Politics in the Roman Republic: Perspectives from Niebuhr to Gelzer

Ancient History

Editor-in-Chief

Lee L. Brice (Western Illinois University)

Editorial Board

Jeremy Armstrong (Early Rome) (University of Auckland)
Denise Demetriou (Greece and Ancient Mediterranean)
(University of California)
Daniëlle Slootjes (Late Rome) (University of Amsterdam)
Georgia Tsouvala (Hellenistic and Roman Greece) (Illinois State University)

Volumes published in this Brill Research Perspectives title are listed at brill.com/rpah

Politics in the Roman Republic: Perspectives from Niebuhr to Gelzer

Ву

Cary M. Barber



BRILL

LEIDEN | BOSTON

This paperback book edition is simultaneously published as issue 3.4 (2020) of <i>Ancient History</i> , DOI:10.1163/25425374-12340010
Library Congress Control Number: 2022915742
Typeface for the Latin, Greek, and Cyrillic scripts: "Brill". See and download: brill.com/brill-typeface.
ISBN 978-90-04-53000-3 (paperback) ISBN 978-90-04-53001-0 (e-book)
Copyright 2022 by Cary M. Barber. 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 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

1

2

3

Editors' Note VII
Acknowledgments VIII
Politics in the Roman Republic: Perspectives from Niebuhr to Gelzer
Cary M. Barber
Abstract 1
Keywords 1
The 'Long Nineteenth Century' of Historiography 2
1.1 Foundational Historians: Niebuhr, Mommsen, Münzer, Gelzer 2
1.2 Appraising the Problem: Oblivion and the Anglosphere 6
1.3 Charting a Continuum from Past to Present 15
1.4 Avoiding Cliché 22
1.5 The Long Nineteenth Century' of Historiography 25
Prelude to Niebuhr's 'Historiography of the Future' 28
2.1 Prelude to Niebuhr's 'Historiography of the Future': Introduction 29
2.2 Prelude to Niebuhr's 'Historiography of the Future':
Girard's 'Generative Violence' 38
Barthold Georg Niebuhr's 'Revolution' 50
3.1 Barthold Georg Niebuhr and the 'Long Nineteenth Century' (LNC) 52
3.2 Niebuhr's Historiographical Revolution 62
3.3 Niebuhr's Methodological Revolution(s): Socio-economic Studies 73
3.4 Towards a New Critique of Niebuhr 85
3.5 Critiquing Niebuhr: Niebuhr and the Gracchi 89
3.6 Niebuhr: A Final Analysis 94
In the Shadow of Mommsen 97
4.1 In the Shadow of Mommsen: An Introduction 99
4.2 Measuring Mommsen's Impact 110
4.3 Mommsen and the 'Constitutionalist' Model for Roman Politics 117
4.4 Mommsen's 'Constitutionalist' History: The Republic as a
Spider's Web 140
4.5 A New 'Mommsenian Tradition': The Geschichte and Staatsrecht
as Unified Program 145
4.6 A New Mommsenian Model: Perspectives from the Social
Sciences? 163
4.7 Appraising Mommsen in a New Light 172
4.8 A New 'Mommsenian Model' and the Republic's Ideological
Tundra 179

VI CONTENTS

- 4.9 Theodor Mommsen, Christian Meier, and Modernity: A Continuum? 189
- 4.10 Evaluating 'The New Mommsenian Tradition': Tears in the Web? 200
- 4.11 Mommsen as Doyen of Republican History: A Final Evaluation 205
- 5 Münzer, Gelzer, and the 'Social Scientific' Tradition 207
 - 5.1 The Emergence of a 'Social-Historical' School: Introduction 208
 - 5.2 Münzer, Gelzer, and the Conclusion of Historiography's 'Long Nineteenth Century' 209
 - 5.3 Gelzer's Die Nobilität and the 'Mommsenian Tradition' 210
 - 5.4 Gelzer, Clientage, and the Factio 218
 - 5.5 Gelzer's Impact: Friedrich Münzer and a Much-Expanded Model 223
 - 5.6 Surveying the 'Frozen Waste' 227
 - 5.7 Friedrich Münzer: Laudatio Funebris 234
- 6 Perspectives on Roman Politics, Past and Present 234
 - 6.1 The Ascension of Sir Ronald Syme and the Movement toward Modernity 235
 - 6.2 From 'The Long Nineteenth Century' to the 'Age of Extremes' 244 Bibliography 246 Index 275

Editors' Note

Dear Readers,

When we launched *Research Perspectives: Ancient History* in 2017, it was published as a journal in which each issue came out as a lengthy, single-topic, solicited article and, simultaneously, as monographs. Since then, we have published ten issues/monographs on historiographical topics as varied as Spartan demographics to Orientalism in Etruscan studies. The volumes have been well-received by scholars, teachers, and students.

We are all aware of the impact of the pandemic and how it has setback many projects. The lockdowns, university and library closures, travel restrictions and, of course, illness, caregiving, and death have affected everyone. It is not surprising that the pandemic has delayed the publication of our most recent volume. The editorial team here has continued to give each issue our utmost attention and to publish as volumes reach us. But now, with issue number 4, the delayed 2020 volume 3 is at last complete.

At the same time as the pandemic started, changes in the publishing world led Brill to reexamine the format for the *Research Perspectives* series. As we proceed into what would have been volume 4, we are pleased to report that *Research Perspectives: Ancient History* will continue publishing high-quality, peer-reviewed volumes, but as a monograph series instead. Going forward, each monograph in the series will be held to the same high standards as previous works. We have numerous volumes lined up and look forward to bringing each of these out to the field and to readers. On behalf of the editorial team, thank you for your continued support.

