

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-65347-4 - The Roman Republic: Volume One  
W. E. Heitland  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

THE  
ROMAN REPUBLIC

IN THREE VOLUMES  
VOLUME ONE

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-65347-4 - The Roman Republic: Volume One  
W. E. Heitland  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-65347-4 - The Roman Republic: Volume One  
W. E. Heitland  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

THE  
ROMAN REPUBLIC

BY  
W. E. HEITLAND, M.A.  
FELLOW OF ST JOHN'S COLLEGE

VOLUME ONE

CAMBRIDGE  
AT THE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
1909

Cambridge University Press  
978-1-107-65347-4 - The Roman Republic: Volume One  
W. E. Heitland  
Frontmatter  
[More information](#)

---

**CAMBRIDGE**  
UNIVERSITY PRESS

University Printing House, Cambridge CB2 8BS, United Kingdom

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press, New York

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

[www.cambridge.org](http://www.cambridge.org)

Information on this title: [www.cambridge.org/9781107653474](http://www.cambridge.org/9781107653474)

© Cambridge University Press 1909

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 1909

First paperback edition 2014

*A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library*

ISBN 978-1-107-65347-4 Paperback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

## PREFACE

IS there room for another political study of the Roman Republic? To find defects in well-known works on the subject is easy: to provide a fairer version of the story is, from the nature of the evidence, supremely difficult. No wonder that writers nowadays concern themselves chiefly with the Empire or the Decline of the Republic. Yet the political interest of Roman history becomes faint, once the Roman world has passed under the control of a single master and his subordinates, and the tale of the Decline, taken by itself, is but a lame story. The great period of Roman imperial growth, say from the conquest of Italy to the battle of Pydna, is not only a striking phenomenon in itself. In it the decay of the republican system is already visible, and without it the sequel loses most of its meaning. Therefore I have tried to trace the whole course of the Republic, from the dim legendary days of the Kingdom and the early Free Commonwealth down to the foundation of the Empire; from the single *imperium*, through the republican magistracies and the supremacy of the Senate, down to that concentrated extract of official powers known as the Principate. A large part of this range may fairly be called a historical period, but the alternations of light and darkness make it very difficult to keep any reasonable proportion in the narrative. Of Rome's two most desperate struggles, the second Punic war was so full of recorded incidents, that no omission of doubtful matter, no economy of description, avails to reduce the story within moderate limits, if it is to be told at all. With battle tactics as such I have little to do; indeed the state of the evidence is usually such as to forbid it. Strategy in the large is another matter. It often raises questions not purely military, and reveals the state-psychology of rival powers. But here too the one-sided nature of most of our

evidence enjoins the utmost caution. When we come to the great Italian war of 90—89 B.C. we are in a very different position. The authorities are both meagre and bad. Some of the most important points in connexion with the struggle are only known through incidental admissions, and the real features of the campaigns are lost in a gloom seldom relieved by gleams of light. We cannot even define with certainty when the war ended and the subsequent civil war began. So the story can only be told in outline, and that with difficulty, though the danger to Rome from Mutilus and Silo was not less than that from Hannibal, and the strain on the fabric of the state perhaps greater.

The modern literature of pamphlets, articles in periodicals, and so forth, bearing on the republican period, is immense, and I have only been able to read a part of it. At certain points it becomes of the first importance. A good instance is the affair of Catiline, which I have completely rewritten in agreement with the researches (see § 1042) of John and others. Of course I have freely used the great treatises of Mommsen Marquardt Lange and Holm. But I must own a special debt to the writings of Beloch and Nissen, and to the coloured maps of Dr C Müller re-edited by Dr G B Grundy. These, with occasional help from the Italian survey and our Admiralty charts, are most useful. For Rome's contact with Greece and the Hellenistic East, much is to be gained from the writings of Dr Mahaffy, whose refreshing independence often supplies a corrective to the views of Mommsen and Holm. How highly I value the work of Mr Strachan-Davidson will appear in my notes. Lastly there are the learned editors of classical books, of whom (omitting titles) I may name Weissenborn, Maurenbrecher, Reid, Tyrrell and Purser, J E B Mayor, J B Mayor, Sandys, Wilkins, Holden. These scholars in their notes and Introductions supply first and last a great quantity of helpful material. To many others I have on occasion referred. But the accounts given of events and the opinions expressed are my own, formed rightly or wrongly from patient consideration of the evidence. In the matter of giving references I have acted in a way that may seem capricious. But I do not see much use in filling pages with references until a period is reached in which the evidence is scattered and conflicting

## Preface

vii

and at least based on contemporary record. In the period from the Gracchi to Caesar I have tried to give every reference of importance. The help from inscriptions is of course small for the times of the Republic.

