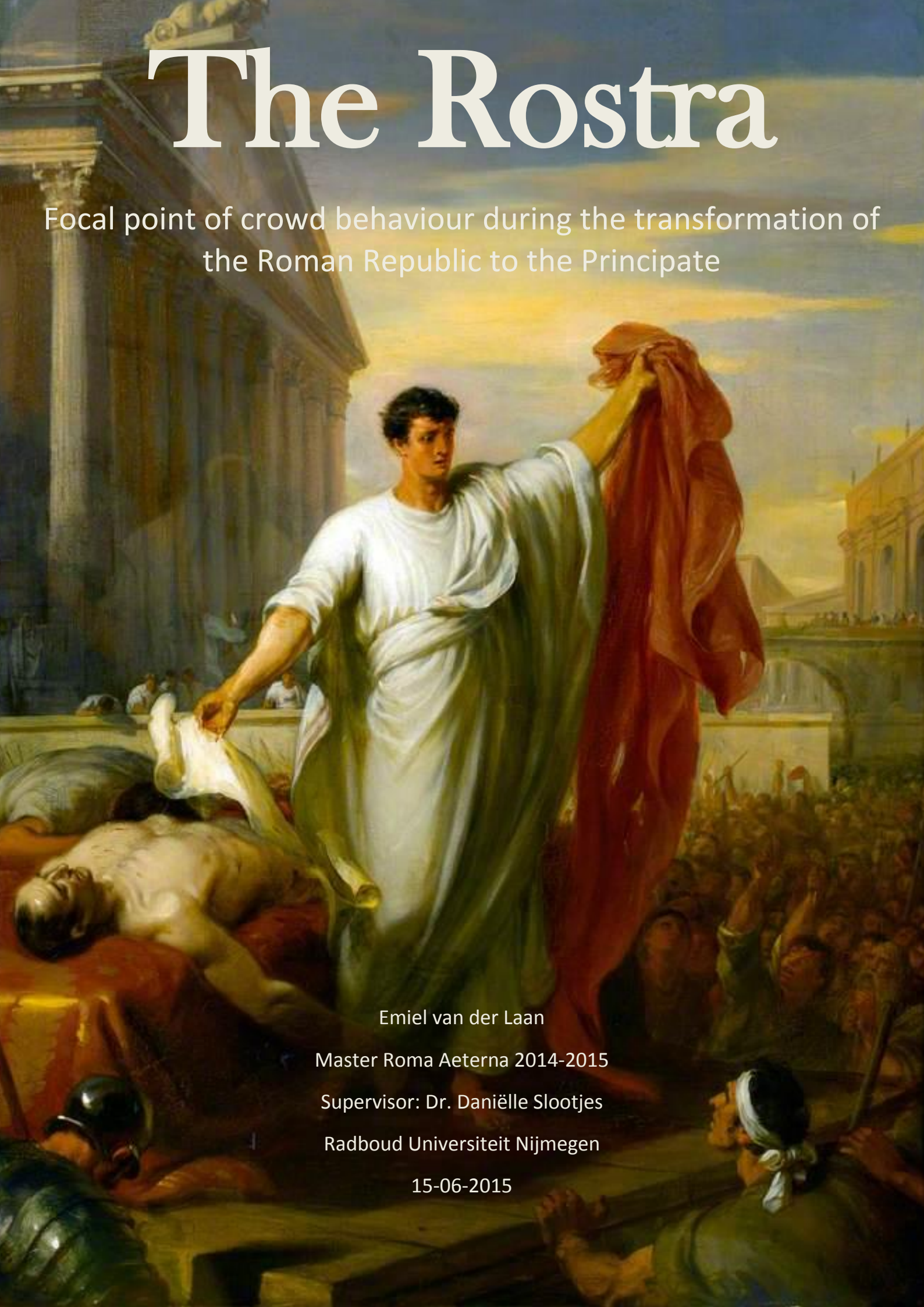


The Rostra

Focal point of crowd behaviour during the transformation of the Roman Republic to the Principate



Emiel van der Laan

Master Roma Aeterna 2014-2015

Supervisor: Dr. Daniëlle Slootjes

Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen

15-06-2015



Radboud Universiteit Nijmegen

William Hilton, *Marc Antony Reading the Will of Caesar* (1834)

Contents

Introduction	3
Status quaestionis	4
<i>Cracks in the mortar</i>	11
The passing of the Gracchan agrarian law	11
The provocative law	13
<i>A crumbled foundation</i>	16
A bucket excrement	16
The Rostra under siege.....	19
<i>A scorched stage</i>	22
A senate house burnt into ashes.....	22
A speech with consequences	25
<i>A platform left in marble</i>	28
Torn garments	29
Wrongfully accused.....	31
A failed abdication.....	32
Conclusion	35
References	38

Introduction

“His behaviour, over a very short space of time, won him so much respect and devotion that a rumour he had been attacked and murdered on a journey to Ostia, was received with horror, and crowds milled about abusing the soldiers as traitors and the Senators as assassins, until the magistrates brought a couple of witnesses, and later others to the Rostra to swear that Claudius was safe and on his way back to the City.”¹

The citation shown above is part of the *Life of Claudius*, written by the Roman historian Suetonius (71-135 AD). The first thing that is noteworthy in this passage, is the last part of the sentence wherein the angry crowd was being assured by the magistrates on the speaker's platform. In this citation we see the essence of the whole Roman world namely, the emperor, his soldiers, the magistrates, the other senators and last but not least the *Populus Romanus*. In this thesis the interaction between the crowd and their popular leader on the Rostra will be further investigated. The Rostra served as a focal point for crowd behaviour, enabling leaders to engender crowds for their own political objectives.

In the last hundred years of the dying Republic, many important political moments took place near or on the Rostra at the Forum Romanum. Great men such as Tiberius Gracchus, Cicero, Pompey, Caesar, Clodius and Milo used this speaker's platform as a place to express their political beliefs. It was the common place from which people were addressed. This mainly during the many times the Roman citizens needed to vote or participated in hearing a *contio* of an important political figure. In the last two decades of the crumbling Republic we can see that the Rostra also became a strategic place on the Forum during the many political clashes between different mobs of political figures. It was in these decades and during the dictatorship of Caesar that the Rostra was directed to another place near the west end on the Forum, away from the senate house. Once Octavian came to power, this monument underwent another transformation and was renamed the *Rostra Augusti*.

The question is, did the function of this great republican monument also change after its relocation in comparison with the older Rostra (*Rostra Vetera*), especially when looking at the interaction between leaders and crowds during this period of time? Was it still the centre of political expression now that the plurality of rulers that characterised the republic was changed to one Princeps? The main research question of this thesis is in what ways did the establishment of the new *Rostra Augusti* change and/or influence crowd behaviour on the Forum Romanum? To answer this question I will examine nine different moments in this time of Roman political transition. Firstly, I will investigate two case-studies during the Late Republic in the time of Tiberius Gracchus and Saturninus, who were both tribunes of the plebs. A suitable answer will be given to explanation of how popular politics worked around or on the Rostra during these two examples. Secondly, I will shift our attention to the dramatic last decade of the Republic by examining two moments of violent crowd behaviour on the Rostra concerning two important votes regarding important political figures like Caesar, Cicero and Clodius. Thirdly, the two funerals of Clodius and Caesar will be examined. At the funeral of Caesar, a tense speech was given on the Rostra by Marcus Antonius, before the cremation. Lastly, I investigate three case-studies of crowd behaviour in the course of the Principate of Augustus, Claudius, and Vitellius.

¹ Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, 12.3

Furthermore, the value of one aspect of the crowd behaviour theory of Elias Canetti will be examined. This aspect concerns the role of leadership within crowd dynamics. If we want to understand certain elements of crowd dynamics in the Roman world, it is paramount to investigate the importance of leaders during moments of crowd behaviour. This analysis could be valuable for further research on crowd behaviour during the Late Republic and the transition to the early Principate. Besides offering valuable insights in crowd dynamics on the Rostra and the Roman Forum in general, the leadership aspect of the crowd theory could help us to understand an important aspect of the political change from Republic to Principate. When this feature of the crowd behaviour theory of Canetti proves to be valuable, it can offer an important contribution to our knowledge of the functioning of the Roman political landscape of the Forum Romanum on a more general level. Lastly, on a more specific level, it may be proven useful to understand the adjustments and relocation of the Rostra during this period of transition. By laying the focus on the Rostra it is possible to present a continuation of a social and political process of transformation that started in the Late Republic and progressed in the Principate.

Status quaestionis

In recent years, the Rostra has been an almost forgotten research topic. Firstly, some important information concerning the Rostra itself. The historian and classicist Lawrence Richardson wrote in his work *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* an extensive lemma about the Rostra and its history during the Republic and the Principate. The author divides the history of the Rostra in three separate monuments with its own names, which are called the *Rostra Vetera*, *Rostra Caesaris* and the *Rostra Augusti*. He also treats the possible origin of the name and the structure.² The author states that the first Rostra was probably a decorated *suggestus*.³ Ann Vasely, in her work *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory*, adds to this by emphasizing that the Comitium-Rostra complex was the nerve centre of the Forum.⁴ The Rostra as a setting for the conduct of state business was intimately tied to its sacral character, for the status of this space as inaugurated *templum* guaranteed divine approval. Vasaly notes that in the second century BC, the Rostra, with its symbolic power, became the scene of tribunician challenges to the ruling elite. This change transformed the Rostra into a *locus popularis*.⁵

Another scientific approach is about the use of memory of the republic of Rome during Principate. Alain M. Gowing shows in his book *Empire and Memory: The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture* how memory of the Roman Republic exercised a powerful influence on several generations of Romans who lived during the Principate. Gowing shows in what way memory of the Republic impressed itself on Imperial literature as well as on the physical landscape. How memory is used in the physical landscape is of great importance for this study, because the political space that is studied here, i.e. the Rostra, was immersed in Roman Republican history. In his work, Gowing shows us how Republican and Imperial structures were vital places of Republican memory. Respect for hierarchy and tradition was constantly re-enforced by the elites

² Lawrence Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, (London, 1992) 334.

³ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 334.

⁴ Ann Vasaly, *Representations; Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory*, (Berkeley, 1993) 61.

⁵ Vasaly, *Representations*, 74.

who gave their speech on the Rostra.⁶ It was a monument that could serve as a repository for historical memory, according to the historian John Patterson.⁷ These sites were *Lieux de Mémoire* and had their political use in the creation of the Principate.⁸ For instance, they showed continuation.⁹ The author argues that memory plays an important role in making the new political system more acceptable.¹⁰ Patterson even goes so far as to state that the memory of the Republic provided, without any doubt, the foundation on which the Empire was created.¹¹

The people that were addressed from this speaker's platform, are also part of an important scientific debate. In the last thirty years, research concerning crowd behaviour in the Roman world has prospered. For example in the research of Paul J.J Vanderbroeck: *Popular leadership and collective behaviour in the Late Roman Republic (ca. 80-50 B.C.)*, written in 1987, where the author provides a systematic study of crowd behaviour and popular leadership and how they were related in the Late Republic. Vanderbroeck examines this relation by using sociological theories of group behaviour.¹² The central thesis of the author's work can be outlined as follows. Popular leadership and collective crowd behaviour in the late Republic can be seen as products of a dysfunctioning political system. During the late Republic the number of political offices were too few for the increasing number of pretenders. In this period of time, the traditional clientele system between the plebs and the upper class had faltered. These two major political problems made it possible that the plebs looked to new, more popular leaders such as Saturninus and Clodius. Vanderbroeck calls this new form of clientele: 'public clientele'. The author stresses that this new clientele system did not try to overthrow the old political system of the Republic, and that this process is more a way of the plebs to make themselves heard more. The author argues that the plebs just wanted a strong patron who met their demands. It is this goal that the author sees as one of the many factors that played a key role in the realization of the Principate.¹³ The demand for a strong leader who met the demands of the plebs, is an important aspect for my thesis that concerns the interaction between these leaders and the plebs on the Rostra during this time of transformation.

One of the main comments, as is voiced by John Rich, focuses on the schematic approach used by Vanderbroeck, concerning on how his 'public clientele' was composed.¹⁴ Three main groups are distinguished by the author: freedmen, shopkeepers and artisans. The author states that the bond between a freedmen and his patron was much weaker than those of the free poor. The group of the city's plebs that is not present in the author's 'public clientele', is the urban poor who were largely freeborn. It was this group that was mostly present during the holding of *contiones* and tribal assemblies.¹⁵ Freedmen were limited by the restriction to the urban tribes, and therefore their value

⁶ Alexander Jacobson, 'Traditional Political Culture and the People's Role in the Roman Republic', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 59, (2010) 300.

⁷ John R. Patterson, 'The City of Rome Revisited: From Mid-Republic to Mid-Empire', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 100, (2010) 218.

⁸ Alain Gowing, *Empire and Memory: The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture*, (Cambridge, 2005) 133-134.

⁹ Gowing, *Empire and Memory*, 135.

¹⁰ Ibidem, 126.

¹¹ Ibidem, 154.

¹² Paul Vanderbroeck, *Popular leadership and collective behavior in the Late Roman Republic (ca. 80-50 B.C.)*, (Amsterdam, 1987) 10-16.

¹³ Vanderbroeck, *Popular leadership and collective behavior*, 172.

¹⁴ John T. Rich, 'Popular Leadership in Rome', *The Classical Review* 39, 1989, 83.

