biography of Cato survives only in an epitome:
      i. Excerptum e libro Cornelli Nepotis de Latinis Historicis.
      ii. Praetor provinciam obtinuit Sardiniam, ex qua quaestor superiore tempore ex Africa decedens, Q. Ennium poetam deduxerat, quod non minoris aestimamus quam quemlibet amplissimum Sardiniensem triumphum. (1.4) As Praetor he obtained the province of Sardinia, from where, during an earlier time when he was leaving Africa, he brought back the poet Quintus Ennius, which we regard as no less a triumph than any very glorious victory in Sardinia.
      iii. probabilis orator (3.1) a laudable orator
      iv. Atque horum bellorum duces non nominavit, sed sine nominibus res notavit. (3.4)
      And he did not name the leaders of these wars, but described the events without names.

   b. *Plutarch*: *Life of Cato the Elder* is paired with the life of the Athenian general and politician Aristides
      i. ἐμμένων δὲ τοῖς πατρίοις καὶ καταγελών τῶν τὰ Ἑλληνικὰ τεθαυμακότων. (12.4)
      He clung to the ways of his homeland and derided those who were enchanted by Greek things.

2. **Cato’s Fragments**
   a. censores qui posthac fiunt, formidulosius atque segnisius pro re publica nitentur (*ORF⁴*, Cato fr. 50)
      Those censors who will hold office afterwards will endeavor more carefully, more slowly, more fearfully for the sake of the republic. (From the *Dierum Dictarum de Consulatu Suo*)
      i. Astin takes this quote to be a slander against what Cato saw as a laxity in duty in previous censors, as well as showing his dedication to the state (87-89).
   b. Avaritiam omnia vitia habere putabant; sumptuosus, cupidus, elegans, vitiosus, inritis qui habebatur, is laudabatur. (*Gell.NA.11.2*) They thought that avarice included all vices: anyone who was regarded as extravagant, desirous, elegant, depraved, or useless used to be praised. (From *Carmen de Moribus*)
      i. "...a firm conviction that those who owned property had a responsibility to ensure that it was carefully managed and maintained, and if possible increased, that to allow an inheritance to be seriously diminished was especially reprehensible." (Astin, 89-90)
   c. Aeneas, ut Cato dicit, simul ac venit ad Italian, Laviniam accepit uxorem. Propter quod Turnus iratus, tam in Latinum quam in Aenean bella suscepit a Mezentio impeptratis auxiliis. (*Origines*. Book 1 fr. 11. Quoted by Servius)
      Aeneas, just as Cato says, as soon as he arrived in Italy, took Lavinia as his wife. Turnus was enraged because of this, so he undertook a war against both Latinus and Aeneas, having procured troops from Mezentius.
      i. "This is the first mention of Lavinia in Graeco-Roman literature. In the older tradition which made either Aeneas or on of his immediate descendants the founders of Rome, that character had no purpose.” (Chassignet, 60) (cf. Schröder (1971) 131-135)

3. **Scholarly Assessment**
   a. “Cato wrote the *Origines* in old age, thus starting historiography in Latin.” (Conte, 86)
   b. “Cato worked out a conception of Roman history that emphasized above all the gradual formation of the state and its institutions over the generations and centuries.” (Conte, 87)

4. **Bibliography**
Quintus Ennius (239-169 BCE) exceeds his contemporaries in both versatility and importance. Born in Rudiae (in the heel of the Italian boot), he came to Rome in 204 in the company of Cato the Elder, where he cultivated Hellenistic learning among the elite. He wrote comedies but was better known for his tragedies (of which we know at least twenty), as well as six books of Saturae.

Of greatest influence, however, were his Annales, an epic poem originally conceived in fifteen books which would tell the history of Rome from the arrival of Aeneas down to his own time. Ennius continued to work on his Annales through the 170s and until his death. Livy’s Ab Urbe Condita would eventually supersede it as a history, but Ennius’ literary influence can be felt in Cicero, Vergil, Lucan, and others.

**A reference in Plautus**

1. Achillem Aristarchi mihi commentari lubet: / ind’ mihi principium capiam, ex ea tragoedia, / “sileteque et tacete atque animum aduortite, / audire iubet uos imperator” histricus… (Poenulus 1-4)

I wish to rehearse the Achilles by Aristarchus; from there, from that tragedy, I’ll take my beginning: “be silent and be quiet and pay attention; you are ordered to listen by the commander of” … actors. (Trans. Wolfgang de Melo)

**Contact with the Greek tradition**

2. Annales 6: ( ) visus Homerus adesse poeta

The gist of the passage is given by Lucretius 1.112-26.

3. unde sibi exortam semper florentis Homeri / commemorat speciem lacrimas effundere salsas / coepisse et rerum naturam expandere dictis (DRN 1.124-6)

From these places he relates that the ghost of everliving Homer uprose before him and began to shed salt tears and to unfold in words the nature of things. (Trans. Munro)

**Roman national consciousness**

4. moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque (Ann. 500 V.)

The Roman state stands on ancient customs and noble men.

Cic. De Re Publica 5.1.1:

5. Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque, quem quidem ille versum vel brevitate vel veritate tamquam ex oraculo mihi quodam esse effatus videtur, nam neque viri, nisi ita morata civitas futisset, neque mores, nisi hi viri praefuisse, aut fundare aut tam diu tenere potuisse tantum et tam fuse lateque imperan tem rem publicam.

“The commonwealth of Rome is founded firm on ancient customs and on men of might.”

Our poet seems to have obtained these words, so brief and true, from an oracle. For neither men alone, unless a State is supplied with customs too, nor customs alone, unless there have also been men to defend them, could ever have been sufficient to found or to preserve so long a commonwealth whose dominion extends so far and wide. (Trans. Clinton W. Keyes)

**Bibliography**


Perseus and the Third Macedonian War (179-168 BCE)

After Philip V’s death in 179, his son, Perseus, took the throne. He was to be the last king of Macedon. Between 179 and 173, Perseus began to expand Macedon’s power and influence, and Livy notes that, at Rome, “anxiety regarding the Macedonian War was already arising at the time when Perseus was stirring up conflicts between the Dardani and Bastarnae [175]” (41.19.4: *belli Macedonici subibat iam cura, miscente Perseo inter Dardanos Bastarnasque certamina*). In Greece, conversely, Perseus found popularity.

