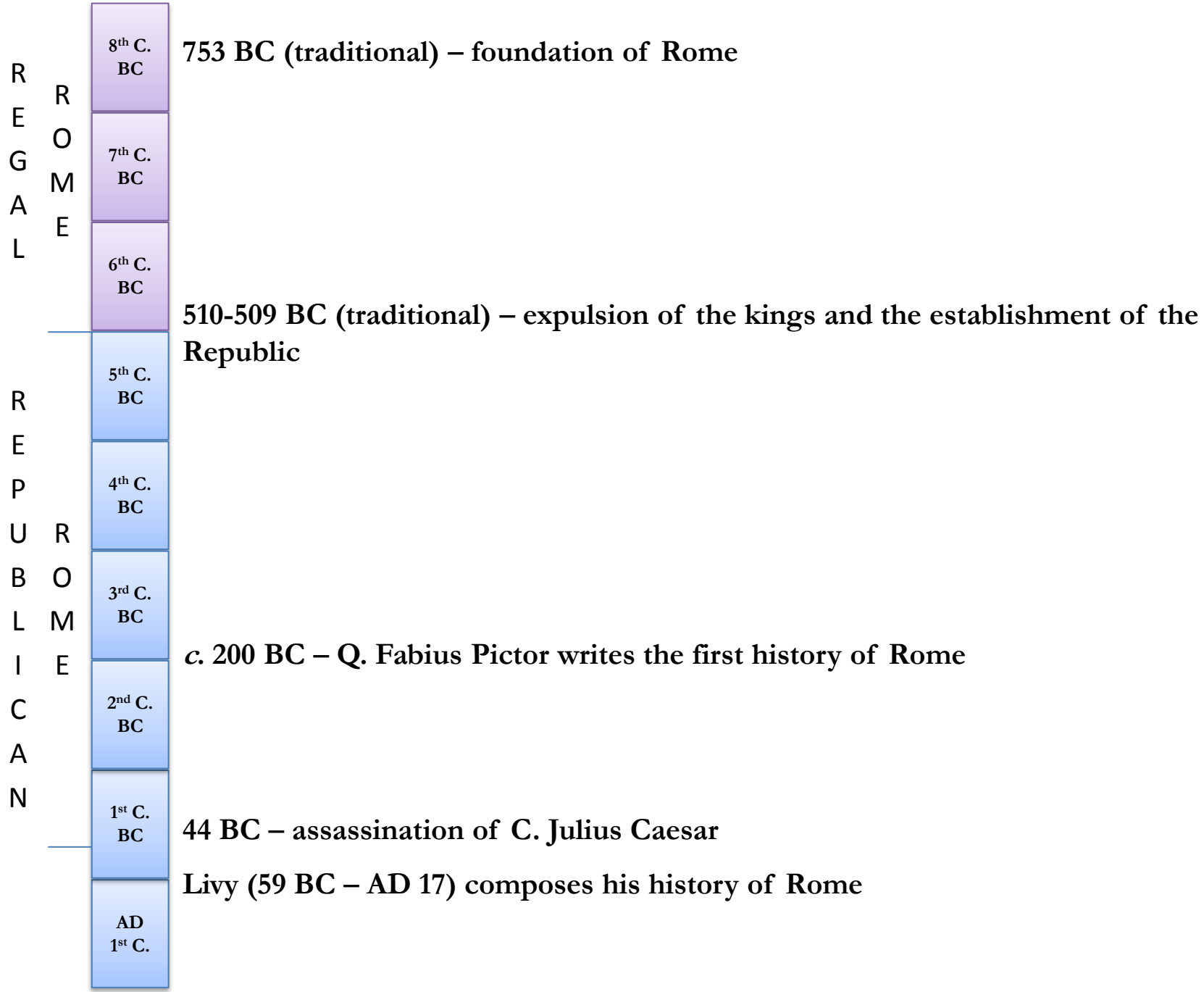


From Village to Empire: an Introduction to the History of Rome

Workshop 1: Sources and how to cite
them



Dionysius on Fabius Pictor's work

Dionysius of Halicarnassus *Roman Antiquities* 1.6.2: ... [the Roman historians] who related in Greek the early achievements of the city; the oldest of these writers are Q. Fabius and L. Cincius, who both flourished during the Punic Wars. Each of these men related the events at which he himself had been present with great exactness, as being well acquainted with them, but touched only in a summary way upon the early events that followed the founding of the city.

