

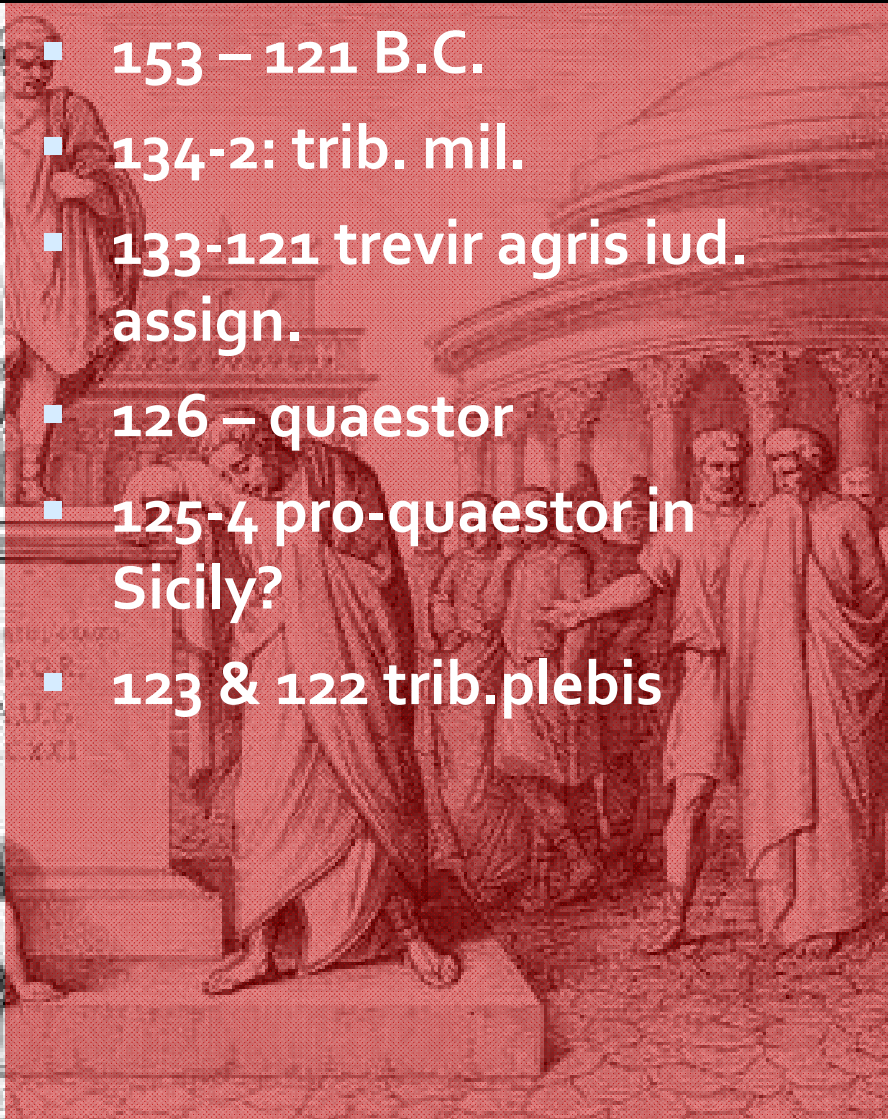
Gaius Gracchus' laws



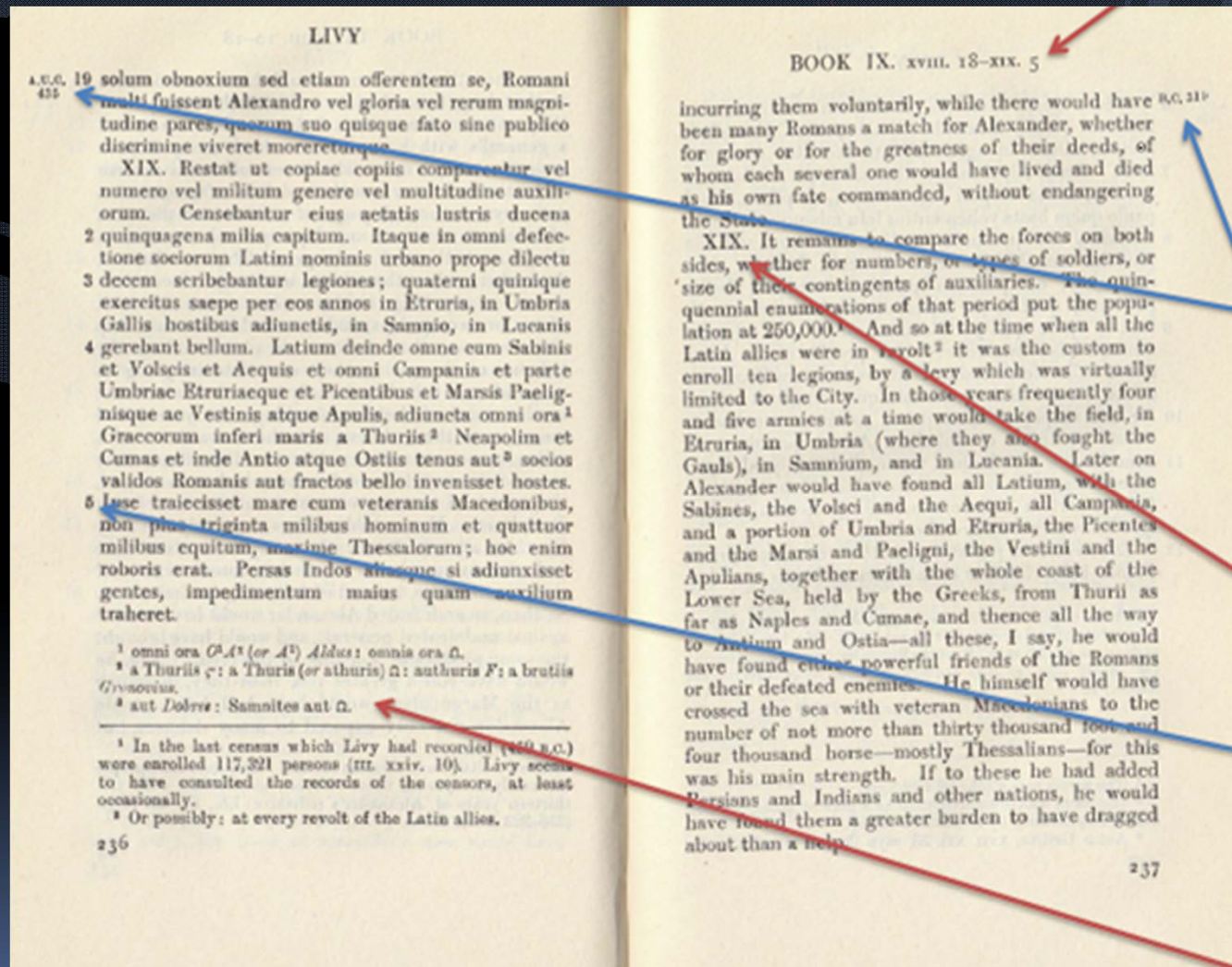
Gaius Gracchus' laws



- 153 – 121 B.C.
- 134-2: trib. mil.
- 133-121 trevir agris iud. assign.
- 126 – quaestor
- 125-4 pro-quaestor in Sicily?
- 123 & 122 trib. plebis