In referring to modern books I have deliberately chosen those most accessible to an ordinary reader, provided that the information there given sufficed for the purpose of the moment. This is especially the case in the matter of editions of classical authors. When drawing an inference from any passage or passages, it is of course my own opinion that I am recording. But it is often desirable to refer to the remarks of scholars as well as to the text: that these remarks are sometimes given in small school-editions is no argument against their soundness. It has been an object not to overload my notes with unnecessary references. If I have been too chary of such support, I am sorry; but I submit that it is a fault on the right side. Sometimes I have thought it well to refer to the existing indices to this or that author, as giving a collection of passages best viewed as a whole and too numerous to quote.

The maps inserted in the text are not meant to be a complete set illustrating the geography of the countries and places referred to. To attempt any such equipment was out of the question, and the Müller-Grundy series with its scheme of colours is surely far better than any set of general maps that could be prepared for insertion in the pages of this book. But there are cases in which the inclusion of details belonging to widely different periods makes a map deceptive to the eye when used for illustrating the events of some particular period. It is mainly with a view to meet such passing needs that I have prepared the little sketch-maps, the leading feature of which is the omission of irrelevant detail. This is the reason why they mostly come in the first half of the book. In the later chapters they are hardly needed. To take an instance; sufficient maps of Gaul in Caesar's time abound. To improve on them would need a rendering of the physical features of the country, hardly possible without the use of colours on a large scale.

In preparing the Index I have aimed at completeness, and have not scrupled to refer to the same detail under several different heads.

Some of the larger items, such as *Leges*, *Rome*, *Army*, *Colonies*, *Greek*, *Caesar*, *Cicero*, have been subdivided in particular headings, but to carry this out in all cases would have necessitated a separate volume for the Index. As the references are by sections, the numbers quickly indicate in what part of the book the passage referred to occurs. Roman names are given under the several gentile names. The gentile name comes in its strictly alphabetical order, but the names of individuals follow in chronological order. In one case (*Cornelii*) they are grouped under the prevailing surnames (*Scipio*, *Sulla*, *Lentulus*, etc.), each group chronologically arranged. The length of the Index is mainly due to an attempt to give a full catalogue of topics dealt with in the text. I fear these topics have not always been wisely classified under heads, for the undertaking is not easy, and it has necessitated a host of multiple references. The modern names of places are generally added to the ancient ones as these occur in the Index.

I must note a few points where I have for convenience sake employed special forms of expression. When I speak of a formal meeting for business, I use the general term *Assembly* (with initial capital), only distinguishing the several kinds of Assemblies when I think it necessary. *Centuries* and *Tribes*, when the Roman groups are meant, are spelt with a capital letter; and the same rule is followed in the word *Allies* when the Italian *socii* are referred to. The word '*period*' means a space (not a point) of time. I use the term *Aristocracy* as concrete, to represent the aggregate of the upper class actively concerned in the work of government. But *Oligarchy* is less fully established in English as a concrete term, and it is badly wanted (as set forth in § 938) to connote the peculiar qualities of a certain form of government, not Roman. I hope it is no mere pedantry to reserve it for this technical purpose. To Mr W H S Jones I owe an apology for using the term *Malaria* loosely in speaking of the unwholesomeness of certain places at certain times, and not confining it strictly to specific infection. That *gravitas caeli*, whatever its precise meaning, was a serious evil, we have the evidence of Cicero Caesar and Varro. And I think the word *Malaria* has long been used in English in this general sense.



## Preface

ix

In general I should remark that a political study is my main object. Literary military and economic history are only touched as bearing on public life, and social details as the straws that shew the set of the tide. One is apt to be greatly impressed by some isolated fact incidentally recorded, and tempted to draw wide inferences from it. But the survival of such details is largely a matter of chance, and one is liable to forget that other details, probably not all pointing to the same conclusion, have perished. I have therefore tried to walk warily. It is tiresome to be so often compelled to decline inferences and to use the language of doubt, but with the defective record of the republican period I can see no other way. I should add that my wish is to regard the politics of the Republic functionally rather than structurally. It is important to gain as correct a view as possible of the institutions of a state so extraordinary as republican Rome. But for the purposes set forth in the introductory chapter (§ 2) it is even more important to see how the institutions worked in practice. I have tried hard to keep clear of prepossessions derived however unconsciously from books that have held the field for many years, and to give a fair account of the influences at work that shaped the destinies of Rome. How far I have succeeded or failed in this attempt I cannot judge.

