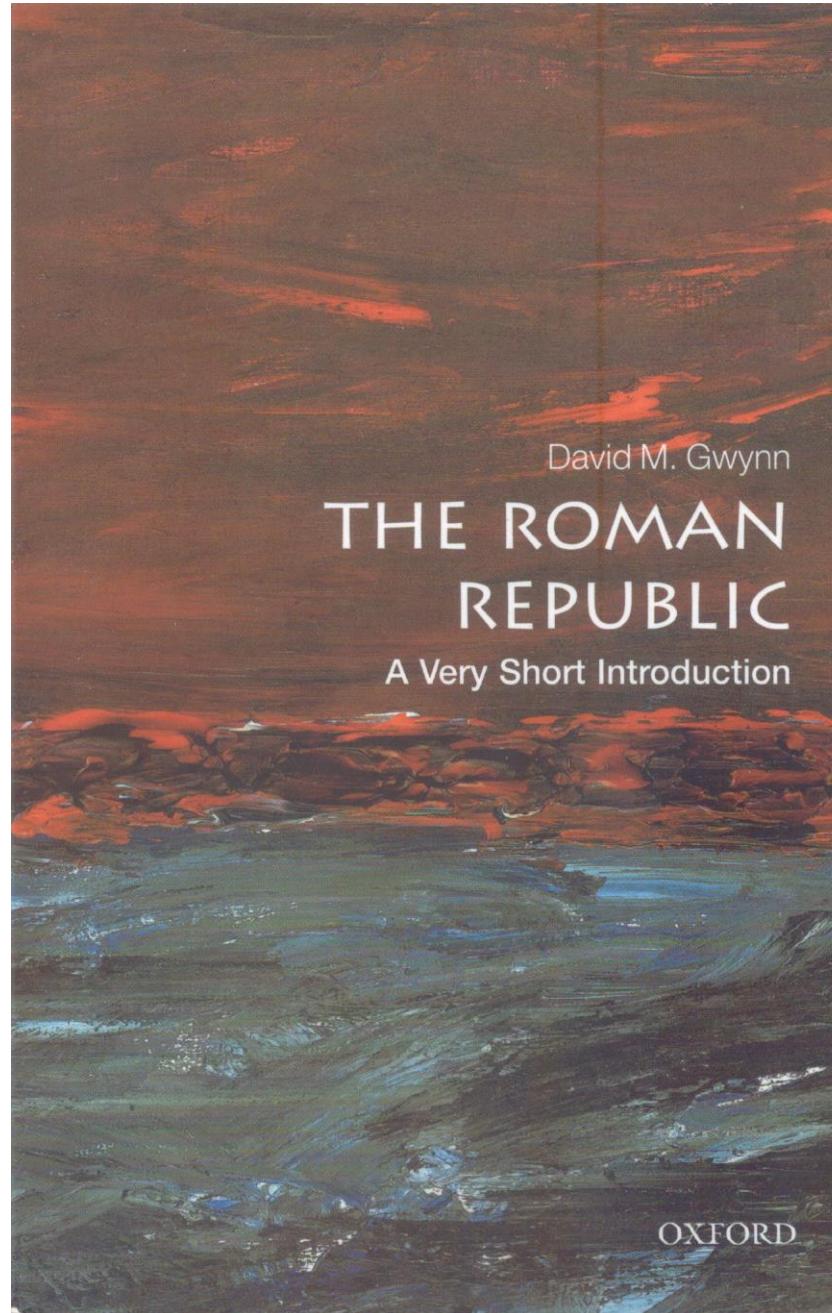


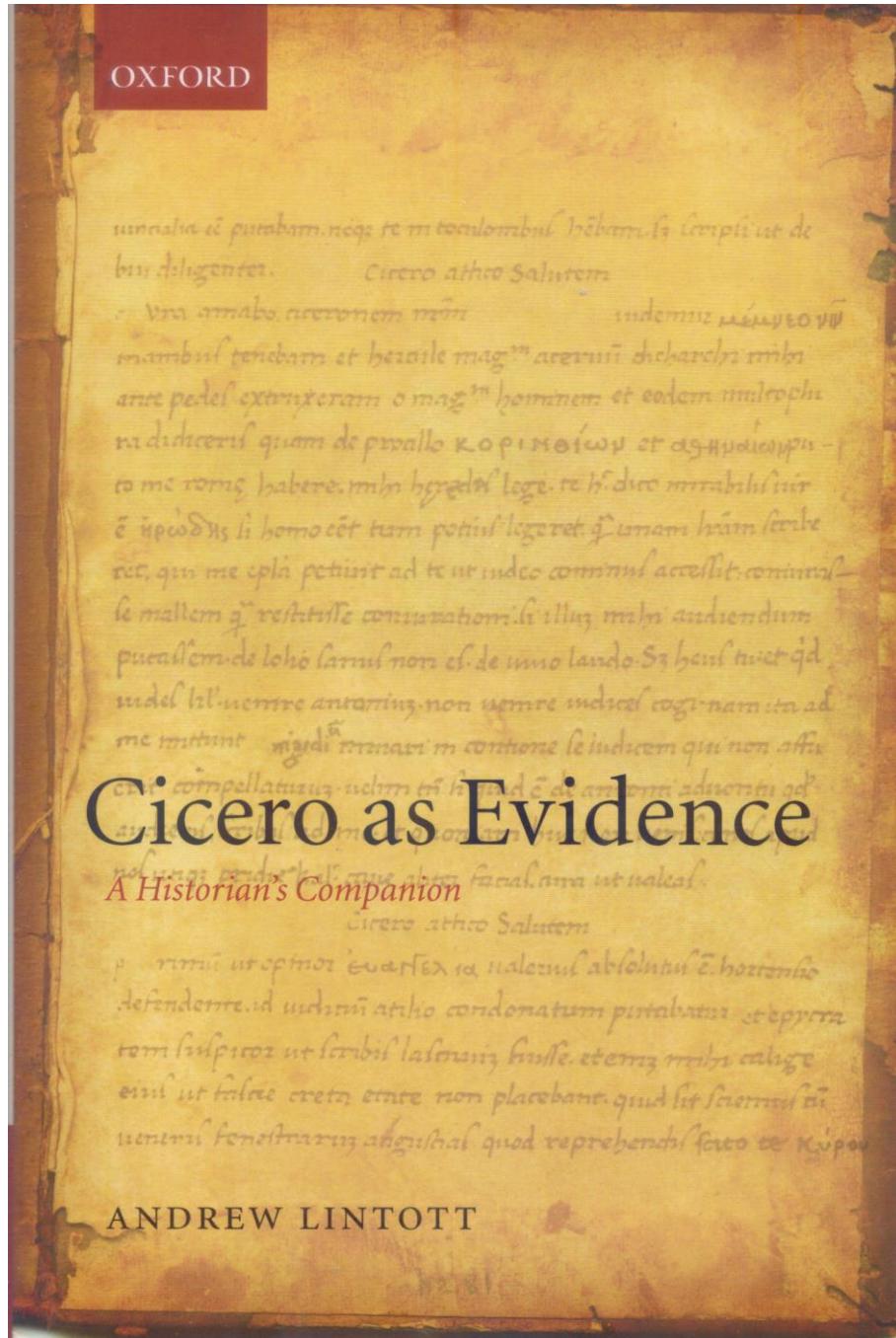
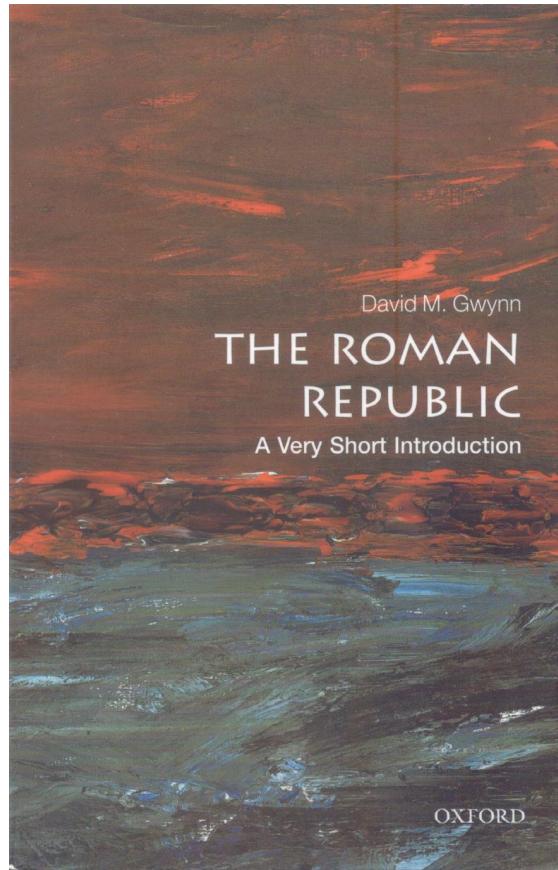
The Late Roman Republic in 2017: Recent Developments