An overview of Livy's work

<u>Books</u>	<u>Summary of their content</u>
1-5	From the foundation of the city (traditionally, 753) up to the sack of Rome by the Gauls (traditionally, 390) and the subsequent recovery of the city
6-10	The Samnite wars
11-15	The conquest of Italy, including the war with Pyrrhus
16-20	The First Punic War
21-30	The Second Punic War
31-45	Events until the end of the war with Perseus of Macedon (167)
46-50	The final subjugation of Greece and Asia
51-60	Internal affairs from the fall of Carthage to the legislation of C. Gracchus
61-70	The thirty years between C. Gracchus and M. Livius Drusus
71-80	Civil wars until the death of C. Marius (86)
81-90	Civil wars until the death of Sulla (78)
91-100	The rise of Pompey to 66
101-110	The dominance of Pompey
111-120	Civil war, from the death of Pompey (48) to the death of Cicero (43)
121-142	An appendix on contemporary events [?]

Plutarch's Roman Lives

Aemilius Paulus

Antony

Brutus

Caesar

Camillus

Cato the Older

Cato the Younger

Gaius Gracchus

Cicero

Crassus

Flaminius

Galba

Lucullus

Marius

Marcellus

Numa

Pompey

Romulus

Sertorius

Sulla

Tiberius Gracchus

Marcellus leaves his winter quarters

round the forum – the seven shops, the provision market, and the *atrium regium*.

12. When all necessary business in Rome had been completed the consuls left for the seat of war. Fulvius left first, on his way to Capua, and a few days later was followed by Fabius. Fabius had urged his colleague by word of mouth, and Marcellus by letter, to engage Hannibal with all possible vigour while he himself was operating against Tarentum, pointing out that once that city was lost, the enemy, beaten on every side and without anywhere to make a stand or any place they could trust to in their rear, would have no further reason even for remaining in Italy. He then sent a message to the commander of the garrison stationed by the consul Laevinus at Rhegium to deal with the Bruttians. This garrison consisted of the 8,000 men, robbers and brigands (mostly, as I mentioned before, from Agathyrna) sent over from Sicily; Bruttian deserters had been added to the number, men whom the buffets of the world had rendered equally reckless and careless of consequence. Fabius's orders were that this crowd should first be marched to Bruttium to do what damage they could to farms and crops, and then to make an assault on the town of Caulonia. They carried out their orders with more than vigour – indeed, with eager delight. Having plundered and scattered the Bruttian farmers to the winds, they proceeded to the attack on the town with all their might.

Marcellus, partly in consequence of Fabius's letter and partly because he had come to feel that there was no Roman general who was a better match for Hannibal than himself, left his winter quarters as soon as there was sufficient forage to be found in the countryside and fell in with Hannibal near Canusium. Hannibal was trying to persuade Canusium to renounce its allegiance to Rome, but he moved off when he learned of Marcellus's approach. As the country round about was open and had no suitable spot for laying a trap, he began to withdraw, directing his march through country which was thickly wooded. Marcellus kept at his heels, encamped always close to where Hannibal did and, as soon as his defences were in order, promptly marshalled his men for battle. Hannibal continued to believe that a general engagement might be avoided and contented himself with minor clashes, sending out his light