1. “The effect, certainly, and the aim possibly, was to turn Greek eyes towards himself. For those who wished not to look toward Rome, or not to have to look only to Rome, there was to be another focus available” (Derow 301).

As tensions grew and hostilities escalated, the stakes grew higher, as Perseus amassed an army of some 43,000. Livy writes (42.51.11):

2. *satis constabat, secundum eum exercitum, quem magnus Alexander in Asiām traiecit, numquam ullius Macedonum regis copias tantas fuisset.*

It was generally agreed that, except for that army which Alexander the Great brought into Asia, no Macedonian king’s army had ever been so great.

The Third Macedonian War began in earnest in 171 after appeals to the senate in 172 by Eumenes, king of Pergamum, that Perseus would cause major political upheaval in the region. The war ended in 168 with a Roman victory at the Battle of Pydna under consul Lucius Aemilius Paullus. The state of affairs by 167 as Polybius records it (*Histories* 3.4.2-3):

3. *ὅ τε γὰρ χρόνος ὁ πεντηκοντακαιτριετῆς εἰς ταύτ’ ἔληγεν ἢ τ’ αξίας καὶ προκοπή τῆς Ῥωμαίων δυναστείας ἑπτελεῖστω· πρὸς δὲ τοῦτος ὅμολογομένον ἑδόκει τούτ’ ἐναι καὶ κατηγορισμένον ἑπαξίν ὅτι λοιπὸν ἐστὶ Ρωμαίων ἀκούειν καὶ τοῦτος πειθαρχεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρεγχειλομένων.*

For the period of fifty-three years finished here, and the growth and advance of Roman power was now complete. Besides which it was now universally accepted as a necessary fact that henceforth all must submit to the Romans and obey their orders. (Trans. W. R. Paton)

Yet for Livy, the Third Macedonian War was never just a fight to check Macedonian expansion or a potential threat, but rather a battle in which Rome was to affirm its own character. This character was embodied in the person, and confirmed in the success, of Aemiliius Paullus. In true Livian fashion, Aemilius draws an *exemplum* from the captive Perseus’ humbled circumstances (45.8):

4. *Latine deinde suis, “exemplum insigne cernitis” inquit “mutationis rerum humanarum. vobis hoc praecipue dico, iuvenes. ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbe ac violenter consulere decet nec praesenti credere fortunae, cum, quid vesper ferat, incertum sit. is demum vir erit, cuius animum neque prospera flatu suo efferent nec adversa infringet.”* (Trans. Levene)

[He] then said in Latin to his men, “You see a notable example of the change in human affairs. I say this in particular to you, young men. For that reason in prosperity one should never plan anything arrogantly or violently against anyone nor trust to present fortune, since it is unclear what the evening will bring. The only true man is one whose mind neither the wind of prosperity elates nor adversity shatters.” (Trans. Levene)

Bibliography


169 BCE: Ti. Sempronius Gracchus and the Freedmen’s Vote

Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (c. 220-150 BCE) was a prominent Roman commander and statesman throughout the 2nd century BCE. After serving under Scipio Asiiagenes against Antiochus III (190 BCE) and becoming a curule aedile in 182 BCE, Gracchus was elected praetor and proconsul of Spain (180-178 BCE). He was awarded a triumph after decisively defeating the Celtiberian tribes in Hispania Citerior. Such military success led to his first consulship in 177 BCE and another military campaign in Sardinia, after which he was awarded a second triumph. He was regarded as a particularly harsh censor (169 BCE), ejecting seven senators and stripping the status of many equites (Liv. 43.16.1). However, Gracchus was also considered an effective censor. He added numbers to the dwindling levy of the Third Macedonian War and completed multiple building projects. Also as censor, Gracchus sought to severely limit the voting franchise of recently manumitted freedmen whose property did not exceed 30,000 sesterces, restricting all of them to one urban tribe instead of whichever of the thirty-five tribes was geographically appropriate. Tiberius Gracchus was elected consul once again in 163 BCE. He was married to Cornelia, the daughter of Scipio Africanus, and was the father of Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, the future tribunes of the plebeians.

A Later Characterization (Plutarch, Tiberius and Gaius Gracchus, 1.1-2)

ὁ τιμητὴς τε Ρωμαίον γενομένοι καὶ δίς ὑπατεύσαντι καὶ θριάμβους δύο καταγαγόντα λαμπρότερον ἢν τό ἀπὸ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀξιῶμα. δῖο καὶ τὴν Σκηπίωνος τοῦ καταπολεμήσαντος Ἀννίβαν θυγατέρα Κορνηλίαν, σῶκ ἀν φιλός, ἄλλα καὶ διάφορος τῷ ἀνδρί γεγονός, λαβεῖν ἥξιόθη μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτην.

[Tiberius Gracchus], who, although he had been censor at Rome, twice consul, and had celebrated two triumphs, derived his more illustrious dignity from his virtue. Therefore, after the death of the Scipio who conquered Hannibal, although Tiberius had not been his friend, but actually at variance with him, he was judged worthy to take Scipio’s daughter Cornelia in marriage. (Trans. Perrin for the Loeb edition).