Lee L. Brice Senior Editor, RPAH Summer 2022

Acknowledgments

Sir Ronald Syme, in his preface to *The Roman Revolution* (1939), noted famously that his work was "not composed in tranquility." While I would never compare my own work with Syme's, I am increasingly inclined to compare the grim last few years with the tortured trek from the mid-1930's towards the Second World War. This volume, too, has been the product of disquiet during a new age of anxiety of varying sorts: personal (trans-continental relocations for academic gig work in a supersaturated market), national (menacing political polarization, systemic inequalities, mass concentration of wealth among the pauci, endemic economic hardship), and global (a pandemic with losses in the millions, the invasion of Ukraine, ongoing struggles in the Arabian Peninsula, the Levant, and Myanmar). These are sufferings on a smaller scale than Syme's (and his world's), perhaps, but they are sufferings, nonetheless. Light, levity, and relief were provided by my brilliant wife, Jill M. Barber, who supported this project in countless ways, and who succeeded at so much in those same years. For all her efforts to maintain our sanity, she deserves an entire acknowledgment page of her own. So, too, do I owe an immense debt of thanks to my family in North Carolina and Washington, whose support, love, and exasperation were critical to the volume's completion. Gratitude is also given to the network of friends from our years in Ohio, Oregon, North Carolina, and California, who added to this work. The whole mishpocha.

This work exists only because of the patience of Brill Publishers, the editorial board for Brill's Research Perspectives: Ancient History series, and, above all, Jeremy Armstrong, to whom tremendous gratitude is owed for his kindness, erudition, and advice. Montgomery Van Wart, Paul Suino, the editors at Brill, and the volume's two anonymous readers offered numerous, excellent critiques. Jesse Barber, Marion Kruse, James Payne, Kate Liszka, Bryan Kraemer, Marc Robinson, Diana Johnson, Ryan Keating, Tiffany Jones, Andy Minick, Mike Jarvis, Andy Corbett, Brett Jones, Rusty Baker, Beau McNaboe, Lincoln Nemetz-Carlson, Michael and Melissa Powers, and Brian Swain provided necessary moral support at moments of frustration (of which they were likely entirely unaware). Thanks also to Jill Barber (Ma!) and Dee Hurley; David Barber (Pops!) and Cissy McKissick; Barbara, Dennis, Ashley, and Kyle Barber; James and Kaye Barber; Judy Barber; Gail Greenberg; and the memories of Muriel and Herb Kostern; Jasper Barber; and Dick Fleenor. Stephen Blair, one of the most gifted philologists I know, offered salutary assistance with translations of Mommsen - the fruits of a friendship born of a small closet office at Wake Forest University, whose faculty and fellows are among the best of the Classical academy (T. H. M. Gellar-Goad, Caitlin Hines, Amy Lather, John Oksanish, Michael Sloan, and Brian Warren). Above all, however, my time at Wake Forest – and in many ways, my continued

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS IX

academic career — is owed to Mary Pendergraft, whose infinite kindness kept a career alive in the doldrums. Similar thanks are owed to Mary Jaeger, Malcolm Wilson, and Julie Hessler of University of Oregon, as well as Kathryn Welch. So, too, John Waterhouse, Anzia Yezierska, Mick and Nasir Jones, Allen Ginsberg, Philip Glass, Johnny Jewel, Terrence Thornton, and Radric Davis. Thank you.

I am deeply obligated to three extraordinary scholars and teachers: Donald Goodwin, Richard J. A. Talbert, and Nathan S. Rosenstein. This project began as part of a dissertation under Nate Rosenstein's guidance at 'The' Ohio State University. When I brought Nate a chapter on Mommsen, Legalism, and its impact on modern reconstructions of the *lectio senatus*, he was ... bemused: he kicked the chapter and suggested I save the work for the years before my retirement. Following – but also creatively reinterpreting – Nate's advice has been the hallmark of my short career. Creative influences from other Ohio State faculty permeate this work. The most obvious, of course, comes from Greg Anderson. But a great deal is owed to Tina Sessa, David Brakke, Bert Harrill, William Batstone, and Anthony Kaldellis. Finally, I have been unreasonably fortunate in my colleagues, mentors, and friends at CSUSB: Tim Pytell, Tom Long, Jeremy Murray, David Yaghoubian, Daisy Ocampo, Michael Karp, Pedro Santoni, Bibiana Diaz, and Brad Owen.

I have never understood the 'academic impulse' to insist one's work is entirely one's own responsibility – why would it not be? But I suppose many works are the results of collaborative efforts, generous funding, reads from several eminent scholars, and generous institutional support. This has not been the case with this work, which must be understood as the result of a singular, self-guided fascination with a niche, but essential, subject: the origin story of the story of Roman history. It therefore owes its deepest conceptual debt to Arnaldo Dante Momigliano, who avoided the fate of Friedrich Münzer in part through the efforts of the Society for the Protection of Science and Learning (now CARA, the Council for At-Risk Academics). Whatever your thoughts on this volume, its (re)interpretations, and its flagrant esotericism, I urge you to support the efforts of this NGO, which may take partial responsibility for the scholarship and accomplishments of Karl Popper, Ludwig Guttmann (the founder of the Paralympics), and Ernst Chain (who shared the Nobel Prize with Alexander Fleming).

Thank you – again and again and again – to Jill (and Tina). This volume is dedicated to our small family.