

Cicero's Lists of Tyrants and Tyrannicides¹

1. Appearances of the *Adfectatores Regni* and Ahala
 - A. Marcus Manlius Capitolinus: 5x (*Dom.* 101-2, *Phil.* 1.32, 2.87, 2.114, *Rep.* 2.49)
 - B. Spurius Cassius Viscellinus: 8x (*Am.* 28, 36-7, *Balb.* 53, *Dom.* 101-2, *Phil.* 2.114, 2.87, *Rep.* 2.49, 2.60)
 - C. Spurius Maelius: 9x (*Am.* 28, 36-7, *Cat.* 1.3-4, *Dom.* 101-2, *Mil.* 72, *Phil.* 2.87, 2.114, *Rep.* 2.49, *Sen.* 56)
 - D. Gaius Servilius Ahala without Maelius: 10x (*Att.* 2.24.3, 13.40, *Brut.* 212, *Dom.* 86, *Mil.* 8, 83, *Phil.* 2.26, 2.27, *Rep.* 1.6, *Sest.* 143)

2. Cicero *De Re Publica* 2.49

Itaque et Spurius Cassius et Marcus Manlius et Spurius Maelius regnum occupare voluisse dicti sunt, et modo [Ti. Gracchus]...

and just as Spurius Cassius, Marcus Manlius, and Spurius Maelius were said to have desired to seize the kingship, and now [Tiberius Gracchus]..."

3. Cicero *Philippic* 2.87

Ubi enim tu in pace consistes? qui locus tibi in legibus et in iudiciis esse potest, quae tu, quantum in te fuit, dominatu regio sustulisti? Ideone L. Tarquinius exactus, Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius necati, ut multis post saeculis a M. Antonio [quod fas non est] rex Romae constitueretur?

Where indeed shall you be at peace, what place is there able to be for you in laws and in judgments, which things you, insofar as you could, abolished with your dictatorial kingship? Was Lucius Tarquin driven away, were Spurius Cassius, Spurius Maelius, and Marcus Manlius killed so that after many centuries a king should be established at Rome by Mark Antony? It's unspeakable!

4. Cicero *Philippic* 2.114

Tarquinius Brutus bello est persecutus, qui tum rex fuit, cum esse Romae licebat; Sp. Cassius, Sp. Maelius, M. Manlius propter suspicionem regni adpetendi sunt necati; hi primum cum gladiis non in regnum adpetentem, sed in regnantem impetum fecerunt.

Brutus in a war pursued Tarquin, who was king when it was permitted at Rome to be a king. Spurius Cassius, Spurius Maelius, and Marcus Manlius were killed because of the suspicion

¹ All translations are my own.

of seeking kingship. These men first made an assault with swords not against one seeking kingship but against one reigning.

5. Cicero *Pro Milone* 83

uteretur eadem confessione T. Annius, qua Ahala, qua Nasica, qua Opimius, qua Marius, qua nosmet ipsi.

Titus Annius would use the same confession as Ahala, as Nasica, as Opimius, as Marius, as I myself.

6. Cicero *Catilinarian* 1.3-4

An vero vir amplissimus, P. Scipio, pontifex maximus, Ti. Gracchum mediocriter labefactantem statum rei publicae privatus interfecit: Catilinam orbem terrae caede atque incendiis vastare cupientem nos consules perferemus?

Did P. Scipio, a most splendid man, a private citizen, truly slay Tiberius Gracchus, who was shaking the condition of the Republic a little, while we consuls endure Catiline desiring to ravage the world with slaughter and fires the world?

7. Cicero *De Re Publica* 1.6

vel exilium Camilli vel offensio commemoratur Ahalae vel invidia Nasicae vel expulsio Laenatis vel Opimii damnatio vel fuga Metelli vel acerbissima C. Marii clades principumque caedes vel eorum multorum pestes, quae paulo post secutae sunt.