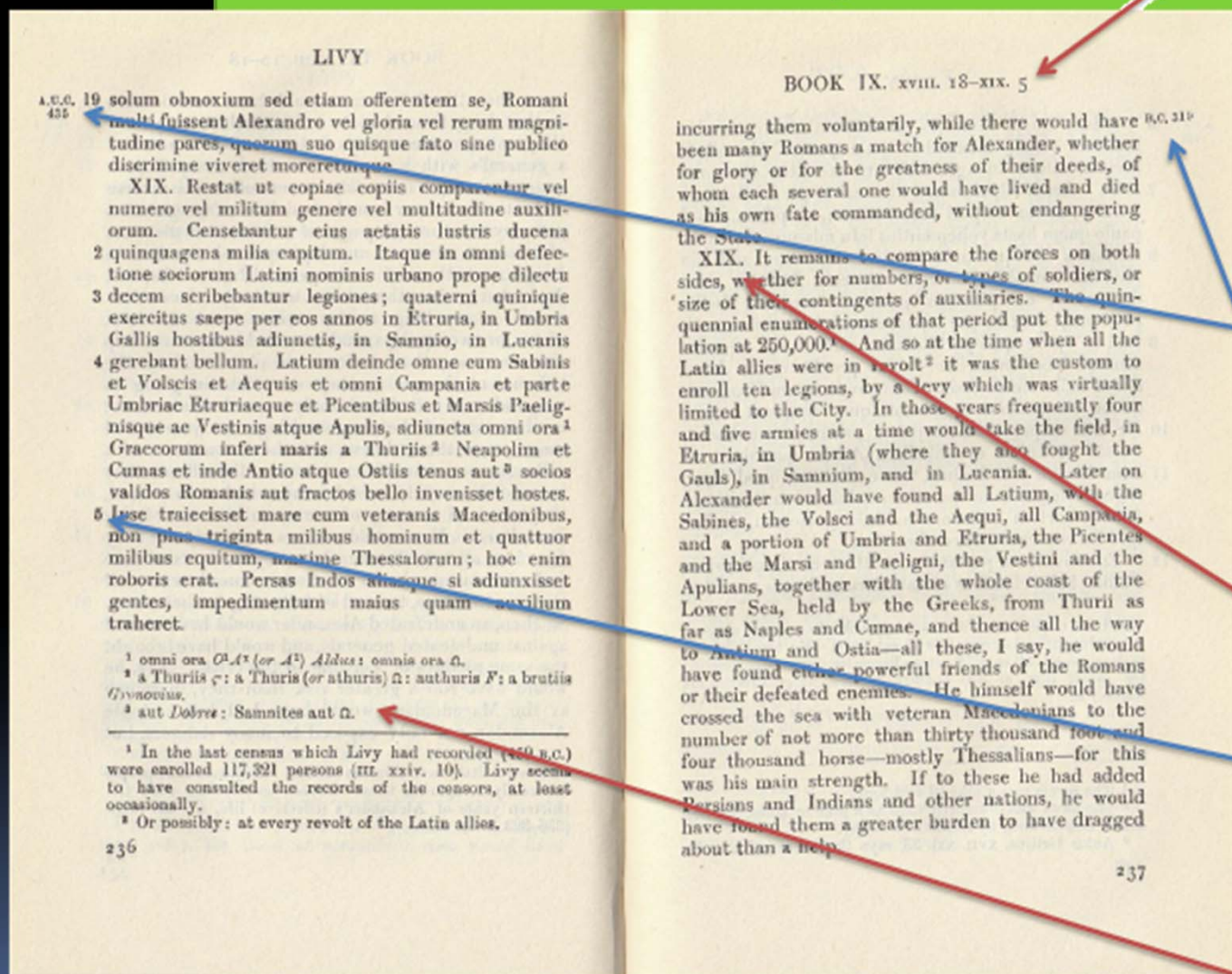
How to cite ancient sources



Loeb Classical Library

Latin text

English translation



Book number (9), along with first and last sentences of facing page (9.18.18-9.19.5)

Date of events (AUC 435 or 319 BC)

Paragraph number (19)

Sentence numbers

Textual issues

Source criticism

- the author,
the source, the intended audience,
the intended intention...
- **WHO says WHAT? WHEN? WHERE?
HOW? under WHICH CONDITIONS?
TO WHOM? WITH WHAT INTENTION?
AND WHAT AFFECT?**

Tasks to day:

- Questions

- Source criticism: the author, source,...
- Paraphrase the source: content
- Interpretation of the source

- 4 groups:

- Gaius Gracchus' reforms
- Livius & the Senate
- Legacy of the Agrarian Reform
- Marius & Saturninus

Gaius Gracchus' laws

Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus* 5: He now introduced a number of laws which he hoped would not only find favour with the people, but would also undermine the authority of the Senate.

[1] One of these concerned the **public lands** which he proposed to divide up among the **poor citizens**.

[2] Another related to the army, and laid it down that **soldiers should be supplied with clothing** at the public expense without any corresponding deduction being made from their pay, and that nobody should be conscripted below the age of seventeen.

[3] Yet another was devoted to the **allies**, and extended to the Italians the **same voting rights as were already enjoyed by Roman citizens**.

[4] A fourth dealt with **supplies of grain** and reduced the **price** at which it was to be **sold to the poor**, while the [5] fifth regulated the **appointment of jurymen**. It was this law which did more than any other **to reduce the power of the Senate**. [continues...]

Gaius Gracchus' laws

Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus* 5: [6] He also introduced legislation which provided for the **founding of colonies**, the **construction of roads**, [7] and the establishment of **public granaries**. He himself acted as director and supervisor of every project and never flagged for a moment in the execution of all these different and elaborate undertakings. On the contrary, he carried out each of them with an extraordinary speed and power of application, as if each concern were the only one he had to manage, so that even those who disliked and feared him most were amazed at his efficiency and his capacity to carry through every enterprise to which he set his hand. As for the people, the very sight of Gaius never failed to impress them, as they watched him **attended by a host of contractors, craftsmen, ambassadors, magistrates, soldiers, and men of letters**, all of whom he handled with a courteous ease which enabled him to show kindness to all his associates without sacrificing his dignity, and to give every man the consideration that was his due. In this way he gave the clearest possible proof that those who had represented him as a tyrannical, overbearing, or violent man were uttering nothing but malicious slanders. He was in fact a more **effective popular leader in his personal dealings** with men and his handling of business than he was in his speeches from the rostra.