¹⁵ Vanderbroeck, *Popular leadership and collective behavior*, 82.

as voters was limited. Shopkeepers and artisans can barely have had time to be present at the tribunal assemblies.¹⁶ Vanderbroeck distinguishes between top leaders like Caesar, Catiline and Clodius, and the assistant leaders (other senators). Another group is the *divisores* (gang leaders) and are to be seen, according to Vanderbroeck, as intermediate leaders.¹⁷ Another criticism is the strict categories into political leaders are divided: *populares* and *optimates*. This is seen as an oversimplification of the political climate in the late Republic.

The historian Fergus Millar states in the first chapter of his work *The crowd in Rome in the Late Republic* that no simple categorization of the Roman political system is possible.¹⁸ The barriers to any real understanding of the political life of the late Republic are formidable. Focusing on the political power of the crowd, Millar's argument: "That it goes not without saying that we have no real evidence that in any detailed way a representation can be offered of the political awareness or political reactions of the ordinary people of Rome."¹⁹ The first purpose of the work of Millar is to present a series of images of the Roman people: assembling in the Forum. The author states that if we want to understand the structure of politics in Rome, it is impossible to overstress the centrality of the Forum and the fundamental role of the *comitia tributa*.²⁰ The second purpose of Millar's book is to argue that our whole conception of the Roman Republic has been distorted by theories that have allowed us not to see the *contiones* (open-air meetings). The *Populus Romanus*, and the interrelation between them and the upper-class in those open-air meetings, were according to the author, central to Roman politics.²¹

Millar suggests that the central role of the *contio* and other popular meetings were genuinely democratic institutions. These assemblies gave the Roman people a crucial role in the political process. According to Millar, Rome found a way in which it could let coexist an aristocracy and a democracy at the same time. The power between the elite and the masses was shared. The laws of the *res publica* could be enacted only by the votes of the people. The author stresses that Roman leaders had to persuade the Roman People to a course of action. Therefore, the system of the late Republic is, in the way Millar sees it, indeed democratic.²² The plebs as a key factor in Roman politics is according to Millar reflected in the description of the Roman political system by Polybius.²³ A major criticism of Millar's work is that it makes little attempt to discuss conflicting points of view, either ancient or modern (negative citation of scholarly works is absent), and that it is lacking a bibliography.²⁴

In the book *Mass Oratory and political Power in the Late Roman Republic*, Robert Morstein-Marx agrees with Millar that the voice of the Roman people is neglected for too long in the debate concerning Roman politics.²⁵ For many years, scholars believed that the balance of power between the senate and the sovereignty of the Roman people was more ideal than real. In his book, Morstein-Marx examines the relationship between public speech and political power. Just like Millar,

¹⁶ John T. Rich, 'Popular Leadership in Rome', 83.

¹⁷ Vanderbroeck, *Popular leadership and collective behavior*, 51-52.

¹⁸ Fergus Millar, *The crowd in Rome in the Late Republic*, (Michigan, 1998) 10-11.

¹⁹ Millar, *The crowd in Rome in the Late Republic*, 10.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, 19.

²¹ *Ibidem*, 1.

²² *Ibidem*, 225.

²³ *Ibidem*, 24.

²⁴ Michael Alexander, 'Review of: The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic by Fergus Millar', *The American Journal of Philology* 121, (2000) 164.

²⁵ Robert Morstein-Marx, *Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic*, (Cambridge, 2004) 5.

Morstein-Marx states that the *contio* was an important political institution.²⁶ The author claims that the *contio* was a vital point of contact between the two political entities of the Republic.²⁷ Being the most important place of hearing a *contio*, the importance of the Rostra is again showed. According to the author, the unique importance of the *contio* lies in the fact that the orators' attempts to win decisive public support in such meetings were the chief feature of the run-up to any vote or legislation, which was the most direct assertion of the popular will which, as Millar shows, more or less covered the gamut of major political issues, foreign and domestic.²⁸

Hendrik Mouritsen takes a more reserved stand in this debate and argues that in the Late Republic the urban plebs just exercised limited power.²⁹ In his work *Plebs and the Politics in the Late Roman Republic*, the author states that the voice of the plebs was muted by the fact that it had no true representatives, elected on a political platform. According to Mouritsen, popular concerns only entered the official agenda when 'popular' politicians happened to adopt their cause.³⁰ Mouritsen states that the political class, the elites, had the monopoly of political power during the Late Republic. As a justification the author uses the example of the *Senatus Consultum Ultimum*.³¹

The German historian Karl J. Hölkeskamp also takes a different stand in this debate than Millar does. In his book *Reconstructing the Roman Republic: An Ancient Political Culture and Modern Research*, the author provides a summary, discussion and a bibliography of old and new research concerning the political culture of the Roman Republic. The author offers a comprehensive survey of the modern debate about the Roman republic. Unlike Millar, he does not doubt that the republican élite was an aristocracy. He accuses Millar of seeing the Roman Republic not simply as a city state but as a true 'direct democracy' like Athens.³² The author does agree with Millar that the republic was a 'social system'.³³ He points out that all the political action was at all times determined by the dense and small-scale topography of a city-state and the face-to-face communication that resulted from it. Hölkeskamp claims that political power always remained between the Comitium and the forum namely, the Rostra. Millar and Hölkeskamp both see in their own way this public space as a key example of how political power worked. Millar sees it as a place of power of the *Populus Romanus*. This is because it was the normal place from which the people were addressed. In the last decades of the Late Republic, this place even became a place of violence, key for everyone who wanted to vote or to hear a *contiones*.³⁴ Hölkeskamp argues that the electoral assemblies (and *contiones*) were far from expressions of the people's sovereign will and should be seen as mechanisms for determining hierarchy within the aristocracy.³⁵

The historian Alexander Yakobson takes a more polished stand in this debate and states that the oligarchic and popular element in the republican political system were interconnected and

²⁶ Morstein-Marx, *Mass Oratory and Political Power*, 7.

²⁷ Ibidem, 7.

²⁸ Ibidem, 8.

²⁹ Hendrik Mouritsen, *Plebs and Politics in the Late Roman Republic*, (Cambridge, 2001) 147.

³⁰ Mouritsen, *Plebs and Politics*, 147.

³¹ Ibidem, 148.

³² Karl- J, Hölkeskamp, *Reconstructing the Roman Republic: An Ancient Political Culture and Modern Research*, (Princeton, 2010) 3.

³³ Hölkeskamp, *Reconstructing the Roman Republic*, 4.

³⁴ Millar, *The crowd in Rome in the Late Republic*, 41.

³⁵ Hölkeskamp, *Reconstructing the Roman Republic*, 93-97.

interdependent.³⁶ He states that every political system is in some sense an oligarchy. An aristocracy and democracy are both an oligarchy behind the façade. He argues that both will eventually disappear, with the rise of the Principate. Nevertheless the Rostra did not disappear. It still seemed to have a political function in its new version on the newly reconstructed forum in the early Principate. In this master thesis, this change of the political function of the Rostra is being addressed. Above all, both the extremes of debate on Roman politics: Millar and Hölkeskamp, see the great importance of this political space during the Late Republic.

Lastly, we have to concern ourselves with the theoretical framework that includes crowd behaviour on and around the Rostra during the Late Republic and the Principate. First, a concise overview of the crowd behaviour debate of the last century is needed. Stephen D. Reicher is Professor of Social Psychology at the University of St. Andrew. In his chapter *The psychology of crowd dynamics*, in the *Handbook of Social Psychology Group Processes*, the author stresses the importance of crowd psychology. He wants to restore it to its rightful place at the centre of social scientific enquiry and social psychological thought.³⁷ In this chapter he stresses the importance of the first work about crowds: *La Psychologie des foules*, written by Gustave Le Bon in 1895.

Le Bon states that once the individual identity, and the capability to control behaviour disappears, crowd members become subject to contagion.³⁸ This leads to individuation and primitivism. According to Le Bon, when in a crowd, the individual person cannot think for himself and descends on the ladder of civilisation. Reicher disagrees with this theory on three levels. Firstly, he disagrees on a descriptive level, that stating the work of Le Bon is too de-contextualised. Secondly, the author disagrees on a theoretical level, that the crowd is underpinned by a dissocialised conception of identity. Thirdly, he disagrees on an ideological level, that the ideas of Le Bon acts as a denial of voice and legitimates repression because crowds do not possess reason and cannot be reasoned with.³⁹

This focus on the negative side of crowd behaviour is shared in the work *Crowds and Power*, written by Elias Canetti in 1962. The author demonstrates how the most humble exercise of mass power leads ultimately to destruction. According to Canetti, power is exercised by issuing commands. But, when doing so it leaves a “sting”, in German “Stachel”, by the receiver of that command when executed. This sting persists according to the author for a lifetime unless a retaliatory command is issued. These stings are cumulative and therefore the risk of violent retaliation grows with each sting. Canetti’s model of crowd behaviour holds that leaders of crowds are not less important than any other member of the crowd and stresses the importance of egalitarianism.⁴⁰ After a first command is given to the crowd, this command spreads horizontally from individual to individual. Therefore a leader can only engender a crowd in the beginning of a moment of crowd behaviour..

If we want to connect this model that is stressing the importance of egalitarianism among crowd members to several episodes in the Late Republic and the Principate, we have to accept that the crowds of who Canetti speaks of is not the same type as the Roman crowds. The historian Geoffrey Sumi states that Canetti’s crowds are of an industrialized, democratic society and that

³⁶ Alexander, Yakobson, *Elections and Electioneering in Rome: A study in the Political System of the Late Republic*, (Stuttgart, 1999) 233.

³⁷ Stephen Reicher, ‘Chapter: The Psychology of Crowd Dynamics’, *Group Processes*, (2002) 1.

³⁸ Gustave Le Bon, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*, (New York, 1896) 17.

³⁹ Reicher, *Group Processes*, 7.

⁴⁰ Elias Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, (New York, 1962) 21 and 310-311.

crowds in Rome behaved differently than crowds in modern Europe.⁴¹ Sumi explains that the structure of Roman society meant that Romans found themselves in crowds more frequently, whether as clients at the morning salutation of their patron, as voters at an election or as an audience hearing a *contio*.⁴²

This brings us back to the key actor of this thesis namely: the Rostra. The Rostra was the central stage for almost all political interaction between the plebs and the elite in the Republic. Leaders such as the tribunes of the plebs made important speeches from this speaker's platform to the assembled crowd. When we investigate how crowd behaviour worked and changed during the transition between republic to empire, we can also examine the value of leadership in these Roman crowds as they came into being around the Rostra.

Lastly, the sources used in this thesis consist mainly of ancient authors, such as Appianus, Plutarchus, Cicero, Suetonius, Asconius, Tacitus, and Cassius Dio. As is known, each of these authors had their own political agenda and can therefore easily mislead their readers. Many writers such as Appianus, Plutarchus, Suetonius, and Dio, speak of times that were not their own. The earliest extensive narratives of the late Republic are written by Appianus and Cassius Dio, and are dating from more than two centuries later. Appianus of Alexandria rose high in the emperor's service in the mid-second century AD, and then he was able to write a Roman history of which we have almost only the extensive part of the civil wars during the Late Republic survives. In *The Civil Wars*, Appianus describes the results of the breakdown of the Republic and the emergence of a monarchy, thanks to the final destruction of all rivals for power.⁴³ Cassius Dio, born in 155 AD, was a senator with his origin in Bithynia. Dio is the only one who provides us a year-by-year account of Augustus' career.

Plutarchus was born in 50 AD at the Greek province of Achaia. His *Lives* of outstanding statesmen and generals are of great significance for historians. In contrast to these works which were written many years later, the letters and speeches of Cicero provides us of the perspective of an insider. The writings of Cicero were always targeted at an audience, and between his alert understanding of what his audience wanted (jury or close friend), it is easy to be misled by its rhetoric.⁴⁴ This is certainly the case when the position of the Roman crowds, of whom Cicero speaks, are taken into account. The supporters of his political rivals are always described as persons of the most lowest descent, like slaves and gladiators. Cicero used many different names for the crowds that he described, such as *infima plebis*, who were the ordinary citizens, or *multitudo*, that is often used in a more negative perspective.⁴⁵ More negative are the terms he uses if he describes the Roman people who supported his political enemies, such as the people's tribune Clodius. The Greek narratives of the imperial period by Plutarchus, Appianus, Suetonius, and Cassius Dio should be used with caution if one wants to create the real context and atmosphere of particular scenes.⁴⁶ There is one exception which is also incorporated in this thesis, and that is the narrative introduction of

⁴¹ Geoffrey Sumi, 'Power and Ritual: The Crowd at Clodius' Funeral', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 46, (1997) 94.

⁴² Sumi, 'Power and Ritual', 94.

⁴³ Gregory S. Bucher, 'The Origins, Program, and Composition of Appian's Roman History', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 130, (2000) 434.

⁴⁴ Catherine Steel, *The End of the Republic 146 to 44 BC*, (Edinburgh, 2013) 7.

⁴⁵ Timothy P. Wiseman, *Remembering the Roman People: Essays on the Late-Republican Politics and Literature*, (Oxford, 2009) 153-155.

⁴⁶ Millar, *The crowd in Rome in the Late Republic*, 168-169.

Asconius to his commentary on the *Pro Milone*.⁴⁷ This piece of political narrative seems never to have been given its just due in studies of Latin or literature.

The authors who provide us with a narrative account of the history of the Principate, also have their own set of problems. Tacitus and Suetonius both write after the rule of the Julio-Claudian emperors. Tacitus, born in 55 AD, wrote his *Histories* concerning the years 69 to 96. Only the extended narrative for 69 and part of 70 survives.⁴⁸ Suetonius worked closely with Trajan and Hadrian in high administrative positions, but was then dismissed by the latter. His works are full of unconventional testimonies, especially in cases where little other material is presented. Suetonius' biographies of the Caesars are acknowledged to follow a pattern in which rubrics, facts ordered by topic, are 'sandwiched' into the chronologically obvious boundaries of an emperor's birth and death.⁴⁹

⁴⁷ Ibidem, 169.