spearman or his cavalry a squadron at a time; but he was none the less drawn into the struggle he was trying to avoid. He had moved forward under cover of darkness, when Marcellus started in pursuit; the ground was level and open, and as Hannibal was fortifying his camp, Marcellus by attacks from every direction prevented the men from continuing their work. This began it: the opposing armies met, the engagement became general, and continued till near nightfall, when it was broken off without a decision. The two camps were quite close to each other and were hurriedly fortified before total darkness. At dawn next day Marcellus again took the field and Hannibal did not refuse the challenge, having urged his men at considerable length to remember Trasimene and Cannae and crush their enemy's pride into the dust. The Romans, he said, were continually pressing on their rear, never letting them move a step without a threat of battle, nor giving them a chance to pitch a camp, or draw breath, or look around them; every day, punctually at sunrise, there was the Roman army drawn up for battle. Let the challenge once be accepted, let the enemy come out of a single battle with some bloodshed, and they would wage war more calmly and quietly in future. Hannibal's men were not unaffected by his exhortations; moreover, they were sick of the confident spirit shown by the Romans in their unrelenting pursuit and daily provocation. They advanced eagerly to the attack, and for over two hours the struggle continued. Then, on the Roman side, the right *ala* and the picked allied troops began to weaken, and Marcellus brought the eighteenth legion up into the front line, but without avail: half his army was hastily withdrawing, half moving up, though slowly, into the line, with the result that all were soon flung into confusion. Confusion turned to rout, duty was forgotten in panic, and they fled for their lives. In this action, before and during the rout, some 2,700 men, citizens and allies, were killed; amongst them were four Roman centurions and two military tribunes, Licinius and Helvius. Four military standards belonging to the *ala* which was first to turn tail were lost, and two from the legion which had come to relieve the allies when they began to break.

13. Back in camp Marcellus addressed his men in such bitter

Navigating literary texts

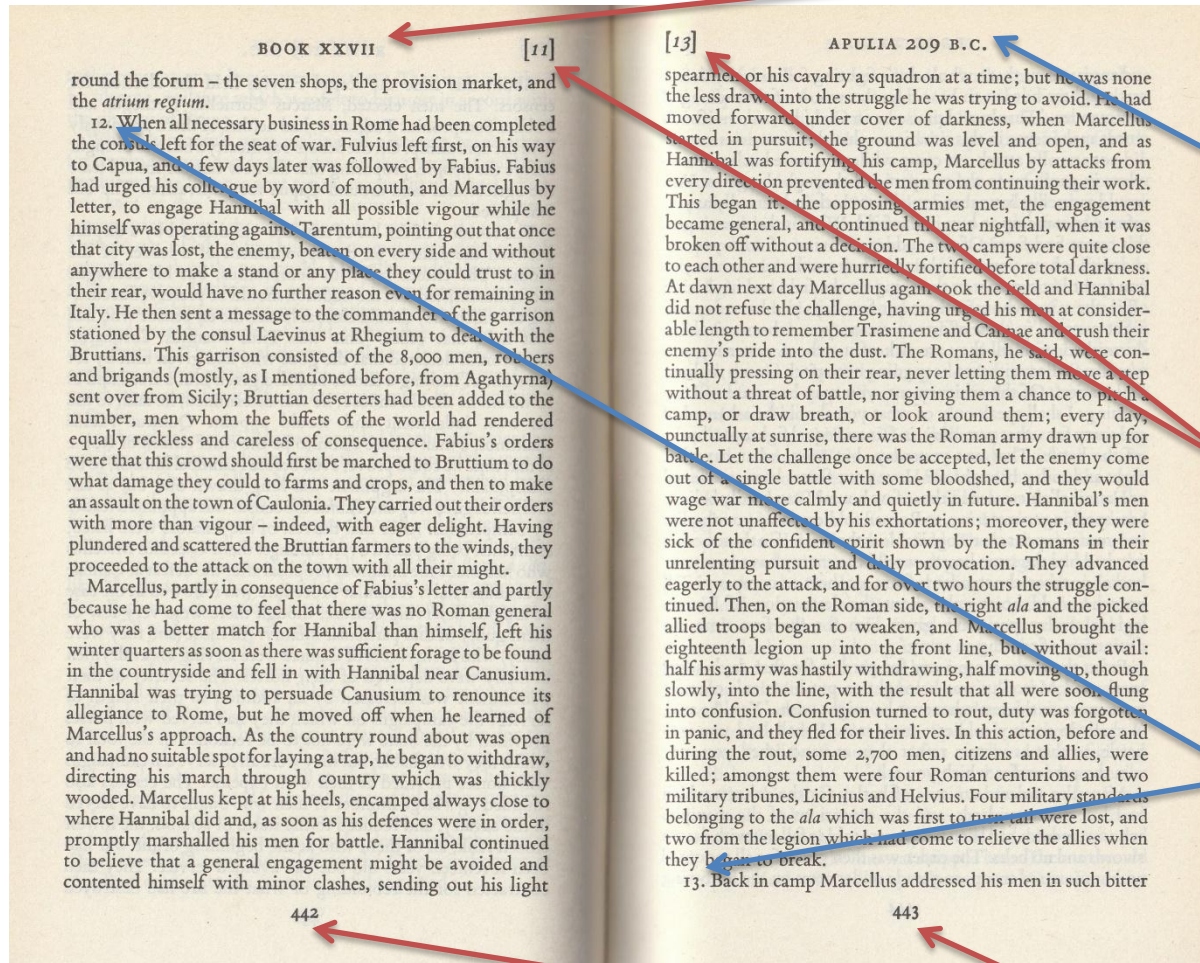
Book number (book 27)

