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The Livian Historiographical Tradition

Owen McRae Ewald

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of

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Abstract

The Livian Historiographical Tradition

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This dissertation examines the relationships of the Roman historians Florus, Granius Licinianus, and Lucius Ampelius to their second century CE or High Imperial historical and cultural contex and to their source and predecessor, the Roman historian Livy. Their cultural context includes the Greek Second Sophistic, and these historians form part of the Second Sophistic's Roman counterpart, the "Roman Sophistic." The relationship between these historians and Livy is conceived in terms of a Gadamerian "fusion of horizons" that interprets the past in terms of the present, where Livy's text becomes the equivalent of the past. Florus adopts several Livan strategies and invents a few of his own to achieve a fusion of horizons between the Roman Republic and the High Empire, and the fusion of horizons becomes even more difficult for the early Roman Republic. Adapting Livian themes, Granius rewrites Roman history to frustrate and invert the emperor Hadrian's attempts to link himself with the past for propagandistic purposes. Lucius Ampelius reads Livy in non-chronological, hypertextual ways to educate his student Macrinus, who briefly became emperor, and to extract material from Roman history useful for High Imperial orators and officials.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS, CONT'D.

LIST OF FIGURES

PREFACE

This dissertation had its genesis in the summer of 1993, when I participated in a seminar on Sallust led by Professor Alain Gowing. Near the end of the seminar, we compared a section of the *Bellum Jugurthinum* (1st century BCE) to a section of the epitome of Appian's *Numidika* (second century CE). I was unfamiliar with Appian, much less the sub-genre of historical epitome, but I was fascinated with how abbreviated the epitome was and how it was abbreviated. Later, I studied other types of epitomation in other genres, including the novel--the Greek epitome of the *Onos*, the literary ancestor of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* (second century CE) and the hypothesis of Menander's comedy *Heros* (fourth century BCE).[1]

Briefly, I considered doing a study of epitomation across genres and periods, with a scope so broad that it would include the *Diegesis* ("outline") of Callimachus' long elegiac poem the *Aitia* (third century BCE)[2] and Libanius' hypotheses (fourth century CE) of Demosthenes' speeches (fourth century BCE). Since such a project proved to be too broad, I returned to focusing on historical epitomes. Then, I considered a study of the first century CE summaries of Livy called the *Periochae*,[3] but Professor Gowing suggested working instead on Florus, Granius Licinianus, and Lucius Ampelius, three Roman historians of the second century CE who drew material and themes from Livy. My dissertation, moreover, treats how not Livy but alos the cultural and political context of the second century CE interacts with Florus, Granius, and Ampelius.

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[1]On Menandrian hypotheses, see now M. Van Rossum-Steenbeek, *Greek Readers' Digests: Studies on a selection of subliterary papyri* (Cologne, New York, Leiden: Brill, 1998) 39-45.
[2]*ibid.* 74-81.
[3]The *Periochae* had already been treated by W. Bingham, "The *Periochae* of Livy" (Ph.D. diss., University of Illinois, 1978).

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Chapter One: Introduction

When one thinks about Roman authors of the second century CE, Florus, Granius Licinianus, and Lucius Ampelius are not names that leap to mind. Nor do these authors serve modern historians of Rome as more than infrequent and auxiliary sources. Only Florus contributes even an occasional stylistic peculiarity to the larger Latin dictionaries.[1]

But a people's view of its own past is intimately related to its view of itself and its present. For example, in a famous anecdote, George Washington refuses to lie about chopping down a cherry tree. This anecdote was pure invention, probably after Washington's death, by an early American clergyman named Mason Weems, but this anecdote shows the importance Americans of the day placed on honesty, especially in politicians.

The historians treated in my dissertation are important for similar reasons, although they stick much more closely to the history they have learned. Since these historians write about the Roman Republic from the perspective of the High Empire (98-180 CE), they furnish evidence that is more valuable for reconstructing the High Roman Empire's view of the world than for reconstructing the events of the Roman Republic. In other words, these historians are sources for attitudes rather than for facts. In particular, these historians' apparently careless alteration of facts can actually reveal the influence of an attitude or judgment.

One of the most important attitudes held by all three historians is their view of Livy. Livy is very useful as a source of material because he covers an enormous swath of Roman history, from Romulus through most of Augustus' principate. Livy also becomes, at least for Florus, the embodiment or virtual equivalent of Rome's past or, for all three historians, a source of themes and organizing ideas.

This chapter will give brief introductions to each of the historians treated and their political context. Also featured are discussions of the Greek Second Sophistic, the "Roman Sophistic," and what it means to be "Roman."

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[1] *OLD* s.v. *lapido*.

This chapter will also suggest why the history of the Roman Republic is so important to the authors treated in this dissertation and lay a theoretical foundation for how the Livian historiographical tradition works. This chapter concludes with an overview of the entire dissertation.

Introduction to the Historians

Livy was born in 59 BCE and lived until 17 CE; he was only slightly younger than Augustus. In the original version of his work called *From the Founding of the City* (*Ab Urbe Condita*), Livy covered in detail several hundred years of Roman history, from the landing of Aeneas in Italy to the death of Drusus in 9 BCE, but even the long-ago events often resonate with events and policies of the Augustan age. For example, Augustus undertook the restoration of several temples at Rome, including the ancient temple of Jupiter Feretrius, to stress his loyalty to the "custom of ancestors," the *mos maiorum*. Accordingly, when Livy discusses Aulus Cornelius Cossus, who in 437 BCE dedicates the spoils of Tolumnius, king of Veii in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius (4.20.2-3), Livy cites Augustus himself, the "founder and restorer of all temples" (*templorum omnium conditor ac restitutor*) as a witness for the dedicatory inscription on Cossus' linen breastplate (4.20.7).[2] Only about a third of Livy's original work survives. One extant portion covers the period from the landing of Aeneas to 292 BCE (Books 1-10), while the other extant portion covers the period from the beginning of the Second Punic War in 218 BCE to the embassy of King Prusias II of Bithynia to Rome in 167 BCE (Books 21-45). We know about the structure of Livy's work from brief summaries of each book called the *Periochae*, which cover almost the entire original work. I shall use the word "Livy" to denote the surviving portions of Livy's history, the word "*Periochae*" to denote the summaries, and the phrase "the Livian original" to denote my speculative reconstruction of portions of Livy now lost.

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[2] For further discussion of how Augustan policies and propaganda influence this passage, see Miles 40-2.

Florus was a teacher of boys in Spain under the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian. He wrote a history in Latin of Rome from its foundation in 753 BCE to peace with the Parthians in 2 BCE. His audience are readers who are interested in the history of the Mediterranean world, which necessarily involves Roman history: "The Roman people have conquered so widely throughout the Mediterranean world that those who read about their affairs learn the achievement not of one people but of the human race" (*ita late per orbem terrarum arma circumtulit, ut qui res illius legunt non unius populi, sed generis humani facta condiscant, praef.* 2). Nevertheless, he also abbreviates[3] his history to make it more comprehensible: "in a brief 'sketch' I shall embrace the entire sight of it [Roman history]" (*in brevi quasi tabella totam eius imaginem amplectar, praef.* 3). To lend unity to his project, he makes the Roman people, the *populus Romanus*, the protagonist of his narrative and the implied subject of any verb without an obvious subject. Even though Florus wrote other works (see Chapter Two), the word "Florus" in this dissertation will serve as shorthand for his history.

Granius Licinianus flourished during the reign of Hadrian and was probably Italian but not Roman. The extant fragments of his history range over the years 165-77 BCE, and word "Granius" will signify these extant fragments, only a small, randomly preserved percentage of a large work. The work could have begun with the founding of Rome of just after the Sextio-Licinian rogations (367 BCE). Granius' subject matter ranges from the terms of Roman treaties (35.74-77) to statues of Castor and Pollux at Therampnae in Sparta (26.14-16) to a wonder-tale of an apparently dead woman awakening at the sound of a funeral trumpet (28.16). As we shall see in Chapter Three, much of Granius concerns death in one way or another. These three examples show how Granius has blended traditional historiography (generals, treaties), with antiquarianism (ancient cults and cult-statues) and novelistic motifs (the apparent death or «Scheintod» is frequent in the novel, especially Achilles Tatius). Thus, Granius may be considered a participant in the new genre of *historia omnigena*, practiced by the Gallic orator Favorinus,

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[3] A chapter of Florus (2 pages) equals about two books of Livy (150 pages).

among others. Granius also casts a critical eye at Hadrianic attempts to use past figures like Antiochus IV and Pompey the Great for imperial propaganda. His history portrays Antiochus and Pompey in an unflattering light in order to criticize Hadrian and to invert Hadrianic propaganda.

Lucius Ampelius, an educator like Florus, flourished toward the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius in Caesarea Mauretanensis, near modern Algiers.[4] He intended his *Memory Book* (*Liber Memorialis*), a collection of facts on various subjects, to teach his student Macrinus what he needed to know in order to become successful at Rome. His goal was fulfilled in 217 CE, when Macrinus, after serving as praetorian prefect, briefly became emperor.[5] The work is built around questions and answers. Presumably Ampelius responds to the questions of Macrinus--the *Memory Book* begins "Lucius Ampelius [wishes] health to his Macrinus. [He dedicates his work] to you who wish to know all things" (*Lucius Ampelius suo Macrino salutem. volenti tibi omnia nosse* [*prol.*]). Ampelius answers with lists, with lists adding a qualifying relative clause to each item, or with short narrative paragraphs. The subjects treated are varied, but there is a perceptible movement from astronomy and geography through world history to Roman history, with only small gaps or *lacunae* in the text. In this dissertation, "Ampelius" will serve as a convenient and unproblematic shorthand for the *Memory Book*, his only known work.

These historians--Florus, Granius, and Ampelius--are by no means the only Latin authors to use Livy as a source (see Appendix). These historians belong together because they write with more panache and with much more of an authorial persona than the *Periochae*, while they do not share the religious concerns of fourth century CE historians who react against or promote Christianity. Even more significantly, they share a common cultural and political context, the High Roman Empire (the reigns of Trajan through Marcus Aurelius), and the next section will provide a thumbnail sketch of these emperors and their reigns.

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[4] Ancient Mauretania corresponds not to modern Mauritania, but to modern Algeria and Morocco.

[5] For his deeds and character, see Dio 79.11.1-2.

Historical Context

Trajan, from a family of Roman colonists in Spain, commanded a powerful group of legions in Germany. To prevent a possible civil war, the emperor Nerva adopted Trajan as his successor in 97 CE. After becoming emperor the next year, Trajan continued the Nervan institution of "food-money" or *alimenta*, a system of providing cash payments ot poor families to feed their children. His early propaganda recalled Augustus, as did even the haircut of one of his common portrait types. Trajan engaged in two major military campaigns against the Dacians in 101-2 and 105-6. These campaigns added a great deal of silver to the treasury but contributed in the long term to inflation. After Trajan suppressed a Jewish revolt in 115-6, he embarked on an Eastern campaign in 116. He added two new provinces to the Empire, defeated the Parthians in several battles, and reached the Persian Gulf. During his Parthian campaign, he visited the tomb of Alexander the Great. On his way back to Rome, he died in 117.

Allegedly adopted on Trajan's deathbed, Hadrian, the son of Trajan's cousin, became emperor in 117 CE and almost immediately refocused Roman military strategy on defense and consolidation rather than on expansion and conquest and concluded a peace treaty with Parthia. In 118, he killed four men of consular rank on the pretext that they were conspiring to seize power; one of them, the Mauretanian Lusius Quietus, had been one of Trajan's most trusted legates in the east. The enraged senate extracted a promise from Hadrian that he would let the senate judge its own members. Hadrian then spent much of his time away from Rome; he toured his empire, reviewed his troops, and built defense works such as Hadrian's Wall in Britain. Having spent considerable time in Athens, Hadrian promoted and practiced philhellenism. Not only did he finish the Temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens, under construction for the past six hundred years, but he was also a friend of Philopappus, a descendant of the Seleucid king Antiochus IV. Furthermore, Antinous, a Bithynian youth, became Hadrian's lover and constant companion until Antinous drowned in the Nile during a visit to Egypt and was posthumously deified. Numerous portraits of Antinous

survive, especially in the guise of various gods (Hercules, Osiris, etc.). Hadrian also linked himself to the Roman past by restoring Pompey the Great's tomb. In the same vein, Hadrian restored several temples at Rome and renewed the pomoerium, the sacred boundary of Rome. Hadrian built the new temple of Venus and Rome, with a nod to the divine ancestrix of the Julio-Claudians, the first imperial dynasty. Over the site of the old Pantheon, a temple to all the gods, Hadrian built a new one, and an inscription over its entrance anachronistically mentioned Marcus Agrippa, builder of the first Pantheon, Augustus' right-hand man. Another Jewish revolt broke out in 132-5, but this time in Palestine under the leadership of Simon Bar-Kochba, and again, the revolt was crushed at the cost of 580,000 lives.

Antoninus Pius, adopted in the waning days of Hadrian's reign and descended from Roman colonists from Nemausus in Gaul, became emperor in 138. He continued Hadrian's policy of restoring temples but spent much more time at Rome. In 147, he celebrated the 900th anniversary of the founding of Rome. Through able legates, he was able to move troops around the empire just in time to defeat a series of revolts--Britain (138-9, 155), Mauretania and Tingitania (145-52, 156, 159), Egypt (152-4), and Dacia (157-8). Since these revolts only affected the margins of the Empire, Fronto could him to compare his relatively peaceful reign to that of the ancient Roman king Numa.

Marcus Aurelius, the nephew of Pius' wife Faustina, was adopted by Pius in 138 and became emperor in 161. He had been educated to become emperor by a veritable phalanx of Greek and Latin tutors, including Fronto. Aurelius saw himself as a Stoic philosopher whose fate was to be emperor of Rome, and he wrote *Meditations* in Greek as a philosophical exhortation to himself. In the early years of his reign, he shared his power with his brother, Lucius Verus, whom he almost immediately sent to the east to handle a disturbance in Armenia. Although Verus achieved some military success against the Parthians and other tribes, his campaigns were more famous for riotous living and bogus honors, including mendacious panegyrics. After Verus died in 169, Aurelius became sole ruler. Thereafter, a series of barbarian incursions kept Aurelius on the march almost constantly. During his reign, confidence in the ability of the Roman Empire to protect its subjects

eroded badly. The Marcomanni reached Aquileia in northern Italy in the early 170's, and the Cherobosci nearly overran Eleusis in Greece in 170. Aurelius had turned the tide in the Romans' favor by the time he died on the Danube in 180, but he made the mistake of choosing his own son Commodus to succeed him.

Second Sophistic and "Roman Sophistic"

The intellectual history of this period was every bit as colorful as the political history. Greek-speaking intellectuals belonging to the so-called Second Sophistic looked back to earlier Greek--especially Athenian--culture,[6] even though they lived in the powerful Roman Empire. The Second Sophistic shows a use of the Greek past for the Roman present[7] in some ways similar to how Florus, Granius, and Ampelius used the Roman past for the Roman present. While the implications of the episodes from Roman history in Florus, Granius, and Ampelius are not always explicit, certainly these historians provide material useful for education, oratory, and literature. Thus, these three historians, in conjunction with such authors as Fronto and Apuleius, form the Roman counterpart to the Greek Second Sophistic. I shall call this Roman counterpart the "Roman Sophistic," and I shall use issues raised in studies of the Second Sophistic to examine Florus, Granius, and Ampelius.

Second Sophistic and Roman Empire

One of the most important issues in studying the Second Sophistic has been whether its participants oppose or embrace Roman dominion. Swain

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[6] Important works on the Second Sophistic include (in the bibliography) Anderson (2 works), Bowersock, Gleason, Reardon, Sandy, Schmitz, Sirago (2 works), and Swain. Sandy explicitly connects all of Apuleius' works with similar Greek material throughout his book, while Schmitz acknowledges the existence of a Latin side to the Second Sophistic in limiting himself to the Greek side (34).

[7] Swain's contention that the Second Sophistic is not a part of Roman history (89) is perverse.

admits, "One of the most difficult questions to answer is whether Greek classicism [his synonym for the Second Sophistic movement] was an assertion of Greekness as a reaction against a Rome whose power the emperors had made permanent."[8] Most scholars have opted for embrace rather than opposition. For example, Bowersock argues not only that Greek sophists of the Second Sophistic embrace Rome but also that Rome embraces them, since they rise to important offices within the Empire, especially the post of "imperial secretary in charge of Greek correspondence" (*ab epistulis graecis*).[9] In contrast, Bowie emphasizes that these Greek sophists pursued a cult of the past as a consolation for their (relative) political impotence in the Roman Empire.[10] I adduce as an example an imaginary letter from the Second Sophistic, Alciphron 4.7,[11] in which an Athenian courtesan uses the fifth-century-BCE Athenian politicians Pericles and Critias as examples to prove to her client the superiority of courtesans to philosophers. Pericles, a "pupil" of the courtesan Aspasia, presided over a period of Athenian imperial expansion and cultural flowering, while Critias, a pupil of the philosopher Socrates, helped lead a tyrannical reign of terror featuring confiscations of property and summary executions (Alciphron 4.7.7). The implication for Greeks under Roman rule is that they should avoid philosophy, often associated with resistance to Rome,[12] in favor of courtesans and luxury, which divert men from tyranny and revolution (Alciphron 4.7.6).

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[8] Swain 40.

[9] Bowersock 50-56.

[10] Bowie 208-9.

[11] For more about Alciphron, see *Alciphron, Aelian, Philostratus: the Letters* (ed. & trans. A. Benner & F. Fobes, London & Cambridge, MA: Heinemann & Harvard University Press, 1949) 3-21, Anderson, "Outlook" 113-116, and P. Rosenmeyer, *Epistolary Fictions: the Letter in Ancient Greek Literature* (forthcoming).

[12] For example, the "silent philosopher" Secundus came into open conflict the emperor Hadrian, although Secundus' primary aim was to pursue a philosophical lifestyle (Gleason 146).

Schmitz and Sirago both argue that Greek sophists of the Second Sophistic are conditioned by their education and acculturation to embrace the ruling power, whether Roman or Greek, whether the Roman emperor Trajan in the present or the Macedonian king Alexander the Great in the past. Schmitz emphasizes correlation rather than disjunction between education and power and accordingly uses a model of a self-perpetuating *habitus*.[13] To make his point that all sophists embrace Rome, Sirago takes as his example Lucian, who seems to be a rebel against second century CE society but actually aims his satiric barbs against those who hold no real power in the empire.[14] Instead, Sirago locates sources of genuine dissent among the lower classes and among the religiously marginalized--especially Jews and Christians.[15]

Anderson, while mostly arguing for Greek sophists' embrace of Rome, opens up the possibility of dissent when he suspects Lucian of indirect satiric attacks on Herodes Atticus, Arrian, and Aelius Aristides, sophists and powerful friends of more than one Roman emperor.[16] Gascó opens the door to dissent even wider when asserts that Greek sophists of the Second Sophistic can use their fifth and fourth-century-BCE Greek material either to oppose or embrace Rome,[17] but he gives no examples of dissent. Even though Swain identifies criticism of Rome in particular passages in Greek authors' works,[18] he emphasizes in general that preference for Greek cultural identity does not always equal resistance to Roman political identity.[19]

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[13] This model is derived from the French sociologist P. Bourdieu (Schmitz 29).

[14] Sirago, "seconda sofistica" 68-69.

[15] Sirago, "seconda sofistica" 65-66. Cf. V. Rudich, *Dissidence and Religion Under Nero* (London: Routledge, forthcoming).

[16] Anderson, "Outlook" 181.

[17] Gascó 426.

[18] As an example of Greek criticism of Rome, Swain 378 adduces Galen's contempt for a Roman who has such a poor education that he turns for the date of the equinox to a Roman astrologer rather than to the advanced mathematics Galen knows.

[19] Swain 69-79.

Being "Roman" and the Roman Sophistic

Whereas many Second Sophistic authors can be categorized as culturally "Greek" but politically "Roman," Roman Sophistic authors are assumed to be both culturally and politically "Roman." Usually, this combination of cultural and political categories yields a more complete picture of an author and his work.[20] Nevertheless, in the case of Granius, combining these two categories would be misleading--he is culturally "Roman" but not necessarily politically Roman.

What makes such a combination especially easy for the second century CE is that in this period, educated men from the provinces become increasingly prominent within the Roman Empire. For example, Fronto and Apuleius both come from Africa, while two powerful emperors, Trajan and Hadrian, come from Spain. During such a period, what it means to be "Roman" increasingly consists of not only education in the Latin language and literature that inculcates the "custom of ancestors" (*mos maiorum*), whether the ancestors were genetically one's own or not,[21] but also service in the imperial army or bureaucracy. A perfect example of combining cultural and political Romanness is Pliny the Younger, who publishes his letters as models of Latin style (cultural Romanness), becomes suffect consul in 100 CE and legate to Bithynia in 111 CE (political Romanness), and delivers in the Roman Senate a speech of thanks, the *Panegyricus*, to the emperor Trajan (cultural and political Romanness).

Rome's long and illustrious history was considered the source of the *mos maiorum*, and accordingly, knowledge of Roman history helped someone who was not born in Rome become "Roman." The works of Roman historians like Livy (from Padua), Florus (from Africa but teaching in Spain), and Ampelius (from Mauretania) were important tools for being or

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[20] This is especially true in the case of Champlin's exemplary treatment of Fronto (see bibliography).

[21] Habinek 67 attributes the expansion and lasting effectiveness of the *mos maiorum* to Ciceronian renewal.

becoming "Roman." The later historians--Florus and Ampelius--seem more anxious than Livy about becoming Roman, and the fact that their works are shorter than Livy reflects not their sloth, but their haste to provide the most crucial "Roman" material.

For example, Florus describes two incidents in which individual Roman soldiers win plunder and new titles by defeating enemy Gauls in single combat:

> Once the Gauls were massacred at the river Anio, when in single combat Manlius removed a golden neck-band, among the spoils, from a barbarian, and so his descendants were called the Torquati ['Neck-banded].[22] Again, at the Pomptine field, Gauls were massacred when in a similar battle Valerius, helped by a sacred bird landing on his helmet, won spoils; and so his descendants were called the Corvini ['Raven-like'].[23]
>
> semel apud Anienem trucidati, cum singulari certamine Manlius aureum torquem barbaro inter spolia detraxit, unde Torquati. iterum Pomptino agro, cum in simili pugna Valerius, insidente galeae sacra alite adiutus, tulit spolia; et inde Corvini (1.13.20).

One can imagine an upper-class pupil of Florus from Spain, where Florus taught, reading about Torquatus and Corvinus. When he grows up to become an officer in the Roman army, he leads Roman troops against hostile Germans on the Rhine-Danube frontier. Before going into battle, he exhorts his soldiers to win glory and plunder through individual bravery by telling the stories of Torquatus and Corvinus.[24]

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[22] Cf. Livy 7.10.2-13.

[23] Cf. Livy 7.26.2-12. In Roman religion, the presence and actions of certain birds portended success or failure in any enterprise.

[24] Pre-battle exhortations are common in Roman military campaigns. For example, Trajan's Column (118 CE), a spiraling visual narrative of Trajan's campaigns in Dacia displayed on a hundred-foot column of marble in Rome, shows the emperor Trajan giving such an exhortation to his troops. Livy features another example of a pre-battle exhortation (38.17.2-20), which even mentions Torquatus and Corvinus (38.17.8). Even Greek sophists occasionally exhort soldiers, such as Dio Chrysostom's exhortation after the death of Domitian to soldiers stationed on the Black Sea (*Olympic Oration* = *Or.* 12, 19ff, cited in Anderson, *Phenomenon* 84-85).

Even though neither Florus' former student nor most of his troops are even natives of the Italian peninsula, knowing the stories of Torquatus and Corvinus links them to Rome's long and glorious military tradition. Some of his troops could even be from Gaul, but they would presumably identify with the named Roman soldiers rather than with the unnamed Gauls. Woolf suggests a similar effect of the *Aeneid*, especially the portion concerning how the Carthaginians build a new city (1.421-438), on children in Roman Gaul:

> We may imagine the sons of the Gallic aristocracy gathered in Autun in the early decades of the first century AD to learn their Latin from this text, while a model city was literally being built around them. Leaving their lessons to wander through the still-empty street grid that framed the building sites where the monuments of Augustodunum rose around them, would it be surprising if they too had come to share Aeneas' mission?[25]

Florus and Ampelius definitely embrace Rome, even though they view it from the margins of the empire. In the case of Ampelius, the model of interlocking power and education built by Schmitz finds a perfect exemplar: Ampelius teaches Macrinus how to become an emperor. Even though he lives far from Rome, Florus becomes a correspondent of the emperor Hadrian.[26]

Nevertheless, language and education need not determine political loyalties in an overly simplistic way. For example, not everyone who speaks English or reads Shakespeare in school is a loyal subject of the British Empire. For the Greek Second Sophistic, what may actually be in play is the "double consciousness" articulated by modern writers from "colonized" cultures such as India or Zimbabwe, while for the Roman Sophistic, perhaps appropriate modern analogies could be found in "colonizing" cultures such as French Algeria or the most Anglophile parts of Canada.

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[25] Woolf 126.

[26] Charisius, p. 66 10 B and p. 157 21 B.

Even though Granius writes in Latin, the language that carries out the colonizing work of the Roman Empire, and has clearly received an education typical of an author of the Roman Sophistic, Granius Licinianus opposes the Roman Empire, or at least the emperor Hadrian, . Because Hadrian is still alive, Granius can attack him only indirectly,[27] through polemical engagement with the past, specifically the past of the Roman Republic. But this raises another question, the question of why the Roman Republic is featured in preference to the Empire in all three of the historians treated in this dissertation.

Which Past?

Why do Florus, Granius, and Ampelius treat mainly the history of the Roman Republic and not of the Empire? For Granius, his choice of material stems not only from the relative safety of attacking Hadrian indirectly through the Republican past but also from his antiquarian interests.[28] Since Florus and Ampelius find the Roman Empire congenial, their decision to treat mainly the history of the Roman Republic should not be viewed in the light of Bowie's model of the Greek Second Sophistic as nostalgia for a glorious (and fundamentally different) past. Instead, Florus and Ampelius treat the history of the Republic as the groundwork for Rome's present glory and a source of examples to foster this glory. Also, Florus may avoid the history of the Empire because he sees the period between Augustus and Trajan as a period of decline (*praef.* 8).[29] Moreover, Tacitus suggests that

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[27] Granius may have treated history down to his own day, but this seems unlikely, given his antiquarian interests (*e.g.* his discussion of the statues of Castor and Pollux at Therampnae in Laconia at 26.14-16) and the possibility that attacks on past emperors could be read as attacks on the current emperor unless there is an explicit contrast between the two, as in Florus, *praef.* 8.

[28] For example, Granius mentions Tarquinius Priscus' doubling of the centuries of knights *circa* 600 BCE (26.12) even though he is discussing events of the late second century BCE.

[29] Höse 102-3 with nn. 31-4 summarizes previous explanations of Florus' stopping point before offering his own--that for Florus, Augustus' establishment of a world empire under the "Roman peace" (*pax Romana*) constitutes the completion of Roman history and the fulfillment of the prophecy of Romulus (Florus 1.1.1).

events of the Empire are much less enjoyable to read or write when he contrasts the subject-matter of the Republic and the Empire:

> ...[events after Augustus] offer the least pleasure. For [in Republican history] the descriptions of peoples, the different kinds of battles, the famous deaths of leaders grip and restore the minds of readers: [In Imperial history] I string together harsh orders, never-ending charges, false friendships, the ruin of the innocent and the same reasons for destruction, while the sameness and overabundance of such events stands in the way.
>
> ...minimum oblectationis adferunt. nam situs gentium, varietates proeliorum, clari ducum exitus retinent ac redintegrant legentium animum: nos saeva iussa, continuas accusationes, fallaces amicitias, perniciem innocentium et easdem exitii causas coniugimus, obvia rerum similitudine et satietate (*Ann.* 4.33).[30]

Ampelius may avoid the history of the Empire because the examples are too contested, especially in sources closer to the events than his time. For example, Domitian's campaigns in central Europe are highly praised during his lifetime[31] but scorned soon after his death.[32] Tacitus explicitly points out how historiography after Augustus is biased by flattery or animus: "The deeds of Tiberius, Gaius, Claudius, and Nero were portrayed falsely because of fear while they were alive, and after they died, the portrayal of their deeds was colored by hatreds still fresh" (*Tiberii et Gaique et Claudii ac Neronis res florentibus ipsis ob metum falsae, postquam occiderant recentibus odiis compositae sunt, Ann.* 1.2).

Habinek suggests another possible answer to the question that began this section when he asserts that Cicero (106-43 BCE) not only reinvented the

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[30] For further discussion of how Florus fits into Tacitus' framework, see Höse 83-93.

[31] E.g. Statius, *Silvae* 1.1; Martial 6.76.

[32] Tacitus, *Agricola* 41.

mos maiorum as a standard for "conduct and policy"[33] but also broadened its following beyond the city of Rome:

> By expanding the common wealth of the Romans and making that wealth available to later and larger groups of readers through his extensive literary output, Cicero succeeded in widening the circle of self-conscious, interconnected elites...and in making it possible for them to believe, regardless of their status or place of origin, that they too had a stake in the preservation of a distinctively Roman *mos maiorum*.[34]

I should emphasize here that Livy helps carry out Cicero's cultural program by adopting many of Cicero's recommendations about historiography.[35] Accordingly, Florus and Ampelius do not treat many episodes in Roman history that fall outside Livy's purview, as if they are reluctant to change or add to the *mos maiorum* they have received. Nevertheless, my model of reception is not a static one in which content is poured like water from a full original into an empty receiver but a dynamic one that emphasizes transformation.

A Theoretical Model

It is not generally recognized that these second century CE historians rely on the earlier Roman historian Livy for patterns of thought as well as for their material. Since a complete text of Livy was extant up to the beginning of the fifth century CE (see Appendix) my argument cannot be dismissed on the grounds that these later historians did not have access to Livy. Earlier scholarship on Florus, Granius, and Ampelius has focused on their use of sources other than Livy,[36] and this work is still valuable. No one could

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[33] Habinek 64.

[34] Habinek 67.

[35] Walsh 20-21 with bibliography in 21 n.1.

[36] Criniti's entire *apparatus fontium* has mostly non-Livian sources/parallels for Granius, while Arnaud-Lindet 105-112 and Bessone, *tradizione* 1-55 focus on non-Livian sources for

contend that Livy is the sole source for each of these historians. Indeed, almost no Roman historian relies on a single source; Livy himself acknowledges his use of at least ten sources.[37]

More recent scholarship has begun to acknowledge Florus' debt to Livy, but often without sufficient analysis.[38] Granius' dependence on Livy is often stated without substantiation,[39] while Ampelius is considered too marginal to use Livy without an intermediate source.[40] In contrast, I contend that not only specific historical details but also ways of organizing and thinking about history point to Livy as an important source for these three later historians. For example, Livy is greatly interested in Roman self-sacrifice, literal and figurative, and includes several examples throughout his work. Ampelius, picking up on Livy's interest in self-sacrifice, not only collects a dozen examples of self-sacrificing Romans into a single chapter on this theme,[41] but also includes such obscure figures as Folius, a priest who vows himself to the gods of the underworld to prevent invading Gauls from burning Rome to the ground in 386 BCE (Ampelius 20.7 and Livy 5.41.3).

Moreover, the relationship between Livy and Florus, Granius, and Ampelius should not be conceived in terms of a canonical, accurate original and its non-canonical, imperfect copies. Not only does such a conception

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Ampelius. For Florus, Zancan 33, 61-2 dismisses the manuscript title *Epitoma/ae de Tito Livio* on the basis of a narrower concept of reliance than I shall use in the Florus chapter. Zancan 59 asserts that Florus is not an epitome of Livy on the basis of an event found in Florus but not in Livy, a slaughter at the Aufidus river (Florus 2.6.18).

37 Walsh 115, 124, 127-8.

38 Bessone, *storia* 163-196 is the best attempt to date.

39 Steinmetz 140 n. 58.

40 Bessone, *tradizione* 43.

41 Cf. the nineteenth-century Polish classicist Adam Mickiewicz, who cites Scaevola, Curtius, and Decius along with several Polish examples to show that self-sacrifice defines citizenship (*Poems of Adam Mickiewicz*, ed. & trans. G. Noyes *et al.* [New York, 1944] 385, cited in Habinek 27).

strip away the contexts in which the works were produced,[42] it makes the relationship too one-sided. I suspect that these three later historians, along with the *Periochae* and other works in the Livian tradition, do not supplant Livy but help confirm his importance and thereby ensure his survival up to at least the beginning of the fifth century CE (see Appendix). Such a work as the *Periochae* could not have caused the loss of so many books of Livy since all the extant books, as well as almost all the lost books, are epitomated in the *Periochae.* The *Periochae* probably increased interest in Livy by alerting readers to such episodes as the siege of Veii in Book 5 ("at the siege of Veii,"*in obsidione Veiorum..., Per.* 5) and Livy's discussion in Book 9 of what would have happened if Alexander the Great had invaded Italy ("if Alexander had crossed into Italy," *si Alexander in Italiam traiecisset, Per.* 9).

I find a more appropriate conception of the relationship between Livy and these three historians in a Gadamerian "fusion of horizons" that leaves aside the question of historical accuracy, of "what really happened."[43] In his monumental work *Truth and Method,* Gadamer uses the word "horizon" instead of "point of view" or "perspective" because he wants his reader to be aware that each perspective has limitations and that some things always remain hidden from view or (as it were) over the horizon. Gadamer then reconceives the hermeneutical relationship between present and past:

> ...the horizon of the present cannot be formed without the past. There is no more an isolated horizon of the present in itself than there are historical horizons which have to be acquired. Rather,

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[42] Traditionally, scholars isolate "minor" historians from their historical and cultural context, then scornfully evaulate them only on the basis of their content or what they add to the surviving historical record. For example, Bessone, *tradizione* 55 concludes that Ampelius has little historical value while ignoring any possible contribution Ampelius could make to studies of education in the Empire, of Romano-African civilization, or even of the emperor Macrinus.

[43] LaCapra 25 calls this the "documentary conception of historical understanding." Among others, M. Halbwachs moves away from this "documentary conception" in his study of commemoration in the Holy Land, *La Topographie.* His project is not to find the actual location of such New Testament sites as the praetorium of Pontius Pilate, but to trace out the centuries-long process by which particular features of the geography of Palestine became part of the Christian pilgrim's route (Hutton 80-84).

> understanding is always the fusion of these horizons supposedly existing by themselves.[44]

In a more succinct formulation, Gadamer says, "To think historically means, in fact, to perform the transposition that the concepts of the past undergo when we try to think in them."[45] Even though he is a literary critic and not a historian, Martindale has a good formulation of how the Gadamerian model can be applied specifically to historiography:

> Again, historians put the 'past' to the question from the 'present'; since they use the language and concepts of their own day, they could be said to be engaged in an act of translating the past in terms of the present in a 'fusion of horizons,' and translations are ... 'different' from the texts translated.[46]

In its application in the present study, the "fusion-of-horizons" model has two different phases. In the first phase of the model, the horizon of early Rome fuses with that of Livy, living under Augustus.[47] For example, when Rome rebuilds and purifies itself after being besieged by the Gauls, there is a similarity to Augustus rebuilding Rome after decades of civil war. Nevertheless, Livy emphasizes that the earlier renovations take place in rather haphazard fashion (5.55.2-5) to underscore the meticulous planning of Augustus' renovation. In the second phase of the model, the already fused horizon of Livy's text fuses again with that of Florus, Granius, and Ampelius, living in the second century CE. Accordingly, these later historians are

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[44] Gadamer 306.

[45] Gadamer 397.

[46] Martindale 20. Hutton also borrows this Gadamerian concept (23, 159-160) and recommends it as a tool for historians of "lost cultural worlds" (167).

[47] An alternate model, less interactive and less temporally specific, asserts that Livy and the three later historians have a "unitarian view" of the history of the Roman Republic--historical change is simple, linear, and always comprehensible in terms of the writer's own time (Raaflaub 21).

interpreters not only of the Roman past, but also, at the same time, of Livy. When Florus treats the purification and rebuilding of Rome after the Gallic siege, he emphasizes the purification of the city over rebuilding (1.13.18), because the second century CE emperor Hadrian did not completely rebuild Rome, but chiefly founded some new temples and renewed the official boundary of Rome, the *pomoerium*.