Gaius Gracchus' laws

Up to this date **only senators** had been entitled to serve **as jurors in criminal cases** and it was this privilege above all which had made them feared both by the common people and by the equestrian order. The effect of Gaius' law was to add to the three hundred members of the Senate a further **three hundred drawn from the equestrian order** and to arrange that juries should be drawn from the whole six hundred. Gaius is said to have made even more strenuous efforts than usual to secure the passage of this law. But what was especially noticeable in his campaign was that, whereas in the past all popular leaders, whenever they rose to speak, had turned their faces to the right towards the Senate-house and the part of the Forum which is known as the Comitium, he now created a new precedent by turning, whenever he addressed the people, to the left towards the Forum proper, and he made a regular habit of this procedure. Thus, by a slight change of posture and deviation from the normal practice, he raised an issue of immense importance and **in a sense transferred the whole character of Roman politics from an aristocratic to a democratic basis**; for what his action really implied was that orators **should address themselves to the people and not to the Senate**.

Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae I, #454: (CIL I² 638)

- ◉ [P(ublius) Popillius C(ai) f(ilius) co(n)s(ul)] |
VIAM FECEI AB REGIO AD CAPVAM ET |
IN EA VIA PONTEIS OMNEIS MILIARIOS |
TABELARIOSQUE POSEIVEI. HINCE SVNT |
NOVCERIAM MEILIA LI, CAPVAM XXCIII, |
MVRANVM LXXIIII, COSENTIAM CXXIII, |
VALENTIAM CLXXX, AD FRETVM AD |
STATVAM CCXXXI, REGIVM CCXXXVII. |
SUMA AF CAPVA REGIVM MEILIA CCCXXI. |
ET EIDEM PRAETOR IN |
SICILIA FVGITEIVOS ITALICORVM |
CONQVAEISIVEI REDIDEIQVE |
HOMINES DCCCCXVII EIDEMQVE |
PRIMVS FECEI UT DE AGRO POPLICO |
ARATORIBVS CEDERENT PAASTORES. |
FORVM AEDISQUE POPLICAS HEIC FECEI.



Forum Popilia

viae publicae

Inscriptiones Latinae Liberae Rei Publicae I, #454: (CIL I² 638)

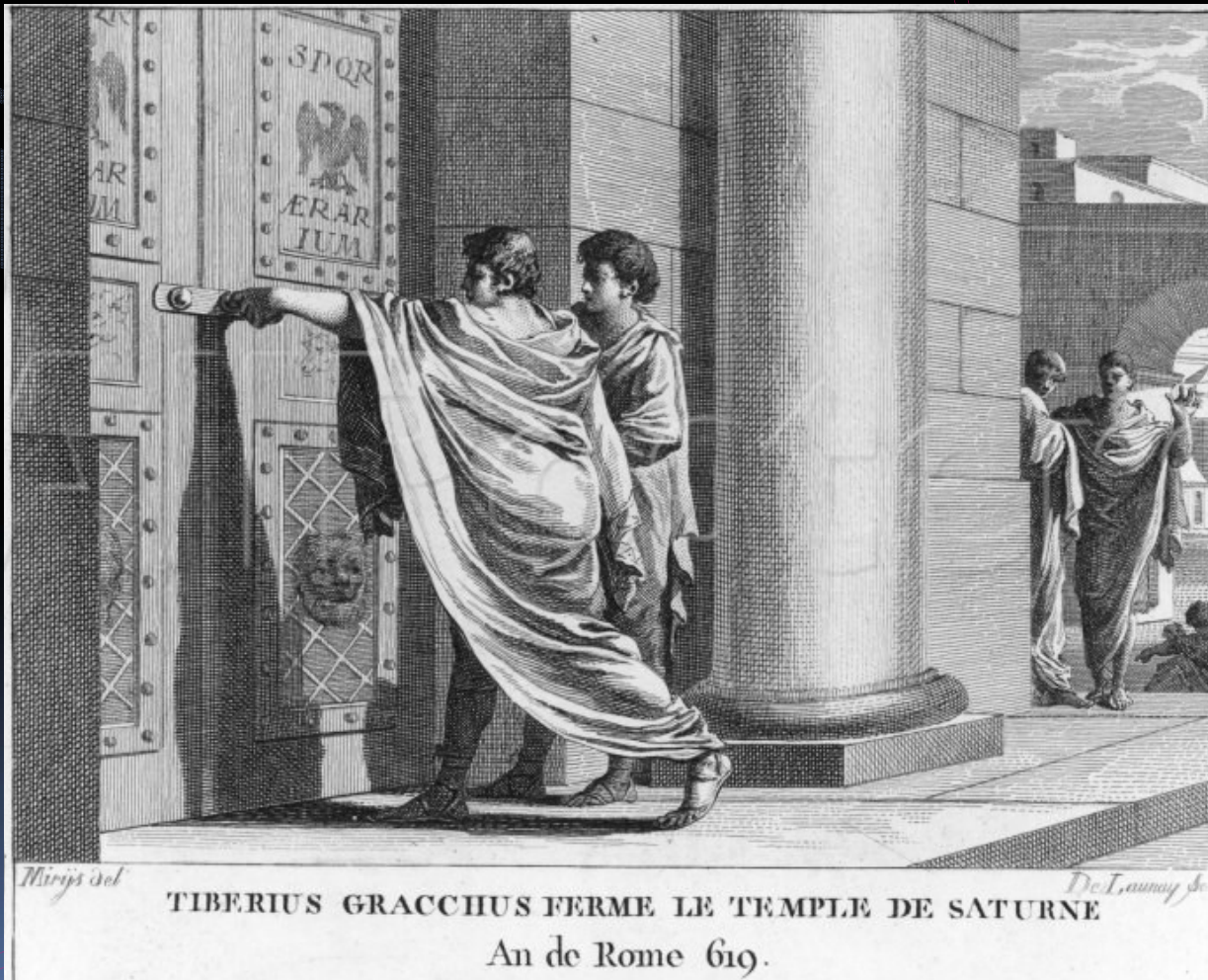
- ◉ [P(ublius) Popillius C(ai) f(ilius) co(n)s(ul)] |
VIAM FECEI AB REGIO AD CAPVAM ET |
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NOVCERIAM MEILIA LI, CAPVAM XXCIIII, |
MVRANVM LXXIIII, COSENTIAM CXXIII, |
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ARATORIBVS CEDERENT PAASTORES
FORVM AEDISQUE POPLICAS HEIC FECEI