Main topic of these pages (modern addition) along with date (209 BC)

Paragraph numbers of first and last sentences of the facing pages

Chapter or paragraph numbers (12 and 13)

Page numbers (modern addition)



Livy 27.12

round the forum – the seven shops, the provision market, and the *atrium regium*.

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Poetry

92

Propertius Book III

She who initiated my raw vigour, the accomplice 5
Of those first nights, ah, won by no gifts, was Lycinna.
But for the last three years or very little less
Our intercourse, I recall, has been a bare ten words.
Love for you has buried all else, nor after you
Has any woman thrown sweet chains around my neck. 10

Dirce will witness, so enraged by the untrue charge
That Nycteus' Antiope had lain with Lycus.
How many times the queen tore that girl's lovely hair
And fastened cruel hands on her soft cheeks!
How many times burdened her slave with oppressive chores 15
And ordered her to lay head on hard ground!
Often she let her live in filth and darkness,
Often refused her hunger and thirst cheap water.

Jupiter, have you comfort nowhere for long-suffering
Antiope? A hard chain galls her hands. 20
If God you are it shames you that your girl should slave.
On whom but Jove can chained Antiope call?
Unaided though, exerting all her body's strength,
She broke the royal handcuffs from both hands,
Then fled on frightened feet towards Cithaeron's heights. 25
It was night, and hoarfrost made a wretched bed.

Often, scared by the fitful noise of Asópus' stream,
She fancied her mistress feet were following.
She, their mother, found, when driven from her own farm,
Amphion soft and Zethus hard to her tears. 30
And as when level sea drops its mighty movements
When Eurus ceases to contend with Notus,
The sound of the sand on the silent shore grows fainter,
So the girl slipped, her knees gave way, and she fell.

Though late, devotion came: the sons realized their fault; 35
You, the old man, trusty guardian of Jove's sons,
Restored their mother to the boys. The boys tied Dirce
To the head of a wild bull to be dragged away.
Acknowledge Jove, Antiope. You triumph over Dirce
Who is drawn to meet her death in many places. 40

Propertius Book III

93

Zethus' meadows are red with blood, Victorious
Amphion sang the paeon on Aracynthus' crag.
So you should stop tormenting innocent Lycinna,
Though woman's headlong anger knows no turning,
And let no scandal about *us* disturb your ears; 45
Burnt on funeral firewood I'd still love only you.

16

The midnight summons

Midnight, and there has come a letter from my mistress
Commanding my immediate presence at Tibur,
Where white hilltops display twin towers and the Anienan
Nymph dives down to spacious pools.
What should I do? Trust myself to obstructive dark, 5
Frightened of physical assault?
But if through fright I disobeyed her orders, tears
Would be worse than any midnight foe for me.
Once I offended and was banished a whole year;
She handles me with no light touch. 10

Besides, lovers are sacred. No one will harm them.
They can stroll down the middle of Sciron's road.
Anyone in love can walk the Scythian wilds;
There's no one barbarous enough to hurt him.
The moon attends his journey, stars reveal rough ground; 15
Love himself leads, shaking a lighted torch.
Watch-dogs' fierce fury turns aside its gaping jaws;
Such people find roads safe at any time.
What villain would be sprinkled with a lover's trickle of blood?
Venus herself bears locked-out lovers company. 20