TOM HILLARD & LEA BENESS

MQ @ the Maritime Museum, April 1st, 2017

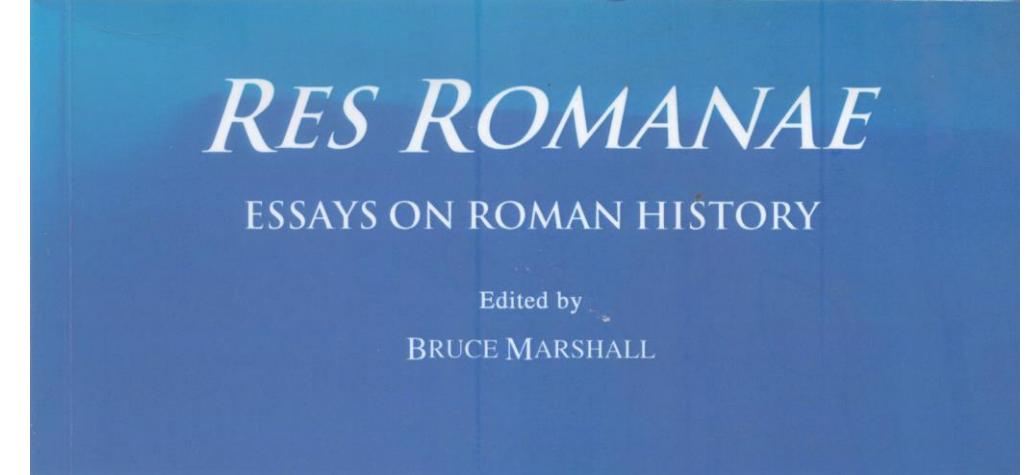
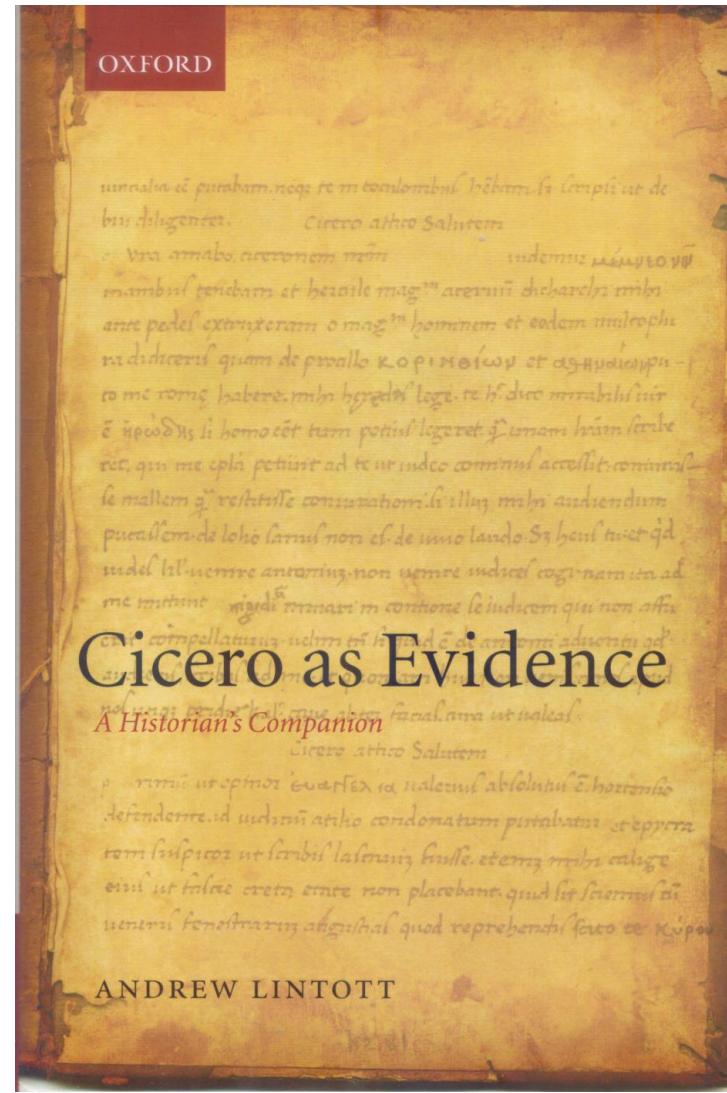
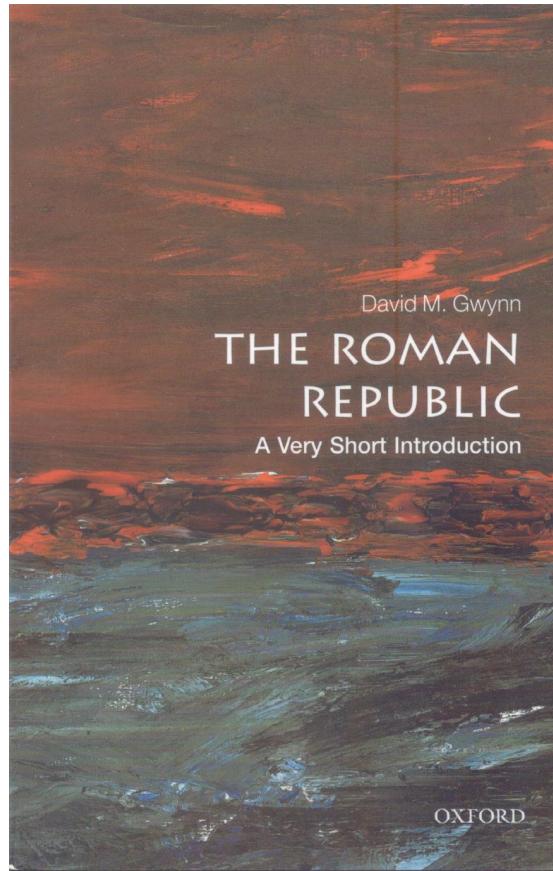








First Triumvirate



MACQUARIE ANCIENT HISTORY ASSOCIATION

ENGAGING
ROME AND
JERUSALEM

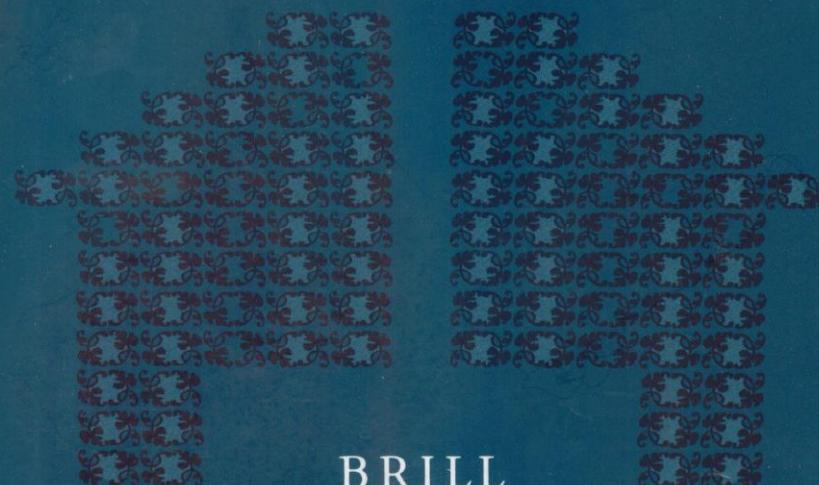
HISTORICAL ESSAYS
FOR OUR TIME

EDWIN JUDGE

SELECTED AND EDITED BY
STUART PIGGIN

Debating
Roman Demography

Edited by
Walter Scheidel



- Trebia (218 BC)
- Trasimene (217 BC)

- Trebia (218 BC)
- Trasimene (217 BC)
- Cannae (216 BC)

- Trebia (218 BC)
- Trasimene (217 BC)
- Cannae (216 BC)

- Trebia 30,000

- Trebia (218 BC)
 - Trasimene (217 BC)
 - Cannae (216 BC)
-
- Trebia 30,000
 - Trasimene 15,000

- Trebia (218 BC)

- Trasimene (217 BC)

- Cannae (216 BC)

- Trebia 30,000

- Trasimene 15,000

- Cannae 45,500 infantry

- Trebia (218 BC)
 - Trasimene (217 BC)
 - Cannae (216 BC)
-
- Trebia 30,000
 - Trasimene 15,000
 - Cannae 45,500 infantry
 - 2,700 cavalry

- Trebia (218 BC)
 - Trasimene (217 BC)
 - Cannae (216 BC)
-
- Trebia 30,000
 - Trasimene 15,000
 - Cannae 45,500 infantry
 - 2,700 cavalry
 - 48,200

- Cannae 45,500 infantry
 - 2,700 cavalry
 - 48,200
-
- (inc. the quaestors of both consuls, 29 military tribunes, some consular, praetorian and aedilician)

- Cannae **45,500 infantry**
- **2,700 cavalry**
- **48, 200**

- (inc. the quaestors of both consuls, 29 military tribunes, some of consular, praetorian and aedilician rank)

- “besides these, 80 senators or men who had held offices which would have given them the right to be selected to the Senate” (Livy 22. 49)

- Cannae **45,500 infantry**
- **2,700 cavalry**
- **48, 200**
- (inc. the quaestors of both consuls, 29 military tribunes, some of consular, praetorian and aedilician rank)
- “besides these, 80 senators or men who had held offices which would have given them the right to be selected to the Senate” (Livy 22. 49)
- Liv. *Per.* 22: “There were slain 45,000 Romans, including the consul Paullus, and ninety senators, and 30 others who had been consuls, praetors or aediles.”

- Cannae **45,500** infantry
 - **2,700** cavalry
 - **48, 200**
-
- Eutropius (3.10): **43,500**

- Cannae 45,500 infantry
 - 2,700 cavalry
 - 48, 200
 - Eutropius (3.10): 43,500
 - Appian *Hannibalic War 25*: 50,000

- Cannae 45,500 infantry
 - 2,700 cavalry
 - 48, 200
 - Eutropius (3.10): 43,500
 - Appian *Hannibalic War* 25: 50,000
 - Plut. *Fabius Maximus* 16: 50,000

- Cannae **45,500 infantry**
 - **2,700 cavalry**
 - **48, 200**

- Eutropius (3.10): 43,500
 - Appian *Hannibalic War* 25: 50,000
 - Plut. *Fabius Maximus* 16: 50,000
 - Quintilian 8.6.26: 60,000

- Cannae **45,500 infantry**
 - **2,700 cavalry**
 - **48, 200**

- Eutropius (3.10): 43,500
- Appian *Hannibalic War* 25: 50,000
- Plut. *Fabius Maximus* 16: 50,000
- Quintilian 8.6.26: 60,000
- Polybius (3.117.4) 70,000

- Cannae 45,500 infantry
 - 2,700 cavalry
 - 48,200
-
- Eutropius (3.10): 43,500
 - Appian *Hannibalic War* 25: 50,000
 - Plut. *Fabius Maximus* 16: 50,000
 - Quintilian 8.6.26: 60,000
 - Polybius (3.117.4) 70,000
-
- Peter Brunt, *Italian Manpower 225 B.C. – A.D. 14* (Oxford, 1971), Appendix 28 ‘Some Casualty Figures’, pp. 694–697.