Restricting the Vote (Liv. 45.15.5-7)

postremo eo descensum est, ut ex quattuor urbanis tribubus unam palam in atrio Libertatis sortirentur, in quam omnes, qui servitutem servissent, conicerent. Esquilineae sors exiit; in ea Ti. Gracchus pronuntiavit libertinos omnis censeri placere. Magno ea res honorí censoribus apud senatum fuit. Gratiae actae et Sempronio, qui in bene coepto perseverasset

Finally [the censors] resorted to the following solution: they drew lots publicly in the Hall of Liberty for one of the four city tribes, to which they would consign all those who had been slaves. The lot of the Esquiline tribe was cast; Tiberius Gracchus announced that they had decided to enroll all freedmen in this tribe. This matter was regarded by the senate as greatly to the credit of the censors. Thanks were voted to Sempronius, for having persisted in a praiseworthy undertaking. (Trans. Schlesinger for the Loeb edition)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Comitia Centuriata</th>
<th>Comitia Tributa</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>One century = one vote (170 centuries total)</td>
<td>One tribe = one vote (35 tribes total)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Decided by wealth</td>
<td>Decided by geography</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voted in order by class (wealthier centuries first until a majority was reached)</td>
<td>Voted in a set order, and the starting of that order was decided by lot</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elected major cursus honorum offices</td>
<td>Elected minor magistracies and plebeian offices (only if a plebeian for the latter)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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167 BCE: Polybius Deported to Rome

Polybius (c. 200-118 BCE) was a fixture within the political structure of the Achaean League for the first half of his life. He held many roles during this time, including envoy to Alexandria (180 BCE) as well as Hipparch (170). After the Third Macedonian War, the loyalty of the Achaean League was called into question, and 1,000 prominent Achaeans, including Polybius, were sent to Rome to ensure that the League would respect Roman interests. Once there, he became acquainted with the family of Aemilius Paulus as well as a close friend and mentor to Scipio Aemilianus. Polybius’ time at Rome provided the information and contacts required to write his Histories, a forty-book work describing Rome’s rise to dominance from 220-167 BCE. Free to travel after 150 BCE, Polybius journeyed extensively with Scipio and would eventually travel to Greece to help usher in Roman control after the Achaean War (146-145).

Captive Achaeans: Similar Narratives

1. Polybius 30.13.8-10

πρὸς δὲ τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἔθνος προσβευτάς ἐξέπεμψαν τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους ἀνδρὰς τῶν δέκα, Γάιον Κλαύδιον καὶ Γάιον Λομέτιον, διὰ δὺ’ αἰτίας, πρῶτον μὲν εἰλαβόμενοι τοὺς Ἀχαιοὺς μὴ ποτ’ οὐ πειθαρχήσωσι τοῖς γραφομένοις, . . . δεύτερον δὲ διὰ τὸ μηθὲν ἐν τοῖς αἰχμαλώτοις γράμμασιν ἀκριβές εὑρήσαται κατὰ μηδενὸς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν.

To the Achaean League, however, the legates sent their two most distinguished members, Gaius Claudius Pulcher and Gnaeus Domitius Ahenobarbus, for two reasons. In the first place they were apprehensive lest the Achaeans should refuse to comply with their written instructions… and secondly because in the captured correspondence nothing had been found clearly implicating any Achaean. (Trans. Schlesinger for the Loeb edition)

2. Livy 45.31.9-11

In Achaiam ex decem legatorum numero profecti duo, C. Claudius et Cn. Domitius, ut ipsi edicto evocarent. Id duabus de causis factum, una quod fiduciae plus animorumque esse Achaeis ad non parendum credebant… altera cur praeentes evocarent causa erat, quod ex aliis gentibus principum litteras deprensas in commentariis regiis habebant, in Achaiam caecum erat crimine nullis eorum litteris inventis.

Two of the board of commissioners, Gaius Claudius and Gnaeus Domitius, set out for Achaia in order to summon men by proclamation on the spot. This they did for two reasons, first because they thought the Achaeans had more confidence and more pride to make them refuse obedience… the second reason for the personal summons was that from the other leagues they had letters of the leaders that had been seized in the royal archives, but no letters from the Achaeans had been found and the charge against them was blind. (Trans. Olson and Paton for the Loeb edition)

A Close Friendship: Polybius 31.23.4-5

διότι μὲν οὖν ἡ καταρχή τῆς συστάσεως ἐγενήθη τοῖς προειρημένοις ἐκ τινὸς χρῆσιος βιβλίων καὶ τῆς περὶ τούτων λαλῆσας δεδηλώκας δε τῆς συνηθείας καὶ τῶν ἀνακεκλημένων εκπεμπομένων ἐπὶ τὰς πόλεις, διεσπείραν ὁ δὲ Φάβιος καὶ ὁ Σκιπίων οἱ τοῦ Λευκίου νεανίσκοι πρὸς τὸν στρατηγὸν μεῖναι τὸν Πολύβιον ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ.

Now I have already explained that their acquaintance took its origin in the use of some books and conversation about them. But as their intimacy grew, and when those summoned to Italy in detention were sent off to provincial towns, Fabius and Scipio, the sons of Lucius Aemilius, urgently begged the praetor to allow Polybius to remain in Rome. (Trans. Schlesinger for the Loeb edition)

Select Bibliography
A Selfless Man in Selfish Rome - The Triumph of Lucius Aemilius Paullus (Macedonicus), 167 BCE

- Earned triumph by defeating the Macedonian king, Perseus, at the battle of Pydna and thus ended the Third Macedonian War and the Macedonian monarchy in 168 BCE.
- Split vote: soldiers and enemy, Servius Galba vs. Marcus Servilius – Marcus wins!
- The spectacle of the triumph (see quote from Flowers below)
  1\textsuperscript{st} day- 250 chariots parade the statues, pictures, and colossal images taken.
  2\textsuperscript{nd} day- wagons carrying the best Macedonian armor and 3,000 men carrying silver coins and vessels.
  3\textsuperscript{rd} day- trumpeters, ornamented men leading 120 gilded-horned oxen to sacrifice, silver and gold libation bowls, gold coins, the consecrated bowl, the tableware from Perseus’s table, the armor and diadem of Perseus, his children and their attendants, Perseus and friends, 400 gifted crowns, and then Paullus himself.
- He paid 120,000,000\textsuperscript{1} sesterces to the public treasury with the result that the Roman people would, henceforth, cease to pay the tributum.
- His two children die surrounding the triumph and he comforts the Roman people.

Plutarch’s Life of Aemilius Paullus XXXVI 2-3 LCL 98: 448-9

τοῦ δὲ δευτέρου μετὰ τῶν θριάμβων τελευτήσαντος συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν Ῥωμαίων δῆμον ἐχρήσατο λόγοις ἀνδρὸς οὐ δευτέρου παραμυθίας, ἀλλὰ παραμυθουμένου τοὺς πολίτας δυσπαθοῦντας ἐφ’ οίς ἐκείνος ἐδυστύχησεν.