⁴⁸ Victoria E. Pagán, *A Companion to Tacitus*, (Oxford, 2012) 84.

⁴⁹ Tristan Power and Roy K. Gibson, *Suetonius the Biographer: Studies in Roman Lives*, (Oxford, 2014) 21.

Chapter one

Cracks in the mortar

“The sword was never carried into the assembly, and there was no civil butchery until Tiberius Gracchus, while serving as a tribune and bringing forward new laws, was the first to fall a victim to internal commotion; and with him many others, who were crowded together at the Capitol round the temple, were also slain. Sedition did not end with this abominable deed. Repeatedly the parties came into open conflict, often carrying daggers; and from time to time in the temples, or the assemblies, or the forum, some tribune, or praetor, or consul, or candidate for these offices, or some person otherwise distinguished, would be slain.”⁵⁰

So were the words of the Roman historian Appian of Alexandria (95-165 AD). Being of Greek origin, Appian wrote an extensive work in Greek about the civil wars during the last century of the Roman Republic. These five books of Appian were part of an even greater monograph concerning the whole Roman history. The historian starts his work by explaining in his introduction how the political climate started to change after Tiberius Gracchus became tribune of the plebs in 133 BC. In this first chapter the enactment of this popular agrarian law is to be further examined. If Canetti's theory is applicable to ancient sources, we should see a dynamic in the crowd, of how it relieves itself of a sting, and how a crowd leader incites an outburst of crowd violence. It should also become visible how the popular leader loses its control after the outburst of rage among the crowd.

During the political career of Tiberius it became visible for the first time that crowd behaviour and crowds in general started to influence the decision making process in the Comitium and on the Rostra. How the political arena started to change and how this change progressed in the following decades will be further examined in another example that took place in the year 100, when another tribune of the plebs, Lucius Appuleius Saturninus, called for a vote for another provocative law. In these two case studies we will see an increase in violent behaviour of the crowd during important votes on the Rostra. These insights are important if we want an explanation of why the Rostra was repositioned during the early Principate.

The passing of the Gracchan agrarian law

Soon after his start as tribune of the plebs, Tiberius introduced a law regulating the use of the public lands of the Roman people. The Gracchan agrarian law aimed to resolve a set of several serious problems that were threatening the security of the state.⁵¹ The *ager publicus* was available to all the Roman people, whether they were citizens of Rome or allies, for a payment to the state. The smaller farmers made use of these lands to survive, the great landlords used the land to connect their other scattered possessions to increase their production.⁵²

Often the small neighbours were pushed off the public lands they occupied. The limit per

⁵⁰ Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 1.2

⁵¹ Steel, *The End of the Republic*, 15-16.

⁵² Luuk de Ligt, 'Poverty and Demography: The case of the Gracchan Land Reforms', *Mnemosyne* 57, (2004) 753-754.

individual in usage of the public lands was about 120 hectares. Tiberius proposed to enforce this limit and confiscate the excesses of the large estates often run by slaves.⁵³ These confiscated excesses were to be distributed in small pieces to the landless Roman citizens. As one can imagine, the support for enacting this law was immense by the Roman lower plebs. Another aspect of the law was the increase of the number of lowered recruits. By enlarging the amount of small-scale farmers more people became available for recruitment.⁵⁴ The efforts to enact this popular law and the attempts from the opponents to block it had escalated through a series of unprecedented actions.

During the several *contiones* called by Tiberius to promote his popular law, another tribune of the plebs called Marcus Octavius emerged as a strong opponent. He represented the senatorial elite who held great interest in the lands of the *ager publicus*. When Octavius threatened to block the vote for the law, the situation started to look more and more grim. Both tribunes had their own group of followers and supporters who often met each other on the Forum. In these confrontations, Tiberius tried to persuade Octavius to withdraw his veto. After many unsuccessful attempts, Tiberius sought to remove Octavius out of office by making a direct vote on the Rostra. Plutarch, in his *Parallel Lives* described the situation as follows:

“On hearing these entreaties, we are told, Octavius was not altogether untouched or unmoved; his eyes filled with tears and he stood silent for a long time. But when he turned his gaze towards the men of wealth and substance who were standing in a body together, his awe of them, as it would seem, and his fear of ill repute among them, led him to take every risk with boldness and bid Tiberius do what he pleased.”⁵⁵

The passage shows the persuasion of the crowd and how it is affecting the people’s tribune on the speaker’s platform. Although Octavius was touched by this appeal of the crowd, he was more fearful of the retaliation of the senators who were watching the whole spectacle from the door of the senate house on the other side of the Comitium. According to Plutarch, Octavius took a great risk when he denied the crowd its wishes to pass the Agrarian law. Maybe it is possible to see how the theory of Canetti is applicable, and how it could help us in our understanding of these crowd dynamics that occurred in the subsequent passage, when a new phase of crowd dynamics wherein the use of freedmen by Tiberius, becomes noticeable.

“And so the law was passed, and Tiberius ordered one of his freedmen to drag Octavius from the rostra; for Tiberius used his freedmen as officers, and this made the sight of Octavius dragged along with contumely a more pitiful one.”⁵⁶

The use of freedmen as officers is of great importance if we want to examine the dynamics during this example of crowd behaviour. This show of force and humiliation was visible for everyone, the senators and the crowd. The Rostra was used as a stage to show the power of the people’s tribune Tiberius. The gathered crowd stood on their leader’s side. The use of freedmen as officers by Tiberius was a powerful statement. With this action he sought to make himself leader of the assembled crowd. After being formally manumitted, the freedmen gained the freedom to vote as a citizen.⁵⁷

⁵³ Alvin H. Bernstein, *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus: tradition and apostasy*, (New York, 1978) 86.

⁵⁴ Bernstein, *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, 75.

⁵⁵ Plutarch, *Parallel lives: The life of Tiberius Gracchus*, 12.3

⁵⁶ Plutarch, *The life of Tiberius Gracchus*, 12.4

⁵⁷ Millar, *The crowd in Rome in the Late Republic*, 23.

These new voters could only be registered in one of the four *tribus urbanae*, therefore we might expect that a large proportion of the gathered crowd consisted of freedmen. By ordering a people's tribune who had the backing of the senatorial elite, to be dragged off by a freedman, was a powerful political statement towards the crowd and an insult to the attended senators. This show of force created an unexpected turn and made the crowd very aggressive. The crowd tried to kill Octavius but failed and they only hurt a slave of the tribune. This statement of Tiberius, as leader of the crowd, created a grim moment where a sting was being removed by the crowd through the insult that was being made by the order of Tiberius. Backed by this affirmation of its power, and without any command of its leader, the crowd took measures even further, as is presented in the following passage:

“Moreover, people made a rush at him, and though the men of wealth ran in a body to his assistance and spread out their hands against the crowd, it was with difficulty that Octavius was snatched away and safely rescued from the crowd; and a trusty servant of his who stood in front of his master and protected him, had his eyes torn out, against the protest of Tiberius, who, when he perceived what has going on, ran down with great haste to appease the tumult.”⁵⁸

In this last passage we see two important features of the crowd behaviour theory of Canetti. Firstly, we see how the assembled crowd releases itself from a sting of their superiors. By giving the command, the tribune of the plebs Tiberius, let a freedman use force to drag away the other people's tribune who was favoured by the elite of the Rostra. Secondly, we see how a provocation of the leader of the crowd, turns in an unpredictable and violent situation wherein Tiberius no longer had control of the actions of the crowd he claimed to speak for. These two elements confirm two key features of the crowd behaviour theory of Canetti. One, the crowd that retaliates a sting. And two, a crowd leader who loses control of the crowd after his first commands. Tiberius wanted to insult the senators and the puppet tribune, but by doing so he created an unwanted precedent for violence that he not had foreseen.

The provocative law

In the year 100, the ambitious people's tribune Lucius Appuleius Saturninus, had to make sure that the legionaries who served under the great Roman commander Gaius Marius, obtained the lands their commander had promised.⁵⁹ These veterans had served under Marius during the campaigns against the German tribes, named the Cimbri and the Teutoni. This was just one aspect of the exceptionally wide-ranging legislative proposals of Saturninus. He also wanted to found new colonies for veterans of recent campaigns in Greece, and an allocation of land in Cisalpine Gaul for Roman civilians. If these proposals all were to be approved, the tribune of the plebs would gain a substantial amount of influence.⁶⁰

During his former political career, Saturninus had made a great many of angry opponents, and it was by an important clause of the legislative proposals in the year 100, that the provocation for many of his opponents, would become too great bear. In this clause, all senators had to take an oath to respect the law within five days of its passage; otherwise they would face a substantial fine and expulsion from the Senate. His opponents did anything in their power to prevent the enactment

⁵⁸ Plutarch, *The life of Tiberius Gracchus*, 12.5

⁵⁹ Marcel Labitzke, *Marius: Der verleumdete Retter Roms*, (Munster, 2013) 159.

⁶⁰ Richard J. Evans, *Gaius Marius: A Political Biography*, (Pretoria, 1994) 123.

of these laws and its clause. When it became clear that the laws would be rejected by the assembly, Marius deployed his veterans to prevent this cancellation of the laws of Saturninus by force, keeping the voters away from the Rostra. All but one of the senators took the oath, and raised the tension between Saturninus and his opponents even further. How these tensions made way for the gruesome actions of the crowd in the following case study will be further examined. As we will see, also here some features of the theory of Canetti, such as the role of leaders and the stings, will possibly provide us some new insights in these restless political times of the late Republic.

For the following year, Saturninus made his own re-election possible.⁶¹ It was by what the newly elected people's tribune did next, that made the tension too great for too many.⁶² When he sought to make one of his political partners, Gaius Servilius Glaucia, candidate for the consulship, presiding consul Marius rejected the candidacy since Glaucia did not meet the requirements. What the tribune of the plebs did next is presented in the following passage:

“When the election for consuls came on Marcus Antonius was chosen as one of them by common consent, while the aforesaid Glaucia and Memmius contended for the other place. Memmius was the more illustrious man by far, and Glaucia and Apuleius were anxious about the result. So they sent a gang of ruffians to attack him with clubs while the election was going on, who fell upon him in the midst of the comitia and beat him to death in the sight of all.”⁶³

Saturninus had certainly overstretched his luck with the crowd, that took part in the assembly, and the present senatorial elite. Canetti argues in his examined moments of crowd behaviour from the twentieth century, that the stings are delivered by the person in power. In this case-study Saturninus gives the command, and is therefore in power. The earlier stings that were given by the tribune of the plebs during earlier elections and votes, like the oath clause, sought the ruling elite and the crowd to remove the imposed stings that were given by Saturninus. Alarmed by the disorder caused by the people's tribune and the violent effect it had on the crowd, the senate passed its *Senatus Consultum Ultimum* (Final Decree of the Senate), to take care that the state suffered no harm. Therefore Marius, being consul at that time, had to choose whether to remain loyal to his political partner Saturninus, or to execute the senate's order. Choosing the latter, his men and a ferocious crowd attacks Saturninus and his followers as is shown in the following passage:

“The people ran together in anger the following day intending to kill Apuleius, but he had collected another mob from the country and, with Glaucia and Gaius Saufeius, the quaestor, seized the Capitol. The Senate voted them public enemies. Marius was vexed; nevertheless he armed some of his forces reluctantly, and, while he was delaying, some other persons cut off the water-supply from the Capitoline temple. Saufeius was near perishing with thirst and proposed to set the temple on fire, but Glaucia and Apuleius, who hoped that Marius would assist them, surrendered first, and after them Saufeius. As everybody demanded that they should be put to death at once, Marius shut them up in the senate-house as though he intended to deal with them in a more legal manner. The crowd considered this a mere pretext, tore the tiles off the roof, and stoned them to death [...].”⁶⁴

⁶¹ Georg Doblhofer, *Die Popularen der Jahre 111-99 vor Christus*, (Cologne, 1990) 84.

⁶² Steel, *The End of the Republic*, 33.

⁶³ Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 4.32.

⁶⁴ Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 4.32.

As leader of the force that executed the 'final decree of the senate', Marius became also the leader of the crowd. After leading the attack on the Capitol, and the imprisonment of Saturninus and his followers, Marius loses his control over the crowd that helped with the attack. In the last sentence of the passage above, we can see how the crowd takes matters in his own hands. It must be said that it is impossible to know if Marius had any control over the crowd during the siege of the Capitol. Maybe only his men that took part of the siege, were the ones who executed the command of Marius to imprison the tribune in the senate-house next to Comitium on the Forum. But being a political figure with a huge amount of *auctoritas*, his command during the siege of the Capitol, and the order to take Saturninus prison, was conducted. For the angry crowd this imprisonment was not enough to retaliate to final sting that was given by Saturninus when his followers slaughtered the contender of Glaucia.

Only a gruesome death by the roof tiles of the senate-house could bring relieve to this sting. When we examine the role of leaders during this moment of crowd behaviour, it is very difficult to see who reacted on who. If the senate merely reacted on the violent wave of crowd dynamics by ordering their *Senatus Consultum Ultimum*, it could be stated that there were no leaders at all during the examined case-study. It could be that there were crowd leaders among the crowd during this act of violent behaviour, but that these leaders are not visible for us now.