Continuous War

– extracted from M.K. Hopkins *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge, 1978)

Table I.1. *The Militarism of Rome: the numbers of citizens serving as soldiers in the Roman army, by decades, 225-23 BC*

<i>a</i> Dates BC (mostly interval mid-points)	<i>b</i> Estimated citizen population ('000)	<i>c</i> Estimated size of citizen army ('000)	<i>d</i> Soldiers as a proportion of all male citizens (c/b) (%)
225	300	52	17
213	260	75	29
203	235	60	26
193	266	53	20
183	315	48	15
173	314	44	14
163	383	33	9
153	374	30	8
143	400	44	11
133	381	37	10
123	476 or 366	32	7 or 9
113	476 or 366	34	7 or 9
103	(400)	50	13
93	(400)	52	13
83	(1,030)	(143)	14
73	1,030	171	17
63	1,030	120	12
53	(1,030)	121	12
43	1,480	240	16
33	1,600	250	16
23	1,800	156	9

Note to Table I.1

The estimates of citizen population (col. *b*) are adapted from Brunt (1971: 13-14, 54-84)

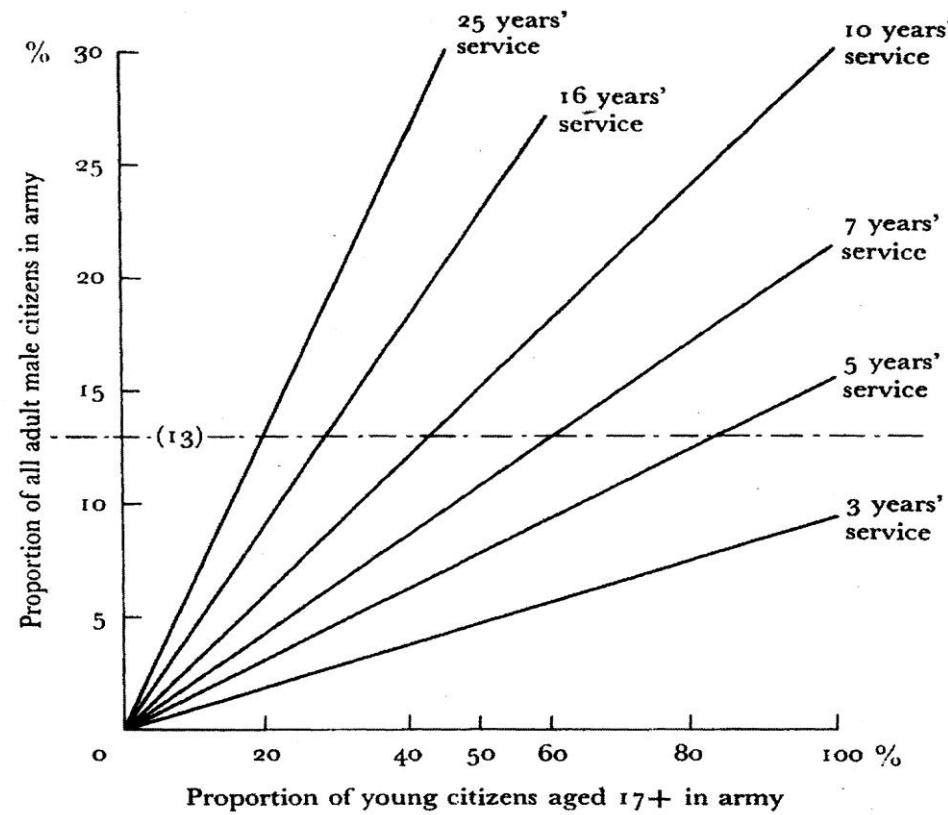


Figure 1.3. Young men's length of service in the Roman army – some coordinates. NB: the median size of the army 225–23 BC was 13% of all adult male citizens.

– extracted from M.K. Hopkins *Conquerors and Slaves* (Cambridge 1978)

Frederik J. Vervaet

The High Command in the Roman Republic

The Principle of the *summum imperium
auspiciumque* from 509 to 19 BCE

Historia

Alte Geschichte

Historia – Einzelschriften 232

Franz Steiner Verlag



Frederik J. Vervaet

The High Command in the Roman Republic

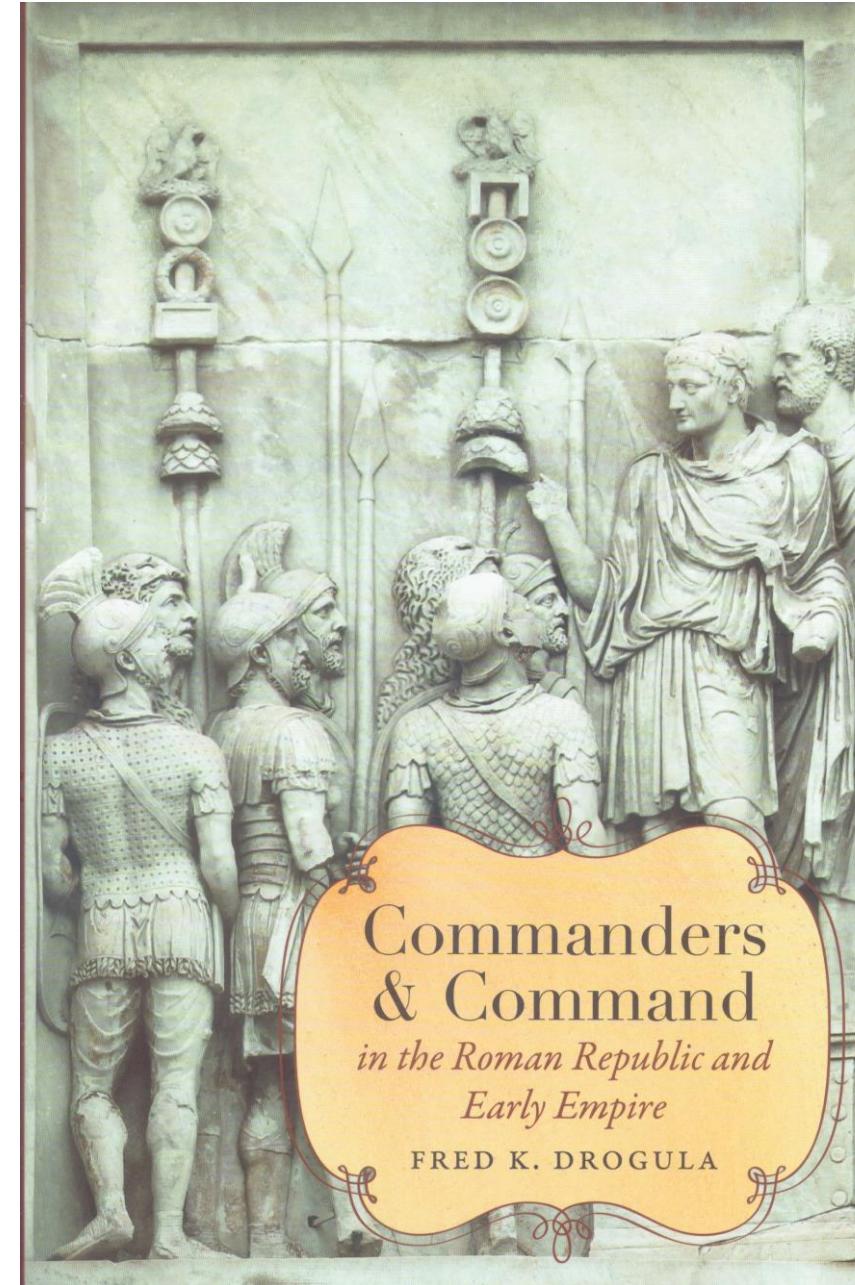
The Principle of the *summum imperium auspiciumque* from 509 to 19 BCE

Historia

Alte Geschichte

Historia – Einzelschriften 232

Franz Steiner Verlag



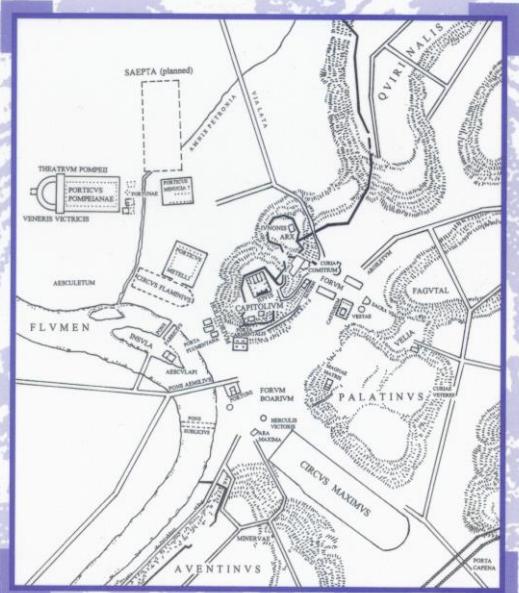
Commanders
& Command
*in the Roman Republic and
Early Empire*