“and when the second died, after the triumph, he gathered the Roman people into an assembly and spoke to them as a man who did not ask for comfort, but rather sought to comfort his fellow-citizens in their distress over his own misfortunes.”

Flower’s “Spectacle and Political Culture in the Roman Republic,” pages 328-9

“Paullus’ triumph extended over three days and was the most splendid to have been seen in Rome up until that time... He had also celebrated victory games over many days at Amphipolis in Thrace so that he could demonstrate the Romans’ new power... His choice of a dual celebration reveals Paullus’ understanding of the political role of spectacle for the Roman general.”

Bibliography

\textsuperscript{1} According to Livy. One MSS reads 300,000,000 sesterces.
The Banning of Greek Philosophers and Rhetoricians, 161 BCE

- Praetor, Marcus Pomponius, puts forth a proposition to the senate
- A discussion concerning the Latin speaking philosophers and rhetoricians takes place (see quote from Aulus Gellius)
- Senate passes decree (see quote from Athenaeus)
- In 92 BCE censors issue an edict because the “Latin rhetoricians” were displeasing

Aulus Gellius: *Attic Nights* 15.11 (LCL 212: 86-7) cf. Suetonius: *Rhetoricians* 1

“The praetor Marcus Pomponius laid a proposition before the senate. As the result of a discussion about philosophers and rhetoricians, the senate decreed that Marcus Pomponius, the praetor, should take heed and provide, in whatever way seemed to him in accord with the interests of the State and his oath of office, that they should not remain in Rome.”

Athenaeus: *The Learned Banqueters* 13.610f (LCL 345: 86-7)

“So too the Romans, who do everything right, expelled the sophists from their city on the ground that they were corrupting the young men—but then later, for reasons I fail to understand, they let them back in.”

List of complaints from Myrtilus (a speaker in *The Learned Banqueters*) against philosophers and rhetoricians:
- wrangle and quarrel in discussions
- untimely arguments
- the reason Socrates and many others have died
- do not live a hard life, but a hound’s life (try to imitate qualities of dog and even fail at that!)
  - bad company
  - do not understand the people that they associate with
  - powers of perception are lacking
  - live idly and carelessly
- foul-mouthed gluttons
- no home
- no virtuous behavior
- no idea how to lead a useful existence
162-156 BCE: Hell Hath No Fury Like a King Scorned
Rome’s Intervention in Cappadocia

Overview: Prince Demetrius I of the Seleucid Empire escaped captivity in Rome in 162 BCE with the help of Polybius and other friends, returned home, and, after murdering the then-king Antiochus V and his advisor Lysias, appointed himself king. In 160 BCE, in an effort to repair relations with Rome, Demetrius offered his sister in marriage to Ariarathes V of Cappadocia. Ariarathes V had inherited the Cappadocian throne after Ariarathes IV died in 163 BCE. Under pressure from Rome, Ariarathes denied Demetrius’ offer of marriage. Upset, Demetrius lent his support to Orophernes, Ariarathes’ brother, and overthrew Ariarathes. In 158 BCE, Ariarathes fled to Rome, where he was able to muster enough support from the Senate to put him back on the throne alongside his brother in 157 BCE. Ariarathes was able to overthrow Orophernes in 156 BCE with the help of Attalus of Pergamum.

The Ancient Sources
Diodorus Siculus’ Βιβλιοθήκη Ἰστορική ΧΧΧΙ.28 (1st c. BCE)

In the one hundred and fifty Olympiad [160 BCE], envoys arrived from Ariarathes, bringing with them a “crown” of ten thousand gold pieces, to inform the senate of the king’s friendly attitude towards the Roman people, as well as of his renunciation, on their account, of an alliance of marriage and friendship with Demetrius. (Loeb text and translation, Walton)

Polybius’ Ἰστορία ΙΙΙ.5.2-3 (2nd c. BCE)

Next, Ariarathes, King of Cappadocia, was expelled from his kingdom by Orophernes through the agency of King Demetrius and recovered his ancestral throne by the help of Attalus. (Loeb text and translation, Paton)

Noteworthy Discussion
The Senate seems remarkably unconcerned in this decade about events in Anatolia, though there were no great wars in Europe or Africa to distract its attention between 167 and the troubled years from c. 150 onwards. Its occasional interventions were frequently ineffective. The initiative that prompted such interventions came from the parties themselves seeking Roman diplomatic support (Sherwin-White, 63).

Bibliography
153 BCE: A New ‘New Year’

Alert! Terence died in 159/8 BCE either by shipwreck while en route to Greece, disappearing into the middle of nowhere after embarking on a ship to Asia, or from heartbreak after his newest plays were lost at sea. (Suetonius, *Life of Terence*)

Overview: In 153 BCE, the consuls took office on the Kalends of January, marking the beginning of a new consular year. Before this, the Kalends of March had started the new consular year. When this change happened, the priests of Rome also moved the beginning of the religious year to January 1. This was the first time that the civic calendar and the religious calendar coincided.

The Ancient Sources

Livy’s *Periochae*, XLVII (1st c. CE)

Consules anno quingentesimo nonagesimo octavo ab urbe condita magistratum kal. Ian. inire coeperunt. Mutandi comitia causa fuit, quod Hispani rebellabant.

In the five hundred and ninety-eighth year after the founding of the city, the consuls began to enter upon their office on January first. The reason for changing the elections was the uprising of the Spaniards. (Loeb text and translation, Schlesinger)

Ovid’s *Fasti* III.100-104 (1st c. CE)

ille minor geminis mensibus annus erat.
nondum tradiderat victas victoribus artes
Graecia, facundum sed male forte genus.

Nor had the ancients as many Kalends as we have now: their year was shorter by two months. Conquered Greece had not yet transmitted her arts to the victors; her people were eloquent but hardly brave. (Loeb text and adapted translation, Frazer)

Macrobius’ *Saturnalia* I.13.3 (5th c. CE)

ac de duobus priorem Ianuarium nuncupavit primumque anni esse voluit, tamquam bicipitis dei mensem, respicientem ac prospicientem transacti anni finem futurique principia.