What can be extracted from the outcome of the first two examined case-studies, and the relation between the Rostra as the central stage for political crowd dynamics? In the first case-study, Tiberius Gracchus used the Rostra as the place where he sought to become the leader of the crowd. By ordering the insult on the address of the political elite, Tiberius initiated the retaliation of the crowd. It was only for a short moment of time that the tribune controlled the situation. It was never intention of Tiberius to violently attack Octavius, after he was dragged off the stage of this moment of humiliation, the Rostra. The leadership role of Marius, during the second examined case of this chapter, was in the end only until Saturninus was imprisoned in the senate-house. Only during the siege of the Capitol, before this imprisonment, a leadership role over the crowd can be extracted. In both cases the aspect of leaders during moments of crowd behaviour are, as was stated by Canetti, only in the beginning phase noticeable.

Chapter two

A crumbled foundation

“Unseemly violence prevailed almost constantly, together with shameful contempt for law and justice. As the evil gained in magnitude open insurrections against the government and large warlike expeditions against their country were undertaken by exiles, or criminals, or persons contending against each other for some office or military command. There arose chiefs of factions quite frequently, aspiring to supreme power, some of them refusing to disband the troops entrusted to them by the people, others even hiring forces against each other on their own account, without public authority.”⁶⁵

With these sentences, Appian continues his introduction of his work concerning the civil wars during the Late Republic. After the gruesome death of Saturninus and his followers, the following decades promised to be even more violent. The existing tensions remained high and many other tribunes of the plebs also lost their lives during elections and legislative votes. When in 91 BC a confederation of member-states turned against Rome, these tensions increased even more. During the Social War (91-87 BC), those who remained loyal to Rome received Roman citizenship during the fall of 90 BC. These new citizens were restricted to a small number of newly created tribes who had limited voting rights.⁶⁶ Tribunes of the plebs sought to end these limitations, often with their death as a consequence.

During the dictatorship of Sulla, the plebeian assembly on the Rostra came almost to a hold. Sulla modified the plebeian magistracy in such a significant way that the office was no more attractive to anyone with popular political ambitions.⁶⁷ In the year 74, the Rostra was brought back to life by the tribune of the plebs, Quintius.⁶⁸ The tribunician power to propose legislation was restored during these years.⁶⁹ Under the following three decades of the dying republic, heated tensions of the crowd on the Rostra started to increase once more.

The following two case-studies took place during the final years of the Republic. The first case-study deals with the legislative proposals during the first consulship of Julius Caesar in 59 who had promised to redistribute lands to the poor and to the veterans of the military campaigns of Pompey the Great. The second case concerns the violent confrontation where the restoration of Cicero was under question on the Rostra in 56. As in the first chapter, the question of leadership during these moments of crowd behaviour will be taken into account.

A bucket of excrement

In this third case-study, how provocations towards consul Marcus Calpurnius Bibulus started a riot among the crowd in the year 59, and how leadership during this riot was visible will be analysed. The

⁶⁵ Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 1.2

⁶⁶ Christopher Dart, *The Social War 91 to 88 BCE: A History of the Italian insurgency against the Roman Republic*, (Dorchester, 2014) 172.

⁶⁷ Arthur Keaveney, *Sulla: the last Republican*, (Abingdon, 2005) 56.

⁶⁸ Cicero, *Pro Cluentio*. 40-110

⁶⁹ Millar, *The crowd in Rome in the Late Republic*, 55.

other consul of that year was Gaius Julius Caesar. To secure himself of this important political position, Caesar needed sufficient support. Although Caesar was already very popular among the people, he also needed the support of high ranking political figures to provide the funds that were needed for the bribes at the elections.⁷⁰ To achieve this, Caesar sought to create a political partnership with the two most powerful men of Rome namely Pompey the Great and Crassus the Rich. Pompey had amassed great riches and fame with his successful campaigns in the East, something Crassus envied.

During several campaigns in the East, Pompey had promised his veterans lands to settle. To deliver on his promise, he needed a high ranking politician who helped him to achieve this difficult task. Legislative proposals concerning the redistribution of lands to veterans had proven to be a dangerous act, especially when we look back to the earlier two case-studies. The political aim of Crassus was to gain the military command in the East, so he could finally acquire great military victories.⁷¹ Both had been political rivals. The realization of a political partnership between these two high ranking figures and Caesar can be seen as an important achievement of the latter.⁷² This partnership between these three men is known as the First Triumvirate.

The redistribution of lands for the veterans, caused for strong opposition. The two greatest opponents of this law were Bibulus, the other consul, and this father-in-law, Cato the Younger, a conservative hardliner, like his great-grandfather, Cato the Censor. Both had proven in the past to be great personal rivals of Caesar, and can be seen as the leading political figures of the Optimate aristocrats. At the debates concerning this law, in the senate house, it became clear to Caesar that his opponents could not be persuaded. In the following passage of Appian, Caesar resolved to ignore the senate, and bring the proposal directly to the Rostra. It is at this moment that the Rostra functions as a podium for popular politics, where the leadership of Caesar over the crowd is established.

“As many senators opposed his motion he pretended to be indignant at their injustice, and rushed out of the Senate and did not convene it again for the remainder of the year, but harangued the people from the Rostra. In a public assembly he asked Pompey and Crassus what they thought about his proposed laws. Both gave their approval, and the people came to the voting-place carrying concealed daggers.”⁷³

By presenting his strong political band with Crassus and Pompey on the Rostra to the people, Caesar established his leadership over the crowd in the Tribal assembly. Both Caesar and Bibulus, could call upon tribunes of the plebs for support. Therefore the alignment of Caesar to Crassus and Pompey, both private citizens at that time, was crucial to attain the leadership over the crowd. Given the fact that the crowd was armed with daggers, gives rise to the presumption that tension among the crowd was high. In the following passage of Plutarch, it is visible how the popular leader makes use of these raised tensions, to enact his land redistribution proposals:

“[...] for whatever political schemes the boldest and most arrogant tribunes were wont to practise to win the favour of the multitude, these Caesar used with the support of consular power, in disgraceful

⁷⁰ Andrew Lincot, ‘Electoral Bribery in the Roman Republic’, *The Journal of Roman Studies* 80, (1990)6.

⁷¹ Bruce A. Marshall, *Crassus: A political Biography*, (Amsterdam, 1976) 146

⁷² Marshall, *Crassus: A political Biography*, 99.

⁷³ Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 2.10

and humiliating attempts to ingratiate himself with the people. Accordingly, the opponents of Cato were alarmed and had recourse to violence. To begin with, upon Bibulus himself, as he was going down into the forum, a basket of ordure was scattered; then the crowd fell upon his lictors and broke their fasces; and finally missiles flew and many persons were wounded.”⁷⁴

In the last passage of Plutarch’s *Life of Cato the Younger*, we see how the leader of the crowd interacts with the assembled people, by making use of tribunes of the plebs. When Bibulus with a body of supporters, among them several tribunes, forced his way to the Rostra to counter the speech of Caesar, he made himself the enemy of the crowd. The armed crowd attacked his lictors and even threw a bucket of excrement at Bibulus. Being a leader of the conservative body of the ruling elite, Bibulus became the personification of these elites which had power over the common crowd members. They were the ones with power and usually gave commands to the plebs, and that leaved a sting.

The crowd’s tension came to a boiling point, as they retaliated when Bibulus was attacked. By attacking the other consul and his supporters, the supporters of Caesar sought to achieve just this cause of violent behaviour. It looked like everything was orchestrated by Caesar and his tribunes until Bibulus was attacked. By making use of the retaliation of the crowd, and providing the right precedents, like daggers and a bucket of ordure, it was what happened next during this moment of crowd behaviour, which makes this particular case-study so interesting, and the leadership of Caesar of such great value. The following passage of Appian presents a crowd leader who stayed in command, even after the crowd had retaliated:

“Then Cato was summoned to the spot, and being a young man, forced his way to the midst of the crowd and began to make a speech, but was lifted up and carried out by Caesar’s partisans. Then he went around secretly by another street and again mounted the rostra; but as he despaired of making a speech, since nobody would listen to him, he abused Caesar roundly until he was again lifted up and ejected by the Caesarians, and Caesar secured the enactment of his laws.”⁷⁵

Even after the crowd was in a full scale riot, injuring several of Bibulus supporters, it was still possible for Caesar to make commands to the crowd to imprison Cato. The other feature of the theory of Canetti, concerning use of stings, given by the men in power, could not be extracted in this case-study. Canetti states that these stings, that aroused after a command was executed, were cumulative.⁷⁶ No direct orders were given to the crowd by Bibulus or by his supporters, to cause the retaliation that took place. Only the planned act of violence and the insults that were made by the supporters of Caesar, caused a change in the behaviour of the crowd. Legislative proposals concerning the redistribution of land, were most often inflammable confrontations of political expression between the crowd in the Tribal assembly and the ruling elite, who were in power. Therefore not much was needed to make the crowd retaliate, as Caesar apparently foresaw. This makes Caesar, until so far, the only leader who had found a way to stay in control of the crowd after the retaliation phase, by planning just this violent behaviour among the crowd.

⁷⁴Plutarch, *Life of Cato the Younger*, 32.1

⁷⁵ Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 2.11

⁷⁶Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, 306.

The Rostra under siege

As we have seen in the last three case-studies, taking control of the Forum and the Rostra in particular, was of great importance during legislative votes and elections. In the years after the consulship of Caesar in 59, another ambitious and intriguing popular leader emerged. Publius Clodius Pulcher, a patrician from an old and respected family, sought to hold a tribunate of the plebs for the year 58. Before he was able to do so, he had to renounce his patrician rank, since the magistracy was not permitted to patricians. After being adopted into a plebeian family, Clodius began with the extensive mustering of popular support.⁷⁷ As soon as he entered office, Clodius sought to enact several popular laws concerning the distribution of grain, the removal of the ban on *collegia*, and narrowing the conditions under which watching the sky for omens could halt lawmaking activity.⁷⁸ He also had passed a proposal to make executions of Roman citizens without trial illegal.

This last proposal was indirectly an attack on the consul of the year 63, Marcus Tullius Cicero. When he was consul, Cicero had ordered the execution of five of Catiline's associates on the spot without a trial. Still holding a grudge over the role Cicero played during his trial concerning the *Bona Dea* affair, Clodius sought to banish him.⁷⁹ Clodius made extensive use of recruited gangs as a private army in the city.⁸⁰ There were no political parties, but Clodius showed the value of urban organization, which was organized by neighbourhood organizations (*collegia*).⁸¹ When both consuls and Pompey did not come to the aid of the great orator, Cicero lost his nerve and left Rome for Macedonia rather than awaiting prosecution.

After the banishment of Cicero, Clodius provoked Pompey over aspects of his policies in the East and also called the validity of the actions of Caesar as consul into question. In the following year, a newly elected tribune of the plebs, called Titus Annius Milo, sought to fight Clodius on even terms, making also use of armed gangs.⁸² Another important aspect of the political agenda of Milo was the restoration of Cicero. This issue became the centrepiece of the opposition to Clodius. Another tribune, Quintus Fabricius, made eventually the first attempt to propose the recall of Cicero from banishment. In the following passage, it is clear that the passing of legislation on the Rostra had changed. For both sides it was now crucial to occupy the Rostra before the voting procedures had started. In a speech, concerning the defence of Publius Sestius, also a tribune of the plebs, Cicero recalled this event in the following way:

"The chief proposer of the motion, a man most friendly to me, Quintus Fabricius, occupied the templum (the Rostra) some time before daybreak. [...] As they (supporters of Clodius) had occupied the forum, and the place for the comitia, and the senate-house, at an early period of the night, with a number of armed men and slaves, they fall on Fabricius, lay violent hands on him, slay some men, and wound many."⁸³

⁷⁷ Jeffrey Tatum, *The Patrician Tribune: Publius Clodius Pulcher*, (Oxford, 1999) 90-91.

⁷⁸ David L. Stockton, *Cicero: a political biography*, (Oxford, 1971) 187.

⁷⁹ Dressed as a woman, Clodius was discovered at the nocturnal rites in honour of the 'Good Goddess' (Bona Dea), in the house of Julius Caesar. At the trial, Clodius claimed to be out of Rome during the crime. By claiming that he had seen Clodius in Rome during this event, Cicero created a dangerous political enemy.

⁸⁰ Steel, *The End of the Republic*, 251.

⁸¹ Morstein-Marx, *Mass Oratory and Political Power*, 133.

⁸² Tatum, *The Patrician Tribune: Publius Clodius Pulcher*, (Oxford, 1999) 308.