Camillus' exile is remembered, or the misfortune of Ahala, or the ill will for Nasica, or the exile of Laenas, or the condemnation of Opimius, or the flight of Metellus, or the most bitter slaughter of Gaius Marius and the slaughters and banes of the many leading men, which followed a little later.

8. Cicero *Philippic* 1.32

Haec iusta est a te, a te, inquam, mortuo Caesari nota ad ingominiam sempiternam. Ut enim propter unius M. Manli scelus decreto gentis Manliae neminem patricium Manlium <Marcum> vocari licet, sic tu propter unius dictatoris odium nomen dictatoris funditus sustulisti.

This mark was burned into the dead Caesar for eternal ignominy by you—by you, I say! As indeed, because of a crime by one Manlius, it is no longer permitted by a decree of the *gens* of the Manlii for a patrician Manlius to be named Marcus, so you because of the hatred of one dictator tore up by the roots the title 'dictator.'

9. Cicero *Philippic* 1.35

Beatus est nemo qui ea lege vivit ut non modo impune sed etiam cum summa interfectoris gloria interfici possit.

No one is happy who lives in such a way that he is not only able to be killed with impunity but with the highest glory for the killer.

10. Cicero *Philippic* 2.26

Etenim si auctores ad liberandam patriam desiderarentur illis a[u]cotiribus, Brutos ego impellerem quorum uterque L. Bruti imaginem cotidie videret, alter etiam Ahalae?

Should I encourage the Bruti, one of whom looked daily at the image of Lucius Brutus, the other also at the image of Ahala.

11. Cicero *Pro Milone* 72

Occidi, occidi, non Sp. Maelium, qui annona levanda iacturisque rei familiaris, quia nimis amplecti plebem videbatur, in suspicionem incidit regni appetendi; non Ti. Gracchum, qui conlegae magistratum per seditionem abrogavit, quorum interfectores impleverunt orbem terrarum nominis sui gloria; sed eum...

I have killed. I have killed not Spurius Maelius, who, by lowering the price of grain and throwing away his family estate, seemed to court the plebs excessively, who fell into the suspicion of seeking kingship; nor Tiberius Gracchus, who by sedition abrogated his colleague's magistracy, whose killers filled the world with the glory of their name; but *him*...

12. Kinds of Lists

(**bold** = more details than just a name)

Lists of Tyrants

Cassius, Maelius, Manlius	<i>Phil.</i> 2.114
Tarquin, Cassius, Maelius, Manlius	<i>Phil.</i> 2.87
Tarquin, Cassius, Maelius	<i>Am.</i> 28
Manlius	<i>Phil.</i> 1.32
Cassius	<i>Rep.</i> 2.60, <i>Balb.</i> 53
Ahala & Maelius	<i>Sen.</i> 56
Maelius, Cassius, M. Vaccus, Manlius, Fulvius Flaccus	<i>Dom.</i> 101-2
Maelius, Gracchus	<i>Mil.</i> 72
Cassius, Maelius, Manlius, Ti. Gracchus	<i>Rep.</i> 2.49
Coriolanus, Cassius, Maelius, Ti. Gracchus	<i>Am.</i> 26-7

Lists of Tyrannicides

Nasica and Ti. Gracchus, Ahala and Maelius, Opimius and C. Gracchus, Marius and Saturninus	<i>Cat.</i> 1.3-4
Nasica and Ti. Gracchus, Ahala, Nasica [again], Opimius, Marius	Mil. 8
Ahala, Nasica, Opimius, Marius, Catiline	Mil. 83
Ahala, Brutus	<i>Att.</i> 2.24.3, 13.40, <i>Phil.</i> 2.12, <i>Brut.</i> 212
Ahala, Servilii	<i>Phil.</i> 2.27

Lists of Benefactors

Ahala, Nasica, Lenas, Opimius, Metellus, Marius	Rep. 1.6
Bruti, Camilli, Ahalae, Decii, Curius, Frabricius, Maximus, Scipios, Lentuli, Aemilii, etc.	Sest. 143
Caeso Quintius, M. Furius Camillus, M. Servilius Ahala	<i>Dom.</i> 86

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