

**SOURCES FOR
ROMAN HISTORY,
B. C. 133-70**

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COLLECTED AND ARRANGED

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PREFACE

SINCE no period of Roman History can be adequately studied under the guidance of any isolated historian of the ancient world, a collection of the scattered sources of information for any of its epochs must have a certain value. But the absence of any single guide, of reasonable fullness and authority, for the story of the sixty-three years which form the subject of our book, is so universally admitted, and so keenly felt by teachers and advanced students, that the motive which has led us to collect and arrange the materials for this particular period is too self-evident to require explanation. The problems connected with the study of this period are not unlike those presented by the section of Greek History known as the *Pentecontaetia*, and the work which we have undertaken is meant to serve something of the purpose that has been so admirably attained by Mr. Hill's *Sources for Greek History*, although it does not aim at the exhaustiveness of Mr. Hill's book and is constructed on a somewhat different plan. In one respect our task has been less formidable than his. A chronological arrangement of the events of the *Pentecontaetia*, which can win anything like general acceptance, is impossible of attainment; while, in the period of Roman History which we have treated, such an arrangement, although not devoid of difficulties, is at least practicable. It is true that the practicability of this method by no means proves its excellence. The arrangement of sources by reference to subjects rather than to years may seem to many the preferable course. It is a course that has the advantage of admitting a more continuous citation of certain authorities, and it is one that by its simplicity frees the reader from the danger of some theoretical assumptions on the part of the author. But, on consideration, it appeared to us that a chronological arrangement was the most effective means of presenting that combination of forces which makes the history of a period by making that of each of its single years, and that this method of arrangement had the further advantage of enabling us to avoid frequent cross-references; for the different events of a period are on the whole far less exclusive of one another than its different years. The framing of a chronology for any considerable period of the history of Republican Rome does certainly necessitate processes of inference, and there is likely to be a small residuum of events whose place in the scheme

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baffles inference and invites conjecture. Hence we have been compelled to add an appendix containing chronological notes which deal with such disputed points.

We have divided the events of each year into those of its internal and external history. The sections which deal with domestic events will probably be found to be more complete, and therefore more valuable, than those which deal with foreign issues. The sacrifice of the details of domestic policy to personal anecdote and military history is a characteristic of most of the authors on whom we have had to rely. In particular, the legislation of any portion of this period has usually to be pieced together from a number of scattered fragments. We have, therefore, tried to make the portion of our work which deals with internal history, as complete as possible, while we were unable to present the details of campaigns and battles without making the book exceed the limits which we thought necessary to its utility. References, however, have always been given to passages which could not be cited in full.

In the citation and arrangement of passages dealing with a single event we have kept in view the necessity of presenting supplementary as well as alternative information. Passages which merely repeat one another have seldom been quoted in full; on the other hand, where any authority has stated an additional fact (even of an improbable kind) this authority has had his share of space allotted him. The passages cited in illustration of a single event will often be found to be in the sharpest contradiction to one another. Wherever this conflict of evidence was discernible, it has never been ignored. The attempt to reconcile, or even to discuss, conflicting statements was beyond our province; but occasionally, when the meaning of a citation seemed to be unusually obscure, we have referred to a passage in some modern book which explains the reason for its appearance.

Finally, we would call attention to an *addendum*, printed at the close of the volume, which contains a few words of an important inscription, bearing on the events of the year 133 B.C. but unfortunately unnoticed in the text of our work. The inscription presents the Pergamene record of the testament of Attalus III.

A. H. J. G.

A. M. C.

OXFORD, July, 1903.

SOURCES FOR ROMAN HISTORY

B. C. 133-70

B. C. 133: A. U. C. 621.

Consuls, P. Mucius Scaevola, L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi.

Internal History.

*The agrarian legislation of Ti. Sempronius Gracchus.
Social and economic conditions which dictated the
legislation.*

Sall. *Jug.* 41 Nobilitas factione magis pollebat; plebis vis soluta atque dispersa in multitudine minus poterat; paucorum arbitrio belli domique agitabatur; penes eadem aerarium, provinciae, magistratus, gloriae triumphique erant; populus militia atque inopia urgebatur; praedas bellicas imperatores cum paucis diripiebant. Interes parentes aut parvi liberi militum, ut quisque potentiori confinis erat, sedibus pellebantur . . . ubi primum ex nobilitate reperti sunt, qui veram gloriam iniustae potentiae anteponebant, moveri civitas, et dissensio civilis quasi permixtio terrae oriri coepit.

Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 8 ἀρξάμενων δὲ τῶν πλουσίων ὑπερβάλλειν τὰς ἀποφορὰς καὶ τοὺς πένητας ἐξελαινώτων, ἐγράφη νόμος οὐκ εἶναι πλείονα γῆς ἔχειν πλείονα πεντακοσίων. καὶ βραχὺν μὲν χρόνον ἐπέσχε τὴν πλεονεξίαν τὸ γράμμα τοῦτο . . . ὕστερον δὲ τῶν χεινιώτων πλουσίων ὑποβλήτους προσώποις μεταφερόντων τὰς μισθώσεις εἰς ἑαυτούς, τέλος δὲ φανερώς ἤδη δι' ἑαυτῶν τὰ πλείστα κατεχόντων, ἐξωσθέντες οἱ πένητες οὔτε ταῖς στρατείαις ἐπιπροθύμους παρέχον ἑαυτούς, ἡμίλων τε παίδων ἀνατροφῆς, ὡς ταχὺ τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἅπασαν ὀλιγανδρίας ἐλευθέρων ἀισθῆσθαι, δεσμητηρίων δὲ βαρβαρικῶν ἐμπεπλῆσθαι, δι' ἃν ἐγεώργουν οἱ πλοῦσιοι τὰ χωρία τοῖς πολίταις ἐξελίσσαντες.

App. *Bell. Civ.* 1. 7 οἱ γὰρ πλοῦσιοι τῆσδε τῆς ἀνεμῆτου γῆς τὴν πολλὴν καταλαβόντες, καὶ χρόνῳ θαρροῦντες οὐ τινα σφῶς ἐπιδηφαιρήσεσθαι, τὰ τε ἀγχοῦ σφισιν, ὅσα τε ἦν ἄλλα βραχέα πενήτων, τὰ μὲν ἀνοούμενοι πειθοῖ τὰ δὲ βίβη λαμβάνοντες, πεδία μακρὰ ἀντὶ χωρίων ἐγεώργουν.

Liv. xxxiv. 4. 9 Quid legem Liciniam excitavit de quintgentis iugeribus nisi ingens cupido agros continuandi?

Seneca, *Ep.* xiv. 2 (90), 39 Licet agros agris adiciat vicinum vel pretio pellens vel iniuria.

Frontinus, p. 48 Haec fere pascua certis personis data sunt depascenda tunc cum agri adsignati sunt. Haec pascua multi per inopotentiam invaserunt et colunt.

Ib. p. 53 Per longum enim tempus attigui possessores vacantia loca quasi invitante otiosi soli opportunitate invaserunt, et per longum tempus inpune commalleaverunt.

Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xviii. 6 (7), 35 Verumque confitentibus latifundia perdidere Italiam. [*For the expression latifundi see Siculus Flaccus, pp. 157, 161.*]

Descent and education of Ti. Gracchus.

Vellei. ii. 2 Quippe Tiberius Gracchus, Tiberii Gracchi clarissimi atque eminentissimi viri filius, P. Africani ex filia nepos, . . . in praeruptum atque anceps periculum adduxit rem publicam.

Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 1 (Κορηλία) δύο υιούς, περί ἃν τάδε γέγραπται, Τιβέριον καὶ Γάϊον, διαγενομένους οὕτω φιλοτίμως ἐξέθρεψεν, ὥστε πάντων εὐφροστώτους Ῥωμαίων ὁμολογουμένως γεγονότας πεπειδεδόσθαι δοκεῖν βέλτιον ἢ πεφικέναι πρὸς ἀρετήν.

Cic. *Brut.* 27. 104 Fuit Gracchus diligentia Corneliae matris a puero doctus et Graecis litteris eruditus. Nam semper habuit exquisitos a Graecia magistros, in eis iam adolescens Diophanem Mytilenaeum Graeciae temporibus illis disertissimum.

Id. *ib.* 58. 211 Legimus epistulas Corneliae matris Gracchorum: apparet filios non tam in gremio educatos quam in sermone matris [cf. Quinetil. *Inst. Or.* i. 1, 6].

Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 8 ὁ Τιβέριος δὲ δήμαρχος ἀποδείχθει εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὤρμησε τὴν πρᾶξιν, ὡς μὲν οἱ πλείστοι λέγουσι, Διοφάνους τοῦ ῥήτορος καὶ Βλοσσίου τοῦ φιλοσόφου παρορησάντων αὐτόν, ἃν ὁ μὲν Διοφάνης φυχὰς ἦν Μιτυληναῖος, ὁ δ' αὐτόθεν ἐξ Ἰταλίας Κυμαῖος.