I should also say that I lay claim to no great startling novelties in the way of interpretation. After the labour of generations of scholars in collecting and sifting the mass of materials that compose our record, I do not see much opening for an honest reconstruction of the whole story. I do not believe that the old-fashioned views of the history of the Roman Republic are mere delusions, and that it can and should be rewritten in a sensational spirit. I do not believe that the movements of the revolutionary period are to be better understood by first attributing great importance to the action of leading men and then assuming that the characters of these leading men were one after another subject to a mysterious change. As I read the evidence, there is no justification for any such arbitrary psychology. And I believe that unbiassed students will agree with me in holding that, so far as we have any means of judging, the attempt to explain changes of policy by changes of character is peculiarly rash in dealing with

## Preface

such a people as the Romans. In my opinion it is only misrepresentation of the circumstances of the moment that tempts a writer to resort to such hypotheses.

To the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press I owe and hereby render my best thanks for undertaking the publication of this book. But it is not necessary to enlarge on this topic, familiar to all who have had the good fortune to receive their support. Nor need I attempt to do justice to the staff of the Press: the quality of the work employed in the production of these volumes speaks for itself.

W E HEITLAND

CAMBRIDGE

8 *September* 1909.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Book I.

Introductory.

CHAP.		VOLUME I
1.	General remarks. §§ 1—7 . . . . .	pages 1—8
2.	Physical geography. §§ 8—11 . . . . .	9—11
3.	Ethnography. §§ 12—18 . . . . .	12—18
4.	Religion. §§ 19—24 . . . . .	19—24
5.	The city of Rome. §§ 25—29 . . . . .	25—32
6.	Social and political groups. §§ 30—39 . . . . .	33—37
7.	The regal period. §§ 40—61 . . . . .	38—52

Book II.

The Republic to the union of the Orders.

8.	Early difficulties of the Free State. The Tribes. §§ 62—69 . . . . .	53—59
9.	The Constitution 509—449 B.C. §§ 70—85 . . . . .	60—69
10.	The Decemvirate and Valerio-Horatian laws. §§ 86—93 . . . . .	70—74
11.	Foreign policy 509—449 B.C. §§ 94—100 . . . . .	75—78
12.	The legends of the traditional narrative. §§ 101—107 . . . . .	79—84
13.	The Constitution 448—367 B.C. . . . . (a) Magistracy. §§ 108—112. (b) Senate. §§ 113—117. (c) Assemblies. §§ 118—122.	85—95
14.	The Licinian laws. §§ 123—128 . . . . .	96—100
15.	Foreign Policy and the Army. §§ 129—146 . . . . .	101—113

Book III.

The union of Italy under Rome.

16.	The Constitution 366—265 B.C. . . . . (a) Magistracy. §§ 147—164. (b) Senate. §§ 165—168. (c) Assemblies. §§ 169—176.	114—134
17.	The Conquest of Italy. §§ 177—211 . . . . .	135—162
18.	Causes of Roman supremacy. §§ 212—214 . . . . .	163, 164
19.	Organization of Italy. §§ 215—224 . . . . .	165—174
20.	Rome and the Roman people 366—265 B.C. §§ 225—235 . . . . .	175—185

xii Table of Contents

Book IV.

Rome and Carthage.

CHAP.	VOLUME I
21. Carthage. §§ 236–241 . . . . .	pages 186–192
22. First Punic War 264–241 B.C. §§ 242–256 . . . . .	193–208
23. Rome, Home affairs 241–218 B.C. §§ 257–262 . . . . .	209–214
24. Foreign affairs 241–218 B.C. §§ 263–273 . . . . .	215–226
25. Second Punic War . . . . .	227–340
(a) 218–216 B.C. §§ 274–305.	
(b) 215–209 B.C. §§ 306–356.	
(c) 208–201 B.C. §§ 357–395.	
26. The situation created by the war. §§ 396–410 . . . . .	341–355

Book V.

Rome an Imperial Republic.

	VOLUME II
27. The situation in the Mediterranean World 201 B.C. §§ 411–428	I–16
28. The Second Macedonian War and the sequel 200–194 B.C. §§ 429–450 . . . . .	17–37
29. North Italy and Spain 201–194 B.C. §§ 451–454 . . . . .	38–43
30. Wars in Greece and the East 195–187 B.C. §§ 455–492 . . . . .	44–75
31. Fall of the Macedonian kingdom, and the Settlement of 167. 187–167 B.C. §§ 493–552 . . . . .	76–128
32. Wars and policy of Rome in the West 193–167 B.C. §§ 553– 567 . . . . .	129–146
33. External affairs 167–133 B.C. §§ 568–611 . . . . .	147–188
34. Internal history 201–133 B.C. §§ 612–679 . . . . .	189–255

Book VI.