The first of these [months] he [Numa] named January and decided it should be the first month of the year, the month of the two-headed god, looking back to the end of the year past and ahead to the start of the year to come. (Loeb text and translation, Kaster)

Noteworthy Discussion

The only evidence for dating the change to January in 153 B.C., however, is the fact that in this year the consuls began to enter office on the Kalends of January, as they always did thereafter. But does this mean a change in the calendar year? […] The modern belief that the beginning of the year was changed in 153 B.C. arises from the failure to recognize the fundamental difference between the calendar year and the consular year, and between their functions (Michels, 97-98).

Since the priests announced the Kalends of each month, they also announced the New Year […] But by 153 BC, when the consuls began to enter office on the Kalends of January in accord with Roman law, the priests began the religious year on 1 January as well. This alignment of New Year rituals again indicates the close ties between the political/civic and religious temporal life of Rome (Salzman, 482).

Bibliography


The Third Punic War:
Pouring Salt on the Wound

The build up

- Carthage was expanding commercially in the 2nd century BCE.
- In 150, Carthage provided Rome with a casus belli when over 31,000 men crossed the border and fought Masinissa's forces.
- As a result, Carthage's army was significantly weakened.

The Third Punic War (a.k.a. the battle of Carthage)

- Roman forces arrived in Utica, a city that had already joined the "empire."
- Carthage agreed to make unconditional surrender.
- L. Marcius Censorinus, consul, ordered the Carthaginians to move their city at least 10 mi. from the sea.
- In 147 Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus walled off the city and harbor.
- In 146 Scipio stormed the Carthage, sold the population into slavery, destroyed the city, and established the province of Africa.

Primary Source


Thereupon Hasdrubal secretly presented himself to Scipio, bearing an olive branch. Scipio commanded him to sit at his feet and there showed him to the deserters. When they saw him, they asked silence, and when it was granted, they heaped all manner of reproaches upon Hasdrubal, then set fire to the temple and were consumed in it. It is said that as the fire was lighted the wife of Hasdrubal, in full view of Scipio, arrayed in the best attire possible under such circumstances, and with her children by her side, said in Scipio's hearing, "For you, Roman, the gods have no cause of indignation, since you exercise the right of war. Upon this Hasdrubal, betrayer of his country and her temples, of me and his children, may the gods of Carthage take vengeance, and you be their instrument." Then turning to Hasdrubal, "Wretch," she exclaimed, "traitor, most effeminate of men, this fire will entomb me and my children. Will you, the leader of great Carthage, decorate a Roman triumph? Ah, what punishment will you not receive from him at whose feet you are now sitting." Having reproached him thus, she slew her children, flung them into the fire, and plunged in after them. Such, they say, was the death of the wife of Hasdrubal, which would have been more becoming to himself (Translated by Horace White).

Recentish Discussion on a saline solution for Carthage:

It seems that this sowing of the ruins of Carthage with salt, apparently as a symbol of its total destruction and perhaps as a means of ensuring the soil's infertility, is a tradition in Roman history well known to most students. When, however, one comes to seek the source, it seems elusive. One would turn first to the most important, Polybius. This eyewitness account is unfortunately known only in fragmentary condition (38. 19-22). He tells the story of Hasdrubal and his valiant wife, then Scipio reflects on the reverses of Fortune. That is all. The epitomes of Livy's history (Book 51) offer no more. The appropriate books of Diodorus are lost-regrettably, since he had a great interest in Carthage. He says simply that the city was razed to the ground (32. 4. 5, 32. 14. 1) or that the Carthaginians were utterly obliterated (32. 26. 2), and the effects of Rome's action are discussed (34/ 35. 33). For the first surviving account we must wait for Appian (Pun. 128-35): after the week's street-fighting to capture Byrsa and the surrender of Hasdrubal, the city was given over to the troops to plunder. Some time later the commission of ten senators arrived. They decreed that no one was to live there. Appian is careful, however, to specify that the ground was not cursed (Ridley, R. T. "To Be Taken with a Pinch of Salt: The Destruction of Carthage." Classical Philology 81, no. 2 (April 1986): 140).
Lex Calpurnia of 149 BCE:
What happens in Sicilia doesn’t stay in Sicilia

Lex Calpurnia repetundarum
- L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi, tribunus plebis, introduced a new form of *quaestio de repetundis* in 149 BCE.
- *Quaestio de repetundis*—court established to punish illegal acquisition of money or property when serving in office abroad (extortion).
- The praetor and senators presided over the court by the civil procedure of *sacramentum* (i.e. the sum of money is placed on the stage and argued over).

Primary Sources

Cic. *Div. in Caec.* 5. 17-18

de quo quid ego plura commemorem? quasi vero dubium sit quin tota *lex de pecuniis repetundis* sociorum causa constituta sit. nam civibus cum sunt ereptae pecuniae, civili fere actione et privato iure repetuntur. haec lex socialis est; hoc ius nationum exterarum est. hanc habent arcem, minus aliquanto nunc quidem munitam quam antea, verum tamen si qua reliqua spes est quae sociorum animos consolari possit, ea tota in hac lege posita est.

And what more do I need to say about this? As if there were doubt that the entire extorti

on law was set up for our allies’ sake. For when money has been stolen from citizens, it is just reclaimed by civil action and private lawsuit. This is a law for our allies; this is the right of foreign nations. They have this bulwark, albeit somewhat less fortified than before, but if there is any hope left that can ease the minds of our allies, it was placed in this law.

Cic. *Verr.* ii, 3, 195

si quod L. Piso ille Frugi, qui *legem de pecuniis repetundis* primus tulit, cum [frumentum] emisses quanti esset, quod superaret pecuniae retttulisses. si ut ambitiosi homines aut benigni, cum pluriis senatus aestimasset quam quanti esset anonna, ex senatus aestimatione, non ex annonae ratione solvisses. sin, ut plerique faciunt, in quo erat aliqui quaestus, sed is honestus atque concessus, frumentum, quoniam villius erat, ne emisses, sumpsisses id nummorum quod tibi senatus cellae nomine concesserat.

