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LOST HISTORIES
SELECTED FRAGMENTS OF
ROMAN HISTORICAL WRITERS

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AJW

ABBREVIATIONS, BIBLIOGRAPHY, REFERENCES

I. Abbreviations

<i>FRHist</i>	T. J. Cornell, ed. <i>The Fragments of the Roman Historians</i> . Vols. I–III (Oxford 2013).
<i>FRM</i>	P. Scholz and U. Walter, <i>Fragmente Römischer Memoiren</i> (Heidelberg 2013).
K–S	R. Kühner and C. Stegmann, <i>Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache</i> . Vol. 2 <i>Satzlehre</i> . Parts 1 and 2. 4th edn. (Repr. Hanover 1971).
L–H–S	M. Leumann, J. B. Hofmann, and A. Szantyr, <i>Lateinische Grammatik</i> . Vol. 2 <i>Syntax und Stilistik</i> . Revised edn. (Munich 1971).
<i>MRR</i>	T. R. S. Broughton, <i>The Magistrates of the Roman Republic</i> . Vols. I–II (New York 1951–60)
<i>OLD</i>	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> .
<i>PH</i>	A. J. Woodman, <i>From Poetry to History: Selected Papers</i> (Oxford 2012).
<i>RICH</i>	A. J. Woodman, <i>Rhetoric in Classical Historiography</i> (London, Sydney and Portland 1988).
<i>TLL</i>	<i>Thesaurus Linguae Latinae</i> .

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(The following works are referred to by author's surname only.)

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- Tränkle, H., 'Beobachtungen und Erwägungen zum Wandel der livianischen Sprache', *WS* 2 (1968) 103–52.

III. References

References to historiographical fragments will be to *FRHist* wherever possible (sometimes further identified by the addition of 'C'), otherwise to Peter or to the most convenient edition (thus Jal for Livy, whose fragments are not included in *FRHist*). As a general rule I have kept doxography to a minimum, since *FRHist* contains extensive bibliographies on each of the historians treated there.

I. Introduction

If we stand on a hill and survey the panorama with which we are confronted, we shall be able to see with relative clarity certain prominent features such as a village below or a mountain opposite; but various features will be more difficult to make out; habitation in some cases may be indicated by a curl of smoke or the course of a road, but the dwellings themselves hidden by a fold in the land; some locations may be known to us by name but entirely invisible, while others will appear as mere dots. It is much the same with Roman historical writing. We have a reasonably clear view of the major authors of whom complete volumes are extant: Sallust, Livy and Tacitus. But the majority of works are known only from surviving fragments or as mere names; most of the fragments are paraphrases and it is impossible to know what the historians actually wrote; and, while a few fragments are direct quotations of some length, many are no more than isolated sentences, phrases, or single words.

As a general rule direct quotations from these historians have been preserved in three main sources: Aulus Gellius, the second-century AD critic and litterateur;¹ Nonius Marcellus, the

¹ Gellius is the subject of much recent interest: see e.g. L. Holford-Strevens, *Aulus Gellius: an Antonine Scholar and his Achievement*² (Oxford 2003), L. Holford-Strevens and A. Vardi, edd., *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius* (Oxford 2004), E. Gunderson, *Nox philologiae: Aulus Gellius and the Fantasy of the Roman Library* (Madison 2009), W. H. Keulen, *Gellius the Satirist: Roman Cultural Authority in Attic Nights* (Leiden 2009), C. Heusch, *Die Macht der Memoria: Die 'Noctes Atticae' des Aulus Gellius im Licht der Erinnerungskultur des 2. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.* (Berlin and New York 2011).

fourth-century dictionary writer;² and other late grammarians.³ It is often remarked that our view of the fragmentary historians has been distorted by their being preserved by authors whose interests were almost exclusively literary or linguistic;⁴ yet it is also salutary to remember that those interests were in no way exceptional. It is absolutely clear from the writings of such major figures as Cicero and Dionysius of Halicarnassus that it was natural to respond to historical texts, including those of the earlier Roman historians, as literary productions.⁵

Modern scholars have adopted three distinct approaches to these fragments. Where a fragment is sufficiently explicit or of sufficient length (a sentence or two, perhaps), they have been concerned above all to associate it with some known historical event. Second, and in keeping with the manner of the fragments' transmission, they have used the vocabulary of the earlier fragments as evidence for the development of the language of Latin prose during the middle and late republic.⁶ Finally scholars have subjected to literary and stylistic analysis those few fragments whose preservation has been relatively

² See A. Chahoud, 'Antiquity and Authority in Nonius Marcellus', in J. H. D. Scourfield, ed. *Texts and Culture in Late Antiquity: Inheritance, Authority and Change* (Swansea 2007) 69–96.

³ There is a full discussion of the citing authorities at *FRHist* I.38–137.

⁴ P. A. Brunt, 'On Historical Fragments and Epitomes', *CQ* 30 (1980) 477–94. Note also T. J. Cornell, 'Deconstructing the Samnite Wars: an Essay in Historiography', in H. Jones, ed., *Samnum: Settlement and Cultural Change* (Providence 2004) 116–18. There seems little of real relevance in G. W. Most, ed., *Collecting Fragments/Fragmente sammeln* (Göttingen 1997).

⁵ This is the argument I put forward in *RICH* and *Encyclopedia of Rhetoric* (ed. T. O. Sloane, Oxford 2001) 337–47.

⁶ The most notable of these are Lebek and J. Briscoe, 'The Language and Style of the Fragmentary Republican Historians', in T. Reinhardt, M. Lapidge and J. N. Adams, edd., *Aspects of the Language of Latin Prose* (Oxford 2005) 53–72.

extensive: this applies primarily but not exclusively to Claudius Quadrigarius.⁷

In recent years scholars have paid considerable attention to the fragments of the earlier Roman historians,⁸ but the field has now been transformed by the magnificent three-volume edition of all the fragmentary Roman historians under the general editorship of T. J. Cornell.⁹ In the following discussion my principal aim—which I acknowledge to be modest—is the selective supplementation of Cornell’s edition, attempting various contextualisations of certain fragments down to the first century AD and focussing mainly, but not entirely, on those which purport to be verbatim quotations.¹⁰ In this way I hope the contours of the landscape may be seen in somewhat sharper relief.¹¹

⁷ Note especially Courtney 74–8 and 141–52, dealing with Cato and Piso as well as Quadrigarius.

⁸ M. Chassignet, *L’annalistique romaine: Tome 1. Les annales des Pontifes et l’annalistique ancienne (fragments)* (Paris 1996); *Tome 2. L’annalistique moyenne (fragments)* (Paris 1999); *Tome 3. L’annalistique récente; l’autobiographie politique (fragments)* (Paris 2004); H. Beck and U. Walter, *Die frühen römischen Historiker, Band 1. Von Fabius Pictor bis Cn. Gellius*² (Stuttgart 2005); *Band 2. Von Coelius Antipater bis Pomponius Atticus* (Stuttgart 2004). Note also the comprehensive discussion, with extensive bibliographies on each historian, in W. Suerbaum, ed., *Handbuch der lateinischen Literatur der Antike. I. Die archaische Literatur von den Anfängen bis Sullas Tod* (Munich 2002) 345–458.

⁹ T. J. Cornell, ed., *The Fragments of the Roman Historians*, Vols. I–III (Oxford 2013), with contributions from E. H. Bispham, J. Briscoe, A. Drummond (to whose memory the volumes are movingly dedicated), B. M. Levick, S. J. Northwood, S. P. Oakley, M. P. Pobjoy, J. W. Rich and C. J. Smith.

¹⁰ In Vol. II of *FRHist* such quotations are identified by ***italic bold*** type.

¹¹ Briscoe’s discussion of the language and style of the fragmentary historians (above, n. 6) is reprinted in a revised form at *FRHist* I.19–38.

II. Latin or Greek? Fabius Pictor

It is one of the minor ironies of history that it is a painted inscription which has preserved a record of Rome's first historian, Fabius Pictor, whose name means 'painter'.¹² The inscription comes from Tauromenium (modern Taormina) in Sicily and is thought to be part of a second-century BC library catalogue.¹³

[Κοίν]τος Φάβι[ο]ς ὁ Πι
 [κτω]ρίνος ἐπικαλού
 [μεν]ος, Ῥωμαῖος, Γαίου
 [υῖό]ς·
 [οὔτο]ς ἱστόρηκεν τὴν
 [τοῦ Ἡ]ρακλέους ἄφιξιν
 [- ca. 3 -] . . [Ι]ταλίαν καὶ α . . εἰ
 [- ca. 4 -] .ον Λανοίου συμ
 [- ca. 4 -] Ν ὑπὸ Αἰνεία καὶ
 [- ca. 4 -] πολὺ ὕστε
 [ρον ἐγ]έροντο Ῥωμύλος
 [καὶ Ῥ]έμος καὶ Ῥώμης
 [κτίσις ὑ]πὸ Ῥωμύ<λ>ου, [--]
 [- ca. 6 -] . . βασιλεῖ / [--]

Quintus Fabius surnamed Pictorinus, a Roman, son of Gaius. He recorded the arrival of Herakles in Italy, and ... of Lanoios ... by Aeneas and ... much later there were Romulus and Remus, and the foundation of Rome by Romulus ... (?) reigned ...

¹² On Pictor see *FRHist* I.160–78, II.32–105, III.13–49 (E. H. Bispham, T. J. Cornell).

¹³ *SEG* 26.1123; see G. Manganaro, 'Una biblioteca storica nel ginnasio di Tauromenion e il *P. Oxy.* 1241', *PP* 29 (1974) 389–409; Battistoni 175–8.

‘Pictorinus’ (lines 1–2) is a unique variant on Pictor,¹⁴ the name acquired by the historian’s grandfather for a wall-painting of his own: he decorated the walls of the Temple of Salus in Rome in 304 BC. Unfortunately none of our sources mentions the scene(s) which the elder Pictor chose to paint,¹⁵ but, since the temple had been vowed a few years earlier by C. Junius Bubulcus when he was in danger of being defeated by the Samnites,¹⁶ we may perhaps assume that there were depictions of battle: Livy tells us that in 174 BC the temple of Mater Matuta was decorated with ‘painted representations of fighting’ (41.28.10: ‘*simulacra pugnarum picta*’), and Virgil’s description of the battles on Dido’s temple murals (*Aen.* 1.456–7: ‘*uidet Iliacas ex ordine pugnas | bellaque iam fama totum uulgata per orbem*’) is presumably based on Roman practice; elsewhere we hear of depictions of triumphs (Fest. 228.20: ‘*in altera M. Fuluius Flaccus, in altera T. Papirius Cursor triumphantes ita picti sunt*’).¹⁷ There was perhaps some representation of the goddess Salus herself too.

The elder Pictor was sufficiently proud of his art work to sign it with his name, a flourish which Valerius Maximus thinks sufficiently noteworthy to record (8.14.6). It is attractive to speculate that it was this artistic pride of his grandfather which encouraged Fabius Pictor to become Rome’s first historian. The link between literature and painting went back centuries to

¹⁴ *FRHist* I.163, referring to ‘the important discussion’ of Oakley on Liv. 7.1.2 (n. *Mamercus*).

¹⁵ Cic. *TD* 1.4; Val. Max. 8.14.6; Plin. *NH* 35.19; perhaps also D. Hal. *A.R.* 16.3.2. In general on the temple note A. Clark, *Divine Qualities: Cult and Community in Republican Rome* (Oxford 2007) 51–2.

¹⁶ See Oakley on Liv. 9.43.25.

¹⁷ See G. Zinserling, ‘Studien zu den Historiendarstellungen der römischen Republik’, *Wiss. Zeitschr. Jena* 9 (1959–60) 408–9; for depictions of triumphs see also M. Koortbojian, ‘A Painted *Exemplum* at Rome’s Temple of Liberty’, *JRS* 92 (2002) 35–6 and n. 16.

Simonides, who famously called a picture silent poetry and poetry a speaking picture (Plut. *Mor.* 17F, 58B, 346F), and Polybius would later draw comparisons between painting and the writing of history in particular (12.25h.2–3, cf. 25e.7). Livy constructs another such analogy in his preface (10):

hoc illud est praecipue in cognitione rerum salubre ac frugiferum, omnis te exempli documenta in inlustri posita monumento intueri: inde tibi tuaeque rei publicae quod imitere capias, inde foedum inceptu foedum exitu quod uites.

This is that particularly salubrious and fruitful feature of learning about things, that you gaze at models of every example placed on a gleaming monument: from there you may derive for yourself and for your commonwealth not only what you can imitate but also the foul in inception and foul in conclusion which you can avoid.

It seems usually to be thought that Livy is here comparing his history to an inscribed monument;¹⁸ but, given that prefaces are densely allusive texts, Livy is perhaps thinking of murals on the walls of a temple and is alluding to Fabius Pictor by way of his grandfather's famous achievement.¹⁹ We know from the tomb of a Q. Fabius on the Esquiline that paintings of battle scenes could be equipped with labels and inscriptions, identifying the protagonists and scenes and serving as a didactic and commemorative aid; and such information may well have been inscribed on his temple painting by Pictor, who has

¹⁸ For the monument see e.g. M. Jaeger, *Livy's Written Rome* (Ann Arbor 1997) 15–29; A. Feldherr, *Spectacle and Society in Livy's History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 1998) 1–7, 31ff.; J. L. Moles in Chaplin–Kraus 72–3.

¹⁹ For *monumentum* used of, or in connection with, temples see *TLL* 8.1464.8–27.

indeed been thought by some to be also the painter of the Esquiline mural.²⁰ We may certainly assume that Pictor was much on Livy's mind as he approached Book 1. There was a natural tendency for historians to privilege the oldest authors for the oldest events,²¹ and Pictor, to whom Livy first refers at 1.44.2, is commended both there and shortly afterwards on precisely these grounds (1.44.2: *antiquissimus*; 1.55.8–9: *antiquior*); Livy's reference to what is *salubre* for the *res publica* might even be a reference to the Temple of Salus which the elder Pictor decorated.

The surviving fragments indicate that Fabius Pictor's work covered many hundreds of years, from legendary times down to the battle of Trasimene in 217 BC (of which he was a contemporary),²² yet from this considerable output only seven precious words, constituting two fragments (4d and 4e), are indisputably assigned to Fabius Pictor. Discussing the gender of various nouns, Quintilian supports his argument by adducing 'the book in which Varro narrates the beginnings of the City of Rome' (1.6.12 = F4d): 'Varro in eo libro quo initia Romanae urbis enarrat lupum feminam dicit, Ennium Pictoremque Fabium secutus'. The key words *lupum feminam dicit* could mean that Varro 'makes "wolf" feminine',²³ but the reference to Ennius, whose expression happens to have been preserved (*Ann.* 65: 'lupus femina feta repente'; 66: 'indotuetur ibi lupus femina, conspicit omnis'), confirms that *femina* is here being used differently and that Pictor's words evidently were 'female wolf'.²⁴ The second fragment (4e) derives from the grammarian

²⁰ For the painting on the Esquiline see P. J. Holliday, *The Origins of Roman Historical Commemoration in the Visual Arts* (Cambridge 2002) 83–91.

²¹ See Marincola 281–2.

²² See *FRHist* II.46–99.

²³ For this use of *femina*, evidently a favourite of Varro, see *TLL* 6.1.464.25–45; for the gender of *lupus* see *TLL* 7.2.1852.9–19.

²⁴ For this usage see *OLD femina* 3a.

Nonius Marcellus, who has a note about Pictor which reads: ‘Fabius Pictor rerum gestarum lib. I “et simul uidebant picum Martium”’, ‘and at the same time [*or* as soon as] they saw the woodpecker of Mars’.

In addition to these two fragments there are two others (F29 and F31) in which direct quotations are attributed to a ‘Fabius’ who may or may not be Pictor. Commenting on two lines of *Aeneid* 8 (630–1: ‘fecerat et uiridi fetam Mauortis in antro | procubuisse lupam’), Servius observes (F29): ‘potest accipi et “fecerat lupam Mauortis” et “Mauortis in antro” (Fabius “spelunca Martis” dixit)’, ‘This can be interpreted both as “he had made the she-wolf of Mars” and as “in the cave of Mars” (Fabius said “the grotto of Mars”)’. A story in Aulus Gellius has a *grammaticus* opening a book of ‘Fabii annales’ (5.4.3 = F31): ‘ostendebat grammaticus ita scriptum in libro quarto: “quapropter tum primum ex plebe alter consul factus est duouicesimo anno postquam Romam Galli ceperunt”’ (‘the critic showed that it was written as follows in the fourth book: “that was therefore the first time one of the two consuls was appointed from the *plebs*, in the twenty-second year after the Gauls took Rome”).

Whether or not the two latter fragments are authentic Pictor, the striking feature of all of them is that they are in Latin, whereas the scholarly consensus is that Pictor wrote in Greek.²⁵ His chosen task, according to Badian in a classic essay, was that of ‘writing a Roman history in Greek’; ‘he wrote in Greek’, says Dillery, and, adds Beck, ‘it is easy to see why’.²⁶ It

²⁵ Peter in fact lists the Latin fragments separately (on pp. 112–13) from the Greek (pp. 5–39), and Jacoby does the same (*FGrHist* 809 FF 1–27 and FF 28–33). See *FRHist* I.163–6.

²⁶ E. Badian, ‘The Early Historians’, in T. A. Dorey, ed., *Latin Historians* (London 1966) 4; J. Dillery, ‘Roman Historians and the Greeks’, in A. Feldherr, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Historians* (Cambridge 2009) 78; H. Beck, ‘The Early Roman Tradition’, in J. Marincola, ed., *A*

is in fact not so easy to see why. Though scholars used to take it for granted that upper-class Romans were utterly at home in Greek, more recent research has tended to qualify this assumption and to suggest that a fluent knowledge of Greek was by no means universal.²⁷ The consensus that Pictor wrote in Greek is based partly on Dionysius of Halicarnassus, who early in the first book of his *Roman Antiquities* refers to ‘those of the Romans who wrote the ancient deeds of the City in the Greek language [Ἑλληνικῇ διαλέκτῳ], of whom the oldest are Quintus Fabius and Lucius Cincius’ (1.6.2). It is generally assumed that this Quintus Fabius is Fabius Pictor, especially since later in Book 1, in wording resembling the Tauromenium mural, he refers to ‘Quintus Fabius, called Pictor’ (1.79.4: ὁ Πίκτωρ λεγόμενος). On the latter occasion too he proceeds to mention L. Cincius Alimentus, whose one surviving fragment has been preserved by the fifth-century mythographer Fulgentius (*Serm. Ant.* 8 = F11):

silicernios dici uoluerunt senes iam incuruos quasi iam sepulchrorum suorum silices cernentes: unde et Cincius Alimentus in historia de Gorgia Leontino scribit dicens: ‘qui dum iam silicernius finem sui temporis expectaret, etsi morti non potuit, tamen infirmitatibus exultauit’.

They [sc. the ancients] wanted old men who were already bowed to be called *silicernii*, as if they were already gazing at the stones of their own tombs. Hence Cincius Alimentus

Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography (Malden, Mass. and Oxford 2007) I.260.

²⁷ See N. Horsfall, ‘Doctus sermones utriusque linguae?’, *EMC/CNV* 23 (1979) 79–95; Adams 3–14. This position is endorsed by B. Buszard (‘The Nature and Provenance of the Greek Translations of Fabius Pictor’, *CPh* 110 (2015) 22–53 at 23) but he nevertheless takes it for granted that Pictor wrote in Greek.

too in his history writes about Gorgias of Leontini, saying this: ‘while he was awaiting the end of his time, being already a *silicernius*, he scoffed at infirmities even if he could not scoff at death’.

Unless Fulgentius or his source has confused Alimentus with some other Cincius,²⁸ we have here another example of an early Roman historian whose surviving words are not in the language in which he is said to have written. And in this case the matter is further complicated because *silicernius* can be etymologised only in Latin (*silices* + *cerno*), not Greek.

Dionysius’ information about Pictor is possibly supported by a fragmentary Greek papyrus if, as has been suggested, the papyrus comprises an epitome of part of Pictor’s history,²⁹ although obviously it does not necessarily follow that the original on which the epitome is based was also written in Greek. On the other hand, Dionysius’ information is certainly supported by an interesting passage of Cicero’s *De Divinatione* (1.40–3), where Cicero puts into the mouth of his brother, Quintus, two poetic accounts of dreams: the first is Ennius’ narrative of Rhea Silvia’s dream, which he calls a ‘fiction’ (*ficta*), the second is Hecuba’s dream as told by an anonymous poet. After stressing that this dream too is fictional (‘*somnia fabularum*’), he then provides a third example (1.43 = Pictor F1):

²⁸ The fragment is not recognised by Peter. Confusingly there was another Cincius, an antiquarian, on whom see E. Rawson, *Intellectual Life in the Late Roman Republic* (London 1985) 247–8.

²⁹ D. Hoyos, ‘Polybius and the Papyrus: the Persuasiveness of *P. Rylands* III 491’, *ZPE* 134 (2001) 71–9, esp. 76.

his ... adiungatur etiam Aeneae somnium, quod inuentum in³⁰ Fabii Pictoris Graecis annalibus eius modi est ut omnia quae ab Aenea gesta sunt quaeque illi acciderunt ea fuerint quae ei secundum quietem uisa sunt.

to them may also be added the dream of Aeneas which is found in the Greek annals of Fabius Pictor and is of such a kind that everything that was done by Aeneas and happened to him were the things that appeared to him in his sleep.

Aeneas' dream, whose relationship to his real-life adventures is sharpened by an allusion to Aristotle's famous definition of history as 'what Alcibiades did or what he experienced' (*Poet.* 1451b11 τί Ἀλκιβιάδης ἔπραξεν ἢ τί ἔπαθεν), is explicitly said to be found in 'the Greek annals of Fabius Pictor'. But, while Cicero may be taken to support Dionysius, his statement perhaps implies that there was also a Latin annals by Fabius and that Cicero needed to specify which work—Latin or Greek—he was referring to.³¹ Moreover this very specification suggests that the story of Aeneas' dream was not to be found in Fabius' Latin annals.

The existence of a history in Latin is relevant to two other passages of Cicero. A little later in the *De Diuinatione* Quintus makes a show of turning from Greek subjects, and the Greek authors who treat them, to Roman (1.55 = Pictor F14):

³⁰ *inuentum in* is my suggestion for the transmitted *in numerum*, which has been variously emended.

³¹ For the implication of Latin annals see e.g. Pease ad loc. The implication is supported by the fact that, when an adjective such as *Graecus* is placed before its noun, as here, it is likely that the adjective is being used contrastively: see J. Marouzeau, *L'ordre des mots dans la phrase latine* (Paris 1922) I.16ff.

Sed quid ego Graecorum? nescio quo modo me magis nostra delectant. omnes hoc historici, Fabii, Gellii, sed maxime³² Coelius.

But why am I going on about Greek cases? Somehow our own have a greater attraction for me, and all our historians have this story—Fabii, Gellii, but above all Coelius.

It is usually assumed that *Fabii* is a generalised reference to Fabius Pictor, but it is rather odd to make so dramatic a switch from Greek to Roman if the first historian to be mentioned had written in Greek. On the other hand, the story which Quintus thus introduces (*hoc*) concerns the *ludi instauratiui*:

cum bello Latino ludi uotiu maxumi primum fierent, ciuitas ad arma repente est excitata, itaque ludis intermissis instauratiui constituti sunt.

When the votive Greatest Games were first being held during the Latin war, the community was suddenly summoned to arms and, the games having thus been interrupted, resumptive ones (*instauratiui*) were established.

The story which follows is an aetiological narrative involving a slave carrying a cross (*furcam ferens*): this makes no sense in terms of the resumptive games, since there is no obvious connection between *furca* and *instauratiuus*; it is only if the story is told in Greek that sense is produced, since the Greek for ‘cross’ is *σταυρός*.³³ This passage, which nicely encapsulates the

³² *maxime* is T. P. Wiseman’s suggestion (*CQ* 29 (1979) 142–4) for the transmitted *proxime*.

³³ Cf. Macrob. *Sat.* 1.11.5 ‘isque instauraticius dictus est non a patibulo, ut quidam putant, Graeco nomine ἀπὸ τοῦ σταυροῦ, sed a redintegratione, ut Varroni placet’.

linguistic issues associated with Pictor's work, represents the converse phenomenon from that illustrated earlier by Alimentus, who is said to have written in Greek but whose one extant fragment is in Latin and depends for its survival on a Latin etymology (above, pp. 9–10).

The second passage comes from a famous discussion in Cicero's *De Oratore* (2.51–3):

‘atqui, ne nostros contempnas’, inquit Antonius, ‘Graeci quoque sic initio scriptitarunt ut noster Cato, ut Pictor, ut Piso. erat enim historia nihil aliud nisi annalium confectio, cuius rei memoriaeque publicae retinendae causa ab initio rerum Romanarum usque ad P. Mucium pontificem maximum res omnes singulorum annorum mandabat litteris pontifex maximus efferebatque in album et proponebat tabulam domi, potestas ut esset populo cognoscendi, eique etiam nunc annales maximi nominantur. hanc similitudinem scribendi multi secuti sunt, qui sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum gestarumque rerum reliquerunt. itaque, qualis apud Graecos Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilas fuit aliique permulti, talis noster Cato et Pictor et Piso, qui neque tenent quibus rebus ornetur oratio (modo enim huc ista sunt importata) et, dum intellegatur quid dicant, unam dicendi laudem putant esse breuitatem.’

‘And yet you should not look down on our people’, said Antonius; ‘in the beginning the Greeks too wrote just like our Cato, Pictor, Piso. For history was nothing other than a compilation of annals, and it was for that reason and for retaining an official record that the pontifex maximus wrote down all matters from the beginning of Roman affairs right up to the pontificate of P. Mucius, copied them onto a white-board, and displayed the panel at his

house, so that the people should have the power of knowledge, and they are still called the *Annales Maximi* now. A similar manner of writing was followed by the many who without any ornamentation have left only markers of times, men, places and achievements. And so, just as the Greeks had their Pherecydes, Hellanicus, Acusilas and many others, so there was our Cato and Pictor and Piso, who do not have the wherewithal to adorn their speech (for those things have only recently been imported here) and, provided that what they say is intelligible, think that the one virtue of speaking is brevity.

Since Cicero in the person of Antonius is here talking not about crudities of style (in the sense of vocabulary or sentence structure and the like) but about defective content,³⁴ his repeated comparison between early Greek and early Roman historians would not be fatally damaged if he were referring to a Greek work of Pictor's: it is relatively easy to compare the degree to which two sets of narratives lack elaboration, even if those narratives are written in two different languages. On the other hand Cicero inserts Pictor out of chronological order between two historians who wrote in Latin, and his comparison between the two traditions would certainly be rendered much less effective if he were referring to a Greek work.³⁵ Similar

³⁴ According to Briscoe (*FRHist* I.20), 'The majority of us believe that Cicero was talking about style and not, as Woodman argues, content', a position which he defends with reference to an article by his pupil Northwood. Briscoe is of course entitled to his interpretation of Cicero, but he cannot fail to know that Northwood's attack on me was based on a complete misunderstanding and misrepresentation of my arguments, as I pointed out in 'Cicero on Historiography: *De Oratore* 2.51–64', *CJ* 104 (2008) 23–31 (an article cited in an entirely different connection only at *FRHist* I.60).

³⁵ It is interesting that, when B. Gentili and G. Cerri say that Cicero is here referring to 'the first Roman historians in Latin, from Cato to L.

considerations apply to Cicero's list of historians in the *De Legibus*, where Fabius is placed correctly between the *Annales Maximi* and Cato,³⁶ both of them Latin, while Fronto's statement that Pictor wrote 'incondite' ('crudely') would make little sense in context if he were not referring to the style of his Latin.³⁷ The cumulative evidence therefore suggests very strongly that Pictor's work existed in Latin as well as Greek,³⁸ but there seems to be no easy solution to the problem of the relationship between the two.