Motives which urged Ti. Gracchus to frame an agrarian law.

Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 8 τὴν δὲ πλείστην αὐτὸς ὁ δῆμος ὄρμην καὶ φιλοτίμιαν ἐξῆψε, προκαλούμενος διὰ γραμμάτων αὐτὸν ἐν στοαῖς καὶ τοίχοις καὶ μνημῶσι καταγεγραμμένων ἀναλαβεῖν τοῖς πένησι τὴν δημοσίαν χώραν.

Cic. *Brut.* 27. 103 (Ti. Gracchus) propter turbulentissimum tribunatum, ad quem ex invidia foederis Numantini bonis iratus accesserat, ab ipsa re publica est interfectus.

Id. *de Har. Resp.* 20. 43 Ti. Graccho invidia Numantini foederis, cui feriendo, quaestor C. Mancini consulis cum esset, interfuerat, et in eo foedere improbando senatus severitas dolori et timori fuit, eaque res illum fortem et clarum virum a gravitate patrum desciscere coegit [cf. Vellei. ii. 2; Quintil. *Inst. Or.* vii. 4. 13; Dio Cass. *fr.* 82; Oros. v. 8. 3; Florus, ii. 2 (iii. 14)].

Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 8 ὁ δ' ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Γάιος ἐν τινὶ βιβλίῳ γέγραφεν εἰς Νομαντίαν πορευόμενον διὰ τῆς Τυρρηρίας τὸν Τιβέριον, καὶ τὴν ἰσημίαν τῆς χώρας ὄροντα καὶ τοὺς γεωργοῦντας ἢ νέμοντας οἰκέτας ἐπιστάτους καὶ βαρβάρους, τότε πρῶτον ἐπὶ νόον βαλίσθαι τὴν μυρίων κακῶν ἀρξασαν αὐτοῖς πολιτείαν.

*Discussion and advice preceding the legislation ;
speeches of Ti. Gracchus.*

Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 9 οὐ μὴν ἐφ' αὐτοῦ γε συνήθηκα τὸν νόμον, τοῖς δὲ πρωτεύουσιν ἀρετῇ καὶ δόξῃ τῶν πολιτῶν συμβούλους χρησάμενος, ὧν καὶ Κράσσοσ ἦν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ Μούκιος Σκαιβόλασ ὁ νομοδίκτησ ὑπατεύων τότε καὶ Κλαύδιος Ἀππιὸσ ὁ κηδεστήσ τοῦ Τιβερίου.

Cic. *Acad. Prior.* ii. 5. 13 Duo . . . sapientissimos et clarissimos fratres, P. Crassum et P. Scaevolam, aiunt Ti. Graccho auctores legum fuisse, alterum quidem, ut videmus, psalam; alterum, ut suspicantur, obscurius.

App. *Bell. Civ.* i. 9 Τιβερίοσ Σεμπρόνιοσ Γράκχοσ . . . δημαρχῶν ἰσημολόγησε περὶ τοῦ Ἰταλικοῦ γένουσ ὡσ εὐπολεμωτάτου τε καὶ συγγενούσ, φθειρομένου δὲ κατ' ὀλίγον ἐσ ἀπορίαν καὶ δλιγανδρίαν, καὶ οὐδὲ ἐλπίδα ἔχοντοσ ἐσ διόρθωσιν. ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ δουλικῷ δυσχεράνασ ὡσ ἀστρατεύτω καὶ οὐποτε ἐσ δεσπότουσ πιστώ, τὸ ἐναγχόσ ἐπήνεγκεν ἐν Σικελίᾳ δεσποτῶν πάθοσ ὑπὸ θεραπόντων γενόμενον, πτόξημένων κἀκείνων ἀπὸ γεωργίασ, καὶ τὸν ἐπ' αὐτοῖσ Ῥωμαίων πόλεμον οὐ βρόδιον οὐδὲ βραχύν, ἀλλ' ἐσ τε μήκοσ χρόνου καὶ τροπὰσ κινδύνωσ ποικίλασ ἐκτραπέντα.

*Gracchus' bill the renewal of an older law ; legality
of resuming 'ager publicus.'*

App. *Bell. Civ.* i. 9 ἀνεκαίνιζε τὸν νόμον μηδένα τῶν πεντακοσίων πλείθρων πλέον ἔχειν κωσὶ δ' αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τὸν παλαιὸν νόμον προσε-
θῆαι τὰ ἡμίσεια τούτων [cf. Plut. *Ti. Gracch.* 8 (p. 1)].