FRED K. DROGULA

Thomas Spencer Jerome Lectures

FERGUS MILLAR

The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic

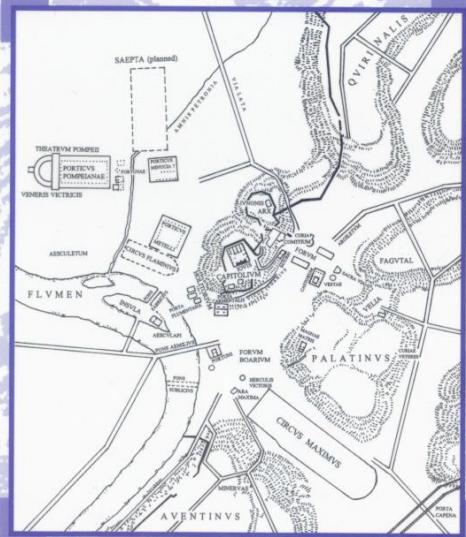


MICHIGAN

Thomas Spencer Jerome Lectures

FERGUS MILLAR

*The Crowd in Rome in
the Late Republic*



MICHIGAN

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC IN POLITICAL THOUGHT

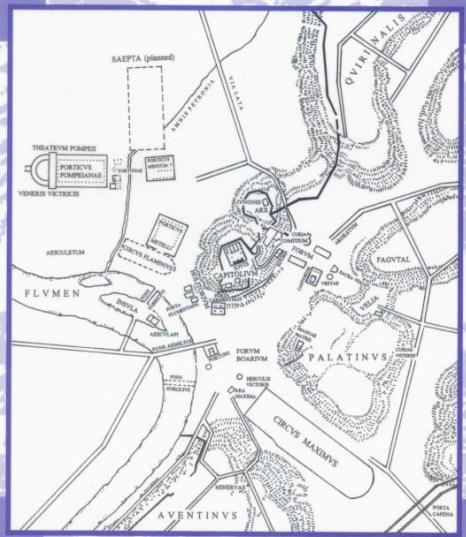
THE MENAHEM STERN JERUSALEM LECTURES

FERGUS MILLAR

Thomas Spencer Jerome Lectures

FERGUS MILLAR

*The Crowd in Rome in
the Late Republic*



MICHIGAN

THE ROMAN REPUBLIC IN POLITICAL THOUGHT

THE MENAHEM STERN JERUSALEM LECTURES

FERGUS MILLAR

THE LIFE OF ROMAN REPUBLICANISM

JOY CONNOLLY

Karl-J. Hölkeskamp

Reconstructing the Roman Republic

An Ancient
Political Culture
and Modern
Research



Karl-J. Hölkeskamp

Reconstructing the Roman Republic

An Ancient
Political Culture
and Modern
Research



Alexander Yakobson

Elections and Electioneering in Rome

A Study in the Political System
of the Late Republic

HISTORIA
Einzel-
schriften

128

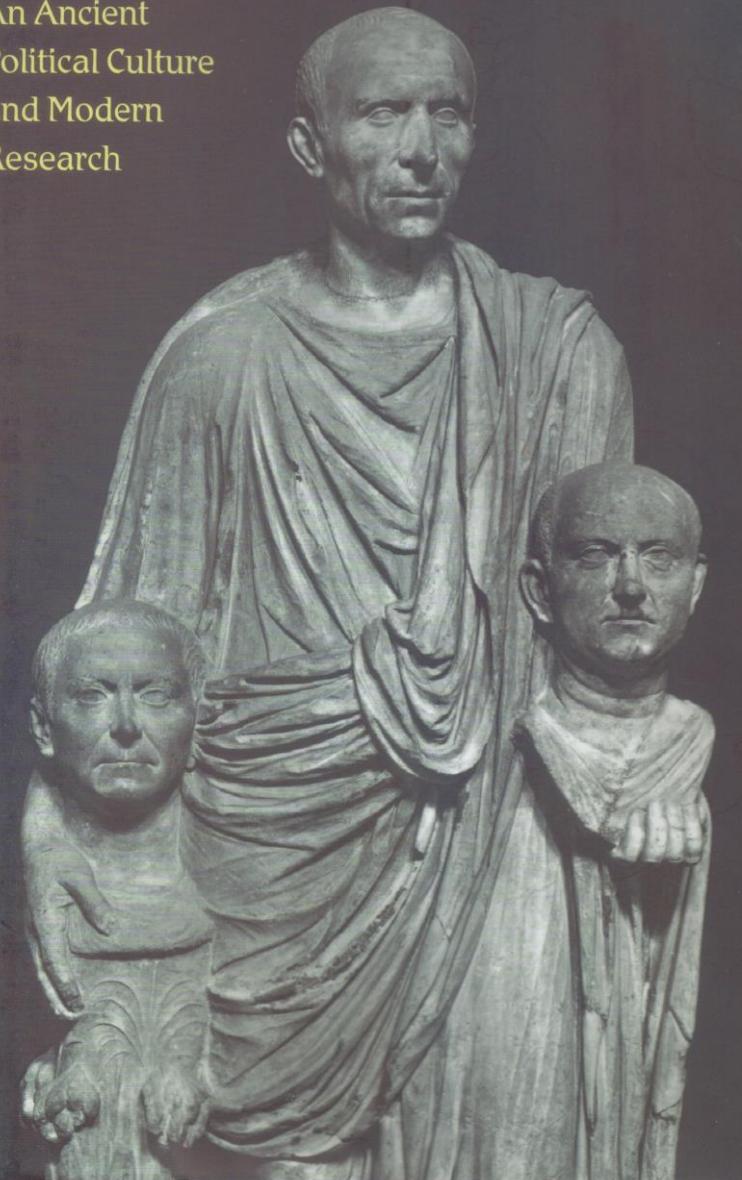


Franz Steiner Verlag Stuttgart

Karl-J. Hölkeskamp

Reconstructing the Roman Republic

An Ancient
Political Culture
and Modern
Research



THE POLITICS OF PUBLIC SPACE IN REPUBLICAN ROME

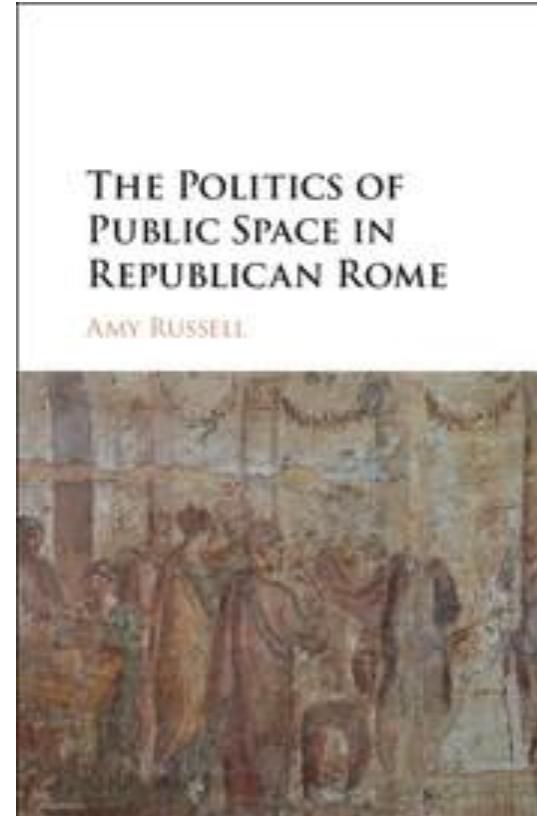
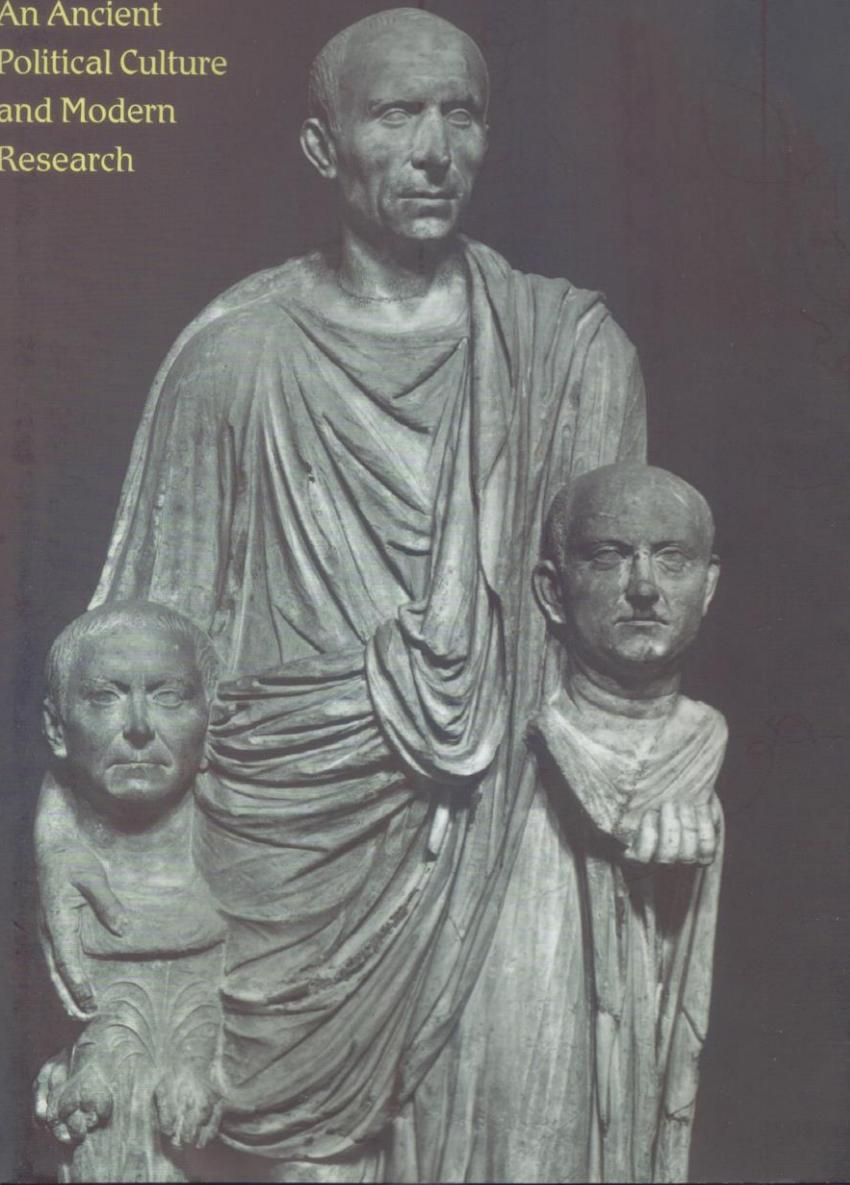
AMY RUSSELL