The consistent assumption of the ancients that Pictor wrote a work in Latin perhaps implies that he himself translated his work from one language to the other. Those

Calpurnius Piso Frugi' (*History and Biography in Ancient Thought* (Amsterdam 1988) 50–1), they ignore entirely the presence of Pictor, whose use of Greek they had earlier gone to great lengths to explain (pp. 36ff.). Indeed their whole discussion of 'aspects and trends in archaic Roman historiography', confidently assigning this or that historian to the various so-called 'schools' of Greek historiography, betrays no awareness that virtually nothing of these early historians survives.

³⁶ Cf. *Leg.* 1.6: 'post annalis pontificum maximorum, quibus nihil potest esse icinius, si aut ad Fabium aut ad eum qui tibi semper in ore est, Catonem, aut ad Pisonem aut ad Fannium aut ad Vennonium uenias, quamquam ex his alius alio plus habet uirium, tamen quid tam exile quam isti omnes?' ('after the annals of the high priests, than which there can be nothing more starved, if you come to Fabius or the one who is always on your lips, Cato, or Piso or Fannius or Vennonius, although some of these have more energy than others, nevertheless what is as emaciated as all of them?'). Though this passage is usually said to concern 'style' (e.g. by Dyck in his commentary), the similarity to *De Oratore* 2.51–3 makes it almost certain that Cicero is referring to the content of works written in Latin.

³⁷ Front. p. 134.1–2 vdH²: 'historiam quoque scripsere Sallustius structe, Pictor incondite ...'. The numerous authors whom Fronto lists in this passage all wrote in Latin.

³⁸ *Contra* J. Dillery, 'Quintus Fabius Pictor and Greco-Roman Historiography at Rome', in J. F. Miller, C. Damon and K. S. Myers, edd., *Vertis in Usum: Studies in Honor of E. Courtney* (Munich 2002) 1–23 (4: 'it has been largely ruled out that there was ever a Latin version of his work').

scholars who accept this conclusion assume that Pictor translated his Greek text into Latin; the possibility that he first wrote in Latin and subsequently translated his text into Greek has not found favour,³⁹ though it seems at least as logical as the converse. It would nevertheless be highly unusual for the same author to have written the *same* work in both Latin and Greek. Cicero wrote a Greek *commentarius* of his consulship and thought that he might also write a Latin equivalent (*Att.* 1.19.10), but the latter was never written, as far as we know, while the Greek version, despite its ornamentation, was intended merely as a kind of draft on which he hoped Posidonius would base his own, still more elaborate, account (*Att.* 2.1.2: below, p. 43). As an ‘honorary Greek’ Atticus too had written a Greek work on Cicero’s consulship:⁴⁰ it is called a *commentarius* by Cicero (*Att.* 2.1.1) and a *liber* by Nepos (*Att.* 18.6);⁴¹ but it is clear from Nepos that the Greek work was a ‘one off’ and that his other historiography was in Latin. No verbatim fragment survives from either work. A possible exception is P. Rutilius Rufus, the consul of 105 BC, who wrote a history of Rome (Athen. 274C: τὴν πατριον ἱστορίαν) and an autobiography (*De uita sua*, as the grammarian Charisius always refers to it): the former is said to have been written in Greek (Athen. 168D), and there are no surviving verbatim fragments to contradict, while the few fragments of the latter are all in Latin (FF1–9 = *FRHist* II.462–4 = *FRM* 63–6). Some scholars have nevertheless thought that the two works were identical with each other apart from the languages in which they were written, but the quite different titles (if correctly reported) make

³⁹ Leo’s idea is described as ‘perverse’ in *FRHist* I.165 n. 24, but, at a time when Livius Andronicus and Plautus were devoting their efforts to making existing Greek works accessible in Latin, it seems at least as perverse to assume that Pictor would ignore Latin in favour of Greek.

⁴⁰ *FRHist* I.346–7.

⁴¹ See *FRHist* I.346–7.

this unlikely.⁴² The commonest examples of bilingual texts are inscriptions, but these are scarcely a parallel for a literary production.⁴³

It is perhaps therefore more likely that Pictor's work was translated by a third party. C. Acilius, a senator who was keen to offer his services as an interpreter when Carneades and his fellow Greek philosophers visited Rome in 155 BC (Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 22.4; Gell. 6.14.9), also wrote a history in Greek (Cic. *Off.* 3.115; Liv. *per.* 53).⁴⁴ In his case no allegedly verbatim fragments have survived, but Livy twice refers to the relationship between a later historian, whom he calls simply 'Claudius', and Acilius. It is generally assumed that the Claudius in question is Quadrigarius, whose work in twenty-three books began with the Gallic sack of Rome in 390 BC and ended with the turbulent events of his own lifetime in the 80s or even later (below, pp. 55–8); more problematic is the nature of his relationship with Acilius. In his narrative of 193 BC Livy says no more than that this Claudius was 'following the Greek books of Acilius' (35.14.5: 'secutus Graecos Acilianos libros'), but earlier, in his narrative of 211, he is more specific (25.39.12): 'Claudius, qui annales Acilianos ex Graeco in Latinum sermonem uertit'. If this latter passage means that Claudius translated Acilius' Greek history into Latin, it would provide a parallel for the notion that Pictor's Greek history was translated into Latin by a third party; but we are warned that Livy's evidence is 'not to be taken as meaning that Claudius published a translation of

⁴² For this issue see *FRHist* I.280; the editors' position is that there were two distinct works but that their contents 'overlapped considerably'.

⁴³ For all aspects of bilingualism see Adams.

⁴⁴ For Acilius see *FRHist* I.224–6, II.272–81, III.185–91 (E. H. Bispham, S. J. Northwood).

Acilius' history'.⁴⁵ The problem is that *uertere* and its compound *conuertere* are regular Latin terms for 'the activity of translation, but are in themselves very general and non-technical and do not imply anything about the degree of closeness or freedom':⁴⁶ in fact, 'translation' seems to have been almost as elastic a concept in ancient Rome as it is in the modern world today. Gellius, for example, uses *uertere* of renderings of Homer by Virgil which we should probably describe as 'imitation'; and indeed it is perhaps arguable that Gellius uses *imitari* as a synonym for *uertere* (9.9).⁴⁷ On this basis one might well use *uertere* to describe the way in which Livy himself renders Polybius,⁴⁸ and this in its turn might perhaps explain Livy's use of *uertere* to describe Quadrigarius' processing of Acilius. On the other hand the expression *ex Graeco in Latinum sermonem* seems far too specifically linguistic to refer to anything other than a translation of Acilius, while the plural *annales Acilianos* suggests the translation of a whole work rather than the creative adaptation of certain individual passages.

⁴⁵ Briscoe on Liv. 35.14.5–12 (p. 165, emphasis added). It will be noted that Livy, like Cicero at *Div.* 1.43 (above, n. 31), places *Graecos* before *libros*; in this case the contrast is presumably with Quadrigarius' Latin books.

⁴⁶ Powell 278. For further discussion see A. Traina, *Vortit barbare: Le traduzioni poetiche da Livio Andronico a Cicerone*² (Rome 1974); D. M. Possanza, *Translating the Heavens: Aratus, Germanicus, and the Poetics of Latin Translation* (New York 2004); M. Bettini, *Vertere: un'antropologia della traduzione nella cultura antica* (Turin 2012); J. Glucker and C. Burnett, edd., *Greek into Latin from Antiquity until the Nineteenth Century* (London 2012); C. Bonnet and F. Bouchet, edd., *Translatio: traduire et adapter les Anciens* (Paris 2013); S. McElduff, *Roman Theories of Translation: Surpassing the Source* (London and New York 2013).

⁴⁷ This is not, however, the interpretation by Lindermann in his commentary on 9.9.1.

⁴⁸ See e.g. the tabulated comparison of Liv. 21.35.10–38.2 and Pol. 3.54.4–56.4 in D. S. Levene, *Livy on the Hannibalic War* (Oxford 2010) 136–8. His whole discussion of such matters is essential reading.

If the case of Quadrigarius and Acilius does indeed provide some kind of parallel for the translation of Pictor's work by a third party, who might this third party have been? Some scholars have seen here a role for Numerius Fabius Pictor, Quintus' probable grandson and a man described in the *Brutus* as 'properly skilled in the law, literature and antiquity' (Cic. *Brut.* 81).⁴⁹ But a quite different scenario can also be suggested. Livy refers to the historian on six different occasions in his first and third decades: on the very first occasion he calls him Fabius Pictor (1.44.2); on the other five occasions, like the overwhelming majority of other authors, he calls him simply Fabius (1.55.8, 2.40.10, 8.30.9, 10.37.14, 22.7.4). It will be seen that the last of these occasions comes early in Book 22, where Livy describes him as 'contemporary with the time' of the Second Punic War ('aequalem temporibus huiusce belli'); later in the same book (22.57.5) he tells us that a Quintus Fabius Pictor was sent on a mission to Delphi; and early in Book 23 (11.1) he tells us that this same Quintus Fabius Pictor returned from his mission. There are three striking features about Livy's procedure. The first is that he does not identify the envoy with the historian, even though two of the relevant references occur in the same book. The second is that he describes the historian as a contemporary at the time but not as a participant in events: it is true that being a contemporary was an important factor for later historians when they were selecting their sources, but being an actual participant in events was *a fortiori* even more of a recommendation.⁵⁰ And the third feature is that, if the historian and the envoy were the same person, it is very odd that Livy provides his full nomenclature only on his last two appearances and not on his very first in Book 1. These

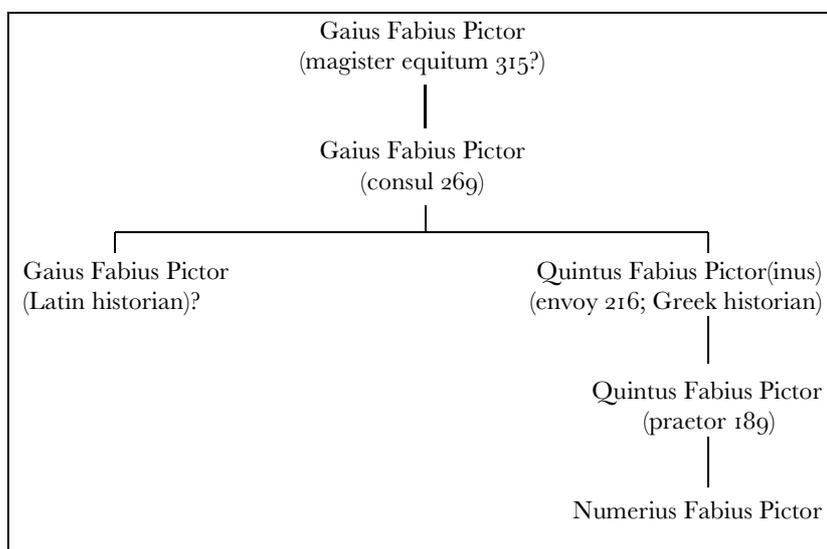
⁴⁹ See e.g. E. Badian, 'An un-serius Fabius', *LCM* 1 (1976) 97–8, in response to a characteristically ingenious and provocative article by H. Mattingly (below, n. 52).

⁵⁰ See Marincola 63ff., 133ff.

three peculiarities suggest one of two conclusions: either Livy did not realise that the envoy and the historian were the same person or he regarded them as two different persons. Which of these alternatives is the more likely?

Only in two of our sources is the historian both described as such and given three names: the Tauromenium inscription, where his cognomen is Pictorinus and he is described as ‘son of Gaius’, and in a passage of Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. Rom.* 1.79.4), who elsewhere prefers to call him either Quintus Fabius or, as does everyone else, simply Fabius. Is it possible that Gaius Fabius Pictor, the consul of 269, had another son in addition to the envoy to Delphi? This other son, probably a first-born and called Gaius after his father,⁵¹ wrote the history in Latin which earned him his place in Cicero’s lists of the early Latin historians, which was used by Livy, and of which a mere seven genuine words have survived. The Quintus who wrote the history in Greek which was mentioned by Cicero and by Dionysius was this man’s brother, namely, the envoy to Delphi, since according to Appian he was also a historian (*Hann.* 27 (116)):

⁵¹ ‘There was a strong tendency for the first-born male child to be given the same name as the father’ (B. Salway, ‘What’s in a Name? A Survey of Roman Onomastic Practice from c. 700 BC to AD 700’, *JRS* 84 (1994) 124–45 at 125). See O. Salomies, *Die römischen Vornamen: Studien zur römischen Namengebung* (Helsinki 1987) 211–26 for a summary of the received opinion that this is true if not invariably true; he offers some examples where this is not the case, a good number of them (however) imperial.



Whether or not this suggestion is more plausible than the notion that Quintus Fabius Pictor was virtually unique in translating his own work from one language to the other, it is clearly possible that the innumerable references to a Fabius in our sources—even those to a Fabius Pictor—refer to more than one person. This indeed has been believed by numerous scholars: in fact, Peter refers to two different Pictors, since in his opinion the Pictor who wrote in Latin was a different and later person from Quintus Fabius Pictor.⁵² We certainly should not be surprised that two brothers were attracted to literary pursuits: Cicero and his brother Quintus both wrote verse,

⁵² Peter thus differs from Jacoby who thought that the Greek and Latin fragments were from two different works by the same Pictor (see above, n. 25). H. Mattingly's theory ('Q. Fabius Pictor, Father of Roman History', *LCM* 1 (1976) 3–7) was that Q. Fabius Pictor, the praetor of 189, wrote the Latin annals and that the Greek version was produced by Numerius Fabius Pictor.

while it is likely that the elder and younger Tubero, father and son, wrote history.⁵³

III. Greek and Latin. Postumius Albinus

Justin, at some unknown date, begins his epitome of the Augustan historian Pompeius Trogus with these words (*praef.* 1):

Cum multi ex Romanis etiam consularis dignitatis uiri res Romanas Graeco peregrinoque sermone in historiam contulissent, seu aemulatione gloriae siue uarietate et nouitate operis delectatus uir priscae eloquentiae, Trogius Pompeius, Graecas et totius orbis historias Latino sermone composuit.

Although many Romans, even men of consular rank, had consigned Roman affairs to the historical record in the foreign language of Greek, Trogius Pompeius, a man of old-fashioned eloquence, either to rival their glory or delighting in the variety and novelty of the task, compiled a universal history, including that of Greece, in the Latin language.

No doubt ‘many’ (*multi*) is the result of some exaggeration, either by Justin or by Trogius himself, in order to emphasise the novelty of the latter’s work; but another Roman who is said to have written a history in Greek is Postumius Albinus, the consul of 151 BC (Cic. *Brut.* 81: ‘is qui Graece scripsit historiam’, cf. *Acad.* 2.137).⁵⁴ The context to this information is supplied by Polybius (39.1.3–7 = F1a):

⁵³ For the Tuberones see *FRHist* I.361–7.

⁵⁴ For Postumius see *FRHist* I.185–90, II.124–33, III.59–62 (S. J. Northwood).

From childhood he had set his heart on acquiring Greek education and the Greek language; and in these he was so excessively eager that on account of him even interest in the study of Greek literature became offensive in the eyes of the older and most distinguished Romans; ultimately he attempted to write a poem and a history of affairs [*πραγματικὴν ἱστορίαν*], in the preface to which he calls on his readers to forgive him if, as a Roman [*Ῥωμαῖος ὄν*], he is not able completely to master the Greek language and the correct arrangement when handling the material [*τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν χειρισμὸν οἰκονομίας*]. To this Marcus Cato quite properly thought to reply, for he said that he wondered with what reason he had made such an apology: for, if the Amphictyonic Council had instructed him to write history, he might have needed to mention these matters and to apologise; but, since there was no compulsion, to write voluntarily and then to beg forgiveness if he spoke like a barbarian was completely absurd.

The version of this story given by Aulus Gellius is as follows (11.8.1–5 = F1b):

iuste uenusteque admodum reprehendisse dicitur Aulum Albinum M. Cato. Albinus, qui cum L. Lucullo consul fuit, res Romanas oratione Graeca scriptitauit. in eius historiae principio scriptum est ad hanc sententiam: neminem suscensere sibi conuenire, si quid in his libris parum composite aut minus eleganter scriptum foret: ‘nam sum’, inquit, ‘homo Romanus, natus in Latio; Graeca oratio a nobis alienissima est’; ideoque ueniam gratiamque malae existimationis, si quid esset erratum, postulauit. ea cum

legisset M. Cato, ‘ne⁵⁵ tu’, inquit, ‘Aule, nimium nugator es, cum maluisti culpam deprecari quam culpa uacare. nam petere ueniam solemus aut cum imprudentes errauimus aut cum compulsi peccauimus. tibi’, inquit, ‘oro te, quis perpulit ut id committeres quod, priusquam faceres, peteres ut ignosceretur?’ scriptum hoc est in libro Corneli Nepotis De Inlustribus Viris XIII.

M. Cato is said to have criticised Aulus Albinus quite properly and charmingly. Albinus, who was consul with L. Lucullus, wrote of Roman affairs in the Greek language. In the preface to his history it is written along these lines, that no one should be angry with him if any of his writing in these books was insufficiently neat or less than elegant. ‘For I am a Roman’, he said, ‘born in Latium; the Greek language is very foreign to us.’ And for that reason he demanded indulgence and dispensation from any unfavourable opinion if there were any mistakes. When M. Cato read this, he said, ‘Truly, Aulus, you cannot be serious in preferring to be excused the consequences of your fault rather than to be free of the fault itself. We are accustomed to seek indulgence either when we make a mistake unwittingly or when we have done wrong under compulsion. I ask you, who drove you to commit something for which you sought pardon before you did it?’ This is written in Book 13 of Cornelius Nepos’ *On Illustrious Men*.

Somewhat similar remarks are made centuries later by the Jewish historian Josephus, whose historical works are written in Greek but whose native languages were Hebrew and Aramaic (*AJ* 1.7): ‘I experienced delay and hesitation at transferring such a subject to a linguistic convention alien and foreign to me’ (cf.

⁵⁵ This is Cato’s little joke, since *ne* is equivalent to the Greek *νή*.

20.263; *c. Ap.* 1.50). Later still, Apuleius seeks pardon (*uenia*) for similar reasons (*Met.* 1.1.4–6):

mox in urbe Latia aduena studiorum Quiritium indigenam sermonem aerumnabili labore nullo magistro praeunte aggressus excolui. en ecce praefamur ueniam, siquid exotici ac forensis sermonis rudis locutor offendero.

Thereafter in the Latin city as a foreigner to the studies of Rome I took on and developed the local language with laborious effort and without the lead of a master. Look then, I ask your pardon at the beginning, if I commit any offence, being an inexperienced speaker of the language of the forum which is foreign to me.⁵⁶

In the case of Postumius Albinus it is worth remembering the story of L. Postumius Megellus, who in 282 BC had conducted negotiations with the representatives of Tarentum in their native language of Greek. It seems, however, that Megellus' knowledge of Greek was less than perfect, and the Tarentines' response to his inaccuracies was so insulting that the Romans declared war on them.⁵⁷ Unfortunately we do not know whether the historian Postumius was a descendant of the ambassador Postumius, but his attempt to forestall and prevent his readers' displeasure was perhaps prompted by a famous episode in the history of his *gens*.

Whereas the accounts of Postumius' preface are very similar in Polybius and Gellius (note especially *Ῥωμαῖος ὄν* ~ *homo Romanus*), it is only the latter who purports to record the

⁵⁶ Translated by S. Harrison and M. Winterbottom in A. Kahane and A. Laird, edd., *A Companion to the Prologue of Apuleius' Metamorphoses* (Oxford 2001) 10.

⁵⁷ Dion. Hal. *Ant. Rom.* 19.5.1 *εἴ τι μὴ κατὰ τὸν ἀκριβέστατον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου χαρακτῆρα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λέγοιτο* (cf. App. *Samm.* 7.2).

historian's actual words,⁵⁸ which are repeated almost exactly by Macrobius (*Sat. praef.* 13–15). Yet how can this be? The whole point of the story is that Postumius was writing in Greek; if anyone was to provide a verbatim report of his preface, it should have been Polybius. It is perhaps possible to infer from Cato's *priusquam faceres* ('before you did it') that Postumius' preface was written in Latin and the narrative in Greek, but a hybrid work seems implausible: more probably Cato is referring to Postumius' *potential* mistakes in Greek. The likeliest explanation of Gellius' quotation may perhaps be that Postumius' original Greek has been translated into Latin without any explicit reference to the fact, and the reader simply has to infer from the context—in this case *res Romanas oratione Graeca scriptitavit*—that this is what has happened. This practice is found in Cicero (e.g. *Orat.* 41: 'in extrema pagina *Phaedri* his ipsis uerbis loquens *Socrates*') and there are two well known examples in Nepos (*Them.* 9.2–4; *Paus.* 2.2–4: 'haec fuisse scripta *Thucydides* memoriae prodidit').⁵⁹ Indeed the fact that the Postumius story is credited by Gellius to Nepos suggests that Gellius has simply lifted it from the *De Viris Illustribus*. When Cicero in the winter of 50 BC exchanged letters with Atticus about a question of Greek grammar, he seems pointedly to echo Postumius' words (*Att.* 7.3(126).10):

uenio ad 'Piraeae', in quo magis reprehendendus sum quod *homo Romanus* 'Piraeae' scripserim, non 'Piraeum' (sic

⁵⁸ The expression *ad hanc sententiam*, sometimes qualified by *ferme*, is extremely common in Gellius (13x) and often used to introduce a passage of direct speech.

⁵⁹ For a list of places where Cicero translates or otherwise renders Greek authors see Powell 279–80. It should be noted that the examples in Nepos are themselves a special category (texts within a text), since in each case Thucydides is quoting a letter.

enim omnes nostri locuti sunt), quam quod addiderim <‘in’>.

I come to ‘Piraeaea’, a point on which I am to be criticised more because, as a Roman, I wrote ‘Piraeaea’, not ‘Piraeum’ (which is what all our people say), than because I added ‘in’.⁶⁰

This passage suggests very strongly that Book 13 of Nepos’ *De Viris Illustribus* has been published and that Cicero has just been reading it. If Gellius is repeating what he too read in Nepos, his words are not authentically Postumian in the sense that they are not what Postumius actually wrote. It might be thought that the Latin fragments of Fabius Pictor can be explained similarly; but in his case there is nothing in the quoting context to suggest that the original was in Greek, and F_{4d} in particular seems impossible to explain in this way and can only derive from a text written in Latin.

The question of Postumius’ language is only made more acute by the one other allegedly authentic fragment from his history (F₂), which derives from the same Macrobius (*Sat.* 3.20.5): ‘Postumius Albinus annali primo de Bruto: “ea causa sese stultum brutumque faciebat: grossulos ex melle edebat”’ (‘Postumius Albinus concerning Brutus in the first book of his annals: “for that reason [to escape execution] he used to make himself out to be a brutish fool: he would eat little unripe figs dipped in honey”’). Not only is this fragment too written in Latin but the pun on the meaning of *brutus*, on which the

⁶⁰ Cicero had begun an earlier letter (*Att.* 6.9(123).1) with the words *In Piraeaea cum exissem*: since Latin conventionally omits prepositions with towns, *in* implies that he did not regard the place as a town, a point on which he had evidently been teasingly criticised by Atticus. In response Cicero here confuses the issue by introducing the matter of the place’s alternative names. See further Shackleton Bailey ad loc.

extract depends, cannot be made in Greek (*βροῦτος* means ‘beer’).⁶¹ Of course a Greek author can explain a Latin etymology, in the way that this same pun on Brutus is explained by Dionysius of Halicarnassus;⁶² but there is presumably a severe limit on the frequency with which this ponderous manoeuvre can be made. We are therefore confronted by a similar circumstance to that of Alimentus, who is said to have written in Greek but whose single fragment depends on a Latin, not a Greek, etymology.

IV. *Demonstratio* and Dedications. Asellio and Antipater

Gellius tells us that Sempronius Asellio served as military tribune at Numantia in 134/3 BC and wrote about his experiences there (2.13.3: ‘is Asellio sub P. Scipione Africano tribunus militum ad Numantiam fuit resque eas quibus gerendis ipse interfuit conscripsit’). The expression *rebus gerendis interesse* seems relatively rare,⁶³ yet Gellius uses it again in the sentence which introduces his discussion of the difference between *historia* and *annales* (5.18.1):

Historiam ab annalibus quidam differre eo putant quod, cum utrumque sit rerum gestarum narratio, earum tamen proprie rerum sit historia quibus rebus gerendis interfuerit is qui narret.

⁶¹ The issue of the pun goes unmentioned by Northwood (*FRHist* I.188, III.60).

⁶² *Ant. Rom.* 4.67.4 καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ Λεύκιος Ἰούνιος, ᾧ Βροῦτος ἐπωνύμιον ἦν· εἴη δ’ ἂν ἐξερμηνευόμενος ὁ Βροῦτος εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν διάλεκτον ἡλίθιος (‘and with him was Lucius Junius, whose surname was Brutus; the translation of “Brutus” into Greek would be “stupid”).

⁶³ Outside Gellius only at Cic. *Fam.* 4.7.2, Liv. 10.39.7 and 44.22.12 (where *rebus* has to be supplied).

Some think that history differs from annals in that, while each is a narrative of things accomplished, nevertheless a history is properly of those things in whose accomplishment the narrator participated.

Since this is the very discussion in which he proceeds to quote two famous fragments from Book 1 of Sempronius Asellio (5.18.8–9 = Asellio FF1–2), it seems very likely that Gellius has fallen into a sequence of words used by Asellio himself in a part of his history now lost.⁶⁴

That a narrative based on personal experience is different from, and better than, other types of narrative is stated as early as Homer (*Od.* 8.489–91), and the value of autopsy recurs as a regular motif in Greek and Latin literature.⁶⁵ It was Thucydides who, by devoting his narrative to contemporary events in which he participated himself, inaugurated a genre of historiography which was based on this belief and was distinct from that of his predecessors. Yet Thucydides left the distinction between the two types implicit; the first surviving historian to differentiate explicitly between contemporary and non-contemporary historiography was Ephorus, who ‘says that when writing about our own times we consider the most reliable to be those who speak in the greatest detail [*ἀκριβέστατα*], whereas in the case of ancient history we

⁶⁴ J. L. Moles suggests that Asellio may have been alluding to Thucydides’ use of *πάρεμι* (1.22.1). On Asellio see *FRHist* I.274–7, II.446–57, III.277–83 (M. P. Pobjoy); and now C. B. Krebs, ‘A Buried Tradition of Programmatic Titulature among Republican Historians: Polybius’ *Πραγματεία*, Asellio’s *Res Gestae*, and Sisenna’s Redefinition of “*Historiae*”’, *AJP* (forthcoming). I am most grateful to Professor Krebs for the opportunity of reading this paper before publication.

⁶⁵ See Tosi 145–6 §309, Marincola 63ff.

consider those who proceed in that way to be the most untrustworthy' (*FGrHist* 70 F 9).⁶⁶

Asellio does not mention his own autopsy in either of the two quotations which Gellius excerpts from Book 1. The first of them is as follows (5.18.7 = F1):⁶⁷

uerum inter eos qui annales relinquere uoluissent et eos qui rēs gēstās ā Rōmānīs pēscribēre cōnāti essent, omnium rerum hoc interfuit: annales libri tantummodo quod factum quoque anno gestum sit, ea demonstrabant, id est, quasi qui diarium scribunt (quam Graeci *ἐφημερίδα* uocant). nobis non modo satis esse uideo quod factum esset, id pronuntiare, sed etiam quo consilio quaque ratione gesta essent demonstrare.

But between those who aimed to leave annals and those who tried to describe the things accomplished by the Romans there was this distinction above all: books of annals demonstrated only what deed was accomplished and in what year,⁶⁸ that is, like those who write a diary (which the Greeks call *ephemeris*). But for our part I see that it is not enough only to announce what the deed was but also to demonstrate with what intention and with what reason things were accomplished.

Asellio is drawing a distinction between two categories of writer ('inter eos qui ... et eos qui ...'), and it seems clear from the past tense *interfuit* that he is not talking in abstract terms but is referring to categories that are already in existence. Since

⁶⁶ See Marincola 70–1. (I here correct my speculation in 'Contemporary History in the Classical World', *Contemporary history: practice and method* (ed. A. Seldon, Oxford 1988) 161–2.)