But even if certain doom were to follow my adventure
I'd be quite prepared to pay that price.
She will bring me perfumes and adorn the tomb
With garlands, sitting by my grave on guard.
May the Gods forbid that she lay *my* bones in crowded ground! 25

Book number
(3)

Poem number
(16)

Line numbers

Propertius
3.16.5

Loeb Classical Library

Latin text

English translation

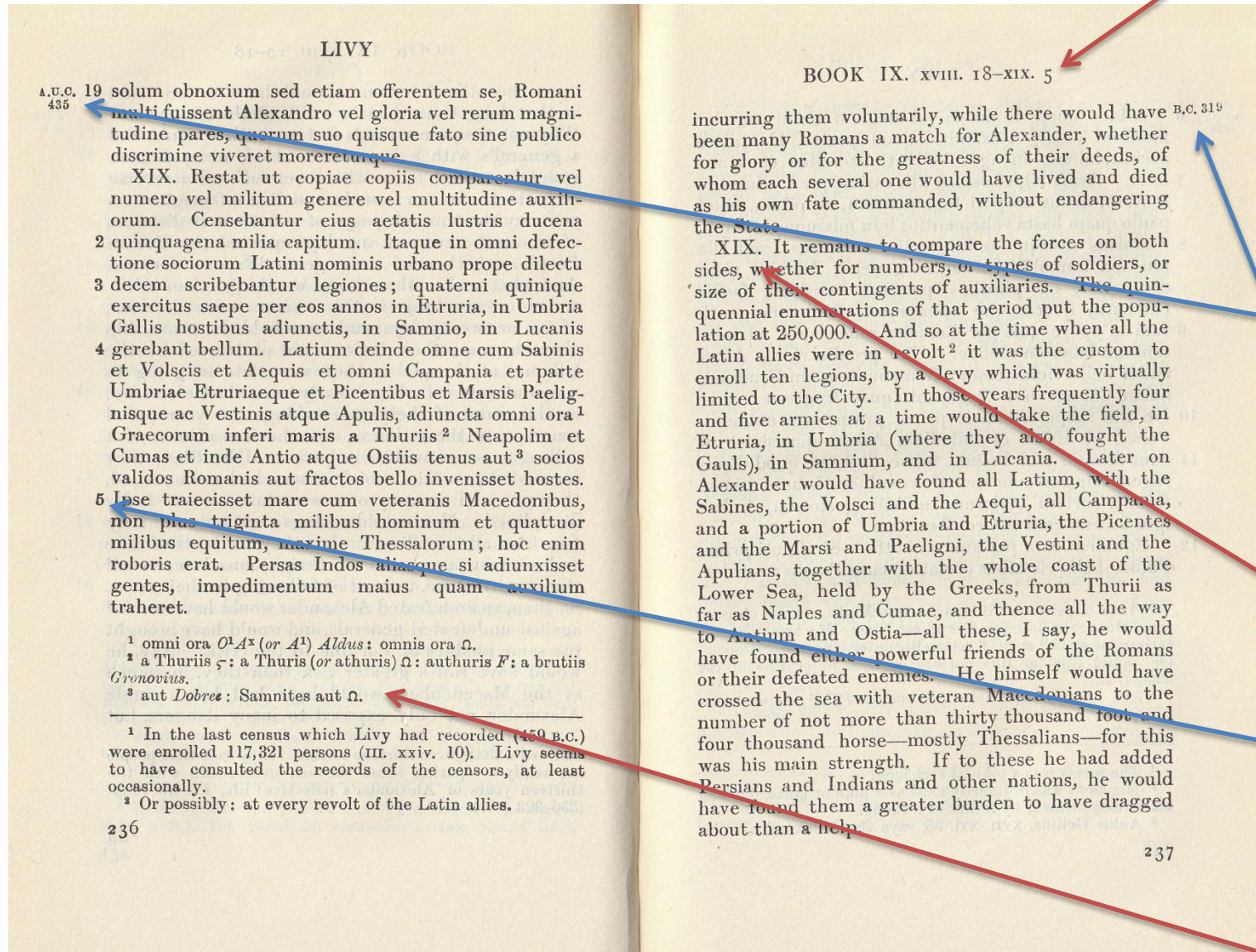
Book number
(9), along with
first and last
sentences of
facing page
(9.18.18-
9.19.5)