Any "fusion of horizons" is easier when the horizons are temporally and culturally closer to one another. Livy himself acknowledges that the early Republic is difficult to write about because it was so long ago and because important written records were lost (6.1.2). Specifically, these later historians, like Livy, are native speakers of Latin and interpret Livy from within a tradition of writing and, in the case of Florus and Ampelius, of teaching Roman history. These historians not only provide us with interpretations of Livy across less of a historical divide but also have already influenced our interpretations of Livy.

As Martindale says about epic poets, "our current interpretations of ancient texts, whether or not we are aware of it, are, in complex ways, constructed by the chain of receptions through which their continued readability has been effected."[48] For example, Livy devotes ten books (21-30) to the Second Punic War because he thinks it is important. Hannibal also dovetails nicely with Augustan propaganda--Hannibal, like the recently-defeated Antony and Cleopatra, threatens Rome's existence from across the Mediterranean. Writing in the second century CE, Florus and Ampelius each devote extensive sections to this war, particularly to its battles. Not only is the Second Punic War an important example of Roman bravery in the face of a dire military situation, this war also breaks Carthaginian power and eventually leads to the creation of Roman provinces in Africa, the homelands of both Florus and Ampelius.[49]

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[48] Martindale 8. In the case of Livy and most ancient authors, "continued readability" includes the survival of the text (see above) as well as of the interpretative tradition.

[49] Similarly, in 1957 CE, C. Robinson, a classicist at Brown University, is preparing an anthology of Greek and Roman historians. For his excerpts from Livy, he chooses to focus on the Second Punic War, probably because the Rome-Carthage conflict resembles the Cold War--a clash of different, mutually incompatible societies. The Cold War seems to be meant in

A more specific example shows a more sinister application of a Livian story to events of the second century CE. Livy offers two variants of an incident in 486 BCE in which Spurius Cassius is punished for seeking to become king and nullify Rome's representative government. In one version, Spurius is killed by his own father (2.41.10). In another version, Spurius is convicted of treason by a court, and his house is pulled down (2.41.11). Livy favors the second, milder version as being more plausible (2.41.11), and the second version supports the propaganda of the emperor Augustus, under whom Livy wrote. Augustus constantly stressed his mercy to enemies[50]--often equivalent to letting them remain alive--and the legality of his conduct.[51] In contrast, Florus gives only the first, harsher version (1.26.7). By Florus' day the emperor had become the embodiment of the law and the highest court of appeal, while the crime of seeking to become king had been transformed into the crime of seeking to usurp the imperial throne. In 118 CE, the emperor Hadrian had four men executed for seeking to replace him as emperor,[52] so Florus' account of Spurius Cassius could serve as a justification for Hadrian's conduct.

Robinson's phrase "the crises of our day" (xxxiv), especially read in conjunction with an approving citation of then-Secretary of State George C. Marshall on the importance of the Peloponnesian War for "the basic international issues today" (xiii). Within the Second Punic War he selects Hannibal's traversing the Alps (169-177) and three battles--Trasimene (177-184), Cannae (185-191), and Metaurus (195-201)--all of which are mentioned by both Florus (2.6.9; 2.6.13-14; 2.6.15-17; 2.6.49-50) and Ampelius (28.4; 46.5-6). I am not implying that Robinson uses as his sole criterion whether an incident was mentioned in Florus and Ampelius. Instead, Florus and Ampelius help create a consensus about which parts of the Second Punic War are the most important, and this consensus influences Robinson.

50 *Res Gestae* 2, Velleius Paterculus 2.86.2. Syme, *Roman Revolution* 480-1 unravels the tapestry of imperial propaganda.

51 *Res Gestae* 34. Syme, *Roman Revolution* 314-6 again unmasks the propaganda.

52 Syme, *Tacitus* 244.

Overview of Chapters

Each of the three central chapters will discuss the author, his text, and connections between the author and the *Zeitgeist* of the High Roman Empire. More specifically, the second chapter will discuss Florus' use of Livy for wars and revolts (*seditiones*) of the early Roman Republic. The third chapter will show how Granius inverts Hadrianic propaganda and how thematically similar he is to Livy. The fourth chapter will show how Ampelius reads Livy to create sections on self-sacrifice, the Second Punic War, and the end of the Macedonian empire. The fifth and final chapter will draw together the findings of the previous chapters and trace out their implications for these second century CE historians and for Livy.

Chapter Two: Florus, the Rhetorical Historian

None wrote more truly, none more concisely, none more decoratively. *Nemo verius Nemo brevius Nemo ornatius scripsit.*[53]

Introduction

By using the word "rhetorical," I do not mean to imply that Florus is mendacious or strictly decorative, but that he uses rhetorical techniques to shape his historiography. In our century, White, among others, points out the primacy of rhetoric in historiography,[54] while Florus treats such primacy as axiomatic. For White this primacy becomes the basis for a critique of historiography, but for Florus it becomes the basis for a historiography that celebrates Rome.

But who was Florus? This introduction will briefly discuss problems related to Florus' text and identity. The second section will discuss Florus' preface and other programmatic moments within his text. The third section will discuss the relationship between Florus and Livy and show how Florus and Livy attempt to solve the problem of the fusion of horizons discussed in Chapter One. The fourth section will show the application of Florus' solutions to this problem to an extended example, Florus 1.13, a chapter which treats early Roman Republican conflicts with the Gauls. The fifth section will discuss Florus' account of revolts (*seditiones*) in the early Roman Republic as presenting special difficulty for the fusion of horizons, while the conclusion will summarize the findings of this chapter.

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[53] Malcovati, xvii, xix reports that these words appear at the very end of two manuscripts, the fifteenth-century codex *bibliothecae Classensis Ravennatis* 245 (R) and the fourteenth-century codex *Firmanus* 4 C A 1 n. 45.

[54] H. White, *Metahistory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1973) 1-43; Hutton 122.

Florus is one of the most enigmatic figures of Roman historiography. Even the title[55] and method of citing[56] his history are in dispute, and the relationships of the manuscripts are still being worked out.[57] I wish to alert the reader to three choices that I have made in discussing Florus' history. First, I shall leave Florus' history untitled and refer to his history simply by "Florus." Second, I shall cite Florus according to the traditional four-book division. Third, I shall use the 1972 text of H. Malcovati, with discussion of textual matters only where they are important to my argument.

Florus' identity is uncertain.[58] In addition to his history, he may have also written a fragment of a dialogue called *Vergilius Orator an Poeta* (hereafter abbreviated as *VOAP*), ten poems, and letters to Hadrian. I shall assume that Florus the historian, Florus the author of *VOAP*, Florus the poet, and Florus the imperial correspondent are the same person.[59] Even if this assumption is false, the connections I shall draw among these works will rely more on the *Zeitgeist* of the early second century CE than on specific verbal correspondences.

The dialogue *VOAP*, which superficially resembles Tacitus' *Dialogus* and the "exercises" (*progymnasmata*) of the Second Sophistic, features an interlocutor named Florus describing how he gave up poetry when Domitian refused to let him win a poetry contest because he was from Africa (*VOAP* 1.4). After traveling the Mediterranean (*VOAP* 2.1-5), Florus chose to become

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[55] Bessone, *storia* 13-19 discusses the confusion over the title of Florus' history, while Zancan 33 attacks the title *Epitoma de Tito Livio*.

[56] The important Bamberg manuscript has only two books but is heavily subdivided into chapters, each with its own title. The titles were probably applied by teachers for the benefit of their students rather than by Florus (Bessone, *storia* 21), but I shall refer to them occasionally for the benefit of my reader. Most modern scholars cite Florus according to a four-book division present in several manuscripts, but others, notably Champlin, cite him according to the two-book division.

[57] Recent articles by M. Reeve in *CQ* 38 (1988) 477-491 and in *CQ* 41 (1991) 453-483 have re-evaluated the importance of some manuscripts of Florus.

[58] Baldwin, "Problems," 134-137 treats the question of Florus' identity.

[59] Baldwin, "Problems," 137 comes to a similar conclusion, but with more qualifications.

a teacher of boys instead of an imperial civil servant (*VOAP* 3.2-7).[60] The last extant sentence, truncated in mid-word, forms almost a pedagogue's hymn. This sentence provides Florus' description of his curriculum, both its intended outcomes and its methods:

> Good Jupiter, how imperial, how royal it is to sit instructing good customs and the pursuits of holy literature from a platform, now leading the recitation of poems, by which their faces and minds are molded, now rousing their perceptions with diverse opinions, now with examples ro...
>
> bone Iuppiter, quam imperatorium, quam regium est sedere a suggestu praecipientem bonos mores et sacrarum studia litterarum, iam carmina praelegentem, quibus ora mentesque formantur, iam sententiis variis sensus excitantem iam exemplis ro...(*VOAP* 3.8).

The truncated word *ro...* tantalizes us about where Florus got his "examples," *exempla*. Rossbach's supplement "[of] ro[man history]," (*ro[manae historiae*) which would tie *VOAP* and the history more closely together and provide an additional motive for writing *VOAP*, is an attractive one. The curriculum may have included more than "poems," "opinions," and examples" (*carmina, sententiae, exempla*) but its ethical dimension ("good customs" [*boni mores*]) emerges clearly.

Within the history, Florus in one episode shows a concern for ethical conduct both in teaching and in augmenting Rome's empire entirely appropriate for the author of *VOAP*. In the conflict between Rome and the Faliscans, Florus describes how Marcus Furius Camillus rebuffs a treacherous Faliscan schoolmaster's offer of his students as hostages and sends the schoolmaster back to the Faliscans with bound hands: "because Camillus

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[60] These two sections of the work have an especially pronounced rhetorical flavor. Florus' account of his travels resembles the type of exercise or *progymnasma* called "narration" (*diegema*, Anderson, *Phenomenon* 47); moreover, travel is characteristic of sophists (Anderson, *Phenomenon* 28-30). Florus' choice of one occupation over another resembles the type of *progymnasma* called "comparison" (*syncrisis*, Anderson, *Phenomenon* 51). Philostratus, *VS* 614 suggests that a typical Greek sophist of the 1st-3rd centuries CE would spend a good deal of his time on teaching boys (cited in Anderson, "Outlook" 100 and elaborated upon in Kennedy 17-19).

willingly sent the schoolmaster, the betrayer of his city, bound in chains, away from himself and back with the boys whom the schoolmaster had led to him" (*quod ludi magistrum, urbis proditorem cum his quos adduxerat pueris vinctum sibi ultro remisisset*, 1.12.5). Here Florus turns Camillus into an outstanding "example of Roman history" (*exemplum romanae historiae*) suitable for "arousing perceptions" (*sensus excitare*): "For as a virtuous and wise man, he knew that a true victory is obtained by incorruptible trust and unstained honor" (*eam namque vir sanctus et sapiens veram sciebat esse victoriam, quae salva fide et integra dignitate pareretur*, 1.12.6). Presumably the Faliscans surrender (Florus 1.12.4) because of Camillus' "trust" (*fides*) and "honor" (*dignitas*), but Florus leaves it to the reader to draw the connection. In contrast, Livy puts more emphasis on the reasoning behind Camillus' act, the idea of laws of war ("there are laws of war, just as of peace" [*sunt et belli, sicut pacis, iura*, 5.27.6]),[61] and the effect of returning the treacherous schoolmaster on the Faliscans:

> Roman Trust, the justice of the general are talked about in the marketplace and in the senate-house; by the agreement of all envoys set out to surrender the Faliscans to Camillus in his camp and thence, with the consent of Camillus, to the senate at Rome.
>
> Fides Romana, iustitia imperatoris in foro et curia celebrantur; consensuque omnium legati ad Camillum in castra, atque inde permissu Camilli Romam ad senatum, qui dederent Falerios proficiscuntur (5.27.11).

As for Florus' series of ten poems, some have affinities with Martial,[62] and some, with Juvenal. In particular, Poem 8 attacks the sort of Roman

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[61] Livy asserts that human society is formed by nature, not by convention, as Plato (*Rep.* 369B-372D) and Epicurus (*Chief Doctrines* [Κύριαι Δόξαι] 33) argue (Ogilvie 688). Reaction to Greek culture appears even more strongly in the phrase describing how schoolmasters accompany their pupils both in and out of school: "which (custom) persists even today in Greece" (*quod hodie quoque in Graecia manet*, 5.27.1; Ogilvie 687). I hope to define what Livy means by "laws of war" (*belli...iura*, 5.27.6) in a future article.

[62] Poem 2, which uses the life cycle of roses to express the *carpe diem* theme, resembles thematically Martial 1.15, 2.59, 2.90, 4.54, 5.20, 5.58, 5.64, 8.44, 8.77, 10.44.

xenophobia displayed by Juvenal's character Umbricius.[63] Moreover Poem 8, which defends so called "overseas customs" (*mores transmarini* [8.1]), can be read in conjunction with a passage from Florus' history, 1.1.9, which describes how Rome was founded and populated by "those from overseas" (*transmarini*).[64]

Scanty evidence is available about the reception of Florus' poetry. Pollianos, a Greek poet who can be dated to the second century CE, attacks a poet named Florus.[65] In contrast, the emperor Hadrian approved of Florus' poetry to the point of exchanging poetry with him.[66] Florus returned the admiration--according to a brief quotation by the fourth-century CE grammarian Charisius, Florus sent Hadrian a letter containing the words "lover of a poem" (*poematis delector*).[67]

Florus' date is also uncertain, but at the very least, a reference to Trajan in his preface (*praef.* 8) creates a *terminus post quem* of 98 CE.[68] According to

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[63] *Sat.* 3.60-80.

[64] In the context of Roman Britain, *transmarinus* means "Roman," as opposed to "British" (Birley 130, 135).

[65] *Anthologia Graeca*, Pollianos 11.128.

[66] *HA Hadrian* 16.3-4, cited in Baldwin, "Problems," 134.

[67] Charisius p. 66, 10 B; another fragment from a letter of Florus to Hadrian contains the words, "spoils as if from an Arab or a Sarmatian" *quasi de Arabe aut Sarmata manubias* (Charisius p. 157, 21 B). Malcovati 215 cites both passages of Charisius.

[68] But K. Neuhausen, "Florus' Einteilung der römischen Geschichte und seiner historischen Schrift in Lebensalter. Echte und interpolierte Altersstufen im überlieferten Prooem als Schlüssel zu einer neuen Datierung der 'Epitome,'" in H. Dubois & M. Zink, edd., *Les âges de la vie du Moyen Âge* (Actes du Colloque du Départment d'Études Médiévales de l' Université de Paris-Sorbonne et de l' Université Friedrich Wilhelm de Bonn, Provins, 16-17 mars 1990, Paris, 1992 = *Cultures et Civilisations Mediévales* 7), 226ff. claims that this sentence is interpolated into a work composed around 14-15 CE (cited and refuted in Bessone, *storia* 17 n.16). Titze, *de epitomes Flori probabilissima aetate* (Linz, 1804) also advocates an Augustan date (cited in Zancan 74 n.19).

the general consensus,[69] Florus flourished during the reign of Hadrian. With support from the meager evidence of correspondence between Florus and Hadrian cited above, I shall assume a Hadrianic date for Florus, but again, many of my conclusions will depend more on the *Zeitgeist* of the early second century CE than on the politics or person of Hadrian.

Florus' Famous Preface

Much scholarship on Florus focuses on his remarkable preface, which is discussed even by those with no interest in Florus *per se*.[70] Florus defines the scope of his history in an interesting way: "The Roman people accomplished a great number of works in peace and war through seven hundred[71] years from King Romulus to Caesar Augustus" (*Populus Romanus a rege Romulo in Caesarem Augustum septingentos per annos tantum operum pace belloque gessit, praef.* 1). Thus, the scope of Florus corresponds roughly to the original scope of Livy,[72] and Florus connects two figures, Romulus and Augustus, whom Livy considers "founders" (*conditores*).[73] But the first two words of the work are the most significant, for Florus makes the Roman people, the *populus Romanus*, the subject of his entire work. The Roman people dominate the narrative so much that unless otherwise specified, the subject of any verb in the 3rd person singular is

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[69] Bessone, *storia* 21 and Zancan 63 call this dating traditional, while Champlin, *Fronto* 158 n.66 cites Florus 2.17.8 as alluding to Hadrian: "It is a better thing to keep than to conquer a province," (*plus est provinciam retinere quam facere*).

[70] Facchini Tosi has written an entire monograph on the preface of Florus, while Hardie 383 discusses the preface as an example of imperial ideology.

[71] 722 years separate the traditional date for the founding of Rome and Octavian's victory at Actium, but those who expect mathematical exactitude from Florus will be severely disappointed. Moreover, large numbers suffer heavily from the process of transmitting texts, as the *apparatus criticus* of Ogilvie's edition of Livy repeatedly shows (1.60.3, 3.15.5, 4.32.8 etc.).

[72] To judge from the *Periochae*, Livy's original work ended with the death of Drusus in 9 CE, or in one ms. with the defeat of Quinctilius Varus in that same year.

[73] Miles 120-126 discussses the significance of this term.

almost always the Roman people. The words "in peace and war" (*pace belloque*) however, create a wrong impression--Florus writes far more about the Roman people at war than about the Roman people at peace.[74]

Next, Florus provides a justification for studying Roman history even to those who are not Romans, and his justification is based on Rome's military might: "The Roman people have surrounded the known world with arms so widely that those who read about their affairs learn the deeds not of one people but of the human race" (*ita late per orbem terrarum arma circumtulit, ut qui res illius legunt non unius populi, sed generis humani facta condiscant, praef.* 2). The historian Appian, writing in Greek about Roman history in the second century CE, provides a similar explanation.[75]

Florus then presents the process of epitomizing Roman history in terms of the visual arts:

> because its [Roman history's] very size stands in its own way and the diversity of events breaks the progress of attention, I shall do what those who paint landscapes usually do: I shall embrace its whole image in a brief sketch, as it were.
>
> quia ipsa sibi obstat magnitudo rerumque diversitas aciem intentionis abrumpit, faciam quod solent qui terrarum situs pingunt: in brevi quasi tabella totam eius imaginem amplectar (*praef.* 3).

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[74] Bessone, *storia* 24.

[75] *praef.* 8-11. J. Ellul, *The Betrayal of the West* (trans. M. O' Connell, New York, NY: Seabury Press, 1978) provides a modern argument for the importance of Roman history, with a justification for Roman conquest: "The Romans took the third step by inventing civil and institutional libery and making political freedom the key to their entire politics. Even the conquests of the Romans were truly an unhypocritical expression of their intention of freeing peoples who were subject to dictatorships and tyrannies the Romans judged degrading" (20). It need hardly be said that Florus and Appian, actual subjects of the Roman empire, were not as sanguine.

For a similar visual metaphor, one could adduce the title of Statius' book of lyric poems, *Silvae*, "Woods,"[76] but such a metaphor is unusual for a historian.[77] Moreover, Florus applies a biological metaphor to the development of the Roman people in history:

> If someone, therefore, should ponder the Roman people as if a single person and examine its entire life, how he began and how he grew up, how he reached a certain peak of youth and how he afterwards declined, as it were, he would find its four steps and progressions.
>
> si quis ergo populum Romanum quasi unum hominem consideret totamque eius aetatem percenseat, ut coeperit utque adoleverit, ut quasi ad quandam iuventae frugem pervenerit, ut postea velut consenuerit, quattuor gradus processusque eius inveniet (*praef.* 4).

The succeeding sentences (*praef.* 5-7) break down the ages with round numbers, but the metaphor does not stop there.[78] Indeed, the metaphor of the Roman people as a single person[79] pervades Florus' work. For example, even though "those from overseas" (*transmarini*, 1.1.9) settled early Rome,

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[76] K. Coleman, *Silvae IV* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988) xxiii notes that Roman orators use the term *silva* to suggest the visible profusion and variety of an entire forest ecosystem.

[77] Facchini Tosi 27 with nn. 19-20 suggests that *tabella* could be a cartographic term as well as a term used in the visual arts. Cf. Aulus Gellius' "overview of very ancient ages" (*conspectus aetatum antiquissimarum, NA* 17.21), but his focus is chronology and individual biography, and his last event is the Second Punic War (Baldwin, "Historiography" 482).

[78] This kind of periodization has a long history, beginning with Hesiod's correspondence between ages of men and metals (*Works and Days* 106-201). Indeed, Florus later complicates his four ages by subdividing the "youth" (*iuventas*) of Rome into ages of gold and of iron, each roughly 100 years long and divided at the middle by the Numantine War (133 BCE) (Florus 2.19.2-3).

[79] Höse 70-76 has more discussion of this metaphor. In particular, Florus personifies the Roman people mainly in the first half of the work (Höse 73) in order to make Augustus' sole rule (Florus 4.3.5-6), whereby one person controls and is identified with the state, seem more natural (Höse 74). Hardie 383 puts this metaphor and Florus' later "cosmic analogies" in the context of Augustan propaganda.

Romulus made them one "body", the Roman people: "thus, from various elements, as it were, he gathered them together as one body, and he himself made them the Roman people" (*ita ex variis quasi elementis congregavit corpus unum, populumque Romanum ipse fecit*, 1.1.9). Later sections of this chapter will show how this metaphor informs the main narrative.

Nevertheless, metaphors should not be turned into philosophical statements. Florus' metaphor of the Roman people as one person does not constitute proof that he is a Stoic, nor is the word *elementa* in Florus 1.1.9, quoted above, proof of Epicureanism.[80] Similarly, Florus in his preface portrays Roman history as a struggle between Courage and Luck, but this is a rhetorical contrast[81] rather than a philosophical distinction: "the Roman people has been tossed around in so many sufferings and dangers, so that Courage and Luck seem to have struggled to establish its empire" (*tot in laboribus periculisque iactatus est, ut ad constituendum eius imperium contendisse Virtus et Fortuna videantur, praef.* 2).[82]

Indeed, if Florus' metaphor of the Roman people as one person is taken philosophically, Florus "contradicts" his own metaphor in the last sentence of his preface, when youth is "restored" to Rome:

> from Caesar Augustus to our age, it has not been much less than two hundred years,[83] in which the Roman people have grown old and gone bankrupt from the sluggishness of emperors, except that under the emperor Trajan, the Roman people

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[80] Hardie 383 n.35 compares Florus' view of Augustus in 4.3.5 to Stoic views of the universe in Cicero, *De natura deorum* 2.7.19, 2.45.115, but this is not the same thing as calling Florus a Stoic. Compare how Johnson 4-5 with n. 7 discusses and dismisses attempts to make Lucan a Stoic, attempts often based on short passages taken out of context.

[81] Bessone, *storia* 83.

[82] Bessone, *storia* 84-121; A. Nordh, "*Virtus* and *Fortuna* in Florus," *Eranos* 49 (1951), 111-118; and Zancan 23-32 discuss in more detail the manifestations of "courage and luck," *virtus et fortuna*, in Florus as a whole. Cf. also Plutarch, *Moralia* (*de fortuna Romanorum*) 326A 10-11, where "courage and luck" also contend. An interesting echo of this sentence of Florus' preface appears in modern historiography: "[Romans] tried to secure for themselves a bigger share of security and prosperity than fortune seemed to have allotted them" (Raaflaub 6).

[83] Again, mathematical exactitude is not important (see note 73).

> exercised their muscles, and beyond the hope of all, the old age of the empire grows strong again as if its youth had been restored.
>
> a Caesare Augusto in saeculum nostrum haud multo minus anni ducenti, quibus inertia Caesarum quasi consenuit atque decoxit, nisi quod sub Traiano principe movit lacertos et praeter spem omnium senectus imperii quasi reddita iuventute revirescit (*praef.* 8).

In sum, this metaphor for Florus is a literary device, not a philosophy of history.[84] Indeed, Florus *praef.* 8 has verbal affinities with a poem, *Silvae* 1.4, which gives thanks for the recovery from illness of Rutilius Gallicus, Domitian's urban prefect: "he has removed the lines of old age and better, he grows strong again into succeeding years" (*fila senectae / exuit atque alios melior revirescit*[85] *in annos, Silvae* 1.4.7-8). A further point of comparison is that Gallicus stands in for Rome and its empire,[86] just as Florus' hypothetical *unus homo* functions as a metaphor for the Roman people.

In contrast to Florus' overarching, dominant metaphor, Livy's preface uses several different, fleeting metaphors. In the general trend of Livy's preface, pernicious, recently-arising "greed" (*cupiditas, praef.* 12) supplants the old-fashioned "order" (*disciplina, praef.* 9) that was necessary for the Roman people's success. In metaphorical passages, Livy asserts such things as, "the very strength of a very powerful people has been destroying itself for a long time" (*iam pridem praevalentis populi vires se ipsae conficiunt, praef.* 4). At one point, Livy even describes Rome as sick and in need of "cures" (*remedia*), just as Florus' Roman people "have grown old and gone bankrupt"

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[84] Johnson 125-126 explicitly denies the validity of the metaphor of a state as a single person, especially as applied to the equation of senescence and decadence.

[85] Perhaps these lines support Malcovati's choice of *revirescit* (E) over *reviruit* (B) in Florus *praef.* 8.

[86] J. Henderson, *A Roman Life: Rutilius Gallicus On Paper & In Stone* (Exeter, UK: Exeter Univ. Press, 1998) 48: "Statius is making Gallicus sound like Rome, like a consul, like a soter ('Saviour'), like an emperor, like a metonym for the empire, like something important and permanent."

(*consenuit atque decoxit*, Florus *praef.* 8): "it has come to these times, in which we can endure neither our faults nor their cures" (*ad haec tempora quibus nec vitia nostra nec remedia pati possumus perventum est*, Livy *praef.* 9).

Both Florus and Livy share, however, a tendency to signpost where their narratives are going at other locations in their text, even though Florus' text is so short as not to require signposts. In addition to Livy's famous announcement of the growth and decline of Rome in his preface ("Rome grew, setting out from scanty beginnings to such a point that it is now suffering from its own size," [*ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creverit ut iam magnitudine laboret sua, praef.* 4]), he occasionally features signposts to the content of his text in the middle of his narrative. For example, Livy 6.1.1-2 looks backward to summarize the first five books. In Book 7, just before discussing the Samnites and the Samnite Wars, Livy looks forward to Pyrrhus and the Punic Wars:

> From this point on the wars will be said to be greater, in the strength of the enemy and in the separation of places and of times within which fighting occurred. For in this year arms were taken up against the Samnites, a people strong in arms and resources. The enemy Pyrrhus came after the Samnite war, which was waged inconclusively, and the Carthaginians came after Pyrrhus.
>
> maiora iam hinc bella et viribus hostium et longinquitate vel regionum vel temporum [spatio] quibus bellatum est dicentur. Namque eo anno adversus Samnites, gentem opibus armisque validam, mota arma; Samnitium bellum ancipiti Marte gestum Pyrrhus hostis, Pyrrhum Poeni secuti (7.29.1-2).

Florus similarly gives his reader retrospective and prospective views of his material. He reminds his reader where his narrative has gone with summaries of the material just treated (especially 1.8 and 3.12). He also announces what material will be treated and sometimes tells his reader how to think about it. For example, in a particularly striking passage after Rome's change from monarchy to republic, Florus gives a series of causes ("for freedom, for territory, then for allies, then for glory and for power" [*pro*

libertate...pro finibus, deinde pro sociis, tum gloria et imperio, 1.9.6]) for Roman expansion over the entire Italian peninsula ('they subjected all of Italy beneath themselves" [*totam Italiam sub se redegerunt,* 1.9.8]).

In the earlier parts of his work, Florus adheres to his series of causes. Accordingly, Florus states that Rome's earliest wars were waged for the survival of its republican government, "for freedom" (*pro libertate,* 1.10.1). After the Latin wars have begun, the emphasis shifts to acquiring territory: "up to this point the fight was for freedom, soon it would be about territory" (*hactenus pro libertate, mox de finibus...pugnatum est,* 1.11.5). Florus presents the conflict between the Gallic Senones and Rome as a war "for allies" (*pro sociis*) precipitated by Roman attempts the help its ally, the city of Clusium: "the Roman people intervened for the sake of allied and allianced peoples," (*pro sociis ac foederatis Romanus [sc. populus] intervenit,* 1.13.6). Again, he shows the Romans intervening in Campania for similar reasons: "then, stirred by the prayers of Campania, the Roman people attacked the Samnites, not for themselves, but more outstandingly than that, for their allies" (*precibus deinde Campaniae motus non pro se, sed eo speciosius pro sociis Samnitas invadit,* 1.16.1). But later, Florus becomes cynical about Roman help for its allies; the First Punic War was fought "on the pretext of helping allies" (*specie quidem socios iuvandi,* 2.2.4).[87] As for "glory and power" (*gloria et imperium*), "power" (*imperium*) also appears only briefly and in a similarly cynical light.[88]

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[87] Hoyos 51. The connotations of the adjective *speciosus,* "outstanding" and the noun *species,* "appearance, pretext" are nearly opposite.

[88] For example, "for the appearance of power" *ad imperii speciem,* is the motivation for conquering Armenia and Britain, both worthless in comparison to Gaul and the Eastern provinces (Florus 3.12.4).

Florus, Livy, and the Fusion of Horizons

Florus' Relationship with Livy

Recently, interest has shifted to other parts of Florus' work and to his relationship with Livy. The manuscript tradition of Florus reveals that from a very early date, Florus' history was called "Epitome from Titus Livius" *Epitoma de Tito Livio,* while the sixth-century-CE Byzantine chronicler Malalas understood Florus as an epitome of Livy.[89] Florus has too many divergences from Livy to be an epitome in the same sense as the *Periochae,*[90] but it is clear that Livy is Florus' main source.

In his recent monograph on Florus, Bessone documents Florus' frequent use of Livy when discussing three particular historical periods: the Roman monarchy, the Second Punic War, and the Macedonian and Syrian Wars.[91] Bessone has left completely unexplored the events of 510-292 BCE, treated in Livy 2-10 and Florus 1.9-18, 22-26. This period is not only "one of very few underresearched periods in ancient history,"[92] but also poses particularly acute problems for the fusion of horizons in both Florus and Livy discussed in Chapter One. Accordingly, most of the examples in this chapter will come from this period.

Monuments and Documents

The problem of the fusion of horizons becomes crucial when post-Republican Roman historians try to treat the early Roman Republic. Livy himself acknowledges at the beginning of Book 6 that in Books 1-5 he has

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89 Bessone, *storia* 16-17 with n. 13; Malalas' chronicle, centered on Antioch, probably used some of the later books of Florus.

90 Bessone, *storia* 16.

91 *storia* 164-175, 175-187, 187-196 respectively. Bessone emphasizes that Florus depends heavily on Livy without attempting to explain the differences.

92 Raaflaub 4.

treated "events murky both because of their great antiquity, as if they are just barely made out from a great distance, and because throughout those same times written documents, the only reliable protection for the memory of past events, were insignificant and few" (*res cum vetustate nimia obscuras velut quae magno ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur, tum quod parvae et rarae per eadem tempora litterae fuere, una custodia fidelis memoriae rerum gestarum*, 6.1.2). He also cites the loss of records in the fire during the Gallic siege (6.1.2).

Livy brings about a fusion of horizons by mentioning physical monuments to complement his written "monuments" (*monumenta, praef.* 6).[93] For example, early in Livy Book 2, the fledgling Roman Republic battles the Etruscan king Porsenna for its very survival. In connection with this war, Livy mentions concrete rewards for courage given to Horatius Cocles, Mucius Scaevola, and Cloelia rather than cite the testimony of earlier historians, as "proof" of their existence--Horatius is rewarded with a statue and land (2.10.12); Mucius, with land (the "Mucian Meadows," 2.13.5); Cloelia, with an equestrian statue (2.13.11). In contrast, Florus discusses all three--Horatius Cocles (1.10.4), Mucius Scaevola (1.10.5-6), and Cloelia (1.10.7-8)--but mentions no such physical monuments.[94] Instead, Florus gives "annalistic histories" (i.e. Livy) the same status that Livy gives physical monuments in describing famous Romans "who, if they were not in annalistic histories, would seem to be fictions today" (*qui nisi in annalibus forent, hodie fabulae viderentur*, Florus 1.10.3).

In a similar example, after the siege of Veii, Livy relates how a statue of Juno was taken from Veii to a new temple on Rome's Aventine hill (5.22.4-7),

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[93] Kraus 26 n. 110 and 85 suggests that Livy views not only his sources and subject matter but also his own text as material objects; cf. Miles' etymology and definitions of *monumentum* with examples (17 with nn. 17-9). Nevertheless, Livy does not treat physical monuments as absolute, empirical proof. Miles argues that Livy draws a distinction between "poetic fictions" (*fabulae*) and monuments" (*monumenta*) in *praef.* 6 and then proves it unreliable for historiography (16-68 *passim*) not least because *fabulae* are needed to interpret *monumenta* (55 with n. 66).

[94] The statues could well have disappeared between Livy and Florus during the fire of 64 CE; Tacitus remarks that among the things lost in this fire were "ancient and pristine relics of genius," (*Ann.* 15.41). Also, a later fire in 80 CE destroyed even more of Rome and its past (Dio 66.24.1-3).

where Livy's contemporaries could see it. Indeed, Augustus boasts that he restored the Aventine temple of Juno (*Res Gestae* 19). After Augustus' restoration, the temple completely vanishes from the historical record[95] and probably declines precipitously in importance if it even survives two severe fires in the first century CE. Accordingly, it is not surprising that in his account of the siege of Veii (1.12.8-11), Florus does not mention the statue of Juno at all. Again, Livy's text provides the proof of Veii's existence. Florus comments that in his day Veii has left few traces,[96] and "annalistic histories" (*annales*, i.e. Livy[97]) are the only thing reminder of its existence: "Who now remembers it existed? What remains are there? Or what trace? The credibility of the historians is hard-pressed to make us believe that there was a Veii" (*nunc fuisse quis meminit? quae reliquiae, quodve vestigium? laborat annalium fides, ut Veios fuisse credamus*, Florus 1.12.11).

Only if Livy is accepted as true is belief in the existence of Veii possible. Livy describes Veii thus:

> This was the downfall of Veii, the richest city of the Etruscan confederation, which showed its great size by its final destruction, because, besieged for ten consecutive summers and winters,[98] after it inflicted more catastrophes than it received, it was finally defeated by stratagems, not by force, even though its final fate was also pressing against it.
>
> hic Veiorum occasus fuit, urbis opulentissimae Etrusci nominis, magnitudinem suam vel ultima clade indicantis, quod decem aestates hiemesque continuas circumsessa cum plus aliquanto

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95 Richardson 216.

96 Propertius 4.10.27-8 presents a vivid picture of pasture and farmland covering the remains of Veii, while epigraphic evidence reveals that Augustus helped obscure the remains of EtruscanVeii by founding a new town, Municipium AugustumVeiens, over the site (Syme, *RP* iv 74). As an archaeological site Veii was rather meager until excavations in this century (Cornell 309-310).

97 Nevertheless, *annales* could have included Cato's *Origines*. *HRR* fr. 48 (vol. 1, p. 68) mentions "youths of the Veians," *Veientum <iuvenes>*.

98 The ten-year siege implies a comparison of Veii to Troy (Ogilvie 670).

> cladium intulisset quam accepisset, postremo iam fato quoque urgente, operibus tamen, non vi expugnata est (5.22.8).

Accordingly, when Florus refers to a "ten-year siege" in the sentence "The ten-year siege shows how great the struggle for Veii was" (*Vei quanta res fuerit, indicat decennis obsidio*, 1.12.8), he means, "the ten-year siege described in Livy."

In another example, Livy reminds his readers of physical evidence at Rome of numerous Roman victories over the Samnites. Livy mentions the temple of Safety (*Salus*), which Gaius Junius Bubulcus Brutus vowed during an ultimately successful battle against the Samnites (9.43.25). The temple of Safety was still standing in Livy's day but had perished by Florus' time. Pliny relates that the paintings on the temple's walls, done by the first Fabius Pictor in 303 BCE, lasted into the reign of the emperor Claudius, when the temple was destroyed by fire (*NH* 35.19). Deprived of such evidence, Florus comments that the Roman people so completely obliterated all traces of Samnite power that the Samnite wars now seem unbelievable: "the Roman people thoroughly destroyed the very ruins of cities, so that today Samnium is sought in Samnium itself, and it does not appear readily as the stuff of twenty-four triumphs" (*ita ruinas ipsas urbium diruit, ut hodie Samnium in ipso Samnio requiratur nec facile appareat materia quattuor et viginti triumphorum*, 1.16.8).[99] The previous examples explicitly state that Florus relies not on physical remains but on the authority of Livy for these historical events, so when Florus stresses the lack of physical remains here, he relies implicitly on Livy's authority for the "stuff of twenty-four triumphs."