Forum Popilia

Gracchus' opposition



Livius Drusus & the Senate

Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus* 8: One of Gaius' colleagues in the tribunate was **Livius Drusus**. This was a man who possessed all the advantages of birth and upbringing, and who, in strength of character, in wealth, and oratorical power could compete with those who had raised themselves by such gifts to the highest and most honoured positions in the state. Accordingly, the **aristocratic party** approached him and invited him to **attack Gaius** and join forces with them in opposing him. Their plan was that he should on **no account resort to violence nor risk any open clash with the people**, but rather use his **power to please them** and grant concessions when it would have been more honourable to incur unpopularity by refusing them.

Livius Drusus & the Senate

- Plut, GC 8.3
- (...) the senate, fearing that Gracchus would become altogether invincible, made a new and unusual attempt to divert the people from him; they vied with him, that is, in courting the favour of the people, and granted their wishes contrary to the best interests of the state.

Livius Drusus & the Senate

- Plut. GC 9.1f
- Livius, accordingly, put his influence as tribune at the service of the senate to this end, and drew up laws which aimed at what was neither honourable nor advantageous; nay, he had the emulous eagerness of the rival demagogues of comedy to achieve one thing, namely, to surpass Caius in pleasing and gratifying the people. In this way the senate showed most plainly that it was not displeased with the public measures of Caius, but rather was desirous by all means to humble or destroy the man himself. 2] For when Caius proposed to found two colonies, and these composed of the most respectable citizens, they accused him of truckling to the people; but when Livius proposed to found twelve, and to send out to each of them three thousand of the needy citizens, they supported him. With Caius, because he distributed public land among the poor for which every man of them was required to pay a rental into the public treasury, they were angry, alleging that he was seeking thereby to win favour with the multitude; but Livius met with their approval when he proposed to relieve the tenants even from this rental. (...) And indeed Livius himself, in his public harangues, always said that he introduced these measures on the authority of the senate, which desired to help the common people;