Date of events
(AUC 435 or
319 BC)

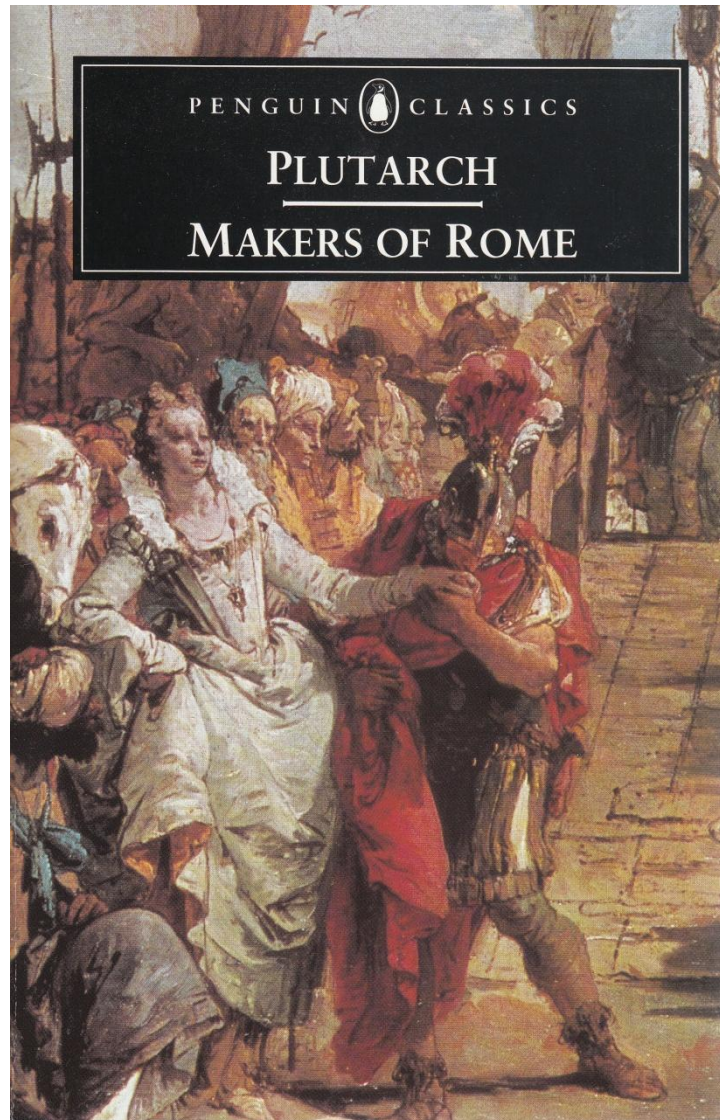
Paragraph
number (19)

Sentence
numbers

Textual issues



Citing modern editions of ancient texts



Plutarch, *Brutus* 27 or Plutarch, *Makers of Rome*, page 246?

lines surrounding Byllis, which his opponents had already occupied, he was defeated by the young Cicero, whom Brutus had entrusted with a command and who gained many successes for his general. However, when Brutus himself caught Gaius on marshy ground with his forces widely scattered, he would not allow his troops to attack. Instead he rode round his opponent's army and gave orders for their lives to be spared, as he was convinced that before long they would be fighting on his side. And this was exactly what happened: they surrendered both themselves and their general, so that Brutus found himself in command of a powerful force. He treated Gaius with full military honours for a long while and allowed him to keep his badges of rank, in spite of the fact, so we are told, that many people including Cicero wrote from Rome urging him to have Gaius executed. But when Gaius began to enter into secret negotiations with Brutus's officers and attempted to stir up a mutiny, Brutus had him transferred to a ship and kept him under close arrest. When the soldiers whom Gaius had seduced from their loyalty escaped to Apollonia and invited Brutus to visit them there, he answered them that this was not a Roman custom, but that they themselves must come to their commander and beg him to forgive their offence. This they did, and when they asked for pardon Brutus granted it.