Revolution. The Gracchi to Sulla. 133–79 B.C.

35. The Sicilian Slave-war 134–132 B.C. §§ 680–688 . . . . .	256–264
36. Tiberius Gracchus 133 B.C. §§ 689–705 . . . . .	265–281
37. The interval 132–123 B.C. §§ 706–719 . . . . .	282–296
38. Gaius Gracchus 124–121 B.C. §§ 720–749 . . . . .	297–325
39. From the death of Gaius Gracchus to the end of the Jugurthine War 121–105 B.C. §§ 750–784 . . . . .	326–362
40. The invasion from the North 109–101 B.C. §§ 785–796 . . . . .	363–376
41. The second Sicilian Slave-war, and external affairs 105–92 B.C. §§ 797–808 . . . . .	377–390
42. Internal affairs 104–91 B.C. §§ 809–835 . . . . .	391–422
43. The great Italian or Marsic War 90–87 B.C. §§ 836–865 . . . . .	423–458
44. Marius and Cinna 87–86 B.C. §§ 866–874 . . . . .	459–467
45. Sulla in the East 87–84 B.C. §§ 875–886 . . . . .	468–482
46. Cinna, Carbo, Sulla, and the Civil War 85–82 B.C. §§ 887–895	483–493
47. Sulla 82–78 B.C. §§ 896–935 . . . . .	494–534

Table of Contents xiii

**Book VII.**

**Revolution. Sulla to Caesar.**

CHAP.		VOLUME III
48.	Rome and Italy 78—70 B.C. §§ 936—958 . . . . .	pages 1—22
49.	Wars abroad. Sertorius and Mithradates 79—67 B.C. §§ 959—978 . . . . .	23—41
50.	Internal affairs 69—66 B.C. Pompey's preeminence 67—62 B.C. §§ 979—1006 . . . . .	42—68
51.	Cicero and Catiline 66—63 B.C. §§ 1007—1042 . . . . .	69—108
52.	The years of uncertainty 62—60 B.C. §§ 1043—1056 . . . . .	109—124
53.	Caesar's first consulship and the removal of Cicero and Cato 59—58 B.C. §§ 1057—1087 . . . . .	125—153
54.	Caesar in Gaul 58—56 B.C. Conference of Luca 56 B.C. Affairs in Rome 58—55 B.C. §§ 1088—1124 . . . . .	154—190
55.	Caesar in Gaul 56—50 B.C. §§ 1125—1162 . . . . .	191—224
56.	Roman affairs from the Conference of Luca to the outbreak of the great Civil War 55—49 B.C. §§ 1163—1208 . . . . .	225—275
57.	The Civil War to the battle of Thapsus 49—46 B.C. §§ 1209—1257 . . . . .	276—333
58.	From the battle of Thapsus to the death of Caesar 46—44 B.C. §§ 1258—1291 . . . . .	334—371

**Book VIII.**

**The last struggles and transition to the Empire.**

59.	Failure of the attempt to restore the Republic 44—42 B.C. §§ 1292—1340 . . . . .	372—430
60.	Literature and Jurisprudence as illustrating the life of the revolutionary period. §§ 1341—1377 . . . . .	431—478
61.	Review of the revolutionary period and the conditions at the time of transition to the Empire. §§ 1378—1407 . . . . .	479—514
Index . . . . .		End of Vol. III

LIST OF MAPS

- 1. Conjectural map of early Italian peoples. § 15
- 2. Site of Rome. § 25.
- 3. Neighbourhood of Rome. § 26.
- 4. Supposed line of ‘Servian’ Wall. § 28.
- 5. Region of Magna Graecia. § 142.
- 6. Southward advance of Rome. § 189.
- 7. The chief Etrurian cities. § 192.
- 8. Sicily, for the Punic Wars. § 245.
- 9. Campania. § 310.
- 10. Syracuse. § 328.
- 11. Tarentum. § 337.
- 12. The Latin Colonies near Rome. § 354.
- 13. Powers in eastern Mediterranean. § 415.
- 14. Balkan peninsula (200 B.C.). § 437.
- 15. „ „ (about 170 B.C.). § 503.
- 16. Southern Transalpine Gaul. § 755.
- 17. Cisalpine Gaul (about 100 B.C.). § 759.
- 18. Roman dominions (about 100 B.C.). § 803.
- 19. Italy (90 B.C.), for the great Italian War. § 842.