If you had wished to do what the Lucius Piso the Thrifty, maker of the extorti

on law, would have done, you would have returned however much money was left over, after you had purchased the [grain] at cost. If you wished to act as the social climbers or kindly men would have done, you would have paid for it at the senate’s price, not at the market price, since the senate had valued it higher. But if, as many do, in which there was some profit, but an honorable and permissible profit, because the grain was cheaper than anticipated, you would not have purchased it, but you would have taken the money that the senate had given you for the purpose of the granary.

Recent Discussion on the putative purpose of the law:

The Lex Calpurnia is an important piece of legislation, but, like so much else which happened in the middle of the second century, its details remain irritatingly obscure. Apart from Cicero's mention that this was the first *lex de repetundis*, and the allusion to those prosecuted under the Lex Calpurnia and the Lex Junia in the *lex de repetundis* inscribed on the Tabula Bembina, there is nothing more in the literary or epigraphic sources. Received opinion has it that Piso's law was designed to curb the depredations of provincial governors on the provincials themselves, by means of a *quaestio perpetua* manned by senators and in the charge of the praetor peregrinus; such a court could order the simple restitution of the property claimed, in the event of a condemnation of a former magistrate. It is generally held that the intention of the law was by no means as disinterested as might at first appear, since the senate was as concerned as the provincials to prevent the breakdown of law and order which might result from the flagrant misuse of a governor's imperium, but preferred to keep the control of such matters firmly in senatorial hands (Richardson, J. S. "The Purpose of the Lex Calpurnia De Repetundis." *Journal of Roman Studies* 77 (1987): 1.).

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1 Translations of the Latin are my own.
First Servile War/First Sicilian Slave War, 135 – 132 BC

Allison Ditmore

- Sicily enjoyed a period of prosperity after the end of the Punic Wars, and they used their newfound wealth to purchase multitudes of slaves. The Sicilians did care for these slaves, leaving them to fend for themselves.
- Eunus, a slave later known as Antiochus, was reputed to be a magician and a prophet. He attacked Enna along with 400 other slaves in a rebellion, and Enna’s slaves joined the rebellion. Kleon, a Cilician, led another rebellion of slaves and became Eunus’ general.
- Lucius Hypsaeus, a Roman praetor and commander with 8,000 men, fought the rebels, who numbered 20,000. The rebels won, and their number was reported to reach 200,000 men shortly thereafter.
- Publius Rupilius, a Roman consul, besieged Tauromenium, and took control of the city. He advanced to Enna, defeated Kleon, besieged the city, and retook Enna. Rupilius’ troops quickly regained control of Sicily. Eunus fled, but he was later found and killed by Rupilius near Morgantina.

Diodorus Siculus, *Library of History*

A) Πειζόμενοι δὲ οἱ δοῦλοι τὰς ταλαιπωρίας καὶ πληγάς τὰ πολλά παραλόγως ύβριζόμενοι, οὐχ ὑπέμενον. (Diod. 34/35.4)

The slaves, distressed by their hardships, and frequently outraged and beaten beyond all reason, could not endure their treatment. (Trans. C. H. Oldfather, LCL, here and following Diod. passages)

B) εἴ τινες τῶν δούλων οὐχ ὁμοίας εἶναι φύσεως τὰ γινόμενα εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους, ἀλλὰ τῶν προὐπηργημένων εἰς αὐτοὺς ἀδικήματος ἀνταπόδοσις. (Diod. 34/35.13-14)

Thereby it was demonstrated that the others were treated as they were, not because of some “natural savagery of slaves,” but rather in revenge for wrongs previously received.

C) Ὅτι οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς δυνάμεις τοὺς ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντας ἐπικεφαλής χρῆ προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς ταπεινοτέροις, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς ἰδιωτικοὺς βίους πρῶς προσενεκτέντων τοῖς οἰκετέας τοὺς εἰς φρονέεται· ἐγὼ ὑπερεφανία καὶ βαρύτητα ἐν μὲν ταῖς πόλεσιν ὑπεραγῆσαι στάσεις ἐμφυλίους τῶν ἐλευθερίων, ἐν δὲ τοῖς κατὰ μέρος τῶν ἰδιωτῶν οἰκετῶν δουλών ἐπιβαθύλοις τοὺς δισποτίτος καὶ ἀποστάσεις φοβερῆς κοινῆ ταῖς πόλεσιν κατασκευάζει. Ὅσο δ᾽ ἐν τῇ ἐξοικείᾳ εἰς ὁμοίας καὶ παρανομίαις ἐξερχόμεθα, τοσοῦτο μάλλον καὶ τὰς ὑποτεταγμένων ἡτί ἐν ἕποντοις ἀποθηριοῦται· πῶς γὰρ ὅ τῇ τούς ταπεινοῖς τὸν μὲν καλού καὶ τῆς δόξης ἐκκοιμίσθη ἐκχωρεῖ τοὺς ὑπερέχουσι, τῆς δὲ καθηκούσης ὕπερεχούσι τοῖς ἀλλοτρίων εἴσειται τῶν ἀνθρώπους ὑπερέχοντων. (Diod. 34/35.23.33)

Not only in the exercise of political power should men of prominence be considerate towards those of low estate, but also in private life they should—if they are sensible—treat their slaves gently. For heavy-handed arrogance leads states into civil strife and factionalism between citizens, and in individual households it paves the way for plots of slaves against masters and for terrible uprisings in concert against the whole state. The more power is perverted to cruelty and lawlessness, the more the character of those subject to that power is brutalized to the point of desperation. Anyone whom fortune has set in low estate willingly yields place to his superiors in point of gentility and esteem, but if he is deprived of due consideration, he comes to regard those who harshly lord it over him with bitter enmity.