27. As he was on the point of setting out for Asia, news reached him of the situation which had developed in Rome. For in the meanwhile* Octavius Caesar had secured the support of the Senate against Antony and driven his rival out of Italy. It was Octavius whom Brutus now had to fear most, since he was pressing to have himself appointed consul contrary to the law, and was maintaining large armies of which the state had no need. However, when he saw that even the senators were beginning to disapprove of these proceedings and to turn their eyes abroad towards Brutus, and had passed a decree confirming him in command of his provinces, Octavius became alarmed. He therefore sent messengers to Antony to propose a reconciliation. At the same time† he brought up his army to surround Rome and proceeded to force through his own appointment as consul, although he was a mere boy and still only in his twentieth year, as he himself has recorded in his *Commentaries*. One of his first actions was

* Early in 43 B.C.

† In the summer of 43 B.C.

to institute a prosecution for murder against Brutus and his fellow-conspirators on the charge of having put to death without a trial the first man in the state who was holding its highest offices, and he appointed Lucius Cornificius as the prosecutor of Brutus and Marcus Agrippa of Cassius. The accused were then condemned by default, the jurors being compelled to record their votes. It is said that, when the herald in the traditional fashion mounted the rostra and summoned Brutus to appear, the crowd uttered a deep groan and the patricians bowed their heads in silence. Publius Silicius was seen to burst into tears and for this reason his name was soon afterwards added to the list of the proscribed. A little later Octavius Caesar, Antony, and Lepidus became reconciled with one another, formed a triumvirate,* divided the provinces between them and drew up a list of proscribed persons, as a result of which two hundred men were to be put to death.† Among these was Cicero.

28. When the news of these events reached Macedonia, Brutus felt obliged to send orders to Hortensius that Gaius Antonius should be executed as a reprisal for the deaths of Cicero and Brutus Albinus, the one of whom was his close friend and the other his kinsman. This was the reason why, when Hortensius was captured at the battle of Philippi in the following year, Antony had him executed over the tomb of his brother. Brutus remarked that he felt more shame at the cause of Cicero's death than sorrow for the fact of it, and he blamed his friends in Rome for what had happened. He said it was not their oppressors but their own actions that had made slaves of them, and that they had allowed themselves to look on tamely at deeds which they should have considered it intolerable even to hear of.

Brutus now‡ crossed into Asia with his army, which was already an imposing force. He gave orders for a fleet to be fitted out in Bithynia and at the neighbouring port of Cyzicus, while he himself, travelling through the provinces by land, settled the affairs of the various cities and gave audiences to the local rulers. He also

* In October 43 B.C.

† This number refers merely to the senators sentenced to death. There were also some three thousand knights. The Senate varied considerably in size at different periods. Up to the beginning of the first century B.C. it was less than 200. Sulla increased it to some 500 and Julius Caesar to about 1,000. Augustus stabilized it at about 600.

‡ Late summer of 43 B.C.

Do **not** cite ancient works by the title of modern editions (e.g. the Penguin edition).

Do **not** cite ancient works by page number in any modern edition, as this varies with edition, and is also less precise. Give book and paragraph numbers, or book and line numbers, or the number of the poem and the line numbers.

Incorrect

Polybius, *The Rise of the Roman Empire*, page 171.

This is *only* useful if your reader has access to precisely the same edition of Polybius as the one you've used.

The title *The Rise of the Roman Empire* is modern; it was devised by someone who works for Penguin books. These titles can be misleading (see the titles used by Penguin for Plutarch's biographies – these titles do not tell your reader to which biography you're referring).

Correct

Polyb. 2.66.

This is useful to *everyone*, regardless of which edition of Polybius your reader has in front of them.

Not only will using the abbreviation 'Polyb.' save you time, it'll save you words too.