The Problem of Scale

In addition to the disappearance of physical remains, another problem with the fusion of horizons between the early Republic and post-Republican historians is the difference in scale between the small village of the early

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[99] The remains of Samnite hill-forts can still be seen today in remote areas among the Apennine mountains (Cornell 346), but since they are far from roads, Florus and his readers would not have been aware of them.

Republic with the large empire consolidated by Augustus. Livy tries to make his reader aware of the Rome's growth from a small village to a large empire not only by calling attention to its growth in the preface[100] but also by giving periodic census figures.[101] Livy expects his reader to adjust everything--the scale of battle, the scale of politics--to the size of Rome's census.

Also, he indicates where the scale changes abruptly. For example, before narrating several years of Samnite Wars, Livy announces, "From this point on the wars will be said to be greater, in the strength of the enemy and in the separation of places and of times within which fighting occurred" (*maiora iam hinc bella et viribus hostium et longinquitate vel regionum vel temporum [spatio] quibus bellatum est dicentur*, 7.29.1). Also noteworthy is Livy's prologue to the Second Punic War: "for no cities stronger in resources took up arms against one another, nor did these very cities ever have so much strength and endurance" *nam neque validiores opibus ullae inter se civitates gentesque contulerunt arma neque his ipsis tantum unquam virium aut roboris fuit*, 21.1.2).

Florus suggests in different passages two strategies for dealing with the difference in scale. The first strategy is simply to gape in amazement at the difference. He cites as prime examples insignificant Roman suburbs that formerly threatened Rome's very existence:

> Cora--who would believe it?--and Alsium served as a terror, and Satricum and Corniculum were provinces. It is shameful [to relate], but we triumphed over Venulae and Bovillae. Tibur, now suburban, and Praeneste, a summer resort, were attacked with vows taken on the Capitol.
>
> Cora--quis credat?---et Alsium terrori fuerunt, Satricum atque Corniculum provinciae. de Verulis et Bovillis pudet, sed triumphavimus. Tibur, nunc suburbanum, et aestivae

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[100] Livy announces his goal of describing "how...Rome grew, setting out from scanty beginnings to such a point that it is now suffering from its own size," (*ut...ab exiguis profecta initiis eo creverit ut iam magnitudine laboret sua, praef.* 4).

[101] 3.3.9, 3.24.10, etc.

> Praeneste deliciae nuncupatis in Capitolio votis petebantur (1.11.6).

That a triumph was celebrated over Tibur seems particularly ironic in light of the emperor Hadrian's construction of a villa at Tibur which by depicting in microcosm parts of the empire much farther from Rome (e.g. Canopus in Egypt) symbolized Rome's more recent triumphs. If Rome is indeed "a summary of the inhabited world" (Athenaeus 1.20b), Hadrian's villa at Tibur can even be thought of as a virtual equivalent of Rome.

Even when physical evidence of an event in addition to the town where it happened is available, Florus continues to deploy his strategy of amazement. Florus states that the spoils from Rome's first naval battle amount to only six ship's beaks: "also there remain spoils obtained from Antium, which Maenius fastened to a platform of the forum, after the fleet of the enemy was captured--if that was nevertheless a fleet--for there were six beaked ships" (*extant et parta de Antio spolia, quae Maenius in* ***suggestu fori*** *capta hostium classe suffixit--si tamen illa classis, nam sex fuere rostratae,* 1.11.10).[102]

The second strategy is to suggest equivalences between places of the early Republic and familiar places of the late Republic and Augustus' principate: "then Faesulae was the same as Carrhae recently; the Arician wood, the same as the Hercynian forest; Fregellae, as Gesoriacum; the Tiber, as the Euphrates" (*idem tunc Faesulae quod Carrhae nuper, idem nemus Aricinum quod Hercynius saltus, Fregellae quod Gesoriacum, Tiberis quod Euphrates,* Florus 1.11.8). This historical catalogue requires some explanation.

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[102] The "platform of the forum" is clearly the Rostra which is still standing in Florus' day; Pliny mentions it twice in the present tense (*NH* 34.22-24, 93). Livy provides an explanation of the Rostra's name based on these naval spoils, taken from Antium in 338 BCE: "some of the ships of the Antiates were taken away to the dockyard of Rome; others were burned, and it was resolved that a platform built in the forum be decorated with their prows, and this area is called the Rostra" (*naves Antiatum partim in navalia Romae subductae, partim incensae, rostrisque earum* ***suggestum in foro exstructum adornari placuit, Rostraque id templum appellatum,*** Livy 8.14.12). Cf. Varro, *L.* 5.155. Earlier in his history, Livy tries to resist too close a fusion of horizons when he criticizes earlier annalists for retrojecting naval warfare too early into Roman history (4.34.6-7), but the annalists are using *classis,* which can mean "fleet" or "army," in the latter sense (Ogilvie 588-589).

Faesulae, Malcovati suggests, is not the Faesulae near the Arno River, which does not appear in Florus until the Romans destroy it in the Social War (3.18.11), but another town by that name close enough to Rome to be populated by Latins instead of by Etruscans. At Carrhae, Crassus was defeated at the hands of the Parthians in 53 BCE (3.11.1-11). The reference to the Arician wood cannot be assigned to a particular battle in Livy, but we know that near Aricia stood the grove housing the common Latin shrine of Diana and the grove of Ferentina, where the Latins met in common and organized resistance to Rome.[103] The Hercynian forest was a trouble spot from the time of Drusus' campaigns as Augustus' legate (Florus 4.12.27). Fregellae, possibly a Latin town at the beginning of the Republic, later became a Roman colony in 328 BCE and was recaptured by force in 313 BCE (Livy 9.28). Gesoriacum occupied a strategic point on the bank of Rhine, so Drusus, acting as Augustus' legate, reinforced its defenses (Florus 4.12.26). The Tiber formed the boundary between Rome on the east side and Etruscan territory on the west side. Last of all, the Euphrates river represented an eastern frontier for Roman power from the time of Pompey's eastern campaigns (Florus 4.12.61).

Livy occasionally uses this same strategy of suggesting equivalences. For example, Livy compares the Ciminian forest in Umbria to the "German woods" in the context of describing Fabius Maximus' victory over the Etruscans in 310 BCE. To strengthen his comparison, he uses the adjective "pathless" (*invius*) to remind the reader of the lack of civilization in both the Ciminian forest in the late fourth century BCE and the German forest in the late first century BCE: "The Ciminian forest was more pathless and terrifying than the German woods have recently been" (*silva erat Ciminia magis tum **invia** atque horrenda quam nuper fuere Germanici saltus*, 9.36.1).

Florus improves on Livy by updating this comparison of the Ciminian forest traversed by Fabius Maximus to the second century CE, and he also uses the adjective "pathless" (*invius*): "the Ciminian forest [was] at an earlier time utterly pathless like the Caledonian or Hercynian woods" (*Ciminius...saltus...ante **invius** plane quasi Caledonius vel Hercynius*, 1.17.3).

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[103] Cornell 295, 297-8.

Florus makes the German woods more specifically Hercynian and adds the Caledonian forest to the comparison to reflect the military situation of the second century CE, in which the Rhine frontier and Britain were trouble spots. Organizing (and pacifying) his empire, Hadrian toured the Rhine frontier in 121 CE and Britain in 122. Britain, a troublesome area, required an additional legion (VI Victrix), perhaps to replace one recently destroyed (IX Hispana).[104] Florus and Livy both imply that once such wilderness areas on the fringes of Roman power are traversed, victory is certain.

Assimilation of Outlook

Livy claims that he brings about a fusion of horizons by making his own outlook (and by extension, his reader's) more like that of the time about which he writes. In Book 43, Livy explains that he records portents throughout his work because he is assimilating his outlook to that of the past: "Be that as it may, my own mind becomes somehow old-fashioned when I write about old-time events" (*ceterum et mihi vetustas res scribenti nescio quo pacto antiquus fit animus*, 43.13.2).[105] In practice, however, he usually performs the opposite move by assimilating the time about which he writes more to his own. For example, Livy makes the early Republican politician Maelius in Book 4 like the late Republican politicians the Gracchi.[106]

Florus sometimes performs a fusion of horizons by making the same move--he assimilates the outlook of the time about which he writes more to his own, and this becomes easier as the times become less distant. For example, Florus places parallels between Rome and Athens and between Seleucids and Persians in the minds of Roman soldiers fighting in the Syrian War (191-190 BCE): "no other war was more full of dread in its reputation, since [the Roman soldiers] were thinking about Persians and the east, Xerxes

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[104] Syme, *Tacitus*, 247 and n. 5.

[105] This passage may have inspired the fourth-century-CE writer Julius Obsequens, faced with the rise of Christianity, to record the portents from Livy from the years 190-11 BCE.

[106] See below.

and Darius, when pathless mountains were dug through, when the sea was reported to be covered with sails" (*non aliud formidolosius fama bellum fuit; quippe cum Persas et orientem, Xerxen atque Darium cogitarent, quando perfossi invii montes, quando velis opertum mare nuntiaretur*, 2.8.2). Thus, Florus represents the second-century-BCE Roman soldiers fighting at the battle of Ephesus thinking about the same comparisons between Salamis and Ephesus as the second century CE Romans reading about the battle. To put it another way, the thoughts of the Roman soldiers have become new-fangled when fighting in a battle so rich in parallels, just as the thoughts of Livy have become old-fashioned when writing about the past.

Presumably, the Roman soldiers (and readers) also understand further parallels which Florus draws between Rome during the Syrian War and fifth-century-BCE Athens: "Do not let Athens be pleased with itself: in Antiochus [III] we conquered Xerxes, in Aemilius we equaled Alcibiades, and at Ephesus we counterbalanced Salamis" (*Athens ne sibi placeant Athenae: in Antiocho vicimus Xerxen, in Aemilio Alcibiaden aequavimus, Epheso Salamina pensavimus*, 2.8.13). Here, Florus is not asserting that Athens or Greeks in general are contemptible.[107] By citing the names of Xerxes, Alcibiades, and Salamis without further explanation, he acknowledges that Athenian history is basic knowledge for both past and present Romans.[108]

Whose Words?

A frequent technique in ancient historiography for accomplishing a fusion of horizons is the incorporation of direct speech composed by the

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[107] This passage should not be interpreted, as Swain has it, as "residual anti-Greek feelings" (78-9 with n. 35) but in the spirit of friendly rivalry.

[108] Similarly, Athenian history was standard knowledge for Greek rhetors and their audiences in the Second Sophistic. Xerxes is repeatedly used as an example of arrogance (Philostratus, *VS* 514, cited in Bowie 172 with n. 14), while Plutarch compares Flaminius to Alcibiades and other Athenian generals and cites Salamis as unproblematic example of Greek victory over a barbarian enemy (*Flaminius* 11, cited in Swain 148).

author but put in the mouth of a historical figure.[109] This technique tends to have the effect of assimilating the outlook of the past to that of the present. Florus for the most part avoids direct speech, except for brief sound bites. For example, when the Gauls receive gold as ransom in exchange for retreat from the siege of Rome (Florus 1.13.17; Livy 5.48.7-8), a Gaul throws his sword onto the weighing scale (Florus 1.13.17; Livy 5.48.9) and arrogantly says "woe to the conquered," a sound bite so famous that Florus cannot refrain from quoting it (*vae victis*, Florus 1.13.17; Livy 5.48.9). A notable exception is the story of Mucius Scaevola, where Florus transforms Livian direct speech in an interesting way.[110] Florus has Mucius defy the Etruscan king Porsenna, who has captured him in the act of trying to assassinate him: " 'Behold, so that you may know,' he said, 'what kind of man you have escaped; three hundred of us have sworn to do the same'" (*en, ut scias, inquit, quem virum effugeris; idem trecenti iuravimus*, 1.10.6). This seems to be a conflation of two sentences spoken by Mucius in Livy: "'Behold,' he said, "so that you may know for yourself how cheap a thing the body is for those who look to great glory" (*en tibi, inquit, **ut sentias** quam vile corpus est iis qui magnam gloriam vident*, 2.12.13) and "three hundred of us, leaders of Roman youth, swore that we would proceed violently against you in this way" (***trecenti coniuravimus** principes iuventutis Romanae ut in te hac via grassaremur*, 2.12.15). Florus has Mucius portray himself as the epitome of Roman bravery ("what kind of man you have escaped" [*quem virum effugeris*]) rather than stress his contempt for his own body ("how cheap a thing is the body" [*quam vile corpus est*]). Moreover, Florus may have chosen to eliminate a sentiment that casts aspersions on the very thing he uses as a dominant metaphor, the human body.[111]

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[109] Walsh 219 remarks that the "insertion of composed speeches" is "a convention as old as Herodotus" and then gives several examples from Roman historiography.

[110] There is also a brief direct speech during the Tarentine War, where Florus has Pyrrhus, facing off against the Romans, compare himself to Hercules and the Romans to the Lernaean Hydra (1.18.19).

[111] Florus, *praef.* 7.

Florus often deals with Livy's composed speeches by incorporating their ideas into the main narrative, into his authorial voice.[112] For example, soon after the Roman republic begins, the consuls become a source of controversy. In Livy, the *populus Romanus* makes the consul Collatinus resign because of his ties to the deposed royal family.[113] Livy has Brutus give a speech urging Collatinus to resign because of popular feeling: "I say that the Roman people do not believe that their secure freedom has been recovered; a royal **family**, a royal **name** is not only in the city but also in power" (*non credere populum Romanum solidam libertatem reciperatam esse; regium **genus**, regium **nomen** non solum in civitate sed etiam in imperio esse*, Livy 2.2.6). Florus incorporates the ideas of Brutus' speech into the main narrative, with *nomen* and *genus* as the most important factors: "and so much joy over new freedom had come over [the people] that they expelled from the city one of the consuls, the husband of Lucretia, only on account of his **name** and royal **family**, with his fasces removed" (*tantumque libertatis novae gaudium incesserat, ut...alterum...ex consulibus, Lucretiae maritum, tantum ob **nomen et genus** regium fascibus abrogatis urbe dimitterent*, Florus 1.9.3).

Florus' account of the battle between Rome and the Italian city of Fidenae is not only vivid but also includes a battle exhortation into his narrative. Fidenae tries to terrify the Romans with frightening outfits:[114] "the Fidenates, armed with torches and with many-colored headbands of serpents, had gone out in an insane manner to arouse fear" (*Fidenae...ad terrorem movendum facibus armatae et discoloribus serpentium in modum vittis furiali more processerant*, 1.12.7). Livy focuses more on their effect than their purpose, but curiously, without the snake headbands: "a huge crowd, thoroughly and completely blazing, armed with fires and torches, rushed at

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[112] Bessone, *storia* 195 notes how Florus derives material from speeches in Livy without even marking the material as a speech.

[113] The Collatinus story seems to be modeled on the ostracism of Hipparchus, son of Charmus, after 510 BCE (Ogilvie 238-239).

[114] Ogilvie 586 comments that this seems to be based on a "primitive magical rite."

the enemy as if impelled by an insane foot-race, and the appearance of an unaccustomed type of fight terrified the Romans for a little while" (*ignibus armata ingens multitudo facibusque ardentibus tota conlucens, velut fanatico instincta cursu in hostem ruit, formaque insolitae pugnae Romanos parumper exterruit*, 4.33.2). Although Florus says explicitly, "this wild garb was an omen of their destruction" (*sed habitus ille feralis eversionis omen fuit*, 1.12.7), Florus earlier states, "Fidenae was burned to a crisp by its own fire" (*crematae suo igne Fidenae*, 1.12.4) and expects his reader to draw a connection between his earlier explanation of Fidenae's destruction and its "torches" (*faces*). The idea of using "its own fire" comes from Livy, but not from how Livy says the Romans actually defeat the Fidenates. Instead of relying completely on fire, the Romans use a cavalry charge (Livy 4.33.7-8) and an attack from the rear by the legate Quinctius (4.33.9-12). After the initial shock of the Fidenate torches, the dictator Mamercus Aemilius exhorts the Romans, "wipe out Fidenae with its own flames" (*suis flammis delete Fidenas*, 4.33.5). Apparently, battle rhetoric has left more impression on Florus than battle narrative.

Teleology

Florus often makes his narrative even more teleological than it needs to be to help bring about a fusion of horizons, to make the past comprehensible in terms of the present. My definition of teleology goes beyond the workings of fate or the gods to include human purposes and goals as historical agents.[115] Because fate and the gods are transhistorical ideas difficult to relate to specific historical periods, I shall concentrate in this section how Florus has transformed events into policies in order to strengthen the connections of these events to recent imperial policies. Actions that in Livy seem to be at best reactive and at worst muddling

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115 In Höse's catalog of passages showing teleology in Florus (100-2), he equates teleology with references to fate or the gods, while he attributes Florus' teleology to the tradition of "developmental history" «Entwicklungsgeschichte» practiced by Polybius and Posidonius (96-8).

through become in Florus directed, purposeful action on the part of human beings. For example, Florus shows Publius Valerius Publicola planning to increase his popularity. In contrast, Livy shows Publicola becoming a "populist" (*popularis*) out of sheer expediency to avoid the fate of his exiled predecessor Collatinus. Florus introduces him with the line, "Publicola strove with the greatest eagerness to increase the dignity of a free people" (*Publicola ex summo studio adnixus est ad augendam liberi populi maiestatem*, 1.9.4). Livy mentions that after defeating Etruscans under the former king of Rome Tarquinius Superbus, Valerius--not yet called Publicola--falls under suspicion of seeking to become the new king of Rome: "the rumor was that he was aiming at monarchy" (*regnum eum adfectare fama ferebat*, 2.7.6).

This difference between the two historians leads to different slants on the same events of Publicola's life. For example, Publicola deferentially lowers the fasces in the assembly:[116] "he lowered the fasces to it [the people] before the assembly" (***fasces ei pro contione submisit*** , Florus 1.9.4); "with fasces lowered climbed up onto the platform of the assembly" (***submissis fascibus in contionem*** *escendit*, Livy 2.7.7). In Florus, this gesture is part of Publicola's plan to "increase the dignity of a free people," but in Livy, Publicola is merely trying to avoid being expelled from Rome like Collatinus.

Publicola also introduces a popular legal right--the right to appeal a decision of the consuls to the people: "he granted the right to appeal against them [the consuls]" (*ius provocationis adversus ipsos dedit*, Florus 1.9.4). Again, Livy's version shows Publicola clearing himself of any suspicion of monarchical ambition:

> Laws were then passed, not only so that they might clear the consul of suspicion of kingship but might turn his reputation so far in the opposite direction that they would make him even populist; accordingly, the name of 'People-Cherisher' became his.

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[116] Ogilvie 251 asserts that this incident was invented to provide an example for lowering the fasces before a body with superior power, while Cicero, *Brutus* 22 and Pliny *NH* 7.112, feature lowering the fasces before a superior individual official with "greater power," *maius imperium*. It is unclear whether Livy invented this incident, since it is paralleled in Plutarch, *Poplicola* 10, and Plutarch typically relies only occasionally on Livy.

> In front of everyone, the laws about appeal against the magistrates to the people and about dedicating to the gods the head, along with the goods of whoever had formed plans to seize royal power, were welcome among the crowd.
>
> latae deinde leges, non solum quae regni suspicione consulem absolverent, sed quae adeo in contrarium verterent ut popularem etiam facerent; inde cognomen factum Publicolae est. ante omnes de provocatione adversus magistratus ad populum sacrandoque cum bonis capite eius qui regni occupandi consilia inisset gratae in volgus leges fuere (2.8.1-2).

Florus attributes Publicola's moving his house to a desire to allay popular suspicion of monarchy, but only hypothetical suspicion: "so that he would not give offense by the appearance of a citadel, he moved his conspicuous house onto the plain" (*ne specie arcis offenderet, eminentis aedis suas in plana submisit*, 1.9.4). The idea that Publicola might be suspected of building a private fort or citadel (*arx*) comes from a speech in which Publicola asks the rhetorical question, "if I were to live on the very citadel and on the Capitol, would I believe that I could be feared by my own citizens?" (*ego si in ipsa arce Capitolioque habitarem, metui me crederem posse a civibus meis?* Livy 2.7.10), but Livy actually specifies the Velia as the original location of the house (2.7.11-12).[117] Florus makes the moving of the house the final proof of Publicola's benevolence, but Livy places the moving of the house (2.7.12) just prior to Publicola's self-reinvention as a "populist" (*popularis*, 2.8.1). In sum, Publicola does many of the same deeds in both historians but with different motives. Publicola in Florus consistently shows deference to the people and enlarges their rights, but Publicola in Livy almost happens upon his reputation as a benefactor while trying to deflect suspicion of monarchical ambition.

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[117] The Velia may have been the Valerian burial plot until the early empire, which may be why Livy mentions it and Florus does not (Ogilvie 250). Also, by Florus' day, the Valerii had no more need for a burial plot; Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 496 describes how the Valerii died out in the mid-first century CE with Valeria Messalina (the emperor Claudius' wife) and with Marcus Valerius Messalla Corvinus (consul in 58 CE).

Having Publicola deliberately enact popular measures allows Florus to imply a stronger connection between Publicola and emperors. A particular connection is the right of legal appeal to the emperor, which replaced appeal to the people and performed the same function.[118] As well, emperors such as Hadrian, with his expansion of the *alimenta* (subsidies for the feeding of poor children established by Nerva) and his cancellation of tax debts in 118 CE,[119] tried to style themselves as "people-cherishers."

As we saw earlier, Florus gave a schema for the gradual expansion of Rome during the early Republic, and he often fits events into this teleological grid. For example, the Samnite War is portrayed as a war "for allies" (*pro sociis*, 1.16.1), which forms one of the series of causes of Roman expansion ("for allies," *pro sociis*, 1.9.6). Florus describes the outbreak of the Samnite War thus: "Then, moved by the prayers of Campania, the Roman people attacked the Samnites, not for themselves but more outstandingly for their allies" (*precibus deinde Campaniae motus non pro se, sed eo speciosius pro sociis Samnitas invadit*, 1.16.1). Florus cites the Campanians' surrender of their people to Rome[120] as an act strong enough to break the Romans' earlier treaty with the Samnites:

> A treaty had been struck with each side, but the Campanians made their treaty holier and more important with the surrender of all their people; accordingly, in this way, the Roman people fought the Samnite war as if for themselves.
>
> erat foedus cum utrisque percussum, sed hoc [foedus] Campani sanctius et prius omnium suorum deditione fecerunt; sic ergo Romanus bellum Samniticum tamquam sibi gessit (1.16.2).

Livy, in contrast, goes to some lengths to justify Rome's attacking the Samnites, its former allies (7.29.3). Livy cites the Samnites' unprovoked

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[118] Scullard 228.

[119] *HA* 7.6 and 7.8 with Ulpian, *Digest* 34.1.14.1 (Benario 72-4).

[120] Surrender of one's people to a protecting people was a standard diplomatic procedure during this period (Cornell 347 with n. 7).

attacks on the Sidicini (7.29.4, not mentioned in Florus), the Campanians' handing over their territory to Rome (7.30.18-19), and the Samnites' refusal to stop attacking the new Roman lands in Campania (7.31.11-12).

"Intrafusion"

Historians can also aid the fusion of horizons by what I call "intrafusion," by interpreting one past event in light of another. Another way of talking about the same process is to say that historians can make events more comprehensible by showing meaningful patterns in those events. For example, Florus chooses 340 BCE as his primary moment of focus during the Latin wars because both consuls both exhibit paradigmatically Roman behavior. Manlius "killed his own son, even though victorious, because he had acted contrary to authority" (*filium suum, quia contra imperium repugnaverat, quamvis victorem occiderit,* Florus 1.14.2; Livy 8.7.1-22). Decius performs self-sacrifice or *devotio*:[121] "he vowed himself to the infernal gods" (*dis manibus se devoverit,* Florus 1.14.3; Livy 8.9.4-9). The behavior of these two consuls at this particular moment in history seems sufficient to explain Roman victory: "Who will be amazed that at that time the enemy withdrew?" (*quo tempore quis cessisse hostem mirabitur?* Florus 1.14.2); "moreover, among all the citizens and allies, special praise for that war was due to the consuls," (*ceterum inter omnes cives sociosque praecipua laus eius belli penes consules fuit,* Livy 8.10.7).

These two consuls both follow earlier Roman examples and set examples for later Romans. Specifically, Manlius' killing his son recalls Brutus' execution of his sons for conspiring to restore the monarchy (Florus 1.9.5; Livy 2.5.5-8) and becomes an example to every Roman soldier: "and the 'Manlian commands' were, as a result, not only frightening in their own time but even characteristic of a grim example afterwards" (*Manlianaque imperia*

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[121] *devotio,* an abstract noun derived from *devoveo* : "(of a general) To devote (himself and his army) to the infernal gods on his country's behalf" (*OLD* 2). For more on what constitutes an exact *devotio,* see A. Bouché-Leclercq, "*devotio,*" in Daremberg-Saglio II/1.113-119.

non in praesentia modo horrenda sed exempli etiam tristis in posterum essent, Livy 8.7.22).

Decius' *devotio* follows the example of the Roman elder statesmen who vowed themselves to the infernal gods as the Gauls approached Rome (Florus 1.13.9-10; Livy 5.41.3) and sets an example for his son Decius, who does the same thing as consul nearly thirty years later (Florus 1.17.7; Livy 10.28.12-18). In Florus in the Etrusco-Samnite-Umbrian[122] war, Publius Decius Mus follows "ancestral custom" (*mos patrius*) in vowing himself to the gods of the underworld to save the Roman army: "for, penned in the depth of the valley, the other consul Decius, by ancestral custom, offered his life as vowed to the infernal gods and turned the customary rite of his family into the price of victory" (*nam oppressus in sinu vallis alter consulum Decius* ***more patrio*** *devotum dis manibus optulit caput, sollemnemque familiae suae consecrationem in victoriae pretium redegit*, 1.17.7).

Livy frequently practices intrafusion, and he links these same members of the Decian *gens* not only by the ancestral custom of *devotio* but also by the repetition of significant phrases. Livy has P. Decius Mus invoke his father's example when he performs *devotio* to save the Roman army: "'Why do I further postpone," he said, "my familial destiny? This duty--that we be offerings for releasing dangers--has been given to our family. Now I shall give the **legions of the enemy along with myself** to be sacrificed **to the Earth, to the Gods, and to the Shades.**'" (*'quid ultra moror ' inquit 'familiare fatum? Datum hoc nostro generi est ut luendis periculis piacula simus. Iam ego* ***mecum hostium legiones*** *mactandas* ***Telluri ac Dis Manibus*** *dabo,'* 10.28.12-13). Livy makes the son's oath explicitly the same as his father's: "He was vowed then with the same prayer and dress with which his father P. Decius had ordered himself to be devoted at Veseris in the Latin War" (*Devotus inde eadem precatione eodemque habitu quo pater P. Decius ad Veserim bello Latino se iusserat devoveri*, 10.28.15). Indeed, the exact words of the earlier Decius' oath are very similar to the words of the later Decius' decision: "'For

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[122] There is confusion in the manuscripts of Florus about the composition of the conspiracy: the chapter heading mentions the Gauls, but the chapter text mentions the Umbrians (Florus 1.17.1).

the sake of the state (of the Roman people) of the Quirites, for the sake of the army, legions, and auxiliary troops of the Roman people, the Quirites, I vow the **legions** and auxiliary troops **of our enemy along with myself to the Gods, the Shades, and the Earth**.'" (*'pro re publica (populi Romani) Quiritium, exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis populi Romani Quiritium,* ***legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum Deis Manibus Tellurique*** *devoveo,'* 8.9.8).

Florus sometimes performs his own intrafusions without Livy's help. Such intrafusions show Florus' own interpretations of Roman history and often strengthen the connection of an early Republican event to the second century CE. For example, Florus 1.14 treats continuous wars with the Latins.[123] He focuses particularly on the consulship of Manlius Torquatus and Decius Mus (340 BCE), at which point Latin motives shift from being Rome's rival on the Italian peninsula to demanding to participate in the Roman government:

> The Roman people's attention was shifted from the Gauls to the Latins in the consulship of Manlius Torquatus and Decius Mus, since the Latins were indeed always hostile from their rivalry for power, but then from scorn for a city set aflame, when the Latins sought the right of citizenship, a share of power, and a share of magistracies and already dared to do more than argue.
>
> conversus a Gallis in Latinos Manlio Torquato Decio Mure consulibus, semper quidem aemulatione imperii infestos, tum vero contemptu urbis incensae, cum ius civitatis, partem imperii et magistratuum poscerent atque iam amplius quam congredi auderent (1.14.1).

It may seem contradictory that "scorn for a city set aflame" would lead to demanding "a share of power and magistracies," but Florus gives the names of the consuls to show that the burning of Rome and the Latin demand for

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[123] For similar emphasis on small pauses between wars, see Livy 31.1.6, 31.5.1, and 31.6.4-5 for the brief respite between the Second Punic War and the Second Macedonian War (Bessone, *storia* 187).

participation in Roman government are separated in time.[124] Florus combines into a single sentence parts of books 6 and 8 of Livy. Livy relates that trouble with the Latins ("scorn for a city set aflame") begins almost immediately after the Gauls were expelled: "Also, a new terror had approached from the treaty-breaking of the Latins and Hernicans" (*novus quoque terror accesserat defectione Latinorum Hernicorumque,* Livy 6.2.3). Nevertheless, the Latins do not seek anything close to the "right of citizenship" (*ius civitatis*) until almost fifty years later and after lots of intervening narrative. Livy may imply that this right was at issue in phrases spoken by the Latin envoy Annius but does not quite explicitly spell it out: "if alliance is equality under the law," (*si societas aequatio iuris est,* 8.4.3); "let us all be called Romans" (*Romani omnes vocemur,* 8.5.6).

In using the phrase "right of citizenship" (*ius civitatis*) Florus may be emphasizing a connection between the Social War of 91-90 BCE and and the Latin War of 340 BCE.[125] Florus describes the outbreak of the Social War thus: "and so, when the allies most rightly asked for the right of citizenship in a city which they had grown by their strength..." (*itaque cum ius civitatis, quam viribus auxerant, socii iustissime postularent...,* 3.18.3). In particular, the phrase "which they had grown by their strength" (*quam viribus auxerant*) was just as true in 340 as it was in 90 BCE. In a second-century CE context, the idea that those who increase Roman power should receive Roman citizenship would especially justify imperial grants of Roman citizenship given to soldiers in the Roman army. For example, the emperor Hadrian gives Roman citizenship to all the soldiers serving in Roman Britain under Aulus Platorius Nepos.[126]

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[124] In a brief simile, Livy also bridges this temporal gap by comparing the Latin envoy Annius to a conquering Gaul: "Annius, as if he had taken the Capitol as a victor in arms, not as if he spoke as an envoy safe under the law of nations" (*Annius, tamquam victor armis Capitolium cepisset, non legatus iure gentium tutus loqueretur,* Livy 8.5.2).

[125] Florus claimed that the Social War involved the Latins: "when all Latium and Picenum, all Etruria and Campania, and finally all Italy rose up against its mother and parent city" (*cum omne Latium atque Picenum, Etruria omnis atque Campania, postremo Italia contra matrem suam ac parentem urbem consurgerent,* 3.18.5). In contrast, modern historians think that Latins, except Venusia, sided with Rome in the Social War (Scullard 66 and 397 n.7).

[126] *CIL* 16.69, quoted and discussed in Birley 127.

Intrafusion and Conflation

Occasionally, Livian intrafusion causes Florus to confuse or conflate different historical figures with similar names. For example, the first Latin War begins because "all Latium, with Mamilius the Tusculan as their leader, raises their fighting spirit as if to avenge the king [Tarquinius Superbus]" (*omne Latium Mamilio Tusculano duce quasi in regis ultionem tollit animos*, 1.11.1). In Livy, "the fear of a Latin war had also come near, since it was certain enough that the [Latin] peoples had already formed a conspiracy with Octavius Mamilius stirring them up" (*belli Latini metus quoque accesserat, quod triginta iam coniurasse populos concitante Octavio Mamilio satis constabat*, 2.18.3). Florus is confused between Octavius Mamilius, who stirs up the Latins against Rome (Livy 2.18.3) and Lucius Mamilius Tusculanus, who sends a group of Tusculan soldiers to help Rome (Livy 3.18.2-4) when Herdonius' army of slaves and exiles seizes the Capitol. The latter Mamilius receives Roman citizenship as a reward (Livy 3.29.6).

Florus conflates individuals and events when he narrates the battle of Lake Regillus (Florus 1.11.2-4; Livy 2.18-2.20). Florus makes the battle important for two tactical innovations--throwing standards into enemy lines to inspire troops to recover them and loosening horses' reins. Florus explicitly calls attention to their novelty with the adjective "new," *novus*:

> The dictator Postumius himself threw the standard among the enemy--a **new** and marked contrivance--so that it would be sought there. Cossus, the master of the cavalry ordered his troops to let out the reins--this was also **new**--so that they might attack more fiercely.
>
> Postumius ipse dictator signum in hostis iaculatus est--**novum** et insigne commentum--ut inde peteretur. Cossus equitum magister exuere frenos imperavit--et hoc **novum**--, quo acrius incurrerent (1.11.2-3).

Florus draws both these innovations from Livy, but not from Book 2. Instead, he looks ahead to Book 4, to later separate battles and to later different Roman military leaders. In Book 4, Livy names as the first standard-thrower not the earlier dictator Aulus Postumius (496 BCE), but the consul Titus Quinctius Cincinnatus, who served under the later dictator Aulus Postumius Tubertus (431 BCE) in a battle against the Volscians and Aequans: "some say that the consul threw the standard even into the rampart, so that the soldiers might charge up to it more fiercely, and by seeking to regain the standard, the first incursion was made" (*consulem signum quoque intra vallum iniecisse ferunt, quo milites acrius subirent, repentendoque signo primam impressionem factam*, 4.29.3). Admittedly, Livy makes the later Aulus Postumius difficult to distinguish from the earlier Aulus Postumius by using the later one's *cognomen* Tubertus only once (4.26.11), while referring to each Postumius elsewhere as *A. Postumius*, simply *Postumius*, or *dictator*.

Once Florus has looked ahead to Book 4 of Livy, he keeps using it. Livy attributes the innovation of loosening horses' reins to fight more fiercely to Aulus Cornelius Cossus, who is master of horse not in 496 BCE under the dictator Aulus Postumius, but in 426 BCE under the later dictator Marcus Aemilius Mamercus:

> Even the master of cavalry himself invents a new type of cavalry tactic; he orders his troops to take the reins off the horses, and he himself, applying his spurs and riding on an unreined horse, leads a charge into the middle of the flames, and other horses, excited by free running, bring the cavalry to bear against the enemy.
>
> magister equitum et ipse novat pugnam equestrem; frenos ut detrahant equis imperat, et ipse princeps calcaribus subditis evectus effreno equo in medios ignes infertur, et alii concitati equi libero cursu ferunt equitem in hostem (4.33.7).

Even though Florus' conflations of names and events have led modern historians to judge him scornfully,[127] it is worth asking what he gains by such conflation or, if you will, such excessive intrafusion. By combining a decisive Roman victory with two tactical innovations, Florus has made all three easier to remember. Also, by pushing the Roman army's tactical innovations farther back into the past, Florus increases its prestige. Similarly, in his *Stratagems*, the late first-century-CE author Frontinus, who had served as imperial legate in Britain, situates these innovations in the Roman Monarchy. He attributes standard-throwing to Servius Tullius (2.8.1) and rein-loosening to Tarquinius Priscus (2.8.10).[128]

Other Genres

One of the characteristics of the Roman Sophistic is generic agility. For example, Apuleius writes in several genres--forensic rhetoric (e.g. *Apology*) and epideictic rhetoric (a collection of declamatory excerpts called the *Florida*), philosophical treatise (e.g. *On the God of Socrates*), and novel (the *Metamorphoses*)--and these examples are drawn from his **extant** works. In Florida 9.29, he boasts about writing epic, lyric, comedy, tragedy, satires, riddles, and historical accounts of various topics in both Greek and Latin,[129] all of which are now lost. Similarly, Florus writes history, poetry, letters, and a dialogue, as we saw in the first section of this chapter, and teaches to his pupils *carmina, sententiae,* and *exempla* (*VOAP* 3.8).

