Leadership and Initiative in Late Republican and Early Imperial Rome

Mnemosyne Supplements

HISTORY AND ARCHAEOLOGY OF CLASSICAL ANTIQUITY

Series Editor

Jonathan M. Hall (University of Chicago)

Associate Editors

Jan Paul Crielaard (Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam) Benet Salway (University College London)

VOLUME 453

The titles published in this series are listed at *brill.com/mns-haca*

Leadership and Initiative in Late Republican and Early Imperial Rome

Edited by

Roman M. Frolov Christopher Burden-Strevens



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

Cover illustration: Marble head of an elderly woman, ca. 40–20 BCE, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Purchase, Philodoroi Gifts, 2000 (https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/257433). Image in public domain. CC0 1.0 Universal (CC0 1.0).

The Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data is available online at https://catalog.loc.gov LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2021970071

Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISSN 2352-8656 ISBN 978-90-04-51139-2 (hardback) ISBN 978-90-04-51140-8 (e-book)

Copyright 2022 by Roman M. Frolov and Christopher Burden-Strevens. Published by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Brill Nijhoff, Brill Hotei, Brill Schöningh, Brill Fink, Brill mentis, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, Böhlau Verlag and V&R Unipress.

Koninklijke Brill NV reserves the right to protect this publication against unauthorized use. Requests for re-use and/or translations must be addressed to Koninklijke Brill NV via brill.com or copyright.com.

This book is printed on acid-free paper and produced in a sustainable manner.

Contents

List of Figures IX List of Abbreviations X Notes on Contributors XI

1 Introduction 1 *Roman M. Frolov*

PART 1

Locating Political Initiative in Republican Rome

- 2 Governing a City-State: Magistrates, Assemblies, and Public Space in Republican Rome 39 *Karl-J. Hölkeskamp*
- 3 Public Opinion and Political Initiative in Republican Rome 64 Alexander Yakobson

PART 2 Seniority and Status as Factors of Political Agency

- 4 Acting Up: The Post of Master of the Mint as an Early-Career Move in the Late Republic 91 *Christopher Burden-Strevens*
- 5 Consulars, Political Office, and Leadership in the Middle and Late Republic 133 *Catherine Steel*

PART 3 Women's Initiative in Roman Politics

 Female Interventions in Politics in the *libera res publica*: Structures and Practices 151 Lewis Webb 7 Urgulania, Plancina, and Livia: Women's Initiative in Early Imperial
Politics 189 Josiah Osgood

PART 4 Political Initiative in Emergencies

- 8 "He Took Care of the City and Supported It": Initiative as a Prerequisite for Fabius' *cunctatio* 213 *Tassilo Schmitt*
- 9 Political Initiative during *interregna* in the Late Roman Republic 245 Vera V. Dementyeva

PART 5 Leadership at a Time of Change

- Leadership through Letters: Cicero and Cassius' Correspondence in 44–43BCE 271 Henriette van der Blom
- 11 The Dynamics of Elite Agency in a Post-Caesar World (44–31BCE) 295 Hannah Mitchell
- 12 Seizing Initiative in the Sphere *domi*: Magistrates, Promagistrates, and the Senate at the Outset of 32 BCE 323 *Roman M. Frolov*

PART 6 Fighting for Initiative

- Potentiality through Conflict: Political Initiatives, Conflict, and the Political Evolution of the Roman Republic 351 Oliver Grote
- Losing the Lead: The Crisis of the Late Roman Republic as a Crisis of Senatorial Leadership 374 Claudia Tiersch

PART 7 Political Initiative outside of Rome

- Late Republican Local Rebellions and Marches against Rome: Agency and Initiative in the "Catilinarian Insurgency" 409 *Katarina Nebelin*
- 16 Petitioning for Change in the Republican Empire 433 *Kit Morrell*

PART 8

Political Initiative and Leadership in Military Contexts

- 17 Omnia deinde arbitrio militum acta: Political Initiative and Agency of the Army in Late-Republican and Early Imperial Rome 457 Alexander V. Makhlaiuk
- The Emperor and His Generals: Military Agency in the Early Principate 489 Wolfgang Havener

Index 513

Figures

- 4.1 Silver denarius of L. Furius Brocchus (RRC 414/1) 101
- 4.2 Terracotta propaganda cups of Cato and Catiline (CIL VI 40904 / 40897) 103
- 4.3 Silver denarius of M. Aemilius Lepidus (RRC 415/1) 104
- 4.4 Silver *denarius* of L. Scribonius Libo (RRC 416/1c) 106
- 4.5 Silver denarius of M. Aemilius Lepidus & L. Scribonius Libo (RRC 417/1a) 106
- 4.6 Silver denarius of M. Valerius M. f. Messalla (RRC 435/1) 111
- 4.7 Silver *denarius* of M. Junius Brutus (RRC 433/1) 114
- 4.8 Silver denarius of M. Junius Brutus (RRC 433/2) 117
- 4.9 Quinarius of Lollius Palicanus (RRC 473/3) 119
- 4.10 Silver *denarius* of Lollius Palicanus (RRC 473/1) 121
- 4.11 Silver denarius of L. Aemilius Buca (RRC 480/6) 123
- 4.12 Silver *denarius* of P. Sepullius Macer (RRC 480/21) 125
- 4.13 Silver *denarius* of P. Sepullius Macer (RRC 480/22) 125

Abbreviations

AMNG 3.2	Gaebler, H. (1935) Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands. Die antiken Münzen von Makedonia und Paionia, Bd. 3.2, Berlin.
CIL	(1863–) Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum, Berlin.
FRH	Beck, H. & Walter, U. (2001–2004) <i>Die Frühen Römischen His-</i>
гкп	toriker (2 vols.), Darmstadt.
FRHist	Cornell, T.J. et al. (eds.) (2013) Fragments of the Roman Historians
	(3 vols.), Oxford.
ILLRP	Degrassi, A. (ed.) (1965) <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae</i> , 2nd ed., Firenze.
ILS	Dessau, H. (ed.) (1892–1906) Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae (5 vols.), Leipzig.
InscrIt	(1931–) Inscriptiones Italiae, Roma.
OLD	Glare, P.G.W. (ed.) (2012) <i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , 2nd ed., Oxford.
ORF ⁴	Malcovati, M. (ed.) (1976) Oratorum Romanorum Fragmenta Lib-
0111	erae Rei Publicae (2 vols.), 4th ed., Torino.
RDGE	Sherk, R.K. (1969) Roman Documents from the Greek East, Balti-
	more.
RE	Wissowa, G. et al. (eds.) (1893–1978) Paulys Realencyclopädie der
	classischen Altertumswissenschaft, Stuttgart.
RRC	Crawford, M.H. (1974) Roman Republican Coinage (2 vols.), Cam-
	bridge.
SEG	(1923–) Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum.
SNG Alpha Bank 1	(2000) Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Greece 2. The Alpha Bank
	Collection: Macedonia I, Alexander I—Perseus, Athens.
SNG München	(1968–) Sylloge Nummorum Graecorum: Deutschland. Staatlische
	Münzsammlung München, 28. Vols., Berlin.
Syll. ³	Dittenberger, W. (ed.) (1915–1924) Sylloge Inscriptionum Graeca-
-	rum, 3rd ed., Leipzig.
	• •

Notes on Contributors

Henriette van der Blom

is Reader in Ancient History at the University of Birmingham, United Kingdom. She has published extensively on Cicero, late republican oratory, politics, memory culture, and the reception of republican oratory, including her two monographs on *Cicero's Role Models: The Political Strategy of a Newcomer* (Oxford University Press, 2010) and *Oratory and Political Career in the late Roman Republic* (Cambridge University Press, 2016). She is involved in a new edition of the *Fragments of the Roman Republican Orators* and is co-editor of the forthcoming *Cambridge History of Rhetoric vol 1* on the ancient world. She sits on the editorial board for *Journal of Roman Studies* and *Historia*, and is currently working on an interdisciplinary project on epistolary leadership.

Christopher Burden-Strevens

is Lecturer in Roman History at the University of Kent, United Kingdom. He obtained his Ph.D. in 2015 under the supervision of Prof. Catherine Steel (University of Glasgow) as part of the ERC-funded *Fragments of the Republican Roman Orators* project. Since then he has published extensively on Cassius Dio's treatment of Roman history, including numerous articles, two edited volumes, and most recently his monograph *Cassius Dio's Speeches and the Collapse of the Roman Republic* (Brill, 2020). He is interested in the political culture of the late Republic (especially political communication from rhetoric to numismatics) and its representation in historiography. His current research project focuses on the reception of the Roman Republic in intellectual culture in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century revolutionary Europe.

Vera V. Dementyeva

is Professor of Ancient History at P.G. Demidov Yaroslavl State University, Russia. She is the author of a series of monographs on the extraordinary magistrates of the Roman Republic (the *interrex*, the dictator and the *magister equitum*, the *decemviri legibus scribundis*, and the military tribunes with consular power). She has co-edited several volumes, including *Volk und Demokratie im Altertum* (Edition Ruprecht, 2010), and published numerous articles on aspects of the republican constitution and political culture (*imperium* and *potestas*, Roman meritocracy, *bellum iustum*—to name some of the themes), as well as on the history of classical scholarship. Her most recent work focuses on the Roman quaestors.

Roman M. Frolov

is Lecturer in Ancient History at P.G. Demidov Yaroslavl State University, Russia. Focusing on the political culture and constitution of republican Rome, he is particularly interested in public gatherings (*coetus* and *contiones*) and magistrates. He is currently working on a research project entitled *Between privati and magistratus: Holders of "Intermediate" Statuses in Roman Republican Politics*. He has published a series of papers on this subject, including articles on magistrates-elect (*Historia* 67, 2018), the suspension of magistrates from their functions (*Vestnik drevnei istorii* 76, 2016 & 81, 2021; *Mnemosyne* 70, 2017; *Athenaeum* 107, 2019), and the activities of promagistrates in the sphere domi (*Phoenix* 73, 2019; *Classical Quarterly* 70, 2020).

Oliver Grote

is "Akademischer Rat auf Zeit" in Ancient History at the University of Regensburg, Germany. He is the author of *Die griechischen Phylen. Funktion—Entstehung—Leistungen* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016). His research interests include the political order and political practice in the Roman Republic, the polis in Archaic Greece, ancient Sparta, the emergence of the political in antiquity, and systems theory in ancient history, in particular in studies of republican Rome. His current project is on potentiality as a characteristic of the political sphere of the Roman Republic (*Potentialität als Merkmal des politischen Raums der römischen Republik*).

Wolfgang Havener

is "Akademischer Rat auf Zeit" at the Seminar for Ancient History & Epigraphy, University of Heidelberg, Germany. His research focuses on the political and cultural history of late republican and imperial Rome. He is the author of *Imperator Augustus. Die diskursive Konstituierung der militärischen persona des ersten römischen princeps* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016) which investigates the way in which Augustus and the members of the senatorial elite shaped the *princeps*' role as military leader. In addition he has co-edited (with I. Gildenhard, U. Gotter and L. Hodgson) the volume *Augustus and the Destruction of History. The Politics of the Past in Early Imperial Rome* (Cambridge Philological Society, 2019) and is currently preparing another edited volume on "*The Culture of Civil War*" in late republican Rome.

Karl-J. Hölkeskamp

is Professor of Ancient History in the Department of History, University of Cologne (Germany), now Emeritus. He is interested in the political, constitutional, social, and cultural history of archaic Greece and republican Rome. Major publications include *Reconstructing the Roman Republic. An Ancient Political Culture and Modern Research* (Princeton University Press, 2010, updated Italian and Spanish translations 2016, 2019), as well as two collections of essays, *Libera Res Publica. Die politische Kultur des antiken Rom—Positionen und Perspektiven* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2017) and *Roman Republican Reflections. Studies in Politics, Power, and Pageantry* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2020).

Alexander V. Makhlaiuk

is Professor of Ancient History and Chair of the Department of Ancient and Medieval History at Lobachevsky State University of Nizhni Novgorod, Russia. His chief interests are Roman imperial army and military history, the ideology and political culture of the Roman Empire, and Greek and Roman historiography (particularly Cassius Dio). His major publications include *Soldiers of the Roman Empire. Military Traditions and Martial Mentality* (St. Petersburg State University, 2006) and *Daily Life of the Roman Army under the Principate* (Eurasia, 2021, with A.E. Negin). He is also the author of the Russian translation and commentary of Cassius Dio's Roman History, Books 51–80 (two volumes, St. Petersburg State University, 2011 & 2014) and is currently preparing a translation and commentary of Books 1–50. He has written articles on political and military history, lately "Emperors' Nicknames and Roman Political Humour" (*Klio* 102, 2020).

Hannah Mitchell

is Lecturer in Ancient History at St Benet's Hall, University of Oxford, United Kingdom. Her research focuses on the political culture of the late republican, triumviral, and Augustan periods, and her interests include the norms and values of elite society, the political and historiographical construction of reputations, civil war, and political participation. She has published on the careers and self-presentation of particular Roman politicians, such as Pompeius Magnus and Munatius Plancus. She has research forthcoming on the issue of neutrality in civil war, and she is working on a larger project on political non-participation and legitimacy.

Kit Morrell

is the Susan Blake Lecturer in Classics and Ancient History at the University of Queensland, Australia. Her research centres on the political and legal history of the late Roman Republic. She is currently undertaking an Australian Research Council Discovery Early Career Researcher Award project examining the idea and practice of reform in the Roman Republic. Her previous publications include a monograph, *Pompey, Cato, and the Governance of the* *Roman Empire* (Oxford University Press, 2017) and *The Alternative Augustan Age* (Oxford University Press, 2019), co-edited with Josiah Osgood and Kathryn Welch.

Katarina Nebelin

is Senior Lecturer in Ancient History at the University of Klagenfurt, Austria. Her research interests include the political culture, political theory, and history of ideas of ancient societies, especially democratic Athens and republican Rome. Her dissertation *Aristokratie und Philosophie. Die Autonomisierung der Philosophie von den Vorsokratikern bis Platon* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 2016) dealt with the emergence of ancient Greek philosophy and its connections to elite culture and ideology. Particularly interested in the relationship between the lower and upper strata of societies in theory as well as in practice, she has coedited *Eliten nach dem Machtverlust? Fallstudien zur Transformation von Eliten in Krisenzeiten* (Wissenschaftlicher Verlag Berlin, 2012). She is currently writing a book in which she analyzes and contextualizes Roman marches on Rome during the late Republic, especially in regard to the motivation of soldiers to participate in these activities.

Josiah Osgood

is Chair and Professor of Classics at Georgetown University (Washington, DC, United States), where he has also served as Convener of the Faculty of Languages and Linguistics. He has published many articles and books on Roman history and Latin literature, including *Caesar's Legacy: Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire* (Cambridge University Press, 2006), *Turia: A Roman's Civil War* (Oxford University Press, 2014) and *Rome and the Making of a World State*, *150 BCE*–20 *CE* (Cambridge University Press, 2018). He has also coedited *The Alternative Augustan Age* (Oxford University Press, 2019) and *Cassius Dio and the Late Roman Republic* (Brill, 2019). He is currently working on a book about Rome's destruction of Carthage.

Tassilo Schmitt

is Professor of Ancient History at the University of Bremen, Germany. His major publications include *Hannibals Siegeszug. Historische und historiographische Untersuchungen zu den ersten beiden Jahren des Zweiten Punischen Krieges* (Tuduv-Verl.-Ges., 1991) and *Paroikie und Oikumene. Sozial- und mentalitätsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen zum I. Clemensbrief* (de Gruyter, 2002). He has also co-edited a number of edited volumes, including *Volk und Demokratie im Altertum* (Edition Ruprecht, 2010). He has published numerous articles on Roman historiography, Christianity in the Roman world, the polis as a state, political terminology in the Mycenaean Greece, ancient Caucasus, and other topics, with particular focus on the connections between political order and cultural representation of the world.

Catherine Steel

is Professor of Classics at the University of Glasgow, United Kingdom. Her research focuses on the political history of the Roman Republic, especially its last century, with a particular interest in public speech, power, and institutional history. She is the author of *The End of the Roman Republic*, *146–44 B.C.: Conquest and Crisis* (Edinburgh University Press, 2013) and edited a special edition of *Classical Receptions Journal* on the reception of the idea of the Roman republican Senate. She has published widely on Cicero, including, as editor, *The Cambridge Companion to Cicero* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), and is currently working on an edition of fragmentary Roman oratory from the republican period.

Claudia Tiersch

is Professor of Ancient History at the Humboldt-University of Berlin, Germany. Her research interests include political communication in the late Roman Republic and the Athenian democracy, the history of the ancient city, and church and state in late antiquity. She is the author of *Johannes Chrysostomus in Konstantinopel (398–404): Weltsicht und Wirken eines Bischofs in der Hauptstadt des Oströmischen Reiches* (Mohr Siebeck, 2002). She has co-edited several volumes, including, most recently, *Semantische Kämpfe zwischen Republik und Prinzipat? Kontinuität und Transformation der politischen Sprache in Rom* (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2021). She has also published numerous papers on the crisis of the Roman Republic, *optimates* and *populares, contiones*, the political elite in Rome and in Athens, and political legitimation.

Lewis Webb

is a Swedish Research Council Postdoctoral Fellow at the University of Gothenburg (Sweden) and the University of Oxford (United Kingdom), and a Fulford Junior Research Fellow at Somerville College, Oxford. His research expertise is in gender, law, religion, and space in republican Rome. Much of his recent work has focused on Roman women, particularly their public roles and visibility. His research interests extend in various additional directions, including comparative approaches to sexuality and shame in Rome, northern alterities in Roman literature, early Roman legislation, theoretical approaches to Roman archaeology, the Anthropocene, and the material culture of Etruria and Thessaly.

XVI

Alexander Yakobson

is Associate Professor of Ancient History at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Israel. His main fields of research are democracy, popular politics, public opinion and elections in the ancient world, the political culture of the Roman Republic, the political culture of the early principate, and the status of the imperial family. In addition to various papers, he is the author of *Elections and Electioneering in Rome: A Study in the Political System of the Late Republic* (Franz Steiner Verlag, 1999). His research interests outside of ancient history include democracy, national identity, nation-state and the rights of national minorities, and religion and state in Israel and in Western democracies.