D) Ὅτι ἀπηγορισμένων τῶν ἀποστατῶν δοῦλων πρὸς ὅλην τὴν οἰκίαν τῶν δεσποτῶν καὶ τρεπομένων πρὸς ἄπαρατήτην ὄβρη καὶ τιμορίαν, ὑπέφεραν ὡς οὐ δι᾽ ὁμοίας φύσεως, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὰς προγεγειμένας εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑπερθερμάνες ἐλέους πρὸς τὴν τῶν προαναφημένων κύλισις τραπέζης. Ὅτι καὶ παρὰ τὰς οἰκείας αὐτοδίδακτος ἔστιν ἡ φύσις εἰς δικαίων ἀπόδοσιν χάριτος τε καὶ τιμορίας. (Diod. 34/35.24.40)

Although the rebellious slaves were enraged against the whole household of their masters, and resorted to unremitting abuse and vengeance, there were yet some indications that it was not from innate savagery but rather because of the arrogant treatment they had themselves received that they now ran amuck when they turned to avenge themselves on their persecutors. Even among slaves human nature needs no instructor in regard to a just repayment, whether of gratitude or of revenge.

Cicero, *The Verrine Orations* (2.4.112)

Henna tu simulacrum Cereris tollere audæbas, Henna tu de manu Cereris Victoriam eripere et deam deae detrahere conatus es? quorum nihil violare, nihil attingere ausi sunt in quibus erant omnia quae scleris propria sunt quam religioni. Tenuerunt enim P. Popilio P. Rupilius consulibus illum locum servi, fugitivi, barbari, hostes; sed neque tam servi illi dominorum quam tu libidinem neque tam fugitivi illi ab dominis quam tu ab iure et ab legibus, neque tam barbari lingua et natione illi quam tu natura et moribus, neque tam illi hostes hominibus quam tu dis immortalibus.

And it was from Henna that you dared to remove the image of Ceres? At Henna that you went about to pluck Victory from Ceres’ hand, robbing one goddess of another goddess? And this although men whose every tendency was to impurity rather than religion shrank from desecrating, nay, from touching, these holy things. In the consulship of Publius Popilius and Publius Rupilius, the place was in the hands of slaves—deserters, savages, public enemies. Yet they were less the slaves of their masters than you the slave of your lusts; less deserters from their masters than you from what is just and legal; less savages by birth and speech than you by disposition and character; less the enemies of mankind than you of the gods in heaven. (Trans. L. H. G. Greenwood, LCL)

B. Shaw, *Spartacus and the Slave Wars* (Boston, 2001), 79:

The war lasted for about four years. In its aftermath, there was much recrimination and blame, mostly of a moral nature, both of the slave masters, whose excessive harshness toward their slaves was seen as a significant cause of the war, and of the Roman governors and military commanders for their corruption, incompetence, and inaction.
Gaius Lucilius

- Lived 180 – 103/2 BC; *floruit* 130 – 103 BC.
- Satire was considered the first entirely Roman genre; that is, it did not directly borrow from Greek in style or in content. The most important aspects for thematic continuity throughout the genre of satire are the comic, moral, and autobiographical elements.
- Lucilius himself was praised for his originality, and he was considered by many to be the *auctor* of satire. He was the author to standardize hexameter as the satiric meter, and this choice was likely related to the use of hexameter in “low epic” (e.g. *Hedyphagetica*) and Ennius’ *Annales*, which covered non-Homeric topics (as satire did).
- “Nonetheless, we still have no whole poems, and minimal context to make sense of Lucilius’ vivid and lively detail, the heart of his enterprise. Fragments of 1300 lines or part-lines remain of thirty books. The longest fragment is 1196–1208W, the famous definition of virtue” (Muecke 40).

**Lucilius, Satires**

**A)** Julius Rufinianus, de Fig. Sent., 30 (R.L., 45, 27 H): *Enthymema* fit cum periodos orationis ex contrariis sententiae astringitur. Apud Lucilium—

_Si me nescire hoc nescis quod quaerere dico,_
_quare divinas quicquum? an tu quaerere debes ipse? et si scis q. b. e. scire hoc d. t. (Lucil. 1.30 – 32)_

(A god in perplexity questions Apollo?)

Julius Rufinianus: An ‘enthymerma’ comes about when a period of speech is bound together from contrary thoughts. In a passage of Lucililus—if you do not know that I do not know that which, I tell you, I am asking, why do you utter any prophecy? Ought you yourself to be asking? And if you know what it is good to know, then try to tell it! (Trans. E. H. Warmington, LCL, here and following Lucil. passages)

**B)** Nonius, 25, 22: ‘Bronci’ sunt producto ore et dentibus prominentibus . . . —

_Broncus Bovillanus dente ad murum proeminebat . . . Lucilius scribit—_ 
_Cecilius pretor ne rusticus fiat. (Lucil. 5.232)_

(reference to C. Caecilius Metellus Caprarius:)

Varro: In many words some put a before e, some do not . . . Lucilius writes—Let’s not make Cecilius yokel pretor.

**D)** Macrobius, S., VI, 1, 35: *Dicite Pie Daedalicibus, non omnia possumus omnes* (Verg., Ecl., VIII, 63). Lucilius in V—

_Maior erat natu; non omnia possumus omnes. (Lucil. 5.246)_

Macrobius, on ‘Tell, you daughters of Pierus; not all things can we all do,’ in Virgil: Lucilius in book V—He was older in years; not all things can we all do.