Florus can use his generic and pedagogical agility to vary the material in his history and to aid the process of fusion of horizons for readers more inclined to other genres. For example, Florus 1.16, on the Samnite wars,

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[127] Cornell 3 includes Florus with Eutropius and Orosius in a catalog of "hacks"; Wells 37 calls Florus "a man of egregious stupidity"; Syme, *RP* iii 1186 calls the last portion of Florus (4.12.4-66) "a farrago that avows a blatant defiance of chronology."

[128] Ogilvie 579, 587.

[129] Sandy 5. Cf. Lucian on the Greek side.

includes a digression on Campania that verges on travel writing:[130] "the seaside of Campania is the most beautiful, not only of all Italy, but in the entire known world" (*omnium non modo Italiae, sed toto orbe terrarum pulcherrima Campaniae plaga est*, 1.16.3); "Capua was once counted as of the three greatest cities of the time, along with Rome and Carthage" (*Capua quondam inter tres maximas Romam Carthaginemque numerata*, 1.16.6). Baldwin notes the anachronism of including Herculaneum and Pompei (Florus 1.16.6), as if the eruption of Vesuvius had not buried them in lava,[131] but Florus may have remembered those cities from an earlier period of his life, before his defeat in Domitian's poetry contest (*VOAP* 1.4).

Jones provides a more exciting explanation in discussing an apparent anachronism in Lucian. Zeus asks Menippus when the Athenians will complete the temple of Olympian Zeus (*Icaromenippus* 24), although the temple was finished and consecrated by the emperor Hadrian in Lucian's infancy. Jones comments, "such references might have been overtaken by events, but that made no difference to their effect," in this case a humorous effect.[132] The same rationale can also explain an anachronistic reference here to Baiae's hot springs--"Baiae warm with springs," (*tepentes fontibus Baiae*, 1.16.4)--not used as a resort before the 1st century BCE.[133] Even more anachronistic, however, is a later reference to Hannibal relaxing in the sun and springs of Baiae (Florus 2.6.22). This anecdote may derive from Seneca, not from Livy, who explicitly says that Hannibal and his troops wintered at Capua, not Baiae (23.18.9) and that only the troops, not Hannibal himself, became corrupted (23.18.10-16).

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[130] Cf. the briefer portrait of Syracuse and its landscape (Florus 2.6.34; Bessone, *storia* 186) and the travelogue of *VOAP* 2.1-5. Cf. also Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* 7 = *Euboeic Oration* and Anderson, *Phenomenon* 28-30 on the general propensity of sophists to travel.

[131] "Problems" 137. This incident is also mentioned in Tacitus, *Ann.*, 4.67. Baldwin, *ibid.* 137 with n.16 adds Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.2, Statius, *Silvae* 4.79-80, Silius Italicus 17.594, Valerius Flaccus 3.208, Martial 4.44, and Plutarch, *Pyth. Orac.* 9.

[132] Jones 157 with n. 48. For Lucian's age, see Jones 8.

[133] Bessone, *storia* 181 n.13.

Seneca, *Ep.* 51.5 combines the motif of the luxury of Baiae (cf. Cicero, *ad fam.* 9.12.1) with the dissolution that Capua brought out in Punic troops to place Hannibal at Baiae. The larger purpose of this translocation is to emphasize the martial ardor of famous Romans (Marius, Pompey, and Caesar) with villas at Baiae that "were not villas but camps" (*non villas esse sed castra*, 51.11) and thereby indirectly attack Nero's decadent Baian villa (described but not named in 51.12).[134] Florus may be thinking in the same terms, but with a prescriptive aim; the story of Hannibal losing his edge could serve as a warning to adhere to Hadrian's military regulations against luxury.[135]

Livy also has Campanian envoys to Rome in 343 BCE praise their land in similarly hyperbolic terms, but the relationship of their praise to the narrative is much more organic. The Campanians emphasize the advantages of their land because they seek to become Roman allies:

> Although current luck prevents one from speaking grandly, we Campanians, yielding to no people except to you in the size of their city or in the fertility of their fields, come into your friendship as no small addition to your good situation, as I think.
>
> Campani, etsi fortuna praesens magnifice loqui prohibet, non urbis amplitudine, non agri ubertate ulli populo praeterquam vobis cedentes, haud parva, ut arbitror, accessio bonis rebus vestris in amicitiam venimus vestram (7.30.6).

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[134] As argued by A. Gowing, "Perversions of Memory" (*Rhetoric in Practice* Conference, University of Washington, May 8th, 1999). Silius Italicus, who was consul in the last year of Nero's reign (68 CE), may be trying to rebut Seneca as well as follow Livy when he moves the Carthaginians' enervating winter camp back to Capua (*Punica* 12. 5, 15-19) and compares Hannibal to a snake emerging from winter hibernation with renewed vigor (12. 5-10, especially "he darts forth fresh," [*novus emicat*, 12. 9]).

[135] Birley 117-120 discusses the major sources for these regulations, *HA Hadrian* 10.2-8 and Dio 69.1-4. Hadrian died at Baiae (*HA* 25.6) but was probably touring the empire while Florus was writing.

Elsewhere, however, Livy portrays Capua from the Roman point of view as a den of iniquity, deleterious for military discipline (7.38.5, 23.18.10-16) and rife with conspiracy (7.38.5-39.6, 23.2.1-4.6).

Other examples show affinities with poetry—the poems (*carmina*) which Florus himself taught (*VOAP* 3.8). Florus describes the Roman general Fabius Maximus' attack from above: "weapons were thrown as if from the sky and the clouds upon the earth-born" (*quasi in terrigenas e caelo ac nubibus tela iacerentur*, 1.17.6). The word "earth-born" (*terrigena*) is in Latin poetry often a calque for Greek γηγενής ("earth-born" / "born from Gaia" / "giant"), as in Ovid's phrase "earth-born Typhoeus" (*terrigenam...Typhoea*, *Met.* 5.325), which refers to a giant fighting against the gods in a Gigantomachy (*Met.* 5.318-32).[136] Florus appropriates the battle of the gods and giants, typically a struggle of piety against impiety, for his own narrative purpose.[137] Of course, Florus casts the Romans as the gods and the Etrusco-Samnite-Umbrian confederacy as the giants.[138]

In 1.18, on the Tarentine War, Florus relates the story of an elephant mother who indiscriminately attacks both sides after she recognizes a cry of distress from her calf, its head pierced by a Roman spear: "the serious blow of a spear driven into its head turned aside [from the battle line] one calf from

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[136] In Lucretius (5. 1411, 1427), the word refers to human beings. It does not appear elsewhere in prose until after Florus (Apuleius *Mun.* 10; Ammianus Marcellinus 19.8.11).

[137] Florus ignores the Muses' disapproval of the Gigantomachy in *Met.* 5.318-32, which is told by a mortal Pierid challenging the Muses for poetic supremacy. The Muse Calliope later rebuts this mortal version, in which Typhoeus wins, by describing the island of Sicily as holding down the defeated Typhoeus (*Met.* 5. 346-55). S. Hinds, *The Metamorphoses of Persephone* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1987) 130-3 points out the Callimachean poetics behind the Muses' dislike of Gigantomachy, "the very sternest kind of martial epic that there is" (129). D. Innes, "Gigantomachy and Natural Philosophy," *CQ* n.s. 29 (1979) 166-8 and Hinds, *ibid.* 129 mention that Augustan poets consistently postpone the project of writing a Gigantomachy, but the grandiose late first century CE Greek sophist Scopelian writes a prose Gigantomachy (Innes, *ibid.* 168).

[138] Cf. the Gigantomachy on the Great Altar of Zeus at Pergamon, dedicated about 180 BCE by the Attalid King Eumenes, in which the gods are the Pergamenes and the giants are the Gauls. Another Gigantomachy appears in Gaul itself on the Besançon arch, which dates from the reign of Marcus Aurelius and features Jupiter with a thunderbolt blasting a crowd of half-humanoid, half-snake giants (Woolf 75-6). Woolf interprets the arch as showing that the Gauls identify with Jupiter and at the same time accept "the Roman myth of civilization" (76).

these [elephants]; when this calf, returning through the carnage of its fellow beasts, complained with a groan, its mother recognized it and, as if to avenge the injury, leapt out, then confused everything nearby as if it were unfriendly with her huge bulk" (*unum ex his pullum adacti in caput teli gravis ictus avertit; qui cum per stragem suorum recurrens stridore quereretur, mater agnovit et quasi vindicaret exiluit tum omnia circa quasi hostilia gravi mole permiscuit*, 1.18.12). There is a possible echo of Lucretius here. In Book 2 of *De Rerum Natura*, Lucretius cites the mutual ability of mothers and offspring to recognize each other as proof that members of the same species are not exactly alike (2.349-50). Lucretius' subsequent example (2.352-367) is very similar to Florus' elephants; a mother cow seeks her calf who suffers from human activity (in this case, sacrifice).[139]

An Extended Example: Rome vs. the Gauls

Many of Florus' techniques for dealing with the fusion of horizons can be found in an extended example, the chapter on conflicts between Rome and the Gauls (1.13). This chapter is noteworthy for combining incidents from 386 BCE to 282 BCE into a single chapter--intrafusion on a large scale. Florus may have also gotten the idea of treating the Gauls in a single chapter from Book 103 of the Livian original.[140]

This chapter is also noteworthy for the fact that at some points Florus condenses Livy less than usual and tracks his text more closely, as we shall

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[139] Other passages in which Florus writes from the point of view of animals include 1.7.3 (horses upset at having run over Servius Tullius), 1.18.8 (horses frightened by elephants), 1.18.28 (elephants humiliated by being led in triumph behind horses) (Bessone, *storia* 173). In Roman declamation, the handbook writer Julius Severianus speaks about the use of animals for arousing "emotion" (*adfectus*) and cites Cicero, *Verr.* 2.5.171 (*Rhetores Latini Minores*, ed. K. Halm [Leipzig: Teubner, 1863] 368, line 23).

[140] Livy treats the Gauls again in Book 103 in the context of Caesar's campaign in Gaul against the Helvetii, and *Periocha* 103 notes the presence of an ethnographical digression, or *situs gentium*, of the Gallic lands at the end of the book: "the rest contains a description of the Gallic lands" (*praeterea situm Galliarum continet, Per.* 103). This digression might have also recapitulated past Roman wars with the Gauls. Moreover, Ogilvie 701-702 suspects that Livy 5.33.4-35.3 and the Livian original of Book 103 featured some of the same material and were derived from the same source, perhaps Posidonius or Timagenes.

see. Florus begins by explaining the pause in Rome's rapid expansion as due to divine hatred or fate, but he later resorts to a teleological explanation--the Gallic invasion was a divine test for whether the Romans were ready for world domination:

> Here, whether by the hatred of the gods or by fate, the very swift course of expanding empire is stopped for a little while by the invasion of the Gallic Senones....the immortal gods wished to know whether Roman courage deserved the control of the world.
>
> hic sive invidia deum sive fato rapidissimus procurrentis imperii cursus parumper Gallorum Senonum incursione supprimitur....scire volentibus immortalibus dis, an Romana virtus imperium orbis mereretur (1.13.1, 3).

Livy does not include such teleological and retrospectively optimistic musings on Rome's destiny, but he includes some foreshadowing of Roman peril and rescue by Camillus: "if the citizen [i.e. Camillus] who was driven out had stayed, Rome could not have been captured, if there is anything certain about human events, and disaster kept drawing nearer to the doomed city" (*expulso cive quo manente, si quicquam humanorum certi est, capi Roma non potuerat, adventante fatali urbi clade*, 5.33.1). Livy also includes Camillus' view of Rome's destiny when he exhorts the Romans not to migrate to Veii: "not without a reason did the gods and men choose this place for founding a city...here are the fires of Vesta, here the shields were sent down from heaven, here all the gods are favorable to you, if you stay" (*non sine causa di hominesque hunc urbi condendae locum elegerunt....hic Vestae ignes, hic ancilia caelo demissa, hic omnes propitii manentibus vobis di*, 5.54.4, 7).

Florus encounters a problem when discussing the origin of the hostile, barbarian Gallic Senones. They came from what is now central France and what was in Florus' day a thriving, peaceful center of Gallo-Roman culture far from imperial frontiers.[141] Livy had dealt with a similar problem in that

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[141] Woolf xviii (Map 3) and xii.

Julius Caesar had conquered the Senones' homeland, but Gaul as a whole was not under complete Roman military control until after 70 CE.[142] Given the ambiguous status of Gaul, Livy portrays the Senones in two ways, first as having come over the Alps from what is now France, from known areas (5.34.1-35.3) but second, with rhetorical exaggeration, as having come from the edge of the earth: "this then unfamiliar and unheard-of tribe was stirring up war from the Ocean and from the furthest shores of lands" (*ea tunc invisitato atque inaudito hoste ab Oceano terrarumque ultimis oris bellum ciente,* 5.37.2). The first portrayal suggests continuity between the contemporary Gauls who can resist Rome and their ancestors who sacked Rome, while the second portrayal suggests discontinuity between the contemporary Gauls who are loyal to Rome and ancient Gauls from an unknown area who sacked Rome. To suggest as much discontinuity as possible between the past and present Gauls, Florus portrays the Gallic Senones as coming from the very fringes of the European continent: "these men once, after setting out with a huge battle line from the farthest shores of lands and from Ocean girding all things, since they had already destroyed the intervening territory, with settlements placed between the Alps and the Po River" (*hi quondam ab ultimis terrarum oris et cingente omnia Oceano ingenti agmine profecti cum iam media vastassent, positis inter Alpes et Padum sedibus,* 1.13.5).[143] Moreover, one of the most famous people named Florus in Roman history is Julius Florus, a Gallic nobleman and Roman citizen who led a Gallic revolt against Rome in 21 CE (Tacitus *Ann.* 3.40-42), so Florus may have an additional motive for portraying Gallic attacks on Rome in a way that dissociates them as much as possible from contemporary Gauls. When Florus later says, "today, no traces of the Senones survive" (*hodie nulla Senonum vestigia supersi*nt, 1.13.19), he means that not only that their settlements and shrines have disappeared but also that they have left no

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142 Woolf 33.

143 Cf. Ovidian exile poetry, which insists that Thracians, Scythians, and Moesians threaten the stability of Roman rule and must be forcibly civilized even though they are far from Tomis, the setting of the exile poetry: "nothing beyond [Roman control] is safe" (*nil extra tutum est, Tristia* 5.10.17; Habinek 158-9).

descendants among contemporary Gauls. Florus intends his reader to think of the Senones not as the equivalent of contemporary Gauls, but as the equivalent of contemporary Parthians or Dacians.

Accordingly, Florus portrays the efficient cause of the conflict between the Gauls and Romans as barbarian contempt for negotiations and for law: "envoys were sent according to custom. But what is law among barbarians?" (*missi ex more legati. sed quod ius apud barbaros?* 1.13.6). Here Florus deploys the common image of the lawless barbarian.[144] In contrast, Livy cites as the efficient cause of war Roman contempt for law--Roman envoys fight in Clusium's army, in violation of the law of nations: "then, since the fates are now pressing against the Roman city, the envoys take up weapons against the law of nations" (*ibi iam urgentibus Romanam urbem fatis legati contra ius gentium arma capiunt*, 5.36.6). Livy even paradoxically reverses the usual opposition between lawful, civilized Romans and their lawless, barbarous enemies: "the embassy would have been conciliatory, had it not contained envoys who were very savage and more like Gauls than Romans" (*mitis legatio, ni praeferoces legatos Gallisque magis quam Romanis similes habuisset*, 5.36.1).[145] Again, Livy's portrayal of the Gauls may reflect the ambiguous status of Gaul in his day as well as an anticipation of the later decline of Roman morality. Moreover, Tacitus performs a similar move in *Agricola*, where he combines Agricola's promotion of Roman culture among the Britons (21.1-2) with the servitude (21.2) of the entire Roman empire to Domitian (44.5-45.2).[146]

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[144] For a good example, see *Pro Milone*, in which Cicero attacks Clodius not only for total disregard of law ("to whom already a statute was nothing, civil law was nothing," [*cui iam nulla lex erat, nullum civile ius*, 74]) but also for leading an army of barbarian slaves ("he had led down from the Appenine mountains rustic and barbarian slaves [*servos agrestes et barbaros...ex Appenino deduxerat*, 26]). I thank Prof. Linda Rutland-Gillison for bringing these references to my attention.

[145] Elsewhere, Livy's treatment of Gauls is more conventional. For example, Manlius Vulso compares the Gauls to animals--he compares the Gallic Senones to cattle slaughtered and driven away by Romans (38.17.6), whereas the Gallogrecians in Asia Minor are like wild animals that have been tamed by Asiatic luxury (38.17.15).

[146] For further discussion of Tacitus' use of Britain as the moral opposite of Rome, see Woolf 69-70.

The Gauls defeat the Romans at the river Allia, and the day on which this defeat occurs becomes ill-omened. Florus cites documentary evidence, the Roman calendar, as proof of this event "And so Rome marked this day as ill-omened in its calendar" (*itaque hunc diem fastis Roma damnavit*, 1.13.7). In his account, Livy describes the exact physical location of the battle (5.37.7). He only mentions the Roman calendar as documentary evidence for the defeat at the Allia when he performs intrafusion between the defeat of the Fabii at Cremera and the defeat at the Allia:

> and they called the 18th of May the 'Allian' day, marked by a double disaster, from the later disaster--on this day the Fabii were killed at Cremera,[147] then at the Allia there was disgraceful fighting with a serious threat to the city--and they marked this day by doing no public or private business.
>
> diemque a. d. XV Kal. Sextiles, duplici clade insignem, quo die ad Cremeram Fabii caesi, quo deinde ad Alliam cum exitio urbis foede pugnatum, a posteriore clade Alliensem appellarunt, insignemque nulla re publice privatimque agenda fecerunt (6.1.11).

This defeat also allows the Gauls to press on and come up to the walls of Rome itself (Florus 1.13.8; Livy 5.39.2).

Florus and Livy both try to assimilate the outlook of the present to the past by stressing Roman piety during the Gallic siege. They describe numerous measures to propitiate the gods or protect the "sacred objects" (*sacra*) (Florus 1.13.9-12; Livy 5.40.7-41.3). First, the elder statesmen, led by a priest or *pontifex*,[148] vow themselves to the gods of the underworld (Florus 1.13.9-10; Livy 5.41.3) and wait dressed in full regalia in their houses to die (Florus 1.13.10; Livy 5.41.2). The priests hide sacred objects in jars in the earth (Florus 1.13.11; Livy 5.40.7-8) or take them elsewhere (in Florus 1.13.11 to Veii,

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147 Ovid, *Fasti* 2.195-241 follows a Fabian attempt to synchronize the disaster at Cremera with their family's Lupercalia (February 13th) (Ogilvie 360).

148 The pontifex' name, Folius, appears not only in Livy (5.41.3) but also, as we shall see, in Ampelius 20.7.

in Livy to the Janiculum [5.40.8] and thence to Caere [5.40.10]). Vestal Virgins accompany the sacred objects (Florus 1.13.12; Livy 5.40.7), and Albinius carries the Virgins and sacred objects in his wagon after making his wife and children get out (Florus 1.13.12; Livy 5.40.9-10).

Florus frames Albinius' action with a moralizing comment about the priority of the state over the family "in those days" (*tunc*): "**in those days** the state religion used to be so much more important than private affections, even in times of crisis" (*adeo* ***tunc*** *quoque in ultimis religio publica privatis adfectibus antecellebat*, 1.13.12). As a prelude to such a statement, Florus provides numerous examples of protecting the "state religion" (*religio publica*), such as the concealment of sacred objects (1.13.11). In the second century CE, the emperor Hadrian was taking many steps to promote the "state religion," including the constuction of a new temple for Rome herself and for the Roman people's divine ancestor, Venus,[149] while his "private affections" were often expressed in the foundation of official cults.[150] Livy puts a similar statement about priorities in the mind of Albinius. The key distinction is not between public and private but between divine and human: "he thought, with a distinction even then reliable between **divine and human** matters, that it was impious for the state priests to go on foot and for the sacred objects to be carried, while he and his family were seen in a cart" (*salvo etiam tum discrimine* ***divinarum humanarumque*** *rerum religiosum ratus sacerdotes publicos sacraque populi Romani pedibus ire ferrique, se ac suos in vehiculo conspici*, 5.40.10).[151] Augustus and other good emperors are portrayed as

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[149] Birley 111; Dio Chrysostom characterizes the good king [= Roman emperor] as attentive to religion (*On Kings* [= περὶ βασιλέας] III. 51-52, cited in Sirago, "seconda sofistica" 62).

[150] For example, Hadrian founded a temple at Rome to his cousin Matidia, one of his dearest female relatives, deified after her death in 119 CE (Birley 110).

[151] Cf. Livy 8.11.1: "the recollection of every **divine and human** custom has fallen by the wayside due to preferring all things that are novel and foreign to those that are ancient and ancestral," *omnis* ***divini humanique*** *moris memoria abolevit nova peregrinaque omnia priscis ac patriis praeferendo*.

careful about the distinction between divine and human, with only the dead able to be worshiped as gods.[152]

The Roman youth (more or less those patricians still capable of fighting) retreat to the citadel (Florus 1.13.13; Livy 5.39.9). Florus emphasizes the vow of the "youth" (*iuventus*) to Jove: "the youth called as witness Jove himself, as if he were present, that however they strove together to protect his shrine, thus would he watch over their courage with his spirit" (*iuventus...obtestata ipsum quasi praesentem Iovem, ut quem ad modum ipsi ad defendendum templum eius concucurrissent, ita ille virtutem eorum numine suo tueretur*, 1.13.13). The perceived presence of Jove (*quasi praesentem Iovem*) recalls the divine epiphanies of epic[153] more than Livy's references to traditional Roman cult sites (e.g. "the citadel and the Capitol, seats of the gods" [*arx Capitoliumque, sedes deorum*, 5.39.12]). The youth's shared oath in Florus recalls the later Roman military oath, while in Livy the youth receive merely individual exhortations from their elders: "thereupon words of encouragement were addressed to the line of young men whom the old men were accompanying onto the Capitol and the citadel as they entrusted to their youth whatever fortune was left of a city victorious through three hundred and sixty years in all wars" (*versae inde adhortationes ad agmen iuvenum quos in Capitolium atque in arcem prosequebantur, commendantes virtuti eorum iuventaeque urbis per trecentos sexaginta annos omnibus bellis victricis quaecumque reliqua esset fortuna*, 5.40.1).

The Gauls enter the city and, finding it deserted, at first suspect a trap (Florus 1.13.14; Livy 5.41.4-6). Here Florus follows Livy's narrative technique of splitting up two related events--the elder statesmen waiting in full regalia in their houses to die (Florus 1.13.10; Livy 5.41.2), and the Gauls entering their houses and marveling at them (Florus 1.13.14; Livy 5.41.7-8). Florus even manages to separate the two events with almost as many words as Livy does, and this shows how closely Florus is reading Livy here.

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[152] In contrast, wicked emperors divinize themselves while still alive (e.g. Commodus in Dio 73.16.1).

[153] Cf. the divine epiphany of Venus at *Aeneid* 1.314-414. For the youth's oath, cf. the answered prayer of Iarbas to Jupiter at *Aeneid* 4.206-18.

The Gauls soon turn from wonder to destroying the city, and this change is motivated in Livy by Marcus Papirius when a Gaul touches his beard: "Marcus Papirius, one of these, is said to have angered a Gaul who was stroking his beard by striking him on the head with his ivory staff, and from that incident the beginning of slaughter commenced" (*M. Papirius, unus ex iis, dicitur Gallo barbam suam, ut tum omnibus promissa erat, permulcenti scipione eburneo in caput incusso iram movisse, atque ab eo initium caedis ortum*, 5.41.9). Florus attributes this change instead to the Gauls' insanity, equally intense in worshiping men as gods and in indiscriminate destruction: "soon, with equal insanity, they butcher the same men [they had worshiped], who nevertheless thought it worthy to answer nothing, and they apply fire to the roofs and make the whole city equal to fire, sword, and their hands" (*mox eosdem, postquam esse homines liquebat, alioquin nihil respondere dignantes pari vecordia mactant facesque tectis iniciunt et totam urbem igni*[154] *ferro manibus exaequant*, 1.13.14). Livy makes the Gauls seem more understandable since they strike back when struck, while Florus makes the Gauls more alien, unpredictably prone to superstition or to mindless violence.

Florus then skips several months of Roman messages between their citadel and the remnants of their army elsewhere (Livy 5.42-46) to focus on the Gauls' lack of progress in the siege: "During the next six months, the barbarians--who would believe it?--clung closely to a single mountain and tried all stratagems not only by day but also by night" (*sex mensibus barbari--quis crederet?--circa montem unum pependerunt, nec diebus modo, sed noctibus quoque omnia experti*, Florus 1.13.15). We have seen Florus ask this kind of question before,[155] and his answer is usually "the annalists" (i.e. Livy). Here, as before, he relies on Livy's authority for the detail of six months of Gallic inactivity.

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154 I prefer the reading *igne* [NTVR], which makes *ferro* and *manibus* ablative and changes the translation: "they **level** the entire city **with** fire, sword, and their hands."

155 "Who would believe it?" (*quis credat?* Florus 1.11.6). See above.

Livy's authority occasionally allows Florus to tell the same story with fewer props. In other words, Florus lifts the barbell of narrative with one hand and makes it look easy, while Livy uses two hands and lots of grunting. When the Gauls try to climb the Roman citadel by night, the Roman Manlius is awakened just in time, in Florus by a single anonymous goose--"by the quacking of a goose" (*clangore anseris*, 1.13.15)--but in Livy by a whole flock of Capitoline geese sacred to Juno--"by their [the geese's] quacking and by the beating of their wings" (*clangore eorum [sc. anserum] alarumque crepitu*, 5.47.4). By noting that these geese were still fed because they were sacred to Juno in spite of the shortage of food (Livy 5.47.4), that each Roman can reward Manlius with half a pound of flour and a gill of wine (5.47.8) and that the Romans throw bread off the citadel to dispel any idea that they are starving (5.48.4), Livy underlines the resolve of the Romans holding the citadel. Florus makes much the same point by narrating only the last of the three events: "although the Romans were mired in the depths of hunger, nevertheless, the Roman people threw loaves of bread from the citadel for the appearance of confidence" (*quamquam in summa fame, tamen ad speciem fiduciae panes ab arce iaculatus est*, 1.13.15).

Religion is as important during the siege as in preparations for it, and the story of Fabius shows the difference in official religious policies between Augustus, who claimed descent from Venus and built a temple to Venus Genetrix,[156] and the Ulpian emperors Trajan and Hadrian, who can claim no such ancestral religious duties.[157] The courageous Roman Fabius twice threads his way through enemy lines to accomplish a "religious rite on the Quirinal hill" (*sollemne sacrum in Quirinali monte*, Florus 1.13.16), or a "sacrifice on the Quirinal hill" (*sacrificium...in Quirinali colle*, Livy 5.46.2). In Florus, Fabius is a recognized "priest" (*pontifex*, Florus 1.13.16) sent by the

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[156] Accordingly, Livy is much more interested throughout his work in family cults such as the Roman cult of Hercules whose rites were celebrated by the Potitii (Livy 1.7.14).

[157] Trajan and Hadrian are from a provincial family, though patrician (Syme, *Roman Revolution* 501). The "Entrail-examination" (*Extispicium*) Relief tries to associate Trajan with the traditional Roman rite of augury, though Trajan does not perform the rite himself (Kleiner 223-224).

Roman leader Manlius to perform a sacrifice on the Quirinal, while in Livy, he is fulfilling a religious obligation of his family ("the sacrifice was a custom of the Fabian family," (*sacrificium erat statum...genti Fabiae*, 5.46.2]). Florus emphasizes religion sponsored by the state, as Hadrian does, while Livy emphasizes religion sponsored by the family, as Augustus does.

When the Gauls receive gold as ransom in exchange for retreat (Florus 1.13.17; Livy 5.48.7-8), a Gaul throws his sword onto the weighing scale (Florus 1.13.17; Livy 5.48.9) and arrogantly says "woe to the conquered," a sound bite so well-known that Florus must quote it (*vae victis*, Florus 1.13.17; Livy 5.48.9).[158]

Florus then stages a surprise attack by Camillus from the rear on the Gauls "so that he could wipe out all traces of the fires with a tidal wave of Gallic blood" (*ut omnia incendiorum vestigia Gallici sanguinis inundatione deleret*, 1.13.17). Because Florus did not mention Camillus earlier, his appearance is even more of a surprise.[159] Livy has a less grisly but more teleological interpretation of Camillus' rescue of Rome: "but gods and men prevented the Romans from living as ransomed captives" (*sed dique et homines prohibuere redemptos vivere Romanos*, 5.49.1).

Florus generalizes the specific thanksgivings for Rome's survival made to particular gods and by building particular shrines (Livy 5.50.1-6) to Romans of every place and time: "it is allowed to give thanks to the immortal gods with the very name of such a great disaster" (*agere gratias dis inmortalibus ipso tantae cladis nomine libet*, Florus 1.13.18). Fire wipes out poor dwellings, including Augustus' beloved hut of Romulus: "that fire and flame obliterated the homes of shepherd and the poverty of Romulus" (*pastorum casas ignis ille et flamma paupertatem Romuli abscondit*, Florus 1.13.18); thus, traces of Rome's wild, ungovernable past[160] disappear. Florus views the

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158 See above.

159 Florus uses a similar technique in narrating the Second Punic War; Fabius Cunctator does not appear until well after Cannae (Florus 2.6.27; Bessone, *storia* 183).

160 Florus later says about the people of early Rome: "and so, there was a certain wildness present then because of the shepherds, something unconquered then animated them" *itaque inerat quaedam adhuc ex pastoribus feritas, quiddam adhuc spirabat indomitum* (Florus 1.22.1)

fire almost optimistically, as an opportunity not only to survive but also be ritually cleansed: "what else did that fire do, except bring it about that the city marked out as a home of men and gods should not seem to have been wiped out nor destroyed, but rather purified and cleansed?" (*incendium illud quid egit aliud, nisi ut destinata hominum ac deorum domicilio civitas non deleta nec obruta, sed expiata potius et lustrata videatur?* 1.13.18). Here Florus emphasizes the purification of Rome over its rebuilding because Hadrian did not completely rebuild Rome but ritually renewed the official boundary of Rome, the *pomoerium*, and built several temples to make Rome a better "home of gods" (*deorum domicilium*).[161] In contrast, Livy portrays the ritual cleansing of Rome as a duty rather than an opportunity--"all shrines, because the enemy had possessed them, would be restored and given new boundaries and purified" (*fana omnia, quod ea hostis possedisset, restituerentur terminarentur expiarenturque*, 5.50.2)--but criticizes its rebuilding as legal and architectural chaos (5.55.2-5). Not only does Augustus in 28 BCE restore eighty-two temples which had fallen into disrepair during decades of civil war,[162] he also tries to reshape Rome on a more rational basis with the aid of such projects as the Forum of Augustus, already under construction during the writing of Livy's first pentad.[163]

In a large-scale intrafusion, Florus describes in the next few sentences how the Romans finally exterminate the Gauls over the next hundred years; he draws material from later books of Livy all the way up to Book 12. First, he presents the rebuilt Rome as even harsher against its neighbors: "accordingly, after the city was by Manlius and restored by Camillus, the Roman people rose up more fiercely and violently against their neighbors" (*igitur post adsertam a Manlio, restitutam a Camillo urbem acrius etiam vehementiusque in finitimos resurrexit*, 1.13.19). But Livy portrays the hostility as stemming from Rome's neighbors, from enemies and allies alike, rather than from Rome:

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161 Birley 110-112.

162 Stambaugh 50.

163 *ibid.* 119.

> And so, when so many terrors surrounded them from all sides and it was clear to all that Roman prestige was hard pressed not only by hatred among its enemies but even by scorn among its allies, it was decided also to appoint Marcus Furius Camillus as dictator.
>
> itaque cum tanti undique terrores circumstarent appareretque omnibus non odio solum apud hostes sed contemptu etiam inter socios nomen Romanum laborare, placuit...dicatoremque dici M. Furium Camillum (6.2.4-5).

In other words, Florus portrays Rome as proactive, while Livy portrays Rome as reactive. Florus' proactive portrayal is appropriate for such military situations as Trajan's decisive victories over the Dacians and Parthians while Livy's reactive portrayal reflects Augustus' not attacking Parthia in order to concentrate on more serious threats in the western part of the Empire.[164]

Led by Camillus, the Roman army hunts down the surviving Gallic Senones: "the Roman people, with Camillus as their general, pursued the Gauls in such a way that today no traces of the Gallic Senones are left" (*sic persecutus est duce Camillo, ut hodie nulla Senonum vestigia supersint,* Florus 1.13.19). Florus again prefers documents to monuments--the "traces" (*vestigia*) are found in Livy, neither in the landscape of transalpine or cisalpine Gaul nor among the monuments at Rome. Also, Florus here disavows any genetic or cultural link between the Senones and contemporary Gauls.

In Livy, the victory is not total but is important for restoring morale: "victory was neither in doubt nor hard for the Romans, although they bore a huge fear of the Gaul because of the memory of the ancient disaster" (*nec dubia nec difficilis Romanis, quamquam ingentem Galli terrorem memoria pristinae cladis attulerant, victoria fuit,* 6.42.7). Not only do the Gauls survive

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164 Syme, *Roman Revolution* 301-2; also, Livy minimizes the threat to Rome from Parthia (Livy 9.18.6, cited *ibid.* 302 n.2),

to aid Hannibal later in Livy's narrative[165] but also have an ambiguous cultural and political status in relation to Rome in Livy's own day.[166]

In a good example of intrafusion, Florus and Livy both connect Titus Manlius and Marcus Valerius, two Roman soldiers who become famous for fighting Gauls in single combat and bequeath to their descendants "nicknames" or *cognomina*, Torquatus and Corvinus, respectively:

> Once the Gauls were massacred at the river Anio, when in single combat Manlius removed a golden neck-band, among the spoils, from a barbarian, and so his descendants were called the Torquati ['Neck-banded'].[167] Again, at the Pomptine field, Gauls were massacred when in a similar battle Valerius, helped by a sacred bird landing on his helmet, won spoils; and so his descendants were called the Corvini ['Raven-like'].[168]
>
> semel apud Anienem trucidati, cum singulari certamine Manlius aureum torquem barbaro inter spolia detraxit, unde Torquati. iterum Pomptino agro, cum in simili pugna Valerius, insidente galeae sacra alite adiutus, tulit spolia; et inde Corvini (Florus 1.13.20).

Florus can juxtapose the two men in two successive short sentences with the words "again" and "in a similar battle" (*iterum ... in simili pugna*, 1.13.20), but Livy portrays the later figure, Valerius, as modeling himself after the earlier figure, Manlius: "Marcus Valerius as a youth was tribune of the soldiers, and, after thinking himself not more unworthy of that honor than Titus Manlius [Torquatus] and after obtaining permission from the consul, went forth

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165 A few Gauls escape to Apulia (Livy 6.42.8), as they do later after being defeated by Camillus' son in 349 BCE (Livy 7.26.9). Once in Apulia, the Gauls continue to cause trouble for Rome when they ally with Carthage during the Second Punic War. They are included in "part of the Apulians" (*Apulorum pars*, Livy 22.61.11).

166 See above.

167 Livy 7.10.2-13

168 Livy 7.26.2-12; in Livy, the raven actually pecks at the Gaul (7.26.5), and Valerius' actual *cognomen* is "Raven" or *Corvus* (7.26.12)

armed into the middle of the two armies" (*M. erat Valerius tribunus militum adulescens, qui haud indigniorem eo decore se quam T. Manlium ratus, prius sciscitatus consulis voluntatem, in medium armatus processit,* 7.26.2).

Florus again stresses the disjunction between ancient and contemporary Gauls when he shows them being killed to the last man at the end of his chapter on Gallic Wars. Dolabella finishes the Gauls off for good at the battle of Lake Vadimon in 283 BCE,[169] "so that no one would be left from that tribe who could boast that Rome had been set on fire by them" (*ne quis exstaret ex ea gente, quae incensam a se Romanam urbem gloriaretur,* 1.13.21). Unfortunately, the corresponding book of Livy survives only in the *Periochae. Periocha* 12 describes how the Gallic war of 284-282 BCE began and an early setback under Lucius Caecilius: "After the envoys of the Romans had been killed by the Senonian Gauls and war had been declared against the Gauls because of this incident, Lucius Cornelius the praetor was killed along with his legions by these Gauls" (*cum legati Romanorum a Gallis Senonibus interfecti essent, bello ob id Gallis indicto, L. Cornelius praetor ab his cum legionibus caesus est*). Even though this *Periocha* completely omits Dolabella and the conclusion of the war, presumably the Livian original of Book 12 did not leave the reader in suspense.

