

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is an historiographical study of the nature and significance of the Roman exempla tradition. It explores aspects of the relationship between certain Roman historical traditions (mainly the annalistic and the antiquarian-prosopographical) and the surviving testimony of exempla literature in Valerius Maximus and the Elder Pliny. The title is designed to highlight one of the chief assumptions and themes of the thesis, the view that fragments of the exempla literature preserved and interpreted by these two writers are best understood and evaluated as distinctive abridgements of the wider literary and historical traditions concerning the origin and development of Roman social, religious and political institutions.

Two kinds of abridgement are noticed in the following discussion. First, there is abridgement as a literary technique - a convenient way of dealing with complex and extensive material. Its basic form is note-taking, extracting information and giving it a more manageable form. Within the different genres and conventions of their work, Valerius and Pliny abridge their material in distinctive ways. Valerius' exempla, though grouped thematically, seldom give an historical view of a given subject, but Pliny (often dealing with similar or related matter) tends to insert blocks of historically related notices and gives his work greater coherence and a recognizable perspective. It will be argued that he is more perceptive in exploiting material at his disposal. Sometimes by using inherited historical frameworks, sometimes elaborating his own, and giving the presentation a critical moral view-point (one that may have been inspired by his sources), Pliny is able to overcome the considerable formal limitations of abridgement and scattered thematic compilation. In the Natural History's many references to and discussions of human achievement abridgement often ceases to be a literary technique, becoming a method of making moral and political judgements (which in the Roman context are frequently synonymous) on the basis of historical observation. This is abridgement as critical selection, a technique for recording the past that should be seen as belonging to Roman historiography. (1)

(1) In the NH there are of course numerous catalogues and inventories that appear to be no more than transcriptions of Greek models, see below p. 16 n.1.

This second type of abridgement is closely related to the abridgements of the Roman tradition for ideological purposes. Such abridgements are most prominent at times when there were fundamental debates within the community concerning the well-being of the state, with participants making critical selections of the different elements within the tradition to give validity to their arguments about the legitimacy of those actions that they were either defending or proposing. (1)

-
- (1) E.g. the critique of the nobiles made by Sallust's Marius, Jug. lxxxv; the argument of the consuls in defence of patrician dominance and Canuleius' counter-argument, using exemplars to give authority and historical dimension to his version of the Roman tradition, Livy, IV. 2 and 3; note also Antonius' vigorous defence of Norbanus and the historical seditiones, ORB, frs. 22 - 30, but particularly fr. 24. The notion that an ideology is an abridgement of a given tradition derives from M. Oakeshott, see Rationalism in Politics, London 1967, p.4: also W.H.Greenleaf, Oakeshott's Philosophical Politics, London 1966, pp.46-54 on the concepts of ideology and abridgement. My discussion of the debates within the Roman tradition has been inspired by J.G.A. Pocock's criticism and elucidation of Oakeshott's interpretation of tradition, see "Time, Institutions and Action: an Essay on Traditions and their Understandings", Politics and Experience: Essays Presented to M. Oakeshott, London 1968, pp.209-237, particularly pp.223-228 for the argument that critical abridgement of tradition may be a source of historical insight - "the criticism of tradition is history" (p.227).

D. C. Earl's recent explorations of the Roman tradition (which, in a very real sense, pick up lines of investigation developed in the early Renaissance by Petrarch in his De Viris Illustribus) give an account of the different abridgements of this kind: on the one hand, the ideology of the nobiles themselves (their imagines and ancestral traditions), and, on the other, the challenges posed by the ambitious and talented novi homines, with their claims to personal virtus. (1) Both sides manipulated tradition, by reducing it to convenient principles and patterns of action, without attempting to give comprehensive accounts of it. That task was undertaken by the antiquarians who aimed in their encyclopedic studies to explain the totality of the Roman historical experience. (2)

It cannot be proved that this research was a direct reaction to the ideological use of tradition in political debate, though, as will be shown later, the outpouring of energy on this kind of investigation may be related to the growing political and social instability in the late Republic. What is clear is that developments in antiquarianism,

-
- (1) D.C.Earl, The Moral and Political Tradition of Rome, London 1967, pp.46-47; "The Roman Tradition", Classical Values in the Modern World, Ottawa 1972, pp.152-153; M. Gelzer, The Roman Nobility, tr. R. Seager, Oxford 1969, pp.27-53; J. Hellegouarc'h, Le Vocabulaire Latin des Relations et des Partis Politiques sous la République, Paris 1963, pp.224-294. For the notion of the Roman tradition in Cato, see particularly the formulation recorded in De Rep. II.1.2. For an illuminating discussion of the tradition with special reference to Virgil, see N.Horsfall, "Virgil, History and the Roman Tradition", Prudentia, 8, 1976, pp.73-89.
- (2) For an appreciation of antiquarian historical scholarship in the late Republic, see A. Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian", Studies in Historiography, London 1966, pp.4-5. See below chapter two.

and popularization of some of these in exempla literature, coincide with profound political changes in the Roman state (extension of the citizen body, influx of new men in the Senate, emergence of military autocracy). When traditions of conduct disintegrate, consciousness of the relevance of tradition may increase. Such a development may account for the fascination which the past exercised on the antiquarians and on political leaders, like Cicero, who were frustrated in their attempts to establish disappearing conventions. For Cicero antiquarian study became an important, though of course never a complete, substitute for active involvement in public affairs. At a later stage, for men like the Elder Pliny, exploration of vanished images of antique virtues continued to be a method of critical reflection on the present.

The extent to which such criticism can be called history is open to debate. In this study historiography is taken in its widest sense so as to embrace the various antiquarian reconstructions of the past and the exempla literature that popularized some of these insights. The Facta et Dicta of Valerius Maximus poses a problem, in as much as it is less indebted to this particular tradition than the exempla transmitted by Pliny. However, without attributing to Valerius the inappropriate label of an historian, it is nevertheless necessary to take his exempla into account as reflections of a particular understanding of the Roman tradition and analyse the significance of his level of perception. It is in the light of this that comparisons will be made

between his conception of events and ideas and those of Cicero, Livy and Pliny.

Consciousness of tradition in Rome was not exclusively a matter of assimilating and developing a purely literary inheritance. Leaving aside the force of convention in determining the modes of personal and public conduct, it is important to consider the influence of the visible symbols of social and political continuity - buildings, statues and paintings. The social influence of these can be most profitably gauged in the literary record, particularly in Pliny's extensive surveys. These give a very good indication of the Roman perceptions of the variety and density of historical and mythical statuary and paintings that surrounded their daily existence, and in addition, provide an important index of the historical and antiquarian interest in the subject.

Pliny's criticism of contemporary social conventions in the use of rings at Rome (NH XXXIII. 26 - 28) proceeds from initial observations on ancient practices as revealed by surviving statuary.

He personally inspected the statues of the kings (et ideo miror Tarquinii eius statuam sine anulo esse) and constructed his argument according to the visible testimony - singulis primo digitis geri mos fuerat, qui sunt minimis proximi sic in Numae et Servi Tulli statuis videmus. (1)

- (1) This seems a typical antiquarian observation, see Cicero on the statue of L. Scipio in Pro Rab. Perd. X. 27. For Plutarch's occasional use of statues as guides to personal appearance and character, see A. E. Wardman, CQ, xvii, 1967, pp.414-420. Statuary does not seem to have exercised much influence on portraiture on Roman coinage, M. H. Crawford, Roman Republican Coinage, 1974, Cambridge, vol. ii, pp.749-750.

Though Pliny is not always consistent in his method (which to some extent may reflect the different sources at his disposal), it emerges from some of his references that he recognizes the statues as symbols of public recognition of individual merit. They are in a very real sense a guide to ancient traditions of recognizing achievement. In so far as such achievement ranges from the heroic (e.g. C. Maenius and C. Duillius) to the trivial (L. Minucius praefectus annonae) Pliny is puzzled (ibid. XXXIV. 20-21), but proceeds to **catalogue faithfully** other statues and the exploits that occasioned them (ibid. 22-25). (1)

He picks up L. Piso's record of censorial attempts to regulate matters in respect of statues round the forum (ibid. 30); comments on the melting down of the statue of Spurius Cassius (nimirum in ea quoque re ambitionem providebant illi viri); cites Cato's protests against the setting up in the provinces of statues to women. The whole of Pliny's treatment is animated by genuine curiosity about ancient customs and innovative developments in the various spheres (e.g. equestrian statues, statues to foreigners and to women).

(1) ibid. 21 - ... item L. Minucio praefecto annonae extra portam Trigeminam unciaria stipe conlata - nescio an primo honore tali a populo, antea enim a senatu erat, - praeclara res, ni frivolis coepisset initiis.

Pliny preserves the record of the historical paintings commemorating M. Valerius Maximus Messalla's victory over the Carthaginians and L. Scipio's Asiatic victory (ibid. XXXV. 22). The former was placed in latere curiae Hostiliae anno ab urbe condita CCCCXC - information of a detailed kind that probably derives from an antiquarian account of the growth in the prestige of the art of painting in Rome. Pliny writes, perhaps echoing an Augustan predecessor (Verrius?) interested in providing an historical background for the princeps' indulgence in pictorial displays, that dignatio autem praecipua Romae increvit, ut existimo, a M. Valerio Maximo Messalla. (1) He records in the same context that the auctoritas of foreign pictures goes back to the innovations of L. Mummius (tabulis autem externis auctoritatem Romae publice fecit primus omnium L. Mummius - 24) and refers to the role of Julius Caesar in advancing the status of paintings - sed praecipuam auctoritatem publice tabulis fecit Caesar dictator (26).

In view of the discussion to follow, it is important to recognize at this early stage that Pliny's source (or sources) on the paintings of Messalla, L. Scipio and Mancinus at XXXV. 22-23 seems to be fully alive to the political implications of these public gestures. This emerges particularly sharply in the latter two cases,

(1) Ibid. 27 - super omnes divus Augustus in foro suo celeberrima in parte posuit tabulas duas, quae Belli faciem pictam habent et Triumphum, item Castores ac Victoriam; see 28 for other paintings located in templo Caesaris patris and in curia.

where the offensio to Africanus and Aemelianus respectively is reported. Pliny is here, as elsewhere, in very close and sympathetic contact with an antiquarian tradition interested not only in the history of art objects in Rome, but also in the political uses made of art by the nobiles and the impact of this on their personal relations. (1)

-
- (1) J.M.C. Toynbee, "The Ara Pacis Reconsidered and Historical Art in Roman Italy", Proceedings of the British Academy, 1952, p.68 n.2, gives a list of paintings depicting the achievements of various nobiles that are referred to in Livy and Pliny.

Pliny's coverage illustrates that there was a great deal of imported material by foreign artists; in size and splendour it vied for the attention with the native product and provided an exotic setting for the statuary of exemplars of Roman virtues. Mummius' role in filling the city with artistic treasures was subsequently remembered as a significant development in the decline of ancient simplicity (Vell. I. XIII. 4-5; NH XXXIV. 36) and striking imports by other principes (e.g. Metellus Macedonicus - NH XXXIV. 64: M. Lucullus - ibid. 39: Pompey - ibid. XXXIII. 151-152) seem to have been carefully recorded by the art historian and the moralist alike. Wealthy collectors, like Asinius Pollio, were noted as being anxious that their prized possessions be seen and admired by the public (ibid. XXXVI. 33); extravagant aediles, like M. Scaurus in 58, were cited as indulging themselves in exhibiting as many as 3,000 statues (ibid. XXXIV. 36); even men renowned for their probity and simplicity gained reputations for interest in matters artistic and for paying exorbitant sums for coveted objects. (1).

(1) See Agrippa's speech on statues and paintings, as well as the reference to his purchase of Ajax and Aphrodite from Cyzicus - ibid. XXV. 26. For a comprehensive discussion of Roman collecting, see D.F.Strong, "Roman Museums" in Archaeological Theory and Practice: Essays to H.F.Grimes, London 1973, pp.247-264.

Paradoxically, such a profusion of foreign art may have tended to accentuate, rather than overshadow, the characteristically Roman public statuary on display, particularly in the forum. One really needed to have the extensive knowledge and the trained eye of a Varro to identify correctly most of the imported objects and allocate them accurately to their respective artists and historical epochs, but many a conspicuous Roman image may be assumed to have been properly identified and appreciated by a significant number of less erudite citizens. (1) Those who were able to read could benefit by inscriptions giving the necessary background - e.g. Accius' poetry glorifying D. Iunius Callaicus (cos. 138) was inscribed in templorum et monumentorum aditus. (2)

For the literate and the curious antiquarian discussions of the origins and development of this physical setting were a natural and necessary development. Statues and paintings (as well as the mnemonic techniques of oratorical training - De Oratore II. 359-360) helped to arouse a visual historical imagination, acutely sensitive to the importance of symbols and attributes of historical and mythical figures. The Roman exempla tradition should therefore not only be studied in relation to its literary heritage, but also in the context

(1) For instance, that of Romulus or Horatius Cocles or Camillus - ibid. XXXIV. 21-23: note especially a statue like that of Cn. Octavius, placed "in the place most eyed", in rostris, by a senatus consultum - ibid. 24-25.

(2) See Cic. Arch. 27 and V. M. VIII. 14.2.

of this rich and visually stimulating environment that helped to give rise to it.

If we assume that a Roman orator relied implicitly on his audience's familiarity with specific images and monuments (e.g. Cicero in Tusc. I.vii - an illustration based on the probable reaction of his interlocutor to the family tombs on the Via Appia), we are able to appreciate fully why he frequently resorted to brief allusions, avoiding detailed description. A short reference must have been sufficient to evoke a particular incident.

On the other hand, when an orator did choose to give a strikingly vivid exposition of an historical scene (e.g. the murder of Tiberius Gracchus as given in Ad Herennium IV.lv), he may well have been mirroring a familiar pictorial representation of the matter. But whether such pictorial models existed in many cases is not a problem central to our theme. It is sufficient to establish, as will be done in the first chapter, that an orator was trained to create and memorize vivid pictorial images and that an important part of the exempla tradition, which he amongst others helped to popularize, developed as a literary dimension of private and public representational conventions. In this regard the emergence of illustrated exempla literature in antiquarian circles was a logical culmination of a particular habit of mind. We have in these activities different, yet related, abridgements of the historical tradition into monumental, pictorial and parallel literary stereotypes.

The treatment of the Elder Pliny as an interpreter of the exempla tradition is one of the main original contributions made in this thesis. It is explained and justified in chapter six, with reference to Pliny's critical reaction to Augustus' publicity (note particularly his coverage of the corona graminea, discussed there). That chapter grew out of a recognition of the importance of Pliny's material as a literary source for Roman pictorial and monumental conventions. It is an attempt to test the conviction that he is to be regarded as more than an impersonal transmitter of fragments of lost exempla literature (see chapter two).

It is the cumulative effect of Pliny's material that is so important for a student of exempla literature. He writes about the prosopographical research of Valerius Messalla, he transmits numerous fragments of Nepos' Exempla, he writes on the Imagines of Atticus and the Hebdomades of Varro (and presumably uses all these more frequently than we are able to recognize). Much of this material is put under scrutiny in chapter two and its significance as a source of exempla assessed. It is through the aid of Pliny's attentive mind that we are able to see more clearly those connections between representational and literary stereotypes that have been mentioned so far.

There is one passage in book XXXV which best reveals these connections. Following his description of Atticus' Imagines and Varro's Hebdomades (9-12), Pliny turns his attention to family portraits on shields:

Verum clupeos in sacro vel publico dicare privatim primus instituit, ut reperio, Appius Claudius (qui consul cum P. Servilio fuit anno urbis CCLVIII). posuit enim in Bellonae aede maiores suos, placuitque in excelso spectari et titulos honorum legi, decora res, utique si liberum turba parvulis imaginibus ceu nidum aliquem subolis pariter ostendat, quales clupeos nemo non gaudens favensque aspicit. post eum M. Aemilius collega in consulatu Quinti Lutatii non in basilica modo Aemilia, verum et domi suae posuit, id quoque Martio exemplo. scutis enim, qualibus apud Troiam pugnatum est, continebatur imagines, unde et nomen habuere clupeorum, non, ut perversa grammaticorum suptilitas voluit, a cluendo. (2-13) (1)

-
- (1) Pace R. Broughton (MR, I.259/495), I follow Vessberg's argument in regarding the dating of Appius' consulship as a gloss. The Appius Claudius mentioned here cannot be the consul of that year, for the temple of Bellona itself is firmly associated with Caecus (O. Vessberg, Studien zur Kunstgeschichte der Römischen Republik, 1941, vol. 1 pp.72-79). The identification with the consul of 79 seems correct, and it helps to give emphasis to post eum M. Aemilius (i.e. the activity of the consul of 78). For the history of these images, see R. Winkes, Glyceata Imago, Bonn 1969, and the earlier work of J. Bolten, Die Imago Glyceata, Paderborn 1937 (rep. 1968).

At this point the identity of Pliny's source is not as vital as the character of observation made by it (note the etymological speculation and criticism) and the influence of this on Pliny's recognition of the competitive aspect of the situation.

Pliny notes who first instituted the custom and who followed in extending it. (1) These two pieces of information are inter-dependent. Appius Claudius first sets up shields with the imagines of his maiores (in such a way that their honores - either inscribed on the shields themselves or on tablets below - could be read) in the temple of Bellona; after him M. Aemilius Lepidus (the consul who attempted to challenge Sulla's settlement of the res publica) installed similar shields both at the basilica Aemilia and at home, thus taking the matter of family publicity one step further.

Pictures on Appius' shields included miniature representations of children, Aemilius' shields resembled those used in the fighting at Troy. We know that the Aemilii claimed Trojan ancestry (see below chapter two on Varro's and Hyginus' researches into Trojan families), but here the link was more emphatically with the martial side rather than

(1) See chapter two for similar procedures adopted by exempla literature; note also the inventories of achievement given in book vii, especially 123-211 - where the formulaic phraseology is most apparent - e.g. the repetition of instituit, constituerunt primi, invenit, invenerunt and inventor; on shields, ibid. 200 - clupeos invenerunt Proetus et Acrisius inter se bellantes, sive Chalcus Atharantis filius. W. H. Riemer, De catalogis laurum, Leipzig 1890, for essential background to these lists: R. Schilling's edition and commentary on book vii, Paris 1977, pp. 224-262

one of aristocratic pride in so distinguished a pedigree. The displays themselves and the preservation of a literary record of them should arouse our curiosity. Activities of this kind not only went on, but they also found a place in subsequent literature. We are therefore dealing with material sensitive to the minutiae of noble publicity.

Pliny himself could have seen these or similar shields and supplemented his literary sources from direct observation. However, it is also likely that he was consulting an illustrated treatment by a writer (or writers) interested in the historical role of imagines of different kinds in Rome, not only from the point of view of art history, but, more importantly, from the particular perspective of the publicity traditions of the nobiles. Whatever the truth, it is apparent from the nature of Pliny's information concerning Roman statues and paintings that he is an invaluable guide to the literature that depicted the relationship between aristocratic attitudes and representational conventions. In other words, he is a guide to the Roman exempla literature.

CHAPTER 1

"EXEMPLA, EXEMPLARS AND THE MONUMENTAL EXEMPLA TRADITION"

Our earliest Roman definitions of the exemplum from the point of view of rhetorical theory are to be found in the Rhetorica ad Herennium and Cicero's De Inventione. Given the subsequent development of distinct trends within the exempla literature (see chapter two), it is important to notice here how these early theoretical conceptions point to some future directions to be taken by exempla. (1)

-
- (1) A comprehensive study of exempla in Latin literature was made by H. Kornhardt, Exemplum: eine bedeutungsgeschichtliche Studie, Göttingen 1926; see especially pp.6-11 on the representative character of exempla, pp.13-26 on exempla virtutis. The moral character of the exempla tradition was illustrated by H.W.Litchfield, "National exempla virtutis in Roman literature", HSCP, 25, 1914, pp.1-71. For a carefully compiled list of commonly cited exemplars, see A. Lumpe, "Exemplum", PAQ, cols. 1229-1257, especially 1248-1251. On Cicero's use of exempla in philosophical works, Sr. M.N.Blincoe, The Use of the Exemplum in Cicero's Philosophical Works, Diss. St.Louis, 1941. A.E.Douglas argues forcefully (OQ, vi, 1956, pp.133-137 and x, 1960, pp.65-78) for a revision of the conventional dating of the Ad Herennium, but see the more cautious discussion in G.Calboli's edition and commentary, Bologna 1969, pp.12-17 (latest likely date 70 B.C.). Calboli also offers a very useful analysis of the exempla used in the treatise, particularly IV.lv. Caplan's translation and commentary in the Loeb series (1954) gives a wide-ranging treatment of rhetorical and historical features of the Ad Herennium, see pp.xxiii-xxiv on the political attitudes of the author. It is difficult to make of him an uncritical admirer of popularis actions (I.xii.21 and II.xii.17), but he is critical of Nasica's fury (IV.lv.).

In both treatises the nature of the exemplum is explained in conjunction with related rhetorical figures, but, unlike Cicero, the author of the Rhetorica gives a more extensive list of such figures (similitudo, imago, effictio, notatio) and illustrates them by employing striking visual imagery:

Effictio est cum exprimitur atque effingitur verbis corporis cuiuspiam forma quoad satis sit ad intellegendum, hoc modo:
 "Hunc, iudices, dico, rubrum, brevem, incurvum, canum, subcrispum, caesium, cui sane magna est in mento cicatrix, si quo modo potest vobis in memoriam redire." Habet haec exornatio cum utilitatem si quem velis demonstrare, tum venustatem si breviter et dilucide facta est. (IV.xlix.63) (1)

In this case we have a lesson in brevity, clarity and, above all, in selection of suitable adjectives designed to stir the memory of the iudices.

-
- (1) See Calboli, op.cit., pp.413-420. The delineation of physical attributes goes back to the Greek rhetorical tradition. Effictio (characterismos) as a device used in comedy, see Caplan, op.cit., p.386; pp.xxvii-xxxiv on the relationship between De Inventione and the Ad Herennium. For the rhetorical and literary background of effictio, see G. Wisener, "Iconistic Portraits", Classical Philology, XIX, 1924, pp.97-123; pp.116-117 on iconismos (which closely parallels characterismos) in Latin literature.

The definition of exemplum in the Rhetorica follows that of similitudo (ibid. 59-61) and is explicitly allied to it:

Exemplum est alicuius facti aut dicti praeteriti cum certi auctoris nomine propositio. Id sumitur isdem de causis quibus similitudo. (ibid. 62) (1)

Apart from the injunction that the auctor must be named, there appear to be no conditions imposed. Certainly there is no suggestion that the auctor must be a person of high status, in order to enhance the auctoritas of the precedent. The author of this manual is less concerned with the standing of the potential exemplars than he is with the different functions that the exemplum may perform:

Rem ornatiorem facit cum nullius rei nisi dignitatis causa sumitur; apertiore, cum id quod sit obscurius magis dilucidum reddit; probabiliorem, cum magis veri similem facit; ante oculos ponit, cum exprimit omnia perspicue ut res prope dicam manu temptari possit. (ibid.)

The ideal exemplum would strive for realism. Clarity and vividness of detail are to be its essential features (notice also

(1) Similitudo est oratio traducens ad rem quamquam aliquid ex re dispari simile. Ea sumitur aut ornandi causa aut probandi aut apertius dicendi aut ante oculos ponendi. (ibid. 59) On the requirements of a vivid detailed parallel, see the illustration given at 60. For these Calboli, op. cit.; pp. 412-418.

the definition and illustration of demonstratio - demonstratio est cum ita verbis res exprimitur ut geri negotium et res ante oculos esse videatur - ibid. 68)

Dignitas is of course one of the qualities that an exemplum may be used to create or enhance. However, the author does not connect such illustrations with a tradition of the maiores and the auctoritas of distinctly noble exempla. A very suggestive lack of interest and concern, particularly when it is contrasted with Cicero's emphasis on this very point.

Exemplum est quod rem auctoritate aut casu alicuius hominis aut negoti confirmat aut infirmat.

(De Inventione I.49.)

The presence of the notion of auctoritas in this definition is an indication at this early stage of a general position that Cicero was to take throughout his life. Exempla for him were always closely linked with the concept of a Roman state tradition. (1) This is not surprising, for he stood at the centre of political affairs and was continuously engaged in matters of high policy. Antonius in De Oratore II 334-336 makes the link between dignitas and maiorum exempla explicit:

(1) Nobiles (like the younger Cato - Pro Mur. 66) could boast of domestica exempla, but Cicero urged that they could not exercise a monopoly on these, see Kornhardt, p.15; H. Roloff, Maiores bei Cicero, Göttingen 1938, passim, but particularly Teil II: Maiores und Vergangenheit.

...qui ad dignitatem impellet, maiorum exempla quae erant vel cum periculo gloriosa colliget, posteritatis immortalem memoriam augebit, utilitatem ex laude nasci defendet semperque eam cum dignitate esse coniunctam.

In this way, by demonstrating the true nature of utilitas, the apparently conflicting claims of utilitas and dignitas may be impressively resolved. Confirmation through the use of authoritative precedent, rather than vivid illustration, is shown clearly in such a passage. But although here Cicero is primarily concerned with the status and moral significance of his exemplars, at other points he is also mindful of the visual aspect of this tradition (see the description of Piso's deceptive appearance - unum aliquem te ex barbatis illis, exemplum imperii veteris, imaginem antiquitatis, columnen rei publicae diceret intueri (Pro Sestio 19) - which relies on instinctive recognition by his audience of the true imagines antiquitatis), though his tendency is to operate by allusion, side-stepping detailed description:

...hinc noster Cocles, hinc Decii, hinc Cn. et P. Scipiones, hinc M. Marcellus, innumerabiles alii, maximeque ipse populus Romanus animi magnitudine excellit. Declaratur autem studium bellicae gloriae, quod statuas quoque videmus ornatu fere militari. (Off. I. 61) (1)

(1) Note the reference in Pro Sestio 140 to the monumentum of L. Opimius in foro.

Cicero's general interest in using visually stimulating illustrations is undisputed (e.g. In Pisonem I.): it was a characteristic deeply admired in antiquity. Gellius (X.iii. passim.) contrasts favourably Verr. II. v. 161 with C. Gracchus' treatment of a similar theme in the De Legibus Promulgandis (ORF I. pp.190-192) and his admiration for the effectiveness of Cicero's description was probably shared by other readers. Nevertheless, in contrast with the Rhetorica ad Herennium, De Inventione lacks interest in the numerous rhetorical figures that facilitated the pictorial vividness of exempla. (1)

More significantly, in the case of passages where the auctoritas of noble exemplars is invoked, the monumental dimension is often taken for granted, instead of being effectively realized. As the passage from De Officiis quoted above shows, the statues are never far from Cicero's mind. In fact, they are an essential foundation for one's understanding of those set passages in which he displays the continuity of the Roman state tradition and adds legitimacy to particular arguments that he advances.

Such passages share a number of common features. Firstly, they are invariably set pieces in which the dignitas and auctoritas are either explicitly underlined (Verr. II iii. 209 - Tametsi quae ista

(1) Brevitas - feature of C. Gracchus' use of exempla (e.g. of intemperantia hominum adulescentium, given in De Legibus Promulgandis), see Kornhardt, p.6. Gell. ibid 4 - Brevitas sane et venustas et mundities orationis est, qualis haberi ferme in comoediarum festivitatibus solet.

sunt exempla multorum? Nam cum in causa tanta, cum in crimine maximo dici a defensore coeptum est factitatum esse aliquid, expectant ii qui audiunt exempla ex vetere memoria, ex monumentis ac litteris, plena dignitatis, plena anticitatis ... Africanos mihi et Catones et Laelios commemorabis, et eos fecisse idem dices? - a passage showing the kind of expectation that the audience had of exemplars used in oratory) or implicitly understood (Pro Sest. 143 - Quare imitemur nostros Brutos, Camillos, Ahalas, Decios, Curios, Fabricios, Maximos, Scipiones, Lentulos, Aemilios, innumerabiles alios, qui hanc rem publicam stabiliverunt; quos equidem in deorum immortalium coetu ac numero repono.). Secondly, they provide catalogues of representative figures without supplying illustrative detail (as in the Pro Sestio passage above, where rem publicam stabiliverunt covers a number of distinctive exploits). Thirdly, they are accompanied by references to the fact that the selection offered is a brief one and that countless others (innumerabiles alii) could be named (see Pro Sest. 143; De Off. I. 61; Tusc. I. 110; De Oratore I.211 - et innumerabiles alios cum ex nostra civitate tam ex ceteris, a catalogue of reipublicae rectores and consilii publici auctores). This feature indicates that, although the catalogues offered were conventional, there was no set canonical list of exemplars. In addition, there is a tendency to use the plural where the singular is more appropriate, though less rhetorically effective.

In these instances Cicero is indulging in historical abstractions. But these catalogues of exemplars do belong to a living political context. They are abridgements that arise from an intimate knowledge of Roman history, from a sense of personal identity with the status and achievement of the leaders recalled, and they assume in the audience a ready familiarity with the monumental counterparts of these rhetorical stereotypes. These are abstractions that rely on a particular kind of historical awareness.

The illustrated exempla literature (to be discussed in the next chapter) developed in a more comprehensive and systematic way the links between these respective stereotypes, linking the imagines of exemplars to texts defining and expressing their achievements. This literature formalized what was intuitively apprehended by earlier generations.

In the Facta et Dicta of Valerius Maximus we see another development. In his case, we cannot assume any of the things that lie behind Ciceronian references. Most importantly, we cannot assume his familiarity with the monuments he cites. His notices of these are derivative and rhetorically conditioned. Two instances illustrate this quite clearly.

Firstly, there is his reference in III.6.2 to the statue of L. Scipio.

L. vero Scipionis statuam chlamydatam et crepidatam in Capitolio cernimus quo habitu videlicet, quia aliquando usus erat, effigiem suam formatam poni voluit.

At first glance this appears like a genuine observation, of

the kind that we noticed Pliny making in respect of statues as indicators of former customs. However, when compared with Cicero's statement in Pro Rab. Post. X.27 it looks suspiciously like a direct imitation of that passage (on Valerius' imitation of Ciceronian material, see chapter five):

L. vero Scipionis ... non solum chlamyde, sed etiam cum
crepidis in Capitolio statuam videtis

It is safe to interpret this as being derivative and not based on genuine autopsy (see further discussion of Valerius' knowledge in relation to the parallel between De Div. I.59 and V.M.I.7.5 in chapter five).

Secondly, there is Valerius' reference to Africanus' imago in the Capitoline temple - VIII.15.1:

imaginem in cella Iovis optimi maximi positam habet,
quae, quotienscumque funus aliquod Corneliae gentis
celebrandum est, inde petitur, unique illi instar atrii
Capitolium est.

Again this appears like a comment made from a background of personal knowledge, similar in some respects to Pliny's references to statues as tokens of recognition of achievement. But it is disconcerting to notice that at IV.I.6 Valerius refers to Africanus' refusal of comprehensive honours, including statues in comitio, in curia, in ipsa Iovis optimi maximi cella. It seems that Valerius took these bits of information from different sources, without feeling the necessity to bring them into line with one another. Such an attitude to the monumental exempla tradition becomes more fully

comprehensible when Valerius' general understanding of the Roman tradition is examined (see chapter three).

Valerius acquired his material concerning monuments (and art in general) in a very haphazard way from annalists, orators and antiquarians; incorporating, with stylistic variation, observations and judgements made by more knowledgeable observers. His method in this area is in direct contrast with Pliny's ability to transmit in a well-informed and comprehensive manner antiquarian research of previous generations. Whereas Pliny's notices are a helpful guide to the social and political role of art and architecture, just to take two of the more obvious subjects for comparison, Valerius' references, while showing a degree of superficial interest, fail to reveal much knowledge or familiarity. (1)

-
- (1) Use of Varronian items may be conjectured in V.M.II.4.1-7 (see B. Krieger, Quibus fontibus Valerius Maximus usus sit, Berlin 1883, pp.61-62). Valerius' isolated reference at II.4.6 to the role of Q.Catulus in introducing vela for the benefit of spectators should be compared with Pliny's historical excursus on the theme - NH XIX.23-25 (see also discussion below p.32n1). On Valerius' knowledge of art and artists the following observations may be made. In II.5.1, writing concerning the gilded statue of M. Acilius Glabrio, he gives material that is also found in the annalistic tradition (see Livy XL.34), but fails to mention two crucial matters - the location of the statue and the senatus consultum. In VIII.14.5, concerning C.Fabius' paintings, Valerius shows a degree of disapproval of the activity - an attitude not found in NH XXXV.19. When Valerius' material on Zeuxis (III.7. ext.3) is compared with Pliny's (ibid. 60 and 61) it emerges that Valerius gives a different anecdote and, more importantly, lacks the reference to the fact that Zeuxis' Helena was to be found in Rome. In VIII.12 ext.2 (concerning Philo the architect and the Athenians, also in De Orat. 1.62) and

.../over

footnote cont.

NH VII.125 there is an overlap of material, but Valerius omits to mention the capacity of the dockyard. VIII.12 ext.3 is an exemplum referring to Apelles (as is clear from NH XXXV.85), but in Valerius' version the name of the artist is not given. Similarly in VIII.11.6 and 7 (NH XXXV.73 and 104 respectively), where V. is not concerned with identifying the artists involved. On these passages, see G. Becatti, Arte e Gusto negli Scrittori Latini, Sansoni 1951, pp.145-9.

CHAPTER 2

"ANTIQUARIANS, IMAGINES AND EXEMPLA"

For orators the notion of a mos maiorum may have been a convenient abstraction, but antiquarians gave substance and detail to the Roman tradition, exploring in their work the legal, social, cultural and religious institutions of antiquity. This research built up a vast panorama of Rome's origins and growth, giving a picture that was unified not by the rhetorical conventions of historiography proper (e.g. speeches, battle scenes, episodes highlighting domestic violence and social conflict) but by the underlying assumption of the need to catalogue and chart a multiplicity of changes in institutions and social usage. (1)

-
- (1) In order to appreciate the value of these antiquarian studies as history, see the discussion of the nature of historical investigation in J. H. Plumb, The Death of the Past, Pelican pbk. 1973, pp. 84-85. Particularly helpful is his conception of the scope of historical enquiry. This visualizes historians as giving attention to the manifold aspects of human existence - language, religion, economics, politics: in short, sees them as ideally aiming to investigate the totality of man's social and cultural setting. This notion of total history owes a great deal to the Annales school of French historiography (see M. Aymard, "The Annales and French historiography", Journal of Economic History, 1972, pp.491-511). Without wishing to take the comparison too far, it is illuminating to observe a degree of similarity in the directions and aims of antiquarians like Varro and modern historians like Marc Bloch (see comments on Bloch's method by F.R.H. Du Boulay in Land and Work in Mediaeval Europe, London 1966, pp.vii-xii).

In depicting the positive aspects of civilization antiquarians offered exempla of praiseworthy human achievement, but, in so far as they detailed innovations in luxury and ostentation, their exempla also illustrated the negative side of the civilizing process. Antiquarian literature was a great storehouse of disciplined reflection on ancient and contemporary mores. It is the purpose of this chapter to demonstrate the nature of the exempla material generated by antiquarian studies and, in the course of the discussion, to define more precisely the historical character of this research. (1)

The historical work of first century antiquarians remains largely outside the scope of modern students of Roman historiography, though an important step towards a proper assessment of it was made in 1972 by E. Rawson in her article "Cicero the Historian and Cicero the Antiquarian". (2) Cicero's relation to the antiquarian tradition is discussed with reference to his method in De Re publica, De Legibus, and particularly in the Brutus which she defines as "among other things, Cicero's most sustained, sensitive and successful historical achievement". Cicero's and Atticus' scholarship has recently been further illuminated by G.V. Sumner in The Orators in Cicero's "Brutus": Prosopography and Chronology. (3)

-
- (1) The Roman tradition of government is posited in Cicero's De Re publica as the noblest human achievement - e.g. I.70 and II. 1-3 (citing the auctoritas of Cato).
 - (2) JRS, lxii, 1972, pp.33-45.
 - (3) Toronto 1973, see especially pp.161-176.

From these investigations it is clear that, as Badian put it, both Cicero and Atticus could be seen to be "logical and scholarly to an extent which moderns only too often deny to the ancients". (1) Rawson's conclusion is that a history written by Cicero, with Atticus' assistance, not only would have been "a greater achievement than most of his philosophical works; but that, following his standard and example, we should take care not to be over-indulgent to much ancient historical writing on the grounds that ancient standards were altogether different from our own. Different in some ways they were; it was not necessary that they should be low". (2)

But given such standards, it is not surprising that the Ciceronian ideal, sketched in De Oratore II.51, occurs only once in Rome:

"Such a man, both artist and scholar, is the complete historian of antiquity. None such ever sat down to write the history of early Rome. But for a time not far from his own Tacitus at last played the role with some authority and gave Rome the great historian that Cicero and his friends knew she lacked." (p.45)

This conclusion reveals a limitation in Rawson's approach. The perspective adopted is satisfactory only in so far as it allows a fuller

(1) "Cicero and the Commission of 146", Hommages à Marcel Renard, Brussels, 1969, 1, p.65.

(2) Rawson, op. cit., p.44.

appreciation of the achievement of Tacitus and Cicero's anticipation of it in De Oratore, but it leaves little sympathy for the rest of Roman historiography. Therefore, in the last analysis, there seems to be little point in making a distinction between "antiquarianism" and "historiography proper", particularly if the latter is found to be fully realized only in the work of Tacitus.

However, by reviving enquiry into the antiquarian background of Cicero's scholarship, Rawson opens the way to a more inclusive approach, one that allows Cicero and Tacitus due recognition and at the same time views with interest and understanding the whole complex field of Roman investigations of their city's institutional and cultural past. This will be the method adopted in the following analysis.

Interest in Roman antiquities formed a common bond between Cicero, Atticus and Varro. It was not merely a bond of scholarship, for there was much in it that revealed commitment to shared principles and enduring values in times of political and social dislocation. In her analysis of their work E. Rawson makes an explicit connection between political developments in the fifties and the growth of antiquarian research. (1) This suggestion gives a very useful framework for an interpretation of Roman antiquarianism in the second half of the first century. Even if Varro's Res humanae were not written ca. 56 B.C. this need not

(1) Ibid. p.35 - "But just as the crisis of the late second century had stimulated a first flowering of antiquarianism, the breakdown of Republican order in the fifties gave the impulse for a second."

invalidate Rawson's assumption that Varro was one of Cicero's antiquarian sources in the De re publica. (1)

The nature of Varro's investigations and the substance of some of his conclusions must have been well-known to Cicero at the time, though as Horsfall shows we cannot be certain that Ad Att. IV.14.1 (May 54) is a request to use the res humanae:

Velim domum ad te scribas, ut mihi tui libri pateant non secus, ac si ipse adesses, cum ceteri tum Varronis.

Est enim mihi utendum quibusdam rebus ex his libris ad eos quos in manibus habeo; quos, ut spero, tibi valde probabo.

That Cicero's request was for books written by Varro (and not merely purchased by him, as was suggested by Shackleton Bailey) is made clear by Atticus' subsequent communication. (2) On the evidence of Ad Att. IV.16, Atticus thought it appropriate that Cicero should make reference to Varro in his new treatise:

Varro, de quo ad me scribis, includetur in aliquem locum, si modo erit locus ... (July 54)

Atticus' position would be hard to explain if one did not take

- (1) N. Horsfall, "Varro and Caesar: Three Chronological Problems", BICS, 19, 1972, pp.120-128, suggesting that it is not "implausible to credit Varro with bringing out L.L., r.h., r.d., de sermone Latino and de poetis (inter alia) in the period 48/7 to 45/4." (p.121)
- (2) D.R.Shackleton Bailey, Cicero's Letters to Atticus, Cambridge 1965, II, p.119; E. Rawson, op.cit., p.26 n.37.

IV.14.1 as a proposal to incorporate Varronian material in the De re publica.

Cicero's reply is revealing. He does not deny that Varro should be referred to. The problem was, as he explained to Atticus, that the characters in his work could only be made to refer to persons that they had known or heard of. Thus the only possible place for Varro was in one of the prefaces. This exchange shows that Varro's contribution to the study of Roman antiquity up to 54 B.C. was already such as to elicit Cicero's request and Atticus' reminder. Even if a late dating of the Antiquitates is accepted, following Horsfall's suggestion, this evidence indicates that Varro's reputation was already established in the fifties. This is not surprising.

As early as Pompey's first consulship Varro was already writing at his request a commentarius - ex quo disceret quid facere dicereque deberet, cum senatum consuleret. (1) Whatever its precise form - brief notes or more elaborate comments (with historical precedents) on proper procedure (Gellius' information derives from what Varro later repeated (and perhaps elaborated) in his libro Epistolicarum Quaestionum quarto, addressed to Oppianus) - this was a handbook of utmost importance and sensitivity in guiding Pompey's conduct in the Senate. (2)

(1) Gell.XIV.vii. - M.Schanz-C.Hosius, Geschichte der Römischen Literatur, I, p.567; F.della Corte, Varrone, Firenze 1972, chapter IV: "Al Servizio di Pompeo"; F.Böhmer, "Der Commentarius", Hermes, 81, 1953, p.230 n.1; J.E.Skydsgaard, Varro the Scholar, Copenhagen 1968, pp.109-110.

(2) E.Rawson, Cicero, 1975, p.38; E.Gruen, The Last Generation of the Roman Republic, Berkeley 1974, p.43.

No commission of this kind would have been entrusted by Pompey to a man whose scholarship on questions of constitutional procedure was not demonstrably sound. Given that Pompey himself was not versed in such matters, he must have relied to some extent on the appraisal of Varro's worth by others. So we may assume that Varro's standing was already recognized in the seventies.

It seems likely that Varro wrote extensively while on service in Spain and perhaps even earlier. (1) Writing without libraries was not an impossibility to a young man trained in the art of memory (as we may presume Varro was; for even in later years, when he could avail himself of secretarial help for reading and dictation, his prodigious output can best be understood if we assume an agile and retentive mind, schooled in the arts of classification and memorization of disparate knowledge). (2)

Varro's investigations were in essence historical. His commentarius on senatorial procedure looked at custom and precedent:

Primum ibi ponit qui fuerint per quos more maiorum senatus
haberi soleret eosque nominat: "dictatorem, consules,
praetores, tribunos plebi, interregem, praefectum urbi",
neque alii praeter hos ius fuisse dixit facere
senatusconsultum, quotiensque usus venisset ut omnes

-
- (1) On his career prior to 70, see C. Cichorius, Römische Studien, Leipzig 1922, 191-234: also Skydsgaard, op.cit., pp.96-100.
- (2) It may well be that Varro's interest in and knowledge of art and architecture facilitated his developing an efficient technique of memory. On architectural images in mnemonics, see H. Blum, Die antike Mnemotechnik, Hildesheim 1969, pp.1-37.

isti magistratus eodem tempore Romae essent, tum quo supra ordine scripti essent, qui eorum prior aliis esset, ei potissimum senatus consulendi ius fuisse ait, deinde extraordinario iure tribunos quoque militares, qui pro consulibus fuissent, item decemviros, quibus imperium consulare tum esset, item triumviros reipublicae constituendae causa creatos ius consulendi senatum habuisse. (Gell.XIV.vii.4)

The item on the triumviral privilege is of course a later addition, but in substance the catalogue is probably similar to that given in the original commentarius. From its contents we see that Varro had already undertaken to inform himself on the subject of the early history of Rome (e.g. the decemvirate) and conceived of presenting his findings in an ordered and systematic way (see the diagram in Skydsgaard p.93) - per quos senatus haberi solet, de locis, quando, de rebus (compare the arrangement of r.d. and r.h. (as described by Augustine, CD VI.3): qui (scl.sacra) exhibeant, ubi exhibeant, quando exhibeant, quid exhibeant (r.d.); de hominibus, de locis, de temporibus, de rebus (r.h.))).

The fact that it can be shown that Varro's conception of systematizing Roman social and cultural antiquities may be traced to the seventies and consequently that his investigations developed gradually over a long period of time, gaining steadily in recognition, bears directly on Rawson's suggestion about the link between the quickening pace of antiquarian labours and increase in political instability

in the fifties. Rapidly there emerged a community of scholars, whereas prior to that Varro appears to have been alone in continuing the work of Aelius Stilo - so Acad. 1.8 and although "there may be polite exaggeration in this" (Rawson p.35), it probably does represent the earlier condition of antiquarian studies.

We have a community of scholars right at the centre of political affairs, bound by ties of amicitia, that in the decade between 54 and 45 was responsible for the production of De Re Publica, Brutus, Liber Annalis and Antiquitates. (1) It is crucial to see these works as interconnected; as being conditioned by a common climate of historical curiosity, that seems to have been aroused by the stresses being experienced by the state and its governing class. In Cicero's view, Varro's extensive investigations shaped a relevant self-image for his contemporaries:

Tum ego, "Sunt,"inquam,"ista, Varro; nam nos in nostra
urbe peregrinantis errantisque tamquam hospites tui
libri quasi domum reduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui
et ubi essemus agnoscere. (Academica I.9)

-
- (1) See D. R. Shackleton Bailey, Cicero's Letters to Atticus, I, pp.3-59, on Atticus' wide-ranging contacts with the nobility of his day. Varro was closer to Atticus than he was to Cicero, but it is important to appreciate the communications between Cicero and Varro in the first half of 46 - Fam. IX.1-7; Horsfall, BICS, 19, 1972, p.121, a series of letters that show a deeply felt mutual concern for the condition of their res publica (see particularly IX.6).

In his panegyric Cicero praises Varro's achievement of bringing together and illuminating the totality of Roman historical experience:

Tu aetatem patriae, tu discriptiones temporum, tu sacrorum iura, tu sacerdotum, tu domesticam, tu bellicam disciplinam, tu sedem regionum, locorum, tu omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum nomina, genera, officia, causas aperuisti ... (ibid)

Cicero's response demonstrates that Varro, in a very important sense, wrote history; history that presented a comprehensive and unified image of Roman customs and institutions - an image apt for a period of social fluidity and rapid political change. It was a reassuring image - stressing coherence and continuity. To the above list given by Cicero, one should add the De Lingua Latina (dedicated to him and eagerly awaited in the Academica), for Varro's study of language, particularly his obsession with etymology, is an integral part of his interest in the development of Latin civilization. It is an aspect of Varro's scholarship that most excites the ire of modern scholars. Varro seems to have been so often mistaken in his etymological speculations. Yet few, if any, would deny that in principle, etymology is one of the most fruitful ways of gaining historical knowledge about the early history of Rome. (1)

-
- (1) E.g. see the use made of etymology by R.M.Ogilvie in A Commentary on Livy I-V, Oxford 1965, and by R.E.A.Palmer in The Archaic Community of the Romans, Cambridge 1970 - giving numerous references to and comments on Varro's methodology. A sensitive exposition of Varro's linguistic theories is given by D.J.Taylor, Declinatio: A Study of the Linguistic Theory of M.T.Varro, Amsterdam 1975, particularly of the distinction made by Varro between declinatio voluntaria and naturalis (p.23 et passim), the former of which requires an historical approach (p.38).

Varro's etymological practice is based on an immense amount of historical knowledge, on ability to use antiquarian detail for telling illustration and explanation of origin and subsequent development of all manner of things (e.g. LL V. 80-91). He conceived of an inter-dependent universe in which language, history and custom explained man's existing condition and institutions (LL V. 5-13).

For instance, his explanation of places (LL V. passim) contains a mass of historical observations (e.g. V. 46 and 47), potential material for more extended exempla, and it is likely that his coverage of the matters that Cicero lists in the Academica adopted a similar procedure.

The preface to the second book of RR illustrates well the moral use that Varro made of the customs and attitudes of the maiores:

Viri magni nostri maiores non sine causa praeponēbant
rusticos Romanos urbanis. (1)

Here Varro uses an historical allusion to make a more vivid criticism of urbanization:

Igitur quod nunc intra murum fere patres familiae
correpserunt relictis falce et aratro et manus movere
maluerunt in theatro ac circo, quam in segetibus ac vinetis,
frumentum locamus qui nobis advehat, qui saturi fiamus ex
Africa et Sardinia, et navibus vindemiam condibus ex insula
Coa et Chia. (II. praef. 3)

(1) See also fr. 34 in De Gente Populi Romani, ed. P. Fraccaro, Roma 1966 - Ser. Aen. IX.600: Durum a stirpe genus Italiae disciplina et vita laudatur: quam et Cato in originibus et Varro in gente populi Romani commemorat. For depopulation of towns, see De Vita p.R. fr. 115 Riposati. On political competition - fr. 121 Riposati.

The reference to Hortensius' use of pavones (as well as other examples of current ostentation and excess in book three - e.g. III.xvii) shows clearly the kind of technique and purpose that Varro could bring to bear on contemporary customs:

Primus hos Q. Hortensius augurali aditiali cena posuisse
dicitur, quod potius factum tum luxuriosi quam severi
boni viri laudabant. Quem cito secuti multi extulerunt
eorum pretia, ita ut ova eorum denariis veneant quinis
(III.vi.6)

This is a typical formula for presenting material relating to changing customs. A similar technique of formulating exempla is adopted by Nepos, as will be shortly demonstrated. (1)

Even though Varro placed his discussion of human affairs before systematically investigating matters pertaining to the gods, his interest in preserving Rome's religious traditions was fundamental to the whole enterprise:

Cum vero deos eosdem ita coluerit colendosque censuerit
ut in eo ipso opere litterarum suarum dicat se timere ne
pereant, non incursu hostili, sed civium negligentia, de
qua illos velut ruina liberari a se dicit et in memoria
bonorum per eius modi libros recondi atque servari utiliore

(1) It is useful to compare Pliny's citation of Varronian material in NH XIV. 96 - a passage incorporating Pliny's additions concerning Caesar. Varro concluded with the example of Hortensius.

cura quam Metellus de incendio sacra Vestalia
 et Aeneas de Troiana excidio penates liberasse
 praedicatur ... (CD VI.ii)

This is a crucial programmatic statement, reinforced by two images - Metellus rescuing sacra Vestalia and Aeneas rescuing the Penates. Varro's self-image was that of another Aeneas, performing a vital and fundamental task in preserving the unifying institutions of Roman civilization. The whole of the Antiquitates provided an exemplum for Varro's contemporaries - in reviving the civic and religious traditions of the city, it furnished patterns of conduct and precedent to set against prevailing ignorance and neglect. It is not surprising that Cicero found in it security and reassurance.

Varro excelled in encyclopedic collection and systematization, Atticus specialized in matters of chronology and prosopography. His interests are closer to those of modern students of the Roman nobility, who often find his purpose and methodology comprehensible and congenial. (1)

If we keep in mind the terms in which Cicero lauded Varro's work in the Academica, we can see how closely they resemble his praise of Atticus' Liber Annalis:

(1) Sumner, op. cit., pp.161-176

Istae vero, inquam, Brute, non modo delectationem mihi sed etiam, ut spero, salutem attulerunt.

Salutem? inquit ille. Quodnam tandem genus istuc tam praeclarum litterarum fuit?

An mihi potuit, inquam, esse aut gratior ulla salutatio aut ad hoc tempus aptior quam illius libri quo me hic adfatus quasi iacentem excitavit?

Tum ille: Nempe eum dicis, inquit, quo iste omnem rerum memoriam breviter et, ut mihi quidem visum est, perdilingenter complexus est?

.....

Tum Atticus: Optatissimum mihi quidem est quod dicis; sed quid tandem habuit liber iste quod tibi aut novum aut tanto usui posset esse?

Ille vero et nova, inquam, mihi quidem multa et eam utilitatem quam requirebam, ut explicatis ordinibus temporum uno in conspectu omnia viderem. Quae cum studiose tractare coepissem, ipsa mihi tractatio litterarum salutaris fuit admonuitque, Pomponi, ut a te ipso sumerem aliquid ad me reficiendum teque remunerandum si non pari, at grato tamen munere ... (Brutus 3-4)

Here Atticus' compendious treatment of Roman history helps to return Cicero to health and inspires him to undertake further study; in the Academica, Varro's output is alleged to produce a similar

awakening to reality - nos in nostra urbe peregrinantis errantisque tamquam hospites tui libri quasi domum reduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui et ubi essemus agnoscere. A sense of identity, a sense of self is re-established.

Recent work on Cicero's Brutus has confirmed the depth of the debt to Atticus and clarified the content of the Liber Annalis itself (1) We have an informative description of the treatise in Nepos' Vita Attici 18:

Moris etiam maiorum summus imitator fuit antiquitatisque amator, quam adeo diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam totam in eo volumine exposuerit quo magistratus ordinavit. Nulla enim lex neque pax neque bellum neque res illustris est populi Romani, quae non in eo suo tempore sit notata, et, quod difficilimum fuit, sic familiarum originem subtexit, ut ex eo clarorum virorum propagines possimus cognoscere.

From this description it appears that the compendium contained a list of magistrates (possibly only consuls - for Cicero has to use Libo's Liber Annalis for determining Tuditanus' praetorship in Ad Att. XIII.30) and a brief conspectus of laws, wars and other memorable events arranged suo tempore. (2)

(1) See G.V.Sumner, op. cit., 161-176.

(2) Fragments in H. Peter, HRR, II, pp.6-8. Extensive discussion in C. St.Clair, Ancient Chronography and the Latin Chronographic Tradition from Cornelius Nepos to Sulpicius Severus, Ph.D. Cornell, 1972, pp.67-77

In the Orator 120 Cicero visualizes the Liber Annalis as being of particular importance to an orator as a source-book of historical exempla:

Cognoscat etiam rerum gestarum et memoriae veteris ordinem, maxime scilicet nostrae civitatis sed etiam imperiosorum populorum et regum illustrium. Quem laborem nobis Attici nostri levavit labor qui conservatis notatisque temporibus, nihil cum illustre praetermitteret, annorum septingentorum memoriam uno libro colligavit ... Commemoratio autem antiquitatis exemplorumque prolatio summa cum delectatione et auctoritatem orationi affert et fidem.

Cicero's thought moves here from an assertion of the need for a comprehensive knowledge of antiquity to praise of Atticus' liber and then to the practical aspect of the matter - the actual use of exempla in orations, to give them delectatio, auctoritas and fides.

An important feature of the liber was its information on the origines of noble families (see Nepos, Atticus 18 above). It is not clear what form this information took, but, given the brief compass of the treatise, it is difficult to believe that elaborate stemmata were included in addition to filiation and cognomina. (1)

(1) On cognomina and filiations as features of the Liber Annalis, see F. Münzer, "Atticus als Geschichtsschreiber", Hermes, XL, 1905, pp.58-61; C. St.Clair, op. cit., pp.73-74

However, although we cannot be sure about the exact dimensions of this prosopographical aspect of the Liber Annalis, it emerges from Nepos' admiring remarks that the insertion of such particulars of genealogy in the book was regarded as a remarkable feat, one that we may presume impressed others as well as Nepos by its difficulty. Prosopography of some systematic and strikingly compact kind was an integral and commented-on part of Atticus' conspectus, enabling its readers to trace the descent of prominent (consular) Romans.

Collecting and arranging information about members of noble families was Atticus' most fruitful field of scholarly activity. Clearly he liked this work, for Cicero has no hesitation in supplying him with requests and demanding speed of execution. On 15 March 45 Cicero asks for information about Cn. Caepio (1):

Velim me facias certiore proximis litteris, Cn. Caepio,
Serviliae Claudi pater, vivone patre suo naufragio perierit
an mortuo, item Rutilia vivone C. Cotta, filio suo, mortua
sit an mortuo. Pertinent ad eum librum, quem de luctu
minuendo scripsimus. (Ad Att. XII.20.2)

Sumner is right in inferring that Atticus must have supplied the information relevant to Caepio immediately (p.162), for on 18 March, the matter in doubt only concerns Rutilia:

De Rutilia quoniam videris dubitare, scribes ad me, cum scies,
sed quam primum, et num Clodia D. Bruto consulari, filio suo,

(1) Identification disputed, see Sumner, op. cit., pp.162-163

mortuo vixerit. Id de Marcello aut certe de Postumia sciri potest , illud autem de M. Cotta aut de Syro aut de Satyro. (Ad Att. XII. 22.2)

Sumner suggests a plausible explanation for Atticus' speed in complying with Cicero's request concerning Caepio. He is named as the father of a Servilia. Material relevant to the Servilii could have been already collected by Atticus for his study of M. Brutus' family. This work is mentioned by Nepos (Atticus 18) and later in the year Cicero alludes (Ad Att. XIII.40.1 - early August 45) to some artistic arrangement of its prosopographical material in Brutus' "Parthenon". (1) Information relevant to the background of Brutus' mother Servilia was therefore probably immediately to hand. Not so that concerning Rutilia. (2)

In Ad Att. XII.20.2 Cicero did not give any suggestions to Atticus about possible sources. In Ad Att. XII.22.2 he is anxious to ensure that his request concerning Clodia is speedily attended to - Atticus could consult Marcellus or Postumia. The reference to Marcellus (cos.50 - Sumner, p.163) in this context is interesting, for we know

-
- (1) On Ad Att.XIII.40.1, see Shackleton Bailey, vol. v, pp.388-389. It seems that this display featured Brutus' descent from Ahala - a genealogical link that did not require Atticus' researches to be merely asserted (as on the coinage of 54 - see M.Crawford, RRC, I,no.433), but one that may have gained somewhat in credibility because of them.
- (2) Sumner, op.cit., p.163 discusses how Cicero expected Atticus to obtain the necessary information.

that Atticus wrote on the Claudii Marcelli (Nepos, Atticus 18) for him, though we do not know when he did this work. (1) It may be that at this time Cicero was not aware of the extent to which Atticus was familiar with the relevant material, or it may be that Cicero knew that his researches into the Claudii Marcelli were not far advanced and consequently made his suggestion. It is hard to get much out of the letter about the depth of Atticus' own knowledge; it merely reveals Cicero's assumptions concerning it. However, one point does emerge consistently through this exchange, and this is Atticus' willingness to serve Cicero's practical needs in matters involving genealogy. (2)

Cicero was not alone in turning to Atticus for prosopographical information. It has already been noticed that he wrote family histories for M. Brutus and C. Marcellus. Nepos' description of this work indicates its contemporary relevance:

Fecit hoc idem separatim in aliis libris, ut M. Bruti rogatu Iuniam familiam a stirpe ad hanc aetatem ordine enumeraverit, notans qui a quoque ortus, quos honores quibusque temporibus

-
- (1) R.Syme, The Roman Revolution, Oxford pbk. 1960, pp.43-44, discusses the re-emergence of the Claudii Marcelli into prominence with consuls in 51, 50 and 49. In the light of this political revival, which must have been accompanied by some publicity of the family's former honores and res gestae, it is likely that C. Claudius Marcellus' request came in the years preceding the actual gaining of these consulships.
- (2) Ad Att. XXII.24.2 (20 March 45) - Cicero assumes that Atticus may be relied on to come up with the desired information without hints as to sources.

cepisset; pari modo Marcelli Claudii de Marcellorum,
 Scipionis Cornelii et Fabii Maximi Fabiorum et Aemiliorum.
 Quibus libris nihil potest esse dulcius iis qui aliquam
 cupiditatem habent notitiae clarorum virorum. (1)

Writing these books was clearly not a matter of mechanical prosopography, for, as Nepos' praise of them demonstrates, they were something more than verbal diagrams. They must have contained some material that described in a telling way the accomplishment of the various members of each family, serving the dual purpose of publicity and instruction.

Q. Fabius Maximus (cos.suff.45), grandson of Allobrogicus, was referred to by Cicero in highly complimentary terms in 56 (In Vat.28), being depicted as a worthy heir of a glorious family tradition:

Nihil Maximus fecit alienum aut sua virtute aut
 illis viris clarissimis, Paullis, Maximis, Africanis,
quorum gloriam huius virtute renovatam non modo
speramus, verum etiam iam videmus ...

-
- (1) On these histories, see D.R.Shackleton Bailey, I, p.9; Münzer, "Atticus als Geschichtsschreiber", Hermes, XL, 1905, pp.93-100; Peter, HRR II, pp.xxviii - xxix; G.V.Sumner, op.cit., pp.164-165. The history of the Fabii was written for Q. Fabius Maximus (cos.suff.45), compiled prior to 31 December of 45 (when he died - Cicero, Ad Fam.VII.30.1; NH VII.181). Sumner thinks it obvious that the Cornelius Scipio is not Metellus Scipio (cos.52 - as Münzer, Hermes, XL, 1905, p.97; Shackleton Bailey, p.9), considering it probable that he is P. Cornelius (Scipio), cos. suff.35, but offers no justification for such an assertion.

The compliment is suggestive, particularly in the light of his restoration of the Fornix Fabianus, for it points to Fabius' image as a man reviving ancient family virtus - that of Paullus, Cunctator and Africanus. His request to Atticus for a history of the Fabii and Aemilii, whenever it was made, points to an avowed interest to publicize the achievements of the two families on the basis of independent scholarship. (1)

Weinstock considers this Fabius as the likely promoter of the story of Cunctator's award of corona graminea, suggesting that he set up in the restored Fornix Fabianus a group of statues showing the crowning and an inscription recording Fabius' saving of the state. Even if there were no statues or inscriptions referring to the ceremony, it is still possible that Atticus's work made use of this kind of material. (2)

- (1) IIS 43; 43a; Broughton, 11, p.201. Weinstock, Divus Iulius, pp. 151-152. As with the Claudii Marcelli, this publicity followed a period of declining family fortunes.
- (2) Weinstock, op.cit., p.152 n.1; if Weinstock is correct in his conjecture, then, on the basis of NH XXII.10, Cunctator may have been shown as being crowned by Italia; see below chapter six for discussion of antiquarian interest in the corona graminea. Weinstock's argument depends on the story of Fabius' award being muted by the Fabii when their links with the Aemilii became close (pp.150-151). However, he offers no reason for this apparently pro-Fabian story being recalled by the consul of 45, particularly as his aim is attested to be that of harmonizing family traditions (see In Vat. 28 above). Is it likely that he would be responsible for reviving memories of the ancient images of rivalry between the Fabii and the Aemilii? If he is the man responsible for the re-emergence of the story and its monumental representation, it may very well be that neither he (nor Atticus for that matter) saw any contradiction between this honour to Fabius Maximus Cunctator and a due recognition of Africanus' gloria.

It is not inconceivable that these books De familiis included very brief accounts of the res gestae (or at least of one notable exploit) of each outstanding (consular) member of the Iunii, Claudii Marcelli, Fabii and Aemilii. There is no reason to doubt Atticus' ability to condense and arrange historical detail. Notitia clarorum virorum is imprecise, but it need not preclude us from supposing that readers found in De familiis references to distinctive contributions made by a nobilis to attain his claritas. It is helpful to think of such notices as skeletal exempla, brief descriptions or allusions, recalling by word or phrase key historical events. Nepos, in introducing his description of Atticus' historical interests, writes:

Moris etiam maiorum summus imitator fuit antiquitatisque
amator ...

Prosopography for Atticus was an expression of his love and devotion to the Roman tradition. Imitator is telling. Atticus worked on his families because he saw in that labour a way of bringing the standards of antiquity before his contemporaries. This was not merely a love of finding dates of birth and filiations - these were the necessary preliminaries which he, no doubt, enjoyed; in themselves such details could not inspire imitation of conduct or love of ancient precept and example. Given what Nepos tells us about Atticus (and what we learn indirectly from Cicero), it is natural to assume that the respective De familiis contained matters that could inspire imitation and evoke memories of achievement and moral standard.

It is thus also natural to assume that there was much in common between these books and the poetical Imagines:

Attigit quoque poeticen, credimus, ne eius expers esset
suavitatis. Namque versibus qui honore rerumque gestarum
amplitudine ceteros populi Romani praestiterunt exposuit
ita, ut sub singulorum imaginibus facta magistratusque
eorum non amplius quaternis quinisque versibus
descripserit; quod vix credendum sit tantas res tam
breviter potuisse declarari. (Atticus 18) (1)

Again Nepos expresses admiration for the technical aspect. Atticus managed a truly remarkable verse abridgement of the career of each of his subjects. Here we have a clear reference to facta and magistratus. The imagines were of those who exceeded all others in the number of their offices and in the scope of their res gestae. So we are not dealing with a list of magistrates, but a selection bringing out the element of accumulation of offices and distinctive exploits.

A comparison with Virgil's list of great Romans in Aeneid VI may help in appreciating the nature of Atticus' selection and presentation. In Virgil we are able to observe the technique of conveying the essential significance of a particular historical figure:

(1) Malcovati's text is given above for namque versibus; Halm gives nam de viris.

Quin Decios Druscosque procul saevumque securi
aspice Torquatum et referentem signa Camillum. 825

.....

aspice, ut insignis spoliis Marcellus opimis
 ingreditur victorque viros supereminet omnis. 856

Torquatus, Camillus and Marcellus stand out here as exempla, each allusion evokes a visual image and a context, eliciting from the reader a response to the achievement alluded to. Forcefully, economically, different kinds of virtus (e.g. Torquatus' and Camillus') are displayed and a distinctive niche is allotted to each one in the historical gallery. (1)

Atticus' Imagines were probably more immediately striking in this regard than Virgil's poetic catalogue, for the arrangement, with verses placed under each imago, allowed for a close relationship between the portrait and the res gestae - the emblem of the one being explained and amplified by the other (e.g. emblems such as axes for Brutus and Torquatus, standards for Camillus, spolia for Marcellus). It may be

-
- (1) The list is comprehensively reviewed with exceptional insight by N. Horsfall, "Virgil, History and the Roman Tradition", Prudentia, 8, 1976, pp. 73-89, see particularly pp. 82-85. As part of his discussion of the background of Virgil's Heldenschau, Horsfall refers (p. 84 n. 97) to the books of Imagines by Atticus and Varro, noting also (p. 84 n. 95, citing L. Delaruelle, Rev. Arch., 1913, I, pp. 153 ff.) that some of Virgil's figures (Alban kings, Romulus, Numa, Camillus and Marcellus) "are strongly suggestive of representations in commemorative statuary". On the images of Torquatus, Camillus and Marcellus here, see Servius, Aen. VI. 824-825; 855: E. Norden, Aeneis Buch VI, Stuttgart 1957, pp. 330-339. On Virgil's use of Ennius in the treatment of the Roman heroic tradition, see M. Wigodsky, Virgil and Early Latin Poetry, Wiesbaden 1972, pp. 71-73.

said that these Imagines achieved a fusion of the literary and the monumental exempla traditions (assuming that the pictures represented busts or whole statues, though it is possible that they were copies of wax imagines themselves).

Horsfall explores the "ideological links" between Virgil's list and the elogia in the Forum of Augustus: Momigliano points to the influence of Varro and Atticus on the Forum. (1) Both suggestions point to worthwhile lines of enquiry. There are conceptual links between Atticus, Virgil and Augustan elogia, at least. (2)

Momigliano considers that Atticus was inspired by Varro (taking it that Varro was working on the Hebdomades in 44 - "if Cicero Ad Att. XVI.II.3 alludes to this work"). (3) This is possible. The two men

- (1) N. Horsfall, Prudentia, 8, 1976, p.83: "Chronology precludes the establishment of any secure connexion between Forum and poem, but though there are few enough actual heroes in common, the ideological links are clear enough." - see also note 94. A.Momigliano, The Development of Greek Biography, 1971, p.98, T. Frank, "Augustus, Virgil and the Augustan elogia", AJP, lix, 1938, pp.91-94.
- (2) H.T.Rowell, "Virgil and the Forum of Augustus", AJP, lxii, pp.261-276, drawing attention to the effigies in the regia of Picus - Aen.vii.177-191. The amount of emblematic detail given by Virgil there (e.g. curvam servans sub imagine falcem/Saturnusque senex... and ipse Quirinali lituo parvaque sedebat/succinctus trabea laevaque ancile gerebat/Picus, equum domitor) is striking and suggests that influence of existing statuary may have been at work, though not necessarily that of Augustus' Forum.
- (3) Momigliano, The Dev. of G. Biography, p.96.

were probably aware of their mutual projects generally, so Atticus may have got the idea from Varro. On the other hand, there is no need to exclude the possibility that Atticus influenced Varro.

Varro's Hebdomades (Gell. III.10 and 11; Pliny NH XXXV.II) was a much more extensive compendium of human achievement, mingling Romans and foreigners, which must have taken a long time to compile and produce. We know that Varro was working on some part or version of it in the twelfth hebdomad of his life (Gell. III.10), i.e. in 32 B.C. It achieved wide circulation in the Roman world (Pliny - in omnes terras misit); Gellius read it and it was familiar to Ausonius (Moselle 305 - 317) and Symmachus (Ep.1.2). (1)

Whereas Atticus concentrated on the Roman tradition of political and military success, Varro lavishly spread his wings over seven hundred individuals - ranging from statesmen to architects. If Atticus did obtain the initial idea of an illustrated compendium from Varro, he clearly gave it a different embodiment. If the influence worked the other way, Varro, with characteristic curiosity and generosity, took a wider span. In its encyclopedic compass his illustrated gallery is less likely to be the conceptual mentor of Augustan elogia.

-
- (1) When Pliny refers to these two works, in the context of his discussion of imagination amor, he places Atticus before Varro and distinguishes Varro's imagines by reason of their greater number and inclusiveness. On the Hebdomades, see F.Ritschl, Opuscula Philologica, Leipzig 1877, vol.III, p.508-592; L.Mercklin, Philologus, XIII, 1858, pp.742-749; K.Weitzmann, Ancient Book Illumination, Cambridge (Mass.) 1959, pp.116-117; N.Horsfall's review of R.Daut, Imago: Untersuchungen zum Bildbegriff der Römer, Bibliothek der klassischen Altertumswissenschaften 1975 (CA - forthcoming).

Atticus' Images developed naturally from his interests in the maiores and in brevity. The latter could be an effective vehicle for conveying complex historical patterns and thus encourage understanding and imitation of a large number of res gestae of antiquity. From what we know of Varro, brevitas was not his instinctual response. Yet Jerome attributed to him a number of abridgements - he condensed the Antiquitates into nine books, Images into four, De lingua Latina into nine. (1) These could have been genuine summaries or selections. (2) What they do show is that Varro was aware that to make his research accessible to a wide audience he had to abbreviate. High cost of books probably made such condensation inevitable. (3) Both Atticus and Varro were thus not only scholars, but also popularizers of their research.

Given Atticus' reputation and (of course) connections with prominent nobiles, it is not surprising that young Octavian made efforts to cultivate his friendship (Nepos, Atticus 20) and sought from him historical information:

nullus dies temere intercessit quo non ad eum
scriberet, cum modo aliquid de antiquitate ab eo
requireret ...

(1) C.Schanz-M.Hosius, op. cit., p.556

(2) Skydsgaard, op. cit., p.106

(3) A.Marshall, "Library resources and creative writing at Rome", Phoenix, 30, 1976, pp.252-264

Aliquid de antiquitate is admittedly vague as a description of the kinds of matters that Octavian wished to be informed, yet it is hard to believe that these were requests for the prosopographical minutiae of the type that interested Cicero. It is more likely that Octavian, whose studies were interrupted by the events following Caesar's murder, chose to ask Atticus for exempla, for patterns of conduct of the maiores, for precedents in antiquity that might sustain him in facing up to the problems of the day. That Octavian might have wished to know more about the general history of consular families and their past connections (and of course rivalries) is also possible. His interest would have been practical, for at his age he certainly lacked the necessary background to operate in the sensitive, inter-related world of the nobiles. It was not only his youth that made him an outsider, as hostile propaganda of Antonius highlighted - Suet. Aug. 2. (1)

Later in life it was Augustus' habit, when reading Roman and Greek literature, to extract useful exempla:

In evolvendis utriusque linguae auctoribus nihil aequè sectabatur, quam praecepta et exempla publice vel privatim salubria, eaque ad verbum excerpta aut ad domesticos aut ad exercituum provinciarumque rectores aut ad urbis magistratus plerumque mittebat, prout quique monitione indigerent. (Suet. Aug. 89)

(1) K.Scott, "The Political Propaganda of 44-30 B.C.", MAAR, xi, 1933, p.12.

This reference gives us a fascinating glimpse of the indirect way that Augustus communicated his sentiments and admonitions to the various rectores. (1) It shows that Augustus, inspired by the moral force of what he read, spontaneously sent on a precept or an exemplum to members of his household and, more significantly, to imperial administrators. (2)

If such had been his later response to reading, sensitive and with an eye on immediate application, then it is likely that as a young man he would have found Atticus' work on the res gestae of famous Romans absorbing and relevant. It is very likely that he possessed a copy. Nepos gives us another valuable reference that helps to clarify the relationship between the two men. It was Atticus who advised Octavian to begin the restoration of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius (Atticus 20):

...cum aedis Iovis Feretrii in Capitolio, ab Romulo
constituta, vetustate atque incuria detecta prolaberetur,
ut Attici admonitu Caesar eam reficiendam curaret. (3)

Apart from showing Atticus' concern for preservation and restoration of ancient monuments, this points to the possibility that it was

- (1) It is curious that this section of the passage is not discussed by F. Millar in his recent book The Emperor in the Roman World, London 1977, p.85
- (2) Noteworthy also was his use of Germanicus and his children as exempla in support of his moral legislation (Suet. Aug. 34 - manu vultuque significans ne gravarentur imitari iuvenis exemplum.)
- (3) R.M. Ogilvie, op. cit., 565.

Atticus who suggested to Octavian the development of a connection with Romulus. And it was Romulus bearing the spoils that appeared in Augustus' Forum:

Hinc videt Iliaden humeris ducis arma ferentem,

Claraque dispositis acta subesse viris.

(Ovid, Fasti V.565-6) (1)

Atticus inspired Octavian with Romulus' exemplum, at least in the case of the temple of Jupiter Feretrius.(2) In the Res Gestae Augustus conceives of his contribution to the res publica in terms of exempla:

Legibus novi[s] m[e] auctore [i]atis m[ulta] e] xempla
maiorum excolescentia iam ex nostro [saecul]o red[uxi]
et ipse] multarum rer[um exe]mpla imitanda pos[teris]
tradidi]. (RG 8)

By his conduct he has generated exempla for others to imitate, just as he, by implication, imitated those of the maiores. The sentiments are similar to those expressed in his edict announcing the establishment of his Forum:

Proximum a dis immortalibus honorem memoriae ducum
praestitit, qui imperium p. R. ex minimo maximum
reddidissent. Itaque et opera cuiusque manentibus

-
- (1) P.Zanker, Forum Augustum: das Bildprogramm, Tübingen 1970, pp.16-17; H.T.Rowell, "The Forum and Funeral Imagines of Augustus", MAAR, XVII, 1940, pp.131-43.
- (2) Ogilvie, op.cit., p.71; Varro wrote on the spolia opima and Verrius (Festus 204L) made use of his investigations, see below the discussion of Verrius.

titulis restituit et statuas omnium triumphali
 effigie in utraque fori sui porticu dedicavit,
 professus et edicto: commentum id se, ut ad illorum
 vitam velut ad exemplar et ipse, dum viveret, et
 insequentium aetatum principes exigerentur a civibus.
 (Suet. Augustus 31.5)

Without straining the evidence surveyed up to this point, it is possible to conclude that antiquarian research forms an important background to Augustus' approach to history. (His discussion with Livy on the matter of Cossus' consulship (IV.20), whatever its political implications, show Augustus proceeding as an antiquarian would - citing a document rather than a string of authorities).

Conception of individual principes (the term in Augustus' edict), or those qui honore rerumque gestarum amplitudine ceteros populi Romani praestiterunt (formulation of Atticus' Imagines), posits them as exemplars - each an illustration of the essence of the Roman tradition, each a micro-cosm of Roman virtus. Here we have one aspect of a varied exempla tradition. This is its systematic and coherent aspect - the tradition conceived of as a pattern of individual excellence in the service of the state (e.g. the respective contributions of M. Valerius Maximus (ILS 50 - reconciliation between the plebs and the patres at home, victory in the field) and Q. Fabius Maximus (ILS 56 - military success,

rescue of Minucius and his army). (1)

Atticus' passion for prosopography was not idiosyncratic, he was certainly not the only one of his contemporaries to undertake extensive investigations in the field of noble families. What we know of the work of Valerius Messalla Rufus (cos. 53), Hortensius' nephew, is worth examining in relation to previously discussed material. (2)

He wrote a treatise De Auspiciis (a subject that other augurs also treated - Gell. XIII.14.1). (3) Its contents were wide-ranging, notably in matters of constitutional practice. One of the surviving

- (1) For the possible influence of Augustan elogia on subsequent literary tradition, see G. Schön, Die Elogien des Augustusforum und der liber de viris illustribus, Cilli 1895 and L. Braccesi, Introduzione al de viris illustribus, Bologna 1973, see pp.1-31.
- (2) R. Syme, The Roman Revolution, pp.62; 69; 165; 377; Sallust, p.225. As a young man he was co-opted into the augural college by Sulla in 81 (Macrob. 1.9.14), he was thus an augur for fifty-five years. Gruen, *op. cit.*, p.61 defines him as a firm opponent of Pompey (on the strength of Ad Att. IV.9). This is too strong a formulation. Ad Att. IV.9 (Venit (Pompeius) etiam ad me in Cumanum a se. Nihil minus velle mihi visus est quam Messallam consulatum petere - 27 April 55) tells us what Cicero's impression was of Pompey's position, it tells us nothing about Messalla's attitude to Pompey, let alone reveals his enmity to him. Gruen pp.348-9 - trials of Messalla in 51 - de ambitu (Ad Fam. VIII.2.1; Ad Att. V.12.2) and under the lex Licinia de sodaliciis (Ad Fam. VIII.4.1), the latter charge resulted in conviction. M. Schanz-G.Hosius, *op. cit.*, pp.598-600 for the De Familiis and De Auspiciis; fragments of De familiis, in HRR pp.265-266; HRR 2, p.lxxviii.
- (3) Schanz-Hosius, *op. cit.*, pp.598-600.

fragments tells us that he attempted to explain why the Aventine was left outside the pomerium. (1) He gave several explanations, of these Gellius selects to highlight his preferred one - it was on the Aventine that Remus took his auspices and was less successful in his augury than Romulus:

Idcirco, inquit, omnes qui pomerium protulerunt montem
istum excluserunt, quasi avibus obscenis ominosum.

Thus we may presume the handbook contained an excursus on the enlargement of the pomerium (noting, as Gellius does in a preceding passage, Servius, Sulla and divus Iulius) and the procedures appropriate to it.

Another fragment shows Messalla writing on the nature of the auspices (fr.1, Huschke; Gell.XIII.15.4-5):

Patriciorum auspicia in duas sunt divisa potestates.
Maxima sunt consulum, praetorum, censorum.

The passage continues to discuss the rights of magistrates in the matter of conducting auspices:

Ideo neque consules aut praetores censoribus neque
censores consulibus aut praetoribus turbant aut
retinent auspicia; at censores inter se, rursus praetores
consulesque inter se, et vitiant et obtinent. Praetor, etsi
conlega consulis est, neque praetorem neque consulem iure
rogare potest, ut quidem nos a superioribus accepimus aut

(1) Gell. XIII.14.5 - fr. 3 in P.E.Huschke, Iurisprudentiae Anteiustinianae quae supersunt, Leipzig 1886.

ante haec tempora servatum est et ut in Commentario tertio decimo C. Tuditani patet, quia imperium minus praetor, maius habet consul, et a minore imperio maius aut maior a minore conlega rogari iure non potest.

Here we have concern for precedent and constitutional propriety. In another fragment Messalla turns his attention to the difference between contionem agere and contionem habere (fr. 2, Huschke; Gell. XIII.16) and the rights of magistrates in such matters:

Consul ab omnibus magistratibus et comitiatum et contionem avocare potest. Praetor et comitiatum et contionem ~~us~~quequaque avocare potest, nisi a consule. Minores magistratus nusquam nec comitiatum nec contionem avocare possunt. Ea re, qui eorum primus vocat ad comitiatum, is recte agit, quia bifarium cum populo agi non potest nec avocare alius alii potest. Set, si contionem habere volunt uti ne cum populo agant, quamvis multi magistratus simul contionem habere possunt.

The Romans may not have had a written constitution, but antiquarian studies of men like Messalla certainly supplied an elaborate substitute for it, a codification of convention and systematic discussion of procedure.

Secondly, Messalla wrote De familiis. Pliny (NH XXXV.4-8) introduces a reference to this study in the context of a fervent outburst against contemporary trends in respect of imagines:

Imaginum quidem pictura, qua maxime similes in aevum propagabantur figurae, in totum exolevit...adeo materiam conspici malunt omnes quam se nosci, et inter haec pinacothecas veteribus tabulis consuunt alienasque effigies colunt, ipsi honorem non nisi in pretio ducentes... itaque nullius effigie vivente imagines pecuniae, non suas, relinquunt...

Materialism and passion for ostentatious display has destroyed the ancient respect for a realistic execution of one's own image. It was far otherwise apud maiores:

aliter apud maiores in atriis haec erant, quae spectarentur; non signa externorum artificium nec aera aut marmora: expressi cera vultus singulis disponebantur armariis, ut essent imagines, quae comitarentur gentilicia funera, semperque defuncto aliquo totus aderat familiae eius qui umquam fuerat populus. stemmata vero lineis discurrebant ad imagines pictas. tabulina codicibus implebantur et monumentis rerum in magistratu gestarum.

An idealised account of past care and concern for family history. When did such a state of affairs actually exist? Certainly it prevailed in Polybius' day (VI.53), but it must have been severely dislocated by the multiple crises of the late Republic. There is no better evidence for this than the fact of noble families turning to an outsider like Atticus to systematize their genealogies. It may be that Pliny genuinely expresses his own views about the current situation. It is also possible

that he is echoing sentiments of an earlier observer (e.g. Messalla's preface to his De familiis.)

What he tells us next helps to clarify the issues:

Exstat Messallae oratoris indignatio, quae prohibuit inseri genti suae Laevinorum alienam imaginem. similis causa Messallae seni expressit volumina illa quae de familiis condidit, cum Scipionis Pomponiani transisset atrium vidissetque adoptione testamentaria Salvittones - hoc enim fuerat cognomen - Africanorum dedecori inrepentes Scipionum nomini. sed - pace Messallarum dixisse liceat - etiam mentiri clarorum imagines erat aliquis virtutum amor multoque honestius quam mereri, ne quis suas expeteret.

Valerius Messalla wrote his De familiis because he objected to contemporary eclecticism. From his point of view, the Salvittones had no business in the company of the Scipiones. It is likely that Pliny is quoting from the preface to De familiis in which Messalla sets out his reasons for undertaking the composition. The work was thus written as a response to laxity in the matter of proper preservation and identification of family images. Presumably the atrium of Scipio Pomponianus was not the only one that roused Messalla's passions. (1)

-
- (1) Little is known of the Salvittones, but Caesar had one representative of this Cornelian branch with him in Africa, to frustrate the ancient oracle of Scipionic invincibility - Suet. Caes. 59 (mss give both Salvito and Salutio); Weinstock, op.cit., 93. NH VII.54, referring to a member of the Scipionic gens that received his name of Salutio from a minus, may relate to the same man.

Q. Metellus Scipio's manifest ignorance of the fact that Serapio did not attain the office of censor, as well as his responsibility for an equestrian statue of Africanus with an inscription identifying it as Serapio's, may not have been untypical. (1) If so, this further emphasises the importance of such antiquarian investigations in the late Republic. They were a response by sensitive and learned men to a state of affairs that was probably not dissimilar to the one that Pliny seems to observe in his day. There must have been a great deal of confusion in noble atria, there must have been even more in the homes of clients that may have wished to honour their patrons by erecting statues (with inscriptions?) to them (Pliny NH XXXIV. 17).

True, when Galba became imperator he displayed a stemma in his atrium that showed (presumably item by item) paternam originem ad Iovem, maternam ad Pasiphaam Minonis uxorem (Suet. Galba II). Yet there is no way of testing the accuracy of this display. What would the aged Messalla have said? He did write on the Sulpicii (see below) and it may be that Galba's atrium (just as M. Brutus' "Parthenon") benefited from such correctives.

(1) Ad Att. VI.1.17; Weinstock, op.cit., p.151 n.8, on Scipio's display of the equestrian statues of his ancestors. It seems from Ad Att. VI.1.17 that the statues are of a more recent date than Weinstock's proposed 57 (the date of Scipio's aedileship). If this Scipio were not the recipient of Atticus' work on the Cornelia, he certainly deserved to be. If he were, then he either took no notice of it or received it too late in life (he committed suicide after Thapsus, April 46).

From what Pliny reports of Messalla's reasons for writing, it is logical to suppose that he wrote on the Cornelii Scipiones and other branches of the gens Cornelia. He wrote on the Servilii (Pliny NH XXXIV. 137), as did Atticus in the context of his work on the Iunii. The Servilii were a family prominent very early in Roman history. Both Livy (1.30.2) and Dionysius (III.29.7) note (1) them as being amongst the principes Albanorum that were admitted to the Senate by Tullus Hostilius. Such information was likely to be in Messalla's treatment of the Servilii. The Alban link was a way of claiming Trojan ancestry (Ascanius' founding of Alba - Livy 1.3.3-4) - a popular theme of prosopographical speculation amongst the nobiles. (2)

Messalla noted the good fortune of C. Aelius Tubero in being recovered alive from his funeral pyre (NH VII.173). According to Pliny many other authorities noted this instance of lucky survival. The item was probably included by Messalla in his coverage of the Aelii. It is interesting to speculate whether Messalla added any reflection on the affair. Pliny certainly feels that exempla of people reviving at

(1) Ogilvie, op. cit., p.123.

(2) Varro and Hyginus wrote de familiis Troianis - see T. P. Wiseman, "Legendary Genealogies in the Late-Republic", Greece and Rome, 21, 1974, p.157

inopportune moments, when the flames are about to engulf them, or instances of souls leaving the bodies and roaming about (reperimus inter exempla Hermotimi Clazomenii animam relicto corpore errare solitam vagamque e longinquo multa adnuntiare quae nisi a praesente nosci non possent, corpore interim semianimi...), confirm a pessimistic view of the human condition:

haec est conditio mortalium: ad has et eiusmodi
occasiones fortunae gignimur, ut de homine ne
morti quidem debeat credi. (*ibid*)

It is possible that Messalla added a more optimistic note. He was a man of considerable learning in religious matters and in the surviving fragments it is possible to detect a fascination with the element of the marvellous. This is what he writes of the Servilii:

verba ipsa de ea re Messallae senis ponam: Serviliorum
familia habet trientem sacrum, cui summa cum cura
magnificentiaque sacra quotannis faciunt. quem ferunt
alias crevisse, alias decrevisse videri et ex eo aut
honorem aut deminutionem familiae significare.

(NH XXXIV 137)

It is not unnatural to assume that many other exempla referring to similar events in other families were collected by him in De familiis. It was thus a work that combined basic prosopographical data with illustrations of family traditions, achievements and peculiarities, with considerable emphasis on religion.

Apart from the Cornelii, Servilii, Aelii and perhaps the Porcii Catones (Weinstock, op. cit., p.4 n.4; Gell. XIII.20.17), he must have written on his own family - Valerii Messallae. It may well be that much of the glorification of the early Valerii in Livy comes not so much from Valerius Antias as from Valerius Messalla. (1)

It is possible that an item concerning Valerius Publicola and the Secular Games in Valerius Maximus (II.4.5 - discussed in detail in the chapter "Livy and Valerius Maximus" below) comes not from Varro (as it does not fit his cycle of the Games) but from Messalla. The content and spirit of the exemplum are suggestive of such authorship.

.....

Our preceding analysis attempted to show that the genealogical researches of Atticus and Messalla were not confined to drawing up accurate stemmata. Their work was inspired by an admiration of the Roman tradition, intensified by contemporary ignorance and eclecticism. Messalla's proud denunciations of false ancestral links were probably not in tune with Atticus' sentiments. After all, he was operating more as an observer of aristocratic political posturing than as a participant in electoral struggles. Messalla (who apparently bribed his way into a

(1) See the judicious remarks of L.R.Taylor in AJP, 90, p.226 note 2 (citing Salmon, Samnium, p.197 n.3 and referring to A.A.Howard, "Valerius Antias and Livy", HSCP, XVII. 1906, pp.161-82) concerning other historians of the gens Valeria.

consulship) was a proud heir of a truly prominent tradition. It would be surprising if their respective researches did not project different sentiments and perspectives. Yet such differences of perspective and emphasis should not preclude us from supposing that there was also much that they had in common, particularly in selection and presentation of illustrative exempla.

There is no evidence to prove that, like Atticus' Imagines, Messalla's De familiis contained illustrations. However, it is not impossible that it did so. His decision to write was inspired by the sight of the imagines of the Salvittones in the atrium of Scipio Pomponianus (NH XXXV. 8, discussed above). He therefore must have assumed that his work would make the recognition of false imagines easier. This of course could have been achieved by providing correct genealogies, though provision of information on personal appearance would have facilitated the process.

In addition, if what Pliny writes at XXXV.4-7 is from the introduction to Messalla's De familiis, then this may suggest the inclusion of at least a certain number of representative imagines in it. The evidence is not conclusive, yet it shows the visual inspiration for the treatise, as well as pointing to its intention to educate its readers in the matter of spotting false displays. This De familiis was in essence a guide to atria, incomprehensible as a phenomenon outside the specific context of Roman contemporary attitudes and publicity practices. As such it cried out for illustrative imagines to accompany

the text.

It now remains to consider another aspect of the exempla tradition - collections of thematically related exempla concerning famous men. Prior to Valerius Maximus we hear of Nepos, Hyginus, Verrius Flaccus and Pomponius Rufus (the latter mentioned in V.M. IV.4. praef.). Assuming that our preceding speculations concerning Atticus' Imagines and Augustus' attitude to exempla were not far off the mark, then it is not surprising that we find Nepos and Hyginus engaged in such work.

Nepos was Atticus' protégé and biographer. It is to his diligence and admiration that we owe our knowledge of Atticus' contribution to Roman prosopography; it is probable then that his views of antiquity were moulded under Atticus' influence. We know (Atticus 18.6) that Atticus wrote in Greek a liber de consulatu Ciceronis. It may be that in that work (designed for a learned Greek audience) Atticus made allusions to appropriate Greek exempla of statesmanship and resolution in times of crisis. What is clear is that Nepos' development was more inclusive than that of Atticus, for he embraced Greek as well as Roman history. (1)

-
- (1) A. Momigliano, op.cit., pp.97-98; p.98: "With Nepos, indeed, biography acquired a new dimension. It became the means by which Greek and Roman men and achievements could be compared." T.G.McCarthy, Cornelius Nepos: Studies in his Technique of Biography, Ph.D. Michigan 1970, pp.1-45.

As we move to Nepos we lose that concentrated focus on the Roman state tradition of honores and res gestae that was the feature of Atticus' Liber Annalis and the Imagines. We are more in a world congenial to Varro, where many other aspects of civilized life are under scrutiny. Nepos' De Viris Illustribus (nineteen fragments in Malcovati's Cornelii Nepotis Quae Exstant, 1944 (1963 reprint), pp. 196-205) contained material about poets (e.g.(fr.52) Nepos argued that Terence, Aemilianus and Laelius were aequales - probably arguing so in an attempt to deny that Aemilianus and Laelius were tempted by Terence's youthful charms) and, what is particularly notable, on Latin and Greek historians.

History of historiography interested Nepos. From his material on the Latin historians comes the reference to the letters by Cornelia on Tiberius Gracchus' murder (fr.58) and the eulogy of Cicero (fr.57) in which sentiments are expressed about the history that Cicero could have written (a position strikingly similar to that adopted by E.Rawson in her article discussed above):

Ille enim fuit unus qui potuerit et etiam debuerit
historiam digna voce pronuntiare, quippe qui oratoriam
eloquentiam rudem a maioribus acceptam perpoliverit,
philosophiam ante eum incomptam Latinam sua confirmarit
oratione. Ex quo dubito, interitu eius utrum res publica
an historia magis doleat.

Nepos' references to the history of Roman historiography in the De Viris Illustribus were wide-ranging, for he noted the very interesting contribution of L. Voltacilius Pitholaus:

...Cn. Pompeium Magnum docuit, patrisque eius res gestas, nec minus ipsius, compluribus libris exposuit; primus omnium libertinorum, ut Cornelius Nepos opinatur, scribere historiam orsus, nonnisi ab honestissimo quoque scribi solitam ad id tempus. (fr.56)

Here was a social revolution in Roman historiography and Nepos had the intelligence to remark upon it. His history of Roman history writing was thus comprehensive, detailed and not lacking in judgement of worth (see the above remarks on Cicero's potential).

Of course he also wrote on the statesmen and generals in the De Viris. Judging by the fragments there must have been a great deal of material concerning Scipio Aemilianus (fr.52) and Laelius (fr.53), Cato the Elder (fr.55) and possibly the Gracchi and Pompeius Magnus, as well as Cicero (note his biography of Cicero (fr.38 and 39). He wrote on Lucullus, though we only have a fragment concerning his old age (fr.51).

Nepos' view of claritas embraced a wide range of human enterprise - political, military, artistic and historiographical. The Greek contribution is given its due (note the recognition of Roman inferiority in the eulogy of Cicero in fr.57) and the two cultures are given a unified treatment. Such approach is best understood as a logical

development from the world of ideas concerning history and culture developed by Cicero (one only has to think of his interest in assimilation and presentation of Greek ideas) and the antiquarians. Cornelius Nepos is unthinkable without Cicero, Varro and Atticus, just as "Valerius Maximus and Plutarch are unthinkable without Cornelius Nepos". (1)

Collection and accumulation of exempla would have been a natural by-product of extensive reading and note-taking. Malcovati collects no fewer than twenty-six fragments from Nepos' Exempla (fr.10-36). Not all of these are explicitly mentioned (by the relevant author) as being either from Nepos or from the Exempla. Sometimes (as in Gell. VI.19.1) the reference is merely in exemplis repositum (fr.13); sometimes the item could be from another work by Nepos. So one should proceed with caution. Nevertheless, it is possible to arrive at some definite conclusions about the content of the collection and, more importantly, its moral purpose.

Material in Gell.IV.18.1 concerning Scipio Africanus is attributed by Malcovati (fr.11, with bibliography) to Nepos' Exempla. Gellius introduces the topic in the following way:

Scipio Africanus antiquior quanta virtutum gloria praestiterit
et quam fuerit altus animi atque magnificus et qua sui
conscientia subnixus, plurimis rebus, quae dixit quaeque fecit,
declaratum est. Ex quibus sunt haec duo exempla eius fiduciae

The Dev. of G. Gior.,

(1) Momigliano, p.98; T.G.McCarthy, op.cit., pp.34-45

atque exsuperantiae ingentis.

The first sentence is likely to be directly from Nepos, from an introduction to a separate section on Africanus that listed numerous instances of his qualities (facta et dicta). (1)

It is quite possible that Nepos' collection combined thematic arrangement (e.g. selections devoted to the spreading use in Rome of such materials as purple (NH IX.137), silver (ibid. XXXIII.146-147) and marble (ibid. 48-49) - see discussion below) with a certain amount of ordering along biographic lines, to illustrate moral qualities and fortunes of particular individuals (e.g. Africanus and Cato). In a biographer the latter procedure may be assumed to have been an important influence.

Gellius selects two exempla of Africanus' fiducia in IV.18, an excerpt from a more extensive coverage of the facta et dicta depicting it (the chosen exempla originate from two distinct traditions, which gave in the one case M. Naevius as prosecutor of Africanus and in the other named the Petilii (a version influenced by Cato); on the different versions, see Livy, XXXVIII.46).

In VI.19 Gellius reports:

Pulcrum atque liberale atque magnanimum factum Tiberii
Sempronii Gracchi in Exemplis repositum est.

(1) Valerius Maximus scatters similar material under different headings; the two items cited by Gellius here are placed in the chapter (III.7.) de fiducia sui, where there are a number of other less illustrious characters - e.g. III.7.11, the exemplum of Accius, discussed by N. Horsfall, "The Collegium Poetarum", BICS, 23, 1976, pp.79-95.

Malcovati (fr.13) attributes this to Nepos' Exempla (see below Gell.VI.18, the preceding exemplum). If such assumption is accepted, Nepos' treatment of Africanus may be placed in a particular historical tradition, the one that located Gracchus' intervention on L.Scipio's behalf before the death of Africanus. This was the tradition that Valerius Antias attempted to dispute (ibid), going against the auctoritas of earlier annals, documentary evidence which Nepos apparently used (citation of a tribunician decree).

Part of Gellius VI.18 is explicitly from Nepos' fifth book of exempla (fr.12). The exemplum given illustrates the contempt with which the Romans regarded those who sought to escape the solemn obligations of their oaths - in this case during the Hannibalic war. The two individuals concerned were generally despised for failing to return to Hannibal, as their oath demanded.

Nepos recorded that many of the senators urged that they be sent back to the Carthaginians against their will. This motion was defeated, but he adds that in spite of this the position of the two men became in the long run intolerable (they were so detested) and they took their own lives. There is no doubt that this extract reveals Nepos' moralistic perspective and illustrates the moral tone of the collection. Other instances confirm this (see below pp.77-79).

It emerges that Nepos was interested in the period of the Second Punic war and in the character of Scipio Africanus, noting episodes from various stages of his career. (1)

In conclusion, it is appropriate to survey a number of exempla that may throw additional light on the moral tone of Nepos' collection. The items are preserved in Pliny's Natural History. The first is fr.28 in Malcovati (NH IX.137):

Nepos Cornelius, qui divi Augusti principatu obiit: "Me," inquit, iuvene violacea purpura vigebat, cuius libra denarius centum venibat, nec multo post rubra Tarentina. huic successit dibapha Tyria, quae in libras denariis mille non poterat emi. hac P. Lentulus Spinther aedilis curulis primus in praetexta usus improbabatur, qua purpura quis non iam, "inquit, "triclinaria facit? Spinther aedilis fuit urbis conditae anno DCXCI Cicerone cos.

Lentulus initiates a trend in luxury, an innovation that caused disapproval, though gradually customs are overwhelmed by a tide of increasing ostentation. This is a pointed illustration of historical process. Lentulus, in a sense, is to blame, yet larger responsibility is by implication placed on the community as a whole. The dating of the

(1) This interest may also be observed in Valerius Maximus - he cites Scipio Africanus more frequently than any other Roman, see T.F. Carney, "The Picture of Marius in Valerius Maximus", RhM, 105, 1962, pp.239-237. It is not inconceivable that Nepos' familiarity with the qualities and the res gestae of Africanus owed something to Atticus' work on the Aemilii.

aedileship of Lentulus is very revealing. It could well be Pliny's comment, but we should not rule out the possibility that the notice is from Nepos. Given his work on chronology and contacts with Atticus, such dating of exempla was possibly a feature of the collection. (1)

Lentulus appears in another context. Malcovati's fr. 35 (NH XXXVI.59) relates to another aspect of developing extravagance:

Onychem in Arabiae tantum montibus nec usquam aliubi nasci
putavere nostri veteres, Sudines in Carmania. potoriis
primum vasis inde factis, dein pedibus lectorum sellisque,
Nepos Cornelius tradit magno fuisse miraculo, cum P. Lentulus
Spinther amphoras ex eo Chiorum magnitudine cadorum
ostendisset, post quinquennium deinde XXXII pedum longitudinis
columnas vidisse se.

Nepos was commenting on the rapidity of change. Magno fuisse miraculo, when Lentulus displayed his huge wine jars, but it took only five years for the use of onyx to spread to columns of considerable size. Twice Nepos notices Lentulus as an innovator in extravagance and shows how ancient moderation was quickly supplanted by excess. These were hardly random observations, they must have been part of a coherent presentation of changing social habits and attitudes. (2)

-
- (1) C.St.Clair, op.cit., pp.49-67, for Nepos' chronological studies.
 - (2) It is possible that Nepos' perspective had considerable influence on the formation of Pliny's attitude in respect of moralistic reflection on the introduction into the Roman world of particular materials and objects. (See below "Pliny's response to the exempla tradition".)

Nepos commented on the spread of the use of silver in Rome
(fr.32 - NH XXXIII.146):

Cornelius Nepos tradit ante Sullae victoriam duo tantum
triclinia Romae fuisse argentea, repositoriis argentum
addi sua memoria coeptum.

The catalogue noting the various stages in the introduction of
silver to Rome in NH XXXIII.147 - 150 has no explicit reference to Nepos,
yet it is conceivable that Pliny is relying on his (or some similar)
collection:

Asia primum devicta luxuriam misit in Italiam, siquidem
L.Scipio in triumpho transtulit argenti caeli pondo mille
et CCCC et vasorum aureorum pondo MD anno conditae
urbis DLXV. at eadem Asia donata multo etiam gravius
adflixit mores, inutiliorque victoria illa hereditas
Attalo rege mortuo fuit. tum enim haec emendi Romae
in auctionibus regiis verecundia exempta est urbis
anno DCXXII, mediis LVII annis erudita civitate
amare etiam, non solum admirari, opulentiam externam,
immenso et Achaicae victoriae momento ad inpellendis
mores, quae et ipsa in hoc intervallo anno urbis DCVIII
parta signa et tabulas pictas invexit. ne quid deesset,
pariter quoque luxuria nata est et Carthago sublata, ita
congruentibus fatis, ut et liberet amplecti vitia et
liceret.

The concern for chronological precision is impressive. The compiler of this data cares about dates. He cares also for coherence and under one heading compiles a list of factors that influenced Rome's adoption of extravagance. Scipio Asiaticus, the consequences of the destruction of Corinth, the removal of Carthage, the bequest of Attalus - all are carefully dated and given their significance. Nepos' authorship is a distinct possibility.

There may be some confirmation of this in another fragment from Nepos. This is fr.34 (Pliny NH XXXVI.48):

Primum Romae parietes crusta marmoris operuisse totos
domus suae in Caelio monte Cornelius Nepos tradit
Mamurram, Formiis natum equitem Romanum, praefectum
fabrum C. Caesaris in Gallia, ne quid indignitati desit,
tali auctore inventa re. hic namque est Mamurra Catulli
Veroniensis carminibus proscissus, quem, ut res est,
domus ipsius clarius quam Catullus dixit habere
quidquid habuisset Comata Gallia. namque adicit Nepos
totis aedibus nullam nisi e marmore columnam
habuisse et omnes solidas e Carystio aut Luniensi.

The fragment again illustrates Nepos' technique - he focused on an innovation and gave a moral reflection, fitting the incident into a wider framework. It is likely that he had a coherent scheme in the Exempla allowing him to relate various innovations to one another, as well as to place them chronologically in particular periods of history.

Judging by the relevant fragments examined above, the element of personal observation was a device frequently employed. Nepos was able to cite his own experience to illustrate how far certain matters had drifted from their modest origins - in the use of silver, marble or whatever - producing as a result a much more coherent and systematic work than the Facta et Dicta of Valerius Maximus. Nepos' Exempla probably had a firmer grasp of historical development and chronology, as well as a coherent and consistently maintained moral perspective. One would not have expected less from a protégé of Atticus.

Nepos included exempla about Augustus (Suet. Augustus 77):

Vini quoque natura parcissimus erat. non amplius ter
bibere eum solitum super cenam in castris apud Mutinam,
Cornelius Nepos tradit. (1)

This is extremely suggestive. Nepos' moral perspective may have been developed with reference to the moral standard in private and public affairs established by Augustus. Augustus may have been offered as one who had gone against the grain of extravagance and lack of moderation characteristic of generations immediately preceding his own. Given Atticus' friendship with Octavian and Nepos' interest in it, this possibility should at least be considered.

Reflection on the rising tide of innovation, with attribution of blame in particular instances and selections of exempla showing discipline and imposition of rigid standards of conduct, is part of the general

(1) C. Oppius similarly on Caesar, in his biography - Suet. Caes. 53; Piso fr. 8 - on Romulus.

inheritance of Roman moralism. We see it coming through in the fragments of Piso's Annales (frs.8; 25; 23; 34; 38 and 40 Peter, HRR,1) and in Pliny's readiness to cite him in such matters. (1) It may be that Pliny was influenced by the use of Pisonian material and technique by earlier exempla writers.

For instance, Pliny reports (NH XXXIV. 14 - fr.34 P) that Piso noted (and presumably disapproved) that dinner-couches and panelled sideboards and one-leg tables decorated with bronze were first introduced by Cn. Manlius at the celebration of his triumph in 187. An observation like this could easily have been included in the scheme of Nepos' exempla, as it fits the character and tone of his other illustrations. Pliny also cites Piso's record of the fact that 158 statues that were not set up by the authority of the people or the senate were removed from the Forum (ibid.30 - fr.27 P). Even if Pliny was making extensive use of Varro on the subject of statues and buildings (and Varro in turn extensively quarried the work of the early annalists), it is nevertheless indicative of Piso's enduring auctoritas that he should continue to be cited on such historical points. (2)

On the evidence of antiquarian exempla material preserved in Pliny, it is likely that Nepos' sharply focused moralism was shared by other writers of exempla. In a large number of cases it is fruitless

(1) For Piso's morality and exempla illustrating it, see E.Pawson, "The First Latin Annalists", Latomus, XXV, 1976, pp.705-706

(2) ibid. pp.709-710, reviews Münzer's discussion (Beiträge zur Quellenkritik der Naturgeschichte des Plinius, Berlin 1897, pp.276-282) of Varro's and Pliny's use of early annalists.

attempting to identify the particular author used, it is sufficient to recognize the sequence of observations as belonging to the general genre of antiquarian social history. (1)

Interest in social customs and the assumption of the relativity of these is central to Nepos' historical methodology in the extant De Viris Illustribus. Even at the expense of being thought frivolous, he intends to record in his biographies of foreign generals the peculiar traditions of other nations:

Non dubito fore plerosque, Attice, qui hoc genus scripturae
leve et non satis dignum summorum virorum personis iudicent,

-
- (1) E.g. NH XXXVII. 1-17, gives not only an historical survey of precious stones, but also a coherent account of their use in political publicity, showing an awareness of the relevance of Sulla's signet ring, the sphinx of Augustus and the frog of Maccenas, that ends with a critical reflection on Pompey's imago in pearls. (Note also the observation at ibid. 18 - eadem victoria primum in urbem myrrhina invexit, primusque Pompeius capides et pocula ex eo triumpho Capitolino Iovi dicavit...et crescit in dies eius luxuria.) Ibid. XXXVI.7 - L. Crassus...qui primus peregrini marmoris columnas habuit...; ibid. 75-76 - critical views on the pyramids (regum pecuniae otiosa ac stulta ostentatio...multa circa hoc vanitas hominum illorum fuit...) and labyrinths (ibid.84), particularly on the one constructed by Porsenna (namque et Italicum dici convenit, quem fecit sibi Porsina, rex Etruriae, sepulchri causa, simul ut externorum regum vanitas quoque Italica superetur.) For the latter monument and its pyramids Pliny relies on Varro (ibid.91 and 92), but supplements him by another source on the height of some of the pyramids (quarum altitudinem Varronem puduit adicere - 93). The whole sequence is illuminated by the concluding reflection that has a general application - vesana dementia, quaesisse gloriam inpendio nulli profuturo, praeterea fatigasse regni vires, ut tamen laus maior artificis esset. Ibid. XIX.23 - exempla of the use of velum, given in the light of a citation from Cato; ibid. XXI. 1-11, use of coronamenta, criticism of Julia's conduct (9).

cum relatum legent, quis musicam docuerit Epaminondam, aut in eius virtutibus commemorari, saltasse eum commode scienterque tibiis cantasse. sed ii erunt fere, qui expertes litterarum Graecarum nihil rectum, nisi quod ipsorum moribus conveniat, putabunt. hi si didicerint non eadem omnibus esse honesta atque turpia, sed omnia maiorum institutis iudicari, non admirabuntur nos in Graiorum virtutibus exponendis mores eorum secutos. (praef. 1-3)

To illustrate this he cites instances - it was not disgraceful for Cimon to take his sister as his wife or for Roman matrons to go to dinner-parties. On the basis of this evidence, it is possible to argue that the lost sections of Nepos' De Viris contained similar observations on comparative social customs. Ability to compare, in his case, clearly arises from an interest in and knowledge of what was distinctively Roman. It is therefore likely that his Exempla provided multiple illustrations of characteristically Roman institutions.

For Nepos the study of societies meant the study of their ancestral institutions. Moreover, his interest extended to the physical setting in which human cultures developed. He wrote on geography (e.g. frs.22; 23; 24 M) and botanical matters (e.g. fr .30). Discussion of the products of nature could logically lead (as so frequently in Pliny) to contemplation of man's use of them - e.g. fr.31 (NH XIV.30 - on scandula - scandula

contectam fuisse Romam ad Pyrrhi usque bellum annis CCCCLXX Cornelius Nepos auctor est). (1)

Like Varro's Hebdomades, Nepos' De Viris offered a comparative (Hann. 13.4) survey of different kinds of achievement. From the evidence of the extant biographies it is possible to sketch out the general moral concepts that unified the project. It is likely that the method used for assessing and comparing foreign generals, for instance, was also applied to Roman principes. (2) Basically, Nepos' approach highlighted ancestry (where relevant) of the man selected, his military successes and his moral qualities (which often subsumed political skills) that helped him to achieve primacy in the state and a glorious place in historical memory: e.g.

a) Miltiades -

i)...cum et antiquitate generis et gloria maiorum
unus omnium maxime floreret... (Miltiades 1.1)

ii) Sed in Miltiade erat cum summa humanitas tum
mira communitas, ut nemo tam humilis esset cui non ad
eum aditus pateret; magna auctoritas apud omnis civitatis,
nobile nomen, laus rei militaris maxima. (ibid. 8.4)

- (1) Note also fr.27 - on auctoritas of different kinds of fish (NH IX.61) - postea praecipuam auctoritatem fuisse lupo et asellis Nepos Cornelius et Laberius poeta mimorum tradere. postea refers to the previous item on accipenser that may also derive from Nepos - Apud antiquos piscium nobilissimus habitus accipenser.
- (2) On Roman exempla virtutis in Latin literature, see Litchfield, op.cit., pp.26-37.

b) Themistocles -

- i) Huius vitia ineuntis adulescentiae magnis sunt
emendata virtutibus, adeo ut anteferatur huic nemo,
pauci pares putentur. (Themistocles 1.1)
- ii) summa industria (ibid.1.3)
- iii) Magnus hoc bello Themistocles fuit neque minor
in pace. (Refers to his fortification of Piraeus.)
(ibid.6)
- iv) magnitudo animi; eruditus (ibid.10.1)

c) Pausanias -

- i) ...magnus homo, sed varius in omni genere vitae fuit;
nam ut virtutibus eluxit, sic vitiis est obrutus.
(Pausanias 1.1)
- ii) Sic Pausanias magnam belli gloriam turpi morte
maculavit. (ibid.5.5)

d) Cimon -

- i) ...Cimon celeriter ad principatum pervenit. Habebat
enim satis eloquentiae; summam liberalitatem; magnam
prudentiam cum iuris civilis tum rei militaris...
Itaque hic et populum urbanum in sua tenuit potestate
et apud exercitum plurimum valuit auctoritate.
(Cimon 2.1)
- ii) Quibus rebus cum unus in civitate maxime floreret...
(ibid.3.1)
- iii) liberalitas (ibid.4)

e) Thrasybulus -

- i) Si per se virtus sine fortuna ponderanda sit, dubito an hunc primum omnium ponam; illud sine dubio: neminem huic praefero fide, constantia, magnitudine animi, in patriam amore. (Thrasybulus 1.1)
- ii) Huic pro tantis meritis honoris causa corona a populo data est, facta duabus virgulis oleaginis. quam quod amor civium et non vis expresserat, nullam habuit invidiam magnaue fuit gloria. (ibid.4.1)

In the opening chapter of Alcibiades Nepos provides a compendium of virtues and vices in which Alcibiades excelled, giving a convenient catalogue of concepts that presumably appeared in other contexts as well (e.g. in his life of Sulla):

Natus in amplissima civitate summo genere, omnium aetatis suae formosissimus; ad omnes res aptus consiliiue plenus - namque imperator fuit summus et mari et terra - disertus, ut in primis dicendo valeret, quod tanta erat commendatio oris atque orationis, ut nemo ei posset resistere; dives; cum tempus posceret, laboriosus, patiens, liberalis, splendidus non minus in vita quam victu; affabilis, blandus, temporibus callidissime serviens: idem, simulac se remiserat neque causa suberat qua re animi laborem perferret, luxuriosus, dissolutus, libidinosus, intemperans reperiabatur, ut omnes

admirarentur in uno homine tantam esse dissimilitudinem
tamque diversam naturam. (Alcibiades 1)

Each of these qualities required an exemplum to illustrate it; some are given in the biography that follows, though Nepos avoids the more negative ones, subscribing as he does (ibid.11.1) to the views of Thucydides, Theopompus and Timaeus. (1)

Finally, it remains to assess the influence of Nepos' chronological work on the character of his exempla. The fact that Nepos could be guilty of making chronological errors of the most surprising kind (e.g. that Cicero had delivered Pro Roscio Amerino tres et viginti annos natus - Gell. XV.) need not detract from his achievement in comparative chronology generally, and, in particular, of giving a chronological framework to Roman social history. (2)

- (1) ibid - Hunc infamatum a plerisque tres gravissimi historici summis laudibus extulerunt...Thucydides...Theopompus...Timaeus: qui quidem duo maledicentissimi nescio quo modo in illo uno laudando consenserunt.
- (2) On Gellius' correction of Nepos, see T.E.Kinsey, Mnemosyne, 20, 1967, pp.61-67, p.62 especially; B.Baldwin, Studies in Aulus Gellius, Lawrence (Kansas) 1975, pp.91-92. On Nepos' Chronica, see T.G.McCarthy, op.cit., 19-20; C.St.Clair, op.cit., pp.49-67. Nepos seems to have reached right back to the origins of Italian civilization (fr.3 Malcovati - Saturnus' humanity); in synchronizing Roman and Greek history he paid careful attention to cultural developments (e.g. noting the fact that while Servius Tullius was king, Archilocus achieved claritas and nobilitas for his poems - fr.7). O.Leuze's study, "Das synchronistische Kapitel des Gellius", Rh.Mus., 66, 1911, pp.237-274, argues that Nepos was not Gellius' only source in XVII.21. If so, then Nepos' attention to cultural developments was clearly not idiosyncratic, for other sections of this chapter show a similar tendency to pay regard to literary events - e.g. ibid.9-11. If the other source were Varro (Leuze, passim), then this is not surprising, as his interest in art of all kinds is not in doubt. For Nepos' use of Atticus' Annales, see Hann. 13.1

In our discussion of Nepos' *exempla* above (see particularly frs.28; 31; 32; 35 M) his interest in chronology was emphasized; it is equally important to point out now that his chronographic studies appear to have focused on events that could serve as *exempla*. This is shown by fr.8:

et M. Manlius Romae, qui Gallos in obsidione Capitolii obrepentis per ardua depulerat, convictus est consilium de regno occupando inisse, damnatusque capitis e saxo Tarpeio, ut M. Varro ait, praeceps datus, ut Cornelius autem Nepos scriptum reliquit, verberando necatus est; eoque ipso anno, qui erat post reciperatam urbem septimus, Aristotelem philosophum natum esse memoriae mandatum est.

He and Varro differed on the nature of the punishment (and presumably on the date), but the essential point to notice is that both of them seem to have highlighted the episode itself. Other instances of moral *exempla* serving as chronological signposts are frequent in Gellius' chapter - e.g. *ibid.* 17 (Olus Postumius Tubertus dictator Romae fuit, qui suum, quod contra suum dictum in hostem pugnaverat, securi necavit): 39 - the censorship of C. Fabricius Luscinus and Q. Aemilius Papus (using Nepos' starting point (fr.5) of 751/50 for the founding of Rome).(1)

(1) On Nepos' dating of Rome's foundation, see St.Clair, *op.cit.*, pp.62-63; E.J.Bickerman, Chronology in the Ancient World, London 1968, pp.76-77.

It remains to consider the historical contribution of two other antiquarians, continuators, in a sense of the Varronian encyclopedic tradition - the exempla of M. Verrius Flaccus and Hyginus.

Verrius Flaccus tutored Augustus' grandsons and lived into the age of Tiberius. (1) He was responsible for the composition of the Fasti Praenestini:

Statuam habet Praeneste in inferiore fori parte contra
hemicyclium, in quo fastos a se ordinatos et marmoreo
parieti incisos publicarat. (2)

He was a freedman who gained his reputation by effective methods of teaching. He encouraged competition between able students and awarded prizes, usually liber aliquis antiquus pulcher aut rarior. This choice is indicative of his desire to arouse in his pupils an interest in history, for there could be no better way of arousing curiosity about the past than by means of objects from it, particularly rare and beautiful books.

Like Varro, Verrius was interested in language and particularly in etymology. He wrote a treatise De Verborum Significatu, known to us

- (1) Suet. Gramm. 17; Schanz-Hosius, op. cit., II, 361-362; E.R.Parker, "The Education of Heirs in the Julio-Claudian Family", AJP, lxvii, 1946, pp.35-38.
- (2) Suet. Gramm. 17 - LCL text (ed. J.C.Rolfe), but see alternative readings in Schanz-Hosius, with bibliography. On the historical accuracy of the phraseology of the Fasti Praenestini, see E.A.Judge, "'Res Publica Restituta' A Modern Illusion?", Polis and Imperium, J.A.S. Evans, Toronto 1974, pp.289-290.
ed.

in Festus' abridgement and Paulus' excerpts. (1) In it he discussed, amongst a multitude of topics, the historical background of ill-omened days (Gell. V.17) and how historia was thought to differ from annales (Gell. V.18):

Historiam ab annalibus quidam differre eo putant, quod, cum utrumque sit rerum gestarum narratio, earum tamen proprie rerum sit historia, quibus rebus gerendis interfuit is qui narret; eamque esse opinionem quorundam, Verrius Flaccus refert in libro De Significatu Verborum quarto. (2)

For his own part he appears to have had doubts about this particular distinction (ac se quidem dubitare super ea re dicit), though he considered it a reasonable one, given the Greek sense of historia - rerum cognitione praesentium. Presumably he also canvassed other suggestions. The rest of Gellius' chapter devoted to this topic quotes extensively the strong opinions of Sempronius Asellio on the subject of

-
- (1) See ed. W.M.Lindsay, Leipzig 1913. Verrius' method was eclectic. F.Bona, Contributo allo studio della composizione del "De Verborum Significatu" di Verrio Flacco, Milano 1964, gives a comprehensive discussion of the surviving fragments and their sources. It is particularly helpful in illuminating Verrius' use of de etymis deorum of Cornificius (pp.25ff.); Varro's de locis (pp.35; 59 and passim), de feriis (pp.67-69) and de rebus (pp.59-64 - for material on praenomina, nomina and cognomina); Aelius Gallus' de verborum, quae ad ius pertinet, significatione; a work of Servius Sulpicius Rufus (pp.64-67) and Cato's Origines (see also Lindsay, pp.566-567). For constitutional terminology Verrius used Cincius' studies (e.g. de consulum potestate and de comitiis), see R.Reitzenstein, Verrianische Forschungen, Hildesheim 1966, pp.92-95.
- (2) On historia, annales and the Annales Maximi, see Servius, Ad Aen. I.373; Cicero, De Orat. II.52.

annales, and, even though it is likely that Gellius was consulting Asellio's text directly (ex quo libro plura verba ascripsimus), it is possible that Verrius made references to Asellio's point of view as well (see fr.1 P).

As a teacher, Verrius would have found Asellio's criticism of the brevity of annales (and their lack of moral inspiration) challenging; in as much as he himself was interested in providing brief notices of events (his reputation in such matters probably accounts for the commission to work on the Fasti Praenestini), the criticism may have inspired him to make the entries in his Rerum memoria dignarum libri explicitly moral and didactic. By a remarkable coincidence Gellius (IV.v) preserves the information that the story of the punishment of the Etruscan aruspices was given both in the Annales Maximi and in Verrius' collection of memorabilia. The story is a good exemplum of severitas and religious scruple. It indicates that Verrius used annalistic data, probably consulting the Annales Maximi, in a way that may have met Asellio's charge. (1)

For an antiquarian interested in Roman observance of religious conventions, the Annales Maximi offered a valuable quarry of data

(1) E.Rawson, "Prodigy Lists and the Use of the Annales Maximi", CQ, xxi, 1971, pp.158-169, documents the reluctance of Roman historians to use the Annales Maximi. In this respect Verrius was untypical. It is unlikely that the exemplum as given by Gellius appeared in the same form in the Annales, see E.Gabba, "Considerazioni sulla tradizione litteraria", Entretiens sur l'antiquité classique, XIII, Fondation Hardt, 1967, p.150.

concerning prodigies. Verrius' De Verborum Significatu contained a discussion of key words denoting the various phenomena - monstrum, prodigium, portentum, ostentum (see p.125, Lindsay); it is likely therefore that his collection of memorable events gave exempla illustrating them. (1) That Verrius was interested in recording aspects of the Roman religious tradition is confirmed by NH XXVIII.18, a passage in which Verrius is cited for having noted (and given his authorities) for the practice of the Romans to call on the deity of a besieged town to cross over to the Roman side.

Pliny also cites Verrius on the use of minium:

Enumerat auctores Verrius, quibus credere necesse sit Iovis ipsius simulacri faciem diebus festis minio inlini solitam triumphantiumque corpora; sic Camillum triumphasse; hac religione etiamnum addi in unguenta cenae triumphalis et a censoribus in primis Iovem miniandum locari. (ibid. XXXIII.111)

In this fragment we again have Verrius' practice of naming his authorities. In addition, he reveals an interest in triumphs, sacred objects, statues and duties of censors.

Another fragment reinforces the argument that Verrius wrote on

-
- (1) For an argument that Pliny's material on miracula, prodigia and monstra (e.g. vii. 32 and 35) derives from Verrius, see M. Rabenhorst, Der Ältere Plinius als Epitomator des Verrius Flaccus, Berlin 1907, pp.35 ff. Effigies of famous marvels decorated Pompey's theatre (it is clear from Pliny's inter quas legitur that these were accompanied by inscriptions), testifying to the popularity of such subjects - NH VII.35.

triumphs:

tunica aurea triumphasse Tarquinius Priscum Verrius
docet...(ibid.62)

It is possible that his approach involved noting the various innovations in their development.

Pliny preserves what appears to be another fragment from the same collection of memorable matters (VIII.16-18):

Elephantos Italia primum vidit Pyrri regis bello et boves
Lucas appellavit in Lucanos viso anno urbis CCCCLXXIV, Roma
autem in triumpho V annis ad superiorem numerum additis,
eadem plurimos anno DII victoria L. Metelli pontificis in
Sicilia de Poenis captos. CXLII fuere aut, ut quidam, CXL
travecti ratibus quas doliorum consertis ordinibus
inposuerat. Verrius eos pugnasse in circo interfectosque
iaculis tradit, paenuria consilii, quoniam neque ali
placuisset neque donari regibus; L. Piso inductos
dumtaxat in circum atque, ut contemptus eorum incresceret,
ab operariis hastas praepilatas habentibus per circum
totum actas.

The reference to the first appearance of elephants in Italy and to their first exhibition in a triumph looks like the kind of record that Nepos was likely to make in his Exempla, but Pliny does not list him as one of his authorities for book VIII. We are therefore dealing with another exempla writer (who may be drawing on Piso's Annales in his

discussion, amongst other sources) that shared a similar approach. Of course, L. Metellus' association with the innovation would have been remembered with considerable pride in the Metellan family, but their record was unlikely to include the suggestion that the beasts were useless and that they were tortured and slaughtered. (1) Piso (always sensitive to excess) noted the torture, Verrius Flaccus focused on the cruel slaughter - both accounts reflecting different degrees of disapproval.

As with the introduction of silver and onyx marble, other uses were soon found for the elephants. Fenestella preserved a stage by stage account:

Romae pugnassee Fenestella tradit primum omnium in circo
Claudi Pulchri aedilitate curuli M. Antonio A. Postumio coss.
anno urbis DCLV, item post annos viginti Lucullorum aedilitate
curuli adversus tauros. (*ibid.* VIII.19)

Either Fenestella (or Verrius) described their plight in 55 B.C. at the dedication of the temple of Venus Victrix:

Pompei quoque altero consulatu, dedicatione templi Veneris
Victricis, viginti pugnare in circo aut, ut quidam tradunt,
XVII, Gaetulis ex adverso iaculantibus, mirabili unius
dimicatione, qui pedibus confossis reposit genibus in
catervas, abrepta scuta iacens in sublime, quae decidentia

(1) See *NH* VII. 139 - the *oratio* of L. Metellus' son; one of Pliny's authors in book VIII is a Metellus Scipio.

voluptati spectantibus erant in orbem circumacta, velut
arte non furore beluae iacerentur. (ibid.20)

A marvellous feat of animal endurance, matching the human exploits that Pliny lists in book VII (particularly that of M. Sergius). Varro would have collected such material (e.g. VII.82 - Varro in prodigiosarum virium relatione; he did collect exempla of animals overpowering men - VIII.104), but there are grounds for thinking that he is not Pliny's source on the suffering of elephants in Pompey's second consulship (though he may be for other aspects of elephant lore).

Pliny preserves much Pompeian material (that derives from Varro - see below chapter six) and is quite favourably disposed towards him. Here however, particularly in the description of the reaction of the crowd to the suffering of the elephants, we have a hint of a source less respectful to Pompey:

Sed Pompeiani missa fugae spe misericordiam vulgi inenarrabili habitu quaerentes supplicavere quadam sese lamentatione conplorantes, tanto populi dolore ut oblitus imperatoris ac munificentiae honori suo exquisitae flens universus consurgeret dirasque Pompeio quas ille mox luit inprecaretur. (ibid.21-22) (1)

-
- (1) Ibid. VIII.1-2: Maximum est elephans proximumque humanis sensibus, quippe intellectus illis sermonis patrii et imperiorum obedientia, officiorum quae didicere memoria, amoris et gloria voluptas, immo vero quae etiam in homine rara, probitas, prudentia, aeguitas, religio quoque siderum solisque ac lunae veneratio. A lofty image of the elephant, those holding it would have been affronted by P's show.

Varro may not be the source here. Even if his admiration for Magnus is presumed to have cooled in later years, his respect for Pompey's memory would have prevented his transmitting a record of such a symbolic event. Nepos need not have had such scruples, but he is not listed by Pliny as one of his authors here. We are dealing with a writer for whom this episode could have served as a culmination of a process commenced by L. Metellus in his distant triumph.

Therefore, we come back to Verrius Flaccus. His description of the slaughter of the elephants in their first Roman appearance should not be regarded as a random notice. His liber probably included items noticed by Fenestella (above) and Piso; therefore it may be assumed to have continued Nepos' moral rigour and his coherent presentation.

In NH XXXVII.13-17 Pliny gives an account (based on the acta) of Pompey's third triumph. One of the objects carried in that procession was Pompey's imago e margaritis, an event that inspires Pliny to make a number of critical remarks:

e margaritis, Magne, tam prodiga re et feminis
reperta, quas gerere te fas non sit, fieri tuos
vultus? sic te pretiosum videri?

Even though Pliny may have made these and similar charges independently, it is possible that he reflects a critical tradition in the sources. Verrius' collection may be again mentioned as one likely to contain an element of moral censure on such display.

M. Rabenhorst suggested Verrius as the major source for the divi Augusti adversa in NH VII.147-150. (1) This is unlikely, as no evidence exists for supposing any hostility on Verrius' part towards Augustus' memory (see below chapter six). However, Rabenhorst's argument that Pliny's blocks of material culminating with Augustus (e.g. VII.211) and such items as XV.136-137, on Livia's miracle, derives from Verrius, deserves serious attention. (2)

C. Iulius Hyginus, a freedman of Augustus, was in charge of the Palatine library (Suet. Gramm.20), where Augustus in his old age held meetings of the senate and undertook to revise lists of jurors (quo loco iam senior saepe etiam senatum habuit decuriasque iudicum recognovit - Suet. Augustus 29.3). Suetonius describes him as an imitator of Alexander Polyhistor. We have fragments of his De Viris Illustribus, Exempla and books of literary criticism of Virgil; the latter seem to have been designed to highlight his own (presumed) superior knowledge of Roman history. (3)

Some items in the Exempla concerned matters of critical evaluation of literature. Gellius (X.18.7) preserves his view of

- (1) M. Rabenhorst, op.cit., pp.97-109.
- (2) For a criticism of Rabenhorst's thesis, see R. Schilling's edition of book VII, op. cit., pp.xiv-xvi. NH VII.180 - a list of mortes repentinae, is explicitly an abridgement of Verrius' more extensive catalogue. It may be argued that discussion of similitudo in ibid.52-56 (as well as V.M.IX.14) also derives from Verrius.
- (3) Schanz-Hosius, op.cit., II, pp.368-72. Note his condemnation of Vergil's historical errors in Aen.VI - Gell. X.xvi.passim.

Theodectus' tragedy Mausolus:

Extat nunc quoque Theodecti tragoedia, quae inscribitur
Mausolus; in qua eum magis quam in prosa placuisse
Hyginus in Exemplis refert.

From another of Gellius' allusions (VI.1.1-6) it emerges that
Hyginus wrote on Africanus' miraculous conception and his nightly visits
to the Capitol to communicate with Jupiter:

Nam et C. Oppius et Iulius Hyginus, aliique qui de vita
et rebus Africani scripserunt, matrem eius diu sterilem
existimatam tradunt, P. quoque Scipionem, cum quo nupta erat,
liberos desperavisse. Postea in cubiculo atque in lecto
mulieris, cum absente marito cubans sola condormisset,
visum repente esse iuxta eam cubare ingentem anguem eumque,
his qui viderant territis et clamantibus, elapsum inveniri
non quisse. Id ipsum P. Scipionem ad haruspices retulisse; eos,
sacrificio facto, respondisse fore ut liberi gignerentur,
neque multis diebus postquam ille anguis in lecto visus
est, mulierem coepisse concepti fetus signa atque sensum
pati; exinde mense decimo peperisse natumque esse hunc
P. Africanum qui Hannibalem et Carthaginienses in Africa
bello Poenico secundo vicit. Sed et eum inpendio magis
ex rebus gestis quam ex illo ostento virum esse virtutis
divinae creditum est. (ibid.1-5) (1)

(1) Hyginus wrote extensively on Roman religion - de proprietatibus
deorum and de dis Penatibus (ibid.p.372).

C. Oppius was a friend of Julius Caesar and wrote a biography of him (Suet. Caes.53).

It is tempting to speculate on the origin of the last sentence - sed et eum inpendio magis ex rebus gestis quam ex illo ostento virum esse virtutis divinae creditum est. Does it belong to Oppius, Hyginus or Gellius? If it is part of Hyginus' text, then it may reflect his view that Roman leaders achieve divine status by their exploits (Hercules and Dionysius in Aeneid VI, for instance), not by claims of miraculous divine parentage. But whatever his views on this point, Gellius' references in VI.1.1-6 indicate that Hyginus was interested in providing exempla that showed ostenta and the devotion of Roman principes to the gods.

It is clear that in his De Vita Rebusque Inlustrum Virorum, Hyginus presented biographical material in the form of moral exempla. We have a fragment of his exemplum concerning Fabricius (also given with different emphasis in V.M. IV.3.6 - de abstinentia et continentia):

Iulius Hyginus, in libro De Vita Rebusque Inlustrum Virorum sexto, legatos dicit a Samnitibus ad C. Fabricium, imperatorem populi Romani, venisse et memoratis multis magnisque rebus quae bene ac benivole post redditam pacem Samnitibus fecisset, obtulisse dono grandem pecuniam orasseque uti acciperet utereturque, atque id facere Samnites dixisse, quod viderent multa ad splendorem domus atque victus defieri neque pro amplitudine dignitateque lautum paratum esse. Tum Fabricium planas manus ab auribus

ad oculos et infra deinceps ad nares et ad os et
 ad gulam atque inde porro ad ventrem imum deduxisse
 et legatis ita respondisse: dum illis omnibus membris
 quae attigisset obsistere atque imperare posset, numquam
 quicquam defuturum; propterea se pecuniam qua nihil sibi
 esset usus ab his quibus eam sciret usui esse non accipere.

(Gell. I. XIV) (1)

Judging by this specimen of Hyginus' craft as a writer of moral vignettes, his exempla conformed to the rhetorical conditions of vividness and clarity posited in the Ad Herennium IV.62. Like Varro and Nepos, Hyginus was interested in localities and geographical information, writing a treatise De origine et situ urbium Italicarum (that presumably followed the lines laid down by Cato). (2) It is likely therefore that Hyginus' exempla contained material on geographical matters. His work on genealogy (De familiis Troianis) may also have contributed historical data (and conjecture) to the De Viris. (3)

Asconius consulted the De Viris and brought an item from it to bear on Cicero's In Pisonem 52 (Stangl, p.19):

-
- (1) In view of the discussion yet to come, it is interesting to note that Valerius' treatment of the incident is quite different. He lacks the vivid image of Fabricius responding to the Samnite legates and includes material not in Hyginus.
 - (2) Ibid. p.371.
 - (3) It is possible that Hyginus' De familiis Troianis was critical of Virgil's historical data, see Servius, Ad Aen.V.389.

Iulius Hyginus dicit in libro priore de viris claris,
 P. Valerio Volesi filio Publicolae aedium publice
 locum sub Veliis, ubi nunc aedis Victoriae est,
 populum ex lege quam ipse tulerat concessisse.

This passage will be examined below, in our discussion of Valerius Maximus' sources, here it should be pointed out that it reveals three things about Hyginus' concerns. He was interested in monuments and their locations. He was interested in public honours decreed to exceptional individuals, and he wrote on the Valerii (perhaps using the genealogical material from Valerius Messalla).

It emerges from our survey that a large body of exempla material was accumulated and disseminated by Atticus, Nepos, Messalla, Verrius Flaccus and Hyginus. It is important to keep in mind that this work was not undertaken by fringe rhetoricians (unconcerned with chronology, geography and genealogy), by men remote from the central concerns of the Roman nobility, without the necessary immediate contact with the very heirs of the moral and political tradition that they handled. Many deeply learned and scrupulous scholars contributed to the development of exempla literature as an expression of their concern for the well-being of their state, society and its governing class. They did not write frivolously or mechanically. For the most part, they sought to interpret historically numerous institutions and

customs, sharply focusing their moralism on trends in innovation and luxury, offering a critical view of the growth of the res publica. (1)

This having been said, it would be a mistake to urge that this part of the picture be taken for the whole. As Valerius Maximus' collection so often demonstrates, there were other men and other standards. There was indeed a part of the exempla tradition that had a different nature, it was a part that tended to develop somewhat independently of the antiquarian and prosopographical stream. It may be glimpsed behind Valerius' more curious errors and misconceptions, indicating that the exempla tradition was a complex web of various impulses and influences requiring careful disentangling and analysis.

For want of better terminology one may call this other part of the tradition "rhetorical", though this need not imply that the

-
- (1) Roman legal history was often presented from a moral point of view (e.g. Ateius Capito's legal miscellany contained a book De Iudiciis Publicis which cited at least one tribunician decree full of gravitas antiqua, as Gellius reports - IV.XIV: it also contained, as an exemplum of the inviolability of Romanae disciplinae dignitas, the punishment of Caeci filia for arrogant words - X.VI.) and the methodology of writers on legal topics often approximated that of the antiquarians. For instance, Capito's Coniectanea gathered details of sumptuary legislation (Gell. II.XXIV.1-15) in an historical sequence (*ibid.* 15 suggests that Gellius is relying on Capito for the whole survey). On Capito, see now N. Horsfall, "Labeo and Capito", Historia, XXIII, 1974, pp.252-254, particularly helpful on Capito's role in the ludi saeculares of 17 B.C. He was critical of Labeo's excessive traditionalism (Gell. XIII.12.1-3), which points to his own willingness to tailor his legal research and religious studies to the new regime.

antiquarian-prosopographical part was not affected by rhetorical considerations or that the "rhetorical" collections did not contain isolated fragments of antiquarian material. The distinction is helpful in pointing out that in the latter case rhetoric tended to predominate at the expense of other elements.