⁸³ Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 75

The first thing that strikes, is the strategic planning of both armed gangs before the actual vote, and the crucial role of Fabricius who tried to occupy the Rostra, but was outmanoeuvred by the armed supporters of Clodius. This account of the upcoming battle on the Forum is of course biased, because the author (Cicero) himself was the one who's restoration was taken into question. If we want to examine the role of leadership during this violent moment of crowd behaviour, one cannot set the only extensive account of this moment of crowd violence aside. The account of this moment of violent crowd behaviour, was part of a speech that was given by Cicero, in his defence during the trial of another tribune who took part of this battle at the Rostra. Probably given at an open trial, in front of a large audience, Cicero could not make his version of the cause of events too biased. Being an elevated platform, the strategic use of the Rostra could not be overestimated during the commencing battle on the Forum, giving the owner the advantage of knowing what was going on. The next passage of the speech of Cicero, recalled what happened next in the following way:

“They drive away by force Marcus Crispus, a most gallant and virtuous man and a tribune of the people, as he was coming into the forum; they make a great slaughter in the forum; and all of them, with drawn and bloody swords, looked about with their eyes for, and demanded with their cries, my brother, a most virtuous man, a most brave one, and one most devoted to me. And he willingly, such was his grief, and so great his regret for me, would have exposed his body to their weapons, not with a view of resisting them, but with the object of meeting death, if he had not preserved his life in the hope of my return.”⁸⁴

In the passage, it is visible that even at the midst of public violence, leaders could make themselves heard, demanding the brother of Cicero, Quintus, to march through the thick of the battle towards the Rostra. These kinds of commands had to be made by a crowd leader, someone for who it was still possible to stay calm during this violent moment of crowd behaviour. For instance, the people's tribune Marcus Crispus, who counterattacked the attacking supporters of Clodius. This counterattack itself is an example that the crowd was still being coordinated by a leader. Tactical manoeuvres needed central command, especially during close quarters.⁸⁵ Most often, tribunes of the plebs had already experience in enforcing military commands during earlier minor commands, as was the case with Clodius for example, during the Third Mithridatic War.⁸⁶ The brother of Cicero, Quintus, had military experience as well, and makes, as is described by Cicero, his way to the Rostra to make a plea for the return of his brother. How the situation progressed is described in the following passage:

“However, he endured some violence from those wicked robbers; and as he had come down for the purpose of begging the safety of his brother from the Roman people, having been driven from the rostra, he lay down in the place of the comitia, and covered himself with the corpses of slaves and freedmen, and defended his life that day by the protection which night and flight afforded him, not by that of the laws or courts of justice.”⁸⁷

Although Quintus reached the Rostra, the ongoing fight beneath his now elevated feet continued, making it impossible for him to make himself heard. He was even thrown off the Rostra and injured by the fighting crowd. The leadership of the tribune Marcus Crispus could not prevent these

⁸⁴ Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 76

⁸⁵ Adrian K. Goldsworthy, *The Roman Army at War 100 BC – AD 200*, (Oxford 1996) 162.

⁸⁶ Clodius undermined the authority of his brother-in-law, and started a mutiny in the legions of Lucullus.

⁸⁷ Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, 76

sequence of events, despite his earlier call to Quintus to make his way to the speaker's platform. The violent behaviour of the crowd made it impossible to make the planned plea for restoration. After this failed plea for restoration, Quintus and the other supporters of Cicero only succeeded after they revived the rarely used power of the *comitia centuriata*, on the Campus Martius.⁸⁸ In this archaic assembly the 'rustic' tribes were more presented than the 'urban' tribes were on the Comitium and the Rostra. The Comitium and the Rostra were no longer sufficient, being under the control of the inflammable 'urban' tribes and their popular tribunes.

In both cases examined in this chapter, only one seems to endorse the leadership aspect of the theory of Canetti. At the moment of the battle for the plea for restoration of Cicero, it was only possible for the crowd leaders, such as Fabricius and Crispus, to maintain their control over the crowd in the earliest phase of the battle. Julius Caesar sought to make use of the retaliation of the crowd, and at the same time he had found a way to stay in control of the violent situation that he had started. This would prove to be a dangerous combination for the continuation of the Rostra as a place of political expression and interaction between the ruling elite and the assembled crowd. By making use of the explanatory force of Canetti's theory on crowd leadership, it is possible to see how a shift in performing popular leadership, made by leaders such as Caesar, ensured a change in the use of the Rostra. The second cases shows it was crucial to occupy the Rostra before the voting procedures had started. How the Rostra changed its use from a platform of political expression of the Roman crowd, to a place of violent behaviour that was initiated by the leader of the crowd, will be further examined in the two following case-studies of the next chapter.

⁸⁸ Millar, *The crowd in Rome in the Late Republic*, 150.

Chapter three

A scorched stage

“Having overpowered by war his principal rival, who had been surnamed the Great on account of his brilliant military exploits, he now ruled without disguise, nobody daring any longer to dispute with him about anything, and was chosen, next after Sulla, dictator for life. Again all civil dissensions ceased until Brutus and Cassius, envious of his great power and desiring to restore the government of their fathers, slew in the Senate-house one who had proved himself truly popular, and most experienced in the art of government. The people certainly mourned for him greatly. They scoured the city in pursuit of his murderers, buried him in the middle of the forum, built a temple on the site of his funeral pyre, and offer sacrifice to him as a god.”⁸⁹

As is described by Appian in this passage, all of Roman politics was about to change. In the years after the restoration of Cicero, violent clashes between the gangs of Clodius and Milo increased even more, resulting in the cruel death of Clodius in 52 BC. His extraordinary funeral on the Comitium will be the first case-study of this chapter, continued with another funeral in 44, that of the dictator Julius Caesar. After Caesar had won his most epic battle at the fortified hill town of Alesia in 52 BC, his victory over all the Gauls was complete. This victory made him the most wealthy and powerful man of the Roman world.

It was what the victorious general did next, three years later, which would change everything. On the tenth of January, Caesar led his army across the Rubicon, and initiated a second civil war. After four years of gruesome Roman bloodshed, Caesar won his final battle in Spain over the two sons of Pompey the Great in 45, ending the civil war.⁹⁰ Being dictator for more than four years in a row, a conspiracy to kill Caesar, on the fifteenth of March of the year 44, made an end to Caesar’s sole rule. In a powerful speech on the Rostra, Marcus Antonius moved the assembled crowd in such a manner that the conspirators had to flee, making another civil war the next possible scenario.⁹¹ Both funerals proved to be very inflammable moments of crowd behaviour. In these vital years the political and topographical landscape of the Roman Forum was about to change. How these changes and the popular leaders influenced crowd behaviour, will be further investigated in the two following case-studies by examining the aspect of leadership of the theory of Canetti.

A senate house bunt into ashes

The violent attempt to block the restoration of Cicero could not prevent the great orator’s homecoming. The decision to meet force with force had proven to be successful for Milo and the other opponents of Clodius. Milo and Clodius both made use of gladiators and armed slaves. Political life at Rome remained violent and disrupted. To counter these clashes between the armed gangs, Pompey passed a new law on violence, which led to the conviction of many of the participants on

⁸⁹ Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 1.4

⁹⁰ Steel, *The End of the Republic*, 207.

⁹¹ Miriam Griffin, *A Companion to Julius Caesar*, (Oxford, 2009) 81.

both sides.⁹² Ironically, Pompey had to make use of armed men himself to re-establish the order. But this new established order would not last for long.

In 52 BC, Milo campaigned to be elected consul and Clodius aimed to be praetor. It was outside Rome, on the eighteenth of January, somewhere on Appian road, that both leaders and their armed supporters met for the last time. During this confrontation Clodius was wounded and his followers sought to hide him in a nearby inn. Milo realized that he would face conviction, and that the prospect would be a lot more in his favour if Clodius could not lead the prosecution.⁹³ Clodius was dragged from his hiding place, and beaten to death by the Milo's slaves. The killers removed the senatorial ring of Clodius so his body would not be instantly recognized.⁹⁴

A Roman senator happened to be on the scene, and recognized the victim. He secretly transported the body of Clodius to Rome. After a few hours, a large crowd had gathered at the *atrium* of Clodius' home to mourn the great loss of their popular leader. By making various popular legislative proposals, as were mentioned in the previous chapter, Clodius had established an immense support among the Roman plebs in the past five years.⁹⁵

After the body of Clodius was delivered at his home on the Palatine hill, Fulvia, the wife of the deceased, incited the assembled crowd even more, by displaying the unwashed body in the *atrium*, and engendering the crowd with an inflammable speech. The crowd encamped in the Forum for the night. On the next day an even larger crowd had assembled on the Forum, included by two tribunes of the plebs, T. Muntianus Plancus and Q. Pompeius Rufus. It is what happened next, that will be further investigated in this case-study. The following passages are written by Asconius, a Roman historian. The author commented on the speech of Cicero on behalf of Milo, who stood accused for the death of Clodius. How two tribunes sought to ensure themselves the command over the already enraged crowd, is presented in the following passage:

"[...] Muntianus Plancus, brother of the orator Lucius Plancus, and Q. Pompeius Rufus, grandson of Sulla the dictator, tribunes of the plebs, came running (to the house of Clodius). It was with their encouragement that the ignorant mob took the corpse, stripped and bruised, just as it had been dumped on the bier, down into the Forum and placed it on the Rostra in order to exhibit the wounds. There before a contio Plancus and Pompeius, who were partisans of Milo's electoral rivals, aroused resentment against him."⁹⁶

The tribunes of the plebs, both political enemies of Milo, saw the value of the unwashed corpse of Clodius. For them this corpse was the opportunity to take control over the assembled crowd in the Forum. As the crowd was already in a high state of anger, the tribunes sought to direct that anger to their political opponent Milo by both making arousing speeches while the unwashed body of Clodius was presented on the Rostra for all to see. Here it is visible how the Rostra plays a key role as a focal point for the possible establishment of leadership over the crowd. The Rostra as the political platform for communication between the Roman elite, and the plebs, was used as a platform for the encouragement of violence. If the leadership of the two tribunes over the crowd would prove to be successful, can be read in the following passage:

⁹² Steel, *The End of the Republic*, 185.

⁹³ Cassius Dio, 40.48.2

⁹⁴ Asconius, *Pro Milone*, 35c

⁹⁵ Steel, *The End of the Republic*, 172.

⁹⁶ Asconius, *Pro Milone*, 32-33c

“The populace, led by Sex. Cloelius the scribe, took off the body of P. Clodius into the senate house and cremated it on a pyre of benches, tables, and copyists’ notebooks, and in the conflagration the senate house itself caught fire and also the adjoining Basilica Porcia was engulfed in flame. The houses also of M. Lepidus the interrex, [...] and of Milo, who was not there, were attacked by the same Clodian mob, but it was driven off with a barrage of arrows.”⁹⁷

Sex. Coelius was the scribe of Clodius and probably a freedman.⁹⁸ Therefore, he was far more suitable as a crowd leader, being one of their own. Coelius was the first one who reacted to the *contiones* of the tribunes. If the following actions were instigated and approved by the two tribunes of the plebs is doubtful. The tribunes only accused Milo in their *contiones* for the murder of Clodius, not the entire ruling elite. By setting the senate house ablaze, the crowd took matters in their own hands. The burning of the senate house was not only a great insult for the ruling elite, but also a huge honour for Clodius.⁹⁹

According to Canetti, it is only possible for the leader to engender the crowd, after that, the command spreads horizontally from individual to individual.¹⁰⁰ So if Canetti is right, the *contiones* of the two tribunes had no effect whatsoever, for it was Fulvia, who was the first who engendered the crowd, making also use of the corpse of her husband. In her speech, Fulvia wanted the assembled crowd to attack Milo, to avenge her husband.¹⁰¹ This happened after the senate house was set to flames. Until this moment, the behaviour of the crowd is in line with the theory of Canetti. It is what happened next, that would prove that the aspect of leadership during this moment of crowd behaviour is far more complex, as is presented in the following passage of Asconius:

“Then the mob seized bundles of fasces from the grove of Libitina and took them to the homes of Scipio and Hypsaeus, then to the suburban estate of Cn. Pompeius, yelling its acclamation of him by turns as consul or dictator.”¹⁰²

P. Plautius Hypsaeus and Q. Metellus Scipio were also candidates for the election of consul. Therefore they both were also political opponents of Milo. The two earlier mentioned tribunes were the only supposed leaders with a clear political agenda. That the angered crowd attacked the house of the killer of their champion, can be seen as a logical retribution, as was propagated by Fulvia, and both tribunes. But that the crowd, during their moment of rage, also took time to claim the consulship for Milo’s opponents, seems not as something a crowd would do.

The cremation and the mourning over the death of Clodius was at the heart of this moment of crowd behaviour, not the elections for consuls. Maybe it was possible that each attempt for establishment of leadership had its own effect on the course of events. First, Fulvia who was seeking vengeance for her murdered husband. Second, the tribunes of the plebs, for the political gain for themselves by discrediting Milo, and ushering the election of two consuls who were in their favour. Lastly, the scribe of Clodius, who gave the command to create a funeral pyre in the senate house. All three gave commands to the crowd, even after Fulvia gave the first by commanding the crowd to avenge her killed husband. Therefore it could be stated that during this moment of extreme violent

⁹⁷ Asconius, *Pro Milone*, 33c

⁹⁸ Cynthia Damon, ‘Sex. Cloelius Scriba’, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 94 (1992) 228.

⁹⁹ Geoffrey Sumi, ‘Power and Ritual’, 99.

¹⁰⁰ Canetti, *Crowds and Power*, 310-311.

¹⁰¹ Asconius, *Pro Milone*, 32c

¹⁰² Asconius, *Pro Milone*, 33c

crowd behaviour, there was not one, but there were four leaders, who each had their moment of engendering the same crowd.

A speech with consequences

After the laborious victory at Munda in Spain, on the seventeenth of March 45 BC, the civil war had ended, and it was finally possible for Caesar to return home to Rome. When in Rome, he began with various impressive building programs. One part of these building projects was the newly build Rostra named *Rostra Caesaris*, finished in the early months of the following year.¹⁰³ The building of this new Rostra, stood at the heart of a political progress that had started during the days of the Gracchi. In the last hundred years the Rostra became the centre of popular politics, making the interaction with the senate less important. This new Rostra was built at the northwest end of the Forum and replaced the old Republican Rostra. Although the location of the Rostra had changed somewhat from the Comitium, its function, as will be demonstrated in this case-study, would stay the same. The old Republican Rostra was probably removed at the same time as the burned senate house that was used as the funeral pyre of Clodius in 52.¹⁰⁴

During the early months of the year 44, Caesar, dictator for life, prepared for his new military campaign. This time his eyes gazed to the East. The military campaign of Crassus against the Parthians had proven to be an utter failure. Crassus and his son were killed during the battle of Carrhae in 53. 30.000 soldiers met their death, and even worse, the military standards had been captured.¹⁰⁵ The prospects of this new military campaign of Caesar, made the other senators lose all hope. Being already dictator for life, and with the backing of one of the greatest armies ever assembled for his new campaign, Caesar made the other senators no illusions that he would ever restore the Republic in his 'normal' state.

A conspiracy to assassinate Caesar on the Ides of March (March fifteenth), sought to prevent the departure of Caesar. Once in the protection of his army, Caesar would be untouchable, for he was immensely popular with his legionaries. The conspiracy consisted about sixty members with Marcus Junius Brutus and his brother in-law Gaius Cassius Longinus, both praetors for that year, as their leaders. Both were pardoned by Caesar, as they had chosen the side of Pompey during the civil war. After twenty-four stabs, the dictator finally died in the Theatre of Pompey.

When Marc Antony summoned the senate two days later, a compromise was made between the so called 'Liberators', and the Caesareans. The assassins would be granted immunity, and Caesar's measures and appointments would remain valid. But at the funeral of the Caesar, who was loved by the people, this measurement of immunity proved untenable before the assembled crowd at the Rostra. Marc Antony was the fellow consul of Caesar and a political friend. It was he who anticipated the mood correctly of the attended crowd, when he gave the funeral oration on the Rostra. Again, the Rostra played a vital role in obtaining the leadership over the crowd by Antony.¹⁰⁶ In the end of his speech, he encouraged the mass outcry against the assassins, and therefore made himself their leader during this moment of crowd behaviour, as is presented in the following passage of Appian:

¹⁰³ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 336.

¹⁰⁴ Ibidem.

¹⁰⁵ Steel, *The End of the Republic*, 181.

¹⁰⁶ Josiah Osgood, *Caesars Legacy: Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*, (New York, 2006) 12-13.

“Carried away by an easy transition to extreme passion he uncovered the body of Caesar, lifted his robe on the point of a spear and shook it aloft, pierced with dagger-thrusts and red with the dictator's blood. Whereupon the people, like a chorus in a play, mourned with him in the most sorrowful manner, and from sorrow became filled again with anger. After the discourse other lamentations were chanted with funeral music according to the national custom, by the people in chorus, to the dead; and his deeds and his sad fate were again recited.”¹⁰⁷

After this display of mass grief, the crowd retaliated. Marc Antony was a close friend of Caesar, and it was certainly in his advantage if he could acquire the same popularity among the masses that his deceased fellow consul had acquired. Also the followed outcry for revenge of the crowd was in the advantage of Antony. The retaliation of the crowd was just what the consul needed to drive Brutus and Cassius out of the city. As was presented in the case-study that concerned the legislative proposals of Caesar in the previous chapter, the crowd leader Antony also sought to make use of the already angered crowd by ensuring the right conditions. In the case of Caesar, it were knives and a bucket of excrement. For Fulvia it was the displaying of the unwashed body of her husband. Marc Antony used the body of his political friend in the same manner. Canetti states that information among crowds spreads horizontally, and that everyone in the crowd is equal. In the following passage of Plutarch, just this horizontal spread of information among the crowd is noticeable:

“There was a certain Cinna, however, one of the friends of Caesar, [...], when he heard that they were burning the body of Caesar in the forum, he rose up and went thither out of respect, although he had misgivings arising from his vision, and was at the same time in a fever. At sight of him, one of the multitude told his name to another who asked him what it was, and he to another, and at once word ran through the whole throng that this man was one of the murderers of Caesar. For there was among the conspirators a man who bore this same name of Cinna, and assuming this man was he, the crowd rushed upon him and tore him in pieces among them. This more than anything else made Brutus and Cassius afraid, and not many days afterwards they withdrew from the city.”¹⁰⁸

According to Plutarch, the news that one of the murderers of Caesar was spotted near the cremation, caused the murder of the wrong Cinna. The news of the sighted Cinna *“ran through the whole throng of men”*, just as Canetti states in his theory that concerned crowd behaviour in the twentieth century. This passage of the work of Plutarch regarding the life of Julius Caesar, can be seen as prove that the aspect of equality among crowds can benefit research concerning crowd behaviour in the Late Republic. Another vital part of the passage above is the effect that this false information had on the crowd, and what happened because of it. According to Plutarch, the leaders of the murderers of Caesar became so afraid of this ill made decision of the crowd, that they fled the city some days after the cremation. If Plutarch is correct about the way that the murder of the wrong Cinna had been distorted by the crowd, the aspect of equality as formulated by Canetti caused for the expulsion of Brutus and Cassius. It was this aspect of the theory of Canetti that provided the result that was sought by Marc Antony.

During both moments of crowd behaviour that were examined in this chapter, the Republican Rostra, and newly build *Rostra Caesaris* were the centre of all resulting behaviour of the crowd. In both cases the Rostra was used as the stage from which a certain political figure tried to gain the leadership over

¹⁰⁷ Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 2.143

¹⁰⁸ Plutarch, *Life of Caesar*, 68.3-7

the crowd by making use of the dead body of a people's champion.

Different aspects of the theory of Canetti, such as leadership or equality among members of the crowds, were identified in both case-studies of this chapter. In the first case, concerning the funeral of Clodius, more than one leader could be identified. Even after the first command of Fulvia was given, the crowd also reacted on the command of the two tribunes Plancus and Rufus, by offering the fasces to Milo's competitors of the election for consul. Also the scribe Sex. Coelius achieved in his command, when the crowd made the funeral pyre in the senate house.

In the second case-study the aspect of equality among the crowd, as is presented by Canetti in examples of crowd behaviour of the twentieth century, could be observed. By making use of the outcry against the assassins, Marc Antony succeeded in his goal to gain the support of the crowd and the expulsion of his political rivals. In the end, it was the ill-received news about the sighting of the 'murderer' Cinna that ensured his death, and caused the expulsion of Brutus and Cassius, making a civil war the next plausible prospect. Later, the adopted son of Caesar emerged as victor from this civil war. After his victory over Marc Antony near Actium in 31, Octavian ordered to build of a new Rostra that was decorated with the ship beaks that were captured during his naval victory over Marcus Antonius in 31 BC. If this relocated *Rostra Augusti* would change crowd dynamics during the early Principate, will be investigated in the next chapter.

Chapter four

A platform left in marble

*"[...] he was, while still living, the first to be regarded by the Romans as 'august,' and to be called by them Augustus. He assumed to himself an authority like Caesar's over the country and the subject nations, and even greater than Caesar's, no longer needing any form of election, or authorization, or even the pretence of it. His government proved both lasting and masterful, and being himself successful in all things and dreaded by all, he left a lineage and succession that held the supreme power in like manner after him. Thus, out of multifarious civil commotions, the Roman state passed into harmony and monarchy."*¹⁰⁹

The Roman Republic had ceased to exist completely, if we chose to believe these last sentences of the introduction of Appian's work. The Princeps did not need to keep up the appearance of continuation, according to Appian. That this is not true, is no surprise for most scholars who concern themselves with the Augustan transformation of the Roman world. The Republican heritage would prove to be an important tool for the creation of the Principate.¹¹⁰ Now that Antony and Cleopatra were defeated, Augustus could finally start making Rome worthy of its status as the capital of the newly formed empire, which in name was still a *res publica restituta*.¹¹¹

Augustus restored many temples and public buildings, and constructed a stunning array of new ones. The political heart of the city, the Forum Romanum, also underwent an imperial transformation with many new temples and other buildings. Building projects such as the Curia Julia, begun by the defied father of the Princeps, who also got his own temple on the spot where he was cremated, and the Basilica Julia, that now marked the southern boundary of the Forum. On the west end of the Forum, the *Rostra Caesaris*, also underwent a transformation. The earlier removal of the Rostra out of the shadow of the senate house in the early months of 44 BC, marked an important break with Republican tradition.¹¹² This new Rostra faced the whole Forum towards the temple of the deified Julius Caesar, and was separated with the Comitium and the senate house. The *Rostra Augusti* was larger and higher, with a truly monumental front, made out of tufa blocks faced with marble, to which the bronze beaks of Octavian's naval victory of Actium were attached.¹¹³

In this final chapter again three case-studies will be examined concerning the interaction at this newly build Rostra, and the effect it had on the behaviour of the assembled crowds. The first case-study is set in the early years of the Principate of Augustus in 22 BC, when great famine tormented the city. The second part of this chapter consists of two separate cases of crowd behaviour during the Principate. The first one is set during the reign of Claudius, when news reached

¹⁰⁹ Appian, *Bellum Civile*, 1.5-6

¹¹⁰ Gowing, *Empire and Memory*, 133-135.

¹¹¹ Alan K. Bowman, Edward Champlin and Andrew Lintott, *The Cambridge Ancient History Volume 10: The Augustan Empire, 43 BC–AD 69*, (Cambridge, 1996) 785.

¹¹² Geoffrey Sumi, *Ceremony and Power: Performing Politics in Rome between Republic and Empire*, (Michigan, 2005) 223.

¹¹³ Richardson, *A New Topographical Dictionary*, 336.

the city of his possible assassination near Ostia. The second case takes place at the time of the short rule of the emperor Vitellius, when he had lost all hope and reads his declaration of abdication to the crowd on the Rostra.

Torn garments

In January 27, Octavian handed all his authority back to the senate and people, but remained consul, and stayed in control of certain provinces with great military potency.¹¹⁴ He also remained in control of Egypt for ten years. For this "First Settlement," the senate bestowed upon Octavian the name Augustus.

The tribune of the plebs, Sextus Pacuvius, addressed the senate soon after Augustus acquired his new name, and advised that the senators should dedicate their own lives to Augustus.¹¹⁵ After Augustus tried to prevent this devotion, Pacuvius rushed out of the senate, and addressed the people on the Forum, probably from the Rostra, to dedicate their lives to the Princes.¹¹⁶ The magistracy of Pacuvius showed that that some institutions were still intact, but the power behind this office was that of the emperor and made him a mouth piece of the new regime.¹¹⁷ We know that later in the Principate, the Princes made use of the tribunes to interact with the people for them.¹¹⁸

After a plot by senators was discovered in 23, Augustus decided that another settlement was needed. First he resigned the consulship, but held his proconsul powers over the already named provinces. The second change was that the senate made his *imperium* greater (*maius*), so it was now superior to that of all officials. Lastly, he took the power of the tribunes of the plebs (*tribunica potestas*), so he could impose a veto. By gaining the tribunician power, he also made himself protector of the ordinary people.

That he was the supreme leader of the common people, is visible in the following passage that concerns the first year that Augustus was not consul. In this year, Rome faced famine, and, as was common during the Republic, a crowd assembled in front of the newly build senate house.¹¹⁹ The following passage is written by the Roman author Cassius Dio, who described this moment of crowd behaviour as follows:

"The following year, in which Marcus Marcellus and Lucius Arruntius were consuls, the city was again submerged by the overflowing of the river, and many objects were struck by thunderbolts, especially the statues in the Pantheon, so that the spear even fell from the hand of Augustus. The pestilence raged throughout all Italy so that no one tilled the land, and I suppose that the same was the case in foreign parts. The Romans, therefore, reduced to dire straits by the disease and by the consequent famine, believed that these woes had come upon them for no other reason than that they did not have Augustus for consul at this time also. They accordingly wished to elect him dictator, and shutting the senators up in their meeting-place, they forced them to vote this measure by threatening to burn down the building over their heads."¹²⁰

¹¹⁴ Bowman, *The Augustan Empire*, 78-79.

¹¹⁵ Cassius Dio, 53.20

¹¹⁶ Sumi, *Ceremony and Power*, 224.

¹¹⁷ Ibidem.

¹¹⁸ Cassius Dio, 55.9.10

¹¹⁹ Ibidem, 226.

¹²⁰ Cassius Dio, 54.1

In this passage no direct leader of the crowd can be observed. In the other narrative concerning the life of the first emperor, by Suetonius, this moment of violent crowd behaviour is not mentioned. Although it is impossible to observe a crowd leader who initiated the riot of the crowd that imprisoned the senators in the Curia Julia, one could make an educated guess. For it is possible to detect what the behaviour of the crowd achieved, namely the return of their champion, Augustus. At the time the first food riots had started, Augustus was on his way to the East to reclaim the military standards that were lost during the campaign of Crassus in 53 BC.¹²¹ But, when the situation progressed to a boiling point in the city, Augustus had to go back to Rome. As was already mentioned in the passage above, a rioting crowd on the Forum had locked up the senators in the senate house, threatening to burn them alive. In the following presented passage the situation progressed as followed:

“Next they took the twenty-four rods and approached Augustus, begging him to consent both to being named dictator and to becoming commissioner of the grain supply, as Pompey had once done. He accepted the latter duty under compulsion, and ordered that two men should be chosen annually, from among those who had served as praetors not less than five years previously in every case, to attend to the distribution of the grain.”¹²²

It seems if not much had changed if we recall the violent moments of crowd behaviour during the Late Republic. Maybe this act of violent behaviour was encouraged by a tribune who collaborated with Augustus. If this was the case, one could state that the crowd was engendered just for this cause of events. Leadership played a minor role in what followed during a certain moment of crowd behaviour, according to the equality-aspect of Canetti’s theory. By staging a full scale riot, the people showed the senate that the Princeps was crucial to keep the Roman people at bay in times of need. The accepting of the grain commission by Augustus probably took place during a *contio* on the Forum from the Rostra.¹²³ Once again the Rostra played a vital role in ensuring the command over the assembled crowd, as is further presented in the following passage wherein Augustus dramatically declined the offer to become dictator:

“As for the dictatorship, however, he did not accept the office, but went so far as to rend his garments when he found himself unable to restrain the people in any other way, either by argument or by entreaty; for, since he was superior to the dictators in the power and honour he already possessed, he properly guarded against the jealousy and hatred which the title would arouse.”¹²⁴

By tearing his garments, Augustus dramatically showed the senators and the assembled crowd that it was not his intention to become dictator, as his assassinated father had become. He also assured himself the leadership over the crowd by accepting the commission for the grain supply. Augustus made it clear that without his support, the senate might undergo the perils that were foreshadowed during this moment of violent crowd behaviour. Because it was only he who could keep the crowd at bay, being their supreme champion. If this cause of events was always the intention of the Princeps, the crowd had to be commended by a certain crowd leader who started with giving the command to assault the senate house and demanding the grain commission and the dictatorship for Augustus.

¹²¹ Bowman, *The Augustan Empire*, 90.

¹²² Cassius Dio, 54.1

¹²³ Sumi, *Ceremony and Power*, 226.

¹²⁴ Cassius Dio, 54.1

The role of the Rostra, and its interplay with the assembled crowds had changed. The relocation of the Rostra, away from the senate house, showed that the distribution of power had changed. It was no longer the senate who needed the people's approval but the Princeps, Augustus, who ruled the empire behind a Republican facade. To conclude, the Rostra had become the centre of communication between the emperor and the common people. That the Rostra was relocated away from the senate house, revealed an affirmation of a political transition. The speaker's platform was still used in the same way as it was in the Republic, but had become a staged show of Republican tradition. In the following two case-studies, this new role of communication between the emperor and his people will be further investigated.

Wrongfully accused

Claudius was Roman emperor from AD 41 to 54. During his rule, many attempts were made to end his life. In this short case-study, the cause of events will be investigated of how news had reached the city that the emperor was killed near Ostia. During this moment of crowd behaviour, it is impossible to detect the earlier used aspects of the theory of Canetti. The chosen passage is just not elaborate enough to examine the leadership aspect of Canetti's theory. What can be examined, however, is the new role of the Rostra in the political landscape of the Principate. What was its use when the ill news of the assassinated emperor reached the city, being the supreme people's champion?

His predecessor, Caligula was killed by the Praetorian Guard, who he had relentlessly humiliated. Therefore Claudius' imperial power was due to the Praetorians.¹²⁵ A Praetorian had 'found' him behind the curtains of the imperial palace.¹²⁶ The senate had already convened in order to restore the Republic, but the people demanded Claudius as their Princeps. The Roman people needed their champion, one who took care of their wellbeing. When Claudius came to rule in January 41 AD, he saw the necessity to make himself popular with Roman people.¹²⁷ Once in power he had already alienated the senators by paying each Praetorian gold. In the following passage of Suetonius, it will be visible how Claudius sought the make himself loved by the people:

"[...] He often appeared as one of the advisers at cases tried before the magistrates; and when they gave games, he also arose with the rest of the audience and showed his respect by acclamations and applause. When the tribunes of the commons appeared before him as he sat upon the tribunal, he apologised to them because for lack of room he could not hear them unless they stood up."¹²⁸

By trying to win the favour of the tribunes of the plebs, Claudius sought to establish his leadership over the Roman people. How this played out for the emperor, is presented in the following passage, where the Roman people thought that their new champion had been killed:

"By such conduct he won so much love and devotion in a short time, that when it was reported that he had been waylaid and killed on a journey to Ostia, the people were horror stricken and with dreadful execrations continued to assail the soldiers as traitors, and the senate as murderers, until

¹²⁵ Josiah Osgood, *Claudius Caesar: Image and Power in the Early Roman Empire*, (Cambridge, 2011) 31.

¹²⁶ Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, 10.1

¹²⁷ Osgood, *Claudius Caesar*, 32.

¹²⁸ Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, 12.2

finally one or two men, and later several, were brought forward upon the rostra by the magistrates and assured the people that Claudius was safe and on his way to the city."¹²⁹

As is visible in the passage above, the Rostra played a direct role in informing the assembled crowd about the wellbeing of the emperor. The magistrates hastily assured the people that their champion was not harmed. The people immediately accused the senate and the army. As was presented in the first case of this chapter, the emperor's wellbeing was of great importance for the people of Rome, because he presented himself as the ultimate leader of the common people, who sought to stand up for their interests. During the Late Republic, the assembled crowds were spoken to from the Rostra by their popular leader. Now, when news reached the city of the possible assassination of their champion, the people rushed to the Rostra to ratify this information, and blaming all possible conspirators, such as the senate and the army. Only after two witnesses were presented on the Rostra to inform that their leader was not harmed, the crowd calmed down. Besides its role as place of communication between the people and the emperor, the Rostra also was a facility that provided in the need of information about the wellbeing of the emperor.

A failed abdication

After the emperor Nero killed himself, or had himself killed by a servant in a villa on the outskirts of Rome on June 68, he ended the Julio-Claudian dynasty with him. Four of his generals started to fight with each other for the ultimate prize of the purple. Servius Sulpicius Galba was the first who reached Rome in October 68. Although he was the only one of the contenders who was selected by the senate and the people of Rome, Galba alienated a major part of his army, the Praetorians and the people.¹³⁰ The alienation of the Rhine legions would prove to be the vital cause for the end of the usurper of Galba named Marcus Salvius Otho. Aulus Vitellius accepted the declaration for his emperorship, which was proclaimed by his Rhine legions. After Galba also alienated his most valuable political partner Otho, the latter sought the favour of the Praetorians, who killed Galba and his ill chosen adopted successor on the Roman Forum for all to see.¹³¹

In the spring of the following year, Vitellius arrived with his legions in northern Italy, and defeated Otho during two hard-fought battles. After Otho had killed himself, Vitellius proved to be an indecisive emperor, and it was not for long that the provincial governors defected to his rival, Vespasianus. Vespasianus controlled large parts of the rich East, such as Egypt, which was of great value for the grain supply of Rome. The commander of the Pannonian border also defected to Vespasianus, and defeated the army of Vitellius in northern Italy. By now, the emperor was at the end of his wits and wrote an abdication speech, which he planned to give on the Rostra, before the people of Rome.¹³² In what happened next, we will see how the explanatory force of Canetti's theory on crowd leadership gives us an interesting new insight into the cause/chain of events. If Canetti is correct, it will be visible how the leader loses his command over the crowd after he engendered them in the beginning of this moment of crowd behaviour.

As already mentioned, the emperor was the ultimate champion for the interests of the common people. It was the emperor who used the people to control the political activities in the city, as was

¹²⁹ Suetonius, *Life of Claudius*, 12.3

¹³⁰ Gwyn Morgan, *69 A.D.: The Year of the Four Emperors*, (Oxford, 2006) 70.

¹³¹ Plutarch, *Life of Galba*, 27.1-2

¹³² Morgan, *69 A.D.*, 241.

presented in the first case-study of this chapter. Among the crowd there were not only plebeians, but also remnants of the army of Vitellius.¹³³ If we assume the aspect of equality among crowd members can be applied, such as presented in the case concerning the cremation of Caesar, one could state that the difference between soldiers or civilians among the crowd is not important. In the following passage of Suetonius it will be visible how the assembled crowd would react if their champion sought to abdicate:

"[...] he went at daybreak to the Rostra in mourning garb and with many tears made the same declaration, but from a written document. When the people and soldiers again interrupted him and besought him not to lose heart, vying with one another in promising him all their efforts in his behalf, he again took courage and by a sudden onslaught drove Sabinus and the rest of the Flavians, who no longer feared an attack, into the Capitol. Then he set fire to the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus and destroyed them, viewing the battle and the fire from the house of Tiberius, where he was feasting."¹³⁴

At the moment the emperor wanted to abdicate, the assembled crowd sought to convince their leader not to lose heart. The crowd promised their emperor to help and protect him. At that moment, a great many of Vitellius enemies were still in the city, such as the brother of Vespasianus, Titus Flavius Sabinus. According to Suetonius, it was the emperor himself who was behind the killings that followed. He even feasted at the sight of the burning temple of Jupiter.¹³⁵ If we accept the way this scene is described by the author, one has to conclude that the crowd was commanded in doing so, and therefore was not in power of their actions.

But, if the leadership aspect of Canetti's theory is taken into account, one could describe the cause of events in a different manner. When Vitellius gave in to the demand of the crowd to stay in power, the crowd retaliated, and sought to destroy anything that was a danger to their champion. It was the crowd itself that caused the killings and the burning of the temple of Jupiter. Suetonius is known of his blackguarding of Vitellius, and it is therefore logic that the author blames him.¹³⁶ Also the ancient historian Tacitus mentioned that the men who attacked the Capitol, did so without a leader.¹³⁷ The assumption that the crowd itself took over after they were engendered by their leader who gave in to their demand, seems a lot more plausible when the next passage of Tacitus is taken into account:

"Sabinus and Atticus were loaded with chains and taken before Vitellius, who received them with no angry word or look, although the crowd cried out in rage, asking for the right to kill them and demanding rewards for accomplishing this task. Those who stood nearest were the first to raise these cries, and then the lowest plebeians with mingled flattery and threats began to demand the punishment of Sabinus. Vitellius stood on the steps of the palace and was about to appeal to them, when they forced him to withdraw. Then they ran Sabinus through, mutilated him, and cut off his head, after which they dragged his headless body to the Gemonian stairs."¹³⁸

¹³³ Ibidem, 239.

¹³⁴ Suetonius, *Life of Vitellius*, 15.2-3

¹³⁵ Suetonius, *Life of Vitellius*, 15-3

¹³⁶ John W. Burke, 'Emblematic scenes in Suetonius' Vitellius', *Histos* 2, (1998) 90.

¹³⁷ Tacitus, *Histories*, 3.71

¹³⁸ Tacitus, *Histories*, 3.74

Vitellius could not prevent the killing of Sabinus.¹³⁹ He had lost his leadership over the crowd, just as can be predicted if we take the aspect of leadership of Canetti's theory into account. Vitellius had gained the support of the assembled crowd after he sought to abdicate. Strengthened by their support on the Rostra, Vitellius gave in to their demand, not knowing that by doing so he engendered the crowd, to fulfil their promise to protect their champion. Therefore he indirectly gave the command to kill his enemies who still remained in the city. When he sought to prevent the killing of Vespasian's brother, the crowd simply sent him away.

This last chapter presented how the Rostra still played an important role in gaining the leadership over the crowd during the rule of Augustus. During the Late Republic, popular leaders spoke from the Rostra to the assembled crowd, and sought the crowd to engender certain crowd behaviour. Now that Augustus was the supreme champion of the common people, he was the only one who could keep the crowd at bay. He showed the senatorial elite that it was by his doing that they were protected from the perils of the crowd, as was presented in the first case-study of this chapter.

In the second minor case, the new role as place for communication between the common people and the emperor and his wellbeing was presented. With the news of the possible assault on the emperor Claudius, a crowd assembled at the Rostra, validating this ill news. Immediately the crowd accused the senators and the soldiers as the ones who were behind the assault. It was only after two hastily found witnesses, who informed the crowd of their champion's wellbeing, that the crowd did not retaliate. In the last case-study, it is demonstrated how the explanatory force of Canetti's theory on crowd leadership provides a new insight in the hazy events during the last days of the emperor Vitellius. By using Canetti's approach, one could state that the involvement of Vitellius in the killings and destruction of the Capitol, was insignificant, because he gave in to the crowds demand not to abdicate, and engendered them to retaliate on his enemies. After this moment it was impossible for the emperor to give the crowd any form of commands. Therefore we can absolve the already blackguarded emperor of taking part in these gruesome violent acts, such as the killing of Sabinus.

¹³⁹ Morgan, *69 A.D.*, 247-248.

Conclusion

At the beginning of this thesis, my research question was formulated as follows: in what ways did the establishment of the new *Rostra Augusti* change and/or influence crowd behaviour on the Forum Romanum? To answer this question, I have examined two different aspects, namely the transformation of the Rostra during a moment of Roman political transition from Republic to Empire, and the value of a social methodology of Canetti's theory on nine case-studies of crowd behaviour from the Late Republic and the early Principate. In the examined cases a process of transformation was presented. In almost all chosen cases of crowd behaviour, the theory of Canetti has proven to be of great value in providing new insights in one of the most intensely examined Roman periods.

In this study, the theory of Canetti, concerning the aspect of leadership, was used to provide new insights into the transformation of the Rostra as a focal point for instigating violent crowd behaviour. In the nine case-studies, various aspects of Canetti's theory were applicable, such as the retaliation on stings. These stings were left behind after a certain command was given to the crowd. The stings were cumulative, and if too many commands were given to a crowd, the assembled crowd would retaliate on those who gave them, according to Canetti. The most important aspect of Canetti's crowd behaviour theory for this research was the use of leadership within a crowd. Being the most important place on the Roman Forum to address an assembled crowd, the role of the Rostra and its interrelation to crowd leaders played a crucial role in these processes. According to Canetti, leaders can only engender a crowd in the beginning phase of a moment of crowd behaviour. Due to the equality among crowd members, this first command spreads from individual to individual, making maintaining leadership over the crowd impossible. Being the focal point on the Forum, the Rostra was of great importance for the assertion of control over a crowd. The durability of control of a leader over the crowd can therefore be of great use to understand the crowd dynamics around the Rostra, and how those dynamics and the monument itself changed during the Roman period of political transition from Republic to Principate.

Canetti's ideas on the subject of leadership combined with Rostra as centre of crowd dynamics proved to be especially valuable for the following case-studies. In the first chapter of this study two cases of crowd behaviour were presented. In the first case, concerning the enactment of the agrarian law of Tiberius Gracchus, it became visible how Tiberius lost control over the assembled crowd after they were engendered when Octavius was dragged off the Rostra. For Tiberius, it was only possible to initiate the retaliation of the crowd. In the second case-study, which dealt with the provocative law of Saturninus, it became apparent how Marius lost his grip over the crowd after he had imprisoned Saturninus in the senate house. In both cases it was only possible for the leader of the crowd to engender certain actions in the beginning. After the first commands were given, in the first case the order to drag Octavius off the Rostra and in the second case the imprisonment of Saturninus in the senate house, Tiberius and Marius both lost control over the crowds. In either of these cases, the explanatory force of Canetti's theory on crowd leadership had proven to be of great use to provide a clear account of these first violent moments of crowd behaviour in the Late Republic.

In the third case study that demonstrated the value of Canetti's theory, it became visible how the leader of the crowd sought to make use of just the retaliation of the crowd. By making the retaliation of the assembled crowd his objective, Julius Caesar had managed to remain in control during this moment of crowd behaviour. It seemed as if he knew he could only engender the crowd

in the beginning, in this way he foresaw the cause of events after Bibulus was attacked on the Rostra. In the second case concerning the battle on the Forum, it was only possible for the tribunes to make certain manoeuvres in the beginning phase of the moment of crowd behaviour. When the brother of Cicero sought to make his plea, he was kicked off the Rostra. The role of leadership makes it possible to detect a shift in how popular leaders sought to control their crowd by making their retaliation the objective. In these moments the Rostra became a strategic point to occupy during the violent confrontations between armed mobs of certain political figures like Milo and Clodius. Again, the value of Canetti's theory is shown, by the way how Julius Caesar and the supports of Clodius sought to make use of the Rostra to realise their political objective. They both succeeded by making the retaliation of the engendered crowd the tool they needed to establish their objective.

The two funerals, those of Clodius and Julius Caesar, central to the third chapter, provide us with insights in the process that is presented in the two earlier chapters, namely how popular leaders had made the Rostra a place of crowd violence for their own political gain. In both cases, the leaders engendered the crowd to retaliate on their personal or political enemies. The engendered crowd had proven to be a useful weapon in the hands of a demagogue. In the first case of the third chapter, it was presented how four different persons sought to establish their command over the huge crowd that was assembled after the body Clodius was smuggled in to the city. Fulvia, the two tribunes, and the scribe Sex. Coelius all made a first command that was executed by the crowd. Therefore it could be stated that it became possible to influence the crowd's actions several times if the identity of the maker of the commands had changed. It could therefore be stated that the assertion of control over a crowd could be realised more than one time during a certain moment of crowd behaviour, if the engendering command is given by a different crowd leader. So, in a sense, an adapted version of the theory of Canetti could still be applicable if one makes a minor adjustment to accept that a crowd could still be controlled, if the next command is given by another person. In the second case it is even possible to detect the aspect of equality among crowd members in a passage of Plutarch. This affirms the value of the leadership aspect of Canetti's theory, namely the idea that information and given commands spread horizontally among crowd members. The speech Antony gave during the funeral of Julius Caesar supports assumption that the Rostra was as focal point of violent crowd behaviour was used by political figures to realise their own personal political objectives, like in Antony's case, the assertion of the support of the common people, and the alienation of his political rivals Cassius and Brutus.

In the last chapter, it was demonstrated how a new form of rule came into life that changed the role of the Rostra. As is presented in the case-studies, the Rostra became a place of communication between the people and their emperor. It played a crucial role in the need for information about the wellbeing of the emperor. Augustus made use of his role as supreme champion of the common people to reaffirm his power over the senate after his first year not being one of the two consuls. Augustus showed the senators that they needed him if they sought to keep the urban plebs in check during moments of food shortages. This reaffirmation was always the objective of the Princeps, one of the tribunes who was supported by Augustus should have given the engendering command to assault the senate house. This due to the aspect of equality in the theory of Canetti, because a command could only be given in the beginning phase of a certain moment of crowd behaviour. Yet again the leadership aspect gives us a new insight of how this moment of crowd behaviour on the Rostra was used by Augustus to realise his own political gain. In the last case of this thesis, it was visible how Vitellius sought to abdicate on the Rostra as an ultimate dedication to this monument, being the central platform of communication between the emperor and his

people. After he gave in to the demand to cancel his abdication, he unwillingly established a prerogative with the assembled crowd to attack his enemies. Again, the value of the leadership aspect proves its worth, by making a plea of innocence for this tragic emperor. There was, however, a case in which the theory was less applicable. Difficulties arose when the case of Claudius' possible assassination was examined. The important aspect of this case was how this new role of central point of information about the wellbeing of the emperor worked.

In conclusion, the theory thus sheds a new light on the sources, illuminating the way in which crowds behaved around the Rostra and how leaders struggled to assert control. The aspect of leadership allowed a new presentation of how crowd behaviour ensured the transformation of this speaker's platform. The exploration of the cases mentioned above has demonstrated that the theory of Canetti, often overlooked by modern scholars, can be of great value in our understanding of the behaviour of crowds in antiquity. Adaptation of methodologies from other disciplines such as the social theory that is used in this study, proves to be of great value in our understanding of certain Roman political dynamics. The use of the Rostra had changed, first from *locus popularis* to a focal point of violent crowd behaviour, where certain political figures like Caesar and Antony prevailed to assert their control over the crowd by making the crowd's retaliation their prerogative. Secondly, the Rostra's new role progressed into a centre where the Princeps presented himself as supreme champion of the common people. Lastly, the Rostra transformed to a place where the emperor communicated with his subjects, and where they were informed about the wellbeing of their champion. However, the violent and unpredictable behaviour of crowds remained the same, as Vitellius experienced after his failed abdication.

References

- Benner, Herbert, *Die Politik des P. Clodius Pulcher: Untersuchungen zur Denaturierung des Clientelwesens in der ausgehenden Römischen Republik*, (Stuttgart, 1987).
- Bernstein, Alvin H., *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus: Tradition and apostasy*, (New York, 1978).
- Boatwright, Mary T., Gargola, Daniel J., Lenski, Noel and Talbert, Richard J. A., *The Romans: From Village to Empire: A History of Rome from Earliest Times to the End of the Western Empire*, (Oxford, 2012).
- Borch, Christian, *The Politics of Crowds: An Alternative History of Sociology*, (Cambridge, 2012).
- Canetti, Elias, *Crows and Power*, (New York, 1962).
- Dart, Christopher J., *The Social War 91 to 88 BCE: A History of the Italian insurgency against the Roman Republic*, (Dorchester, 2014).
- Doblhofer, Georg, *Die Popularen der Jahre 111-99 vor Christus*, (Cologne, 1990).
- Evans, Richard J., *Gaius Marius: A Political Biography*, (Pretoria, 1994).
- Gowing, Alain, *Empire and Memory: The Representation of the Roman Republic in Imperial Culture*, (Cambridge, 2005).
- Griffin Miriam, *A Companion to Julius Caesar*, (Oxford, 2009).
- Hammar, Isak, *Making Enemies: The Logic of Immorality in Ciceronian Oratory*, (Lund, 2013).
- Hölkeskamp, Karl- J, *Reconstructing the Roman Republic: An Ancient Political Culture and Modern Research*, (Princeton, 2010).
- Kamm, Antony, *Julius Caesar: A life*, (Abingdon, 2006).
- Kaster, Robert A., *Marcus Tullius Cicero: Speech on Behalf of Publius Sestius*, (Oxford, 2006).
- Keaveney, Arthur, *Sulla: The last Republican*, (Abingdon, 2005).
- Labitzke, Marcel, *Marius: Der verleumdete Retter Roms*, (Munster, 2013).
- Le Bon, Gustave, *The Crowd: A Study of the Popular Mind*, (New York, 1896).
- MacPhail, Clark, *The myth of the madding crowd*, (New York, 1991).
- Marshall, Bruce A., *Crassus: A political Biography*, (Amsterdam, 1976).
- McClelland, John, *The Crowd and the Mob (Routledge Revivals): From Plato to Canetti*, (London, 2010).
- Millar, Fergus, *The crowd in Rome in the Late Republic*, (Michigan, 1998).

- Morgan, Gwyn, *69 A.D.: The Year of the Four Emperors*, (Oxford, 2006).
- Morstein-Marx, Robert, *Mass Oratory and Political Power in the Late Roman Republic*, (Cambridge, 2004).
- Mouritsen, Hendrik, *Plebs and Politics: In the Late Roman Republic*, (Cambridge, 2004).
- Nye, Robert, *The origins of crowd psychology : Gustave Le Bon and the crisis of mass democracy in the Third Republic*, (London, 1975).
- Osgood, Josiah, *Caesars Legacy: Civil War and the Emergence of the Roman Empire*, (New York, 2006).
- Osgood, Josiah, *Claudius Caesar: Image and Power in the Early Roman Empire*, (New York, 2011).
- Pagán, Victoria E., *A Companion to Tacitus*, (Oxford, 2012).
- Power, Tristan and Gibson, Roy K., *Suetonius the Biographer: Studies in Roman Lives*, (Oxford, 2014).
- Richardson, Lawrence, *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, (London, 1992).
- Richter, Brigitte, *Vitellius, Ein Zerrbild der Geschichtsschreibung: Untersuchungen zum Prinzipat des A. Vitellius*, (Frankfurt am Main, 1992).
- Rosenstein, Nathan and Morstein-Marx, Robert, *A companion to the Roman Republic*, (Oxford, 2010).
- Schnapp, Jeffrey and Tiews, Matthew, *Crowds*, (Stanford, 2006).
- Steel, Catherine, *The End of the Republic 146 to 44 BC*, (Edinburgh 2013).
- Stevenson, Tom, *Julius Caesar and the Transformation of the Roman Republic*, (Abingdon, 2015).
- Stockton, David L., *Cicero: A political biography*, (Oxford, 1971).
- Sumi, Geoffrey, *Ceremony and Power: performing politics in Rome between Republic and Empire*, (Michigan, 2005).
- Tatum, Jeffrey, *The Patrician Tribune: Publius Clodius Pulcher*, (Oxford, 1999).
- Tempest, Kathryn, *Cicero: Politics and Persuasion in Ancient Rome*, (London, 2011).
- Vanderbroeck, Paul, *Popular leadership and collective behavior in the Late Roman Republic (ca. 80-50 B.C.)*, (Amsterdam, 1987).
- Vasaly, Ann, *Representations: Images of the World in Ciceronian Oratory*, (Berkeley, 1993).
- Wiseman, Timothy P., *Remembering the Roman People: Essays on the Late-Republican Politics and Literature*, (Oxford, 2009).
- Yakobson, Alexander, *Elections and Electioneering in Rome: A study in the Political System of the Late Republic*, (Stuttgart, 1999).

Yavet, Zvi, Malkin, Irad and Rubinson, Z.W., *Leaders and Masses in the Roman World: Studies in Honor of ZviYavetz*, (Leiden, 1994).

Articles:

Alexander, Michael, 'Review of: The Crowd in Rome in the Late Republic by Fergus Millar', *The American Journal of Philology* 121, (2000) 164-165.

Bucher, Gregory S., 'The Origins, Program, and Composition of Appian's Roman History', *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 130, (2000), 411-458.

Damon, Cynthia, 'Sex. Cloelius Scriba', *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 94, (1992) 227-250.

Harrison, Ian, 'Catiline, Clodius, and Popular Politics at Rome during the 60s and 50s BCE', *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies Volume* 51, (2008), 95-118.

Kondratieff, Eric, 'Reading Rome's Evolving Civic Landscape in Context: Tribunes of the Plebs and the Praetor's Tribunal', *Phoenix* 63, (2009), 322-360.

Ligt, Luuk de, 'Poverty and Demography: The case of the Gracchan Land Reforms', *Mnemosyne* 57, (2004), 725-757.

Lincot, Andrew, 'Electoral Bribery in the Roman Republic', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 80, (1990), 1-16.

Lutz, Brenda and Lutz, James, 'Political Violence in the Republic of Rome: Nothing New under the Sun', *Government and Opposition* Vol. 41, (2006), 491-511.

Patterson, John R., 'The City of Rome Revisited: From Mid-Republic to Mid-Empire', *The Journal of Roman Studies* 100, (2010), 210-230.

Rich, John T., 'Popular Leadership in Rome', *The Classical Review* 39, (1989), 83-84.

Slingerland, Dixon, 'Suetonius "Claudius" 25.4 and the Account in Cassius Dio', *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 79, (1989), 305-322.

Sumi, Geoffrey, 'Power and Ritual: The Crowd at Clodius' Funeral', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 46, (1997), 80-102.

Yacobson, Alexander, 'Traditional Political Culture and the People's Role in the Roman Republic', *Historia: Zeitschrift für Alte Geschichte* 59, (2010), 282-302.

Ancient sources:

Appianus of Alexandria, *Civil Wars*, Translated by: Horace White, (New York, 1913).

Asconius, *Commentaries on Speeches of Cicero*, Translated by: R.G. Lewis, (New York, 2006).

Cassius Dio, *Romaike Historia*, Translated by: Earnest Cary and Herbert B. Foster, (New York, 1914).

Cicero, *Pro Milone*, Translated by: C.D. Yonge and B.A. London, (Covent Garden, 1891).

Cicero, *Pro Sestio*, Translated by: C.D. Yonge and B.A. London, (Covent Garden, 1891).

Cicero, *Pro Quentio*, Translated by: C.D. Yonge, B.A. London and Henry G. Bohn, (Covent Garden, 1856).

Plutarchus, *Plutarch's Lives*, Translated by: Bernadotte Perrin, (London, 1919).

Suetonius, *The Lives of the Twelve Caesars*, Translated by: Alexander Thomson, (Philadelphia, 1889).

Tacitus, *The History*, Translated by: Alfred J. Church, William J. Brodribb and Sara Bryant, (New York, 1942).