"Rebellions" (*Seditiones*)

Dealing with civil unrest in early Republican Rome presents a challenge to the fusion of horizons performed by the post-Republican historian. The historian must portray civil unrest in such a way as to avoid valorizing actions against the Roman government, yet must explain constitutional change by remediation of legitimate grievances. In order to handle civil unrest in a consistent way, Florus 1.22-26 juxtaposes domestic crises with each other rather than with wars against external enemies.[170] In

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[169] Since this portion of Livy is no longer extant, Cornell 466 n. 41 names Polybius 2.19.7-20 as the best source for the Gallic War of 284-282 BCE, a war which for historians is "a major puzzle."

[170] Höse 67 notes the «innenpolitischen» character of this section.

contrast, Livy, as do many other historians writing in annalistic styles, alternates between "domestic affairs" (*res internae*) and "foreign affairs" (*res externae*).[171]

In other words, Florus performs intrafusion on the various Livian passages that handle civil unrest. He refers to civil unrest generally as "rebellions" (*seditiones*, 1.26.5), and the manuscripts **R** and **V** use this word as a heading for Florus 1.22-26. Florus similarly groups domestic crises of the late 2nd and early 1st centuries BCE (133-91 BCE) in 3.13-17, where he also calls these events *seditiones* (3.13.1), and the manuscripts show a remarkable degree of agreement in labeling each of chapters 3.14-17 as a *seditio*.[172] The word *seditio* is rather broad, signifying, among other things, "rebellion in the armed forces" (*OLD* 1b), "the strife of rival [political] parties" (*OLD* 1a), "internal strife" (*OLD* 1c), and generalized "turmoil" or "discord" (*OLD* 2). These definitions correspond roughly to Florus' subdivisions of the *seditiones* in 1.22-26 into four loose but meaningful categories--military revolts, politically motivated fines against prominent citizens, "dissensions" (*discordiae*), and the actions of "harmful citizens" (*perniciosi cives*).

Florus begins with an aetiology of *seditiones* that downplays the historical context in favor of his overarching biological metaphor of the Roman people as a person going through stages of life.[173] Florus characterizes the "second age" (*secunda aetas*) of Rome, its "adolescence" (*adulescentia*) between the expulsion of the kings and the First Punic War, by its hot blood: "this is the second age of the Roman people and, as it were, its adolescence, in which it was especially strong and at which apex of courage[174]

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171 Kraus 11.

172 Appian similarly groups together late Republican civil disturbances (στάσεις) in the early part of *BC* 1, while at some points he even seems to have a list in mind (*e.g.* "this was the third civil disturbance" (τρίτον μὲν δὴ τόδε ἔργον ἐμφύλιον ἦν, *BC* 1.150).

173 Höse 70-76 has more discussion of this metaphor, while Johnson 125-126 explicitly denies its validity, especially as applied to the equation of senescence and decadence.

174 Bessone, *storia* 89 and 83-121 *passim* notes the significance of "courage" (*virtus*) throughout Florus' work.

it burned and was on fire" (*haec est secunda aetas populi Romani et quasi adulescentia, qua maxime viruit et quodam flore virtutis exarsit et ferbuit,* Florus 1.22.1). Livy sees youthful enthusiasm as both a potential asset[175] and a potential liability,[176] but Florus in these chapters views *seditiones* exclusively as a drawback of such enthusiasm.

More explicitly, Florus attributes chaotic politics to the fact that many Romans were shepherds. He includes shepherds among the immigrants to early Rome: "Latin and Etruscan shepherds had streamed in" (*Latini Tuscique pastores...influxerant,* 1.1.9). Consequently, Romans live anarchic lives: "and so, there was a certain wildness present then because of the shepherds, something untamed then animated them" (*itaque inerat quaedam adhuc ex pastoribus feritas, quiddam adhuc spirabat indomitum,* 1.22.1).[177] Florus knew about the wildness of shepherds, since he came from the province of Africa, from whose frontier Roman soldiers were successfully pushing back the nomadic, "untamed" shepherds known as the Musulamii.[178] At the same time, "tamed" shepherds from regions under Roman control were especially useful to the empire. Rostovtzeff surmises that shepherds and farmers from such regions formed the bulk of the Roman army and speculates that such soldiers may have been especially docile on account of their lack of political experience.[179] Although Florus acknowledges that noble Romans have strategically disguised themselves as shepherds--Romulus and Remus (1.1.3) and the brother of Fabius Maximus

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175 *E.g.* Titus Manlius Torquatus kills a Gaul in single combat (Livy 7.10).

176 *E.g.* Lucius Furius, who cannot wait to fight the Praenestines and Volscians when he thinks he has the advantage (Livy 6.23). Also, his impetuous youth forms a foil to Camillus' cautious old age (Kraus 223); see also Oakley on 6.23.4 : "wars are given to young men" (*iuvenibus bella data*).

177 Cf. the "rustic and barbarian slaves" (*servi agrestes et barbari,* Cicero, *Pro Milone* 26) whom Clodius led down from the Apennines for political violence. See n.143.

178 The transfer of the legion III Augusta to Lambaesis, perhaps before Trajan, along with the founding of a Roman colony at Thamugadi in 100 CE could indicate that nomadic tribes had been pushed a considerable distance west of Carthage (Syme, *Tacitus,* 222 with nn.3-4).

179 Rostovtzeff 127-8.

(1.17.4)--genuine shepherds have to be "tamed" before they can be part of Rome.[180]

Similarly, Livy explains the long period of monarchy that began Rome's history as necessary to govern a people still politically immature, "that rabble of shepherds and strangers, seeking refuge from its own tribes" (*illa pastorum convenarumque plebs, transfuga ex suis populis*, 2.1.4):[181]

> And there is no doubt that the same Brutus, who won so much glory by driving out the haughty king, would have done it to the city's detriment, if he had snatched the ruling power from any of the earlier kings out of a lust for premature freedom.
>
> neque ambigitur quin Brutus idem qui tantum gloriae superbo exacto rege meruit pessimo publico id facturus fuerit, si libertatis immaturae cupidine priorum regum alicui regnum extorsisset (2.1.3)

Livy concludes this hypothetical situation with a generalizing comment that monarchy has its appropriate time:[182]

> Government, not yet mature, which the serene, measured use of power fostered and by nourishing it brought it to such a point that it could handle the good enjoyment of freedom with strength already full-grown, would have been scattered by dissension.
>
> dissipatae res nondum adultae discordia forent, quas fovit tranquilla moderatio imperii eoque nutriendo perduxit ut bonam frugem libertatis maturis iam viribus ferre posset (2.1.6).

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[180] Cf. the emperor Claudius' request that Comatan Gauls be admitted to the senate based on their transition from hostility to friendship with Rome (*ILS* 212 and Tacitus, *Ann.* 11.24, discussed in Woolf 64). Woolf later says about the Gauls, "[The Roman myth of growth through recruitment] offered an account of the Gauls' past--as barbarians--and hope for the future as civilizers" (74).

[181] Contrast Dionysius of Halicarnassus 1.85.3, who emphasizes that noblemen from various tribes were among Romulus and Remus' followers (Miles 147 n.16).

[182] Miles 118-9 further compares Livy's treatment of the monarchy to the decemvirate in Book 3 as autocratic institutions which outgrew their usefulness.

An implication of this comment for Livy's own time is that Augustus could restore the Republic once the Romans had re-acclimated to peace after civil war, even if "the measured use of power" (*moderatio imperii*) was still necessary for newly-pacified provinces.

Military Revolts

Florus extends the "wildness" (*feritas*) of shepherds far into the republic, to mutinies in the army associated with Postumius, Appius Claudius, and Volero. The first two are generals and the targets of mutinies, and the last is the instigator of a mutiny. Tacitus frequently uses the word *seditio* in describing the behavior of the Roman army during the year of the four emperors (69 CE),[183] and such memories of recent military *seditiones* explain why Florus deprives each of these mutinies of any justification. Livy, in contrast, shows throughout his first pentad the excesses and counter-excesses of both patricians and plebeians[184] and the gradual emergence of rights for Roman citizens.[185] Such rights not only are important for the current self-definition of Roman citizens but also need to be reasserted after decades of civil war and after such episodes as the murder of Cicero (Livy Book 120 *apud* Seneca, *suas.* 6.17). Livy suspects that his readers, Roman

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[183] Tacitus describes his *Histories* thus: "I embark on a work rich in accidents, fierce in battles, quarrelsome in its **revolts**, savage even in peace itself," *opus adgredior opimum casibus, atrox proeliis, discors **seditionibus**, ipsa etiam pace saevum* (1.2). True to his word, Tacitus later mentions that Otho's army was plagued by *seditiones*: "their leaders despised so hostile an army on account of frequent **revolts**," (*ducibus ob crebras **seditiones** tam infestam militiam aspernantibus, Hist.* 2.36).

[184] Walsh 69.

[185] For example, Roman citizens who enlisted in the army could not suffer debt-slavery: "Servilius the consul declared that no one could fetter or imprison a Roman citizen so that he would be less able to give his name to the consuls [for military service]" (*edixit ne quis civem Romanum vinctum aut clausum teneret, quo minus ei nominis edendi apud consules potestas fieret,* Livy 2.24.6).

citizens, will identify with the citizen army of the early Roman Republic, even if their ancestors were in fact Gauls given citizenship by Julius Caesar.[186]

Livy shows Postumius as deceitful in denying his army booty from the Aequi ("he changed his promise" [*fidem mutavit*, 4.49.9]) and as proud in insulting his soldiers ("'may evil indeed come to my soldiers,' he said, 'unless they shut up,'" [*malum quidem militibus meis, inquit, nisi quieverint*, 4.49.11]). After a few more such remarks (4.49.12-16), a tribune of the people interprets them in the worst possible way: "'Do you hear, he said, 'Romans, him threatening soldiers, like slaves, with evil?'" (*Auditis, inquit, Quirites sicut servis malum minantem militibus*, 4.49.13). Postumius is then stoned to death after trying to control the soldiers with harsh treatment ("with bitter investigations, cruel punishments" [*acerbis quaestionibus, crudelibus suppliciis*, 4.50.4]): "Anger burst out to such a point that the military tribune was covered with stones by his own army" (*eo indignatio erupit ut tribunus militum ab exercitu suo lapidibus cooperiretur*, 4.50.5).

Florus shortens Postumius' misdeeds to a false promise of booty: "discord arising in the camp, the army stoned the general Postumius, who lied about the plunder he had promised them" (*exercitus Postumium imperatorem, infitiantem quas promiserat praedas, facta in castris seditione lapidavit*, 1.22.2). By Florus' day, the army as a group is one of the strongest political entities in the empire; Nerva had to choose Trajan as his successor because of his control of a large army.[187] As for plunder, the situation becomes so bad by the early third century CE that the Roman emperor Septimius Severus gives his sons the following advice about staying in power: "enrich the soldiers, scorn all the others," (Dio 77.15.2).

Appius Claudius (consul in 471 BCE) earns disobedience in his campaign against the Volscians (Livy 2.58.3-59.11) by excessively harsh treatment of his troops: "this anger and wrath kept goading his fierce mind to harass the army with his harsh power" (*haec ira indignatioque ferocem*

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[186] Livy's own family probably only became full citizens in 49 BCE through the efforts of Julius Caesar, who was then invading Italy (Miles 48).

[187] Syme, *Tacitus* 10.

animum ad vexandum saevo imperio exercitum stimulabat, Livy 2.58.6). Livy seems to pattern this incident on the Claudian family's traditional hostility toward the *plebs* and dislike by them: "he hated the people with more than ancestral hatred" (*odisse plebem plus quam paterno odio,* 2.58.5).[188] Elsewhere in Livy, another Appius Claudius, the youngest senator in 417 BCE, proposes a strategy first used by his grandfather to thwart a bill for the re-distribution of captured land to plebeians (4.48.5-9).

In contrast, Florus says: "the army under Appius Claudius did not wish to conquer the enemy, although it could" (*sub Appio Claudio noluit vincere hostem, cum posset,* 1.22.2). The phrase "under Appius Claudius" (*sub Appio Claudio*), implies that the troops were not simply cowardly but had a personal animus against Appius Claudius. Lack of desire to fight in the imperial Roman army is usually attributed to a lack of personal loyalty to commanders than to excessively harsh treatment.[189] For example, a typical soldier of Otho "would prefer to explain away the commands of his leaders rather than carry them out" (*iussa ducum interpretari quam exequi mallet,* Tacitus, *Hist.* 2.39).

In Livy, Publilius Volero refuses military enlistment ("he denied that he ought to become a soldier" [*negaret se militem fieri debere,* 2.55.4]) and appeals to the plebeians for help ("I appeal" [*provoco,* 2.55.5, 7]). The plebeian mob breaks the rods of the lictors sent to arrest him: "with the lictors assaulted, the fasces broken, the consuls were driven from the forum into the curia, and they were unsure how far Volero would push his victory" (*violatis lictoribus, fascibus fractis, e foro in curiam compelluntur, incerti quatenus Volero exerceret victoriam,* 2.55.9). Appius even calls the tribunes of the

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[188] Ogilvie 383 suggests that this Appius Claudius is patterned not on one of his ancestors, but on one of his descendants, Appius Claudius (praetor 89 BCE, then propraetor), whose harsh ways may have enabled Cinna to lure away his army with bribes in 87 BCE (*Per.* 79).

[189] Harsh treatment must have been fairly common in the imperial army; Shaw 30 argues that the conditions of imperial military service often made even rootless, risky brigandage seem attractive. Nevertheless, Livy's temporary, all-citizen army, who in their capacities as citizens could elect their commanders on an annual basis, could in theory more easily correct harsh treatment than a permanent, professional army of varying grades of political enfranchisement and on long campaigns far from home.

people "Voleros": "complaining all the while about the tribunes of the people and calling them 'Voleros,'" (*tribunos plebei [plebeios **HOU**] cavillans interdum et Volerones vocare*, 2.58.9).

When Volero says, "I appeal" (*provoco*, Livy 2.55.5, 7), this is a pseudo-precedent for the later legal right of *provocatio*, appeal to the people. Florus says nothing about *provocatio* because this legal right in its republican form had vanished by the reign of Tiberius. As noted above,[190] this legal right had been replaced by appeal to the emperor, who was in the second century CE trying to do everything possible to increase military recruitment.[191]

Also, Volero succeeds in capitalizing on the riot to become a tribune and pass a law requiring the election of tribunes in the Tribal Assembly (*Comitia Tributa*) where patricians could bring less influence to bear on their clients (Livy 2.56.2-3). Again, Florus does not even deign to deal with more or less obsolete Republican institutions.[192] In Florus, Volero leads a riot against military recruitment that directly challenges consular authority: "with Volero as leader and many refusing military service, the rods of the consul were broken" (*duce Volerone detrectantibus plerisque militiam, fracti consulis fasces*, 1.22.2). In sum, as opposed to Livy's emphasis on the treatment and rights of citizen-soldiers, Florus' emphasis on difficulties in military discipline and recruitment reflects growing 2nd-century-CE problems.

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190 Scullard 228 comments, "*provocatio ad populum* [appeal to the people] was replaced by *appellatio ad Caesarem* [appeal to the emperor]."

191 Cf. the protests of Spaniards against Hadrian's levy in the province in 122 CE (*HA Hadrian* 12.4) with discussion of Benario 90-1 and Rostovtzeff 573-4 n.8, 591-2 n. 36.

192 In 23 BCE, shortly after the latest probable date for the completion of Livy's first pentad (25 BCE, Miles 92-3 n. 49), Augustus abolished the board of tribunes and appropriated tribunician power (*tribunicia potestas*) as a legal fiction for his monarchical powers (Syme, *Roman Revolution* 38,336).

Fines of Prominent Citizens

Florus, not Livy, performs intrafusion between the fines of Coriolanus (Livy 2.34.8-35.6) and of Camillus (Livy 5.32). Coriolanus' commands to the people ("Coriolanus ordered them to work their fields" [*Coriolanum colere agros iubentem*, Florus 1.22.3]) seem unmotivated without their hunger from famine, which Coriolanus claims resulted from their refusal to do farm work: "let them rely on the grain-supply which they have made through their own insanity," (*utantur annona quam furore suo fecere*, Livy 2.34.11). Florus perhaps conceives of Coriolanus not so much as the leader of Rome as the owner of a *latifundium* trying to extract delinquent rent from his tenant farmers.[193] By the second century CE, one of the ways that the emperor most affected the lives of his subjects was as the owner of vast estates throughout the empire.[194] In other words, Coriolanus anticipates the Roman emperor as a combination of leader and landlord.

As for Camillus' fine, Florus puts a different spin on Livy's evidence. Florus is more specific about how Camillus mishandles the Veian booty: "because he seemed to have split up the booty from Veii between the people and the army unfairly," (*quod inique inter plebem et exercitum divisisse Veientem praedam videretur*, 1.22.4). In contrast, Livy is rather vague: "a day [for trial] was appointed by Lucius Apuleius, a tribune of the people, on account of the booty from Veii," (*die dicta ab L. Apuleio tribuno plebis propter praedam Veientanam*, 5.32.8).[195]

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[193] A. Jones, "The Roman Colonate," in Finley 289 with n.6 shows that arrears of rent were a widespread problem by the early third century CE.

[194] Rostovtzeff 214 describes the growth of imperial holdings into "huge tracts" by the second century CE, while *CIL* 8.10570 mentions imperial tenants of Commodus in Africa who had spent their entire lives on the same imperial estate. In a parallel to Coriolanus, Hadrian in 135/6 CE denies a reduction in rent to Egyptian farmers on imperial lands while suggesting that only the Nile and the gods can help them (Rostovtzeff 367-8).

[195] Lucius Apuleius the tribune is probably a reflection of a tribune with the exact same name who held office in 103 and 100 BCE, not an actual 5th-century-BCE historical figure (Ogilvie 699); particularly telling is the fact that tribunes could not prosecute anyone at this period (Ogilvie 325). Florus may actually have realized that Lucius Apuleius Saturninus was a later figure, since he omits Apuleius here and later devotes an entire chapter to the *Seditio Apuleiana* (3.16, foreshadowed at 3.12.8).

Florus probably derives the accusation of unfair distribution of booty from Livy's debate between Licinius and Appius Claudius--Licinius wanted relatively generous distribution ("anyone who wanted to share in the booty should go to the camp at Veii" [*qui particeps esse praedae vellet in castra Veios iret*, Livy 5.20.4]), while Appius Claudius wanted to reserve booty for paying soldiers ("he proposed that a salary be paid to each soldier from this money" [*auctor erat stipendii ex ea pecunia militi numerandi*, 5.20.5])--while Camillus simply referred the matter to the senate ("he referred the question to the senate" [*delegasse ad senatum*, 5.20.9]). Again, Florus' emphasis on "booty" (*praeda*) reflects a second century CE concern with using campaign largesse to keep both the soldiers and the people happy. The example of Septimius Severus' advice given above will suffice for the soldiers' desire for largesse, while to the people Trajan distributed 650 denarii, and Hadrian, 1000 denarii.[196]

Also, Florus downplays Camillus' role in preventing the migration of the Roman state to Veii in favor of a debate between the people and the senate (note the impersonal verb): "there was a dispute, more violent than fair and useful, with the senate, to the point that, settlements left behind, there was a threat of the desolation and demise of their own country" (*cum senatu quoque vehementius aequo bonoque certatum est, adeo ut relictis sedibus solitudinem et interitum patriae suae minaretur*, 1.22.5). Again, Florus transfers ideas from a composed Livian speech into his authorial voice; the *ut*-clause represents some of the content of Camillus' speech against migration from Rome. In particular, Florus appropriates the word "desolation" (*solitudo*, 1.22.5) from a rhetorical question asked by Camillus: "or would you prefer that your city be **a desolate spot** rather than the city of your enemies?" (*an malitis hanc* ***solitudinem*** *vestram quam urbem hostium esse?* Livy 5.53.7).

Moreover, Florus acknowledges Livy 's association of Camillus with Veii, but in a different context. Florus shifts the site of Camillus' exile before and during the Gallic siege from "Ardea, where Camillus was living in exile"

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[196] Benario 64.

(*Ardeam ubi Camillus exsulabat*, Livy 5.43.6),[197] to Veii: "he grew old in the city that had been captured" (*in capta urbe consenuit*, Florus 1.22.4). Unfortunately, the irony of Camillus' being exiled to Veii is lost on readers who do not know from Livy that Camillus later argued against moving there. In sum, Florus performs intrafusion between Coriolanus and Camillus, and in both cases, he emphasizes second century CE concerns, even at the expense of rhetorical effect--Coriolanus' motivation and the irony of Camillus' dwelling in Veii are obscured.

Dissensions (Discordiae)

Florus divides revolts with miliary significance from revolts with civil significance, which he calls *discordiae*.[198] The first *discordia*, over debt ("on account of the powerlessness of debtors" [*ob inpotentiam feneratorum*, 1.23.1]), ends when Menenius Agrippa persuades the *plebs* with "a story useful enough for agreement" (*satis efficax ad concordiam fabula*, 1.23.2). Here "agreement" (*concordia*), with a connotation of agreement among different social classes, constitutes the opposite of "revolts" (*discordiae*). The importance of debt in the second century CE has already been noted above, so my analysis below will focus more on the "story" (*fabula*) and its ideology.

The Greek equivalent of *concordia*, ὁμονοία, was a frequent theme in first and second century CE Greek oratory. Swain comments, "a whole ideological industry was established around this word."[199] For example, Dio Chrysostom appeals to the Tarsians for better treatment of disenfranchised linen workers (*Second Tarsian Oration* = *Or.* 34, 21-3), while Aristides recommends concord to the factious Rhodians (*To the Rhodians, On Concord*

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197 Bessone, *storia* 90 n. 13 thinks that this exile makes Camillus' death more "pathetic," even though Camillus did not die in exile ("restored to his native land" [*restitutus in patriam* Livy 7.1.9]).

198 Höse 67 claims that *discordia* and *seditio* are synonyms, but Florus seems to think of *discordia* as a subcategory of *seditio* here.

199 Swain 181.

= *Or.* 24).[200] Nevertheless, ὁμονοία does not mean precisely the same thing for each orator. Dio Chrysostom demands citizenship for the Tarsian linen workers without the usual property qualifications, while Aristides merely reinforces the existing social order.[201] Menenius Agrippa's story, a fable about how the limbs of the body (i.e. the poor) cannot get along without the stomach (i.e. the rich),[202] reinforces the existing social order--Florus' idea of *concordia*/ὁμονοία is more like that of Aristides than like that of Dio Chrysostom.

This fable also resonates well with Florus' metaphor of the *populus Romanus* as a single person. Even the word *efficax*, sometimes used of medicine,[203] turns Menenius' *fabula* into the cure for a disease of the body politic.[204] Moreover, it is rare for Florus to summarize a speech from Livy, since Florus generally prefers sound bites to full-scale speeches.[205]

Livy	Florus
Once upon a time in human beings all things did not function as one as they	He said that human joints had once disagreed among

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200 In another example, Philostratus, *VS* 531-2 mentions that Polemo gave a speech promoting ὁμονοία among different social classes in Smyrna and Laodicaea (cited in Sirago, "seconda sofistica" 174-5 and in Anderson, *Phenomenon* 26 with 252 nn.70-1).

201 Swain 293-5.

202 Ogilvie 313 cites as parallels Xenophon, *Memorabilia* 2.3.18, Polyaenus 3.9.22, and Cicero, *De Officiis*, 3.22.

203 *E.g.* "with medicines useful for it [sneezing to cure delirium]" (*medicamentis in id efficacibus* Celsus 3.18.8). Florus uses the same metaphor again for describing a savage but militarily effective command: "another voice, cruel but experienced and useful for victory said 'soldier, stab the face!'" (*[sc. vox] altera cruenta, sed docta et ad victoriam efficax 'miles faciem feri,'* 4.2.50).

204 For the metaphor of the politician as doctor, cf. Plutarch, *Moralia* 717d-e, 814ff, 815a-c, 818b, 824a, 825d; *Pompey* 55.4; *Pericles* 15.1; *Cimon and Lucullus syncrisis* 2.7; *Dion and Brutus syncrisis* 2.2 (Swain 177 with n. 129).

205 *E.g.* "woe to the vanquished!" *vae victis* (Florus 1.13.17, quoted from Livy 5.48.9), on which see the *Whose Words?* subsection above.

do now, but each limb had its own plan, its own speech, and each complained that it had to leave other parts in their own care and their own toil and seek all things in service for the belly while the belly, safe inside, had nothing to do but enjoy the pleasures given it. So they agreed in conspiracy that the hand would not bring food to the mouth, nor would the mouth accept what was given it, nor would the teeth masticate it. Because of this anger, as long as they wanted to tame the belly with hunger, the limbs as a group and the whole body came near to fatal starvation. Accordingly, it was clear that there was no lazy servitude of the belly, nor was it nourished more than it nourished and returned this blood by which we live and flourish into all parts of the body. The blood, prepared from digested food, is divided equally among the veins.

themselves becausethe belly alone existed safe from harm while everyone else performed work; then, near death from this separation, they returned to the belly's society, because they realized that their works were nurtured by food turned into blood.

tempore quo in homine non ut nunc omnia in unum consentiant, sed singulis membris suum cuique consilium, suus sermo fuerit, indignatas reliquas partes sua cura, suo labore ac ministerio ventri omnia quaeri, ventrem in medio quietem nihil aliud quam datis voluptatibus frui; conspirasse inde ne manus ad os cibum ferrent, nec os acciperet datum, nec dentes conficerent. hac ira, dum ventrem fame domare vellent, ipsa una membra totumque corpus ad extremam tabem

dissedisse inter se quondam humanos dixit artus, quod omnibus opere fungentibus solus venter immunis ageret; deinde moribundos ea seiunctione redisse in gratiam, quando sensissent quod eius opera redactis in sanguinem cibis inrigarentur. (1.23.2)

venisse. inde apparuisse ventris quoque haud segne ministerium esse, nec magis ali quam alere eum, reddentem in omnes corporis partes hunc quo vivimus vigemusque, divisum pariter in venas maturum confecto cibo sanguinem (2.32.9-11).

Given his decreased emphasis on the political goals of plebeians as a class, as we have seen above, Florus' version of the fable is more anarchic. The limbs of the body do not form a conspiracy against the belly but simply separate from it--"from this separation" (*ea seiunctione*).

In the second century CE, when the Roman empire is even larger than in Livy's day, the main policy concern is not so much organized, class-based revolution but provincial subjects' refusal, often spontaneous, to cooperate with the central government. Banditry, always endemic, becomes a major concern for the government. For example, Numidian bandits attack the Roman military engineer Nonius Datus and his escort on their way to Saldae.[206] To help prevent bandit attacks, Fronto asks Antoninus Pius to let him employ his Mauretanian friend Julius Senex as a bandit-hunter when Fronto assumes the governorship of Asia.[207] Lack of loyalty was a problem not only among the *humiliores* but also among the *honestiores*; for example, the coercive force of law is directed not only at bandits but also at powerful local landowners who often worked hand-in-glove with bandit gangs.[208] Hadrian's burning of the records of tax debts[209] in 118 CE can thus be read not

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[206] This incident is described in *ILS* 5795.

[207] Fronto, *ad Antoninum Pium* 8 (= 1.236-7 Haines), cited in Shaw 14.

[208] Shaw, discussing legal evidence from the fourth century CE and later (32, 37-8, 40), compares these upper-class landowners to modern "fences" (37). Nevertheless, the ideology of literary sources consistently paints bandit society as a lower-class mirror of legitimate, upper-class Roman society (Shaw 44-9).

[209] Kleiner 249, fig. 217 shows a frieze depicting the destruction of debt records.

only in light of the problem of debt, but also in light of the problem of cultivating loyalty to the central government:

> "By burning tax records in the forum of the deified Trajan, he remitted an enormous amount of money which was owed to the treasury to private debtors in Rome and in Italy, and he also remitted from arrears huge sums in the provinces, by which safety for all might be more strengthened."
>
> pecuniam, quae fisco debebatur, privatis debitoribus in urbe atque Italia, in provinciis vero etiam ex reliqui[i]s ingentes summas remisit syngrafis in foro divi Traiani, quo magis securitas omnibus roboraretur, incensis (*HA Hadrian* 7.6).

The "decemviral lust" (*decemviratus libido*, Florus 1.24.1) of Appius Claudius for Verginia causes the second *discordia*, and many details are drawn from Livy 3.31-57. In Livy's account, the Romans, inspired by Greek lawgivers, appoint a board of ten, the *decemviri*, to draw up a law code for their city. When the work of the *decemviri* is done, they publish the Twelve Tables, the first written Roman laws and the foundation of the Roman legal system.

Florus' briefer account emphasizes that Roman law is more or less a copy of Greek law: "Leading citzens, at the people's order, had been chosen and had written down laws brought from Greece" (*adlatas a Graecia leges principes lecti iubente populo conscripserant*, 1.24.1). Florus' desire to stress Rome's cosmopolitan nature leads him to exaggerate--even so fundamental a Roman institution as the Twelve Tables relies heavily on the work of foreigners, of *transmarini*. Moreover, since Romans in the second century CE often received at least part of their education in Greece, especially in rhetoric and philosophy, disciplines valuable for forensics,[210] Greece becomes a source for Roman laws. Livy's longer account focuses on more indirect, more carefully footnoted Greek influence: "Envoys were sent to Athens, and they were ordered to write down the famous laws of Solon and become acquainted with the institutions, customs, and laws of other cities of Greece" (*missi legati*

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[210] *E.g.* Apuleius studied in Athens (Sandy 3-4).

Athenas...iussique inclitas leges Solonis describere et aliarum Graeciae civitatium instituta mores iuraque noscere, Livy 3.31.8).

Florus emphasizes the creation of the Twelve Tables as a rationally organized repository of law: "And all justice was arranged on twelve tablets" (*ordinataque erat in duodecim tabulis tota iustitia,* 1.24.1). Livy emphasizes the Twelve Tables' public placement: "they placed in public the decemviral laws carved on bronze, whose name is the Twelve Tables" (*leges decemvirales, quibus tabulis duodecim est nomen, in aes incisas in publico posuerunt,* 3.57.10). Again, Florus emphasizes the Twelve Tables' documentary status where Livy emphasizes their monumental status. Moreover, Livy is much more concerned with both written and unwritten law throughout his work because Augustus was very much concerned to make his principate at least appear legal,[211] whereas Florus realizes that the emperor is the very embodiment of the law.[212] Moreover, second century CE Roman and Greek sophists care much less about Solon, who founded Athenian law, than Socrates, who was punished under it.[213]

Both Florus and Livy compare decemviral abuse of power to monarchy. Florus says, "Nevertheless, they [the decemvirs] kept the fasces they had been given with a certain regal insanity" (*tamen traditos fasces regio quodam furore retinebant,* 1.24.1). Livy speaks about the decemvirs' terrifying and indiscriminate methods of punishment:

> There was the spectacle of ten kings, and the terror was compounded not only for the lower classes but for the most prominent senators, who thought of the beginning of complaining as the cause of murder, so that if anyone spoke a voice reminiscent of freedom either in the senate or among the

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[211] Crook describes Augustus' principate as "constitutionally...a concatenation of magistracies--executive, not legislative powers" (20).

[212] Crook 20 dates the identification of law with the emperor himself to Hadrian's rule.

[213] For example, Dio Chrysostom mentions Solon only in a catalog of just men--Aristides, Lycurgus, and Solon (*Concerning Peace and War* = *Or.* 22.2)--but wants himself to be compared to Socrates (*Political Address in His Native City* = *Or.* 43, 8-9, 11-12) (Swain 235-6).

> people, rods and axes would be applied immediately, to strike fear into others as well.
>
> decem regum species erat, multiplicatusque terror non infimis solum sed primoribus patrum, ratis caedis causam ac principium quaeri, ut si quis memorem libertatis vocem aut in senatu aut apud populum misisset statim virgae securesque etiam ad ceterorum metum expedirentur (3.36.5).

Florus and Livy perform intrafusion between the decemvirs and the early Roman monarchy (specifically Tarquinius Superbus). Florus describes Superbus as similarly greedy for power: "he prefered to seize his grandfather's kingdom, which was held by Servius Tullius, rather than wait for it" (*hic regnum avitum, quod a Servio tenebatur, rapere maluit quam exspectare*, 1.7.2). Livy stresses not only Tarquin's arbitary punishments but also his efforts to neutralize the senate:[214]

> What is more, one who places no hope in the affection of citizens must govern his kingdom by fear. So that he might strike fear into more people, he began to judge capital crimes alone, by himself and without advice, and by the same method he was able to kill, drive into exile, or deprive of their property not only those under suspicion or hated, but those from whom he could expect nothing other than plunder. Especially with the number of senators so shrunken, he decided to choose no new members for it, so that the rank of senator might be more scorned for its very rarity, and so that they would criticize less the fact that nothing was done through them.
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> Eo accedebat ut in caritate civium nihil spei reponenti metu regnum tutandum esset. Quem ut pluribus incuteret cognitiones capitalium rerum sine consiliis per se solus exercebat, perque eam causam occidere, in exsilium agere, bonis multare poterat non suspectos modo aut invisos sed unde nihil aliud quam praedam sperare posset. Praecipue ita patrum numero imminuto statuit nullos in patres legere, quo

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[214] Miles 129 also emphasizes the similarity between Appius Claudius the decemvir and Tarquinius Superbus.

contemptior paucitate ipsa ordo esset minusque per se nihil agi indignarentur (1.49.4-6).

Florus and Livy, looking forward, compare the decemvirs to late Republican events. For example, the "rods and axes" allude to the Sullan proscriptions after 82 BCE, while retaining the "fasces" alludes to the Second Triumvirate's prolonging of its own power from 43 to 33 BCE.[215] The web of associations and intrafusions becomes even more complicated in Florus, who explicitly associates the proscriptions of Sulla (described with gory details in 3.21.23-26) with the proscriptions of the Second Triumvirate: "the triumvirate is infused with no good custom, and with the republic crushed by arms, the Sullan proscription returns" (*nullo bono more triumviratus invaditur, oppressaque re publica armis redit Sullana proscriptio*, 4.6.3).

Appius Claudius, who tries to violate a plebeian woman, exemplifies the decemviral abuse of power. Florus points out how egregious his conduct is: "Appius was raised to such a point of arrogance above the rest that he selected a free-born girl for rape" (*ante ceteros Appius eo insolentiae elatus est, ut ingenuam virginem stupro destinaret*, 1.24.2). Livy emphasizes Appius' lack of self-control: "desire for raping a plebeian girl seized Appius Claudius" (*Appium Claudium virginis plebeiae stuprandae libido cepit*, 3.44.2).

When Appius tries to make the woman, named Verginia, his slave, her father kills her to save her from rape. Florus combines two Livian passages into a single vivid moment: "And so, when he saw his daughter, compelled by a verdict, being dragged off into **slavery**, Virginius the father did not delay and killed her with his own hand in the middle of the forum" (*itaque cum oppressam iudicio filiam trahi in* ***servitutem*** *videret, Virginius pater nihil cunctatus in medio foro manu sua interfecit*, Florus 1.24.3). The

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215 von Ungern-Sternberg 93-97. Augustus had a further prolongation of his triumviral power (*potestas*) until 27 BCE approved by popular decree, while Antony held that extension of power did not require popular approval (*ibid.*, 96). Thus, Livy and Florus may be implicitly comparing the decemvirs to Antony, who also extended his own power, while contrasting them to Augustus. Of course, such a view would reflect Augustan propaganda; Syme, *Roman Revolution* 277-280 subjects such propaganda to historical criticism.

two passages of Livy contain technical legal language and direct speech, both of which Florus tends to avoid: "Appius made his legal claim on her **status as a slave**" (*decresse vindicias secundum **servitutem***, Livy 3.47.5); "'By the only way I can, daughter, I protect your freedom.' He then stabbed the girl's chest" (*'Hoc te uno quo possum,' ait, 'modo, filia, in libertatem vindico.' Pectus deinde puellae transfigit*, Livy 3.48.5).