Karl-J. Hölkeskamp

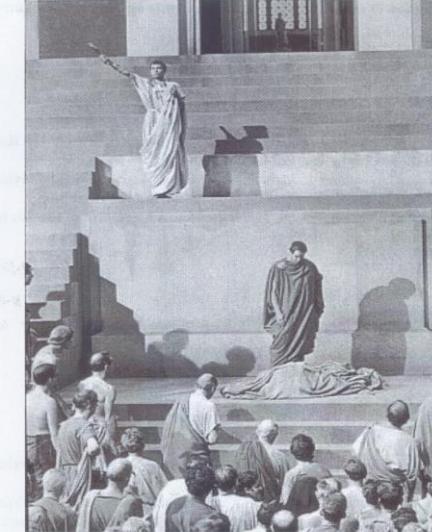
Reconstructing the Roman Republic

An Ancient
Political Culture
and Modern
Research



PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL CULTURE IN ROME

Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Sevilla, 8-9 September 2016



Thursday, 8th September 2016
Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, CSIC

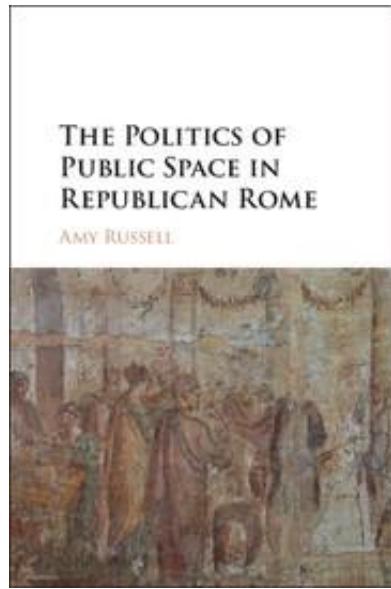
9.00: Welcome and opening of the conference.

9.30-11.30:
Jeff Tatum, Victoria University of Wellington, *Canvassing the elite: communicating sound values in the Commentariolum Petitionis*
Cristina Rosillo-López, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, *(How) did Romans perceive and measure public opinion?*

Karl-J. Hölkenskamp

Reconstructing the Roman Republic

An Ancient
Political Culture
and Modern
Research



PUBLIC OPINION AND POLITICAL CULTURE
IN ROME

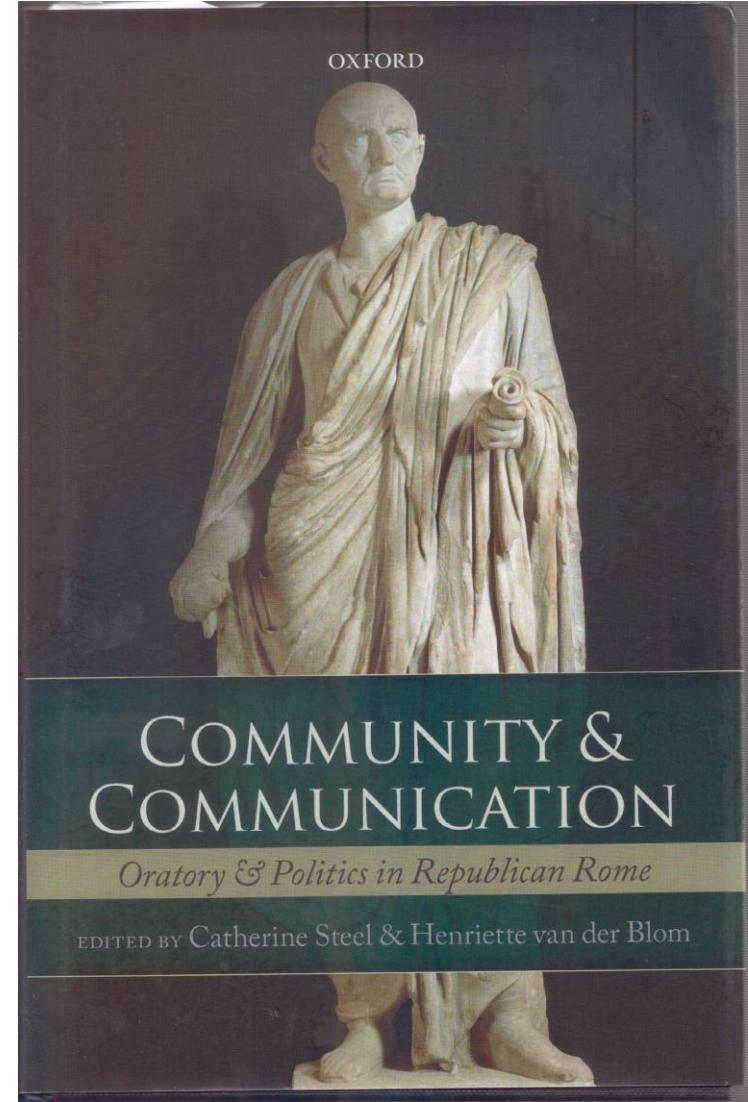
Universidad Pablo de Olavide, Sevilla, 8-9 September 2016



Thursday, 8th September 2016
Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, CSIC

9.00: Welcome and opening of the conference.

9.30-11.30:
Jeff Turner, Victoria University of Wellington, *Canvassing the elite: communicating sound values in the *Commentariolum Petitionis**
Cristina Rosillo-López, Universidad Pablo de Olavide, *(How) did Romans perceive and measure public opinion?*



Karl-J. Hölseskamp

Reconstructing the Roman Republic

An Ancient
Political Culture
and Modern
Research



MASS ORATORY AND POLITICAL POWER IN THE LATE ROMAN REPUBLIC

ROBERT MORSTEIN-MARX

This book explores the political culture of the late Roman Republic through the lens of oratory. It is often thought that the decline of the office of the censor and the disappearance of the Senate's role in political decision-making removed the political power of the Senate. This book challenges that view. Drawing on a wide range of sources, it shows that the Senate's influence was far from dead. It demonstrates that the Senate was instrumental in the development of political careers and that their influence over orators and their speeches was far greater than has been assumed. The book also highlights the importance of the Senate's role in the formation of political coalitions and their influence over the development of political institutions, structures, and mechanisms by a variety of other actors operating below the surface.

Reviewed by Prof. Dr. Karl-J. Hölseskamp, University of Cologne, Germany
*Author of *Reconstructing the Roman Republic. An Ancient Political Culture and Modern Research* (Cambridge University Press, 2019).*

 CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

PLEBS AND POLITICS

IN THE
LATE ROMAN
REPUBLIC

HENRIK MOURITSEN

CAMBRIDGE

Karl-J. Hölkeskamp

Reconstructing the Roman Republic

An Ancient
Political Culture
and Modern
Research



M. A. Robb

Beyond *Populares* and *Optimates*

Political Language
in the Late Republic

Historia

Geschichte

Historia Einzelschriften – 213

Franz Steiner Verlag

Karl-J. Hölkeskamp

Reconstructing the Roman Republic

An Ancient
Political Culture
and Modern
Research



M. A. Robb

Beyond *Populares* and *Optimates*

Political Language
in the Late Republic

Historia

Geschichte

Historia Einzelschriften – 213

Franz Steiner Verlag

LIBERTAS *and the* *Practice of Politics in the* *Late Roman Republic*

VALENTINA ARENA

CAMBRIDGE

THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC

ANDREW LINTOTT



CLARENDO N PRESS OXFORD

THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC

ANDREW LINTOTT



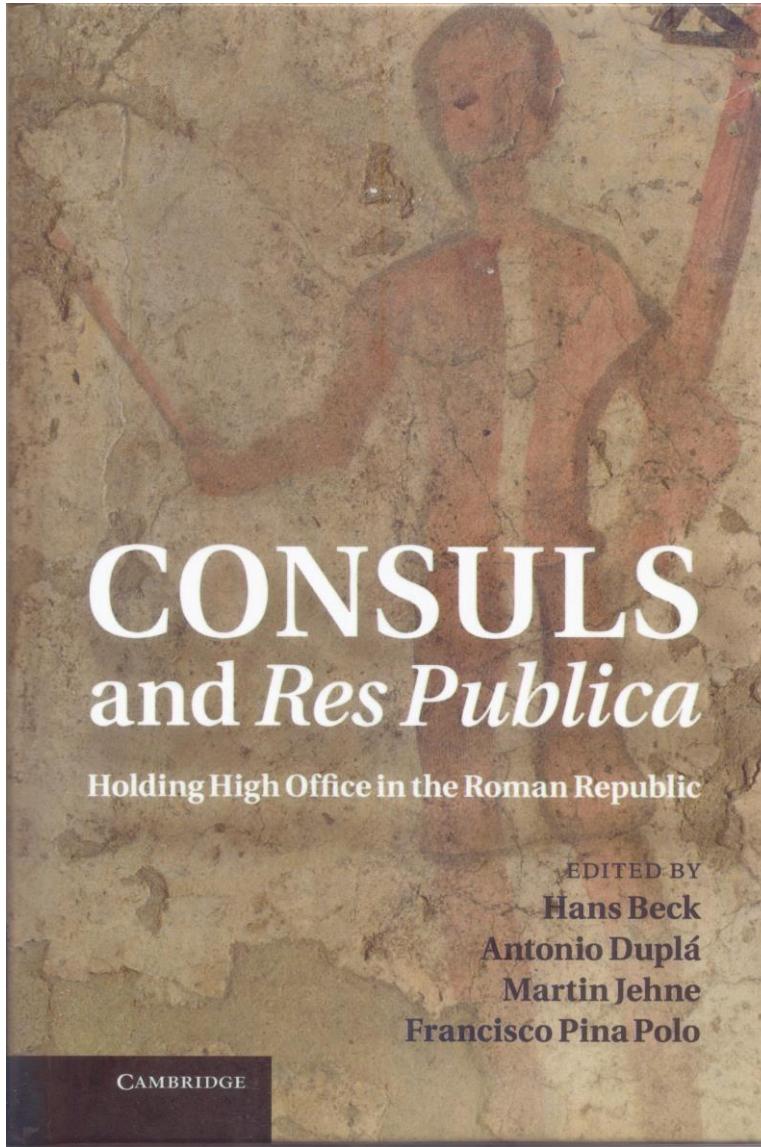
CLARENDO N PRESS OXFORD

THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC

ANDREW LINTOTT



CLARENDON PRESS OXFORD

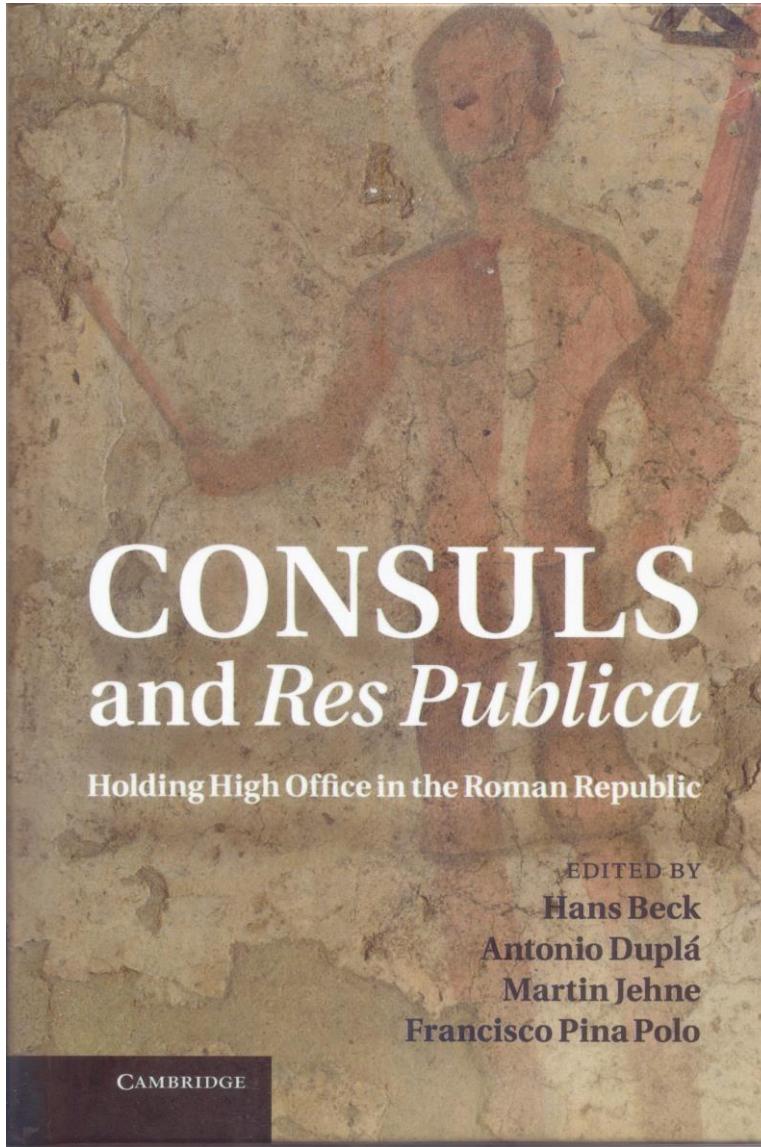


THE CONSTITUTION
OF THE
ROMAN REPUBLIC

ANDREW LINTOTT



CLARENDON PRESS OXFORD



THE
PRAETORSHIP
IN THE
ROMAN
REPUBLIC

VOLUME I



T. COREY
BRENNAN



E. BADIAN

LUCIUS SULLA

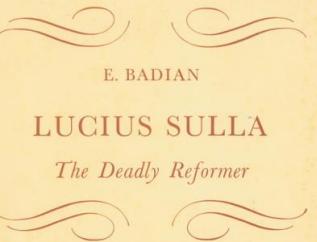
The Deadly Reformer



The Seventh Todd Memorial Lecture

SYDNEY UNIVERSITY PRESS





E. BADIAN

LUCIUS SULLA

The Deadly Reformer

The Seventh Todd Memorial Lecture
SYDNEY UNIVERSITY PRESS

Historia

Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte
Revue d'Histoire Ancienne
Journal of Ancient History
Rivista di Storia Antica

Historia Band 63 • Heft 3 • 2014
© Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart

Classical Quarterly 64.2 657–668 © The Classical Association (2014)
doi:10.1017/S0009838814000421

657

THE ROMAN SENATE AND THE POST-SULLAN RES PUBLICA*

ABSTRACT: This article assesses the significance of the modifications to Sulla's constitution introduced during the 70s. It argues the post-Sullan senate was in effect divided into two groups, those who sought and held imperium-bearing magistracies and those who did not: the latter group's experience of senatorial status was of jury service and senatorial debate. The 70s seemed to mark the decisive triumph of the former group within the Senate, but as the membership of the Senate remained unchanged the Senate's overall weakness within the *res publica* persisted.

The changes to the Roman *res publica* which L. Cornelius Sulla introduced during his dictatorship were extensive and profound.¹ Their effects on subsequent political practice remain, however, debated. In particular, the significance of a series of modifications to the Sullan framework which took place during the 70s B.C. has been subject to widely differing assessments. Gruen concluded that 'The Sullan constitution had been altered only slightly in form, not at all in intent'.² His analysis emphasised the emergence of a Sullan oligarchy whose members were successful in elections, controlled senatorial debate and legislation, and were willing to make small compromises in order to maintain their position.³ Though Gruen's position is a minority view, its critics also rely on the legislative changes of the 70s, particularly those which removed restrictions on the tribunate of the plebs and its holders and altered the composition of juries in the *iudicia publica*.⁴ Such an approach confirms the prominence of legislative change in assessing the effects of

* The research of which this article is one outcome was funded by the British Academy, through its Mid-Career Fellowship Scheme, and I am very grateful to the British Academy for its award of a Mid-Career Fellowship in 2011–2012. I am grateful to audiences at Durham, Cambridge, and Trinity St. David, and to *Historia*'s anonymous referees for their comments.

1 Badian 1970; Gruen 1974: 7–12; Hantos 1988; Letzner 2000: 271–294; Christ 2002; Santangelo 2007; Flower 2010: 117–134.

2 Gruen 1974: 46.

3 There is in Gruen's formulation discernible continuity with Syme's *Roman Revolution*, which (1939: 17) ascribed ongoing political power to the *nobilitas* in the post-Sullan period whilst identifying, in 70, a coup which 'destroyed Sulla's system'.

4 Meier 1980; Millar 1998: 49–72. The relevant pieces of legislation were a *lex Aurelia* in 75, which permitted tribunes of the plebs to hold magistracies subsequently, and in 70 a *lex Pompeia Licinia* which restored the rights of the tribunate and a *lex Aurelia* on the composition of juries. ■

RETHINKING SULLA: THE CASE OF THE ROMAN SENATE*

Pressing and urgent domestic problems were the justification for L. Cornelius Sulla's election to the dictatorship in 82 B.C.¹ He responded with an extensive legislative programme which reorganized the judicial and legislative processes of the *res publica*.² While there is agreement, in broad terms, about the nature of these changes, their purpose and significance remain debated.³ None the less, there is general consensus that the Senate's role in Sulla's *res publica* was enhanced in comparison with earlier periods.⁴ This conclusion is based on the increase in the size of the Senate; on the monopoly it resumed of judicial decision-making in the *iudicia publica*; and on the extension, in practice, of its legislative capacity, given that its decrees could not be vetoed by tribunes of the plebs, who had also lost their capacity to put forward legislation. Flower offers a recent and concise summary: 'This new "consensus" of Sulla was based on force and on the necessity of agreeing with Sulla himself, and subsequently with his new, mighty senate that was expected to wield unprecedented power and absolute authority'.⁵

Two hypotheses are required to support this view of Sulla's Senate: first, that his proposals were designed to enhance the role of the Senate, or even, in a stronger version, to

* The research for this article was supported by the British Academy, through its Mid-Career Fellowship scheme. I am grateful to audiences at Durham, Cambridge, and Trinity St. David, and to *CQ*'s anonymous referee, for their responses to its earlier versions.

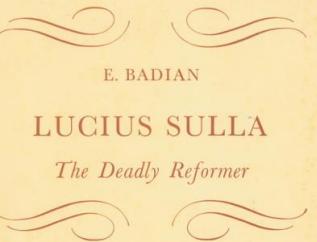
¹ Appian (*B Civ.* 1.99) records that Sulla was elected ἐπί θέσει νόμον ... καὶ καταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας. The description is plausibly understood as a translation of the phrase *legibus scribundis et rei publicae constituendae* (E. Gabba, *Appiani Bellorum civilium liber primus* [Florence, 1967?], 270–1).

² The major changes were (i) restrictions on the tribunate of the plebs, which ceased to have either positive or negative legislative capacity; (ii) increases in the numbers of quaestorships and praetorships, with automatic Senate entry for quaestors; (iii) a reorganization of the *iudicia publica* and the restriction of jury service to senators. Tribunes of the plebs were barred from holding further office.

³ See T. Hantos, *Res publica constituta: die Verfassung des Dictators Sulla* (Stuttgart, 1988); F. Hurlet, *La Dictature de Sulla* (Brussels, 1993); T.C. Brennan, *The Praetorship in the Roman Republic* (2 vols, New York, 2000), 2.388–402; A. Thein, 'Sulla the Weak Tyrant', in S. Lewis (ed.), *Ancient Tyranny* (Edinburgh, 2006), 238–49.

⁴ E.g. E.S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley, CA, 1974), 7–12; C. Meier, *Res publica amissa: eine Studie zu Verfassung und Geschichte der späten römischen Republik* (Wiesbaden, 1980²), 246–66; F. Millar, *The Crowd at Rome in the Late Republic* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1998), 49–54; H. Flower, *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2006), 98; U. Gotter, 'Cultural differences and cross-cultural contact: Greek and Roman concepts of power', *HSPH* 104 (2008), 179–230, at 214–16; T.P. Wiseman, *Remembering the Roman People: Essays on Late-Republican Politics and Literature* (Oxford, 2009), 11.