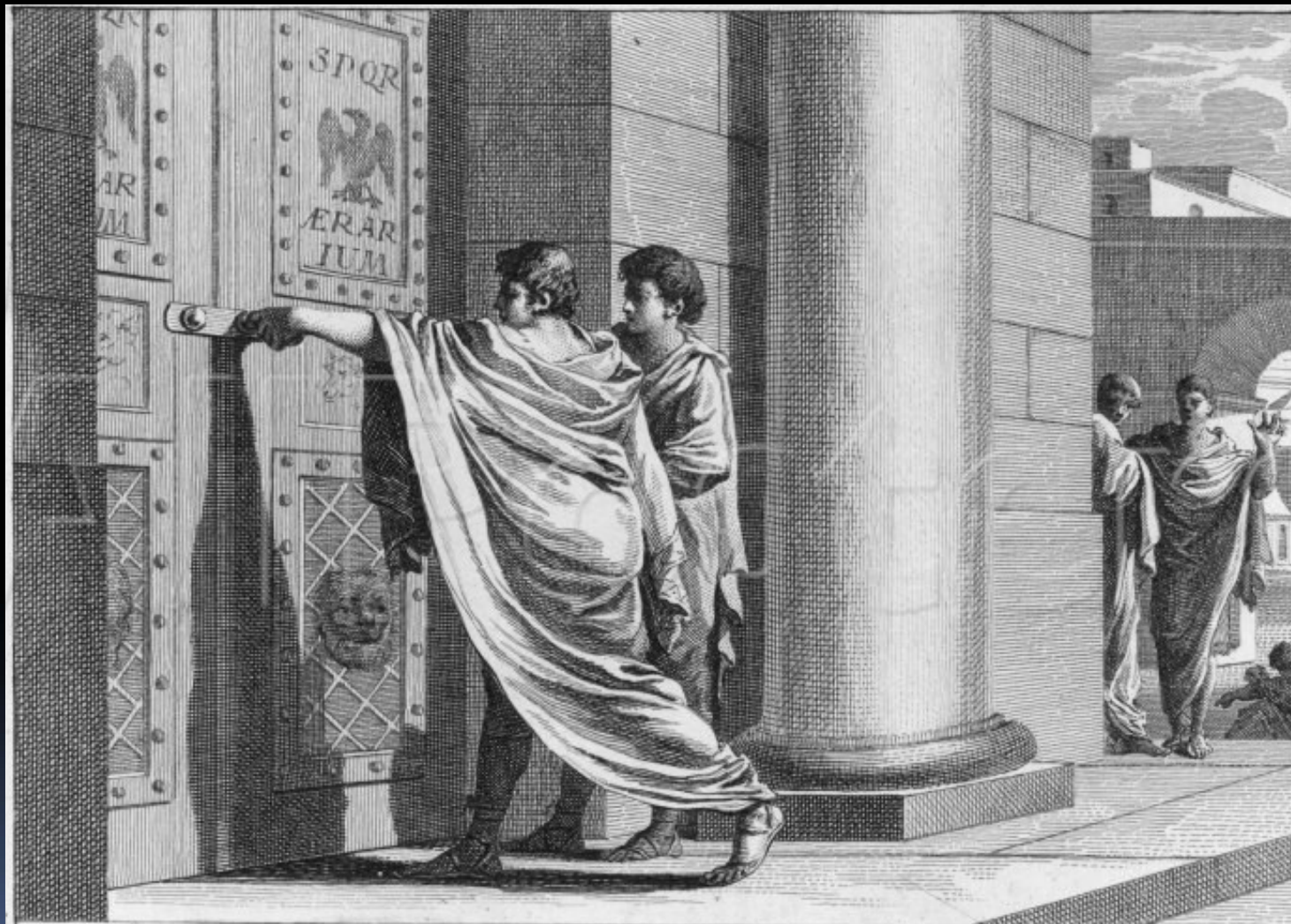
Livius Drusus & the Senate

- Result: Gaius Gracchus was NOT re-elected in 121 BC
- Already since 122, lost influence in Rome
 - Livius Drusus
 - Absence, e.g. to found new colony at Carthage
- A new tribune of the plebs, Minucius Rufus:
 - Abolish Gaius Gracchus' legislations
 - Riots in Rome...

Opimius' attendant is murdered

Plutarch, *Gaius Gracchus* 12: At the same time Gaius' opponents secured Opimius' election as consul, and they at once proceeded to repeal many of his laws and also to interfere with the organisation of the colony at Carthage. They did this in the hope of provoking Gaius into committing some act of violence, which would give them the excuse to destroy him. At any rate on the day when Opimius and his party had planned to revoke Gaius' laws, both factions posted themselves on the Capitol early in the morning. Then after the consul had offered up a sacrifice, one of his attendants, Quintus Antyllus, who was carrying away the entrails of the victims, shouted to Fulvius' supporters, 'Stand back, you rogues, and make way for honest citizens!' Some writers add that as he spoke these words he stretched out his bare arm towards them and made an insulting gesture. At any rate he was instantly set upon and stabbed to death with long writing-styluses, which were said to have been made expressly for this purpose. The crowd was thrown into utter confusion by the murder, while the leaders of the two parties were affected in diametrically opposite ways. Gaius was deeply distressed and reproached his followers for having given their enemies the pretext they had been looking for all this time, while Opimius was triumphant, as if he could now seize a long awaited opportunity, and he proceeded to urge the people to take revenge.

Suicide



Mirij's del

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS FERME LE TEMPLE DE SATURNE

De Launay sc

An de Rome 619.