⁶⁷ See also below, Appendix s.v. Sempronius Asellio.

⁶⁸ Or possibly 'accomplished in each year'.

annales are a characteristically Roman phenomenon, and since writers of *annales* are contrasted with ‘real’ historians, we may assume that Asellio is referring to earlier Roman writers whose works could be described as *annales*.⁶⁹ This assumption is perhaps confirmed by the fact that Asellio proceeds to call these works *libri annales*: the only other author in whom this expression is found is Gellius himself, who uses it twice to refer to just such works (2.11.1, 9.11.2). The expression *annales relinquere* is perhaps also significant: although *scriptum relinquere* (‘to leave a written record’) is found in other contexts,⁷⁰ it is twice used of writers whose works are described as annalistic (Nep. *Hann.* 13.1: ‘Atticus M. Claudio Marcello Q. Fabio Labeone consulibus mortuum in *annali* suo scriptum reliquit’; Gell. 6.9.9: ‘Valerius Antias libro *annalium* XLV scriptum reliquit’). Asellio perhaps implies that such writers were characterised by the limited aim of handing down mere markers to posterity—‘qui sine ullis ornamentis monumenta solum temporum, hominum, locorum gestarumque rerum reliquerunt’, as Cicero famously describes them (*De Or.* 2.53).⁷¹

Such writers are contrasted with those ‘qui rēs gēstās ā Rōmānīs pērscribēre cōnāti essent’. The combination of pronoun, wording, and hexameter rhythm cannot help but remind readers of the opening sentence of Cato’s *Origines* (F1): ‘Sī quēs sūnt hōmīnēs quōs dēlēctāt pōpūlī Rōmani gesta describere ...’.⁷² Asellio’s sentence will not have opened the preface to his work, however, because it is clearly extracted from a passage which has already begun (cf. *uerum*); but it may well be that he is here repeating his opening phraseology,

⁶⁹ That is, not to the *annales maximi*, as some have thought (see the references in *FRHist* III.275 n. 8).

⁷⁰ *OLD* *relinquere* 8d.

⁷¹ For *uelle* = ‘to aim’ see *OLD* 16.

⁷² For discussion of Cato’s wording and rhythm see *PH* 378–80.

which he (like Cato) had intended as self-referential, and is now using it as part of an elaborate foil, contrasting annalistic writers with ‘real’ historians such as himself. We do not know who these historians may be; the suggestion that Asellio is thinking of Polybius is given support by the arguably strange use of ‘Romanis’ rather than the more normal ‘Roman people’ (as in Sallust’s allusion to Asellio at *Cat.* 4.2: ‘statui res gestas populi Romani carptim ... perscribere’): Polybius, as a Greek, naturally and constantly refers to ‘the Romans’, especially in the opening paragraphs of his work (starting at 1.1.5).⁷³ Whoever the nameless historians may be, the fact that they had only ‘tried’ to write history (‘conati essent’) leaves the way open for Asellio himself.⁷⁴

Asellio’s second fragment is frequently deployed in discussions of the moral dimension of ancient historiography; it is transmitted as follows in the MSS of Gellius:

nam neque alacriores ad rempublicam defendendam neque segniores ad rem perperam faciendam annales libri commouere quicquam possunt. scribere autem bellum initum quo consule et quo confectum sit et quis triumphans introierit ex eo libro quae in bello gesta sint iterare id fabulas non praedicare aut interea quid senatus decreuerit aut quae lex rogatioue lata sit, neque quibus consiliis ea gesta sint iterare id fabulas pueris est narrare, non historias scribere.

⁷³ For the suggestion of Polybius see F. W. Walbank, ‘Polybius, Philinus, and the First Punic War’, *CQ* 39 (1945) 15, referred to by Krebs (above, n. 64). The phraseology used by Asellio is not exclusive to himself and Sallust (cf. Cic. *Fam.* 2.7.3: ‘unis litteris totius aetatis res gestas ad senatum perscriberem’), but few would deny that Sallust is alluding to Asellio.

⁷⁴ For some examples of ἐπιχειρεῖν or περᾶσθαι in prefatorial contexts see L. Alexander, *The Preface to Luke’s Gospel* (Cambridge 1993) 109–10 (a reference I owe to John Moles).

As transmitted, this text makes no sense; three of the places where there are clear problems have been underlined. The fragment is presented and translated as follows in the now standard edition:⁷⁵

nam neque alacriores ad rempublicam defendundam
neque segniore ad rem perperam faciundam annales libri
commouere quicquam possunt. scribere autem bellum
initum quo consule et quo confectum sit, et quis
triumphans introierit ex eo, quae<que> in bello gesta sint
[iterare id fabulas] non praedicare aut interea quid senatus
decreuerit aut quae lex rogatioe lata sit, neque quibus
consiliis ea gesta sint iterare, id fabulas pueris est narrare,
non historias scribere.

perperam *VPR*: propositam *uel* propriam *Jacobi*: properanter
Hertz (1849): pauperam *Plüss*: properam *Soverini* faciundam
VPR: patiundam *Plüss* quicquam *VP*: quemquam
Blagoweschtschensky: quosquam *Peter* (1914) ex eo *Mariotti*: ex
eo libro *VPR*, *del. Gabba, Timpanaro, et Di Benedetto*: et *Carrio*: ex
s.c. *Gronovius*: et eo libro *Nipperdey*: ex eo <et eo> libro *Hertz*
(1870): ex<in> eo libro *Plüss*: ex eo bello *Peter* (1870): ex eo <sed
eo> libro *Hosius*: ex eo, libro <uero> *Funaioli*: eodemque (*uel* ex
eo, eodemque) libro *Cavazza* quae<que> in bello gesta
Gronovius: quae in bello gesta *VPR*, *del. S. Mazzarino, dub.*: quae
<eo> in bello gesta *Carrio* sint *Mommsen*: sint iterare id
fabulas *VPR*: sint iterare ζ : sint enarrare *Nipperdey*: sint iterare id
fabulas *uel* iterare id fabulas *del. S. Mazzarino* non
praedicare aut *VPR*: non praedicare autem ζ : praedicare aut *S.*
Mazzarino: ea praedicare aut *A. Mazzarino* sint iterare id
fabulas pueris est narrare *VPR*: sint id fabulas pueris est narrare
 ζ : sint iterare, id fabulas pueris est *Schäublin*

⁷⁵ *FRHist* II.448–9 (I have made Mommsen’s deletion explicit in the text and have streamlined slightly the apparatus criticus).

For books of annals cannot do anything to make people more keen to defend the commonwealth or less ready to do something wrong. And indeed, to write in whose consulship a war was undertaken and in whose it was ended, and who entered the city in triumph thereafter, <and> not to declare what was accomplished in the war, and meanwhile what the senate decreed or what law or bill was put forward, nor to recount with what purposes those things were accomplished, is to tell stories to children, not to write histories.

This text is defended by Pobjoy, who has a lucid discussion of many of the textual problems,⁷⁶ but it will be no surprise that problems still remain. (1) Although *alacriores ad rem publicam defendendam* is neatly paralleled at Cic. *Fam.* 3.11.4: ‘animum ... alacrem ... ad defendendam rem publicam’, there is no parallel for *commouere* with a predicative object (‘to make <people> more keen’). It follows that the transmitted text must mean: ‘books of annals cannot influence the keener to defend their commonwealth or the more idle to do something wrong’. Although the first half of this sentence makes good sense, the second half does not, which explains why there have been so many attempts at emending *perperam*. It seems very unlikely, however, that *perperam* would have been wrongly written (especially given the various emendations which have been proposed). My much easier suggestion is that Asellio wrote *ab re perperam faciunda* (‘... cannot sway the more idle away from doing wrong’): although there again seems no parallel for *commouere* used metaphorically of moving someone away, the gerundival construction is regular after verbs of hindering or preventing, to which *commouere* is here equivalent.⁷⁷

⁷⁶ *FRHist* III.278–81.

⁷⁷ See K–S I.753.

(2) The transmitted *triumphans introierit ex eo libro* is clearly mistaken. But the mere deletion of *libro* seems misguided, since *ex* following *triumphans* would lead one to expect a reference to the victims over whom the triumph was being celebrated (as Liv. 34.46.2: ‘M. Porcius Cato ex Hispania triumphauit’). Although a better proposal is emending *ex* to *et*,⁷⁸ very serious consideration should be given to the collective suggestion of Gabba and others that the entire phrase *ex eo libro* should be deleted. *ex eo libro* is extremely common in Gellius (eleven occurrences), and the likelihood must be that the phrase has been interpolated here for some unknown reason.

(3) The third problem is perhaps the most complicated of all. It is clear from the underlinings (above) that a series of words has been wrongly repeated. The usual solution—and that adopted in the new edition—is to delete *iterare id fabulas*, which has the effect of making *quae<que> in bello gesta sint* dependent on *non praedicare*: that is, the *annales libri* record only when a war began and ended and say nothing about the war itself. There are two difficulties with this. [a] Unless Asellio is talking about the *annales maximi* (an interpretation which we have already rejected), it seems inconceivable that even the scantiest of records would not contain at least some reference to constituent events. [b] Asellio likens the *annales libri* to children’s story-books, but who ever tried to entertain children by reading a mere list of dates? Unless Asellio is depriving the expression *fabulas pueris narrare* of any real meaning,⁷⁹ his comparison of *annales libri* to *fabulae* must mean that the former have some narrative element. If these points are correct, it follows that we

⁷⁸ Attributed to Nipperdey in *FRHist* but to Hertz in the OCT of Gellius.

⁷⁹ *fabulae pueriles* were proverbial (see Pease on Cic. *ND* 1.34). According to R. Till (‘Sempronius Asellio’, *WJA* 4 (1950) 332 n. 4), Asellio’s statement has normally been compared to Polybius’ reference to gossip in a barber’s shop (3.20.5).

should delete only the words *id fabulas*, leaving *iterare* to introduce the indirect question *quae<que> ... gesta sint*.

The text suggested here will thus look like this:

nam neque alacriores ad rempublicam defendundam
neque segniore ab re perperam faciunda annales libri
commouere quicquam possunt. scribere autem bellum
initum quo consule et quo confectum sit et quis
triumphans introierit quae<que> in bello gesta sint iterare,
non praedicare aut interea quid senatus decreuerit aut
quae lex rogatioue lata sit, neque quibus consiliis ea gesta
sint iterare, id fabulas pueris est narrare, non historias
scribere.

For books of annals simply cannot sway the keener to defend the commonwealth or the more idle from doing wrong. Moreover,⁸⁰ to write under which consul a war was embarked upon and under which one it was completed, and who entered in triumph, and to repeat what things were accomplished in the war (but) not to declare what the senate decreed in the meanwhile or what law or measure was carried, nor to repeat with what intentions those things were accomplished—that is to tell stories to children, not to write history.

It may be thought that the repetition of the words *gesta sint iterare* is an argument against this text, yet there is an almost identical feature in F1, where *gestum sit ea demonstrabant* is repeated in *gesta essent demonstrare*; and, just as the latter repetition seems pointed (as we shall see below), so the same is true here. *iterare* denotes a simplistic rendering of events in

⁸⁰ It seems inevitable that this or similar is the meaning of *autem* here (*OLD* 3a).

words,⁸¹ but, if a writer is to describe ‘*quae in bello gesta sint*’, complex problems of *mimesis* are involved, which (it is implied) the *annales libri* failed to grasp;⁸² the *consilia* which accompany legislation, however, involve words, which it is easy for an author to repeat (*iterare*) in the medium of an historical text.⁸³ Thus Asellio is saying that the annalists failed to do that which they set out to do (and which was in fact beyond them) but omitted to do that which they should have done (and which was within their capabilities).

Whether Asellio himself fulfilled the criteria which he set out in these two opening fragments is unknown, since his other extant fragments are very few and very brief. There is nevertheless an interesting scrap of indirect speech from Book 13 which runs as follows (F10): ‘*facta sua spectare oportere, non dicta, si minus facundiosa essent*’ (‘one should look at his exploits, not his words, if they were insufficiently eloquent’). Since the words of the speaker are said to be potentially ‘insufficiently eloquent’ compared with his deeds, the audience of the speech is presented with the conceit of eloquent deeds.⁸⁴ The word play *facta* ~ *facundiosa* is almost Lucretian in its suggestion that the defective elements of the speech will be compensated for by the elements of the deeds.⁸⁵ Moreover,

⁸¹ See G. Lieberg, ‘*Iterare* ovvero sul rapporto fra parola e realtà’, *Orpheus* 1 (1980) 411–21, who refers to P. Langen, *Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Plautus* (Leipzig 1880) 283.

⁸² For these problems see e.g. Duris, *FGrHist* 76 F 1; Diod. 20.43.7.

⁸³ For this point see *RICH* 14.

⁸⁴ This is obviously related to the proverbial ‘deeds more powerful than words’, for which see Tosi 14 §25; note also Oakley on Liv. 7.32.12.

⁸⁵ The word play is surprisingly rare: Sall. *Jug.* 63.3: ‘*stipendiis faciundis, non Graeca facundia ... sese exercuit*’ (Marius); *Hist.* 2.47.4: ‘*neque ego callidam facundiam neque ingenium ad male faciundum exercui*’ (Cotta’s speech); Ov. *Met.* 6.469: ‘*facundum faciebat amor*’; *Ex P.* 4.9.47: ‘*nunc facere in medio faciundum uerba senatu*’; Gell. 3.7.1: ‘*facinus ... Graecarum*

since the verb governing the deeds is *spectare*, the speaker has produced the further, synaesthetic, conceit of looking upon eloquent deeds.⁸⁶ Finally, since *spectare* is also the verb which governs *dicta*, there is here an emphasis upon seeing which corresponds to the apparent emphasis upon showing in F1 (see above), where *demonstrare* is repeated in order to highlight its implied use by Asellio.

It is therefore tempting to speculate that the scrap of indirect speech in F10 is metatextual in nature and constitutes an example of what is now called ‘mise en abyme’: the speaker is talking in the same terms as those deployed by the narrator, Asellio himself. *demonstrare* suggests the rhetorical technique of *demonstratio*, which is ‘when a thing is so expressed in words that the business appears to be in the process of being conducted and the thing appears to exist in front of our eyes’ (*Rhet. Herenn.* 4.68: ‘cum ita uerbis res exprimitur ut geri negotium et res ante oculos esse uideatur’). *demonstratio* is another term for *euidencia* or, in its more familiar Greek, *ἐνάργεια*,⁸⁷ which is exactly the kind of technique which an historian would use if he wanted (in Asellio’s words) to sway his keener readers to defend the commonwealth or the more idle from doing wrong (F2). It is conventional to be told that Asellio’s emphasis on analytical historiography reveals the influence of Polybius; but Polybius’

facundiarum magniloquentia condignum’, 8 *cap.* 9 ‘facundissimus uerba pauca ... facturus’.

⁸⁶ *facta spectare* is likewise relatively rare: Sil. 13.707: ‘spectaui Martia facta’; Stat. *Theb.* 10.291: ‘spectet sua facta’; Fronto p. 212.18 vdH²: ‘factum spectatur’ (which some scholars have suggested derives from a now lost line of verse). For *dicta spectare* cf. Cic. *Caec.* 85: ‘tu uelis uerba spectari oportere’. There seems nothing of relevance in S. Butler and A. Purves, edd., *Synaesthesia and the Ancient Senses* (Durham 2013).

⁸⁷ See Lausberg 359ff. §810; A. D. Walker, ‘*Enargeia* and the Spectator in Greek Historiography’, *TAPA* 123 (1993) 353–77; A. Zangara, *Voir l’histoire: théories anciennes du récit historique* (Paris 2007).

own narrative discloses an intense interest in the visual,⁸⁸ and, if he too was at the siege of Numantia (as has sometimes been thought),⁸⁹ it is attractive to imagine the older and younger man discussing the virtues of the kind of historical writing which Polybius elsewhere famously deploras.

However that may be, Cicero is no less dismissive of Asellio than he is of the other early historians (*Leg.* 1.6), the one exception being L. Coelius Antipater (*De Or.* 2.54):⁹⁰

‘paulum se erexit et addidit maiorem historiae sonum uocis uir optimus, Crassi familiaris, Antipater; ceteri non exornatores rerum sed tantummodo narratores fuerunt.’

‘Est’, inquit Catulus, ‘ut dicis; sed iste ipse Coelius neque distinxit historiam uarietate colorum neque uerborum conlocatione et tractu orationis leni et aequabili perpoliuit illud opus; sed ut homo neque doctus neque maxime aptus ad dicendum, sicut potuit, dolauit; uicit tamen, ut dicis, superiores.’

‘Crassus’ friend Antipater, the best of men, raised himself up a little and gave to historiography the resonance of a louder voice; the rest did not embellish their subject matter but merely narrated it.’

‘It is as you say’, acknowledged Catulus, ‘but that very Coelius you mention neither set off his history with a variety of colours nor did he polish that work of his by the placement of words or by the smooth and even protraction of his discourse; but, like a man neither learned nor particularly suited to speaking, he chopped away as best he could; nevertheless, as you say, he beat his predecessors.’

⁸⁸ See J. Davidson, ‘The Gaze in Polybius’ *Histories*, *JRS* 81 (1991) 10–24.

⁸⁹ Polybius’ presence at Numantia is an inference from his relationship with Scipio; there is no actual evidence for it.

⁹⁰ For Antipater see *FRHist* I.256–63, II.384–423, III.243–70 (J. Briscoe).

Although Cicero repeats this faint praise elsewhere (*Leg.* 1.6; *Brut.* 102), the remark about word placement is clarified a decade later in the *Orator*, where Antipater's verbal effects are explained in more detail (229–30 = F1):

Sed magnam exercitationem res flagitat, ne quid eorum qui genus hoc secuti non tenuerunt simile faciamus, ne aut uerba traiciamus aperte, quo melius aut cadat aut uoluatur oratio; quod se L. Coelius Antipater in prooemio belli Punicum nisi necessario facturum negat. O uirum simplicem qui nos nihil celet, sapientem qui seruiendum necessitati putet! Sed hic omnino rudis; nobis autem in scribendo atque in dicendo necessitatis excusatio non probatur: nihil est enim necesse et, si quid esset, id necesse tamen non erat confiteri. Et hic quidem, qui hanc a L. Aelio, ad quem scripsit, cui se purgat, ueniam petit, et utitur ea traiectione uerborum et nihilo tamen aptius explet concluditque sententias.

But the matter demands great practice lest we do the same as those who in their pursuit of this type of thing have not grasped it, lest we blatantly transpose words to improve the cadence or fluctuation of our speech. This is what L. Coelius Antipater in his *Punic War* preface says *he* will not do unless from necessity. Ah, the simpleton who hides nothing from us! The sage who thinks one must be the slave of necessity! But he was completely crude; in the case of our own writing and speaking, however, necessity is not an excuse which meets with approval: nothing is necessary, and, if it were, there would still be no admission that it was necessary. As for him, who seeks this indulgence from L. Aelius, to whom he wrote and to whom he apologises, he not only uses such transpositions of words but is still no more appropriate in filling out or concluding his sentences.

It is generally thought that Cicero is here referring to the preface to the first book of Antipater's *Punic War*,⁹¹ but this is not necessarily the case. Although recent scholarship on Latin poetry has paid a great deal of attention to what are called 'proems in the middle',⁹² one should not forget that 'second prefaces' of varying types are a feature of classical historical writing as far back as Thucydides (5.26).⁹³ A preface introduced each book of Ephorus and many of the books of Polybius and Diodorus;⁹⁴ and it is very likely that Cato's famous remark about the whiteboard of the *pontifex maximus* (Gell. 2.28.6 = F80) appeared in the preface to Book 4 of the *Origines*.⁹⁵ There is no reason why Cicero should not have been referring to the same 'second preface' as that in which Antipater addressed L. Aelius Stilo as follows (*Rhet. Herenn.* 4.18 = F46): 'in priore libro hās rēs ad tē scrīptās, Lūcī, mīsīmūs, Aēlī' ('I sent you, Lucius Aelius, these things which I had written in an earlier book'). Here we have an outstanding example of just the features about which Cicero was complaining: three examples of interlaced word order in an elaborate type of synchysis (*res ~ scriptas, ad te ~*

⁹¹ See *FRHist* III.243.

⁹² The phrase derives from an article of the same title by G. B. Conte which first appeared in *YCS* 29 (1992) 147–59 and was subsequently reprinted in his *The Poetry of Pathos* (ed. S.J. Harrison, Oxford 2007) 219–31. See also e.g. S. Kyriakidis and F. De Martino, edd., *Middles in Latin Poetry* (Bari 2004).

⁹³ See e.g. Herkommer 10.

⁹⁴ For Ephorus see Diod. 16.76.5. For Diodorus see K. S. Sacks, *Diodorus Siculus and the First Century* (Princeton 1990) 9–22.

⁹⁵ Denied in *FRHist* III.128.

misimus, Luci ~ Aeli),⁹⁶ and the last eight words constituting a complete line of hexameter verse.⁹⁷

In a standard work we read that ‘certain themes common in other prefaces are not to be found in the historians. This applies above all to the dedication and everything connected with it. Any form of dedication was clearly a breach of the rules of the genre.’⁹⁸ But, since *mittere* is an almost technical verb for sending a work of literature to its dedicatee,⁹⁹ it is clear that Antipater dedicated his work to Aelius Stilo.¹⁰⁰ Another historian who dedicated his work was the politician Sulla (Plut. *Luc.* 1.4 = F1):¹⁰¹

ὁ δὲ Λούκολλος ἤσκητο καὶ λέγειν ἱκανῶς ἑκάτεραν
γλῶτταν, ὥστε καὶ Σύλλας τὰς αὐτοῦ πράξεις ἀναγράφων

⁹⁶ Arguably the ‘correct’ form of words would have been *has res in priore libro scriptas ad te, Luci Aeli, misimus*.

⁹⁷ The surviving fragments of Antipater’s work disclose a disproportionate number of metrical cadences (see *PH* 381–2).

⁹⁸ Janson 67.

⁹⁹ See *TLL* 8.1180.29–44, quoting our passage.

¹⁰⁰ Quadrigarius also includes a dedication in a ‘second preface’, though in his case it is epistolary (F81 = Gell. 1.7.9). Epistolary dedications can be hard to define, since in some respects there is an epistolary element to any work which mentions an addressee (on this question see D. R. Langslow, ‘The *Epistula* in Ancient Scientific and Technical Literature, with Special Reference to Medicine’, in R. Morello and A. D. Morrison, edd., *Ancient Letters: Classical and Late Antique Epistolography* (Oxford 2007) 211–34 at 215ff., and note also R. Mayer’s commentary on Horace’s *Epistles* (Cambridge 1994), Introduction, p. 3); but Quadrigarius alludes to the epistolary formula *si uales, bene* (‘Si pro tua bonitate et nostra uoluntate tibi ualitudo subpetit, est quod speremus deos bonis bene facturum’, ‘If your health continues in conformity with your own goodness and our wishes, there is reason for us to hope that the gods will act well towards good men’). For historiographical dedications see Herkommer 22–34; Marincola 52–7.

¹⁰¹ For Sulla see *FRHist* I.282–6, II.472–91, III.289–99 (C. J. Smith); also below, Appendix s.v.

ἐκείνῳ προσεφώνησεν ὡς συνταξομένῳ καὶ διαθήσονται τὴν ἱστορίαν ἄμεινον.

Lucullus was trained to speak each language properly, with the result that Sulla, when writing up his accomplishments, actually dedicated his history to him in the belief that he would assemble and arrange it better.

This is an arresting statement which invites speculation about the kind of literary scenario which lies behind it.

We know that Cicero had sent his Greek *commentarius* to Posidonius in the hope that the latter might produce his own, more elaborate, version: ‘nostrum illud ὑπόμνημα ... quod ego ad eum ut ornatius de isdem rebus scriberet miseram’ (*Att.* 2.1.2). It seems to have been in the nature of a *commentarius* that it should be used as a preliminary text by someone other than the author: this is certainly the view that Cicero attributes to Julius Caesar (*Brut.* 262: ‘uoluit alios habere parata unde sumerent qui uellent scribere historiam’; cf. Hirt. *BG* 8 *praef.*),¹⁰² and Cicero himself in his letters can adopt the manner that we associate with the *commentarius* genre. Writing to Atticus from the furthest corner of south-east Asia Minor on 19 December 51 BC, Cicero provides a summary (he calls it an ἐπιτομή) of his military operations as governor of the province of Cilicia (*Att.* 5.20(113).3):

Tarsum ueni a. d. III Non. Oct. inde ad Amanum contendi, qui Syriam a Cilicia in aquarum diuortio diuidit; qui mons erat hostium plenus sempiternorum. hic a. d. III Id. Oct. magnum numerum hostium occidimus. castella munitissima nocturno Pomptini aduentu, nostro matutino

¹⁰² For the ‘presentation of raw material’ as a prefatory motif see Janson 151–2. For discussion of the term and genre *commentarius* see A. M. Riggsby, *Caesar in Gaul and Rome: War in Words* (Austin 2006) 133–55.

cepimus, incendimus. imperatores appellati sumus. castra paucos dies habuimus ea ipsa quae contra Dariū habuerat apud Issum Alexander, imperator haud paulo melior quam aut tu aut ego. ibi dies quinque morati direpto et uastato Amanō inde discessimus. interim (scis enim dici quaedam *πανικά*, dici item *τὰ κενὰ τοῦ πολέμου*) rumore aduentus nostri et Cassio qui Antiochia tenebatur animus accessit et Parthis timor iniectus est. itaque eos cedentis ab oppido Cassius insecutus rem bene gessit. qua in fuga magna auctoritate Osaces dux Parthorum uulnus accepit eoque interiit paucis post diebus. erat in Syria nostrum nomen in gratia.

Reached Tarsus on 5 Oct. From there marched to the Amanus, which separates Syria from Cilicia at the watershed; the mountain was full of the never-ending enemy. Here on 13 Oct. we killed a large number of the enemy. Took and burned well protected forts after Pomptinus' arrival by night and my own in the morning. We were hailed 'commander'. For a few days we occupied the very campsite on the Issus which had been occupied against Darius by Alexander, a much better commander than you or I. Stayed there five days; after plundering and devastating the Amanus, we withdrew from there. Meanwhile at the rumour of our arrival (you'll be as aware of the 'delusion' as of 'the panic of war') Cassius, who was being contained at Antioch, took heart and the Parthians were afflicted by fear. Retreating from the town as a result, they were pursued and successfully engaged by Cassius. In their flight Osaces, the very influential leader of the Parthians, received a wound and died from it a few days after. Our name was popular in Syria.

This passage has all the hallmarks of the ‘commentarius style’:¹⁰³ a series of short sentences with finite verbs (*ueni ... contendi ... occidimus*); a tendency towards the word-order of object→verb (*Syriam ... diuidit, numerum ... occidimus, castra ... habuimus*); asyndeton (*cepimus, incendimus*); repetition of identical words (*qui ... qui; hostium ... hostium; habuimus ... habuerat*) and of plain adverbs (*inde ... hic*), once in the same sentence (*ibi ... inde*); minimal subordination (*morati*); use of the ablative absolute (*direpto et uastato Amano*); co-ordination by parataxis (*et Cassio ... et Parthis ...; accepit eoque interit*); ‘officialese’ (*rem bene gessit*) and ‘military language’ (*castra habere* is common only in the Caesarian corpus and Livy). Making allowances for the epistolographic features which the extract naturally exhibits, we can easily imagine this to be the kind of account which at some later point might be worked up into a ‘proper’ narrative.

When Pliny in his letters provides Tacitus with information to be used in his *Histories*, his letters too perform the function of *commentarii* (6.16, 6.20, 7.33). Pliny begins another of his letters to Tacitus with a reference to his editorial habits (7.20.1):

Librum tuum legi et, quam diligentissime potui, adnotaui quae commutanda, quae eximenda arbitrarer. nam et ego uerum dicere assueui, et tu libenter audire. neque enim ulli patientius reprehenduntur quam qui maxime laudari merentur. nunc a te librum meum cum adnotationibus tuis exspecto.

I have read your book and, as diligently as I was able, I have annotated what I thought should be changed or removed. For I am as accustomed to telling the truth as you are glad to hear it. Nor is there any greater toleration

¹⁰³ E. Fraenkel, ‘Eine Form römischer Kriegsbuletins’, *Eranos* 54 (1956) 189–94 = *Kleine Beiträge zur klassischen Philologie* (Rome 1964) I.69–73.

of criticism than by those who deserve the highest praise. Now I await *my* book with *your* annotations.

Although Pliny does not specify which of Tacitus' works he had annotated, it is possible that it was a volume of the *Histories*; at any rate, such reciprocal editing is a feature of Pliny's letters and was clearly common in literary circles.¹⁰⁴ We have an excellent modern parallel in John Keats, as described by Jack Stillinger in his illuminating book:¹⁰⁵

The abundant documentary evidence concerning the revising, editing, and printing of Keats's nonposthumous poems gives us a rather attractive overall picture of Keats, Woodhouse, Taylor, and other friends ... all pulling together to make the poems presentable to the public and to the reviewers ... All told, their changes and promptings affected the wording—and consequently our reading—of several hundred lines of Keats's best-known poetry. While the extent of Keats's approval of their contributions is not always clear, and it is certain that he sometimes decidedly did *not* approve ..., still one's general impression is that he welcomed their help, indeed regularly depended on it, and frequently believed that his poems were the better for it.

Such private intervention in another author's work, just like the supply of a *commentarius* for another author to work from, is perhaps what Plutarch is referring to in the case of Sulla and Lucullus. It is possible to interpret Plutarch's evidence as meaning that Sulla, before putting pen to paper, reached a

¹⁰⁴ See e.g. Janson 107; P. White, 'The Presentation and Dedication of the *Silvae* and the *Epigrams*', *JRS* 64 (1974) 53–4; Van Dam on Stat. *Silv.* 2 *praef.* (p. 53); Nauta 124.

¹⁰⁵ J. Stillinger, *Multiple Authorship and the Myth of Solitary Genius* (Oxford 1991) 45–6.

private bargain with Lucullus: if the latter agreed to help with the arrangement and organisation of the narrative, Sulla would repay him by making him the dedicatee of his work. The problem with this hypothesis is that it is very difficult to see how Plutarch would have known of a bargain reached in private. The overwhelming probability is that Plutarch is paraphrasing, or at least reporting, Sulla's own preface, and, if that is the case, there seems to be no way of negotiating around the future participles (ὡς συνταξομένῳ καὶ διαθήσοντι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἄμεινον): the natural interpretation of Plutarch's statement is that Sulla is expecting Lucullus to improve a text which is already published. This seems very odd indeed.

Since Lucullus' native language was Latin, we infer from the passage that his Greek was as good as his Latin and better than that of Sulla; but, since we are told by Sallust that Sulla's own Greek was as good as his Latin (*Jug.* 95.3 'litteris Graecis atque Latinis iuxta ... eruditus'), there seems to be an element of fiction or posturing about the basis of Sulla's dedication. Now it was a convention in the early empire for an author to request a critical response from the person to whom he dedicated his work;¹⁰⁶ and this convention takes different forms. The fabulist Phaedrus asked his dedicatee, Eutyclus, simply to pass judgement on his poems (3 *prol.* 62–3: 'sincerum mihi | candore noto reddas iudicium peto'), whereas Ovid not only affects nervousness at the reaction of Germanicus to the *Fasti* (1.19–20) but seems to imply that Germanicus' criticism will ensure the success of future volumes of the work (25–6: 'uates rege uatis habenas, | auspice te felix totus ut annus eat'). Statius concludes the preface to Book 2 of the *Silvae* with another variation of the convention:

¹⁰⁶ See n. 102, adding Nauta 120ff., 282–3.

Haec, qualiacumque sunt, Melior carissime, si tibi non displicuerint, a te publicum accipiant; si minus, ad me reuertantur.

If these <poems>, such as they are, do not displease you, dearest Melior, let them receive public recognition from you; otherwise let them return to me.

This statement is almost as odd as that in Plutarch. Since Book 2 has been published and has not been returned to Statius, one has to infer that Melior has approved of its contents; but it seems very strange not to have removed from the finalised, public version a statement which reads like part of a private letter relating to an earlier version. Presumably the explanation is that the statement constitutes a mutual compliment: it is to Melior's credit if it is known that he had the power to prevent publication, and it is to the author's credit if it is known that his work received the approval of a friend who had such power. The statement addressed to Melior is a device for providing Statius' readers with this knowledge.

It is of course theoretically possible that our texts of *Siluae* 2 derive from an archetype which, perhaps owing to the complexities of ancient 'publishing', had somehow retained Statius' concluding sentence by mistake. But this theory is rendered implausible by the appearance of the same or similar prefatorial statements elsewhere. Here, for example, is the preface to Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus (*praef.* 2–6: see also above, p. 22):

Nam cum plerisque auctoribus singulorum regum uel populorum res gestas scribentibus opus suum ardui laboris uideatur, nonne nobis Pompeius Herculea audacia orbem terrarum adgressus uideri debet, cuius libris omnium saeculorum, regum, nationum populorumque res gestae continentur? et quae historici Graecorum, prout

commodum cuique fuit iter, segregatim occupauerunt, omissis quae sine fructu erant, ea omnia Pompeius diuisa temporibus et serie rerum digesta composuit. horum igitur quattuor et quadraginta uoluminum (nam totidem edidit) per otium, quo in urbe uersabamur, cognitione quaeque dignissima excerpsi et omissis his quae nec cognoscendi uoluptate iucunda nec exemplo erant necessaria, breue ueluti florum corpusculum feci, ut haberent et qui Graece didicissent, quo admonerentur, et qui non didicissent, quo instruerentur. quod ad te non tam cognoscendi magis quam emendandi causa transmisi, simul ut et otii mei, cuius et Cato reddendam operam putat, apud te ratio constaret. sufficit enim mihi in tempore iudicium tuum, apud posteros, cum obtreactionis inuidia decesserit, industriae testimonium habituro.

For, since most authors writing about the achievements of individual kings or peoples think their work a steep task, should we not think it was with the boldness of Hercules that Pompeius tackled the globe? In his books are contained the achievements of *all* ages, kings, nations and peoples. The subjects which Greek historians took over separately, according as each found the route advantageous, neglecting those which were unprofitable—all of these subjects, chronologically divided and arranged thematically, were compiled by Pompeius. Hence, during the leisure which I enjoyed in the City, I excerpted from these forty-four volumes (the number he published) the items worthiest of study and, neglecting those which were neither congenial in terms of pleasurable study nor necessary as examples, I made a brief little compendium of (as it were) the blossoms, so that those who had learned Greek could have something to advise them, and those who had not so learned could have something to instruct them; and I am sending it over to you not so much for

study but rather for emendation, and at the same time so that the account of my leisure—to which Cato too thinks attention should be paid—should balance in your book. Your judgement meets my needs for the time being, although amongst posterity, once the resentful disparaging has died down, I shall have testimony to my industry.

In this carefully written passage it is the tenses of the verbs which require attention. Justin's leisure ('quo ... uersabamur') and the production of his florilegium ('excerpsi ... feci') are represented as belonging to the past, before the time at which the preface was written; but, since the preface is conceived as a form of letter, his despatch of the work to his anonymous friend is conveyed by a so-called 'epistolary tense' ('quod ad te ... transmisi') and refers to the present ('I am sending it over to you'); hence the 'emendation' which Justin wishes his friend to perform, like the critical verdict which he expects him to pronounce ('iudicium tuum'),¹⁰⁷ belongs to the future, beyond the point at which the work has become public property. This so closely resembles the way in which Sulla seems to have addressed Lucullus that it is perhaps possible to see Sulla's preface as an early instance of a conventional motif.¹⁰⁸ Yet, even if so, there are still questions remaining to be answered. Why should Lucullus' allegedly superior *Greek* be a reason for Sulla's sending him memoirs which are known to have been

¹⁰⁷ Since *iudicium* and *testimonium* are both legal terms, it seems probable that *sufficit* is also part of the same metaphor (*OLD sufficio* 4d). Justin's mention of Cato alludes to the latter's famous prefatorial statement (F 2) that as an author he felt obliged to render an account of his leisure; *iudicium* and *industriæ* in the final sentence look back to *emendandi* and *otii* in the penultimate.

¹⁰⁸ 'Ob Lucullus die Bücher wirklich ausarbeiten bzw. ordnen und verbessern sollte oder ob es sich bloß um eine rhetorisch gemeinte *captatio benevolentiae* handelt, läßt sich an Hand der überlieferten Zeugnisse nur schwer entscheiden' (*FRM* 99).

written in *Latin*? And why should Lucullus' *linguistic* expertise persuade Sulla of his superior skills in *arranging and organising* a work of history? The last of these questions seems related to Postumius' apparent connection (above, p. 23) between arrangement and the Greek language (Pol. 39.1.4: τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς διαλέκτου καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὸν χειρισμὸν οἰκονομίας), but this does not get us very far.

V. Arrangement and Artistry. Sisenna and Quadrigarius, Cicero and Nepos

The term which Postumius used for 'arrangement' is οἰκονομία, about which Dionysius has a great deal to say in relation to Thucydides (*Thuc.* 9–20).¹⁰⁹ Dionysius discusses Thucydides' οἰκονομία under the three heads of 'division' (διαίρεσις), 'order' (τάξις) and 'development' (ἐξεργασία), in each of which Thucydides is held to be defective. Under 'division' Dionysius complains that Thucydides arranged his narrative neither by geographical criteria nor by the chronological systems adopted by other writers but by summers and winters: 'The whole book has thus been chopped up into small bits [συγκέκοπται] and has lost the continuity of the narrative. We lose our way, as is natural, and it is hard for us to follow the narrative, our mind being confused by the tearing asunder of the event [ἐν τῷ διασπᾶσθαι]' (9). It is this very relationship between narrative arrangement and the reader's attention which is the subject of a programmatic fragment of L. Cornelius Sisenna, the historian

¹⁰⁹ See Pritchett ad loc. (whose translations are used just below). It is interesting to note that, in the same Tauromenium inscription as preserves the information about Pictor (above, pp. 4–5), Philistus is praised for pioneering some form of narrative structuring in his history: see the excellent remarks of Battistoni 172ff., esp. 174–5. On οἰκονομία see also Quint. 7.10.11; Lausberg 209 §443.

of the social and civil wars of the early first century BC (F130 = Gell. 12.15.2):¹¹⁰

nos una aestate in Asia et Graecia gesta litteris idcirco
continentia mandauimus ne uellicatim aut saltuatim
scribendo lectorum animos impediremus.

My literary treatments of a single season's
accomplishments in Asia and Greece have been
juxtaposed purposely so that I do not hobble my readers'
attention by writing twitchily or jumpily.

Sisenna's concern for his readers is not, of course, in any way exceptional. The elder Pliny interestingly talks of guiding his readers' minds by the hand on a tour of the world (*NH* 2.241: 'legentium animos per totum orbem ueluti manu ducere'). Of the major historians, both Livy (*praef.* 4: 'legentium plerisque'; 9.17.1: 'legentibus uelut deuerticula amoena') and Tacitus (*Hist.* 2.50.2: 'oblectare legentium animos') show explicit awareness of their readers.¹¹¹ Tacitus is in fact acutely conscious of his reader's interests: in Book 4 of the *Annals* he is worried that his narrative of Tiberius' later years does not supply the kind of topics which 'rivet and reinvigorate readers' minds' (4.33.3: 'retinent ac redintegrant legentium animos') and in Book 6 he explains that he has breached his annalistic boundaries,

¹¹⁰ For Sisenna see *FRHist* I.305–19, II.600–71, III.368–417 (J. Briscoe).

¹¹¹ See further Oakley on Liv. 9.17.1. Since *historia* is said by Cicero (*Fin.* 5.52) to be found delightful by 'artisans' (*opifices*), who could not afford to buy books, T. P. Wiseman has argued for the importance of oral delivery at such venues as the games ('Practice and Theory in Roman Historiography', *History* 66 (1981) 383–7 = *Roman Studies* (Liverpool 1987) 252–6; cf. J. Marincola, 'Ancient Audiences and Expectations', in A. Feldherr, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to the Roman Historians* (Cambridge 2009) 11–23 at 13–14); but this argument, however attractive, should not be allowed to distract attention from the number of times when reading is stated or implied.

juxtaposing two seasons' foreign accomplishments in order to provide his readers' minds with some respite from the maladies at home (6.38.1: 'quae duabus aestatibus gesta coniunxi quo requiesceret animus a domesticis malis'). There is clearly some similarity between this last statement and that of Sisenna, but, whereas Tacitus divided his narrative into units of a year, one infers that Sisenna employed some other type of division. The inevitable conclusion may appear to be that his choice of division was geographical,¹¹² but Greece and Asia, which Livy treats together at (for example) 35.12–19, seem too natural a unit to elicit an authorial comment about their joint treatment: it is perhaps more likely that Sisenna generally adopted the alternation between 'domestic' and 'foreign' events which is so common in Livy: elsewhere he would have separated his treatments of Greece and Asia by a section on Rome and Italy, but on this occasion he decided against it.

The relationship between the whole of a subject and its constituent parts was fundamental in ancient literary criticism and there was a rhetorical convention that particular treatment was the most helpful for the reader. The younger Seneca said that 'things which appeared in a more confused manner in the round are contemplated more accurately when divided into their parts' (*Ep.* 94.21: 'quae in uniuerso confusius uidebantur in partes diuisa diligentius considerantur'), while Florus declared that 'even if all these things are linked and mixed up together, nevertheless they will be told separately to improve their clarity' (1.34[2.19].5: 'quae etsi iuncta inter se sunt omnia atque confusa, tamen quo melius appareant ... separatim perferentur').¹¹³ Velleius, on the other hand, said the opposite

¹¹² So e.g. Rawson, 'L. Cornelius Sisenna and the Early First Century BC', in ead., *Roman Society and Culture* 363–88 at 374; J. Rich, 'Structuring Roman History', *Histos* 5 (2011) 1–43 at 23–4.

¹¹³ See Rawson 324–51 ('The introduction of logical organization in Roman prose literature').

(1.14.1: ‘cum facilius cuiusque rei in unum contracta species quam diuisa temporibus oculis animisque inhaereat’, ‘since the impression of each thing remains fixed in the mind’s eye more easily if concentrated in one place than if separated by chronology’): in this he resembles Tacitus, who for his readers’ benefit brought together several seasons of British campaigning (*Ann.* 12.40.5: ‘haec ... plures per annos gesta coniunxi, ne diuisa haud perinde ad memoriam sui ualere’). Somewhat similarly Curtius begins Book 5 by disregarding strict chronological order in the interests of thematic harmony (5.1.1–2):

Quae interim ductu imperioque Alexandri uel in Graecis uel in Illyriis ac Thraecia gesta sunt, si suis quaeque temporibus reddere uolueris, interrumpendae sunt res Asiae, quas utique ad fugam mortemque Darei uniuersas in conspectum dari et, sicut inter se cohaerent, ita opere ipso coniungi haud paulo aptius uideri potest.

If I wish to render chronologically each individual achievement under the leadership and command of Alexander amongst the Greeks or amongst the Illyrians and in Thrace, I need to interrupt affairs in Asia; but, certainly up to the flight and death of Darius, it can seem considerably more appropriate that the latter be viewed entire and that they be linked together in my work in the same way as they form a coherent whole.

A similar position was taken by a later Alexander historian, Arrian (*Anab.* 4.14.4: *τούτοις μᾶλλον τι οἰκεία ὑπολαβὼν ἐς τὴν ἀφήγησιν*, ‘on the understanding that they are somewhat more appropriate to these matters for narrative purposes’). Elsewhere Velleius wants an over-all conspectus of individual items which he has already treated (38.1: ‘ut quae partibus notauimus facilius simul uniuersa conspici possint’, ‘so that there can more easily be a whole, simultaneous view of what we have noted

individually') or, conversely, a detailed treatment of items of which he has already given an over-all conspectus (Vell.129.1: 'proposita quasi uniuersa principatus Ti. Caesaris <imagine> singula recenseamus', 'having displayed a picture of the whole of Tiberius' principate, so to speak, let us review the details'), in this resembling Suetonius (*Aug.* 9: 'proposita uitae eius uelut summa, partes singillatim neque per tempora sed per species exsequar, quo distinctius demonstrari cognoscique possint', 'having displayed the whole of his life, as it were, I shall go through its individual elements—and not chronologically but thematically—so that they can be demonstrated and known more distinctly').¹¹⁴ Whatever the arrangement of Sisenna's subject matter, he was evidently prepared to be adaptable and to provide a unified account if he thought it would be in his readers' interests.

Even if Sisenna is not the man of the same name who is lampooned by Horace for his 'bitter speech' (*Serm.* 1.7.7–8: 'adeo sermonis amari, | Sisennas, Barros ut equis praecurreret albis'), he was sufficiently celebrated as a historian to lend his name to a theoretical work on historiography by Varro (*Gell.* 16.9.5: '*Sisenna* uel *De Historia*'). Sisenna is said by Velleius to have been a contemporary of Claudius Quadrigarius (2.9.6).¹¹⁵ Our familiarity with Quadrigarius derives principally from his extended account of Manlius' fight with a giant Gaul (F6), which, when contrasted with Livy's account of the same episode,¹¹⁶ usually results in an unfavourable verdict on the

¹¹⁴ In his recent commentary ad loc. Wardle sees this passage of Suetonius in terms of *collectio* and *diuisio* (for which he quotes respectively Quint. 4.4.2 and Cic. *Top.* 28, 30).

¹¹⁵ For Quadrigarius see *FRHist* I.288–92, II.494–547, III.300–29 (J. Briscoe).

¹¹⁶ See M. Zimmerer, *Der Annalist Qu. Claudius Quadrigarius* (Munich 1937) 88–127; W. Schibel, *Sprachbehandlung und Darstellungsweise in römischer Prosa: Claudius Quadrigarius, Livius, Aulus Gellius* (Amsterdam 1971) (only F6C [=

earlier historian. ‘Not as jejune as the narrative style of Cato or Piso’, writes Courtney, but ‘a very small range of stylistic effect.’¹¹⁷ Another, much shorter, example of Quadrigarius’ manner is F84:

cum Sulla conatus esset tempore magno, eduxit copias ut Archelai turrim unam quam ille interposuit ligneam incenderet. uenit, accessit, ligna subdidit, submouit Graecos, ignem admouit; satis sunt diu conati, nunquam quiuerunt incendere: ita Archelaus omnem materiam obleuerat alumine. quod Sulla atque milites mirabantur, et, postquam non succendit, reduxit copias.

After Sulla had tried for a great time, he led out his forces to burn the one wooden tower which Archelaus had placed in the way. He arrived, approached, laid wood underneath, removed the Greeks, applied fire. They tried for long enough but they were never able to burn it, so well had Archelaus smeared all the timber with alum. Sulla and his soldiers were amazed, and, after he had failed to burn it, he led back his forces.

Are *conatus ... tempore magno ~ diu conati* or *incenderet ~ incendere ~ succendit* or *submouit ~ admouit* to be regarded as examples of boring repetition or elegant variation? The sequence *uenit ... admouit* begins with a tricolon crescendo (but then tails off), alliterates *sub- ~ sub-*, and arranges nouns and verbs in the order ABBAAB; but will the effect seem less successful to the reader who remembers Cicero’s famous *abiit, excessit, euasit, erupit* of Catiline (*Cat.* 2.1)? There can be no doubt that some of the fragmentary historians aimed to be as artistic as possible.

robP] and F12P, the latter not in fact by Q.); Lebek 227–61; Oakley on Liv. 7.9.6–10.14; Courtney 144–52.

¹¹⁷ Courtney 152; see also Oakley on Liv. 7.9.6–10.14 (esp. pp. 113–23).

We have already noted Antipater's fondness for rhythmical prose (above, pp. 41–2); Quadrigarius produces a complete hendecasyllabic line at F79 ('gründībānt grāuītēr pēcūs sūillūm') and a complete hexameter at F28 ('tanta sanctitudo fān(i) ēst ūt nūmqūām quīsquām uōlārē sīt āūsūs'). Sisenna too can fall into hexametrical rhythms (F54: 'tēmpōrā sīngulā cōnstītūt'; F102: 'fūnīs ēxpēdiūnt'), though his speciality seems to be verbal hyperbaton:¹¹⁸ F20: 'in populum produxit armatum' (not certain); F28: 'ad hostium permittit aciem'; F29: 'inperitum concitat uulgum'; F33: 'propriam capere non poterat quietem'; F81: 'dementem reprimere audaciam'; F82: 'locis trepidare conpluribus'; F85: 'impedimentum conlocant omne'; F123: 'medium perturbant agmen' (also mimetic).¹¹⁹ Elsewhere Sisenna deploys alliteration, assonance and other patterns of word order (e.g. F15: 'summa cum claritudine celeriter confecisset'; F16: 'dispalati ab signis, digressi omnes ac dissipati'; F17: 'procul sibilu significare consuli coepit'; F21: 'barba inmissa et inonso capillo, lugubri uestitu' [ABBABA]; F46: 'sublatus laetitia nimia atque inpotentia conmotus animi' [ABC ~ BAC]; F85: 'impedimentum conlocant omne, construunt carros et sarraca crebra disponunt' [ABBAAB]; F97: 'multitudinem procul hostium constare uiderunt' [synchysis]; F106: 'uictoribus proprie spem, uictis aduersae fortunae maiorem formidinem obiecit'; F114: 'innoxios tremenibus artubus repente extrahit atque in labro summo fluminis caelo albente'). The same is true of Quadrigarius: in addition to *militēs mirabantur* above, see e.g. F14: '*parentes cum propinquis capillo passo in uiam prouolarunt*'; F17: '*inermi inlātēbrānt sēsē*'; F21: '*multis armis et magno com meatu*

¹¹⁸ For this phenomenon see J. N. Adams, 'A Type of Hyperbaton in Latin Prose', *PCPhS* 17 (1971) 1–16.

¹¹⁹ For this phenomenon see D. Lateiner, 'Mimetic Syntax: Metaphor from Word Order, especially in Ovid', *AJPh* 111 (1990) 204–37.

praedaque ingenti copiantur' [ABABBA]; F90: 'crudeliter ille, nos misericorditer; auariter ille, nos largiter' [ABBA ~ ABBA].

The partial nature of the surviving evidence makes it very difficult to gauge the impact which these early historians had on succeeding writers.¹²⁰ Artistic effects such as those just listed constituted a challenge for later historians to improve or modify them, as is amply illustrated by Livy's treatment of Quadrigarius. One also wonders whether Sisenna's reflection on the gods (F79: 'utrumne diui cultu erga se mortalium laetiscant an superne agentes humana neglegant', 'whether the gods delight in their cult by mortals or whether, living on high, they neglect human affairs') was part of a longer digression like that in Tacitus (*Ann.* 6.22), or whether Quadrigarius' apostrophe to Marius (F86: 'C. Mari, ecquando te nostrum et rei publicae miserebitur?', 'Marius, whenever will you take pity on us and the commonwealth?') influenced the series of questions with which Cicero opens his first *Catilinarian*. Cicero—perhaps because of his wide reading, perhaps because so many of his works survive—discloses more allusions to the earlier fragmentary historians than anyone else, yet Cicero was generally critical of their works, and it is surely true that most modern readers will be aware of a vast literary chasm separating the historians' prose style from that of the great orator's own speeches.

It is of course highly regrettable that we have no historiography from Cicero himself with which to compare the fragmentary historians. The only historical prose work which he did write, in addition to his Greek commentary (above, p. 43), was one to which modern scholars have given the title *Consilia* or *De Consiliis*; and, if the exact form of the title is uncertain, the subject of the work is also uncertain, since amongst the various meanings of *consilium* are 'plan', 'policy',

¹²⁰ But for Sisenna's influence on Caesar see C. B. Krebs, 'Caesar's Sisenna', *CQ* 64 (2014) 207–13.

and ‘intention’.¹²¹ Of this work only one verbatim quotation is said to survive (F6):¹²²

sed, ut aliqua similitudine adductus maximis minima conferam, [ut] cum uinolenti adulescentes tiliarum etiam cantu (ut fit) instincti mulieris pudicae fores frangerent, admonuisse tibicinam ut spondeum caneret Pythagoras dicitur; quod cum illa fecisset, tarditate modorum et grauitate cantus illorum furentem petulantiam resedisse [*or perhaps* consedis].

But—if I may be led by a certain similarity to compare the smallest things with the greatest—when some drunken young men, additionally roused (as happens) by the playing of the pipes, were trying to break down the doors of a chaste woman, Pythagoras is said to have advised the pipe-player to play in spondees; and, when she did so, their raging aggression calmed down at the slowness of the rhythm and the ponderousness of the playing.

It seems extraordinary that the only surviving prose historiography of so important a political and intellectual figure as Cicero should deal with sexual harassment, drunken hoodlums and popular music in an unknown context. Although Drummond describes the vocabulary as ‘characteristic of Cicero’, his description seems largely based on the clause *ut ...*

¹²¹ On this work see *FRHist* I.376–9, II.770–3, III.478–82 (A. Drummond). For Cicero’s views on historiography, Drummond refers to the start of the *De Legibus* (on which see now *PH* 1–16) but strikingly omits all reference to *De Or.* 2.62–4 (*FRHist* I.370).

¹²² The quotation is an amalgamation of what is reported by Aug. *Contra Iul. Pelag.* 5.23 and Boeth. *Inst. Mus.* 1.1, who between them differ over the precise form of the final verb. *ut* has been deleted as a mistaken intrusion after the first *ut*.

maximis minima conferam, with which he compares *Rep.* 3.33 and *Orat.* 14;¹²³ yet these two examples merely illustrate the proverbial expression *si parua licet componere magnis*.¹²⁴ It would perhaps have been better to compare *Opt. Gen. Orat.* 17 ‘ut cum maximis minima conferam’, although this work is of doubtful authenticity. Indeed the other linguistic evidence is similarly uncertain. *ut fit* is a frequent expression in Cicero, but, as ‘a formula of ordinary language’ (so Brink describes it), it is also common elsewhere, occurring frequently (for example) in Livy’s first decade.¹²⁵ *petulantia* is one of Cicero’s favourite nouns, but it is hardly exclusive to him and is regular in the younger Seneca and the Quintilianic corpus. Even the final clausula is ambiguous, since alternative versions have been transmitted: *petulanti-ām rēsēdīssē* is Cicero’s second most favourite ending but the spondaic *cōnsēdīssē*, while much rarer, would (as Drummond remarks) have ‘particular point’ in the context.

Whatever we make of this fragment, it is natural to see Cicero’s literary achievement principally in terms of his oratory. Although one must of course take account of fashion and personal taste (it will not be forgotten that Hadrian is said to have preferred Cato to Cicero, Ennius to Virgil, and Coelius Antipater to Sallust: cf. *HA Hadr.* 16.6), nevertheless that achievement is placed only in sharper relief by these historiographical predecessors and seems all the more remarkable when set beside those fragments which allow us to form a stylistic judgement. It is no wonder that Cicero’s friends pleaded with him to write history himself and that after his death Cornelius Nepos paid him this tribute in his now fragmentary work *On the Latin Historians* (F58 Marshall):

¹²³ *FRHist* III.479–80.

¹²⁴ For which see Tosi 36–7 §87.

¹²⁵ Brink on Hor. *Ep.* 2.2.14; Oakley on Liv. 9.22.7.

ille enim fuit unus qui potuerit et etiam debuerit historiam digna uoce pronuntiare, quippe qui oratoriam eloquentiam rudem a maioribus acceptam perpoliuerit, philosophiam ante eum incomptam Latinam sua conformarit oratione. ex quo dubito, interitu eius utrum res publica an historia magis doleat.

He was the only one who could—and also should—have delivered a history in a worthy voice, in as much as he thoroughly polished the crude oratorical eloquence which he received from our ancestors and by his own oratory fashioned Latin philosophy, which was unkempt before him. Hence I am doubtful whether the commonwealth or history is more pained at his death.

These words were spoken with some authority, since Nepos himself wrote numerous historical works, of which the *De Latinis Historicis* is only one.¹²⁶ The majority of these are no longer extant, but, despite its loss, his chronographic work, the *Chronica*, is celebrated because Catullus praises it in his first poem, where he dedicates his collection to Nepos:¹²⁷

Cui dono lepidum nouum libellum
 arida modo pumice expolitum?
 Corneli, tibi: namque tu solebas
 meas esse aliquid putare nugas
 iam tum cum ausus es unus Italorum 5

¹²⁶ To the bibliography in *FRHist* I.395 (J. Briscoe, A. Drummond) and R. Stem, *The Political Biographies of Cornelius Nepos* (Ann Arbor 2012), add the works mentioned by P. Schenk in his review of the latter (*BMCR* 2013.08.10). There is a convenient list of Nepos' works in N. Horsfall, *Cornelius Nepos* (Oxford 1989) xvii.

¹²⁷ See *PH* 121–6.

omne aeuum tribus explicare cartis
doctis (Iuppiter!) et laboriosis.

For whom is the gift of my smart new booklet, which recently dry pumice has polished? For you, Cornelius! since it was you whose repeated belief that my ‘nonsense’ was really something dates back to when you were the single Italian who dared to unfold the whole epoch in only three scrolls, learned (by Jupiter!) and painstaking.

As is well known, Catullus here sets out a literary relationship in which the historian’s artistry so resembles that of the poet that scholars can talk of the *Chronica* as ‘a neoteric historical work’,¹²⁸ yet there is more to this resemblance than the shared artistry to which Catullus refers. The defining composition of the neoteric poets was the epyllion or ‘little epic’,¹²⁹ and for the subject of his epyllion, Poem 64, Catullus chose the wedding of Peleus and Thetis (64.1–51, 267–396). But he complicated his narrative by inserting a substantial inner panel of description and a brief coda: the former (52–266) describes the scenes embroidered on the coverlet of the marriage bed and features Ariadne and Theseus; the latter (397–408) deals with the post-mythic period. Although the relationship between the two myths results in what Feeney has described as ‘chronological anomie’,¹³⁰ the significant fact is that Catullus was clearly preoccupied with time and its representation in narrative: not only is there a recurring interchange of retrospects and prolepses in mythic time but the coda brings us unexpectedly

¹²⁸ F. Cairns, ‘Catullus I’, *Mnem.* 22 (1969) 154 = *Roman Lyric: Collected Papers on Catullus and Horace* (Berlin 2012) 2.

¹²⁹ R. O. A. M. Lyne, ‘The Neoteric Poets’, *CQ* 28 (1978) 167–87 = *Collected Papers on Latin Poetry* (Oxford 2007) 60–84.

¹³⁰ D. Feeney, *Caesar’s Calendar: Ancient Time and the Beginnings of History* (Berkeley and Los Angeles 2007) 123.

into the internecine strife of the present day, since its reference to incest has plausibly been interpreted as an allusion to the story of Catiline.¹³¹ Nepos' title *Chronica*, to which Catullus' *omne aeuum* (perhaps echoing Nepos' own preface) seems to allude,¹³² implies a similar interest: when Gellius wanted to check dates, he resorted to 'books which are called chronicles' (17.21.1: 'libris qui chronici appellantur'), and indeed one of the books he consulted was that of Nepos (17.21.3). It is attractive to imagine the two Transpadanes discussing their respective works, sharing their interests in time, and each influencing the other in a genuine 'crossing of the genres'. Those interests would flower again in the following decade with Cicero, for whom they become 'almost obsessive',¹³³ and with Atticus and Varro.¹³⁴

VI. The Death of Cicero

Although the elder Seneca is recorded by his son as having written a history (Sen. *Vita Patris* F15), not a single genuine word

¹³¹ See Quinn on 64.402. An added historical dimension is provided by the hypothesis that the whole of Catullus' poem is relevant to the politics of his own day (see e.g. D. P. Nelis, 'Callimachus in Verona: Catullus and Alexandrian Poetry', in I. Du Quesnay and T. Woodman, edd., *Catullus: Poems, Books, Readers* (Cambridge 2012) 1–28).

¹³² See T. P. Wiseman, *Clio's Cosmetics: Three Studies in Greco-Roman Literature* (Leicester and Totowa, New Jersey 1979) 170, whose discussion of these issues remains fundamental. As indicated in *OLD*, *aeuum* can refer to the past, the future, an individual period, or eternity (for an etymology see Varr. *LL* 6.11: 'aeuum ab aetate omnium annorum'): hence it is not clear whether Catullus means 'the whole of history' or 'every period'. *omne aeuum* recurs subsequently in e.g. Virg. *Aen.* 9.609, Hor. *Odes* 3.11.35–6, *Epist.* 1.2.43, Liv 28.43.6, German. *Arat.* 520, Pollio F7 (below p. 70), Manil 1.46, 2.473, 3.534, Val. Max. *praef.*, *Laus Pis.* 222, and many more afterwards.

¹³³ A. E. Douglas, 'Oratorum aetates', *AJPh* 87 (1966) 291.

¹³⁴ For Atticus see *FRHist* I.347–50, II.718–29, III.457–62 (A. Drummond); for Varro see *FRHist* I.412–23, II.836–43, III.513–17 (A. Drummond).

survives; the substantial fragment usually attributed to the work, though included in the standard historiographical compilations (F₂C = 1P),¹³⁵ is probably from a philosophical treatise of the younger Seneca.¹³⁶ The elder did, however, incorporate historiography into his sixth *suasoria* ('Deliberat Cicero an Antonium deprecetur'). After due apology (6.14), he quotes descriptions of Cicero's death in 43 BC as written by Livy, Aufidius Bassus, Cremutius Cordus and Brutedius Niger (6.17–21). He then explains that, after historians have narrated the death of some great man, it is customary to add an obituary notice or *laudatio funebris* (6.21). The practice started with Thucydides, was adopted in a few cases by Sallust, and was taken up by Livy and subsequent historians;¹³⁷ and he provides examples by quoting from the same historians (but substituting Asinius Pollio for Brutedius Niger) and ending with an extract from the poet Cornelius Severus (6.21–6).¹³⁸

Cremutius Cordus is famous above all for the speech which Tacitus puts into his mouth when he is accused of treason in AD 25 (*Ann.* 4.34.2–35.3).¹³⁹ Cordus' own words, as

¹³⁵ See *FRHist* I.506–8, III.596–7; Sussman 137–52.

¹³⁶ For the linguistic evidence on which this attribution is based see *PH* 176–80.

¹³⁷ See A. J. Pomeroy, *The Appropriate Comment: Death Notices in the Ancient Historians* (Frankfurt am Main 1991).

¹³⁸ In addition to the relevant entries in *FRHist* see A. D. Leeman, *Orationis Ratio* (Amsterdam 1963) 187–91, 250–1; H. Homeyer, *Die antiken Berichte über den Tod Ciceros und ihre Quellen* (Baden-Baden 1964); my notes on Vell. 66.1–5; and the extensive bibliography in Feddern. For Cornelius Severus in particular see H. Dahlmann, *Cornelius Severus (AAWM 6)* (Wiesbaden 1975) 74–119; E. Courtney, *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*² (Oxford 2003) 325–7; A. S. Hollis, *Fragments of Roman Poetry, c. 60 BC–AD 20* (Oxford 2007) 345–7 and 358–67.

¹³⁹ See now J. Wisse, 'Remembering Cremutius Cordus: Tacitus on History, Tyranny and Memory', *Histos* 7 (2013) 299–361. For Cordus see *FRHist* I.497–501, II.964–73, III.592–3 (B. M. Levick).

used to describe the aftermath of Cicero's death, were allegedly as follows (Fr):¹⁴⁰

quibus uisis laetus Antonius, cum peractam proscriptionem suam dixisset esse (quippe non satiatus modo caedendis ciuibus, sed differtus quoque), super rostra exponit. itaque, quo saepius ille ingenti circumfusus turba processerat, quae paulo ante caluerat piis contionibus, quibus multorum capita seruauerat, tum per artus sublatus aliter ac solitus erat a ciuibus suis conspectus est, praependenti capillo orique eius inspersa sanie, breui ante princeps senatus Romanique nominis titulus, tum pretium interfectoris sui. praecipue tamen soluit pectora omnium in lacrimas gemitusque uisa ad caput eius deligata manus dextera, diuinae eloquentiae ministra. ceterorumque caedes priuatos luctus excitauerunt, illa una communem.

Delighted at the sight of them,¹⁴¹ Antonius said that his own proscription was finished (being not only satisfied but even replete with slaughtering citizens) and he displayed them on top of the rostra. And so, in the place to where he [Cicero] had so often proceeded surrounded by a huge crowd, which a little earlier had kindled to the devoted addresses with which he had saved the lives of many, at that moment it was only his body-parts that were on high, and he was seen by his citizens differently from usual, his bedraggled hair and his face spattered with gore: shortly before, he had been the leader of the senate and the glory of the Roman name, now he was the prize of his killer. But

¹⁴⁰ The standard texts of the elder Seneca are those by M. Winterbottom (Loeb 1974), L. Håkanson (Teubner 1989) and now Feddern. Håkanson's text is reproduced in *FRHist*.

¹⁴¹ The reference is to Cicero's head and right hand, though Levick translates the phrase as if it were singular.

what particularly dissolved the hearts of all in tears and groans was the sight of his right hand—that servant of his divine eloquence—tied to his head. Personal grief was aroused by the slaughter of others, but communal by that single one alone.

Although the elder Seneca claimed to have a prodigious memory (*Contr.* 1 *praef.* 2–4), modern readers are almost bound to ask themselves whether or not this extended quotation is accurate;¹⁴² the case of Livy (below, pp. 78–9) perhaps suggests a positive answer to the question, but, since there is no comparative evidence available for Cordus, we have to take Seneca on trust.

At any rate Levick finds that Cordus' language, as reproduced by Seneca, 'is certainly not memorable' and she agrees with Bonner in comparing the account of Cicero's death by Velleius, the awfulness of which is taken for granted;¹⁴³ had she consulted a commentary on Velleius, however, she would perhaps have realised that one of the standard ways of describing Cicero's death was to pay tribute to the great orator in his own words. Thus Cordus' contemporary Bruttidius Niger, with whose cognomen Juvenal has a little fun (10.82: 'pallidulus'),¹⁴⁴ described Cicero's fate as follows (F1):¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² On this question see C. W. Lockyer, 'The Fiction of Memory and the Use of Written Sources: Convention and Practice in Seneca the Elder and Other Authors' (diss. Princeton, 1970); Sussman 75–9; J. Fairweather, *Seneca the Elder* (Cambridge 1981) 37–42.

¹⁴³ *FRHist* III.592, referring to S. F. Bonner, *Roman Declamation* (London 1949) 158–9 (but misdated by Levick to 1969). Levick's translation is also unreliable: *quae paulo ante caluerat* does not mean 'the platform which he had inflamed', since the antecedent of *quae* is *turba* (there is no platform) and *caleo* is an intransitive verb; and her omission of *uisa* deprives us of an example of *enargeia* linking back to *uisis*.

¹⁴⁴ Observed by Ferguson ad loc.

¹⁴⁵ For Bruttidius see *FRHist* I.502, II.973–9, III.594 (B. M. Levick).

ut uero iussu Antonii inter duas¹⁴⁶ manus positum in rostris caput conspectum est, quo totiens auditum erat loco, datae gemitu et fletu maximo uiro inferiae, nec, ut solet, uitam depositi in rostris corporis contio audiuit sed ipsa narrauit. nulla non pars fori aliquo actionis inclutae signata uestigio erat; nemo non aliquod eius in se meritum fatebatur: hoc certe publicum beneficium palam erat, illam miserrimi temporis seruitutem a Catilina dilatam in Antonium.

But when on the order of Antonius his head was seen positioned¹⁴⁷ between his two hands on the rostra, in the place where it had so often been heard, the final offerings to this greatest of men took the form of groaning and weeping, and the assembly did not (as is usual) listen to the biography of the body laid out on the rostra but narrated it themselves. There was no part of the forum that had not been marked by some trace of a celebrated speech, no one who did not acknowledge some good deed done to himself. There was at least a clear public benefit and it was this, that the servitude of that most wretched time had been deferred from Catiline to Antonius.

Feddern quotes Cic. *Verr.* 5.163 to illustrate the co-ordination of the two synonyms *gemitu et fletu* but, like Levick, seems not to have realised that the doublet is an idiom of Cicero which Bruttidius has imitated (cf. *Rosc. Am.* 24 and *Verr.* 4.110, and

¹⁴⁶ *duos* in Levick's text is a misprint which has failed to be corrected.

¹⁴⁷ It is impossible in English to reproduce the effect of *positum* followed by *depositi* below (for this form of variation see e.g. Woodman–Martin on Tac. *Ann.* 3.60.2); obviously one must avoid translating both *positum* and *loco* by 'place', as does Levick.

note *II Verr.* 1.76).¹⁴⁸ Likewise *aliquot ... signata uestigio* may also perhaps be Ciceronian (cf. *Font.* 12: ‘uestigium sit aliquod quod significet’), while *miserum tempus* in both positive and superlative forms is overwhelmingly found in Cicero. (Perhaps surprisingly the striking phrase *temporis seruitutem* is not to be found in Cicero; its only recurrence is in a famous letter of Pliny (*Ep.* 8.14.2), where it is used of the reign of Domitian.)

In the case of Cremutius Cordus, phrases such as *caede satiatus*, a typical metaphor for the tyrant which is introduced by *peractam* (cf. e.g. *Sen. Ep.* 77.8: ‘cena peracta’) and sustained by *differtus*,¹⁴⁹ appear in authors from Livy onwards, but it would be nice to think that here an allusion was being made to Cic. *Phil.* 5.20: ‘nulla res ei [sc. Antonio] finem *caedendi* nisi defatigatio et *satietas* attulisset’.¹⁵⁰ Various scholars rightly mention that *quibus multorum capita seruauerat* is an allusion to *De Or.* 3.10: ‘M. Antoni in eis ipsis rostris in quibus ille rem publicam constantissime consul defenderat ... positum caput illud fuit a quo erant *multorum* ciuium *capita seruata*’. The words *ciuibus suis* are especially poignant, since *mei ciues* or *ciues mei* seems an almost exclusively Ciceronian expression (one example in Curtius and one in Livy); while popular groans (*gemitus*) feature prominently in Cicero’s second *Philippic* (e.g. 64, 85). Cordus also resorts to the more elevated language of poetry: *pectus soluere* is almost exclusively poetical from Lucr.

¹⁴⁸ Cicero may possibly have derived the expression from Cato, *Or.* 58 *Malcovati*, where the nouns appear in adjacent phrases; later exs. at Luc. 7.680; Val. Fl. 7.458; Quint. 11.1.84; [Quint.] *Decl.* 10.8.

¹⁴⁹ For some Greek examples of the metaphor see e.g. the valuable book of R. Brock, *Greek Political Imagery from Homer to Aristotle* (London and New York 2013) 90.

¹⁵⁰ Conversely, if Håkanson is right to read *turba ... paulo ante caluerat piis contionibus* (for the transmitted *coluerat*), it would be nice to think that the Tacitean Cordus were alluding to it (*Ann.* 4.35.2: ‘num ... populum *per contiones incendio?*’). Tacitus may also pick up *communem (luctum)* at *Ann.* 6.49.2, though it recurs at *Sen. Contr.* 5.3.1.

2.46 onwards,¹⁵¹ and for *soluit ... in lacrimas* Feddern quotes Luc. 8.106–7. Word order too is artful: *ingenti circumfusus turba* illustrates ‘mimetic syntax’; *caluerat piis contionibus ~ multorum capita seruauerat* is chiasmic; likewise *princeps senatus ~ Romanique nominis titulus ~ pretium interfectoris sui* is ABBAAB.

Seneca is dismissive of Cordus’ obituary notice for Cicero (*Suas.* 6.23) but proceeds to quote that of Cordus’ younger contemporary, Aufidius Bassus,¹⁵² for which Levick, with another appeal to Bonner, again expresses her contempt (F2):¹⁵³

Sic M. Cicero decessit, uir natus ad rei publicae salutem, quae diu defensa et administrata in senectute demum e manibus eius abit, uno ipsius uitio laesa quod nihil in salutem eius aliud illi quam si caruisset Antonio placuit. uixit sexaginta et tres annos ita ut semper aut peteret alterum aut inuicem peteretur, nullamque rem rarius quam diem illum quo nullius interesset ipsum mori uidit.

Thus did M. Cicero pass away, a man born for the well-being of the commonwealth, which, after being defended and administered so long, at last in his old age left his hands, damaged by his own one flaw, that he wanted nothing for its well-being other than the removal of Antonius. He lived for sixty-three years in such a way that he was always targeting someone or was himself a target in his turn, and for him there was no rarer sight than a day on which it was in no one’s interest that he die.

Yet once again she does not mention that Bassus praises Cicero in Cicero’s own words. *uir natus ad ...* is above all a Ciceronian

¹⁵¹ Elsewhere at e.g. Germ., Phaedr., Manil., Sen. trag.

¹⁵² For him see *FRHist* I.518–21, II.1000–7, III.603–5 (B. M. Levick).

¹⁵³ *FRHist* III.603 (again misdating Bonner’s work).

mannerism (*Sest.* 89; *Brut.* 239; *TD* 2.41), while *rei publicae salus* is above all a Ciceronian expression; note especially *Sest.* 50: ‘diuinum illum uirum atque ex isdem quibus nos radicibus natum ad salutem huius imperi, C. Marium’. The health metaphor introduced and concluded by the repeated *salutem* is sustained by *uno ipsius uitio laesa*, an expression which thus combines the two topoi of ‘the cure worse than the disease’ and *nemo sine uitio est*.¹⁵⁴ A different type of combination is seen in Bassus’ judgement on Cicero, which in sentiment echoes Livy’s assessment of the elder Cato (39.40.9: ‘simultates nimio plures et exercuerunt eum et ipse exercuit eas’) and in language calls to mind—admittedly somewhat weirdly—Sallust’s description of Sempronia (*Cat.* 25.3: ‘lubido sic adensa ut saepius *peteret* uiros quam *peteretur*’).

Seneca follows Bassus’ obituary notice with that by Asinius Pollio, the famous consul (in 40 BC), general, and author (*Suas.* 6.24 = F7).¹⁵⁵ Almost everything about Pollio’s work, including its precise scope and period of composition, is tantalisingly uncertain,¹⁵⁶ but Seneca assures us that, although his description of Cicero’s death—which he declines to quote—was unique in its spitefulness (*Suas.* 6.24: ‘Ciceronis mortem solus ex omnibus maligne narrat’), his obituary for Cicero, though reluctant, was ample in its praise (‘testimonium tamen quamuis inuitus plenum ei reddidit’):

huius ergo uiri tot tantisque operibus mansuris in omne
 aeuum praedicare de ingenio atque industria
 super<uacuum est>. natura autem atque fortuna pariter
 obsecuta est ei, <si> quidem facies decora ad senectutem

¹⁵⁴ For the former see *RICH* 133 and n. 74; *PH* 172; for the latter see *Sen. Contr.* 2.4.4 (there used of Cicero) and my note on *Vell.* 119.4.

¹⁵⁵ For Pollio see *FRHist* I.430–45, II.854–67, III.521–30 (A. Drummond).

¹⁵⁶ See *FRHist* I.436–9; *PH* 130–3.

prosperaque permansit ualetudo. tum pax diutina, cuius instructus erat artibus, contigit. namque prisca seueritate iudiciis exacta maxima noxiorum multitudo prouenit, quos obstrictos patrocinio incolumes plerosque habebat. iam felicissima consulatus ei sors petendi et gerendi magno munere deum, consilio <suo> industriaque. utinam moderatius secundas res et fortius aduersas ferre potuisset! namque utraeque cum <e>uenerant ei, mutari eas non posse rebatur. inde sunt inuidiae tempestates coortae graues in eum, certiorque inimicis adgrediendi fiducia. maiore enim simultates appetebat animo quam gerebat. sed quando mortalium nulli uirtus perfecta contigit, qua maior pars uitae atque ingenii stetit, ea iudicandum de homine est. atque ego ne miserandi quidem exitus eum fuisse iudicarem, nisi ipse tam miseram mortem putasset.

Since, then, the very many and very great works of such a man will remain for all time, it is superfluous to pronounce upon his intellect and industry; but Nature and Fortune alike deferred to him, given that his appearance remained becoming, and his health hale, until old age. Then he was granted a lasting peace, in the arts of which he was skilled. For, with old-fashioned severity banished from the courts, there cropped up a very large crowd of the guilty, most of whom he kept bound by his advocacy and safe [?]. Next, his lot in seeking and exercising his consulship was most fortunate for him, thanks to the gift of the gods and his own policy and industry. But would that he had been able to bear prosperity more moderately and adversity more bravely! For, whenever each befell him, he would think that they could not change. Hence the violent storms of resentment which sprang up against him—and his enemies' surer confidence in attacking him, since his heart was more in the desire for feuds than in conducting them. Yet, because perfect virtue has not been granted to any

mortal, a man must be judged in respect of the area where the greater part of his life and intellect has been spent. And as for me, I would not judge his a passing to be pitied, had he himself not thought death so pitiable.

The resumptive use of *ergo* indicates that *huius* too has a resumptive function, as often in texts of a biographical nature,¹⁵⁷ both words returning the reader to an earlier point after an intervening (and now, of course, lost) section of narrative elaboration; the genitival phrase as a whole is fronted because it applies equally to *operibus* within the ablative absolute and to *ingenio atque industria* in the main clause.¹⁵⁸ This latter pair of alliterating nouns picks up the equally alliterative *tot tantisque* chiasmatically, the number of Cicero's works being explained by his industry, their excellence by his intellect.

The circularity of the opening sentence is mirrored in the structure of the obituary as a whole. **[a]** An initial *praeteritio* of the kind conventionally found in encomiastic contexts (e.g. Tac. *Agr.* 9.4: 'integritatem atque abstinentiam in tanto uiro referre iniuria uirtutum fuerit') acts as a foil whereby the Ciceronian doublet *ingenio atque industria*, on which Pollio declines to elaborate, is contrasted (*autem*) with the almost equally Ciceronian *natura ... atque fortuna*, upon which he *will*

¹⁵⁷ For this use of *hic* see F. Leo, *Die griechisch-römische Biographie nach ihrer literarischen Form* (Leipzig 1901) 140, 217, 308–9, and note e.g. Whitton on Plin. *Ep.* 2.1.6 'huius uiri' (another obituary); for *ergo*, described as 'functionless' by Feddern, see *OLD* 5a.

¹⁵⁸ According to L–H–S 139 this is the first extant example of an abl. abs. constructed with a future participle, but other references quoted there (Liv. 4.18.6; Hor. *Serm.* 2.8.44) belong to the second half of the 30s BC and almost certainly antedate Pollio's treatment of Cicero. Feddern wonders whether the words are an abl. abs. at all and suggests the possibility of an abl. of quality, but this would require *mansuris* to be a genuine adj. (as Plin. *Ep.* 6.16.2: 'plurima opera et mansura', of the works of Pliny's uncle), which seems unlikely. For *omne aeuum* see above, p. 63.

expand ('si quidem ...'): ¹⁵⁹ Cicero was blessed with both handsomeness ('facies decora') and health ('prospera ... ualetudo'). *facies decora* had appeared earlier in Sallust (*Jug.* 6.1), a fellow 'Thucydidean' whose literary assistant, Ateius Philologus, Pollio inherited on Sallust's death (Suet. *Gramm.* 10.6); ¹⁶⁰ *prospera ... ualetudo*, varying the sequence of paired nouns by the slight hyperbaton, ¹⁶¹ is only in Columella (1.3.5) and Suetonius (6x). Added to these blessings (*tum*) are **[b]** the benign circumstances of Cicero's earlier life, which are then explained (*namque*). Although some of the motifs in this section are found in Cicero, as Drummond notes in his helpful analysis, ¹⁶² the momentary absence of Ciceronian language continues: *pax diutina* seems Livian (6.7.1, 6.33.2) and *priscam seueritatem*, though at *Har. Resp.* 27, is perhaps insufficiently exclusive (again at Liv. 22.60.5; Vell. 2.92.2, 125.4, 127.4; Tac. *Ann.* 6.13.8, 11.25.3).

The peak of Cicero's good fortune (*iam*) was the consulship, enhanced by the return of Ciceronian language (for *consilio ... industriaque* cf. *Leg. Man.* 29; *Phil.* 10.25; then Fronto p. 175.20 vdH²); ¹⁶³ but, since the consulship was also the source of Cicero's later downfall, its mention introduces **[c]** the pivotal

¹⁵⁹ For *ingenio atque industria* cf. *Balb.* 19; *Leg. Man.* 1; *Cael.* 1; *Lucull.* 16; *Brut.* 110; *Fam.* 3.11.2, 10.3.2, 13.10.2, 15.14.6, *al.*; also at Vitruvius 9.8.2 and cf. Pliny *Ep.* 4.15.7. *natura ... atque fortuna* (e.g. *Mur.* 79; *Sest.* 47; *De Or.* 2.342) is also at e.g. Liv. 3.12.6.

¹⁶⁰ See Kaster ad loc.; for Pollio and Sallust and their relationship to Thucydides see e.g. *RICH* 127–8. The only other republican text in which *facies decora* occurs is Hor. *Serm.* 1.2 (87), a poem in which Sallust actually features (see *PH* 116–20), and it is used twice by Sallust's imitator, Tacitus (*Hist.* 2.89.2; *Ann.* 15.48.3; but also twice in Pliny, *Ep.* 1.10.6 and *Pan.* 56.6).

¹⁶¹ *permansit* in its turn varies *mansuris* above (for this type see n. 147).

¹⁶² *FRHist* III.527. For the courts' lack of severity, for ex., see *Verr.* 4.133: 'posteaquam iudicia seuera Romae fieri desierunt' (and Baldo ad loc. and on §22).

¹⁶³ For *munere deum* cf. Pliny *Pan.* 4.7 (and 2x in Tac. *Ann.*).

sentence of the obituary ('utinam moderatius secundas res et fortius aduersas ferre potuisset!'), which, with its characteristically Ciceronian clausula, bears a striking resemblance to Cicero's own exhortation at *Fam.* 5.21.4: 'ut illa *secunda moderate tulimus, sic hanc ... aduersam ... fortunam fortiter ferre debemus*'.¹⁶⁴ After this sentence too is explained (*namque* again), Pollio continues his list-like summary (*inde*) with **[b¹]** the misfortunes of Cicero's later life: these are also expressed in Ciceronian language ('inuidiae tempestates ... graues') and, like the earlier successes, are given an explanation (*enim*).¹⁶⁵ But not even Pollio wishes to end on a sour note: **[a¹]** the obituary concludes, as it began, with two linked sentences (*iudicandum ~ iudicarem*) whose themes (*uitae atque ingenii*) take us back to the beginning (~ *ingenio, ualetudo*) and beyond (*exitus ... mortem ~ ad senectutem*). Although the conclusion lacks distinctively Ciceronian language (*uirtus perfecta* is common in Cicero but also elsewhere), the final sentence ends with Cicero's favourite clausula (– ◡ – –) and constitutes an assonantal *epiphonema* (*miserandi ~ miseram*).¹⁶⁶ Small wonder, perhaps, that in Seneca's opinion Pollio in this passage seemed not only to have praised Cicero but rivalled him (*Suas.* 6.25: 'non laudasse Ciceronem sed certasse cum Cicerone').

¹⁶⁴ The *Ad Familiares* was published by Tiro shortly after Cicero's death. The contrast *fortiter ~ moderate* recurs at *Sen. Ben.* 6.35.1.

¹⁶⁵ For *inuidiae tempestates* Drummond quotes *Cat.* 1.22, 2.15, *Clu.* 94 (the expr. is also at *Liv.* 3.38.6); for *tempestates ... graues* cf. *Cic. Rep.* 1.7 (then *Plin. NH* 18.352; *HA M. Ant. Phil.* 27.2).

¹⁶⁶ For the concluding *sententia* known as an *epiphonema* see Lausberg 391 §879. For *miserandi ... exitus* cf. *Gell.* 15.16.2.

VII. Livy

We know from the surviving *periochae* (or summaries) of Livy's work that Cicero's death in 43 BC was described by Livy in the now lost Book 120, from which the two extracts preserved by Seneca (F59 and F60 Jal) therefore derive.¹⁶⁷ Although Seneca quoted the extracts separately (*Suas.* 6.17 and 22), they are often presented together as successive paragraphs:

M. Cicero sub aduentum triumuirorum urbe cesserat, pro certo habens (id quod erat) non magis Antonio <se> eripi quam Caesari Cassium et Brutum posse. primo in Tusculanum fugerat; inde transuersis itineribus in Formianum, ut ab Caieta nauem conscensurus, 5 proficiscitur. unde aliquotiens in altum prouectum cum modo uenti aduersi rettulissent, modo ipse iactationem nauis caeco uolente fluctu pati non posset, taedium tandem eum et fugae et uitae cepit regressusque ad superiorem uillam, quae paulo plus mille passibus a mari 10 abest, 'moriar', inquit, 'in patria saepe seruata'. satis constat seruos fortiter fideliterque paratos fuisse ad dimicandum; ipsum deponi lecticam et quietos pati quod sors iniqua cogeret iussisse. prominenti ex lectica praebentique immotam ceruicem caput praecisum est. nec 15 <id> satis stolidae crudelitati militum fuit: manus quoque, scripsisse aliquid in Antonium exprobrantes, praeciderunt.

¹⁶⁷ We do not know the date at which Livy's *periochae* were produced; in general see J. D. Chaplin, 'The Livian *Periochae* and the Last Republican Writer', in M. Horster and C. Reitz, edd., *Condensing Texts—Condensed Texts* (Stuttgart 2010) 451–67, with bibliography. It should be noted that the *periocha* of Book 120 differs from F59 in two respects: it names Cicero's assassin as Popillius (about whom there is much in M. B. Roller, 'Colorblindness: Cicero's Death, Declamation, and the Production of History', *CPh* 92 (1997) 109–30) and says that only Cicero's right hand was displayed on the rostra (on which see S. Butler, *The Hand of Cicero* (London and New York 2002) 1–3). I am not sure what conclusions can be drawn from this.

ita relatum caput ad Antonium iussuque eius inter duas
 manus in rostris positum, ubi ille consul, ubi saepe
 consularis, ubi eo ipso anno aduersus Antonium quanta 20
 nulla umquam humana uox cum admiratione eloquentiae
 auditus fuerat. uix attollentes <prae> lacrimis oculos
 homines intueri trucidati membra Ciceronis poterant.

Vixit tres et sexaginta annos, ut, si uis afuisset, ne
 immatura quidem mors uideri possit. ingenium et operibus 25
 et praemiis operum felix, ipse fortunae diu prosperae; sed
 in longo tenore felicitatis magnis interim ictus uulneribus,
 exilio, ruina partium pro quibus steterat, filiae morte, exitu
 tam tristi atque acerbo, omnium aduersorum nihil ut uiro
 dignum erat tulit prae morte, quae uere aestimanti minus 30
 indigna uideri potuit quod a uictore inimico <nihil>
 crudelius passus erat quam quod eiusdem fortunae compos
 uicto fecisset. si quis tamen uirtutibus uitia pensarit, uir
 magnus ac memorabilis fuit, et in cuius laudes exequendas 35
 Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit.

2 <se> eripi *dett.* **16** <id> *H. J. Müller* **22** <prae> lacrimis
Gronovius: <madentes> l- Håkanson **23** homines *MSS: humentes*
C. F. W. Müller trucidati *Haase: -ata a: truncata H. J. Müller*
Ciceronis Woodman: ciuis MSS: ciues C. F. W. Müller: eius Watt
26 sed *Gertz: et a* **28** morte *secl. Madvig: amatae Gertz* **30** prae
 morte *Woodman: praeter mortem MSS* **31** <nihil> *Lipsius* **32-3**
 compos uicto *Mommsen: composito a*

M. Cicero had left the City just before the arrival of the
 triumvirs, in the certain knowledge that (as was the case)
 he could no more be snatched from Antonius than could
 Cassius and Brutus from Caesar. First he had fled to his
 Tusculan estate; from there he set off by cross-country
 routes to his Formian, intending to board a ship from
 Caieta. Sailing out from there into the deep on several
 occasions, sometimes adverse winds carried him back,

sometimes he himself could not endure the tossing of the ship as it rolled in the groundswell; finally a weariness of flight and life alike took hold of him and, returning to the villa further up the coast, which is little more than a mile from the sea, he said 'I will die in the fatherland I so often saved'. It is generally agreed that his slaves were bravely and loyally ready to fight it out, but that their master ordered them to put down the litter and calmly to allow what an unjust lot compelled. As he leaned from the litter and offered his neck unflinchingly, his head was cut off. But that was not enough for the stupid cruelty of the soldiers: they cut off his hands too, charging that they had written something against Antonius. So it was that his head was brought to Antonius and on his order placed between his hands on the rostra, where as the famous consul, and often as a consular, and indeed in that very year against Antonius, he had been listened to with such wonder at his eloquence as was never any human voice. Scarcely did men raise their eyes for tears, or bring themselves to gaze upon the limbs of the butchered Cicero.¹⁶⁸

He lived sixty-three years, so that, had there been no violence, even his death could not seem premature. His genius was rich in its achievements and in the rewards for those achievements, and he himself was a man of long-lasting good fortune; but during the lengthy course of that richness he was sometimes struck by great blows—exile, the ruin of the party for which he had stood, his daughter's death, an end so sad and bitter—and of all these adversities he bore none as befitted a man compared with his death, which, on a true estimation, was able to seem

¹⁶⁸ In proposing the emendation *Ciceronis* I am assuming that an abbreviated form of his name was confused with an abbreviation for *ciuis* such as *ci*. For the participial description compare Corn. Sev. 13.3 C = 219.3 H: 'rapti Ciceronis'.

less unfitting because he had suffered nothing more cruel from his victorious enemy than what he, if endowed with the same good fortune, would have done to his victim. Yet, if one counterbalances his faults with his virtues, he was a great and memorable man, and one whose eulogy would require for its performance Cicero as eulogist.

The length of these quotations no doubt raises even more questions about Seneca's memory than did those from Cremutius Cordus and the rest (above, p. 66), but, since thirty-five of Livy's earlier volumes have survived, there is some comparative evidence against which the two fragments may be judged.

Not only is *sub aduentum* an almost exclusively Livian phrase (18x) before the time of Velleius,¹⁶⁹ in whom it is also common (5x), but the sequence *sub aduentum ... primo ... inde* is paralleled only in Livy (36.21.1: 'Antiochus, sub aduentum consulis a Chalchide profectus, Tenum primo tenuit, inde Ephesum transmisit'). *satis constat* too is an almost exclusively Livian phrase (36x) before the early first century AD,¹⁷⁰ while the combination *prominenti ... praebentique* is again paralleled only in Livy (37.23.1: 'prominet penitus in altum ... et procul nauium praebet prospectum'). *uere aestimare* is an expression which is first found in Livy and of which he is fond (3.19.6, 6.11.4, 30.22.3, 34.27.1, 37.58.8).¹⁷¹ Mommsen's emendation *quod eiusdem fortunae compos uicto fecisset*, as has been noted, is supported by the fact that the expression is Livian (37.54.14: 'quid feceritis Philippo uicto').¹⁷² This evidence, though perhaps suggestive rather than conclusive, is supported by other

¹⁶⁹ The one exception is Hor. *Epod.* 2.44.

¹⁷⁰ The two exceptions are in Cicero's letters (*Fam.* 13.1.1, 14.18.2).

¹⁷¹ Later at Phaedr. 3.4.5; Val. Max. 7.5.6; Curt. 4.16.33; [Quint.] *Decl.* 3.14.

¹⁷² Lamacchia 427.

phraseology which, while not exclusive to Livy, is nevertheless common in his extant work. To this category belong *pro certo habere*, almost entirely restricted to Livy and the corpus of Cicero's letters before the younger Seneca,¹⁷³ and *fortiter fideliterque*, a combination common only in Livy and Cicero before the mid-first century AD.¹⁷⁴ Finally it has been noted by Tränkle that *capio* (in its metaphorical sense) and *penso* are very characteristic of Livy.¹⁷⁵

Since Cicero is named formally by his praenomen and cognomen at the start of the extract, we infer that in the preceding narrative Livy has been dealing with some other subject and is now switching his attention to the great orator; and, since the tense of the first two verbs is pluperfect (*cesserat ... fugerat*), we infer that Cicero's withdrawal from Rome and flight to his Tusculan estate constitute a brief flashback. The Sallustian phrase *transuersis itineribus* (Sall. *Cat.* 45.2; *Jug.* 49.1; in Livy again at 3.7.3, later at Tac. *Hist.* 3.78.3) suggests that Cicero then travelled from Tusculum to Formiae down the hinterland of central Italy by the less direct Via Latina rather than the more westerly Via Appia, while his intention of boarding a ship at the nearby port of Caieta is expressed remarkably by the seemingly 'Greek' construction of *ut* + future participle.¹⁷⁶ Cicero's successive attempts at sailing away, however, were prevented both by adverse winds and by the tossing of the ship in the rolling swell ('caeco uolente fluctu'). The expression *caecus fluctus* first appears in two contemporary authors of the mid-first century BC, the mime writer T. Quinctius Atta (21R: 'pro populo fluctus caecos faciunt per

¹⁷³ The two exceptions are Plaut. *Merc.* 655 and Sall. *Cat.* 52.17.

¹⁷⁴ The two exceptions are *Bell. Alex.* 43.2 and Hor. *Sat.* 2.5.102.

¹⁷⁵ Tränkle 144–6.

¹⁷⁶ The only parallel for this construction quoted at K–S 1.791 is Liv. 21.32.10, where the meaning ('as if about to ...') is different.

discordiam') and the historian Sisenna (F 113: 'subito mare persubhorrescere caecosque fluctus in se prouoluere leniter occepit'). Briscoe on the latter passage refers to its 'poetical tone', a phrase he has evidently transferred from the discussion of the Livy passage by Tränkle, to whom he refers and whose quotations of Virgil he repeats.¹⁷⁷ Yet neither of the Virgilian references exhibits *fluctus*; the example in Atta is clearly metaphorical; and the occurrence of the phrase in an unplaced fragment of Livy's contemporary, the emperor Augustus (F45 Malcovati: 'nos uenimus Neapolim fluctu quidem caeco'), does not suggest a 'poetical tone' at all.¹⁷⁸

At this point Cicero was seized by the weariness of flight and life alike ('et fugae et uitae'). It would be nice to think that Livy were here echoing the letter which Cicero wrote to Atticus six years earlier (*Att.* 10.4.6: 'quid futurum sit in hac uita et fuga nescio'), but that would depend on whether or not the letters were published in Livy's lifetime. If *taedium uitae* first appeared in the exile poetry of Ovid (*Ex P.* 1.9.31), as has been claimed,¹⁷⁹ the expression would perhaps be our first evidence of poetic influence on this fragment of Livy; but, if it is right that Livy began writing in the mid-thirties BC,¹⁸⁰ it is very probable that Book 120 of Livy was composed earlier than Book 1 of the *Ex Ponto*. When we see that *taedium ... cepit* occurs at Virg. *Geo.* 4.332 and Tibull. 1.4.15–16, we may assume that it is poetical, and indeed Tränkle explicitly says that the Virgilian passage is earlier than Livy; but the phrase had already been used by Livy

¹⁷⁷ *FRHist* III.409; Tränkle 144.

¹⁷⁸ Quoting *OLD caecus* 7b, Feddern ad loc. calls it a technical expression. Briscoe follows Tränkle in noting that *uoluere* is mainly poetical, being absent from Cicero's speeches and letters, Caesar, and Nepos.

¹⁷⁹ See Gaertner ad loc., who shows that subsequently the expression became extremely common.

¹⁸⁰ See *RICH* 131–5, where I suggest also that the civil wars may still have been in progress when Livy was writing Book 7.

on two occasions in the first decade (3.68.12, 8.2.2), of which the first is certainly and the latter is probably earlier than both the *Georgics* (29 BC) and the first book of Tibullus (?27 BC).¹⁸¹ Having made his decision not to flee any further but to face inevitable death, Cicero said that he would die in the fatherland he had so often saved. Naturally it is impossible to know whether the words are authentic; all we can say is that Livy has attributed to Cicero words which Cicero had often used of himself: if the specific passage Livy had in mind were *Dom.* 76: ‘bis a me patriam seruatam esse’, he has substituted *saepe* for the more restrained *bis* (cf. also 93, 99, 122, *Phil.* 2.60), producing Cicero’s second-favourite clausula into the bargain.¹⁸²

Although Cicero’s final words of bravery and patriotism may seem to bring the first half of F59 to a close,¹⁸³ the following reference to his litter indicates that he never managed to return to his Formian villa but was overtaken on the short journey by Antony’s soldiers who—though all this is left by Livy unsaid—had evidently been scouring the countryside for him. Cicero’s slaves showed bravery and loyalty, being

¹⁸¹ The expression recurs later at Mela 3.37; Sen. *Cons. Helv.* 12.3. Tränkle (145) compares, among other phrases, *dementia cepit* (Virg. *Ecl.* 2.69, 6.47; *Geo.* 4.488; *Aen.* 5.465), which is also at Liv. 8.5.7, where Oakley says that the phrase ‘may perhaps derive’ from Livy’s reading of Virgil. The difference here is that the *Eclogues* (39/38 BC?) appeared before Livy started writing.

¹⁸² Cicero’s favourite ending (25.3%) also occurs only once (*dimicandum*). The most frequent clausula in the two fragments is the dispondece, which is greatly favoured by Livy elsewhere (31.8) but not by Cicero (6.2): *Brutum posse, cogere et iussisse, cap-ut praecis(um) est, praeciderunt, uid-eri possit, uic-to fecisset*. Otherwise the only noteworthy clausula, which occurs twice (*aud-itus fuerat, ciues poterant*), is one which is negligible in Cicero (1.8) but relatively common in Livy (average 11.2%).

¹⁸³ A man’s *nouissima uerba* were a standard element in death scenes and the like (see my n. on Tac. *Agr.* 45.3).

prepared to defend their master, but the great man ordered them to put down his litter and to accept the inevitability of an inequitable lot. Tränkle says that *sors iniqua* occurs before Livy only in the *Aeneid* (6.332, 12.243), but it is very likely that Livy had written Book 38, in which the expression also occurs (23.4), long before the *Aeneid* was published.¹⁸⁴ The moment of murder is described with assonance and alliteration, some of it chiasmic (‘prominenti ex lectica praebentique immotam ceruicem caput praecisum est’), but the soldiers amputated Cicero’s hands too, ‘charging that they had written something against Antonius’. The *Philippics* reduced to a neuter pronoun! The singular and anonymous *aliquid*, focalised by the soldiers, brilliantly captures their ignorance and indifference.¹⁸⁵ By contrast, in the following sentence—with its triple anaphora and tricolon crescendo—a *constructio ad sensum* identifies Cicero the man (*ille*) with the voice which uttered those speeches (‘quanta ... uox’) and which had made him the most famous orator of all.

The next paragraph (F60) constitutes Cicero’s *epitaphion* (as Seneca calls it).¹⁸⁶ Livy begins by recording Cicero’s age (‘Vixit tres et sexaginta annos ...’), as did Aufidius Bassus (F2: ‘uixit sexaginta et tres annos ...’: above, p. 69): the record is significant not simply because Cicero had passed the milestone age of 60, as Lamacchia points out,¹⁸⁷ but because 63 is arguably a rhetorical number, being the multiple of two

¹⁸⁴ The expression recurs later at Phaedr. *Append.* 31.2, Sen. *Tranq. An.* 10.6. Håkanson and Feddern print *fors iniqua*, but (a) ‘chance’ seems inappropriate in the context, (b) *iniqua*, though regularly qualifying *fortuna*, seems never to qualify *fors* until Fronto p. 184.13 vdH².

¹⁸⁵ See also Tränkle 143 n. 158.

¹⁸⁶ In general see A. J. Pomeroy, ‘Livy’s Death Notices’, *G&R* 35 (1988) 172–83.

¹⁸⁷ Lamacchia 425 n. 14.

numbers regarded as ‘magical’ (7 x 3 x 3).¹⁸⁸ Neither historian comments on the figure, however, and each proceeds to make a different point about the orator’s relative longevity, that of Livy being especially poignant. Although *immatura mors* is a reasonably common expression since its first extant appearance in Catullus (96.5), it has a particular Ciceronian resonance. In the final paragraph of his second *Philippic* Cicero reminded his audience that he had used those very words twenty years previously in his fourth *Catilinarian*: ‘abhinc annos prope uiginti hoc ipso in templo negauī *posse mortem immaturam esse consulari*’ (119; cf. *Cat.* 4.3). Here Livy has produced a kind of ‘window reference’, alluding to the peroration in which Cicero himself alluded to his own words (which had become famous, cf. Sen. *Contr.* 7.2.10; *Suas.* 6.12). Livy justifies his statement about Cicero’s premature death by an elaborate sequence of polyptoton and alliteration: ‘*ingenium et operibus et praemiis operum felix, ipse fortunae diu prosperae*’. *felix*, which here seems an agricultural metaphor indicating fertility and productiveness,¹⁸⁹ is then picked up by *in longo tenore felicitatis* (a form of the figure *tractatio*: cf. *Rhet. Herenn.* 4.20–1), which in turn is used as a foil for the list of the misfortunes which Cicero experienced. Livy begins by using metaphorically the

¹⁸⁸ See A. Dreizehnter, *Die rhetorische Zahl: quellenkritische Untersuchungen anhand der Zahlen 70 und 700* (Munich 1978), D. Fehling, *Herodotus and his ‘Sources’* (Liverpool 1989) 216ff.

¹⁸⁹ This seems to be implied by Tränkle (146 and n. 172) but his distinction between other examples of *felix* + abl. seems artificial; each case must be taken on its merits: Liv. 7.20.5, for ex., seems equally metaphorical (‘florentemque populum Romanum ac felicissimum bello’) and certainly pre-dates the Virgilian instances which he cites (*Aen.* 6.784, 7.725–6). It is difficult to know exactly what *operibus* ... *operum* refers to; Lamacchia (423 n. 10) suggests a reference above all to Cicero’s forensic activity (she quotes in support *Verr.* 4.54: ‘oratio in causarum contentione magnum est quoddam opus, atque haud sciam an de humanis operibus longe maximum’).

expression *ictus uulnere* which in his extant volumes he had used literally (2.47.2, 2.47.7, 9.19.11), but the end of the list is beset by textual difficulties. Here it is assumed that, since *ruina partium* is qualified by a relative clause, the chiastically arranged *filiae morte* is followed by an appositional phrase ('*exitu ... acerbo*') to complete a tricolon crescendo. Whether or not this is correct, both *exitu ... tristi* (cf. *Brut.* 128) and *tristi atque acerbo* (*Planc.* 73; *Att.* 14.13B.3) are Ciceronian expressions.

The transmitted text of the *epitaphion* now presents us with a major problem: 'omnium aduersorum nihil ut uiro dignum erat tulit praeter mortem', 'of all his misfortunes he bore none as befitted a man except his death'. As Tenney Frank rightly observed,¹⁹⁰ this damning judgement on Cicero conflicts with the judgement which the elder Seneca himself passed on Livy's obituary (*Suas.* 6.22): 'ut est natura candidissimus omnium magnorum ingeniorum aestimator T. Liuius, plenissimum Ciceroni testimonium reddidit', 'being by nature the most well-disposed appraiser of all great talents that he is, Livy rendered to Cicero the fullest of testimonies'. Frank's point seems undeniable, but it led him to an emendation of the text ('*nihil quod uiro dignum esset*') which is less than convincing. If, however, we make the assumption that *praeter mortem* is a corruption of *prae morte*, we arrive at the following sense: 'of all his misfortunes he bore none as befitted a man compared with his death'.¹⁹¹ That is, Cicero bore his death so manfully that his response to his other misfortunes seemed unmanful by comparison. Such an estimation accommodates (for example) Cicero's own statement that he seemed to Brutus not to have

¹⁹⁰ T. Frank, 'Marginalia', *AJPh* 34 (1913) 325–6, quoted and discussed by Jal 288–9.

¹⁹¹ *prae* is already in the text just above as a result of Gronovius' insertion; naturally one cannot know whether the insertion is right, but, if it is, the repetition of *prae* is in fact in Livy's manner, e.g. 1.6.3 ~ 1.7.4, 4.40.3 ~ 4.41.5, 9.13.1 ~ 9.14.5, 28.3.6 ~ 28.4.1.

borne his daughter's death like a man (*Ad Brut.* 17(18).1 'cum ... mollius tibi ferre uiderer quam deceret uirum'), while at the same time it tallies perfectly with Seneca's judgement on Livy.

Towards the end of his life Cicero had written that he had been born always to act like a man (*Fam.* 4.13.3: 'natus ... ad agendum semper aliquid dignum uiro'), and in fact *uiro dignum* is a Ciceronian expression (*Caec.* 18; *Off.* 1.94; *TD* 2.31). Livy comments that his death could seem less undeserved ('minus indigna') because Cicero, if given the chance, would have inflicted the same fate on his victorious enemy,¹⁹² and *uictore inimico* is another Ciceronian expression (*Sest.* 48 and esp. *Phil.* 13.10). Livy's concluding description of Cicero as 'uir magnus ac memorabilis' acknowledges the fact that he was a fitting subject for the memorialisation of history (cf. Thuc. 1.1.1: μέγαν τε ... καὶ ἀξιολογώτατον; Pol. 38.21.3: ἀνδρὸς ... μεγάλου καὶ ... ἀξίου μνήμης),¹⁹³ and the *epitaphion* ends with an apophthegmatic polyptoton ('in cuius laudes exsequendas Cicerone laudatore opus fuerit') which alerts readers retrospectively to the mosaic of Ciceronian allusions throughout the two fragments.¹⁹⁴

Since Cicero was murdered on 7 December 43 BC, it is likely that so dramatic a death will have constituted a principal element of closure for Book 120.¹⁹⁵ The summary of Livy's next

¹⁹² Lamacchia notes (430) that this motif recurs in Sen. *Ben.* 5.17.2 'factum quidquid uictor Catilina fecisset' and suggests that Seneca is alluding to Livy.

¹⁹³ Ogilvie in his commentary on Books 1–5 of Livy (4 n. 1) says that the paradosis here reads *magnus acer memorabilis*, but there is no trace of this in Håkanson's or Feddern's apparatus. For the coupling of *magnus* and *memorabilis*, first at Ter. *Haut.* 314, see my n. on Tac. *Agr.* 28.1; it is not found in Cicero.

¹⁹⁴ For the 'decoding' of allusions see Woodman—Martin on Tac. *Ann.* 3.33.4.

¹⁹⁵ The final words of the summary are '*praeterea res a M. Bruto in Graecia gestas continet*': the italicised words (in varying order) are the summarist's regular way of rounding up, out of sequence, material omitted

book begins unusually with a form of heading: ‘qui editus post excessum Augusti dicitur’ (‘which is said to have been published after the death of Augustus’). Since there is nothing either in the *periocha* itself or in the book’s presumed contents to make it a special case, scholars assume that the heading was intended to apply not merely to Book 121 alone but to Books 121–142 as a whole: in other words, Livy’s treatment of the years 43–9 BC was so sensitive that he decided to withhold his narrative thereof until after Augustus was safely dead. This assumption cannot be proved, but the notion that there was some kind of a break in Livy’s work between Books 120 and 121 is given support by the apparent arrangement of Livy’s volumes. It is generally agreed that Livy arranged his volumes in multiples of five books: though this arrangement can be no more than inferential in the case of the lost books, it has been observed that the arrangement seems to persist only as far as Book 120, after which no discernible arrangement emerges.¹⁹⁶ Obviously it is possible to conclude from this that Livy’s work pattern changed and that between the composition of Books 120 and 121 he perhaps took a break from his monumental task. If so, Cicero’s death, symbolising as it did the death of the republic, would be an appropriate point at which to stop.

An ancient commentator on Virgil’s *Georgics* (3.1) invoked Livy to illustrate the literary phenomenon of the ‘second preface’ (see also above, p. 41): ‘we know that writers are allowed occasionally to refresh their toiling readers by the repetition of a preface, since Livy too has renewed introductions frequently, as after the burning of the City by the

from the body of the summary. For death as a closural motif see e.g. J. F. Gaertner and B. C. Hausburg, *Caesar and the Bellum Alexandrinum* (Göttingen 2013) 156 and n. 9.

¹⁹⁶ P. A. Stadter, ‘The Structure of Livy’s History’, *Historia* 21 (1972) 13–31 = Chaplin—Kraus 91–117 (with brief but helpful addendum).

Gauls'.¹⁹⁷ In the preface to his *Natural History* (16) the elder Pliny quotes from a 'second preface' of Livy's which has not survived (F68 Jal):

profiteor mirari me T. Liuium, auctorem celeberrimum, in
historiarum suarum, quas repetit ab origine urbis, quodam
uolumine sic orsum: iam sibi satis gloriae quaesitum, et
potuisse se desinere, ni animus inquires pasceretur opere.

I confess I am amazed that Livy, the celebrated author, in
a volume of his history (which he traced down from the
origin of the City) began thus: he had already found
enough glory and could have stopped, were it not that his
restless mind fed on the work.

Although the words *sic orsum* make it clear that the formal quotation of Livy is restricted to the sentence in indirect speech ('iam sibi ... pasceretur opere'), the curious manner in which Pliny refers to Livy's history invites the question whether, in referring to it, Pliny has used Livy's own words here too. Pliny says 'in historiarum suarum, quas repetit ab origine urbis, quodam uolumine', that is, 'in a volume of his history which he traced from the origin of the City'. This is very odd: we expect him to say 'in a volume of his history in which he traced the city from its origin' (i.e. 'in historiarum suarum, quibus repetit ab origine urbem, quodam uolumine') or 'in a volume of his history in which he went back to the origin of the city' (i.e. 'in historiarum suarum, quibus repetit originem urbis, quodam uolumine'). The Latin exhibits a kind of hypallage, in which the form of the work has changed places with its content. This is very similar to the well known 'slide' which takes place in the

¹⁹⁷ The commentator's note ends with the words *et completis consulibus*, which I have omitted on account of their obscurity (see Jal 304–6 for discussion of the controversy); they do not affect the point at issue.

preface to Livy's first book (*praef.* 4 'res est praeterea et immensi operis, ut quae supra septingentesimum annum repetatur et quae ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creuerit ut iam magnitudine laboret sua'), where *res* starts out referring to Livy's work but by the end of the sentence has become his subject-matter.¹⁹⁸ The striking similarity of device suggests that the language of Livy's lost second preface may have seeped into Pliny's introductory statement.

However that may be, Livy in the actual fragment is evidently looking back to the preface with which he introduced his first volume and in which he thought it likely that his reputation would be obscured by that of other historians (*praef.* 3: 'et si in tanta scriptorum turba mea fama in obscuro sit, nobilitate ac magnitudine eorum me qui nomini officient meo consoler'). But, contrary to his expectations, his work has proved so successful that his reputation is now secure, as he acknowledges in this new and highly allusive statement.¹⁹⁹ Though *gloriam quaerere* is a common expression,²⁰⁰ it seems very likely that Livy has in mind the preface to Sallust's *Bellum Catilinae*, to which he alluded in his first preface and which Sallust had begun by stating that it was preferable to find glory by means of one's intellectual rather than one's physical talents (*Cat.* 1.2: 'quo mihi rectius uidetur ingeni quam uirium opibus *gloriam quaerere*'). The idea of a sufficiency of glory ('satis gloriae'), though also common, was most famously employed

¹⁹⁸ J. L. Moles, 'Livy's Preface', in Chaplin–Kraus 59.

¹⁹⁹ When Pliny tells the famous story of the man from Cadiz who, 'Titi Liui nomine gloriaque commotum', travelled all the way to Rome just to set eyes on the great historian (*Ep.* 2.3.8), it would be nice to think that he was combining allusions to these two Livian prefaces. On the other hand, if Ogilvie was correct in his suspicion (4) that the story originated with Livy himself, Pliny may be alluding directly to a lost passage of Livy.

²⁰⁰ *TLL* 6.2.2073.67–75.

by Julius Caesar (Cic. *Marc.* 23 ‘*satis ... uixi ... gloriae*’).²⁰¹ Livy’s new statement thus seems designed as a response to Sallust: he has achieved the glory which Sallust craved, and to a degree which is more normally associated with men of action. He could have stopped writing, but his ‘restless mind’—another possible allusion to Sallust (*Hist.* 4.55: ‘*inquietus animi*’)—‘fed on the work’. The final metaphor is Virgilian, evoking in particular the poignant moment when Aeneas gazes at the historical scenes which are painted on the doors of Dido’s temple (*Aen.* 1.464): ‘*sic ait atque animum pictura pascit inani*’ (‘thus he spoke, and fed his mind on the insubstantial picture’).²⁰² It seems fitting that Livy, who in his first preface perhaps alluded to Fabius Pictor’s temple painting (pp. 5–6), should here in this ‘second preface’ allude to another such painting, more recently described and surely now more famous too. Pliny does not identify the book from which his quotation comes, but it is attractive to speculate that Livy is referring to the break after Book 120 which has already been suggested on other grounds, and that his words come from the preface to Book 121.²⁰³

²⁰¹ See Oakley on Liv. 6.23.7.

²⁰² Virgil had the same metaphor at *Geo.* 2.285: ‘*non animum modo uti pascat prospectus inanem*’; note earlier Cic. *Verr.* 5.65: ‘*pascere oculos animumque exsaturare*’; Lucr. 3.1003: ‘*animi ingratam naturam pascere*’.

²⁰³ For this argument see *RICH* 136 and references.

APPENDIX

The following notes are intended to be read alongside the relevant entries in *FRHist*. Where text and translation have been copied directly from *FRHist*, I have retained the bold and italics of the original Latin or Greek but not of the translation, which is identified merely by double quotation marks.

2 CINCIUS ALIMENTUS

Fi

silicernios dici uoluerunt senes iam incuruos quasi iam sepulchrorum suorum silices cernentes: unde et Cincius Alimentus in historia de Gorgia Leontino scribit dicens: ***qui dum iam silicernius finem sui temporis expectaret, etsi morti non potuit, tamen infirmitatibus exsultauit.***

“Stooping old men were known as ‘funeral feasts’, as though they could already see the pavingstones of their own tombs; hence Cincius Alimentus in his history writes about Gorgias of Leontini as follows: who, while he was now a funeral feast and awaiting the end of his days, even if he could not exult in death, at least he exulted in his ill-health.”

The translation omits *uoluerunt* and hence misrepresents *dici*: with *uoluerunt* we have to understand e.g. *ueteres* or *antiqui* (the elliptical expression is a mannerism of Fulgentius, the quoting author). The first *iam* is also omitted, depriving us of the point of its repetition. It is not clear why *silicernios* is rendered as ‘funeral feasts’, when the derivation is explicitly given as *silex* + *cernere*. ‘exulted in’ for *exsultauit* is also questionable: the verb

must have the sense of ‘scoff at because superior to’ (see *TLL* 5.2.1949.79–80).

4 POSTUMIUS ALBINUS

T3d

Northwood carelessly omits *admodum* from his translation and renders both *uenuste* and *eleganter* as ‘elegantly’; *in principio* means ‘in his preface’ (cf. T3a = Pol. 39.1.4); and *cum maluisti ... culpa uacare* seems entirely wrong: *deprecari* = ‘to beg to be excused the consequences of’ (*OLD* 2, quoting this passage), and *culpa uacare* is a set phrase = ‘to be free from fault’.

T7

iocantem dixisse Carneadi: ‘ego tibi, Carneade, praetor esse non uideor quia sapiens non sum nec haec urbs nec in ea ciuitas’. tum ille: ‘huic Stoico non uideris’.

It makes no sense to translate *ciuitas* here as ‘state’ rather than as ‘community’ or ‘citizen body’. Albinus’ statement is strikingly reminiscent of that at Tac. *Ann.* 16.28.3.

F4

in eo uolumine quod de aduentu Aeneae conscripsit atque <...> dedit.

The transmitted text reads *atque dedit*; easier than Baehrens’ lacuna is Schott’s *edidit* (cf. Sall. *Cat.* 31.6 ‘quam postea *scriptam edidit*’).

5 CATO

F9

cordi est is prayer language (Horsfall on *Aen.* 7.326).

F28

claritudinem illustrates Cato's well known fondness for nouns with this ending (Gell. 17.2.19).

F29

***si inde in nauis putidas atque sentinosas
commeatum oner<ar>e uolebant***

It is very difficult to believe that *onerare* (Scaliger) can be used with the accusative of the object loaded (see *OLD* and *TLL*); it is far more normally used with the accus. of the ship or other transport, as elsewhere in Cato (F116: 'plaustrum oneratum'), and ablative of the load. Lipsius suggested <p>*onere*; much more likely after *commeatum* is <imp>*onere*, used again like this by Cato in F48 'eas ... in plaustrum inponit'. Cf. Liv. 29.25.6 'commeatus imponendi'.

F40

For compound verb followed by simple (*demessuit ... metit*) see e.g. Courtney 22; Woodman–Martin on Tac. *Ann.* 3.29.1.

F76

***propter eius uirtutes omnis Graecia gloriam atque
gratiam praecipuam claritudinis inclitissimae
decorauere monumentis: signis, stauis, elogiis,
historiis aliisque rebus gratissimum id eius
factum habuere.***

“Because of his valour all Greece has adorned his glory and exceptional esteem with memorials of the highest

distinction; by pictures, statues, and honorary inscriptions, in their histories, and in other ways, they have treated that deed of his as most deserving of gratitude.”

But *claritudinis inclitissimae ... monumentis* means ‘memorials of [or monuments to] his most celebrated brilliance’, and *gratum habere* = ‘to prize, appreciate’ (*OLD gratus* 2c). *rebus* is not ‘ways’ but ‘things’ and refers to poems (see Courtney 78).

F80

sed de lunae solisque defectionibus, non minus in eius rei causa reperienda sese exercuerunt. quippe M. Cato, uir in cognoscendis rebus multi studii, incerta tamen et incuriose super ea re opinatus est. uerba Catonis ex originum quarto haec sunt: ***non lubet scribere quod in tabula apud pontificem maximum est, quotiens annona cara, quotiens lunae aut solis lumine caligo aut quid obstiterit.*** usque adeo parui fecit rationes ueras solis et lunae deficientium uel scire uel dicere.

This extract from Gellius (2.28.4–7) does not make sense. Cato is introduced as an example (*quippe*) of the ancients’ interest in eclipses, yet he himself had no interest at all in such matters, as Gellius confirms at the end. Instead of *quippe* we should expect an adversative conjunction (*tamen* merely contrasts the main sentence with *uir ... studii*, which is quasi-concessive). W. S. Watt (‘Gelliana’, *Prometheus* 20 (1994) 279) restored logic by emending *non minus* to *non magis*.

F85

Cato tamen os protulit in iiii originum: ***si quis membrum rupit aut os fregit, talione proximus cognatus ulciscitur.***

“Cato however has written ‘os’ [bone] in Book IV of the *Origins*: If anyone has maimed a part of the body or broken a bone, the nearest male relative takes revenge in kind.”

This is a present general condition, which in English is usually rendered by a present tense (‘If anyone maims ... or breaks ...’).²⁰⁴ As the commentary says, Cato is citing a law and the legal language is evident.

F87

For *superbiam atque ferociam*, which recurs in the passage of Gellius separating F87 from F88 (6.3.15), cf. Plin. *Pan.* 14.1; Tac. *Hist.* 4.19.1; Apul. *Socr.* 17. *aduorsae res edomant et docent quid opus siet facto, secundae res ...* is almost certainly a passage alluded to by Sallust (*Jug.* 53.8): since the latter uses the verb *edocent*, it is very tempting to agree with Wölfflin (*TLL* 5.2.110.77) that we should read *edocent* in the fragment, thereby also restoring Cato’s favoured alliteration.

F88

The passage is carefully structured but its logic is hard to grasp: on both points we could do with a reference to Courtney 81–2.

F91

This is a future condition, which in English is generally rendered by a present; the figure illustrated in the fragment is *complexio* (*Rhet. Herenn.* 4.20). *lex ... acerba* recurs at Cic. *Verr.* 3.48; *Balb.* 54 (cf. *Sull.* 64); Gell. 11.18.4.

²⁰⁴ One wonders whether the reference to bones reminded Priscian, to whom the quotation is due, of the different *os* at Hor. *Sat.* 1.8.22 ‘protulit os, quin ossa legant ...’.

F93

The contrast *id obiectantes quod mihi et liberis meis minime dici uelim* is flat; Sauppe's *obici* is very tempting, though I cannot parallel the word play.

F112

iurum legumque cultores

Cf. Mart. 10.37.1 'iuris et ... cultor ... legum'.

F114a

legiones nostras, quod scripsi in Originibus, **in eum locum saepe profectas alacri animo et erecto unde se redituras numquam arbitrarentur.**

This fragment is quoted from Cic. *Senec.* 75, where Powell too is sceptical over its relationship with the famous F76; yet at Sen. *Ep.* 82.20–2 (not mentioned) the story of Leonidas (as in F76) is followed by that of an anonymous Roman leader whose words are: 'ire, commilitones, illo necesse est *unde redire non est necesse*'. For *alacri ... et erecto* cf. *Rhet. Herenn.* 2.29; Sen. *Cons. Helv.* 8.5; *Ep.* 23.5; Amm. 28.3.6.

F131

See *PH* 172–3.

F139

... Numidae di>cuntur Noma<des ...>unde Cato in
o<riginibus? ...:...**Numidas uiuaces quia> multam
uiuunt <aetatem ...>**

Ursinus' suggestion that Cato is referring to the Numidians is supported by Sallust (not mentioned), who refers (*Jug.* 18.7, 11) not only to the etymology of their name (for which only Festus is quoted) but also to their longevity (*Jug.* 17.6).

F141

dum se intempesta nox, ut ait M. Porcius,
praecipitat

The note does not make it clear either that by ‘poetic language’ is meant *nox ... praecipitat* or that *intempesta nox* occurs more than once in Ennius (also at *Ann.* 160 Sk.) and is otherwise an exceptionally common expression. The reference to ‘R. Nisbet ... 92’ should be ‘R. G. M. Nisbet ... 164’ (i.e. his commentary on Cic. *Pis.* 92).

F147

qua mollissimum est, adorientur

The commentary suggests that this is part of a battle narrative and refers to wounding elephants ‘in the soft skin under the tail’. But the subjunctive, which does not come across in the translation (‘they attack where it is softest’), suggests that the fragment is part of a speech and that *mollis* has its technical meaning of ‘accessible’ (of terrain etc.: *OLD* 6).

F150

The reference should be to Juv. 10.152 (the Cugusis also got this wrong).

F153

nihil agere is a technical expression (*OLD ago* 21d, 22b).

F154

specā prosita, quo aqua de uia abiret

Since the fragment is cited by Priscian to illustrate the plural, it is not clear why *specā prosita* is translated as singular (‘a drain’). Nor is it clear why Haupt’s emendation of the transmitted *pro siti* is superior to Krehl’s *posita* (not mentioned); see further *TLL* 10.2.2200.37–46. The archaic *quo* = *ut* perhaps also deserved comment.

6 CASSIUS HEMINA

F10

tum quo irent nesciebant

Briscoe's note says that *irent* 'clearly represents a deliberative subjunctive *eamus*, with a meaning of "did not know where they were going"', which is not deliberative. The translation, moreover, renders 'they did not know where to go then'.

F13

prudens perplexim scribit

The translation renders *prudens* as 'being cautious' but, if the reference is to coded writing, 'deliberately' (*OLD* 1a) is perhaps more likely.

F14

pastorum uulgus sine contentione consentiundo praefecerunt aequaliter imperio Remum et Romulum, ita ut de regno par<ar>ent inter se.

Briscoe notes that '*inter se comparare* is Livy's regular formula for the consuls agreeing on their *prouvinciae* between themselves' but not that *consules ... prouincias inter se parauere* occurs at Sall. *Hist.* 2.98.10. *sine contentione consentiundo* is not a *figura etymologica* but paronomasia.

F15

***ne quis regnum occuparet, si plebs nostra fremere imperia coepisset*, id est, recusare.**

nostra 'must go' with *imperia*, says Briscoe; perhaps so, but *plebs nostra* recurs at Liv. 6.26.5 and 45.23.10. *plebs fremit* recurs at Liv. 7.18.5 (and Stat. *Theb.* 5.488), *fremere imperium* at *Aetna* 3; the image is that of an animal rejecting a master's orders (cf. Stat.

Ach. 1.281–2: ‘dominique fremit captius inire | imperia’; and note also *Liv.* 6.4.5: ‘primo fremitus fuit aspernantium imperium’).

F27

**primum a medicis uenisse Romam Peloponneso
Archagathum Lysaniae filium**

a should be *e*. For another meaningful name for a doctor see my *Tacitus Reviewed* (Oxford 1998) 221.

F34

lacte haurire

The standard discussion of the verb is D. A. West, *CQ* 15 (1965) 271–80.

F38

***qua fine omnis res atque omnis artis humanitus
aguntur?***

There is no guarantee that this is a question; *qua* could be a relative (cf. *Apul. Met.* 2.10.1). The MSS are here divided between *humanitus*, *humanitas* and *humaniter*; perhaps Hemina wrote *humanitatis* (cf. *Cic. Rep.* 1.28: ‘humanitatis artibus’).

7 C. ACILIUS

F4

**quaerenti Africano quem fuisse maximum
imperatorem Hannibal crederet, respondisse
Alexandrum Macedonum regem, (7) quod parua
manu innumerabiles exercitus fudisset, quod
ultimas oras, quas uisere supra spem humanam
esset, peragrasset. (8) quaerenti deinde quem**

secundum poneret, Pyrrhum dixisse: (9) castra metari primum docuisse, ad hoc neminem elegantius loca cepisse, praesidia disposuisse; artem etiam conciliandi sibi homines eam habuisse ut Italicae gentes regis externi quam populi Romani, tam diu principis in ea terra, imperium esse mallerent. (10) exsequenti quem tertium duceret, haud dubie semet ipsum dixisse. tum risum obortum Scipioni et subiecisse (11) ‘quidnam tu diceres, si me uicisses?’ ‘tum uero me’ inquit ‘et ante Alexandrum et ante Pyrrhum et ante alios omnes imperatores esse.’ (12) et perplexum Punico astu responsum et improuisum adsentationis genus Scipionem mouisse, quod e grege se imperatorum uelut inaestimabilem secreuisset.

It seems strange that there is no reference to Livy’s Alexander digression (9.17–19) or to Oakley’s commentary thereon (3.184–261). The repetition of *quaerenti ... quaerenti* makes it clear that this is a rhetorical *quaestio* transposed to, and embedded in, historical narrative (cf. Liv. 9.17.1–2: ‘quaesitum ... quaerere libeat’). For *quod parua manu ... fudisset* cf. Sall. *Cat.* 7.7: ‘memorare possum quibus in locis maxumas hostium copias populus Romanus parua manu fuderit’; 53.3 (further suggesting a standard topic). For expressions such as *supra spem humanam* see my notes on Vell. 56.1, 130.1. *ad hoc* is Sallustian; and *neminem elegantius loca cepisse* is a standard quality of the ideal general (Oakley on Liv. 9.17.15 or my notes on Tac. *Agr.* 20.2 and 22.2). For the counterfactual history of *si me uicisses* see R. Morello, ‘Livy’s Alexander Digression (9.17–19): Counterfactuals and Apologetics’, *JRS* 92 (2002) 62–85, esp. 65ff.

9 PISO

F17

cuius unius praemio multorum allicuit animos

animos allicere recurs at Cic. *Part. Or.* 121; *Off.* 2.48; Tac. *Ann.* 5.2.2; Fronto p. 144.15 vdH²; *praemio allicere* recurs at Caes. *BG* 5.55.3 (*per praemium* at Suet. *Aug.* 35.1).

F20

The commentary has a lengthy discussion of the source passage (Gellius 15.29), and in the sentence ‘mihi nomen est Iulium’ *Iulium* is correctly identified as an adj. agreeing with *nomen*; but then to translate the words as ‘My name is Iulian’ is to obscure the whole point of Gellius’ observation. The words mean ‘Mine is the Julian name’.

F29

Flavius patre libertino natus

See my discussion in *CCJ* [= *PCPhS*] 55 (2009) 157–60 = *PH* 112–15.

F36

The commentary thinks it ‘very likely’ that Piso was one of Livy’s sources but does not illustrate adequately the overlap between Piso’s language and Livy’s. We are told that Livy’s expression *luxuriae peregrinae origo* (39.6.7) ‘may also derive from Piso’s account’, but it is misguided to translate these words as ‘the seeds of foreign luxury’ when the very phrase *semina luxuriae* is used by Livy a few sentences later (9).

F38

exploratum habere is a set phrase = ‘to know for sure’ (*OLD* *exploro* 2d).

F42

peni deditos

No mention is made of the fact that this phrase is alluded to by Sallust at *Jug.* 85.41: again see *PH* 384–5.

10 SEMPRONIUS TUDITANUS

F5

The translation gives no hint that the first sentence is in indirect speech (following on from the end of the previous, unquoted, sentence, where the text seems very odd and has been variously emended).

F8

mandare litteris (a very common expression, esp. in Cicero) does not mean ‘entrust to letters’ but ‘commit to writing’ (*OLD mando* 2a).

12 FANNIUS

T6 [= Marius Victorinus 1.20, p. 203 Halm]

namque historia et brevis esse debet in expositione et aperta et probabilis, ut Sallustius sibi omnia in *Catilina* tribuit, ‘quam uerissime potero, paucis absoluam’, cum aliis historiographis singula tradidisset; in primo libro *Historiarum* dat Catoni breuitatem, ‘Romani generis disertissimus paucis absoluit’, Fannio uero ueritatem.

“For history should be concise in expression, lucid, and credible. Sallust ascribed all these virtues to himself in the *Catiline*: ‘I shall write briefly, and as truthfully as I possibly can’ [*Cat.* 4.3]; whereas he had credited other historians with one each: in the first book of the *Histories* [1.4] he

attributes brevity to Cato ('the most skilled of Roman writers completed his task with few words'), and to Fannius truthfulness."

The sequence *ut Sallustius sibi omnia in Catilina tribuit* suggests that *cum aliis historiographis singula tradidisset in primo libro Historiarum* is a unit and that we should follow L. D. Reynolds in the OCT of Sallust in punctuating not with a semicolon after *tradidisset* but with a colon after *Historiarum*.

expositio is a technical rhetorical term; it seems to have a variety of applications but none of them relates to 'expression'. It refers principally to the 'setting out' or 'exposition' either of one's proposed subject matter (e.g. *Rhet. Herenn.* 1.17: 'expositio est cum res quibus de rebus dicturi sumus exponimus breuiter et absolute') or of the subject matter itself (e.g. *Rhet. Herenn.* 1.4: 'narratio est rerum gestarum ... expositio'). Victorinus' quotation from the preface to the *Bellum Catilinae* comes from a passage to which the former sense of *expositio* is applicable but in which, as Victorinus makes clear with his reference to *historia*, Sallust is making a claim about the *expositio* of his narrative as a whole. The latter meaning of the term no doubt explains why the same three virtues as mentioned by Victorinus are also the virtues associated with a *narratio* (e.g. *Cic. Inv.* 1.28: 'oportet igitur eam [sc. narrationem] tres habere res: ut breuis, ut aperta, ut probabilis sit'; Lausberg 140–1 §294).

Victorinus' statement is nevertheless puzzling. He sees Sallust as claiming the three narrative virtues (*breuis, aperta, probabilis*), but how is this tripartite claim to be elicited from Sallust's words? The fragment quoted from Sallust's *Histories* makes it clear that the expression *paucis absoluere* (unfortunately translated in two different ways on its two occurrences in the extract above) refers to brevity. But that leaves only *uerissime* as Sallust's other claim. Are we to assume from this, and from the fact that only the *ueritas* of Fannius is mentioned alongside

Cato's brevity, that *aperta et probabilis* constitutes a single entity and that both virtues are subsumed in the word *uerissime*?

There is a discussion of this passage and of Fannius in T. F. Scanlon, 'Reflexivity and Irony in the Proem of Sallust's *Historiae*', in C. Deroux, ed., *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History IX* (Collection Latomus 244; Brussels 1998) 200ff.

F4

For *contubernium* see Tac. *Agr.* 5.1 and my note ad loc.; for wall-climbing see Sall. *Cat.* 7.6 and Oakley on Livy 6.20.7.

F5

The possibility that *a uita recedere* refers to suicide (so *OLD recedo* 7a) is not mentioned.

15 COELIUS ANTIPATER

F8

Briscoe says that *uastitas Italiae* 'recurs at Sallust *Iug.* 5.3' (he means 5.2), without revealing that it also recurs at Cic. *Sest.* 12; *Fam.* 10.33.1; *Att.* 9.10.3; Liv. 21.22.9; Val. Max. 1.7 *ext.* 1; Tac. *Hist.* 1.50.2.

F16

Briscoe is sceptical that *haec ubi dicta dedit* at Livy 22.50.10 is from Coelius, his grounds being that 'the phrase is used by Livy on three [he means 'two'] other occasions'; but the phrase may be Ennian (Horsfall on Virg. *Aen.* 7.471), and Coelius was an imitator of Ennius.

F17

For *malum publicum* Briscoe refers to the commentary on Sisenna F71 (he means F92); see *PH* 169–70.

F18

satis uidetur does not mean ‘it’s right’.

F20

bellum tractare means ‘to drag out the war’: Briscoe says that the metaphorical use of the verb in this sense ‘appears to be unique’, but cf. Tac. *Ann.* 6.44.2: ‘bellum cunctatione tractaret’ (and Goodyear on 1.59.3).

F25

Coelius **Romam euntem ab Ereto deuertisse eo Hannibalem** tradit, **iterque eius ab Reate Cutilisque at ab Amiterno orditur** (= Livy 26.11.10).

“Coelius says that Hannibal on his march from Eretum to Rome turned aside thither [sc. to the grove of Feronia], and traces his route from Reate and Cutiliae and Amiternum.”

Briscoe repeats the Loeb translation ‘traces’ but *ordior* does not mean ‘to trace’; it means ‘to begin’, and it is hard to see how Hannibal could begin from three different places (although this is what Weissenborn–Müller maintain). Perhaps we should read e.g. *ordi<ne narra>tur*, a regular phrase which, though not elsewhere in Livy, would point to the fact that Antipater presented in proper sequence places which (as Briscoe does not make clear) Livy has chosen to list in reverse order.

F33

nomen accepisse a Satura puella, quam Neptunus compressit

compressit, used again of the same divine coupling at Prop. 2.26.48 and ‘the standard word for the indiscretions committed by the *adulescentes* in comedy’ (J. N. Adams, *The Latin Sexual*

*Vocabulary*² (London and Baltimore 1987) 182), surely deserves a different translation from ‘to whom Neptune made love’.

F34

For *morbosum factum* see *PH* 173.

F42

consuetudine uxoris, indulgitate liberum

Despite the total lack of context, Briscoe says that the genitive *liberum* ‘is certainly objective’. It is true that *indulgentia* (the form *indulgitas* is found elsewhere only in Sisenna) is used esp. of a parent’s relationship with a child (e.g. Cic. *De Or.* 2.168: ‘in liberos nostros indulgentia’), but it is not inevitable (cf. Sen. *Contr.* 7.5.13: ‘indulgentia liberorum in patres’).

F45

uti sese quisque uobis studeat aemulari...

See *PH* 384.

F55

***tantum bellum suscitare conari aduersarios
contra bellosum genus***

Briscoe says that *bellum suscitare* ‘is scarcely a remarkable phrase’; in fact it is found elsewhere only in a letter of Brutus and Cassius (Cic. *Fam.* 11.3.3) in classical Latin, apart from the passage of Livy under discussion (21.10.3). Briscoe also declines to note the repetition *bellum* ~ *bellosum*, for which type see J. Wills, *Repetition in Latin Poetry* (Oxford 1996) 240–1.

F66

perpetuum salientem

See Rodgers on Front. *Aq.* 76.2: ‘perpetuis salientibus’.

18 AEMILIUS SCAURUS**F2*****uectigalium se minus fructos***

“that they themselves enjoyed less of the taxes.”

The Introduction (*FRHist* I.29) and commentary say that this is the only example of *fruor* + genitive, but the translation has *fructos* followed by *minus* as if it were an accusative noun (rather than the adverb). ‘themselves’ looks like an attempt at rendering *se*. The fragment means ‘that they (had) derived less profit from the taxes’.

F7***in agrum hostium ueni***

It would have been helpful to note that *ager hostium* is a phrase which found great favour with Livy, by whom it is used almost exclusively (elsewhere only at Sall. *Jug.* 55.1; Front. *Strat.* 4.7.13).

19 LUTATIUS CATULUS**T2**

exstant epistulae utraque lingua partim ab ipsis ducibus conscriptae, partim a scriptoribus historiarum uel annalium compositae, ut illa Thucydidis nobilissima Niciae ducis epistula ex Sicilia missa ... uerum omnes, uti res postulat, breues nec ullam rerum gestarum expeditionem continentes. in hunc autem modum, quo scripsisti tu, extant Catuli litterae, quibus res a se iac<turi>s a<tque d>amni<s> sane gestas, at lauro merendas <...>, ue<rum> turgent elate <p>rolata teneris prope <u>erbis. historia tamen potius splendide perscribenda; si ad senatum scriberetur, etiam caute.

“Letters survive in both languages, some written by actual commanders, others composed by writers of histories or annals, such as the very famous letter in Thucydides sent from Sicily by the general Nicias ... [other examples from Sallust follow] ... but all are brief, as the occasion required, and do not contain any narrative of events. But in the manner of what you have written, there exists a letter of Catulus in which ... his own achievements, together with the damage and losses suffered, but deserving of a laurel crown ... but [his words] are lofty and grandiloquent, expressed in language which is almost tender. History, however, should rather be written in the grand manner; if one is writing to the senate, one should do so with restraint.”

This passage is Fronto pp. 124.10–125.4 vdH² (contributors to *FRHist* have a frustrating habit of not providing full references to Fronto) and is admittedly very difficult. Smith follows Haines in the Loeb edition by writing ‘as the occasion required’, but Haines had changed *postulat* to *postulabat*; if one retains the present, as does van den Hout (whose text Smith is using), the meaning must be something like ‘as their purpose requires’. The translation ‘in the manner of what you have written’ is almost incomprehensible; the words mean ‘in the style in which you have written’. Smith again follows Haines in omitting all contrast between *res ... gestas* and *lauro merendas*, but Haines was following a text which, unlike that of van den Hout, did not feature the contrasting words *sane* and *at*; in any case there is surely something wrong with the plain ablatives *iacturis atque damnis* in the former colon. In failing to translate *etiam* in the last sentence (as also in his comment at *FRHist* I.272–3) Smith does not follow Haines, who gets it right; the point seems to be that a military communiqué to the senate should be written ‘splendide’ *but also* ‘caute’.

F4

For *pruina obrigescere* cf. Cic. *ND* 1.24; *Rep.* 6.21 (and note Gell. 12.5.11).

20 SEMPRONIUS ASELLIO**F1**

uerum inter eos, inquit, qui annales relinquere uoluissent, et eos, qui res gestas a Romanis perscribere conati essent, omnium rerum hoc interfuit. annales libri tantummodo, quod factum quoque anno gestum sit, ea demonstrabant, id est quasi qui diarium scribunt, quam Graeci ἐφημερίδα uocant. nobis non modo satis esse uideo, quod factum esset, id pronuntiare, sed etiam, quo consilio quaque ratione gesta essent, demonstrare.

“But between the sort of writer, he says, who wished to leave behind annals, and the sort who tried to write a thorough account of the things accomplished by the Romans, there was above all the following difference: books of annals showed only what was done and in which year it was accomplished—in other words, in the manner of those who write a journal, which the Greeks call an ‘ephemeris’. For me, I do not see it as satisfactory simply to announce what was done: it is necessary also to show with what purpose and according to what plan things were accomplished.”

The translation takes the two *quod*-clauses as indirect questions but the commentary describes them as relative clauses, with *ea* and *id* as their postponed antecedents. The latter seems very unlikely since in the first case there is already an antecedent

included within the clause, namely *factum*. The clauses are more likely to be indirection questions, with *ea* and *id* constituting the ‘resumptive’ use of the pronoun (see Courtney 4). However, although the translation seems right on the nature of the clauses, it does not translate the text which it prints: it translates Nipperdey’s emendation *quid* but prints the paradoxical *quod factum ... gestum sit*. Since *quod* is an interrogative adjective, the translation ought to go as follows: ‘... showed only what deed was accomplished and in what year’ [or possibly ‘accomplished in each year’, but the plural *ea* seems to me to make the former more likely]. It is worth noting that according to *TLL* s.v. *gero* (1937.34–5) *gerere factum* (‘to accomplish a deed’) is incredibly rare (this is the first example quoted; the others are extremely late). Likewise at the end the translation should be ‘to announce what the deed was’. The last clause (*quo consilio ... gesta essent*) lacks a subject; are we to understand the incredibly rare *facta*? Finally it should be noted that ‘it is necessary’ is not in the Latin.

F4

For *mitior mansuetiorque* cf. Cic. *Inv.* 1.2 (by conjecture at Apul. *Met.* 7.23.3).

F5

For *invidia gliscit* (non-deponent) cf. Liv. 2.23.2; Tac. *Ann.* 15.64.1; Apul. *Met.* 5.9.1.

F8

eum, quem uirile secus tum in eo tempore habebat, produci iussit

For *uirile secus* see J. T. Ramsey, ‘*Virile ac Muliebre Secus*: A Revival of its Appositional Use at Tac. *Ann.* 4.62’, *Philologus* 149 (2005) 321–7, esp. 324–5; also worth noting is the temporal pleonasm (L–H–S 525).

21 RUTILIUS RUFUS**T5**

Ῥουτιλίῳ τῷ τὴν Ῥωμαικὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκδεδωκότι.

“Rutilius, the man who published a history of Rome in the Greek language.”

Unfortunately the key words τῇ Ἑλλήνων φωνῇ remain missing from the Greek.

22 SULLA**T2a = F1**

Ὁ δὲ Λεύκολλος ἤσκητο καὶ λέγειν ἱκανῶς ἐκατέραν γλώτταν, ὥστε καὶ Σύλλας τὰς αὐτοῦ πράξεις ἀναγράφων ἐκεῖνῳ προσεφώνησεν ὡς **συνταξομένῳ καὶ διαθήσοντι τὴν ἱστορίαν ἄμεινον.**

“Lucullus was trained to speak both languages fluently, so that Sulla, having composed his memoirs, dedicated them to him as being better able to set out and arrange a history.”

This quotation is from Plut. *Luc.* 1.4, as stated at T2a, and not Athen. 261C, as stated at F1. ἀναγράφων is present, not aorist; ‘better able’ is not in the Greek; and τὴν ἱστορίαν does not mean ‘a history’. For a correct translation see above, p. 43.

F3

nosque magis dignos ... quibus ciuibus quam hostibus utamini

Cf. [Sall.] *Ep. Caes.* 1.2.6: ‘ubi ... neque te ciuibus sicuti hostibus uti uident’.

23 LUCULLUS**T2**

constat Lucullum usque ad tempora consulatus expertem fuisse bellorum, post in consulatu historiis studuisse, ut bella †destituta† cognosceret. hoc in illo dialogo, qui scribitur Lucullus, Cicero docet, unde et in Hortensio Lucullus historiam laudavit.

Cf. Sall. *Jug.* 85.12: ‘atque ego scio, Quirites, qui, postquam consules facti sunt, et acta maiorum et Graecorum militaria praecepta legere coeperint’. It is tempting to emend *scribitur* to *<in>scribitur*.

24 CLAUDIUS QUADRIGARIUS**F1*****uerba Gallis dedit***

Briscoe’s note misleadingly implies that *uerba dare* is not found outside Plautus, Terence, Lucilius and Cicero; but see e.g. *OLD uerbum* 6.

F3

nam Marcus, inquit, Manlius, quem Capitolium seruasse a Gallis supra ostendi, cuiusque operam cum M. Furio dictatore apud Gallos cumprime fortem atque exsuperabilem res publica sensit, is et genere et ui et uirtute bellica nemini concedebat.

For *supra ostendi* cf. F14 and R. J. Starr, ‘Cross-references in Roman Prose’, *AJPh* 102 (1981) 431–7. *opera* + *fortis* is very common in Livy (though not in the parallel passage to this) but found elsewhere too (e.g. Cato F76; Caes. *BC* 3.59.1; Cic. *Cat.* 3.14; Val. Max. 7.6.1). For *res publica sensit* cf. Tac. *Agr.* 6.5: ‘res publica ... sensisset’. Briscoe wrongly implies that *uirtus bellica* is

at Livy 5.47.4 and 6.20.7–8; in fact it is in a range of other Livian passages as well as other authors.

F6

This is the famous description of Manlius Torquatus and the Gaul. Briscoe translates *torques* as ‘necklace’, thereby nullifying the point on which the episode depends. *perdolitum* does not suggest ‘grief’ but means ‘it greatly rankled’. *hausit* is more than simply ‘pierced’: it means ‘gouged’ (see D. A. West, cited on Cassius Hemina F34). *detraxit* is not ‘dragged’ but ‘removed, stripped off, tore off’ (*OLD* 1a).

cum interim invites a reference to J.-P. Chausserie-Laprée, *L'expression narrative chez les historiens latins* (Paris 1969) 56iff. (though he seems not to mention our example), Oakley on Liv. 6.27.6. For dramatic silences (*silentio facto*) see Oakley on Liv. 7.10.1. I cannot grasp Briscoe’s complaint about Courtney’s interpretation of *si quis ... uellet* as ‘adjunct extraction’, which seems clearly right (and Courtney does not refer to a ‘rule’ but an ‘idiom’). Briscoe’s notion that *e tanto ... prodire* depends upon *tantum ... adcidere* is possible but the evidence is against him: the anaphora and polyptoton point to parallelism, not dependence, an arrangement confirmed by the chiasmic order thereby generated (*tantum ... adcidere* refers back to *inridere ... exsertare*, while *e tanto ... prodire* refers back to *nemo audebat ... facies*). It would have been worth noting both that *uirtutem ... spoliari* is a unique usage (the exs. at Cic. *Acad.* 1.33 and *Rep.* 3.31 Powell are accompanied by an abl.) and that Quadrigarius surprisingly does not refer back to the verb when Manlius despoils the Gaul. *utroque exercitu inspectante* invites, but does not receive, some of the considerable recent scholarship on *enargeia*. Briscoe denies that *hominem* instead of a demonstrative pronoun is a colloquialism; but the term is chosen because the Gaul is now a ‘mere human’ (cf. *OLD* 1b, 2a), as opposed to the monstrous being he first seemed to be (‘*magnitudinem atque immanitatem*’).

F8

Latini subnixo animo ex uictoria inertī consilium ineunt

Briscoe maintains that *inerti* means ‘effortless’ and is contemptuous of emendation; but he cites no parallel for the meaning and I have been unable to find one. For *subnixo animo* cf. Liv. 4.42.5.

F10

For *luxuria et nequitia* cf. Cic. *II Verr.* 2.134, 3.22 (cf. 5.87); Apul. *Plat.* 1.13; Calp. *Decl.* 20.

F21

et Romani, inquit, ***multis armis et magno commeatu praedae ingenti copiantur.***

‘We may note the chiasmus’, says Briscoe, as again on F84 ***ligna subdidit, submouit Graecos, ignem admouit.*** Neither is simply chiasmic: the former is ABABBA, the latter is ABBAAB.

F24

For *id ciuitas grauiter tulit* cf. Vell. 102.1: ‘grauiter tulit ciuitas’.

F26

For the motif *deteriores sunt incolumiores* see Sall. *Jug.* 31.14; *Hist.* 3.48.13.

F77

foedus ... non esse seruatum.

Briscoe translates ‘had not been ratified’; but *seruatum* means ‘observed, kept’ (*OLD* 4a).

F84***cum Sulla conatus esset tempore magno***

Briscoe notes that ‘*magnum tempus*’ occurs elsewhere in republican Latin only at *bell. Hisp.* 12.4 (as accusative, not, as here, instead of *diu*)’ but not that the very phrase *magno tempore* = *diu* is at Petron. 125.1 (see Schmeling’s note).

F86***C. Mari, ecquando te nostrum et rei publicae miserebitur?***

Briscoe mistakenly says that Gellius quotes this fragment for the form *uestrum*. For *rei publicae miserebitur* cf. Cato, *Or.* 176 Malcovati; [Quint.] *Decl.* 11.7.

F89

sed Q. Claudius in uicesimo primo annali insolentius paulo hac figura est ita usus: ***enim cum partim copiis hominum adulescentium placentem sibi.***

“But Quintus Claudius, in the *Annals*, Book 21, used this figure a little more unusually in the following way: For with his forces of part of the young men pleasing to himself.”

Briscoe thinks that *placentem sibi* goes with *partim*; but *sibi placere* means ‘to be complacent, proud, think well of oneself’ (*OLD placeo* 1c) and, just as *enim* may suggest that the beginning of the sentence is missing, so *placentem sibi* may refer to something beyond the end of the fragment.

F91

sed idcirco me fecisse quod utrum negligentia partim magistratum an auaritia an calamitate populi Romani euenisse dicam nescio.

For *neglegentia* ... *an auaritia* cf. Colum. 3.3.6; Quint. 4.2.76; Plin. *Ep.* 7.31.2; Apul. *Plat.* 2.26; for *calamitate populi Romani* cf. Caes. *BG* 1.13.7.

26 SISENNA

‘As Sisenna continued Asellio’, says Briscoe (*FRHist* I.308), ‘so Sallust continued Sisenna.’ We could do with a reference to Marincola 291–2.

F7

et Marsi propius succedunt, atque ita scutis proiectis tecti saxa certatim flenta† manibus coniciunt in hostes.

“and the Marsi came up nearer and thus, protected by their shields thrust in front of them, vied with each other in hurling †hard to move† rocks with their hands against the enemy.”

It would be difficult (though admittedly not absolutely impossible) for the men to thrust their shields in front of them and at the same time to hurl rocks with their hands; Briscoe does not attempt to explain. For the erroneous *lenta*, variously emended, it is tempting to suggest *ingentia*, a common epithet for *saxa* (cf. esp. Stat. *Theb.* 10.856: ‘certatim ingentia saxa’); Briscoe’s point that ‘Sisenna does not elsewhere affect this sort of word order’ is not quite true, since there is a similar synchysis at F97.

F8

uetus atque ingens erat arbor ilex

It seems strange not to draw attention to the *est locus* formula.

F11

***multi, plagis aduersis icti et congenerati,
Romanis praecipitatis ipsi supra uoluti in caput.***

“many, struck by blows in their front and brought to their knees, after the Roman soldiers had been driven headlong, themselves rolled head-first on top of them.”

Since the best parallel for this (Coel. Ant. F41) involves horses, and since *praecipitari* is the *mot juste* for being thrown from a horse, it seems certain that Peter’s interpretation of the fragment was right and that ‘driven headlong’ is misguided.

F13

frumento ... quod ... portatum est

It is unclear why Briscoe chooses to illustrate this expression by referring to Cic. *Verr.* 3.189, since *frumentum portare* is extremely common.

F19

Bassus, assiduitate indulgite uictus

There is a striking parallel to this expression in Cic. *Fam.* 10.24(428).1, where Plancus writes ‘in tua obseruantia, indulgentia, adsiduitate uincam’. (Shackleton Bailey deletes the last two nouns as a ‘mechanical reiteration’ by a copyist, since the same trio had occurred just earlier, where he follows Lambinus in emending *indulgentia* to *diligentia*.)

F20

***seruulum eius, praemio libertatis inductum,
magno cum tumulto conuentum in populum
produxit armatum.***

“He brought forward his little slave, induced by the reward of freedom, before the people bearing arms, with a great tumult of the meeting.”

Briscoe’s note does not make it clear that the slave does not belong to the man who produced him. *conuentum* is unlikely to be a contracted genitive plural, since *magno cum tumultu* and variants are only once elsewhere followed by a genitive. *armatum* is an example of ‘verbal hyperbaton’, a mannerism of which Sisenna is fond (above, p. 57). The word play *inductum* ~ *produxit* goes unremarked.

F21

barba inmissa

Briscoe’s statement that *inmitto* for *demitto* ‘is found in Lucilius’ is misleading, since *barbam inmittere* is found in various authors.

F22

post pri<n>cipia paulatim recedunt, atque inde cum paucis fugae se mandant.

“the rear ranks retreated gradually, and then with a few entrusted themselves to flight.”

Briscoe’s ‘rear ranks’ here is odd, since in the commentary he refers to the second line.

F33

metu et suspicione is an almost exclusively Ciceronian combination (5x; elsewhere at *Rhet. Herenn.* 1.13; Suet. *Vesp.* 14.1).

F36

manualis lapides dispertit, propterea quod is ager omnis eiusmodi telis indigebat.

“he distributed stones that could be held in the hand, because the whole of that land lacked weapons of that kind.”

Briscoe does not explain how the leader could distribute stones if, as the commentary maintains, there was in the field a ‘shortage of suitable stones’.

F37

nolitote mirari quam desperata uoluntate ad unam belli faciendi uiam.

“do not be surprised how desperate is the desire with which we ... one way of waging war.”

I suggest that the missing verb is e.g. *compulsi simus* or *coacti simus* and that this fragment means: ‘Do not be surprised at how we have given up hope of choosing and have been reduced to making war as the only way’ (*OLD uoluntas* 4a, *uia* 7b).

F42

ali saltui ac uelocitati certare.

“others strove with leaping and speed.”

The Housmanesque syllepsis suggests that something is wrong here. The fragment is cited by Nonius as an example of dative instead of ablative, but the MSS read *salto* and *uelocitate*. The possibility that *ali* is the intended dative is dismissed by Briscoe on the reasonable grounds that in prose *certare* is constructed with *cum* + abl., not the plain abl. But perhaps Nonius was

speaking a little loosely; certainly ‘he competed [*or to compete*] with another in jumping and speed’ seems greatly preferable in sense.

F55

Galli materibus †sani† lanceis configunt.

“the Gauls transfix with pikes, the †Sani† with lances.”

sani has been variously emended; perhaps *sparis* (‘with their spears’), mentioned alongside the lance in Gellius’ list of weapons (10.25.2) as well as at F53 and Sall. *Cat.* 56.3.

F59

Gaius Titinius quidam, cui minus proprietas men<t>is ab natura tradita uideretur, primo ante testudinem constitit, deinde apud consulem causam atque excusationem praeferre coepit.

The commentary suggests that Titinius is pleading a case for exemption from some duty on grounds of ill-health, but this would not explain *ante testudinem constitit*, even if (as Nonius alleges) the noun means ‘vault’ here. Perhaps *testudinem* has one of its normal military meanings and Titinius’ extraordinary attempt at interrupting the siege operations is attributed to his mental impairment (*uideretur* is subjunctive); he then justifies his interruption to the consul (*excusationem*) by seeking permission to fight in single combat.

F61

For the ‘topic’ Briscoe refers back to Quadrig. F38, where his note refers forward to here. For drinking during a campaign see Nisbet–Hubbard on Hor. *Odes* 2.7.6, adding e.g. Archil. 4; for ‘yesterday’s wine’ see Cic. *Gall.* fr. 1 Crawford; Virg. *Ecl.* 6.15; Mart. 1.28.1, 87.1.

F65

***cistasque, quae erant legum ferundarum gratia
‡parta‡, deiecerant.***

Briscoe says that none of the proposed emendations is ‘convincing enough to be placed in the text’. My proposed *porta*<*tae*> for the transmitted *parta* is not mentioned but would make good sense (‘which had been brought with them in order to pass the laws’).

F68

For *formidine oppressus* cf. Cic. *Verr.* 5.14.

F72

***ego illos malos et audaces semper enixim contra
fortunas atque honores huius ordinis omnia
fecisse ac dixisse sentio.***

fortunas atque honores is above all a Ciceronian expression (7x), though also at Liv. 5.41.2; Stat. *Silv.* 3.2.14. On *malos et audaces* Briscoe’s wrong reference to Plaut. *Bacch.* 959 remains uncorrected (it should be 949).

F76

honestatem aut dignitatem is otherwise an exclusively Ciceronian expression (*Mur.* 21, 64, 87; *Sull.* 73; *Fin.* 2.107; *TD* 2.31; *Att.* 7.11.1, *al.*).

F79

For *agere* = ‘to live’ Briscoe quotes two exs. in Sallust, but the meaning is common (*OLD* 35a).

F81

See *PH* 174–5.

F91

conglobati et conlecti concrepant armis.

“in groups and gathered together they made a noise with their arms.”

Briscoe’s translation will mislead the Latinless.

F92

Briscoe’s wrong reference to Sen. *Dial.* 4.93 remains uncorrected (it should be *De Ira* 2.9.3). For the fragment as a whole see *PH* 169–70.

F93

exercitum dispertiunt, ad confligendum se componunt.

“they distributed the army and prepared themselves for fighting.”

‘distributed the army’ is not English, and Briscoe’s rejection of *se componere* meaning ‘arranged themselves’ is not only arbitrary but wrong.

F100

praesidia de locis deducere.

Here translation (‘remove their garrisons’) and commentary (‘move down’) disagree. The former is correct: *praesidia deducere* is a common technical expression (Cicero, Caesar, Sallust, Livy, Frontinus) and there is no evidence of the ‘high ground’ mentioned in the commentary.

F104

id me neque metu neque calamitatis necessitudine inductum facere.

The point that *necessitudo* is here being used instead of *necessitas* would have been underlined by reference to the places where *necessitas* and *metus* are juxtaposed (Liv. 22.60.2; Sen. *Cons. Helv.* 7.7; Plin. *Ep.* 7.19.6; *Pan.* 70.8; Tac. *Hist.* 1.76.1).

F110

For *terrore perturbatam* cf. Cic. *Phil.* 2.77; Caes. *BG* 4.33.1; Liv. 25.38.1.

F111

***denique cum uariis uoluntatibus incerta ciuitas
trepidare<t>***

For *incerta ciuitas* cf. Tac. *Hist.* 2.10.1; for *ciuitas trepidaret* cf. Liv. 23.7.10 (*trepida ciuitas* is regular). *uoluntatibus* are here perhaps not ‘desires’, as Briscoe renders, but ‘inclinations’.

F119

***quondam Sabini feruntur uouisse si res communis
melioribus locis constitisset, se uer sacrum
facturos.***

“the Sabines are said at one time to have vowed that if their public situation had settled in a better position, they would perform a ‘sacred spring’.”

Since *constitisset* represents a fut. perf. in *oratio recta*, the translation should be simply ‘settled’.

F124

***de quibus partim malleolos partim fasces
sarmentorum incensos supra uallum frequentes.***

“from whom part fire-darts, part burning bundles of twigs, in large numbers above the rampart.”

Or perhaps: ‘down from which <they threw> onto the rampart partly fire-darts and partly bundles of burning twigs in quick succession’.

F126

falces are not ‘scythes’ but ‘hooks’, used in siege warfare (*OLD* 2b).

27 LICINIUS MACER

F5

non minimo opere milites quietes uolebant esse.

“with no very small effort the soldiers were willing to be quiet.”

This means: ‘the soldiers were not in the slightest degree willing to be quiet’ (*OLD minimus* 5a, *opus* 5b).

F6

For the genitive gerundive of purpose see also Woodman–Martin on Tac. *Ann.* 3.7.1.

F7c

peruersum esse alii modi postulare Pyrrum in te atque in ceteris fuisse.

“it is absurd to demand Pyrrhus to behave differently with regard to you than to others.”

But *fuisse* is not present tense. The likeliest explanation is that *postulare* here comes close in sense to *uolle* (cf. *TLL* 10.2.266.71ff.) and that the fragment means: ‘it was perverse to wish that Pyrrus had been different in your case from that of the others’.

F8

For *auctoritatem neglegere* cf. Cic. *Sest.* 32, *De Or.* 1.107, Quint. 11.1.30.

30 LUCCEIUS**F1**

See A. Ring, 'Heracleian Historians', *Syllecta Classica* 21 (2010) 35–64 at 41–3.

38 TUBERO**F5**

si quod a parentibus acceptum protinus antiqui memoriae tradiderunt

“if anything had been received from their parents, the ancients straightaway committed it to memory.”

Although *memoriae tradere* can mean ‘commit to memory’ (*TLL* 8.668.55–6), it much more commonly means ‘hand down to history/put on record’ (ibid. 677.80–678.4; *OLD memoria* 8b), which is surely the meaning here. Oakley says that, if *protinus* means ‘in continuance of a process’, as given for this passage in *OLD* 1b, it ‘makes little sense’; but the adverb is here equivalent to *porro* (*TLL* 10.2.2286.30ff.) and makes perfect sense. The Latin means: ‘whatever the ancients heard from their parents they handed down to history in their turn’.

56 ASINIUS POLLIO

Referring to D. Braund and C. Gill (edd.), *Myth, History and Culture in Republican Rome* (Exeter 2003) 194, Drummond is sceptical of the notion, for which he seems to imply that I am responsible, that Antony received an imperatorial salutation for Pollio's victories (*FRHist* I.433 n. 17). This is a wrong reference for my note on Vell. 78.2, where I endorse the statement at *MRR* II.387 that Antony 'accepted a salutation as Imperator for the victories of Pollio and Ventidius'. Drummond also implies (I.437 n. 53) that I am responsible for the notion that *Motum ex Metello consule* (Hor. *Odes* 2.1.1) hides a reference to Metellus Numidicus (cos. 109 BC), which he says is 'without foundation'. If the reference really were without foundation, it would never have been proposed by Y. Nadeau, whose brilliant idea it was: 'Speaking Structures', in C. Deroux, ed., *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* II (Brussels 1980) 178–9.

F3a**ad uerbum dixisse**

See R. Mayer, 'Ipsa verba: Tacitus' Verbatim Quotations', in T. Fuhrer and D. Nelis, edd., *Acting With Words* (Heidelberg 2010) 129–42, at 133.

F11***cuius experta uirtus bello Germaniae traducta ad custodiam Illyrici est***

For *experta uirtus* cf. Liv. 3.44.3, 35.38.6; Vell. 2.4.2; Tac. *Ann.* 3.74.3, 13.37.4.

58 ARRUNTIUS

Levick suggests (*FRHist* I.448) that Arruntius (cos. 22 BC) 'could have been writing at a time when Sallust's influence was at its height and before Livy's work had established its rival claims'.

It naturally seems to me very odd indeed that Levick makes no reference here or in her commentary to *RICH* 117–59, where (a) I argue that Livy began writing in the mid-thirties—a date which now seems increasingly accepted—and (b) I discuss fully the Sallustian style and its influence upon Arruntius among others.

F1

fugam nostris fecere

This, says Levick, ‘is a phrase also used by Livy, 21.5.16.’ This statement is not only false but misleading; the facts are as follows. *fugam facere* is an extremely common expression but its meaning and construction vary. (a) One makes one’s opponent(s) flee, as Livy 1.56.4, 21.5.16 and elsewhere. (b) One takes flight oneself, as Ter. *Eun.* 787; Sall. *Jug.* 53.3; Livy 8.9.12 (where Oakley discusses this meaning and adds *Or. Gent. Rom.* 15.3). (c) The expression is followed by a predicate, e.g. Livy 10.44.4: ‘fugam infestam Samnitibus ... fecit’; 27.42.5: ‘breuiorem fugam percussis fecit’. From this evidence it emerges that, although the one extant Sallustian example belongs to (b), Arruntius’ phrase belongs to (a), although none of the relevant passages illustrates the combination with a dative. On the assumption that *nostris* = the Romans see Marincola 287–8.

F2

bellum fecit

Levick’s references to Sallust (*Cat.* 24.2), Cicero and Caesar are again misleading: the expression is extremely common, starting with Ennius (*Ann.* 372 Sk.) and Cato (F20).

F3

quae audita Panhormitanos dedere Romanis fecere

Levick's note here is not only misleading (she totally misrepresents Douglas on Cic. *Brut.* 142) but almost incomprehensible. Summers, whose commentary on Seneca's letters she nowhere mentions, here refers *inter al.* to Virg. *Aen.* 2.538–9, where Horsfall has a helpful note on the construction.

70 FENESTELLA

F2

itaque ut magistratum tribuni inierunt, C. Cato, turbulentus adulescens et audax nec imparatus ad dicendum, contionibus adsiduis inuidiam et Ptolomaeo simul, qui iam profectus ex urbe erat, et Publio Lentulo consuli, paranti iam iter, concitare secundo quidem populi rumore coepit.

Drummond, whose view of Fenestella as 'cynical but balanced' (*FRHist* I.492) deserves to be placed alongside Goodyear's view of Tacitus, where 'disapproval' is equivalent to 'objectivity' and 'maliciousness' to 'impartiality' (on *Ann.* 2.74.2 and 2.82.2), well discusses the language of this fragment. For *turbulentus adulescens* cf. Cic. *Phil.* 1.22; Ascon. p. 58; *imparatus semper adgredi ad dicendum uidebatur* (Cic. *Brut.* 139, on the orator Antonius) deserved to be quoted in full. *contiones adsiduae* is 4x in Livy (then Tac. *Dial.* 40.1), and *inuidiam concitare* is at Sen. *Contr.* 10.1.9 and Quint. 6.1.14 besides Cicero. For *secundo ... rumore* add Woodman–Martin on Tac. *Ann.* 3.29.4.

71 CREMUTIUS CORDUS

Levick states that 'The formal charge recorded' against Cremutius Cordus was 'his praise of Cassius the Liberator' (*FRHist* I.498), but she has omitted from T6 the sentence of Tacitus which says that the formal charge against Cordus was 'publishing annals, praising Brutus, and calling Cassius the last

of the Romans' (*Ann.* 4.34.1). The first of these charges is repeated by Dio (T7); the second two are picked up by Cordus himself in the speech which Tacitus gives him (T6).

Fr

Cremutius Cordus et ipse ait **Ciceronem, cum cogitasset utrumne Brutum an Cassium an Sex. Pompeium peteret, omnia illi displicuisse praeter mortem.**

“Cremutius Cordus says too that when Cicero had debated whether to make for Brutus or Cassius or Sextus Pompeius, all courses of action failed to satisfy him, except dying.”

The transmitted text of the introductory sentence, which is printed by Levick, is unlikely to be right since (a) it has both *Ciceronem* and *omnia* as subjects of the accusative and infinitive, (b) it has *illi* referring back to *Ciceronem*. Håkanson, whose edition she is following, defends the text as an ‘anacoluthon’; but there is no mention of anacoluthon by Levick, whose silence may lead the unwary to think that there is nothing unusual. Other editors (Kiessling, Edward, Winterbottom but not Feddern) restore regular syntax by printing Müller’s *secum cogitasse* and inserting either a semi-colon or *sed* after *peteret* (‘Cicero had debated with himself whether ... Pompeius; but everything had displeased him, apart from death’).

Fr

For *diuina eloquentia* cf. Quint. 2.16.7: ‘diuina M. Tulli eloquentia’.

F2

simultates deponendas

A Ciceronian expression (*Planc.* 76; *Att.* 3.24.2; *Fam.* 2.13.2; later 2x in Suet.).

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