⁵ Flower (n. 4), 98; the comment is particularly striking as it comes from what is otherwise an incisive and highly revisionist reading of Sulla. H. Flower, *Roman Republics* (Princeton, NJ, 2010), 121–34, implicitly revises this analysis of the role of the Senate, though it remains unclear how it fitted into the model presented there of a Sullan republic dominated by the rule of law (129–30).



E. BADIAN

LUCIUS SULLA

The Deadly Reformer

The Seventh Todd Memorial Lecture
SYDNEY UNIVERSITY PRESS

Historia

Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte
Revue d'Histoire Ancienne
Journal of Ancient History
Rivista di Storia Antica

Historia Band 63 • Heft 3 • 2014
© Franz Steiner Verlag, Stuttgart

Classical Quarterly 64.2 657–668 © The Classical Association (2014)
doi:10.1017/S0009838814000421

657

THE ROMAN SENATE AND THE POST-SULLAN RES PUBLICA*

ABSTRACT: This article assesses the significance of the modifications to Sulla's constitution introduced during the 70s. It argues the post-Sullan senate was in effect divided into two groups, those who sought and held imperium-bearing magistracies and those who did not: the latter group's experience of senatorial status was of jury service and senatorial debate. The 70s seemed to mark the decisive triumph of the former group within the Senate, but as the membership of the Senate remained unchanged the Senate's overall weakness within the *res publica* persisted.

The changes to the Roman *res publica* which L. Cornelius Sulla introduced during his dictatorship were extensive and profound.¹ Their effects on subsequent political practice remain, however, debated. In particular, the significance of a series of modifications to the Sullan framework which took place during the 70s B.C. has been subject to widely differing assessments. Gruen concluded that 'The Sullan constitution had been altered only slightly in form, not at all in intent'.² His analysis emphasised the emergence of a Sullan oligarchy whose members were successful in elections, controlled senatorial debate and legislation, and were willing to make small compromises in order to maintain their position.³ Though Gruen's position is a minority view, its critics also rely on the legislative changes of the 70s, particularly those which removed restrictions on the tribunate of the plebs and its holders and altered the composition of juries in the *iudicia publica*.⁴ Such an approach confirms the prominence of legislative change in assessing the effects of

* The research of which this article is one outcome was funded by the British Academy, through its Mid-Career Fellowship Scheme, and I am very grateful to the British Academy for its award of a Mid-Career Fellowship in 2011–2012. I am grateful to audiences at Durham, Cambridge, and Trinity St. David, and to *Historia*'s anonymous referees for their comments.

1 Badian 1970; Gruen 1974: 7–12; Hantos 1988; Letzner 2000: 271–294; Christ 2002; Santangelo 2007; Flower 2010: 117–134.

2 Gruen 1974: 46.

3 There is in Gruen's formulation discernible continuity with Syme's *Roman Revolution*, which (1939: 17) ascribed ongoing political power to the *nobilitas* in the post-Sullan period whilst identifying, in 70, a coup which 'destroyed Sulla's system'.

4 Meier 1980; Millar 1998: 49–72. The relevant pieces of legislation were a *lex Aurelia* in 75, which permitted tribunes of the plebs to hold magistracies subsequently, and in 70 a *lex Pompeia Licinia* which restored the rights of the tribunate and a *lex Aurelia* on the composition of juries. ■

RETHINKING SULLA: THE CASE OF THE ROMAN SENATE*

Pressing and urgent domestic problems were the justification for L. Cornelius Sulla's election to the dictatorship in 82 B.C.¹ He responded with an extensive legislative programme which reorganized the judicial and legislative processes of the *res publica*.² While there is agreement, in broad terms, about the nature of these changes, their purpose and significance remain debated.³ None the less, there is general consensus that the Senate's role in Sulla's *res publica* was enhanced in comparison with earlier periods.⁴ This conclusion is based on the increase in the size of the Senate; on the monopoly it resumed of judicial decision-making in the *iudicia publica*; and on the extension, in practice, of its legislative capacity, given that its decrees could not be vetoed by tribunes of the plebs, who had also lost their capacity to put forward legislation. Flower offers a recent and concise summary: 'This new "consensus" of Sulla was based on force and on the necessity of agreeing with Sulla himself, and subsequently with his new, mighty senate that was expected to wield unprecedented power and absolute authority'.⁵

Two hypotheses are required to support this view of Sulla's Senate: first, that his proposals were designed to enhance the role of the Senate, or even, in a stronger version, to

* The research for this article was supported by the British Academy, through its Mid-Career Fellowship scheme. I am grateful to audiences at Durham, Cambridge, and Trinity St. David, and to *CQ*'s anonymous referee, for their responses to its earlier versions.

¹ Appian (*B Civ.* 1.99) records that Sulla was elected ἐπί θέσει νόμον ... καὶ καταστάσει τῆς πολιτείας. The description is plausibly understood as a translation of the phrase *legibus scribundis et rei publicae constituendae* (E. Gabba, *Appiani Bellorum civilium liber primus* [Florence, 1967?], 270–1).

² The major changes were (i) restrictions on the tribunate of the plebs, which ceased to have either positive or negative legislative capacity; (ii) increases in the numbers of quaestorships and praetorships, with automatic Senate entry for quaestors; (iii) a reorganization of the *iudicia publica* and the restriction of jury service to senators. Tribunes of the plebs were barred from holding further office.

³ See T. Hantos, *Res publica constituta: die Verfassung des Dictators Sulla* (Stuttgart, 1988); F. Hurlet, *La Dictature de Sulla* (Brussels, 1993); T.C. Brennan, *The Praetorship in the Roman Republic* (2 vols, New York, 2000), 2.388–402; A. Thein, 'Sulla the Weak Tyrant', in S. Lewis (ed.), *Ancient Tyranny* (Edinburgh, 2006), 238–49.