Lex agraria, 111 B.C.

- Background information
 - Three types of land:
 - private land, common pasture and land in the public domain (*ager publicus*)
 - By 2nd c. B.C., the wealthy had amassed gigantic holdings, treating public land like their property
 - concentration: wine, olive oil production & cattle farming
- small farmers (also: increasing demands of military service) → lost their land and went to the cities

Lex agraria, 111 B.C.

- Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus 133 B.C.:
 - limiting the amount of public land rented by one person to 500 *iugera* (c. 330 acres) (as already in lex Licinia Sextia, 367 B.C.)
 - re-distribution of remaining public land to the poor (30 *iugera*)
- Gaius Sempronius Gracchus 123-122 B.C.:
 - confirmed this legislation
 - Land commission: the *tresviri agris dandis assignandis* (abolished in 118 B.C.)
- This law from 111 B.C.
 - translated recognized the accomplished facts of the past twenty-two years,
 - reassured the Italians as regards their possession of public lands,
 - and regularised the position of those colonists who had been settled by Gaius Gracchus and of the public lands in Africa.

Lex agraria, 111 B.C.

- Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus 133

- limiting the amount of public land rented (6,000 acres) (as already in lex Licinia)

- *M(arcus) Folvius M(arci) f(ilius) [Fl]ac(cus) / C(aius) Sempronius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Grac(cus) / C(aius) Papirius C(ai) f(ilius) Carbo / Illvir{e}(i) a(gris) i(udicandis) a(dsignandis)*

their possession of public lands, these colonists who had been settled by lands in Africa.

Lex agraria, 111 B.C.

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Lex agraria, 111 B.C.

■ Three sections

- I. Italy
- II. Africa
- III. Greece

- I.1 ager publicus populi Romani existing in Italy in 133 B.C., but not public land excluded from division by C. Gracchus
 - a) land assigned, registered,... by a tresvir
 - b) public land, up to 30 iugera, is to be private
 - c) pasture is to be free on public land
 - d) movement on viae publicae is to be free
 - f) existing rights of Latins and peregrines are to be undisturbed
 - g) people, who were dispossessed, can claim back their land
 -

T. ET C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS
TRIB. PLEBIS OPTIMO

Lex agraria, 111 B.C.

- Lines 1 – 11 deal with species of a type of land in Italy which are declared PRIVATE by this statute
 - this is land that was PUBLIC in 133 B.C.
 - ll.1-2: land which someone [*sibi*] *sumpsit reliquitue*
 - ll. 2-3 land which a *Illvir* granted *sortito ceivi Romano*
 - ll. 3-4 land which was [*re*]dditus
 - ll. 4 ???
 - ll. 5-6 land which a *Illvir* granted *in urbe oppido uico*
 - ll. 6-7 land which a *Illvir* granted or registered

T. ET C. SEMPRONIUS GRACCHUS
TRIB. PLEBIS OPTIMUS

1 [?Sp. Thorius? ???f. tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) plebem iure rogauit plebesque iure sciuit in foro --- a(n)te d(iem) ---, tribus ??? princ]ipium fuit, pro tribu Q. Fabius Q.f. primus sciuit. quei ager poplicus populi Romanei in terram It//aliam P. Muucio L. Calpur[nio co(n)s(ulibus) fuit, extra eum agrum, quei ager ex lege plebeiue scito, quod C. Sempronius Ti.f. tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) rogauit, exceptum cautumue est, nei diuideretur ---]

Edge – B = ???, B = 95, B – edge = ???

2 [--- quem quisque de eo agro loco ex lege plebeiue scito sibi a]grum locum sumpsit reliquitue, quod non modus maior siet, quam quantum unum hominem e//x lege plebeiue sc(ito) sibi sumer[e relinquereue licuit ---; quei ager publicus populi Romanei in terra Italia P. Muucio L. Calpurnio co(n)s(ulibus) fuit, extra eum agrum,] Edge – B =

“vetus possessor”

relinquo: keep
sumo: to take

limit on ager
publicus land

land & site
(piece of land)

licet: it is lawful
siet < sum: 3rd pres.subj.

- Sp. Thorius? son of ? as tribune of the plebs duly/lawfully proposed to the plebs and the plebs lawfully voted/resolved, in the forum – on ---. the . . . tribe] was the first to vote, and Quintus Fabius, son of Quintus, cast the first vote for the tribe.
- Whatever (As regards the) public land of the Roman people (there was) in the land of Italy in the consulship of Publius Mucius and Lucius Calpurnius, with the exception of (apart from) that land whose division was excluded and prohibited by the law/statute or plebiscite proposed by Gaius Sempronius Gracchus, son of Tiberius, tribune of the plebs [. . . Whatever] land or piece of land [anyone according to this statute or plebiscite] took for himself or kept (bequeathed?), provided that its size be not greater than what it was lawful for one man to take [or keep] for himself according to statute or plebiscite [...].

