

Like a Father More Than a Tyrant: Romulus as Paradigm in Appian's *Roman History*¹

<p>1. Phot. <i>Bibl.</i> 57: ὁ πρῶτος κτίστης τε Ῥώμης καὶ οἰκιστῆς γεγονώς, ἄρξας τε <u>πατρικῶς μᾶλλον ἢ τυραννικῶς</u>, ὅμως ἐσφάγη, ἢ ὡς ἄλλοι φασίν, ἠφανίσθη.</p>	<p>The first became both <u>founder</u> and settler of Rome and though he ruled <u>like a father more than a tyrant</u>, he was nevertheless was murdered or, as others say, disappeared.</p>
<p>2. Dion. Hal. <i>Ant. Rom.</i> 2.56.3: βαρῦς ἤδη καὶ αὐθάδης εἶναι ἐδόκει καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν <u>οὐκέτι βασιλικῶς ἀλλὰ τυραννικώτερον</u> ἐξάγειν.</p>	<p>He seemed now to be overbearing and arrogant, and to be exercising his power <u>no longer like a king but more like a tyrant</u>.</p>
<p>3. Cic. <i>Rep.</i> 1.65: cum rex iniustus esse coepit, perit illud ilico genus, et est idem ille tyrannus, deterrimum genus et finitimum optimo.</p>	<p>The moment a king begins to be unjust, that type [of government] perishes, and that same man is now a tyrant, the worst type in close proximity to the best.</p>
<p>App. <i>Pun.</i> 27.112: παρανόμου δ' ὄντος καὶ τῶν ὑπάτων προφερόντων αὐτοῖς τὸν νόμον, ἐλιπάρουν καὶ ἐνέκειντο, καὶ ἐκεκράγεσαν ἐκ τῶν Τυλλίου καὶ Ῥωμύλου νόμων τὸν δῆμον εἶναι κύριον τῶν ἀρχαιρειῶν, καὶ τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν νόμων ἀκυροῦν ἢ κυροῦν ὃν ἐθέλοιεν.</p>	<p>Although this was illegal and the consuls were presenting them the law, they persisted and pressed hard, and exclaimed that, based on the laws of Tullius and <u>Romulus</u>, the people were the ones authorized to elect magistrates, and they could annul or ratify what they wished pertaining to these laws.</p>
<p>5. App. <i>BC</i> 1.13.1: Γράκχος δὲ μεγαλαυχούμενος ἐπὶ τῷ νόμῳ ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους οἷα δὴ <u>κτίστης</u> οὐ μῖς πόλεως οὐδὲ ἐνὸς γένους, ἀλλὰ πάντων, ὅσα ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ἔθνη, ἐς τὴν οἰκίαν παρεπέμπετο.</p>	<p>Gracchus, greatly acclaimed for his law by the multitude as though he were the <u>founder</u> not of a single city or race, but of all the nations in Italy, was escorted to his home.</p>
<p>6. App. <i>BC</i> 1.16.1: κἀν τῷδε τῷ κυδοιμῷ πολλοὶ τε τῶν Γρακχείων καὶ Γράκχος αὐτός, εἰλούμενος περὶ τὸ ἱερόν, ἀνηρέθη κατὰ τὰς θύρας <u>παρὰ τοὺς τῶν βασιλέων ἀνδριάντας</u>. καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς νοκτὸς ἐξέριψαν εἰς τὸ ρεῦμα τοῦ ποταμοῦ.</p>	<p>And in the mêlée many of the Gracchans and Gracchus himself, who was seized in the neighborhood of the temple and killed by the entrance <u>next to the statues of the kings</u>. And that night they threw them all into the stream of the river.</p>
<p>7. App. <i>BC</i> 1.17: καὶ πρῶτον ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ τόδε <u>μύσος</u> γενόμενον οὐ διέλιπεν, αἰεὶ τινος ὁμοίου γιγνομένου παρὰ μέρος.</p>	<p>And this <u>pollution</u>, the first to occur in the public assembly, did not leave a long interval, but similar things kept occurring periodically.</p>
<p>8. App. <i>BC</i> 2.114: χωρίον δ' ἐπενόουν τὸ βουλευτήριον ὡς τῶν βουλευτῶν, εἰ καὶ μὴ προμάθοιεν, προθύμως, ὅτε ἴδοιεν τὸ ἔργον, συνεπιληψομένων, <u>ὃ καὶ περὶ Ῥωμύλου τυραννικὸν ἐκ βασιλικῶν γενόμενον ἐλέγετο συμβῆναι</u>.</p>	<p>They were considering the senate house as the location on the grounds that the senators, even if they had no foreknowledge, when they saw the deed, would join in on it eagerly, <u>which was being said to have also happened in the case of Romulus after he turned from kingly to tyrannical</u>.</p>

¹ All translations are my own.

9. App. BC 2.18.127: οἱ δὲ καθαρώτεροι τὸ μὲν ἔργον ὡς ἄγος ἀπεστρέφοντο, αἰδοῖ δὲ μεγάλων οἰκῶν περισφάζειν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἐκώλυον, ἠγανάκτου δὲ, εἰ καὶ τιμήσουσιν ὡς εὐεργέτας.

The cleaner ones were revolted by the deed as a sacrilege, but out of respect for the great houses did not oppose granting them impunity, yet they were annoyed at the prospect of also honoring them as benefactors.

10. App. BC 2.7: Κάτωνος δ' αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα τῆς πατρίδος προσαγορευσάντος ἐπεβόησεν ὁ δῆμος. καὶ δοκεῖ τισιν ἦδε ἡ εὐφημία ἀπὸ Κικέρωνος ἀρξαμένη περιελθεῖν ἐς τῶν νῦν αὐτοκρατόρων τοὺς φαινομένους ἀξίους: οὐδὲ γὰρ τοῖσδε, καίπερ οὐσι βασιλεῦσιν, εὐθὺς ἀπ' ἀρχῆς ἅμα ταῖς ἄλλαις ἐπωνυμίαις, ἀλλὰ σὺν χρόνῳ μόλις ἦδε, ὡς ἐντελής ἐπὶ μεγίστοις δὴ μαρτυρία, ψηφίζεται.

When Cato addressed him as father of the fatherland the people shouted in approval. And some think that this honorific had begun with Cicero and devolved upon those of our current emperors who prove worthy of it. For this is not decreed to them, although they are kings, right from the beginning along with their other titles, but with time and difficulty, since it is the ultimate testimony of great things.

11. App. prf. 6: Γαίως τε Καῖσαρ ὑπὲρ τοὺς τότε δυναστεύσας, καὶ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν κρατυνάμενός τε καὶ διαθέμενος ἐς φυλακὴν ἀσφαλῆ, τὸν μὲν σχῆμα τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τὸ ὄνομα ἐφύλαξε, μόναρχον δ' ἑαυτὸν ἐπέστησε πᾶσι καὶ ἔστιν ἦδε ἡ ἀρχὴ μέχρι νῦν ὑφ' ἐνὶ ἄρχοντι οὐς βασιλέας μὲν οὐ λέγουσιν, ὡς ἐγὼ νομίζω, τὸν ὄρκον αἰδούμενοι τὸν πάλαι, αὐτοκράτορας δὲ ὀνομάζουσιν.

And Gaius Caesar, having prevailed over his contemporaries, both strengthened his authority and established it in firm security, preserving the form and name of the constitution, but imposing himself as a monarch over all. And this government up till now has been under a single ruler, whom they do not say are kings, out of reverence, I think, for the ancient oath, but call emperors.

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