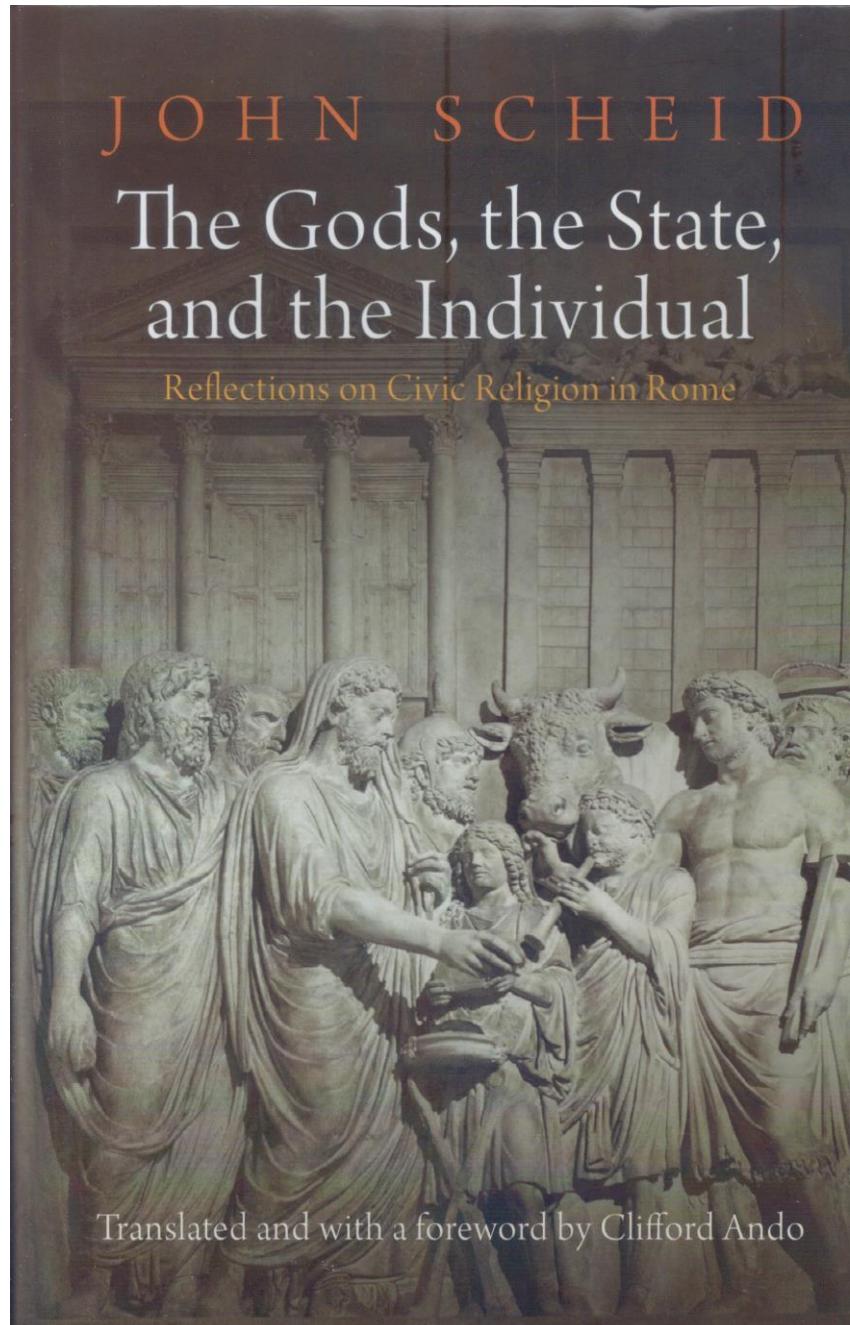
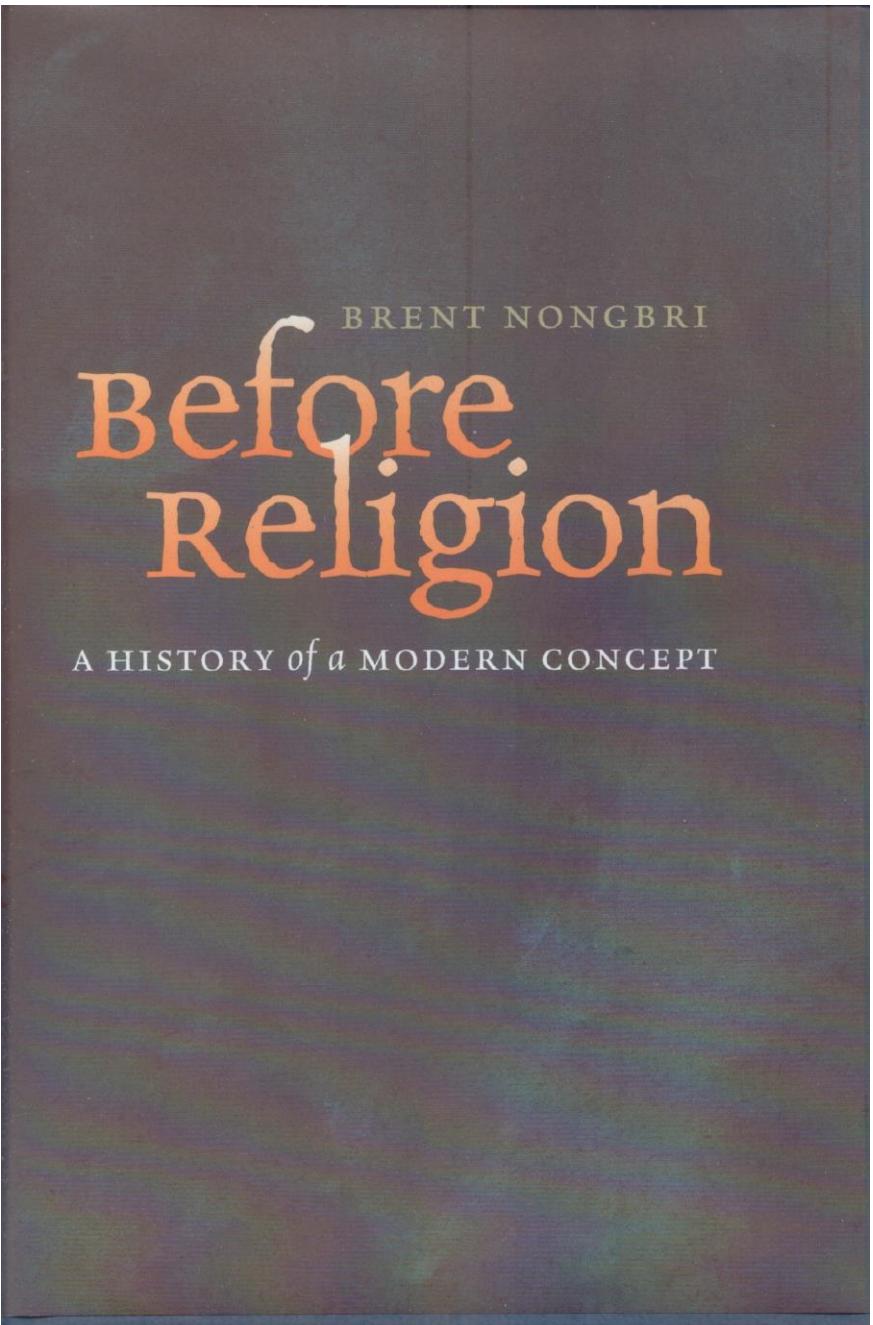
⁴ E.g. E.S. Gruen, *The Last Generation of the Roman Republic* (Berkeley, CA, 1974), 7–12; C. Meier, *Res publica amissa: eine Studie zu Verfassung und Geschichte der späten römischen Republik* (Wiesbaden, 1980²), 246–66; F. Millar, *The Crowd at Rome in the Late Republic* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1998), 49–54; H. Flower, *The Art of Forgetting: Disgrace and Oblivion in Roman Political Culture* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2006), 98; U. Gotter, 'Cultural differences and cross-cultural contact: Greek and Roman concepts of power', *HSPH* 104 (2008), 179–230, at 214–16; T.P. Wiseman, *Remembering the Roman People: Essays on Late-Republican Politics and Literature* (Oxford, 2009), 11.

⁵ Flower (n. 4), 98; the comment is particularly striking as it comes from what is otherwise an incisive and highly revisionist reading of Sulla. H. Flower, *Roman Republics* (Princeton, NJ, 2010), 121–34, implicitly revises this analysis of the role of the Senate, though it remains unclear how it fitted into the model presented there of a Sullan republic dominated by the rule of law (129–30).

BRENT NONGBRI

before Religion

A HISTORY *of* A MODERN CONCEPT



129 BC:

- Livy, *Periochae*, 54
- Obsequens 28a (2 snakes in Minerva's temple) (= slaughter of citizens)
- *parhelia* (two suns) (= great wars/deadly revolutions)

129 BC:

- Livy, *Periochae*, 54
- Obsequens 28a (2 snakes in Minerva's temple) (= slaughter of citizens)
- *parhelia* (two suns) (= great wars/deadly revolutions)



BRENT NONGBRI

before Religion

A HISTORY of a MODERN CONCEPT



Divination, Prediction and the End of the Roman Republic

FEDERICO SANTANGELO

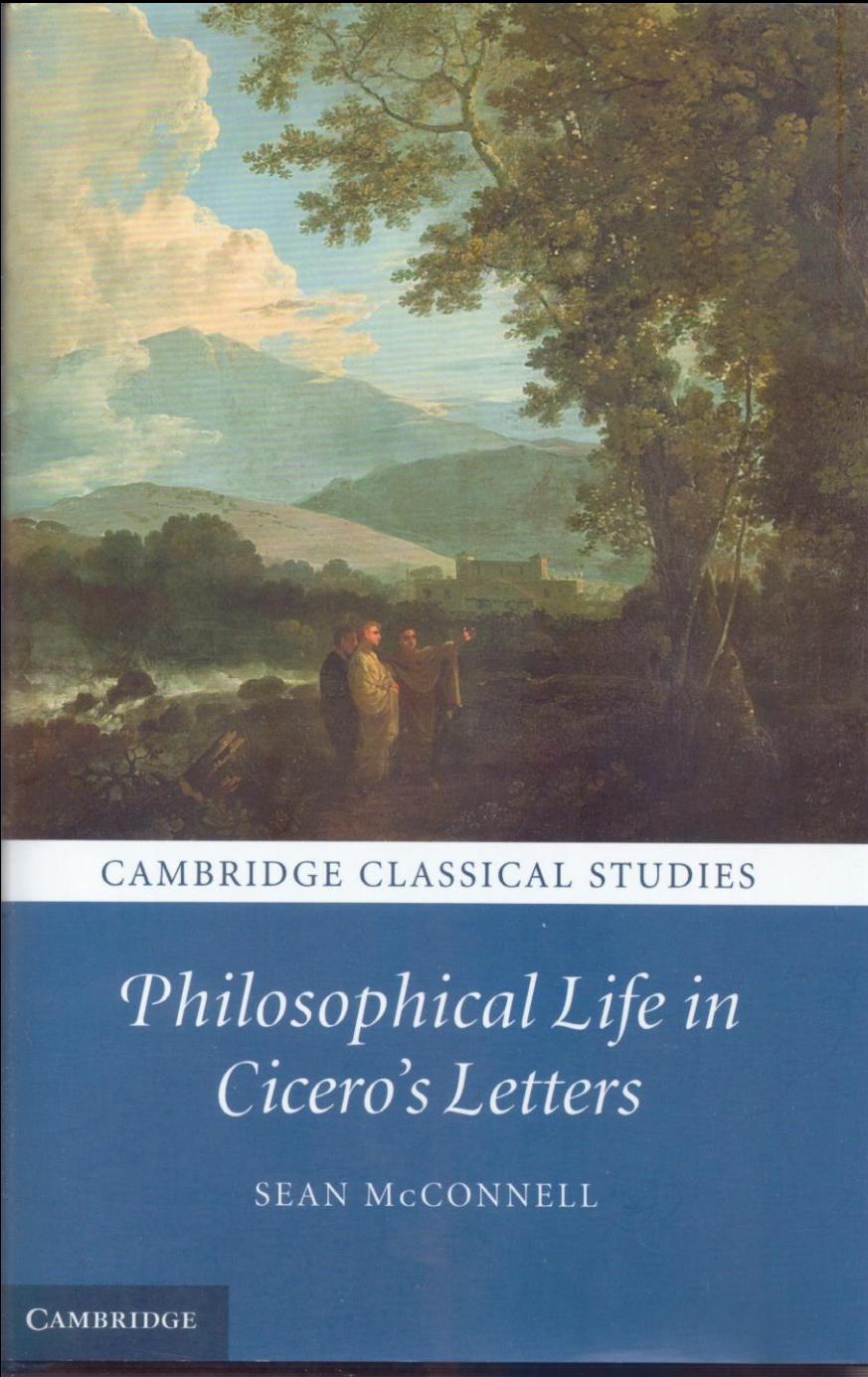
CAMBRIDGE

Ushering in a New Republic

THEOLOGIES OF ARRIVAL AT ROME
IN THE FIRST CENTURY BCE



Trevor S. Luke



COLLECTION LATOMUS

Fondée par M. RENARD en 1939
Continuée par J. DUMORTIER-BIBAUW
et C. DEROUX (directeur honoraire)
Dirigée par D. ENGELS
VOLUME 355 – 2016

Money and Power in the Roman Republic

Hans BECK, Martin JEHNE, and John SERRATI (eds.)



ÉDITIONS LATOMUS – BRUXELLES

OXFORD



OXFORD STUDIES ON THE ROMAN ECONOMY

ROME'S ECONOMIC REVOLUTION

Philip Kay

THE POLITICS OF PUBLIC SPACE IN REPUBLICAN ROME

AMY RUSSELL