~~plebeiue sc(ito) sibi sumere relinquerue licuit ---; quei ager publicus populi Romanei in terra Italia P. Muucio L. Calpurnio co(n)s(ulibus) fuit, extra eum agrum,]~~ **Edge – B = ???, B = 95, B – edge = ???**

3 [quei ager ex lege plebeiue scito, quod C. Sempronius Ti.f. tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) rogauit, exceptum cauitumue est nei diuideretur --- quem agrum locum] **quoieique de eo agro loco ex lege plebeiue sc(ito) Illuir sortito ceiui Romano dedit adsignauit,** quod non i//n eo agro loco est, quod ultr[a ---; ~~quei ager publicus populi Romanei in terra Italia P.~~

*sortio, sortior, sortitus:
to draw lots, drawing of lots*

- [Whatever public land of the Roman people there was in the land of Italy in the consulship of P. Mucius and L. Calpurnius, apart from the land, whose division was excluded or forbidden according to the statue or plebiscite which C. Sempronius, son of Tiberius, tribune of the plebs, proposed.... whatever land or piece or land] **a Illvir according to statute or plebiscite granted or assigned from that land or piece land to any a Roman citizen by lot,** which is not in that land or piece of land, which [is] beyond [---]

agro loco ex lege plebeie sc(ito) nulli sortito ceteri Romano dedit assignavit, quod non
i//n eo agro loco est, quod ultr[a ---; quei ager publicus populi Romanei in terra Italia P.
Muucio L. Calpurnio co(n)s(ulibus) fuit, extra eum agrum, quei ager ex lege plebeie
sc(ito),] **Edge – B = ???, B = 106, B – edge = ???**

4 [quod C. Sempronius Ti.f. tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) rogavit, exceptum cautumue est nei
diuideretur, quei ager locus de eo agro loco --- a IIIuiro --- re]dditus est; ^{vvvv} quei ager

- [Whatever public land of the Roman people there was in the land of
■ Italy in the consulship of P. Mucius and L. Calpurnius, apart from the
■ land, whose division was excluded or forbidden according to the statue
■ or plebiscite which C. Sempronius, son of Tiberius, tribune of the plebs,
proposed.... **whatever land or piece or land] was restored by a tres vir [-
--].**

diuideretur, quei ager locus de eo agro loco --- a Illuiro --- re]dditus est; ^{vvvv} quei ager publicus populi Romanei in terra Italia P. M(u)ucio L. Calpurnio co(n)s(ulibus) fuit, ex[t]ra eum agrum, quei ager ex lege [plebeiue scito, quod C. Sempronius Ti.f. tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) rogauit, exceptum cauitumue est nei diuideretur, ---] **Edge – B = ???, B = 106, B – edge = ???**

5 [--- quodque quomq]ue agri loci publici in terra Italia, quod eius extra urbem Roma(m) est, quod eius in urbe{m} oppido uico est, quo//d eius Illuir dedit adsignauit, quod [---] **Edge – B = ???, B = 118, B – edge = ???**

....

and whatever] of public land or pieces of land in the land of Italy, whatever of it is outside the city of Rome, whatever of it is in a city, town or village, whatever of it a Illvir has granted or assigned, whatever [---]

quod [---] Edge – B = ..., B = 118, B – edge = ...

6 [---; quei ager publicus populi Romanei in terra Italia P. Muucio L. Calpurnio co(n)s(ulibus) fuit, extra eum agrum, quei ager ex] lege plebiue scito, ^v quod C. Sempronius Ti.f. tr(ibunus) pl(ebis) rog(auit), exceptum cautumue est nei diuideretur, quod quoieiqu//e de eo agro loco agri locei aedific[iei --- q]uibu[s ---] Edge – B = ???, B = 117, B – A = ???, A, l. 1 = 4, A – edge = ???

7 [--- i]n terra Italia Illuir dedit adsignauit reliquit inue formas tabulasue retulit referiue iusit; ^{vvvv} ager locus a//edificium omnis quei supra scriptu[s est], extra eum agrum, quei ager ex lege plebeiue sc(ito), quod C. Sempronius Ti.f. tr(ibunus) pl(ebis)

...
...whatever land, piece of land or building from that land or piece of land to anyone [---] to whom [---] in the land of Italy a Illvir has granted, assigned or left or entered on maps or in the records or order to be entered; all land, pieces of land or building, which [are] written down above, [apart from the land....].