**Horace, Satires**

**A)** …me pedibus delectat claudere verba

_Lucili ritu, nostrum melioris utroque._

_ille velut fidis arcana sodalibus olim credebat libris, neque si male cesserat, usquam decurrens alio, neque si bene . . . (Hor. Sat. 2.28 – 32)_

**B)** _ergo_

_non satis est puris versum perscribere verbis,_

_quem si dissolvas, quivis stomachetur eodem_ quod personatus pacto pater. _his, ego quae nunc,_

_olim quae scripsit Lucilius, eripias si tempora certa modosque, et quod prius ordine verbum posteriorius facias, praeponens ultima primis,_

_non, ut si solvas “postquam Discordia taetra Belli ferratos postis portas refregit.”_ 

_invenias etiam disiecti membra poetae. (Hor. Sat. 1.4.53 – 62) _

_My own delight is to shut up words in feet, as did Lucilius, a better man than either of us. He in olden days would trust his secrets to his books, as if to faithful friends, never turning elsewhere for recourse, whether things went well with him or ill. (Trans. H. R. Fairclough, LCL, here and following Hor. passages) And so ‘tis not enough to write out a line of simple words such that, should you break it up, any father whatever would rage in the same fashion as the father in the play. Take from the verses which I am writing now, or which Lucilius wrote in est, former days, their regular beat and rhythm—change the order of the words, transposing the first and the last—and it would not be like breaking up: When foul Discord’s din War’s posts and gates of bronze had broken in, where, even when he is dismembered, you would find the limbs of a poet._

**F. Muecke,** “Rome’s first ‘satirists’: themes and genre in Ennius and Lucilius,” *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire* (Cambridge 2005), 45:

Whereas relatively few direct verbal borrowings from Plautus, Caecilius, and Terence have been identified – and perhaps they should not be expected – the stylistic influence is pervasive, both in the creation of a racy colloquialism and in the use of comic coinages, vulgarisms, and other devices of popular comedy.
When You Wish Upon a Star: Hipparchus of Nicaea

Hipparchus is a Greek astronomer recording observations from 147-127 BCE. He spent most of his life in Rhodes, is considered to be the father of trigonometry and discovered the precession of the equinoxes in 127 BCE. His greatest work, a catalogue of stars, is not extant and what we know of it is from Ptolemy’s writings. Hipparchus’ commentary on the *Phaenomena* of Eudoxus and Aratus does remain and is a critique in three books of Eudoxus and Aratus’ placements of certain stars.

Notable Achievements:
- Trigonometry
- Chord table
- Astrolabe
- Longitude and Latitude
- Precession of the Equinoxes
- Star Catalogue and Classification System

Primary Source

Pliny the Elder, *Natural Histories*, 2.24, Translated by H. Rackman for Loeb Library

Hipparchus before-mentioned, who cannot ever be sufficiently praised, no one having done more to prove that man is related to the stars and that our souls are a part of heaven, detected a new star that came into existence during his lifetime; the movement of this star in its line of radiance led him to wonder whether this was a frequent occurrence, whether the stars that we think to be fixed are also in motion; and consequently he did a bold thing, that would be reprehensible even for God—he dared to schedule the stars for posterity, and tick off the heavenly bodies by name in a list, devising machinery by means of which to indicate their several positions and magnitudes, in order that from that time onward it might be possible easily to discern not only whether stars perish and are born, but whether some are in transit and in motion, and also whether they increase and decrease in magnitude—thus bequeathing the heavens as a legacy to all mankind, supposing anybody had been found to claim that inheritance!

Secondary Scholarship and Other Resources


“That Hipparchus was aware of this fact [the usefulness of lunar eclipses for geographical longitudes] is explicitly stated by Strabo but there is no compelling reason to assume that Hipparchus was the first to see this implication” (Part II, 667).


Strabo, *Geography*.


[ Hipparchus labels Athens’ latitude at 37°] “Though mathematically correct this result nevertheless does not agree very well with the actual latitude of Athens which is 38°” (746).
Gaius Gracchus: Haven't the Gracchi Suffered Enough?

Gaius Gracchus is the son of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus, younger brother of Tiberius Gracchus. He was quaestor of Sardinia from 126-124 BCE, tribune from 123-121 BCE, and was murdered in 121 BCE on the orders of the Senate. Responsible for the Lex Sempronia, Lex Cornelia de sicariis et veneficis, and, in his second term as tribune, attempting to pass a law extending some civil rights to the Latins and Italians, among other legislation generally designed to give the people more power, which angered the Senate.

Key Players:
- Fulvius Flaccus: contemporary tribune of Gaius, gave heavy assistance to Gaius, is often overshadowed by Gaius
- Fannius: consul during Gaius’ second tribunate, anti-citizenship and voting rights bill
- Lucius Opimius: consul when Gaius is tribune, head adversary of Gaius and Fluvius
- Cornelia: mother of the Gracchi, daughter of Scipio Africanus, virtuous Roman woman with heavy influence on her sons

Primary Sources:
Cicero, de divinatione, 1.XXVI, Translated by W.A. Falconer for Loeb Library
C. vero Gracchus multis dixit, ut scriptum apud eundem Coelium est, sibi in somnis quaesturam petenti Ti. fratrem visum esse dicere, quam vellet cunctaretur, tammen eodem sibi leto, quo ipse interisset, esse pereundum. Hoc, ante quam tribunus plebi C. Gracchus factus esset, et se audisse scribit Coelius et dixisse illum multis. Quo somnio quid inveniri potest certius?

According to this same Coelius, Gaius Gracchus told many persons that his brother Tiberius came to him in a dream when he was a candidate for the quaestorship and said: ‘However much you may try to defer your fate, nevertheless you must die the same death that I did.’ This happened before Gaius was tribune of the people, and Coelius writes that he himself heard it from Gaius who had repeated it to many others. Can you find anything better authenticated than this dream?

Plutarch, Life of Gaius Gracchus, XV, Translated by B. Perrin for Loeb Library
εἰ περὶ Νομαντίαν ὁ σώς ἀδελφός ἔπεσεν, ὑπόσπονδος ἐν ἡμῖν ἀπεδύθη νεκρός· νῦν δὲ ἵσως κλῆται προσαύξει τοῦ ἰδίως κακίας ἰκετές ἔσσωμε φήμα ποτὲ τὸ σῶν σῶμα φυσικοῦμενον. τί γὰρ ἡ νόμοις ἐπὶ πιστῶν ἢ θεοῖς μετὰ τὸν Τιβερίου φύσον;

[wife of Gaius Gracchus]: If thy brother had only fallen at Numantia, his dead body would have been given back to us by terms of truce; but as it is, perhaps I too shall have to supplicate some river or sea to reveal to me at last thy body in its keeping. Why, pray, should men longer put faith in laws or gods, after the murder of Tiberius?

Secondary Sources: