HUI216
Italian Civilization

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7.0 Announcements

- http://www.campo7.com/hui216/
- Assignments
- Thursday's office hour
- E-mails
- Topics and readings
- Recordings

7.1 Ancient Rome: the monarchy

- <u>753 BCE -- 509 BCE</u>
- Most Roman sources agreed that there were seven kings, a number modern historians cannot confirm
  - Romulus (753-717), Numa (717-673), Tullus Hostilius (672-641), Ancus Marcius (639-616), Tarquinius Priscus (616-579), Servius Tullius (579-534), Tarquinius Superbus (534-510)
  - We do know that some of the kings that we find listed in the original sources are probably mythical, e.g. Romulus and Numa
  - Other names, interestingly, are Etruscan, confirming the prominence (presence?) of Etruscans in the early Roman society

7.1 <u>Gary Forsythe</u> on the seven kings of Rome

- Rome's seven kings are to a very large degree stereotypical figures to whom ancient writers ascribed archaic institutions and practices on the basis of simplistic reasoning.
  - Accordingly, Numa, whose name appears to be akin to *numen*, was characterized as having done nothing during his reign except to establish virtually all aspects of the state religion.
  - Tullus Hostilius' *nomen* suggested belligerence to the ancients, who therefore regarded him as a very warlike monarch;
  - and the nomen of the Tarquins was interpreted to mean that Tarquinius Priscus had immigrated to Rome from the Etruscan city of Tarquinii.
  - Thus, we should not be surprised by the ancient stories of Servius Tullius' supposed servile origin, or by the belief that he was responsible for establishing the rights and duties of freed slaves in Roman law.

7.1 Livy's *History of Rome*: Book 1, Preface

- The traditions of what happened prior to the foundation of the City or whilst it was being built, are more fitted to adorn the creations of the poet than the authentic records of the historian, and I have no intention of establishing either their truth or their falsehood.

- This much licence is conceded to the ancients, that by intermingling human actions with divine they may confer a more august dignity on the origins of states.

7.1 Livy's *History of Rome*: Book 1, Preface

- Now, if any nation ought to be allowed to claim a sacred origin and point back to a divine paternity that nation is Rome.

- For such is her renown in war that when she chooses to represent Mars as her own and her founder's father, the nations of the world accept the statement with the same equanimity with which they accept her dominion.

7.2 Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discourses* (1531), bk. 1, Chapt. 11, Of the religions of the Romans

- Although Rome had Romulus as its original organizer and, like a daughter, owed her birth and education to him, none the less the heavens, judging that the institutions of Romulus were not sufficient for so great an Empire, put it into the breasts of the Roman Senate to elect Numa Pompilius as successor to Romulus, so that those things that he had omitted, would be instituted by Numa.

- Who, finding a very ferocious people and wanting to reduce them to civil obedience by the acts of peace, turned to religion as something completely necessary in wanting to maintain a civilization, and he established it in such a manner that for many centuries there never was more fear of God than in that Republic, which facilitated any enterprise which the Senate or those of great Roman men should plan to do.

7.2 Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discourses* 1.11: religion as a political tool

- And whoever considers well Roman history will see how much Religion served in commanding the armies, in reuniting the plebs, both in keeping men good, and in making the wicked ashamed.

- So that if it were discussed as to which Prince Rome should be more obligated, Romulus or Numa, I believe that Numa would [rather] attain the higher rank...

7.2 Niccolò Machiavelli, *Discourses* 1.11: Numa and the Nymph

- And it is seen that for Romulus to institute the Senate and to make the other civil and military arrangements, the authority of God was not necessary, but it was very necessary for Numa, who pretended he had met with a Nymph who advised him of that which he should counsel the people;

- and all this resulted because he wanted to introduce new ordinances and institutions in that City, and was apprehensive that his authority was not enough.

7.2 Maurizio Viroli, *Machiavelli's God* (Princeton UP, 2006): Tocqueville's *Democracy in America* (1835-40)

- The religion that Tocqueville observed in America set forth rigorously republican and democratic principles, and had succeeded in instilling in the souls of the citizens the belief that Christianity and liberty are inseparable and that a true Christian loves his fatherland.

- Separate from political power, the religion of the Americans was capable of educating the morals of the people and moderating the most dangerous passions. And it exhorted its followers to consider the commitment to the common interest and for the liberty of all peoples as a religious duty. For these reasons, the religion that developed on American soil played an essential role in republican life. It was precisely the religion that Machiavelli had hoped to see blossom in Italy, at least in its moral and civil content.

7.2 Maurizio Viroli, *Machiavelli's God* (Princeton UP, 2006): Rousseau

- Rousseau in fact recognizes that the true law-giver must put the rules of civil life into God's mouth "in order to constrain by divine authority those whom human prudence could not move," and reiterates that only great-hearted men can persuade their listeners that they have been inspired by God and thus establish lasting laws.

7.3 Ancient Rome: the Republic (509 BCE -- 27 BCE)

- 2 consuls, the Senate, magistrates, popular assemblies

- Consuls were in charge of the government of Rome, with a limited mandate, for a year or more; their powers under normal circumstances were kept in check by the Senate

- Even though Roman historians want us to believe that Rome became a republic practically from one day to the next, there are clues in documents and reports indicating that the consuls initially had almost the same power and functions as the kings that they replaced; only gradually those powers came to be restricted by the Senate and by other institutions

- The Senate too evolved gradually from the monarchic institution of the Council of the King, whose members represented the wealthiest and oldest families in the community whom the King consulted for all important decisions

- The word Senate comes from the Latin *senes*, which means "elders"

7.3 Livy's *History of Rome* (Bk. 1, Preface): national character, military expansion

- The subjects to which I would ask each of my readers to devote his earnest attention are these -- the life and morals of the community; the men and the qualities by which through domestic policy and foreign war dominion was won and extended. Then as the standard of morality gradually lowers, let him follow the decay of the national character, observing how at first it slowly sinks, then slips downward more and more rapidly, and finally begins to plunge into headlong ruin, until he reaches these days, in which we can bear neither our diseases nor their remedies.

7.4 Social classes in Roman society

- Within the first Roman society there was a very strong connection between power and wealth, as you can expect to find in any society that relies on a simpler organization of social and economic activities
  - The pace of growth and expansion was a determining factor
- Romans were organized by classes
  - The word *classic* comes from the Latin *classis*, which means *class*, the class par excellence being the first, to which the wealthiest of the Romans belonged: they incarnated the ideals of style and elegance traditionally associated with classical culture

7.4 Patricians and Plebeians

- Patricians belonged to the wealthy and powerful elite that made up most of the Senate
  - For a while it was possible to become a member of this class by means of military heroism or entrepreneurial skills: in time it became more difficult
  - Some of the Patricians outlasted the Roman Empire, and, thanks to their position, wealth, and skills, turned into the noblemen of the early Middle Ages
- Plebeians belonged to the lower classes
  - They were assigned less votes when it came to deciding on key issues: votes were based on income, and each class had a set number of votes
  - They created their own democratic institutions, a sort of shadow government: they had their own public meetings, a Council, elected leaders (the Tribunes), a treasury, even laws called plebiscites (referendums)

7.4 Patricians and Plebeians

- Marriage between Patricians and Plebeians was forbidden in ancient times
- Romans were generally well aware of these deep social divisions
  - constant tension and agitations (Machiavelli)
    - reforms often followed popular protests: some were recorded (doctored reports?) and others went unreported
    - Patricians held important positions within organized religion, and wrote annals and other forms of official historical accounts
  - distribution of food lead to political deals during famines
  - distribution of money alleviated political pressure
    - personal debts > slavery / patronage (plebeians > clients, patricians > patrons)
  - distribution of public land and colonization did the same with the relocation of Roman citizens
  - military service became another political instrument

7.4 Was the Roman Republic a split society?

- There was "a state within the state" (Livy)
- Arnaldo Momigliano has encouraged scholars to revise the traditional representation of the two social groups as entirely antithetic
  - interaction, political dialogue vs. the struggle of the orders
- "The plebeian movement was a remarkable phenomenon, as far as we know without parallel in the history of the ancient city-state." (T.J. Cornell, 1995)
- "The... fact that according to the modern orthodox interpretation the struggle of the orders was otherwise unparalleled in the ancient world should immediately set off alarm bells and arouse grave doubts as to its historical validity." (Forsythe)

7.5 Foreigners and slaves in ancient Rome

- Many foreigners came to live in Rome, had a business there, but they had almost no political/legal rights
    - Since they were not Roman citizens, justice was administered differently if foreigners or slaves were brought to court (for example, punishments were harsher)
- Slaves were usually prisoners of war (not just soldiers of a defeated army, but also civilians captured and deported)
    - people could lose their freedom because of unpaid debts
    - slave breeding was common
    - "exposure of infants, trade, and kidnapping or piracy were all significant sources of slaves"
- Depending on when they were enslaved and how they were brought up, slaves could be professionals: doctors, teachers, administrators, managers, and also poets, musicians, actors, artists, etc.

7.5 Slaves in Roman society: *familia urbana*

- Slaves were usually treated better in urban settings, where sometimes they could earn enough money to buy freedom or to facilitate the process of emancipation
- Manumission is "the act of freeing a slave"
  - it could be done by adoption, by will, by the enrollment of a slave on the quinquennial census list of Roman citizens, by direct unopposed claim
- Manumitted and freed slaves would become *liberti*, freedmen
  - social and legal implications of the change of status
- Since a fee had to be paid when slaves became freedmen, one can look at surviving documents that list the money coming into the budget of the Roman state each year and estimate the number of slaves who became citizens (this number often was in the thousands)

7.5 The emancipation of Roman slaves (from Bonnie Palmer, "The Cultural Significance of Roman Manumission", 1996)

- Manumission of slaves was a common practice among ancient societies, but the Roman tradition of creating legal citizens of their liberated slaves was in striking contrast to the manumission customs employed by their neighbors

- In a letter written in the 3rd century B.C., Philip V of Macedonia expressed admiration for this atypical incorporation of outsiders into the city-state:

  - "the Romans, ... receiving into their citizen-body even their slaves when they free them, giving them even a share in the offices, have by such means not only strengthened their country but also sent out colonies almost to seventy places"

7.5 Palmer, "The Cultural Significance of Roman Manumission"

- Emancipation was not only the end of captivity for the Roman slave, it was also the culmination of a process of social integration, a process whereby the slave who had already been partially incorporated into Roman society through the social institutions of household, family, and patron-client friendships became politically assimilated into the Roman state

- Most slave-holding societies in both ancient and modern times have used some form of manumission as a means of including outsiders or outcasts into their communities to at least a limited degree, but the Roman practice of attaching full-citizen status to formal liberation was truly historically unique

7.5 Slaves in the fields: *familia rustica*

- Hundreds of thousands of slaves (possibly millions by the time of the empire) were used to cultivate large farms in Sicily, where most of the wheat came from, as well as in other areas of Italy, and in North Africa

- Roman writer Varro, in a book on agriculture written towards the end of the Republic, "divides the instruments of agriculture into three classes -- the articulate, the inarticulate and the mute, 'the articulate comprising the slaves, the inarticulate comprising the cattle, and the mute comprising the vehicles.'" (William Barclay)

- However the fact that a number of slaves were emancipated and integrated into Roman society is atypical in the context of ancient civilizations
  - during the age of the Roman Empire, in a period of wild capitalism, there is anecdotal evidence that more than a few *liberti* became very wealthy, sometimes millionaires

7.5 William Fitzgerald, *Slavery and the Roman Literary Imagination* (Cambridge UP, 2000), review by Christopher Francese

- "The master/slave relationship, as imagined in Roman literature, is not one of simple dominance and submission"
- Attitudes of the free toward the domestic slave were complex
  - There is little evidence of a racist ideology justifying slavery in ancient Rome
    - Slaves are not considered inferior because of their ethnicity, human nature or morality
  - The idea that individuals are born equal and free is a modern concept, typical of the Enlightenment
    - Even Spartacus and his followers did not plan to eliminate the institution of slavery

7.5 William Fitzgerald, *Slavery and the Roman Literary Imagination* (Cambridge UP, 2000), review by Christopher Francese

- In the ancient world slavery is often seen as a "social bond involving exchange of services and loyalty" (R. Zelnick-Abramovitz 2005), an acceptable relation between parties of unequal status

- In Greece and in Rome the slave is seen, at the same time, as a property and a person
    - Famed jurist Ulpianus debates the economic value of injured slaves
    - Quintus Cicero rejoices at the news of the emancipation of his famous brother's slave and secretary, Tiro
    - Stoics and Christians (see Joseph Vogt, *Ancient Slavery and the Ideal of Man* [1974]) changed the frame of mind of slave owners
    - Homicide and abuse by owners were rarely punished

- Slaves had different statuses and privileges (which might explain the lack of a sense of common identity)

7.5 William Fitzgerald, *Slavery and the Roman Literary Imagination* (Cambridge UP, 2000), Reviewed by Christopher Francese

- Literature provided a wide variety of metaphors and themes
    - the slave as an individual living in symbiosis with the master
        - cooperation, mutual benefit, matching intellects
    - the slave as pet boy (*puer delicatus*)
    - the slave as parent/tutor (*paedagogus*)
    - the slave as a go-between and buffer between the free
        - does things denied by decorum to the free, and, paradoxically, appears to be privileged
    - the clever slave as mastermind, matchmaker, con artist
- Other relationships between the free persons were understood through the metaphor of slavery
    - the tyrant as slave master
    - the son and wife as slaves of the head of the family or *paterfamilias*
    - the religious convert as voluntary slave to a deity
- Keith Bradley, Slavery and Society at Rome (Cambridge UP, 1994)

7.6 The 3 meals of the Romans (from C.A.E. Luschnig, "Potes esurire mecum"): breakfast

- Breakfast: cheese, olives, bread
  - *epityra* (olive spread): pitted olives chopped and marinated in oil, vinegar, coriander, cumin, fennel and mint
  - in the *Miles Gloriosus*, a comedy by Plautus (3rd-2nd century BCE), a servant explains that he puts up with his master, the "braggart captain" of the title, only for the incredible olive dip available at his house

7.6 The 3 meals of the Romans (from C. A. E. Luschnig, "Potes esurire mecum"): lunch, dinner

- *prandium* (It. *pranzo*), at noon:
  - a bowl of barley or another cereal, a slice of cold meat
  - in Plautus's play *Menaechmi* a lunch for 3 consists of bacon, ham, half a head of pig
    - pork was probably the favorite meat of the Romans
- *cena* (It. *cena*), started after 3:00 pm, could last until 1:00 am (cf. Suetonius on Nero)

7.6 Wine, conviviality

- Romans produced a sweeter, stronger and thicker wine
  - it was made from grapes which were left to dry for a while after they were picked up
  - it was usually mixed with water, honey (*mulsum*)
  - it could be chilled with snow or ice, as Pliny did
- Cicero remarks that the Greeks called a party either "an eating-together" or a "drinking together" [*symposium*] as if food and drink were more important that "sharing lives" [*convivium*]

7.6 The Roman dining room: *triclinium*

- Three couches were arranged around the three sides of a table, with the fourth side left open for service by the slaves
- Three or more people would recline on each couch with their heads toward the table
- The women dined with the men, but often used chairs

Lectus

M

Lectus

1 Locus summus
2 Locus medius

Lectus
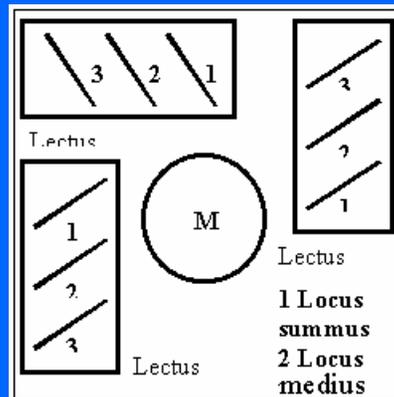
7.6 Floor mosaic (copy, Vatican) -- Triclinium (Pompei)

7.6 The table napkins of the clients

- Romans ate with their hands
- Hand washings (with water and/or perfume) and wipings were frequent
- "Greeks ate with their hands too, but wiped them on pieces of bread" which were thrown to the floor (for the dogs)
- Romans sometimes brought their own napkins to dinner
  - Martial complains of guests who brought large napkins (*mappae*) and filled them up with food

7.6 Sauces made with fish or wine

- *garum* and *liquamen*
  - made from fish entrails, salted and aged (fermented)
  - added to nearly all dishes (fish and meat)
  - Recipe for *garum*: make a mixture of anchovies or mackerel, cover with salt. Leave it out for one night, then put it into a vessel which you place open in the sun for 2-3 months, stirring with a stick at intervals.

- *defrutum*: wine reduced to about one third of its original volume

- *passum*: a sweet wine additive, used as a honey substitute

7.6 Apicius's recipe book (1st? 5th? century CE)

- It includes the following exotic ingredients and recipes
  - Flamingo or parrot with dates and other fruit
  - Dormice, fed with walnuts and chestnuts or stuffed with pork, pinenuts, and *liquamen*
    - The Italian word for "liver," *fegato,* is connected to "figs" because the Romans used to feed animals with figs, believing that this diet would make their livers larger and tastier
  - Moray (raised and farmed in *vivaria*)
  - Petronius's famous description of the <u>dinner offered by rich Roman freedman Trimalchio</u>, in the novel *Satyricon,* contains references to similar exotic dishes