Common abbreviations

Modern scholars frequently employ abbreviations. It's useful to know how to use these, because 1] you can use them, to save words and to make your essay look more professional, and 2] you'll often need to track down ancient sources from modern abbreviations.

Plut. *Fab.* 6

Plut. *Brut.* 27

Hom. *Il.* 2.150

Thuc. 5.64

Cic. *Nat. D.* 2.10

App. *Pun.* 1.50

Many common abbreviations can be found in the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*, which is in the reference section of the library and is also available online (Oxford Reference Online, via Athens).

The same also applies to online editions

Texts can be found on numerous web pages, and the same system of book and paragraph numbers applies.

Corpus Scriptorum Latinorum

<http://www.forumromanum.org/literature/index.html>

Lacus Curtius

<http://penelope.uchicago.edu/Thayer/E/Roman/home.html>

Library of Ancient Texts Online (LATO)

<http://sites.google.com/site/ancienttexts/>

Perseus

<http://www.perseus.tufts.edu/hopper/>

How best to approach a text

1. Author

Who is the author? When did he live? What was he writing? What was the purpose of the work? Who was the intended audience?

N.B. When writing an analysis of a passage of text for an assignment or in an exam, do **not** simply write a biography of the author. **Only** mention details of the author's life and times **if** they are **immediately** relevant to the passage, and only mention those details which are **immediately** relevant.

2. Historical and literary context

Where? When? What factors may have influenced what and how the author wrote?
What is the context of the specific passage itself (i.e. in the book)? What is the context of the book itself (in the work as a whole)?

3. Textual analysis

A close reading of the evidence: what is the author actually saying?

4. Conclusions

Livy 2.1.1-3

The new liberty enjoyed by the Roman people, their achievements in peace and war, annual magistracies, and laws superior in authority to men will henceforth be my theme. This liberty was the more grateful as the last king had been so great a tyrant. For his predecessors so ruled that there is good reason to regard them all as successive founders of parts, at least, of the city, which they added to serve as new homes for the numbers they had themselves recruited. Nor is there any doubt that the same Brutus who earned such honour by expelling the haughty Tarquinius, would have acted in an evil hour for the republic had a premature eagerness for liberty led him to wrest the power from any of the earlier kings.

Livy 4.20

Following all previous historians, I have stated that Aulus Cornelius Cossus was a military tribune when he brought the second spoils of honour to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. But besides that only those are properly held to be the 'spoils of honour' which one commander has taken from another commander, and that we know no commander but him under whose auspices the war is waged, the very words inscribed upon the spoils disprove their account and mine, and show that it was as consul that Cossus captured them. Having heard from the lips of Augustus Caesar, the founder or renewer of all the temples, that he had entered the shrine of Jupiter Feretrius, which he repaired when it had crumbled with age, and had himself read the inscription on the linen breast-plate, I have thought it would be almost sacrilege to rob Cossus of such a witness to his spoils as Caesar, the restorer of that very temple. Where the error in regard to this matter lies, in consequence of which such ancient annals and also the books of the magistrates, written on linen and deposited in the temple on Moneta, which Licinius Macer cites from time to time as his authority, only give Aulus Cornelius Cossus as consul (with Titus Quinctius Poenus) seven years later, is a matter on which everyone is entitled to his opinion.

Livy 6.42.9-12

After desperate struggles the Senate and the dictator were beaten [in their opposition to the election of consuls one of whom might be plebeian], and the measures advocated by the tribunes were adopted. An election of consuls was held, against the wishes of the nobles, and resulted in the choice of Lucius Sextius, the first of the plebeians to attain that honour. Even this did not end their disputes. The patricians declared that they would not ratify the election, and the affair had almost led to a secession of the *plebs* and threatened other terrible embroilments, when the dictator finally proposed a compromise which allayed the discord: the nobles gave way to the plebs in regard to the plebeian consul, and the *plebs* conceded to the nobles that they might elect from the patricians one praetor to administer justice in the city. Thus after their long quarrel the orders were reconciled at last. The Senate decided that this was a fitting occasion to honour the immortal gods – who deserved it then, if ever at any time – by celebrating the Great Games.