Here, Livy may have elaborated an earlier *controversia*[216] about a father's killing his daughter to protect her from rape by a tyrant into a detailed narrative with specific names, with *virgo* giving rise to *Verginia* and thence to *Verginius*.[217] But certainly Florus must derive this story from Livy, who gives it its fullest treatment, and Florus even features the spelling *Virginius*.[218]

Both Florus and Livy portray Verginia's death as the cause of the end of the decemvirate. Florus might be performing intrafusion with Greek history by patterning the restoration of Roman Republican government after the restoration of the Athenian democracy in 403 BCE: "With all the standards of the soldiers joined, the people from the Aventine hill dragged that entire tyranny, beseiged by weapons, into prison and chains" (*admotisque signis commilitonum totam eam dominationem obsessam armis in carcerem et catenas ab Aventino monte detraxit*, 1.24.3). The *decemviri* are analogous to the Thirty; the siege of Rome parallels the siege of Athens in 403; the Aventine hill functions like Phyle, the rural deme that served as a sanctuary for democracy.

In contrast, Livy has what reads like an "Augustan" solution, by which enemies are spared if they surrender, and legal forms are restored. He features a secession of the plebs to the Sacred Mount (3.52.1-4), followed by a compromise by the senate: "a decree of the senate was made so that the decemvirs would resign from office at the very first moment" (*factum*

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216 Cic. *Rep.* 2.63, Diodorus 12.24, cited in Ogilvie 477.

217 Ogilvie 477.

218 There is confusion in the manuscripts of Florus at 1.24.3 and Livy at 3.44.7 between oblique forms of *virgo* and forms of *Verginius/Virginius*.

senatus consultum ut decemviri se primo quoque tempore magistratu abdicarent, 3.54.5). The republic is restored by the election of new tribunes on the Aventine (3.54.10-11), a place consistently identified in Livy with the plebeians. Only Appius Claudius of all the decemvirs is jailed: "he was thrown into prison" (*in carcerem coniectus est*, 3.57.6).

Both Florus and Livy connect Verginia to Lucretia, which underlines the motif of a form of government ended by rape (*stuprum*).[219] Appius is described as "forgetful of Lucretia and the kings and the law which he himself had written down [i.e. the Twelve Tables]" (*oblitus et Lucretiae et regum et iuris quod ipse composuerat*, Florus 1.24.2). Again, Florus refers to documents (the newly written *ius*), and Appius forgets events that have become *exempla*, part of the Romans' "collective memory" vividly narrated by Livy.[220]

Similarly, Livy remarks, "the crime, having arisen from lust, was no less with a foul outcome than the crime which, through the rape and death of Lucretia, had driven the Tarquins from the city and their throne" (*nefas, ab libidine ortum, haud minus foedo eventu quam quod per stuprum caedemque Lucretiae urbe regnoque Tarquinios expulerat*, 3.44.1). What is important for Florus is not a class struggle of patrician versus plebeian but the abuse of power and the enduring problem of rape, a type of "public violence" (*vis publica*) perpetrated against the chastity of free women.[221]

The next occasion for civil conflict is a bill allowing marriage between patricians and plebeians. Florus says: "the right of marriages, that plebeians could be married to patricians, stirred up the third revolt" (*tertiam seditionem excitavit matrimoniorum dignitas, ut plebei cum patriciis iungerentur*, 1.25.1). As Livy portrays it, there are fiery speeches on both sides, including typical senatorial opinions in free indirect discourse (4.2.1-

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219 Ogilvie 477.

220 Livy even has Lucretia refer to herself as an *exemplum*: "no woman hereafter will live unchaste by the example of Lucretia" (*nec ulla deinde impudica Lucretiae exemplo vivet*, Livy 1.58.10). Miles cites this story as an example of how Romans "[contribute] to the collective memory that will shape the behavior and identity of their posterity" (70).

221 Crook 269.

4.2.14) and a speech by Canuleius, a tribune of the plebs (4.3.2-4.5.6), followed by patrician concession to stave off the worse proposal to allow plebeian consuls: "at last defeated, the senate gave in to the proposal about intermarriage, since they thought that especially under such circumstances, the tribunes would abandon their entire fight for plebeian consuls or postpone it until after the war" (*victi tandem patres ut de conubio ferretur concessere, ita maxime rati contentionem de plebeiis consulibus tribunos aut totam deposituros aut post bellum dilaturos esse*, 4.6.3-4). For Livy, the net result of all the patrician-plebeian wrangling is concord: "Where would you find now in one person this moderation, fairness, and loftiness of mind which then belonged to the entire people?" (*hanc modestiam aequitatemque et altitudinem animi ubi nunc in uno inveneris, quae tum populi universi fuit?* 4.6.12).

But Florus emphasizes discord--Canuleius leads a riot touched off by his bill: "This disturbance blazed up on the Janiculum hill under the leadership of Canuleius, tribune of the *plebs*" (*qui tumultus in monte Ianiculo duce Canuleio tribuno plebis exarsit*, 1.25.1). The detail of the Janiculum hill, absent from Livy, shows that Florus is using an incident of factional strife from the late Republic as a pattern for this earlier event. Canuleius occupies the Janiculum with his followers just as Marius, Cinna, Carbo, and Sertorius did in 87 BCE,[222] and Florus implies that Canuleius was as much of a threat to Rome as these late Republican politicians. By Florus'

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[222] Florus later mentions that Marius, Cinna, Carbo, and Sertorius drove the consul Octavius from the Janiculum: "Cinna and Carbo and Marius and Sertorius split up the troops among themselves. Here, after the entire band of Octavius was driven off the Janiculum, immediately the signal was given for the slaughter of the leading citizens...." (*divisere copias Cinna Marius, Carbo Sertorius. hic postquam manus omnis Octavi depulsa Ianiculo est, statim ad principum caedem signo dato...*, 3.21.13). It is unclear whether Livy said that Marius successfully occupied the Janiculum because of variation in the manuscripts: "Cinna and Marius attacked/conquered the Janiculum along with Carbo and Sertorius, and they were put to flight by the consul Octavius and withdrew" (*Cinna et Marius cum Carbone et Sertorio Ianiculum [oppugnaverunt Leidensis r / expugnaverunt Guelferbytanus] et fugati ab Octavio consule recesserunt, Per.* 80). Another possibility is that Florus has blended the Canuleius episode with a later revolt (287 BCE) that, sparked by debt, resulted in withdrawal to the Janiculum: "the people on account of debt, after serious and lengthy riots, finally withdrew onto the Janiculum" (*plebs propter aes alienum post graves et longas seditiones ad ultimum secessit in Ianiculum, Per.* 11).

day, intermarriage between plebeians and patricians was a completely dead issue, but other kinds of intermarriage were still controversial. Augustus felt compelled to legislate against marriages between men of senatorial rank and freedwomen, while the jurist Paulus (3rd century CE) applies the same legislation to women of senatorial rank and freedmen.[223] In sum, Florus mentions the issue of intermarriage between patricians and plebeians because of possible precedent for other types of intermarriage, but he emphasizes the violence of the dispute more than its role in changing the law.

The last secession opens more offices to the plebeians: "desire for offices stirred up the fourth revolt so that plebeian magistacies were created" (*quartam honorum cupido [sc. excitavit], ut plebei quoque magistratus crearentur*, Florus 1.26.1). Livy goes one step further in showing causation by attributing the "desire for offices" to crushing debt: "It seemed the right time for a revolution because of the the huge force of debt, and the plebeians could expect no relief from this evil unless members of their own class were in the highest position" (*occasio videbatur rerum novandarum propter ingentem vim aeris alieni, cuius levamen mali plebes nisi suis in summo imperio locatis nullum speraret*, 6.35.1). Florus has already mentioned the plight of debtors in 1.23.1 and does not wish to repeat this material. Instead, Florus adapts from Livy the colorful anecdote of the Fabiae.

Just before 6.35, Livy also motivates the "desire for offices" by the colorful story of the Fabiae sisters, an incident involving women, their husbands, and their fathers which, like Lucretia,[224] causes major constitutional change.[225] In this story, each of the two sisters is married to a man of different rank, the older sister to a patrician and the younger to a plebeian (6.34.5). The two sisters are conversing in the patrician husband's house when his lictor announces his arrival by banging on the door with the lictor's rod (6.34.6). The story continues:

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[223] Crook 99.

[224] Kraus 271.

[225] Though the evidence about the content of the change is conflicting, there clearly was a major change in 367-366 BCE (Oakley 649).

> When the younger Fabia, unused to this custom, **became frightened** at it, she was a laughingstock to her sister, who was amazed that her own sister did not know it. Next, this laughter applied goads to a female mind easily roused by small matters....Then Ambustus, consoling his daughter, ordered her to cheer up: soon she would see at her house the same marks of power she saw at her sister's house.
>
> cum ad id moris eius insueta **expavisset** minor Fabia, risui sorori fuit miranti ignorare id sororem. ceterum is risus stimulos parvis mobili rebus animo muliebri subdidit....consolans inde filiam Ambustus bonum animum habere iussit: eosdem propediem domi visuram honores quos apud sororem videat (Livy 6.34.6-7,10).

It is this motivation for the "desire for offices" which Florus features prominently. In Florus' briefer version, the use of the unusual verb "become frightened" (*expavescere*) points to Livy as the source:

> Fabius Ambustus had given in marriage one of his two daughters to Sulpicius, a man of patrician blood; the plebeian Stolo married the other. On one occasion, because she **had become frightened** of the unknown sound of a lictor's rod, the woman married to Stolo was arrogantly mocked by her sister, and she did not tolerate the insult.
>
> Fabius Ambustus duarum pater alteram Sulpicio patricii sanguinis dederat, alteram plebeius Stolo sibi iunxit. <qua> quodam tempore, quod lictoriae virgae sonum ignotum penatibus suis **expaverat**, a sorore satis insolenter inrisa, iniuriam non tulit (1.26.2-3).

This "insult" spurs the populus Romanus to create plebeian offices: "And so, having obtained the office of tribune, the people obtatined by force from the senate, however unwilling, participation in offices and magistracies" (*itaque nanctus tribunatum honorum et magistratuum consortium quamvis invito senatui extorsit*, 1.26.4).

It is unclear to which offices Florus refers; "lictors' rod" (*lictoria virga*, 1.26.3) and "offices and magistracies" (*honores et magistratus*, 1.26.4) are

rather broad. Livy is more specific in mentioning the content of the Licinio-Sextian rogations[226]--1) a law increasing the number of the keepers of Sibylline Books from 2 to 10, 5 of whom had to be plebeian (6.37.12, 6.42.1-2); 2) a law governing the repayment of debt (6.35.4); 3) a law limiting land holdings to 500 *iugera*[227] (6.35.5); 4) a law abolishing military tribunes and stipulating that one consul must be plebeian (6.35.5). Florus only shows interest in the measures that have to do with offices (#1 and maybe #4).[228] Florus may have thought the debt law (#2) was too technical to mention, and of course this debt law had become completely obsolete by Florus' day.[229] The limits on the holding of land (#3) had become obsolete even earlier.[230]

Florus emphasizes the seeking of offices because this is a major issue in the second century CE. In *VOAP*, Florus considers seeking offices, especially military offices, as his own life's road not taken: "Now it is therefore fitting for you to know that no reward of battle, no procuratorship, no honor can be considered as much as the honor of my occupation" (*scire te ergo nunc oportet nullum manus pretium, nullam procurationem, nullum honorem decerni quantus hic sit nostrae professionis, VOAP* 3.5).

Florus quickly sums up the goals of each revolt but sees *libertas* as the keystone:[231]

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[226] For a good recent discussion of these measures, see Oakley 645-661.

[227] 500 iugera = 14,000,000 square feet = (approximately) 321 acres

[228] Nevertheless, he asserts that the position of teacher is superior to all others: "Now it is therefore fitting for you to know that no reward of battle, no procuratorship, no honor can be considered as much as the honor of our occupation" (*scire te ergo nunc oportet nullum manus pretium, nullam procurationem, nullum honorem decerni quantus hic sit nostrae professionis* (*VOAP* 3.5).

[229] Crook 173-178.

[230] A light-hearted indication of this legal fact appears in descriptions of Trimalchio's estates in Petronius' *Satyricon*: "Trimalchio himself has fields, wherever kites fly" (*Ipse Trimalchio fundos habet, qua milvi volant, Sat.* 37); "Now I want to join Sicily with my little fields, so that when I want to go to Africa, I sail through my own territory" (*Nunc coniungere agellis Siciliam volo, ut cum Africam libuerit ire, per meos fines navigem, Sat.* 48).

[231] Later passages of Florus seem to imply that at the end of the republic, *libertas* had to be exchanged for the "nod of one protector" (*unius praesidis nutus*, 4.3.5-6, 4.12.61; Höse 119).

> Not undeservedly would you suppose that the people were the true leader in these very revolts: if indeed they protect now liberty, now chastity, then worthiness of their origins, then the ornaments and emblems of offices, then among all these they both were the protector of nothing more fiercely than of freedom.
>
> verum in his ipsis seditionibus principem populum non inmerito suspexeris: si quidem nunc libertatem, nunc pudicitiam, tum natalium dignitatem, tum honorum decora et insignia vindicavit,[232] interque haec omnia nullius acrior custos quam libertatis fuit (1.26.5-6).

Livy also makes "freedom" (*libertas*) a structuring principle of his narrative.[233] For example, "you may consider, moreover, the beginning of freedom from that time [the beginning of the Republic] more because consular power became annual than because anything was taken away from royal power" (*libertatis autem originem inde magis quia annuum imperium consulare factum est quam quod deminutum quicquam sit ex regia potestate numeres*, 2.1.7).

Harmful Citizens

Florus' final category of *seditio* is "harmful citizens," those who sought monarchical power in the republic while the people as a whole defended their freedom: "as in any great people, daily growing larger, harmful citizens existed at the same time" (*ut in magno et in dies maiore populo interim perniciosi cives existerent*, 1.26.6). Florus distinguishes "harmful citizens" on the basis of their monarchy-seeking motives from those who lead disturbances over laws, like Canuleius, or over military recruitment, like

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232 This phrase may ironically reflect Augustan propaganda; *LIBERTATIS P. R. VINDEX* appears on an Augustan coin of 28 BCE (BMC *Imp. Aug.* 691, from Bithynia, cited in Ogilvie 478).

233 Miles 126-7, 133, and 221.

Volero. Hadrian perhaps cited such motives for his execution of four aristocrats of consular rank in 118 CE,[234] and Florus reinforces a reading of the execution of "harmful citizens" of the Republic in light of recent events of the Empire.

Florus describes how the people punished the crypto-monarchists Spurius Maelius, Spurius Cassius, and Manlius Capitolinus, a list apparently derived from Livy 6.17.2:

> The people punished with summary execution men suspected of trying to seize royal power--<Spurius> (Maelius) because of free spending, (Spurius) Cassius because of his land law, and they threw Manlius, who was conducting himself too haughtily and too little like a citizen, from the very citadel he had protected.
>
> <Spurium> (sc. Maelium) largitione, (sc. Spurium) Cassium agraria lege suspectum regiae dominationis praesenti morte multavit.... Manlium... altius se et incivilius efferentem, ab illa ipsa quam defenderat arce deiecit (Florus 1.26.7-8).
>
> Just as Spurius Cassius, who was calling the plebeians into their own farms, and Spurius Maelius, who was driving away hunger from the mouth of citizens at his own expense, were put down, so was Marcus Manlius, who was delivering a part of the citizenry sunk and ruined by interest on debt into the light of freedom, betrayed to his enemies.
>
> sic Sp. Cassium in agros plebem vocantem, sic Sp. Maelium ab ore civium famem suis impensis propulsantem oppressos, sic M. Manlium mersam et obrutam fenore partem civitatis in libertatem ac lucem extrahentem proditum inimicis (Livy 6.17.2).[235]

While Florus ends his list with the irony of Manlius' fate, Livy appends to his list a cynical comment about the people's loyalties: "the plebeians used to

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234 *HA Hadrian* 7.3, Dio 69.2.5-6.

235 The infinitives in this passage are free indirect discourse rather than historical infinitives. This passage probably represents the views of Manlius and even uses the anaphoric tricolon, a figure of rhetoric also later used by Manlius (*iam...iam...iam* 6.15.8) (Kraus 192).

fatten up their champions in order for them to be butchered" (*saginare plebem populares suos ut iugulentur*, 6.17.2). Livy treats this list as almost canonical; for example, he even has Manlius Capitolinus show awareness that he is the third man in this list by asking, "Or should I wait for the fate of Cassius and Maelius?" (*An exitium Cassi Maelique exspectem?* 6.18.9).

Of course, the accusation of seeking monarchy or behaving like a king is one of the most powerful tools in the political rhetoric of the Roman republic.[236] Livy makes it clear that the accusations of seeking monarchy come at least in part from politically motivated rhetoric. Lucius Minucius, who receives less political advantage from being "head of the grain supply" (*praefectus annonae*) since Maelius was also providing grain, "reports to the senate the situation he has discovered: weapons are brought into Maelius' house, and he holds assemblies at his home, and his plans doubtless consist of monarchy" (*rem compertam ad senatum defert: tela in domum Maeli conferri, eumque contiones domi habere, ac non dubia regni consilia esse*, Livy 4.13.8-9).[237] Although the Gracchi, late Republican politicians, could also serve as a model for the portrayal of Maelius,[238] the strongest similarities exist between Maelius and Cassius.[239]

Cassius' proposal to distribute captured Hernican land to Roman citizens and Latin allies alike is distorted by his fellow consul Verginius into an attempt to use the Latins and Hernicans to support him as king:

> Those farms will bring slavery to those who receive them; a way opens for monarchy. Why should the Latin allies be included,

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[236] For example, in Livy 6.40.10, Appius Claudius Crassus hurls against the tribunes Licinius and Sextius and their rogations the epithet "Tarquinian tribunes" (*Tarquinii tribuni*), a reference to the last and worst king of Rome, Tarquinius Superbus. See also Livy 27.19.4 and the numerous examples in R. Dunkle, "The Greek Tyrant and Roman Political Invective of the Late Republic," *TAPA* 98 (1967) 151-171, especially 156ff.

[237] See also Cincius, *HRR* fr. 6 (vol. 1, pp. 41-2) and Piso, *HRR* fr. 24 (vol. 1, pp. 130-1) (cited in Ogilvie 550).

[238] Ogilvie 551, see also Ampelius 27.2.

[239] Cf. 4.13.4 and 2.41.5, 4.12.7 and 2.41.2.

> and why did it concern him that a third of the captured land might be restored to the Hernici, who were our enemies a little earlier, except because these tribes consider Cassius their leader, their Coriolanus?
>
> agros illos servitutem iis qui acceperint laturos; regno viam fieri. quid ita enim adsumi socios et nomen Latinum, quid attinuisse Hernicis, paulo ante hostibus, capti agri partem tertiam reddi, nisi ut hae gentes pro Coriolano duce Cassium habebant? (Livy 2.41.5-6).

Again, the politics of the early Republic are patterned after those of the late Republic,[240] but at the very least, Livy shows the power of rhetoric to nullify a popular proposal.

Attacks on Manlius Capitolinus, who demanded that the senate stop concealing captured Gallic gold (Livy 6.14.11, 15.13), follow a similar strategy, proposed by the tribunes Marcus Menenius and Quintus Publilius:

> Nothing is less *popularis* than monarchy. As soon as that crowd has seen that it does not disagree with itself and has become judges instead of advocates, and as soon as accusers from the plebeians catch sight of a patrician defendant and the charge of monarchy on the docket, they will favor nothing more than their own freedom.
>
> Nihil minus populare quam regnum est. Simul multitudo illa non secum certari viderint et ex advocatis iudices facti erunt et accusatores de plebe patricium reum intuebuntur et regni crimen in medio, nulli magis quam libertati favebunt suae (6.19.7).

Livy and Florus are both careful to remind their readers of Manlius' good deeds--lending money to prevent debt-slavery (Livy 6.20.6, Florus 1.26.8) and his defense of the Capitol (Livy 6.20.9, Florus 1.26.8). Livy scrupulously comments that no authority records actual charges of seeking monarchy: "I

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[240] C. Gracchus, C. Fannius, and M. Drusus could serve as models for Cassius' proposing a bill to distribute land (Ogilvie 339), but Livy portrays the strife surrounding Cassius' bill as a harbinger of future disturbances over agrarian laws (2.41.3).

find among no historian any charges that are strictly within the scope of the crime of monarchy brought by accusers against Manlius as a defendant besides gatherings of the people, rabble-rousing speeches, bribery, and false witness" (*quae praeter coetus multitudinis seditiosasque voces et largitionem et fallax indicium pertinentia proprie ad regni crimen ab accusatoribus obiecta sint reo, apud neminem auctorem invenio,* 6.20.4).

Without engaging in Livy's critical use of sources or putting accusations in the mouths of opponents, Florus may use the adjective *suspectus*, "believed without firm evidence" (1.26.7)[241] to indicate the partisan nature of these accusations. In Florus' own day, however, the crime of seeking monarchy has been transformed into treason against the emperor, and even unsubstantiated charges of seeking monarchy carry more weight. Thus, Florus' interpretation of the above events could serve as justification for Hadrian's recent execution of four aristocrats of consular rank in 118 CE.[242]

Florus encourages this reading by his choice of Livian material about Spurius Cassius. Livy relates two variants of Spurius Cassius' punishment. In one variant, Spurius Cassius is executed by his own father: "his father was the proposer of this punishment...after trying the case at home, [his father] whipped and killed him and dedicated the property of his son to the goddess Ceres" (*patrem auctorem eius supplicii...eum cognita domi causa verberasse ac necasse peculiumque filii Cereri consecravisse,* 2.41.10).

In the other Livian variant, Spurius Cassius' house is pulled down after a public trial: "a day was set for his treason trial, and he was convicted by the judgment of the people, and his house was pulled down" (*diem dictam perduellionis, damnatumque populi iudicio, dirutas publice aedes,* 2.41.11). Livy seems to prefer the second, milder version ("and this is nearer to plausibility" [*idque propius fidem est,* 2.41.11]). Livy, however, often uses such "rhetorical gestures" to deter the reader from putting too much stock in

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241 *OLD* 2, cf. Tacitus, *Hist.* 1.10.

242 Syme, *Tacitus*, 244.

the narrative, especially where there are variant versions of a story.[243] Livy, then, opens up a historical ambiguity with his two variants.

By choosing to relate only the first, harsher punishment ("and his own father indeed punished Spurius [Cassius]" [*ac de Spurio [sc. Cassio] quidem supplicium pater ipsius sumpsit*, Florus 1.26.7]), Florus eliminates historical ambiguity to justify Hadrian's harsh punishment of the four aristocrats of consular rank. Conversely, giving only the milder version of Spurius Cassius' punishment may suggest that Hadrian should have imposed a milder punishment more appropriate for their rank, such as confiscation of property.[244]

To recapitulate, Florus 1.22-26, grouped under the heading "On Discords," *De Seditionibus*, subdivides *seditiones* into four categories--military revolts, politically motivated fines against prominent citizens, "dissensions" (*discordiae*), and the actions of "harmful citizens" (*perniciosi cives*). The *seditiones* of the early Republic present a special challenge to the post-Republican Roman historian, who must not applaud social chaos but at the same time permit some role for *seditiones* in causing constitutional change. Florus focuses more than Livy on criticizing disorder in the body politic and makes *seditiones* less productive of change. Florus' portrayal of *seditiones* reflects the entrenchment of the office of the emperor, where any disorder is construed as a direct threat to the empire and where imperial edicts and rescripts have become the sole approved methods of changing the Roman constitution. In contrast, Livy presents *seditiones* as sometimes irresponsible, but more often as a spur to patricians to work for compromise with plebeians, for a true "agreement of ranks" (*concordia ordinum*). Livy's portrayal reflects the initially uncertain status of Augustus' principate and Augustus' need to win supporters and secure consent to his rule through still-evolving policies.

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[243] Miles 23-31.

[244] Cf. laws on banditry, in which "receivers / fences" (*receptatores*) are to be punished in accordance with their social rank; if they are upper-class, they are punished by exile instead of by death (Shaw 37 with n.99, quoting a letter of Trajan from *Digest* 47.14.3.3).

Conclusion

In this chapter I framed the "fusion of horizons" mentioned in Chapter One as a problem which Florus and Livy need to solve and as a problem especially acute for post-Republican Rome historians discussing events of the early Roman Republic. The solutions adopted included calling attention to the difference in scale between early Rome and contemporary Rome, "intrafusion" (i.e. drawing connections among historical events in the same period to yield comprehensible patterns), and borrowing from other genres, such as epic. For example, Livy has to deal with the Gauls as early enemies of Rome from the standpoint of his own day, in which the Gauls have an ambiguous political and cultural status vis-à-vis Rome. Florus, in contrast, given the full cultural and political membership of Gauls such as the orator Favorinus in the High Roman Empire, makes the early Gauls as different as possible from contemporary Gauls and even stresses the early Gauls' final extermination. "Revolts" (*seditiones*) in the early Roman Republic present special difficulty for the fusion of horizons because of their importance for positive constitutional change and, simultaneously, their potential to applaud social unrest. Florus, living in an empire in which constitutional change was tightly controlled by the emperor, emphasizes the negative side of *seditiones* in support of imperial suppression of all threats to order and to the emperor's power.

This chapter of my dissertation, along with chapter 5 of Bessone, *storia* has shown how closely Florus uses Livy. Perhaps the techniques of adaptation that Bessone and I have noticed Florus using will aid in reconstructing the lost books of Livy. At the very least, Florus' use of Livy is to some extent a commentary on Livy, on what features of Livy are most important, and on what events should be read together. Such a commentary has special value since it comes from a native speaker of Latin who had access to a complete Livy. As well, Florus draws from a tradition of teaching Roman ideas and history, of inculcating what it means to be Roman (*VOAP* 3.8), and thus we can see an actual way in which Livy was taught, a link in the "chain

of receptions through which [Livy's] continued readability has been effected."[245]

[245] Martindale 8. In the case of Livy and most ancient authors, "continued readability" includes the survival of the text (see above) as well as of the interpretative tradition.

Chapter Three: Granius Licinianus, Hadrianic Propaganda, and Livian Themes

Granius and the Nature of his Work

There is little we know and much we cannot know about Granius and his work. The family background of Granius Licinianus is something of a cipher. Based on the usual rules of Roman nomenclature, he was a Licinius by birth and a Granius by adoption. This was an unusual adoption because the Granii, linked to Puteoli in southern Italy,[246] were much less prominent than many branches of the Licinii.[247] The usual pattern of adoption is for a more prominent family to adopt a member of a less prominent family--for example, the relatively obscure Octavius is adopted by the powerful Julius Caesar and becomes Julius Octavianus and, later, Augustus. Indeed, a proconsul of Asia in the early 120's CE shows what we would expect, a Granius adopted into the Licinii, Licinius Silvanus Granianus.[248]

Granius' *oeuvre* consists of an encyclopedic work, *His Dinners* (*Cenae Suae*), and a *History*. Only a single mention of *His Dinners* survives,[249] but it possibly resembled Athenaeus' *Scholars at Dinner* (*Deipnosophistae*) or Aulus Gellius' *Attic Nights* (*Noctes Atticae*), miscellanies ranging over a wide variety of subjects. Granius' *History* is more fortunate than *His Dinners*. Relatively extensive fragments, culled from twelve leaves of a palimpsest,[250]

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[246] A noted commercial family, the Granii even traded at Delos. They backed Marius, then Julius Caesar and were rewarded with two slots in Caesar's senate (Syme, *Roman Revolution*, 90-91 with 90 n.7 and 91 n.1).

[247] *E.g.* Licinius Sura, an associate of the emperor Trajan (Birley 46, 54, 146).

[248] Birley 125.

[249] Criniti xii, Testimonium 1B.

[250] The text of Granius, given its unusual provenance, follows unusual textual conventions. Criniti italicized letters that were unclear, but since I use italics for Latin text to distinguish it from English, I have decided to underline letters marked by Criniti as unclear. I follow Criniti in other conventions: 1) square brackets indicate letters added to a physical gap in the

range over the years 165-77 BCE. The relationship between Granius' two works is unclear--Granius may have recycled material gathered for his *His Dinners* in his *History*, or vice versa.[251]

The *History* in its original state could have begun with legends of early Rome or with the Roman monarchy (753-510 BCE), and it is unclear where it might have ended. Nevertheless, a simple calculation based on the extant portion, labeled in the manuscripts Books 26-36, shows a pace of about eight years per book. If one assumes the same pace throughout the work, it began with the year 365 BCE, shortly after the reforms of the Sextio-Licinian rogation (367 BCE).[252] The approximate ratio of the extant portion of Granius to the probable length of Livy's account of the same period is about 2:5.[253] The *History*, in its original form, was probably the longest of the works treated in this dissertation.

Sources

Granius might have used as sources for individual passages the Roman historians Sallust[254] or Rutilius Rufus[255] or annalists,[256] but the scale

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manuscript; 2) angular brackets indicate letters that should be added to the extant text; 3) curved brackets indicate letters that should be removed.

251 Recycling material was common among orators and authors of the period (Sandy, 59-60, 88-89).

252 The Sextio-Licinian rogation was a series of laws increasing the participation of the lower classes (plebeians) in the government and reforming laws governing debts and land. For a good recent discussion of the Sextio-Licinian rogation, see Oakley 645-661.

253 Steinmetz 140.

254 Nevertheless, Granius considers Sallust an orator, not a historian (36.31).

255 The first intelligible sentence of Granius begins with a citation of Rutilius (cos. 105 BCE): "Rutilius mentions" (*R<u>tiliu<s> m[emo]rat*, 26.6). Cf. Granius 33.25 for Rutilius as a participant in history.

256 Granius definitely organizes his work annalistically. For example, Granius describes the death of Antiochus as occurring "when Gracchus, whom I mentioned a little earlier, was consul for the second time" (*Graccho iterum, cuius paulo antea memini, consule*, 28.7).

of Granius' work as a whole demands the use of Livy, whose work covers Roman history from the very beginning. Nevertheless, since the extant portions of Granius and of Livy do not overlap chronologically, it is almost impossible to compare what Granius and Livy say about the same event. The fragments of Granius begin about 165 BCE, while the extant portion of Livy leaves off at 167 BCE. Moreover, there is no incident or phrase unique to Livy and Granius, but there are a few incidents found in Granius and in Livy as well as in other texts.

For example, the assertion that the Roman king Tarquinius Priscus doubled the number of *equites*--"I shall not leave out the knights whom Tarquin doubled in number" (*de equitibus non omittam, quos Tarquinius duplic[a]vit*, 26.17)--is also found in Livy: "And Tarquin did not change anything about the role of the centuries of knights; he doubled their number, so that there would be 1200 knights in three centuries" (*neque tum Tarquinius de equitum centuriis quicquam mutavit; numero alterum tantum adiecit, ut mille et ducenti equites in tribus centuriis essent*, 1.36.7). Since this assertion is also found in Cicero, *On the State* (*De re publica*) 2.36, in the anonymous treatise *On Famous Men* (*De viris illustribus*) 6.7, and in Florus 1.5.2, it will not suffice to prove dependence of Granius on Livy.[257]

Although Granius and the *Periochae* do overlap chronologically, the overlap of content is so small or so general that no conclusions can be drawn. For example, *Periocha* 82 mentions the surrender of Mithridates' general Archelaus to Sulla in a single short sentence: "Archelaus surrendered himself to Sulla along with the royal fleet" (*Archelaus cum classe regia Syllae se tradidit*). Granius gives detailed terms of Archelaus' surrender to Sulla (35.71-77), but it is impossible to determine whether his knowledge of the detailed terms came from Livy. Since strict source criticism or comparison of historically parallel passages is impossible, I shall perform a thematic comparison between Granius and Livy in the third section of this chapter.

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[257] Criniti *ad loc.* This tidbit of information also appears in in the fourth-century-CE Roman historian Festus (p. 452 L). The Florus parallel works only if Iahn's supplement *equites* is accepted. But Granius' interest in archaic Rome helps mark him as a member of the Roman Sophistic (see above).

Granius Within the Roman Sophistic

Both of Granius' works show antiquarian tendencies. For example, one testimonium about *His Dinners* retails a story about a woman whose husband killed her for drinking wine during the reign of Romulus.[258] The first incident in the *History* concerns a Roman general in the second century BCE who performed "vowing himself to the gods of the underworld" (*devotio*) and is explicitly compared to many famous Roman generals of the past:

> Rutilius mentions consuls and generals, who had broken the enemy in spirit in the fiercest battle and had even vowed themselves so that they would place themselves into the middle of the enemy and pour out their life for their country.
>
> R<u>tiliu<s> m[emo]rat [cons]ules atqu[e duces, qui a]nimis hostem in [pug]n<a> acerrima fre[ger]ant, semet etiam [de]voverant, ut in [medios hostes se inmitterent] ac vitam [profunderent pro pat]ria. similis [illis].....necatis a tiii[c. 9 litt.] is semet s...o[c. 8 litt.]hostibus inmisi[t (26.6-7).

Antiquarian interest alone, however, does not make Granius a member of the Roman Sophistic, for Livy's near-contemporary Varro is also an antiquarian. Where Granius and the Roman Sophistic differ from Varro and Augustan antiquarians, however, is in the variety of topics treated in a single work or even on a single page. Granius resembles Aulus Gellius in the range and types of antiquarian material he treats. For example, wine trivia from the time of Romulus appears in Gellius' explanation of why Romulus himself drank little wine (*NA* 11.14.1-2), while archaic Roman military behavior[259] appears in an explanation of punishment by letting blood (*NA* 10.8.1-3). A

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[258]Testimonium 1B (Criniti xii).

[259] The concept of *devotio* itself is more important for Florus (see above) and still more for Ampelius (see below).

further connection between Granius and Gellius is their concern with defining the Latin word *pellex / paelex* (Granius, Testimonium 2D,[260] *NA* 4.33).

Another characteristic of the Roman Sophistic is a fondness for paradox expressed in brief historical anecdotes. For example, Gellius collects from Greek and Roman history instances of death caused by extreme joy (*NA* 3.15.1-4). Similarly, Granius plays with the stereotype of the Loyal Wife, whose loyalty to her husband in a crisis overrides any other consideration,[261] when he shows an unexpectedly disloyal wife: "And Papius Mutilus,[262] fleeing from there, after he was welcomed not even by his wife Bassia by night at Teanum, because he was among the group of the proscribed, relied on the help of a dagger [to kill himself]" (*Pap{ir}iusque Mutilus inde fugiens, quom ne ab uxore quidem Bassia noctu Teani reciperetur, quod erat in proscriptorum numero, usus est pugionis auxilio,* 36.10).[263] The phrase "not even" (*ne quidem*) indicates that Bassia is behaving contrary to the expectations set up by the Loyal Wife stereotype.

Granius refers to his own work as "histories" (*historiae*, 28.22), but his work is closer to the genre of "every-genre history" (*historia omnigena*).[264] He includes some "wonder-tales" (*mirabilia*) in his histories, and two such

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260 Criniti xiii.

261 Parker 163-69 discusses numerous examples of the Loyal Wife from Valerius Maximus through Cassius Dio. Parker 166 also notes that when husbands commit suicide, Loyal Wives usually follow. Seneca *contr.* 10.3 is an interesting variation on some themes of the Bassia-Mutilus incident.

262 In the Social War (90-88 CE), Mutilus was a Samnite leader, commemorated by a brick-stamp from Bovianum (*RE s.v. Papius* [12]), placed in charge of southeastern Italy (Diodorus 37.2.6-7). Defeated by Sulla in 89 BCE, he successfully took refuge in Aesernia (Appian, *BC* 1.224). As did some of the participants in the Social War (Diodorus 37.2.14), Mutilus probably joined Marius and was proscribed by Marius' enemy Sulla in 82 BCE.

263 Cf. *Per.* 89, which contains a similar story, with two minor variations--the wife is named Bastia, instead of Bassia, and Mutilus stabs himself in front of his wife's door: "he spattered his wife's door with his own blood" *sanguine suo fores uxoris respersit.* In Appian, Sulla explicitly but unsuccessfully forbids "hospitality" to the proscribed (ξενία, *BC* 1.446).

264 Sandy 77-9.

tales are introduced by the phrase "and other wonder-tales are reported" (*atque alia mirabilia nun[t]ia[ntu]r*, 28.15). After two wonder-tales (28.16-21), he explicitly restrains himself from including more: "I thought that many wonder-tales had to be left out in these histories" (*multa m[irabi]lia omittenda in his hi[st]oriis existimavi*, 28.22).

Further generic borrowing appears in both of the extant wonder-tales, for they both involve "apparent deaths" or *Scheintode*, a common motif of the Second Sophistic novel.[265] In the first tale, Aemilia revives at the sound of a funeral trumpet (28.16), while in the tale of the Corfidii brothers, the elder brother revives when his will is read (28.18). These wonder-tales are detached from any religious context besides the ritual obligations of the family; they do not foretell disaster for the Roman army, but function within the narrative as wonder-tales for their own sake. Granius can also put wonder-tales in religious contexts, thus transforming them into omens in the style of Livy.[266] For example, "A certain matron, as if with a disturbed mind, sat on the throne of Jove, and so the Capitol was purified anew" (*matrona quaedam qua<si> mente commota sedit [i]n solio Iovis. itaque lustratum est denuo Capitolium*, 33.18-19).

Such freedom to disregard or to use the rules of a genre is characteristic of the Roman Sophistic and especially of the "every-genre history." Granius also differs from traditional Roman historiography in excluding composed speeches, as he implies in a famous statement about Sallust: "they say Sallust should not be read as a historian, but as an orator" (*nam Sallustium non ut historicu<m a>iunt, sed ut oratorem legendum*, 36.31). It seems paradoxical that a member of the Roman Sophistic would exclude the important genre of oratory, but leaving his own mark on the genre may be even more important.[267]

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[265] Reardon, "Second Sophistic" 26-7.

[266] *E.g.* Livy 40.45.3-4.

[267] Cf. Tacitus' claim to be the only account of Tiberius' reign "without wrath or partisanship" (*sine ira et studio, Ann.* 1.1).

Another way in which Granius his own mark on the genre is his pronounced interest in death. In the extant fragments, I count no fewer than eighteen individual deaths. One might object that Granius is dealing with an especially bloody era in Roman history, including incessant warfare in the East, the Marian wars, and the Sullan proscriptions, but three of the deaths occur in wonder-tales (28.15-21) not related to these events. Since Granius also says that he has left out plenty of wonder-tales that he could have included (28.22), it is all the more remarkable that the wonder-tales he does include involve death. Finally, the death of Antiochus IV (28.7-9), does not occur in a battle against the Romans and helps them only marginally in the East.[268]

Inverting Hadrianic Propaganda

Links to the Past: Hadrian's Propaganda

The emperor Hadrian was a master of propaganda. He curried favŏr with the Roman people by such acts of munificence such as distributions of money totaling 1000 denarii and cancellation of tax debts.[269] His propaganda also included linking himself to famous Greeks and Romans of the past.

Hadrian deliberately cultivated parallels between himself and the Seleucid monarch Antiochus IV Epiphanes. During a long stay in Athens during his youth, Hadrian probably came to know C. Julius Antiochus Epiphanes Philopappus, who was a descendant of Antiochus IV, a Roman senator, and suffect consul in 109 CE. Philopappus boasted about his famous ancestor Antiochus IV, who is prominently featured on Philopappus' tomb.[270] Hadrian was even enrolled in Philopappus' Athenian deme, and

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[268]For speculation about why Granius emphasizes death, see below.

[269] Benario 64; *HA* 7.6 (see above) with discussion in Benario 72-3.

[270] Kleiner 233-5 with figure 199 on p. 234. On the upper third of the tomb, there remain two niches with seated statues. The statue on the left is Antiochus IV, while the statue on the right is Philopappus.

later, Philopappus' sister Julia Balbilla appears in the entourage of Hadrian's wife, the empress Sabina.[271] Hadrian and Philopappus are also linked by devotion to Epicureanism and by sponsoring the cult of Olympian Zeus.[272] In connection with this cult, Hadrian in 132 CE finished the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens that Antiochus IV had worked on.[273]

A further link between Hadrian and Antiochus IV is found in a particular type of bronze coin from Alexandria. This type of coin shows the emperor riding a four-horse chariot or *quadriga* drawn by elephants. The elephant *quadriga* is a standard attribute of only the emperor in Alexandrian bronze coinage of the years 93-133 CE.[274] Birley suggests on the basis of such a coin from the year 132/3 CE that Hadrian might have actually entered Alexandria in 130 CE on a *quadriga* drawn by elephants.[275] At the very least, this image recalls Hellenistic monarchs such as Antiochus IV for Antiochus IV entered the city of Daphne in a procession with a chariot drawn by four elephants (Polybius 30.25.11). Thus, such coins help link Hadrian to Antiochus IV.

Hadrian also linked himself to a famous Roman of the past, Pompey the Great by restoring Pompey's tomb in Egypt: "He sacrificed to Pompey...and restored his tomb, which had fallen into ruin" (Dio 69.11.1).[276] Hadrian is not only showing respect for Pompey but also trying to make Pompey more like

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271 Birley 62-64, 228.

272 Birley 228. Syme, *RP* iv 306-7 discusses the shared devotion of Hadrian and the Empress Plotina to Epicureanism.

273 Hadrian's completion: *HA* 13.6, Dio 69.16.1; Antiochus' continuing construction: Polybius 26.1.11. See also the discussion in Martina 206-8.

274 J. Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1924), 22-54.

275 *ibid.* 54, cited in Birley 237.

276 Cf. *HA Hadrian* 14.4 and Appian, *BC* 2.362 with discussion in Birley 235, 237. Hadrian is not worshiping Pompey as a god, but as a hero; the Greek word Dio uses for sacrifice, ἐναγίζω, is used for sacrifices to heroes such as Theseus or to Heracles by those who do not consider him a god (Herodotus 2.44.5, cited in *LSJ s.v.* ἐναγίζω). Cf. Dio's use of the same word for Trajan's sacrifice to Alexander the Great (68.30.1).

himself. Note his comment on the tomb in its unrestored state: "How poor was the tomb for one so rich in temples" (Dio 69.11.1). Hadrian thinks that anyone with power in Roman dominions, which contain many opulent temples, deserves an opulent tomb. Accordingly, Hadrian not only added to the stock of opulent temples at Rome, Athens, and elsewhere but also built a magnificent mausoleum for himself.

Granius' Indirect Attacks

Given such close ties between Hadrian and Antiochus IV and Hadrian and Pompey, what does it mean when Granius portrays Antiochus IV and Pompey in unflattering ways? Post-mortem attacks on disliked emperors are frequently attested. For example, Tacitus, writing during the reign of Trajan, attacks the repressive regime of Domitian in *Agricola* 42.3, 45.1-2. Fronto, writing during the reign of Antoninus Pius, attacks Hadrian for letting the army become slack (*Princ. Hist.* 1 = Haines 2.207). Cassius Dio, writing under the Severan emperors, attacks Commodus and his so-called "golden age" (73.15.6), which is only "golden" because Commodus extorts gold from senatorial families (73.16.3). But if Granius dislikes Hadrian, why does he not attack him by name?

Why would Granius attack Hadrian? The origins of Granius' hatred of Hadrian are impossible to recover, but possible answers include the general dislike of Hadrian by the senatorial class because of the execution of the four consulars, Hadrian's hostility to particular intellectuals on the grounds of personality, or perhaps something even more individual like refusal to hear a legal appeal.[277] The propaganda of an emperor he disliked perhaps forced Granius to re-examine Roman history, to uncouple past events from their present appropriation, to fuse past and present horizons in a different way. In a similar way, the Second World War forced the French historian Philippe

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[277]*HA Hadrian* 15.10-13, 16.8-9, discussed in Champlin, *Fronto* 95 *contra* Syme, *RP* iv 307-8, present an oversimplified picture of Hadrian as an emperor who resents anyone with more knowledge or skill than he. Swain, "Favorinus and Hadrian" (*ZPE* 79 [1989] 150-8), especially 157, points out that other sophists got along splendidly with Hadrian and suggests reasons other than erudition for Hadrian to hate Favorinus.

Ariès to re-examine how modern political perspectives have reshaped the past to exclude non-political history or even events that did not contribute to the formation of the modern state.[278] It would also be easy for Granius to criticize heavy Roman casualties during the Jewish revolt (132-136 CE) touched off by Hadrian's policy toward the Jews and Jerusalem, the same criticism made by the Roman orator and educator Fronto (c. 100-170 CE).[279]

In my earlier discussion, I noted that most scholarly work on literature of the second century CE has not explored the possibility of literary attack on the existing order.[280] I want to reintroduce here Lucian's possible indirect satiric attacks on Herodes Atticus, Arrian, and Aelius Aristides, powerful friends of more than one Roman emperor.[281] Lucian's attack is indirect to avoid offending powerful targets who are still alive. Had his targets been dead, it would have been easy to attack them directly.

I will argue that Granius, in writing about the history of the late Roman Republic, attacked Hadrian and attacked him indirectly because Hadrian was still alive. A sentence in Granius seems about to mention Hadrian in connection with the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens, but a gap of two pages in the manuscript intervenes: "The most famous temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens had remained unfinished for a long time..." (*<a>edes nobilissima Olympi Iovis Atheniensis diu inperfecta perman<s>e[rat],*[282] Granius 28.13). Presumably, Granius would have completed the sentence with a reference to the fact that Hadrian finished the temple. Even if Granius moved on to another topic, the reference to the

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278 Hutton 97-99.

279 *De Bello Parthico* 2 = Haines2.20, discussed in Birley 352 n.26. Fronto's unremitting bitterness toward Hadrian is discussed in Champlin, *Fronto* 94-96.

280 See above.

281 Anderson, "Outlook" 181.

282 Because the third principal part of *maneo* is *mansi*, many textual critics have suggested that the second e in *permane[* is a mistake; the word should be supplemented as *perman<s>e[rat]* = *permanserat* or as *perman[e]<s>it* = *permansit*.

temple's unfinished state would have reminded his readers that the temple had recently been finished.

Moreover, this sentence occurs in the context of a mini-biography of Antiochus IV. Granius 28.2-10 portrays Antiochus in a mostly negative light. The only positive event, a dedication of statues, links Antiochus to Rome: "[Antiochus] had dedicated two enormous statues, one for Olympian, one for Capitoline Jupiter," (*duos colossos...unum Olympio, alterum Capitolino Iovi dedicaverat*, 28.10).[283] Otherwise, Granius' portrayal is completely negative. Granius portrays him as a warmonger: "He kept inciting [the other Hellenistic monarchs] to declare war on the Romans (*idem agi[tav]erat bellum post[ea indi]cere Romanis*, 28.3).[284] Granius describes Antiochus' eccentric behavior: "With a character of the most fickle frivolity,[285] he would come loaded down with banquets,[286] dance nude to the music of a combo,[287] and publicly visit baths drenched with myrrh or smeared with perfumes[288] " (*incertae nat[ura]e levitatisque sum[mae, e]pulis comisabun[dus v]enire, ad sympho[nia]m nudus saltare [et ba]lneas publice {fun[ctus e]t balneas} petere <unctus murra> vel perfusus ungue[ntis*, 28.5). The detail of bathing publicly (*publice*) further links Antiohcus to Hadrian: "He often bathed **publicly** and

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283 Cf. Polybius, who praises Antiochus for continuing construction of the temple of Olympian Zeus at Athens and for setting up statues around the altar at Delos (26.1.11). Moreover, Antiochus modeled a new statue of Apollo at Daphne on Pheidias' statue of Olympian Zeus; Ammianus describes the statue of Apollo as "a copy of Olympian Zeus" (*Olympiaci Iovis imitamentum*, 22.13.1).

284 Cf. *Per.* 46 for an alleged conspiracy by Antiochus and Eumenes against Rome. Diodorus 31.17 stresses his secret hatred of the Romans, while Polybius shows how he begins to hate the Romans after they order him to stop attacking Ptolemy (29.27.8) and then how he conceals his hatred from Roman legates (30.27.1-4) and from the Roman senate (30.30.7-8).

285 Cf. Polybius 26.1.1, Diodorus 29.32 & 31.16.2.

286 Cf. Polybius 30.26.

287 Cf. Polybius 30.26.8, but only Diodorus 31.16.3 mentions Antiochus dancing nude.

288 Cf. Polybius for Antiochus' sharing precious ointment with everyone at a public bath he visited (26.1.12-14).

with all the people" (***publice*** *frequenter et cum omnibus lavit, HA Hadrian* 17.6).

Moreover, Granius concludes this mini-biography with a remarkable story of temple robbing punished by the gods. Antiochus "marries" the goddess Diana and plunders her shrine for the "dowry": "He tried to pretend that he was marrying Diana at Hierapolis, and, while others drew up feasts, he brought forward vases from the shrine, and after he dined, he took away the vases as a dowry besides a ring, which alone of all things he left from the offerings of the goddess" (*se sim[ulab]at Hierapoli Diana[m duc]ere uxorem et cet[eris] epulas instruentibus vasa e sacro protulit [atque] cenatus <d>e mensis [ea abs]tulit in dotem ex[tra anul]um, quem unum omnium <e> deae donis reliquit*, 28.6). The verb "pretend" (*simulare*) gives a sinister interpretation to the Near Eastern custom of the "sacred marriage" (ἱερὸς γάμος).[289] Granius immediately follows his account of this "marriage" with a moralizing comment on Antiochus' death: "After the draught animals became frightened, no one found the body, which had been dragged into the river. He paid the penalty for so great an arrogant impiety" (*corpus eius...exterritis subito iumentis in fluvium abreptum non comp[a]ruit. has ille poenas tanti sacrileg<ii> gliscentis expendit*, Granius 28.7-9).

The Roman historian Polybius (31.9) links Antiochus' death to an attempt to plunder a temple of Diana/Artemis, but the temple is at Elam in eastern Persia, not at Hierapolis in Asia Minor. This fragment of Polybius comes from Jerome's commentary on Daniel 11:36, 45. Jerome may have harmonized Polybius and Porphyrius with events in 1 and 2 Maccabees. In 1 Maccabees 6:1-4, Antiochus unsuccessfully attempts to rob the temple of the pagan goddess Nanaea at Elam to show that not even pagan temples are safe from his impiety, while 2 Maccabees 1:12-17 adds to the attempted temple robbery a "marriage" to the goddess. Nevertheless, Antiochus' death results in 1 Maccabees 6:8-13 and 2 Maccabees 9:4-28 from offenses against the god of Israel and the Jewish people, not against Nanaea and her worshipers. Recently, Martina has advanced the idea that this extremely unfavorable story

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289 Scardigli & Berardi 27 define this institution as ritual "marriage" between a king and a local goddess.

of Antiochus' death comes from a Jewish tradition.[290] Jewish traditions are used elsewhere as sources for Roman history; for example, *Historia Augusta Claudius* 2.4 quotes an anecdote from the Talmud.[291] Appian, *Syr.* 352 also links Antiochus' death to an attempt to plunder a temple at Elam, but the temple belongs to Aphrodite. As if the situation were not confusing enough, Strabo 16.1.27 says that this temple is devoted to Atargatis, while Lucian, *On the Syrian Goddess* 1 syncretizes Atargatis not with Artemis but with Assyrian Hera.[292]

Why did Granius locate Antiochus' death at Hierapolis, some 900 miles closer to Rome? Granius wants to link Antiochus and Hadrian further. It would have been nearly impossible for Hadrian to have visited Elam, then under Parthian control, but Hadrian is likely to have visited Hierapolis because it was the birthplace of his favorite philosopher Epictetus.[293]

Granius also indirectly attacks Hadrian through Pompey. The extant portions of Granius' text unfortunately do not include Pompey's death,[294] but another incident from Granius shows a negative portrayal of Pompey. Granius mentions that Pompey's first triumph, for a victory in Africa, features elephants in a triumphal parade. Nevertheless, Pompey's prestige is seriously injured when the elephants cannot pass through the triumphal gate:[295] "But [it is related that] when he was entering the city, the triumphal gate was too small for the four elephants yoked to his chariot, although they tried twice" (*s[ed cum] ur<b>em ingrederet[ur, mi]n<o>re<m> fuisse*

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[290] Martina 190-206 uses the passages of 1 and 2 Maccabees and Polybius cited above to make his argument, and he also suggests that the portrayal of Antiochus is an indirect attack on Hadrian (206-8).

[291] Cited and discussed in Momigliano 146.

[292] Scardigli & Berardi 26.

[293] Birley 60, 223.

[294] The Roman poet Lucan describes his inglorious murder at the hands of a low-ranking Roman soldier and a slave of the Egyptian king Ptolemy (8.595-636).

[295] The story of the elephants' being too small for the triumphal gate also appears in Procilius, *HRR* fr. 2 (vol. 1, p. 313) = Pliny, *NH* 8.4 and in Plutarch, *Pompey*, 14.4.

ele[phantis quattuo]r ad currum iunc[tis] <portam [triumph]ale[m], quamqua<m> bis experirentur, 36.4). Since Hadrian is shown with an elephant *quadriga* on Alexandrian bronze coinage,[296] Granius could be drawing a parallel between Hadrian and Pompey based on entering a city with elephants in train.

In addition, Granius attacks Pompey's father, Pompeius Strabo. Granius describes Pompeius Strabo's half-hearted efforts to fend off Cinna and Marius' military campaign against Rome in 87 BCE, and his waffling allows Marius to enter Rome secretly: "A delay was interposed by Pompey, who with wavering resolution received the order of the senate that he should be willing to go to help the republic, until Marius had crept in through the Ostian[297] gate" (*a Pompeio, qui dub]ia voluntate <se>natus [iussum] recepit, ut rem public[am ad]iutum vellet ire, mor[a] interiecta est, d[o]nec subrepserat Ma[rius i]n Ostiensem portum*, 35.12-13).[298] A little later, Granius mentions Pompeius Strabo's protracted death after being struck by lightning, a probable sign of divine displeasure: "He was struck by lightning[299]...on the third day after that day, Pompey died of a surprising disease[300]" (*fulmine adflatus est...Tertio post illum diem Pompeius mira tabe obiit*, 35.36,42). Granius establishes a clear motif of divine punishment with incidents like the loss of Antiochus' corpse in a flood (28.7, cited above) and a rainshower extinguishing Sulla's funeral pyre: "When fire was applied to his pyre, a rainstorm, not a middling one, followed" (*cuius rogo quom ignis esset*

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296 See above.

297 This textually uncertain adjective probably refers to a gate at Ostia (Appian, *BC* 1.311). Marius takes over Ostia, Rome's harbor, to cut off Rome's food supply (Plutarch, *Marius* 42.1; *IG* 14.1297 = *FGrHist* 252 A2). In Appian, *BC* 1.313, Marius takes over other additional cities near Rome for the same purpose.

298 Cf. *Per.* 79. Velleius Paterculus says even more cynically that Pompey "did everything for his own advantage" (*omnia ex proprio usu ageret*, 2.21.2).

299 Lightning is the sole cause of death in Plutarch, *Pompey* 1.2 and in Appian, *BC* 1.312.

300 His death from plague is implied by Velleius Paterculus, who says that plague ravaged armies on both sides (2.21.4).

inlatus, non mediocris imber insecutus, 36.29).[301] In another passage, Granius describes how an angry mob mutilated Marius' corpse, as if human agents carry out a divinely-ordained punishment: "...to Gaius Marius, whose body, dragged from the tomb, hostile soldiers had mutilated," (...*C. Mario, cuius corpus milites inimici extractum monimento disi<e>cerant,* 36.26). Granius may have established the motif of divine punishment so clearly with incidents like the loss of Antiochus' corpse (28.7) that he may assume that the reader will naturally expect similar treatment for Pompeius Strabo. Granius does not disappoint such expectations--he shows a mob, "the people who lived next to the city" (*populus suburbanus*), mistreating Pompeius Strabo's corpse because of their low opinion[302] of his deeds:

> The people near the city snatched away his remains and did not stop dragging his corpse, torn off its funeral couch, through filth, and all agreed that it was a worthy punishment from heaven for both his treachery and greed and that the worst man had paid the price.[303]
>
> eius funus populus [subu]rbanus dir<i>puit mor[t]uumque lecto decussu<m> [p]er caenum trahere no[n d]estitit omnibus consentien[ti]bus dignam caelo poenam et perfidiae et ava[r]itiae pessimum hom[i]nem expendisse (35.43).

Granius may give the point of view of the *populus suburbanus* because it suffered most during this civil conflict, especially during such "suburban" events as Marius' sack of Ostia, Rome's harbor (35.14). The mutilation of Pompeius Strabo's corpse resembles the loss of Antiochus' corpse. The

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301 In contrast, Plutarch says that, as an example of Sulla's luck (τύχη), a wind helped the pyre cremate Sulla's corpse before a heavy rain could extinguish it (*Sulla* 38.2). Perhaps Plutarch is playing with Sulla's title "Lucky" (*Felix*/Εὐτυχής, cf. *Sulla* 34.2 and Appian, *BC.* 1.451). Even more favorable and without a hint of rain are Plutarch, *Pompey* 15.3 and Appian, *BC* 1.493-499. Cicero favorably mentions a later public feast commemorating Sulla put on by his heir Faustus in 60 BCE (*In Vatinium* 32).

302 Cf. Plutarch, *Pompey* 1.3 & 4.1 in which Pompeius Strabo is criticized for his greed.

303 For the mutilation of Pompeius Strabo's corpse, cf. Plutarch, *Pompey* 1.2 and Velleius Paterculus 2.21.4.

dynamic of divine punishment, here broadened beyond punishment for crimes against the gods to crimes against mortals, is still at work.

In sum, Hadrian associates himself with Antiochus IV and Pompey the Great for the purpose of propaganda. In his history, Granius inverts this propaganda by attacking Antiochus IV and Pompey, and thus Granius can attack Hadrian indirectly while Hadrian is still alive.

Granius' Adaptation of Livian Themes and Material

Granius' focus on death, especially on disgraceful deaths, often followed by loss or mutilation of the corpse, intensifies themes already found in Livy, as we shall see. Moreover, the focus on death may have become even more intense by the fourth century CE, for the "good death" is an important *topos* of praise in Late Antique Greek rhetorical handbooks. For example, Alexander, son of Numenius, includes in a list of praise-*topoi* the "famous death" (εὐκλεὴς θάνατος, *ars* 2.556 = 3.2 Spengel) while Theon includes in a similar list the "beautiful death" (εὐθανασία, *progymn.* 8 = 2.110 Spengel).[304]

Good and Bad Deaths in Livy

In his history, Livy often reveals the character of individuals or groups by how they die. Good deaths for good people include those of Lucius Junius Brutus (consul in 509 BCE) and Lucius Aemilius Paulus (consul in 216 BCE). These two examples merit a closer look.

Brutus meets death bravely by fighting man-to-man against the former king of Rome Tarquinius Superbus ("in those days it was fitting for leaders themselves to participate in battle" [*decorum erat tum ipsis capessere pugnam ducibus*, 2.6.9]) and receives the best funeral possible: "[Publius Valerius] carried out the funeral of his colleague with as much pomp as was possible then; but his death had a far greater honor--public mourning; above all, he

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304 Schmitz 50; cf. also Christian martyrdom narratives.

was marked with honor because married women mourned him for a year as a parent" (*collegae funus quanto tum potuit apparatu fecit; sed multo maius morti decus publica fuit maestitia, eo ante omnia insignis quia matronae annum ut parentem eum luxerunt,* 2.7.4).

Rather than escaping to face dishonor or prosecution for leading the Roman army to defeat at Cannae, Paulus chooses death. He dissuades the military tribune Lentulus from helping him flee: "Allow me to breathe my last among this massacre of my soldiers so that I may neither be a defendant again after my consulship nor stand as a witness against my fellow consul in order to defend my blamelessness with another's crime" (*me in hac strage militum merorum patere exspirare ne aut reus iterum e consulatu sim aut accusator collegae exsistam ut alieno crimine innocentiam meam protegam,* 22.49.11). Shortly after the battle, the miltary tribune Sempronius calls Paulus a man "who preferred dying well to living basely" (*qui se bene mori quam turpiter vivere maluit,* 22.50.7). To complete the noble-death theme, Livy finds in some sources that Hannibal buried Paulus, presumably out of respect for his valor: "Some authors write that the Roman consul [i.e. Paulus] was...found and buried" (*consulem...Romanum conquisitum sepultumque quidam auctores sunt,* 22.52.6).

Bad deaths for bad people include mutineers at Sucro and the propraetor Pleminius. The Roman soldiers who stage a mutiny at Sucro in Spain in 206 BCE over being paid late show a relaxation of discipline during a lull in the fighting: "Laxness was acquired from long-lasting inactivity, as it happens" (*licentia ex diutino, ut fit, otio conlecta,* 28.24.6).[305] Accordingly, to restore discipline, the Roman general Scipio executes the leaders of the mutiny: "Tied to a stake, they were beaten with rods and beheaded with an ax, and those who were present were so petrified with fear that not only was no fiercer voice but not even a groan was heard against the harshness of the punishment" (*deligati ad palum virgisque caesi et securi percussi, adeo torpentibus metu qui aderant ut non modo ferocior vox adversus atrocitatem poenae sed ne gemitus quidem exaudiretur,* 28.29.11). The mutineers' death

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305 "Laxness" (*licentia*) can be considered either the opposite of "discipline" (*disciplina*) or equivalent to the "sliding discipline" condemned in Livy's preface (*labans disciplina, praef.* 9).

is particularly horrible because of the disfigurement of their male citizen bodies from something other than war wounds.[306]

After successfully besieging Locri in southern Italy in 205 BCE, the propraetor Pleminius permits his troops to plunder the temple of Proserpina: "Greed already did not refrain from plundering even sacred objects; not only the temples but also the treasures of Proserpina, untouched by every age, were profaned" (*iam avaritia ne sacrorum quidem spoliatione abstinuit; nec alia modo templa violata sed Proserpinae etiam intacti omni aetate thesauri,* 29.8.9). Pleminius and his troops also commit atrocities against the Locrians: "Against the townspeople nothing of all the acts which make the resources of the more powerful hated by the powerless was left out by the propraetor or by his soldiers; unspeakable outrages were perpetrated against the bodies of the citizens themselves, their children, and their wives" (*nihil omnium quae inopi invisas opes potentioris faciunt praetermissum in oppidanos est ab duce aut a militibus; in corpora ipsorum, in liberos, in coniuges infandae contumeliae editae,* 29.8.8).

Pleminius also turns his savagery against Romans. Because military tribunes take away a looted cup from one of Pleminius' soldiers (29.9.2-3),[307] Pleminius has them tortured, killed and left unburied: "He ordered the tribunes brought to him, and he killed them, mutilated with all the punishments that any body can endure, and unsatisfied with punishing their living bodies, he threw their unburied corpses on the ground" (*tribunos attrahi ad se iussit, laceratosque omnibus quae pati corpus ullum potest suppliciis interfecit, nec satiatus vivorum poena insepultos proiecit,* 29.9.10). Pleminius is subsequently brought to Rome for trial and dies in prison: "still, he died in chains before the judgment of the people could be brought to an

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306 Cf. Livy's account of an anonymous debtor earlier in Roman history (495 BCE), who arouses pity by showing the dishonorable scars inflicted while subject to debt-slavery (*nexum*): "Then, he shows his back, ugly with the fresh traces of whips. At the sight of these...a huge shout arises," (*inde ostentare tergum foedum recentibus vestigiis verberum. ad haec visa...clamor ingens oritur,* 2.23.7).

307 The tribunes are probably not trying to stop the looting but desire to obtain the cup for themselves, since the Locrians claim to the Senate that the tribunes helped plunder the temple of Proserpina (29.18.7).

end" (*mortuus tamen prius in vinclis est quam iudicium de eo populi perficeretur*, 29.22.9). In another version which Livy derives from Clodius Licinus, Pleminius bribes men to start fires throughout the city to assist his escape (29.22.10). His plan is thwarted, and he is executed: "then, when the crime was revealed, he was consigned to the Tullian prison by a decree of the senate" (*patefacto dein scelere delegatum in Tullianum ex senatus consulto*, 29.22.10). Livy shows that the Roman people rightly punished Pleminius for his crimes against gods and men.[308]

Even when Livy varies the pattern of deaths reflecting lives, such as when he compares the deaths of Hannibal, Philopoemen, and Scipio Africanus, which all take place in the 180's BCE, he calls attention to the congruence of death with life as an ideal: "not one of them had a death worthy enough for the magnificence of his life" (*nemo eorum satis dignum splendore vitae exitum habuit*, 39.52.7). As we shall see, Granius, with the same idea of congruence, ends wicked lives with dishonorable deaths.

Temple Robbing in Livy

Although temple robbing is regarded as reprehensible throughout antiquity, Livy features two incidents that resonate especially well with Granius' depiction of Antiochus IV's "marriage" to the goddess Diana at Hierapolis. First, Antiochus IV leaves behind a ring after plundering Diana's temple: "besides a ring, which alone of all things he left from the offerings of the goddess" (*ex[tra anul]um, quem unum omnium <e> deae donis reliquit*, 28.6) A temple-robber's leaving behind a token gift out of residual piety is also found in Livy. For example, the Carthaginian general Hannibal's soldiers are said to throw bronze money into the Roman temple of Feronia after they have plundered it of its great treasures: "Since the [Carthaginian] soldiers, led by religious feeling, threw [into the temple] fragments of brass in heaps, a great quantity of them were found [in the temple] after Hannibal's departure" (*aeris acervi cum rudera milites religione inducti iacerent post*

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[308] It is possible that Granius discussed this story, given that he mentions Locri elsewhere in his work (Criniti xii, Testimonium 2B on the cicadas at Locri).

profectionem Hannibalis magni inventi, Livy 26.11.9). Just as the Carthaginians are eventually defeated, Antiochus' token gift is not enough to prevent his death and the mutilation of his corpse (28.7-8). Granius comments, "He paid the penalty for so great an arrogant impiety" (*has ille poenas tanti sacrileg<ii> gliscentis expendit*, 28.9).

Second, Livy too features the paradigm of divine vengeance, albeit not necessarily fatal, as punishment for temple-robbing. For example, Livy applies this paradigm to two armies, Epirote and Roman, who both plunder the same treasure of the temple of Proserpina at Locri in the 200's BCE. The Epirotes are punished by shipwreck, while the Romans are punished by fighting over the spoils:[309]

> Already, greed did not refrain from the plundering of even sacred objects. Not only were other temples defiled, but also the treasures of Proserpina, untouched in every age except for the fact that they used to be said to have been plundered by Pyrrhus, who returned the spoils along with a great expiatory offering for his impiety. Therefore, just as in the earlier incident, the royal fleet, ripped apart by shipwrecks, had unloaded onto dry land nothing undamaged except the sacred money of the goddess, which they were trying to carry off, also then, in a different type of disaster, that same money brought madness to all who were touched by that defiling of the temple and turned against one another leader against leader, soldier against soldier in insanity worthy of an enemy.
>
> iam avaritia ne sacrorum quidem spoliatione abstinuit; nec alia modo templa violata sed Proserpinae etiam intacti omni aetate thesauri, praeterquam quod a Pyrrho, qui cum magno piaculo sacrilegii sui manubias rettulit, spoliati dicebantur. ergo sicut ante regiae naves laceratae naufragiis nihil in terram integri praeter sacram pecuniam deae quam asportabant extulerant, tum quoque alio genere cladis eadem illa pecunia omnibus contactis ea violatione templi furorem obiecit atque inter se ducem in ducem, militem in militem rabie hostili vertit (29.8.9-11).

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[309] Of course, the theme of punishment for temple-robbing is by no means confined to Livy. For example, Seneca (*suas.* 1.6-7) attacks Antony for performing a similar temple robbery / "marriage," also with Diana, in 39-38 BCE (Scardigli & Berardi 27), and his punishment is defeat at Actium.

From Livy to Granius

This section will examine Granius' adaptation of two figures from the *Periochae*--one is an anonymous soldier, and the other is the Roman general Sulla--and briefly discuss Livy and the *Periochae*'s contrasting treatment of Antiochus IV and Pompeius Strabo, who have already been discussed above as ways of indirectly attacking Hadrian. In addition to well-known figures like Brutus or Paulus, Livy sometimes bestows good deaths on nameless people. In *Periocha* 79, an unnamed soldier kills himself because he has unknowingly killed his brother in a battle between the armies of Pompeius Strabo and Cinna in 87 BCE:

> In this war, two brothers, one from the army of Pompey, the other from the army of Cinna, clashed without knowing, and when the winner stripped the one killed, after he recognized his brother, issued loud laments, and drew up a pyre for him, he stabbed himself over the pyre and was consumed by the same fire.
>
> In quo bello duo fratres, alter ex Pompei exercitu alter ex Cinnae, ignorantes concurrerunt, et cum victor spoliaret occisum, agnito fratre ingenti lamentatione edita, rogo ei extructo, ipse se supra rogum transfodit et eodem igne consumptus est (*Per.* 79).

Periocha 79 does not spell out what conclusion should be drawn from this story, but Livy may have. At the very least, *Periocha* 79 includes this story among other harmful effects from civil war. Before this incident come the Roman general Cinna's harmful new laws, and afterward Pompeius Strabo's indecision (discussed above) and, significantly, a siege of Rome itself by Cinna.[310]

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[310] Because only the *Periochae* are available for these events, it is not known whether Livy explicitly connected this siege of the city of Rome to an earlier siege of Rome by the Gauls in 386 BCE (5.39-5.49). Livy certainly uses this siege as an historical touchstone in other ways; for example, the consul Manlius Vulso, leading a campaign against the Gallogrecians in 189 BCE, reminds his troops in an exhortation that Romans have defeated Gauls before, notably Marcus Manlius Capitolinus during the siege of Rome in 386 BCE (38.17).

Granius treats the same story about brothers on opposing battle line but transfers the incident to a different battle:[311]

> In the war, which was between Pompey and Sertorius, a certain lowly soldier of Pompey, while he was stripping his enemy, recognized his brother. He drew up a pyre, and while he was fulfilling the funeral rites, he prayed many prayers and curses and ran himself through with a sword.
>
> Bello, quod inter Pompeium et Sertorium fuit, miles Pompei, dum spoliat hostem, ignobilis quidam fratrem adgnovit. extructo rogo dum iusta persolvit, multa {precatus et} inprecatus gladio se traiecit (35.24-25).

This incident remains the same in its essential plot, and there are even some similarities in diction to *Periocha* 79--the verbs *spoliare* and *agnoscere* and the ablative absolute *extructo rogo / rogo extructo*.[312]

Nevertheless, while *Periocha* 79 only juxtaposes this incident with other horrors of civil war, Granius asserts explicitly that this incident turned Roman public opinion against civil war: "And this incident brought on for all the greatest dislike of civil war and changed minds, and no one of all could refrain from tears" (*maximumque omnibus praei[u]dicium belli civilis casus hic attulit mentesque mutavit, nec quisquam omnium a lacrimis potuit temperare* (35.26). As with the suburban mob's mistreatment of Pompeius Strabo's corpse (35.43), Granius vocalizes his criticism of civil war through the nameless Romans suffering from it rather than through a military leader or senator. By presenting the point of view of "lower classes" *(humiliores)*, Granius criticizes civil war itself and, by extension, all those who continue to lead men to die in it even after such a sad incident.

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311 For a similar but more radical shift in time (and space), see E. O' Gorman on Tacitus' moving Lucan's Syrtes (shallow waters in Libya) to Batavia in "Shifting Ground: Lucan, Tacitus, and the Landscape of Civil War" *Hermathena* 168.2 (1995) 117-131.

312 Granius and the *Periochae* probably both derive this diction from the Livian original.

Of course, Granius is far from the only Roman author to express such a sentiment, or, for that matter, to treat a similar incident.[313] E. Rawson[314] has asserted that Sisenna (120-67 BCE), writing in the mode of "tragic history" borrowed from the Greek historian Cleitarchus,[315] invented this incident, and others derived it from Sisenna.

Whether or not this vivid story was invented, it quickly became as durable as an "urban legend." An "urban legend" is a believable tale involving normal human beings and deriving "credibility from specific details of time and place or from references to source authorities."[316] Tacitus' quotation of Sisenna, while probably scrupulously accurate, is told in such a way as to encourage this story to be retold as an "urban legend," with specific historical and chronological details and a reference to a respected authority: "For example, in the battle which was fought on the Janiculum hill against Cinna, a Pompeian soldier killed his own brother, then himself, once his crime was recognized, as Sisenna relates" (*nam proelio, quo apud Ianiculum adversus Cinnam pugnatum est, Pompeianus miles fratrem suum, dein cognito facinore se ipsum interfecit, ut Sisenna memorat, Hist.* 3.51). Furthermore, Tacitus finds this 200-year-old story very useful for moral contrast with the present: "How much keener among our ancestors was glory for courageous acts and repentance for atrocities!" (*tanto acrior apud maiores, sicut virtutibus gloria, ita flagitiis paenitentia fuit, Hist.* 3.51).[317] Granius is already running with the "urban legend" torch, so he freely changes geographical and chronological details while keeping the same outline of the

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313 This story also appears in Sisenna (*Hist. HRR* fr. 129 [vol. 1, p. 294], *apud* Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.51), Valerius Maximus (5.5.4), Orosius (*Hist.* 5. 19.12-13), and the *Anthologia Latina* (462, 463 [Riese]).

314 "L. Cornelius Sisenna & the Early 1st Cent. BC" *CQ* n.s. 29 (1979) 327-46.

315 Quintilian praises Cleitarchus for "talent" (*ingenium*, 10.1.75) but not for "reliability" (*fides*, 10.1.75).

316 Brunvand 3.

317 For a counter-example of such repentance in the Year of the Four Emperors (69 CE), although about a son burying the father he has just slain, see Tacitus, *Hist.* 3.25.

story.[318] Granius also is free to differentiate his story from *Periocha* 79 by offering an explicit, moralistic, emotion-eliciting interpretation and to differentiate himself from Tacitus by declining to contrast past and present.

Granius' depiction of the death of Sulla shows how Granius has gone so far as to add the theme of bad death to his Livian material. From the evidence of the *Periochae*, Livy emphasizes Sulla's cruelty but still mentions his contributions to increasing Roman power. Sulla appears in the *Periochae* most vividly when he mercilessly proscribes his Roman enemies after his victory in civil war: "After the state had been restored, he besmirched the most beautiful victory with such cruelty as there never was in any man" (*reciperataque re publica pulcherrimam victoriam crudelitate, quanta in nullo hominum fuit, inquinavit, Per.* 88).[319] His savagery and flawed character are balanced by his military service in non-civil wars, such as in the Jugurthine War against the Numidians in North Africa in 105 BCE: "In this matter, the work of Lucius Cornelius Sulla, the quaestor of Marius, was excellent" (*in qua re praecipua opera L. Cornelii Syllae, quaestoris C. Marii, fuit, Per.* 66). Another example of Sulla's service to Rome is his last operation in the East, the destruction of Mytilene in 80 BCE: "Also, in Asia, Mytilene, which was the only city to keep its weapons after the defeat of Mithridates, was conquered and destroyed" (*Mytilenae quoque in Asia, quae sola urbs post victum Mithridaten arma retinebat, expugnaturae et dirutae sunt, Per.* 89). A highlight of his career is the surrender of Mithridates' general Archelaus to him in 86 BCE: "Archelaus surrendered himself and the royal fleet to Sulla" (*Archelaus cum classe regia Syllae se tradidit, Per.* 82). Livy seems to disregard Sulla's atrocities during civil war by portraying his death as peaceful and noble. Sulla apparently dies of old age, and his burial is honorable and without incident: "Sulla died, and the honor of being buried in the Campus

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[318] In a similar vein, *Anthologia Latina* 462 and 463, which superficially resemble a crude Senecan tragedy, again move the story geographically and chronologically, to the civil war between Caesar and Pompey (51-48 BCE).

[319] For a similar sentiment, cf. Velleius Paterculus: "Sulla, a man who can neither be praised enough at the end of his victory nor blamed enough after his victory" (*Sulla, vir qui neque ad finem victoriae satis laudari neque post victoriam vituperari potest,* 2.16.1).

Martius was conferred on him by the Senate" (*Sylla decessit, honosque ei a senatu habitus est, ut in campo Martio sepeliretur, Per.* 90).

While Granius portrays Antiochus IV and Pompeius Strabo very unfavorably, he provides a more balanced--but still harsh--view of Sulla. During Sulla's life Granius focuses mostly on his campaigns and diplomatic arrangements in the Eastern Mediterranean. Granius even gives the conditions of the peace treaty negotiated between Archelaus and Sulla (35.71-77),[320] and Sulla is shown doing such worthy acts as recovering Roman prisoners of war: "[We agree] that the king should return Quintus Oppius and Marcus Aquilius, envoys. Likewise, that he should release all other captives, whose number was not small" (*Q. Oppium et M. Aquilium legatos redderet; item ceteros omnis captivos, quorum non parvus numerus erat, dimitteret,* 35.75). Sulla even insists on the release of the wives and children of the Macedonians, loyal allies of Rome: "welcomed first of all should be the Macedonians, whose trustworthiness was remarkable; [We agree] that their wives and children should be released" (*inprimis excepti Macedones, quorum fides insignis fuerat, ut uxores et liberi redderentur,* 35.76).[321]

Nevertheless, when Sulla dies, Granius plays another variation on the theme of the mistreated corpse, with an ironic parallel to Sulla's enemy Marius. Knowing that soldiers had deservedly torn apart Marius' corpse after

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320 Cf. Plutarch, *Sulla* in which Archelaus negotiates with Sulla a treaty (22.5) which Mithridates later ratifies (24.1-3). Cf. Sallust, *hist.* 4 fr. 69 Maurenbrecher, a fictional letter in which Mithridates complains to Arsaces that Archelaus treacherously surrendered his army (12); Mithidates cannot bring himself even to write Sulla's name. Cf. Dio 39.57.2, which represents Archelaus as defecting to Sulla.

321 In Appian, Sulla asks Mithridates for the return of Roman generals, ambassadors, prisoners, deserters, and escaped slaves; Sulla also requests the repatriation of Greek captives dragged off to Pontus, but he mentions only the Chians by name (*Mithr.* 222). Later, Sulla boasts to Mithridates about how he freed Macedonia from Mithridates' control (*Mithr.* 238). Velleius Paterculus is the only other source to mention freedom for "prisoners" (*captivi*, 2.23.6). In contrast, the Greek historian Memnon, author of a local history of Heraclea in Pontus, does not mention freedom for captives and even adds a cynical postscript: "You see, [the Romans] later enslaved many of the cities [which they freed from Mithridates]" (πολλὰς γὰρ ὕστερον τῶν πόλεων ἐδουλώσαντο, *FGrHist* 434 25.2).

his death, Lucius Philippus attempts to cremate Sulla in violation of his will:[322]

> Sulla had ordered his corpse to be buried, not cremated. But Lucius Philippus thought instead that it should be cremated, so that the same thing which happened to Gaius Marius, whose body, dragged from the tomb, hostile soldiers had mutilated, would not happen to Sulla.
>
> [Sulla con]di corpus iusserat, non comburi. sed L. Philippus cremandum potius censuit, ne idem Sullae eveniret quod C. Mario, cuius corpus milites inimici extractum monimento disi<e>cerant (36.25-26).

Lucius Philippus seems to be worried about someone taking revenge for Sulla's harsh proscriptions. Then, the gods accomplish what mortals cannot--rain, clearly a sign of divine displeasure, extinguishes the funeral pyre, an event apparently not in Livy: "When fire was applied to his pyre, a rainstorm, not a middling one, followed" (*cuius rogo quom ignis esset inlatus, non mediocris imber insecutus*, 36.29).[323] In his treatment of Sulla, then, Granius emphasizes the motif of posthumous divine punishment over Livy's attempts to provide a balanced treatment of Sulla's character.

Granius also emphasizes the motif of divine punishment in the cases of Antiochus IV and Pompeius Strabo, whose bad deaths have already been

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322 Champlin shows that in normal Roman practice, the heir or a legatee was in charge of the funeral rites. Since the force of custom was so strong in this area of Roman life, explicit instructions for the funeral were rare (*Judgments*, 170-171). Nevertheless, if Sulla's will were a military will, Sulla would have almost unlimited freedom to impose any kind of stipulation (*ibid.* 57).

323 See p. 118 n. 301.

discussed, but the Livian original may have given them bad deaths to complete their biographies, framed as narratives of decline.[324]

Early in Antiochus' reign, he appears friendly to Rome and seeks to renew his father's lapsed alliance with Rome: "The king begged that the alliance and friendship which had been in effect with his father might be renewed with him and that the Roman people might order him to do the things which one must ask a good and faithful allied king" (*petere regem ut, quae cum patre suo societas atque amicitia fuisset, ea secum renovaretur, imperaretque sibi populus Romanus, quae bono fidelique socio regi essent imperanda,* Livy 42.6.8). Nevertheless, he eventually begins to meddle in Egyptian affairs in a brazen effort to seize territory (Livy 45.11), and he only withdraws in the face of Roman threats (Livy 45.12). *Per.* 46 further shows Prusias' envoys alleging a conspiracy by Antiochus and Eumenes against Rome:[325] "the envoys of King Prusias complained about Eumenes because he was laying waste their territory, and they said that he had plotted with Antiochus against the Roman people," *legati Prusiae regis questi sunt de Eumene, quod fines suos popularetur, dixeruntque eum conspirasse cum Antiocho adversus populum R[omanum].* Livy's overall portrayal of Antiochus IV, then, takes the form of a narrative of decline--he begins his reign as Rome's ally but ends up as a nuisance to Rome.

Moreover, in Book 41, Livy introduces Antiochus IV to his readers with a very mixed portrayal to reflect simultaneously different stages of his diplomatic relations with the Romans. Livy praises his generosity to cities and his reverence for the gods symbolized by beginning to build and adorning temples, especially the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens: "Nevertheless, in two great and honorable matters, in gifts for cities and in the worship of the gods, his mind was truly kingly....But there can be some grandeur for the gods, or, if you like, for the temple of Jupiter Olympius at Athens, the one

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[324] Miles notes that in Livy, recurrent decline is complemented by periodic refoundation to form a cycle of Roman history (94) in which wealth implicitly actuates decline, while "duty to the gods" (*pietas*) explicitly marks refoundation (96-7). Granius is aware of this Livian cycle--Antiochus' wealth and utter lack of *pietas* virtually guarantee his destruction, as we shall see.

[325] Cf. Diodorus 31.17 and Polybius 29.27.8, 30.27.1-4, 30.30.7-8 for Antiochus' deceit of Rome.

temple begun on earth in proportion to the greatness of the god" (*in duabus tamen magnis honestisque rebus vere regius erat animus, in urbium donis et deorum cultu,* Livy 41.20.5; *magnificentiae vero in deos vel Iovis Olympii templum Athenis, unum in terris incohatum pro magnitudine dei, potest esse,* Livy 41.20.8).

As the word "nevertheless" (*tamen*) indicates, Livy earlier offers an unflattering portrait of Antiochus as an erratic, eccentric ruler:

> With an ivory chair set up for him, he would adjudicate and analyze disputes over the smallest things.[326] Moreover, his mind would stick to no social level while it wandered through all classes, so that there was agreement neither with himself nor with others about who he was.[327] He would not address his friends.[328] He would smile in a friendly way at those he hardly knew.[329] He would play jokes on others and himself with erratic largesse. He would give childish gifts--sweets or toys--to those who were thinking that they were in very high esteem.[330] He would enrich those who expected nothing.[331] And so he seemed to some not to know what he wanted for himself; some would say that he was merely joking, but others would say, without doubt, that he was insane.[332]
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> sella eburnea posita, ius dicebat disceptabatque controversias minimarum rerum. Adeoque nulli fortunae adhaerebat animus per omnia genera vitae errans, uti nec sibi nec aliis, quinam

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326 Cf. Polybius 26.1.6.

327 Cf. Polybius 26.1 & 3.

328 Cf. Polybius 26.1.1, in which these "friends" are courtiers.

329 Cf. Polybius 26.1.9.

330 Cf. Polybius 26.1.8, in which the "toys" are gazelles' knucklebones and the "sweets" are dates.

331 Cf. Polybius 26.1.9.

332 Cf. Polybius 26.1.7 for a similar difference of opinion, but the alternative to insanity is being "simple" (éfelÆw) in a good sense.

> homo esset, satis constaret. Non adloqui amicos, vix notis familiariter arridere, munificentia inaequali sese aliosque ludificari, quibusdam honoratis magnoque aestimantibus se puerilia, ut escae aut lusus, munera dare, alios nihil expectantes ditare. Itaque nescire, quid sibi vellet, quibusdam videri; quidam ludere eum simpliciter, quidam haud dubie insanire aiebant (41.20.1-4).

Antiochus' "generosity," (*magnificentia*, 41.20.8), becomes a fault on the human scale when he "enriches others who were expecting nothing" (*alios nihil expectantes ditare*, 41.20.3]).[333] Moreover, his micro-management of human and divine affairs is characterized by "uneven generosity" (*munificentia inaequali*, 41.20.3]) and "he did not complete the temple" of Olympian Zeus at Athens (*templum...non perfecit*, 41.20.9). Although the tone is similar to that of Granius 28.5, most of the details are different. Even though we know next to nothing about the Livian original's treatment of Antiochus' death ("when Antiochus was dead" [*mortuo Antiocho, Per.* 46]), we can surmise that the Livian original might have shown him dying in a bad way to complete the narrative of decline, as in Granius 28.7-9.

Pompeius Strabo, from the evidence of Julius Obsequens, the fourth-century-CE excerptor of prodigies and omens from Livy's text, dies in a similar way in the Livian original. Perhaps the Livian original blames Strabo's death on his behavior duing civil wars, for Obsequens juxtaposes Pompeius Strabo's death with the atrocities of civil war. Pompeius Strabo is "struck by a meteor" (*afflatus sidere*, 56a) while Cinna and Marius are behaving "cruelly" (*crudeliter*, 56a).[334] Nevertheless, we cannot be certain as to whether the Livian original made a moralizing comment about Pompeius Strabo's death or depicted the mutilation of his corpse as Granius does.

What is likely, however, is that the Livian original features Pompeius Strabo in a narrative of decline similar to that of Antiochus IV. Livy, from

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[333] Similarly, Ammianus describes Antiochus IV as "wrathful and harsh" (*iracundus et saevus*, 22.13.1) even as he praises the emperor Julian for trying to avenge the burning by a Christian mob of the temple of Apollo at Daphne, which Antiochus built.

[334] In contrast, Velleius Paterculus relates that Pompeius Strabo dies of disease (2.21.4).

the testimony of *Periochae* 74-79, features Pompeius Strabo as an effective general, provided that he fights against non-Romans. During the Social War, his victories follow in rapid and glorious succession:

> Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo overwhelmed the Picentes in battle and besieged them.
>
> Cn. Pompeius Picentes proelio fudit et obsedit (*Per.* 74).
>
> Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo received the surrender of the Vestini.
>
> Cn. Pompeius Vestinos in deditionem accepit (*Per.* 75).
>
> Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo received the surrender of the Vestini and Paeligni...Asculum was captured by Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo.
>
> Cn. Pompeius pro cos. Vestinos et Paelignos in deditionem accepit...Asculum a Cn. Pompeio captum est (*Per.* 76).

But the next year, he turns his troops against a legitimate Roman consul. He has the consul Quintus Pompeius killed rather than hand over control of his army to him: "Quintus Pompeius the consul, having set out to receive the armies from Gnaeus Pompeius Strabo the proconsul, was killed by his (Strabo's) plan" (*Q. Pompeius consul, ad accipiendum a Cn. Pompeio procos. exercitus profectus, consilio profectus, consilio eius occisus est, Per.* 77). Pompeius Strabo proves less effective during a conflict between Romans, between Gnaeus Octavius and Cinna in 87 BCE. He tries to play off the two of them against each other but unintentionally helps Cinna and his ally Marius: "By the deceit of Gnaeus Pompey, who by favoring each side gave strength to Cinna, Cinna and Marius were strengthened" (*Cn Pompeii fraude, qui utramque partem fovendo vires Cinnae dedit....confirmati Cinna et Marius, Per.* 79). Thereafter, Pompeius Strabo vanishes from the *Periochae*--except for a brief mention when his son joins the Roman general Sulla's army (*Per.* 85), but the Livian original may have had a mob punish him for his "deceit" (*fraus, Per.* 79), as in Granius 35.43.

Conclusion

This chapter of my dissertation differs from previous work on Granius in four important ways. First, it treats in depth and, as it were, reanimates the highly fragmentary text of Granius. Second, it endeavors to connect Granius to similar works contemporary with it, even though Granius has usually fallen under the rubric of Roman Republican history rather than under second century Roman literature.[335] Third, Granius is usually read as a politically if not morally neutral historical source,[336] but this chapter brings out Granius' political agenda--indirectly attacking the still-living emperor Hadrian. In other words, the idea that Granius has a political bias--much less a bias specific to the second century CE--is new. Fourth, the idea that Granius depends on Livy is not mentioned in passing[337] but substantiated with thematic connections, as much as is possible for historical works without chronological overlap..

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[335] Steinmetz' brief treatment (139-45) is a rare exception, but his connections to other second century works are chiefly stylistic.

[336]Steinmetz 142; Scullard 390.

[337]Steinmetz 140 n. 58; Scullard 390.

Chapter Four: Lucius Ampelius and Education for Empire

Organizing a Curriculum

Toward the end of the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180 CE), Ampelius wrote his "Memory Book" (*Liber Memorialis*) a collection of facts on various subjects, to educate his student Macrinus. Since they lived quite literally at the margin of the Roman Empire, in Caesarea Mauretaniensis,[338] Ampelius tried to teach Macrinus what he should know in order to become successful at the centers of power within the Empire.[339] Apparently, Ampelius was successful; his student Macrinus is probably the same person who became praetorian prefect and, for a brief period in 217 CE, emperor.[340]

Ampelius begins his work with an overview of the *mundus* or *universitas rerum* (1.1) dominated by Rome. He treats the organization of the entire universe (1.1-4), constellations (2.1-12), stars (3.1-3), relationships between constellations and winds (4.1-2), winds (5.1-2), continents (6.1-2), tribes (6.3-5), mountains (6.6-7), rivers (6.8-11), islands (6.12-15), seas (7.1-5), wonders of the world (8.1-25), and local cults with mythic origins (9.1-12).[341] Most of the items in this list are under Roman control (e.g. "the

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[338] This ancient city is not far from modern Algiers.

[339] Mauretanians are only slowly beginning to attain power at Rome. Champlin, *Fronto* 146 n. 47 points out that there are no attested Mauretanians of senatorial rank or higher before Antoninus Pius except Lusius Quietus, consul in 117 CE.

[340] Dio 79.11.1-2 describes Macrinus' reign and character.

[341] These are popular topics for sophistic disquisitions. Not only did Suetonius write lost treatises *On the Names of Winds* and *On Weather Signs* (Sandy 93), but still extant are Favorinus' disquisition on the Iapyx wind in Aulus Gellius, *NA* 2.20ff. (cited in Sandy 32), Apuleius, *Florida* 4 on the river Ganges, and Apuleius, *Florida* 15 on the island of Samos (both cited in Sandy 51).

Circius...blows through the Gauls"[342] [*circius...Gallias perflat*, 5.2[343]]) or coveted by Rome (e.g. "in the east, there is the island of Ceylon"[344] [*ad orientem Taprobane*, 6.12]).[345]

This geographical catalog could give Macrinus an overview of some of the areas in which he would be serving the Roman empire. Indeed, during the second century CE, service in widely differing areas was quite common. For example, a career inscription from Tiddis in Africa, *CIL* 8.6706, shows that a certain Quintus Lollius Urbicus served in Lower Germany, Asia, the Danube, and Britain,[346] all of which are mentioned in Ampelius (6.4, 6.2, 6.10, and 6.12, respectively). Moreover, the Roman *imperium* itself is sometimes conceived of geographically--the Greek sophist Aelius Aristides calls the Romans "universal geographers" (26.102) for uniting much of the known world under a single rule of law. Aristides also comments that without leaving Rome, anyone could see the produce and arts of every land (26.11).[347]

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[342] This area had been under Roman control since the mid-1st century BCE.

[343] In all quotations from Ampelius, I follow the printing conventions of Arnaud-Lindet, editor of the Budé edition, but where she italicizes letters that are difficult to read in the original, unique manuscript, I underline these letters.

[344] The island of Ceylon, now known as Sri Lanka, was not known to the Romans until the end of the first century, but trade with southern India had been steadily increasing since Augustus' reign (Scullard 340-341).

[345] Cf. Woolf's analysis of how Strabo, Pliny, and Pomponius Mela treat Roman administrative boundaries as natural divisions, especially in the case of Gaul: "in each case the administrative geography of the empire joins the three classical continents [Europe, Africa, and Asia] with the inner [Mediterranean] and outer [Atlantic] seas as the structuring principles of the world" (51).

[346] Cited and discussed in Wells 225-226.

[347] Cf. also Athenaeus, who suggests that one can call Rome "an epitome of the inhabited world" (1.20b). For the geographical impulse in modern empires, cf. F. Jameson, "Modernism and Imperialism" in *Nationalism, Colonialism, and Literature* (Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press, 1990) 50-2.

Such a comment hints at the vast Roman geographical and encyclopedic literature[348] from which Ampelius drew material for his early sections. For example, the material on constellations seems to derive from Nigidius Figulus,[349] who himself represented a fusion of education and power. Nigidius Figulus was not only a neo-Pythagorean philosopher and polymath (often mentioned in the same breath with Varro) but also praetor in 58 BCE.

But describing the *mundus* soon yields to history. Ampelius distinguishes mythic time from historical time by defining history as the time when *memoria* comes into being: "there have been seven powers from the moment when memory of the age began" (*imperia ab ineunte aevi memoria fuerunt septem*, 10.1). Ampelius then proceeds to describe the seven "powers," *imperia*, of historical time, from Assyria through Rome, although Rome receives the lion's share of attention in the work as a whole. Ampelius thinks of the Roman empire--"the everlasting dictatorship of Caesars" (*perpetua Caesarum dictatura*, 18.21)--as the culmination of history. Nevertheless, he stresses that individuals helped Rome overcome great difficulties. As we shall see, Livy is an important source for such *exempla*.

Ampelius' attempt to assemble human knowledge in a brief, easily digestible form for his eager student Macrinus resembles in some ways E. D. Hirsch's "need to know" series for different grade levels, a series that grew out of his book *Cultural Literacy*. Ampelius' work is designed to help Macrinus become successful at Rome by teaching him a miscellany of knowledge, including a lot of Roman history, the source of the *mos maiorum*. Hirsch, an American university professor and New Critic turned culture warrior, writes his books not only to save an American *mos maiorum*, but also to help children climb the rungs of the American educational ladder, at whose top awaits élite status.

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348 Surviving examples of such literature include Pomponius Mela's *Description of the World* and Pliny the Elder's *Natural History*. Favorinus' *Pantodape Historia* constitutes a lost example of encyclopedic literature (Baldwin, "Historiography" 482).

349 Arnaud-Lindet 103.

In the Roman Empire in the second century CE, such a connection between education and power was already well established. Ampelius could have taken as a model his fellow North African orator and educator Fronto, many of whose pupils became men of renown within the empire, including the emperor Marcus Aurelius. Ampelius could also have been inspired by second century CE Greek sophists. Some became powerful Roman officials,[350] as he hoped Macrinus would become. Other sophists continued to take private pupils, no matter how powerful the offices they attained.[351] The connection also went in the other direction; powerful Romans sponsored education. For example, the heirs of the army officer Julius Celsus (consul in 92 CE) built an impressive library in his honor at Ephesus. The two sides of the entrance feature a bilingual (Greek and Latin) inscription giving Celsus' entire military and political career.[352]

Nevertheless, education was not an automatic ticket to power. Educators felt that their active intervention was crucial to helping their students succeed. Although Gleason's work primarily concerns "deportment training," her description of educational needs in the second century CE also applies to the study of Roman history:

> "The age-old system of acculturation through association with cultured gentlemen that we glimpse in the scene-setting of both Ciceronian and Platonic dialogue did not perhaps adequately prepare its young apprentices for social and political dealing outside the circle of their father's friends, yet that was precisely what public life in an increasingly centralized imperial government would require."[353]

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[350] For example, Bowersock 50-56 mentions several sophists who handled Greek correspondence in the imperial post called *ab epistulis graecis*.

[351] Anderson, "Outlook" 162 describes how rival sophists tried to impose a heavy liturgical burden on Aristides to prevent him from competing with them for pupils.

[352] Syme, *RP* iv 13-14.

[353] Gleason xxv.

Ampelius thus provides a rare glimpse of what a future emperor was reading and of what education helped him rise to that post.[354]

The Uses of History

The second century CE orator and educator Fronto could serve as a model for Ampelius since both men try to mold their pupils into important participants in the political life of the Roman Empire. Champlin comments on Fronto's attitude toward history:

> [Historiography] is easily seen as the handmaid of rhetoric. The extreme orator's view of history is fully exposed in Fronto, the end of a long line of orators. History's purpose was didactic, it was the source of splendid *sententiae* ["opinions / aphorisms"] and of *exempla* ["examples"] designed to console or to inspire: panegyric was a natural form.[355]

Moral education and panegyric are two different but overlapping uses of history, and Ampelius' work is useful for both.

As for moral education, a list of Roman virtues such as those attributed by the Roman orator Fronto to the emperor Antoninus Pius--"foresight, modesty, careful use of money, lack of malice, duty, holiness" *providentia, pudicitia, frugalitas, innocentia, pietas, sanctimonia* [356]--can find at least some *exempla* in Ampelius, especially in his catalogues of "famous generals of the Romans" (*clarissimi duces Romanorum*, Ampelius 18) and "Romans who were outstanding in statesmanship" (*Romani qui in toga fuerunt illustres*, Ampelius 19). For example, Fabricius Luscinus enforced *frugalitas* in removing Cornelius Rufinus from the senate for having ten pounds of

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354 On the Greek side, Dio Chrysostom, *On Training* = 18.6-17 gives a recommended reading list of literature for a more advanced student than Macrinus, *contra* Schmitz, who claims that Greek sophists influential among the High Imperial élite are completely devoid of a *Lehrplan* or syllabus (23).

355 *Fronto* 55.

356 *Fer. Als.* 3.4 = Haines 2.9, cited and discussed in Champlin, *Fronto* 85.

silver: "Fabricius Luscinus, who removed Cornelius Rufinus, a man of consular rank convicted of luxury and greed, from the senate, on the ground that he possessed ten pounds of silver" (*Fabricius Luscinus, qui Cornelium Rufinum consularem virum senatu amovit, luxuriae et avaritiae damnatum, quod decem pondo argenti possideret,* Ampelius 18.9).[357]

A recurring theme is that *pietas* toward Rome is more important than *pietas* toward one's relatives; two Romans kill close relatives for their roles in conspiracies against the republic. L. Junius Brutus kills his own children: "Brutus, who killed his own children for the sake of public freedom" (*Brutus, qui pro libertate publica liberos suos interfecit,* Ampelius 18.1; Livy 2.5.5-8). Cornelius Cethegus approves the execution of his brother: "Cornelius Cethegus, who voted that his brother Cethegus must be punished with death because he had conspired with Catiline" (*Cornelius Cethegus, qui fratrem suum Cethegum quod cum Catilina coniurasset morte multandum censuit,* Ampelius 19.12). For disobedience of military orders, T. Manlius Torquatus kills his own son--"Mallius [*sc.* Manlius] Torquatus, who killed his own son to strengthen the discipline of the camp" (*Mallius Torquatus, qui ad confirmandam castrorum disciplinam filium suum interfecit,* Ampelius 18.3; Livy 8.7.14-22)--while M. Aemilius Scaurus banishes his son, a deserter, from his sight: "Scaurus, who forbade his son to come into his sight because he had left the Cimbrian war" (*Scaurus, qui vetuit filium in conspectum suum venire quia bello Cimbrico deseruerat,* Ampelius 19.10).[358]

Nevertheless, Ampelius does not always portray conflicts of *pietas*. Sometimes, *pietas* toward Rome and *pietas* toward one's relatives happily coincide. For example, Scipio Africanus rescues his father from certain death

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357 This anecdote also appears in *Periocha* 14 and is therefore probably derived from Book 14 of Livy: "Fabricius the censor removed Publius Cornelius Rufinus, a consular, from the senate, on the ground that he had ten pounds of gold" (*Fabricius censor P. Cornelium Rufinum consularem senatu movit, quod is X pondo argenti facti haberet, Per.* 14). Apuleius, *Apologia* 17-22 also invokes *frugalitas*, as exemplified by M. Antonius the orator (*cos.* 99 BCE), Cato the Elder, and Atilius Regulus (*cos.* 256 BCE) (cited in Sandy 86).

358 Favorinus' *De Fortuna* 3ff. features a similar *exemplum*. Queen Demonassa must punish members of her own family for breaking three of her recently-passed laws (Barigazzi, A. *Favorinus di Arelate: Opere* [Florence, 1966] 254ff., cited in Anderson, "Outlook" 107).

in battle (Ampelius 46.5). This rescue exemplifies not only a son's duty to his father but also the duty of a Roman soldier to his commander;[359] a civic crown commonly rewarded such a rescue.

The Macedonian king Perseus serves as an *exemplum* of the mutability of fortune. Fortune[360] aided Rome but harmed Perseus. Livy describes Perseus, led in in chains before the triumphal chariot of the Roman general Aemilius Paulus, as "an outstanding example...of the change of human situations"; "a proof of human vicissitudes ... led in chains before the chariot of the victorious general through the city of his enemies" (*exemplum insigne ... mutationis rerum humanarum,* Livy 45.8.6; *documentum humanorum casuum ... in catenis ante currum victoris ducis per urbem hostium ductus* Livy 45.40.6). Ampelius probably expected Macrinus to draw a similar conclusion about the mutability of fortune from his image of the once-mighty king led in triumphal procession: "led before Paulus' chariot during the triumph" (*ante currum eius in triumphum productus,* Ampelius 16.4).[361]

Again, Ampelius balances this example with an example of how fortune aids a Roman. Fortune clearly aided the Roman general Marius but harmed Rome: "Gaius Marius, who, after defeating the Numidians in Africa and the Cimbrians in Gaul, went from the rank of ordinary soldier all the way to a seventh consulship" (*Gaius Marius, qui in Africa Numidis, in Gallia Cimbris Teutonibusque superatis a caliga pervenit usque septimum consulatum,* Ampelius 18.15). Elsewhere Ampelius shows that Marius' seventh consulship was a disaster for Rome: "made consul for the seventh

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[359] In Livy, tribunes assert that a military commander should not be prosecuted for misconduct by his subordinates, since he is regarded as their parent: "[a general] who is in the place of his parent" (*[imperator] qui sibi parentis esset loco,* Livy 4.42.7).

[360] Fortune becomes explicitly an agent of history in Ampelius: "[Augustus] made the whole world peaceful, except the Indians, Parthians, Sarmatians, Scythians, and Dacians, because fortune kept back the last of these for the triumphs of the emperor Trajan" (*[Augustus] totum...orbem perpacavit, exceptis Indis, Parthis, Sarmatis, Scythis, Dacis, quod eos fortuna Traiani principis triumphis reservavit,* Ampelius 47.7).

[361] den Boer 67 suggests that the later historian Aurelius Victor and the epitome transmitted under his name both use a similar technique of expecting the reader to draw conventional inferences from briefly mentioned data.

time, he defiled the entire city with the cruelest murders" (*septies consul creatus, saevissimis caedibus totam Urbem funestavit,* Ampelius 42.2). Ampelius expects Macrinus to infer that power, especially power quickly won, must be used moderately.

Ampelius' work, serving as "the handmaid of rhetoric," aids in composing or understanding panegyric more explicitly than could most historiography. For example, Fronto praises the emperor Antoninus Pius in a way similar to his praise of the early Roman king Numa (*Princ. Hist.* 2.10 = Haines 2.207) for piety and a peaceful reign, and Pius encouraged this connection by restoring a temple at Cures Sabini, Numa's birthplace.[362] Ampelius' brief characterization of Numa as the founder of Roman religion--"Numa Pompilius, who founded rites" (*Numa Pompilius, qui sacra constituit,* Ampelius 17.1)--emphasizes Numa's piety and likewise encourages a connection between Numa and any emperor who supports Rome's traditional religious practices.

On a broader scale, accounts of Parthian rulers defeated by Rome (Ampelius 31.2-4, 39.4) supplies material for a panegyric of the dissolute Lucius Verus' Parthian campaigns (161-166 CE). Verus envisioned that Fronto would write such a panegyric, which would include a history of Parthia,[363] while Lucian complained about the sheer number of mediocre panegyrics on Verus' campaigns: "the war against the barbarians and the disaster in Armenia and the continuous victories--there is no one who does not compose history" (*How to Write History,* 2). Moreover, a skilled panegyrist would also include a comparison between Parthia and its predecessor in the same geographical area, the Persian empire, treated in Ampelius 13.1-4.

The chapter on self-sacrificing Romans (Ampelius 20) could serve as panegyric of emperors who died on campaign--such as Trajan in 117 CE or Marcus Aurelius in 180 CE--as if they were taken in exchange for the success

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362 Cited in Champlin, *Fronto* 85 and 165 nn.28-30, which contain discussion and parallels in later historians.

363 Champlin, *Fronto* 116.

of their armies. A relief carved early in Hadrian's reign, the so-called *Extispicium* ("Entrail-examination") Relief had already portrayed Trajan near an augury, possibly conducted at the start of one of his campaigns,[364] so connecting him with another rite of Roman ancestral religion would be appropriate. Also, Marcus Aurelius would appreciate comparison of the more literal self-sacrifice of the past to his own dedication to the Roman empire: "let the god that is in you be a helper of a life manly, diplomatic, statesmanlike, Roman, and imperial" (*Meditations*, 3.5).

Moreover, the Second Punic War (Ampelius 46.4-6) as a whole suggests affinities with the invasion of Italy by the Marcomanni in 170-172 CE.[365] In both conflicts, Italy, previously thought completely safe, was invaded from the north by Rome's worst enemies, whom Roman armies subsequently repulsed. The Carthaginians were sent back to Carthage; the Marcomanni, back to Germany.[366] Panegyrists could stress that Rome still had the fighting spirit to overcome a dire military situation.[367]

Ampelius followed Fronto in seeing history as useful for moral education and for panegyric. Moral education tried to inculcate by example such Roman virtues as "careful use of money" (*frugalitas*) and "duty" (*pietas*) toward Rome, while showing such tendencies of the larger universe as the mutability of fortune. Panegyric drew parallels, often tenuous, between past and present deeds, such as Numa and Antoninus Pius' common concern for Roman religion.

Macrinus seems to have had an imperfect knowledge of the historical examples in Ampelius, although Ampelius seems to have succeeded in

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364 Kleiner 223-224.

365 Dio 72.3.5, 8.1.

366 Marcus Aurelius' victory over the Marcomani is commemorated on the Column of Marcus Aurelius, constructed by his son Commodus in 180-192 CE (Kleiner, 295-301).

367 Cf. Aelius Aristides' speech at Eleusis in 171 CE after the successful repulse of a barbarian raid, or in the third century CE, the speech of the sophist Dexippus who exhorts Athens to mobilize against an attack by the Heruli. Both speeches connect the past Athenian resistance to barbarians (i.e. Persians) to the present situation (Anderson, "Outlook" 177-8).

inculcating some of some of the virtues they exemplified. Dio comments, "he overshadowed his low birth by his appropriate behavior, and he knew Roman customs not as exactly as he faithfully followed them" (79.11.2), yet Dio also mentions Macrinus' "unreasonable desire for sole rule" (79.15.4). Macrinus, like Lucius Verus, probably paid more attention to the possibilities of Ampelius' work for panegyric than for moral improvement or for avoiding the pitfalls of past leaders.

Ampelius and His Sources

I contend that Ampelius uses as his historical sources a complex mixture, including Sallust, Nepos, and probably even Herodotus. Moreover, his concentration on Roman history from the first king (17.1) through Trajan (47.7), requires that he rely most heavily on Livy--most probably on the original text of Livy--and on Florus, a participant in the Livian historiographical tradition.

My contention, however, is far from the *communis opinio*. Traditionally, scholars have recoiled from the thought that a "second-rate" historian like Ampelius could read, understand, and condense "first-rate" historians like Livy, Sallust, or Herodotus; accordingly, they consistently postulate "second-rate sources" like Nepos or Florus. Arnaud-Lindet presumes Nepos is the source unless another source, such as Florus, can be proved.[368] Bessone explicitly asserts that Nepos is only an occasional source, while the main sources are either Florus[369] or the Lost (1st century CE)

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368 105-112 (*Tableau des Sources*). In a few passages of Ampelius, use of Nepos seems rather definite. For example, compare the language and content of their treatments of Cato the Elder (Nepos 2.4; Ampelius 19.8) especially the shared phrases "as long as he lived" (*quoad vixit*) and "he did not stop" (*non destitit*).

369 In particular, Ampelius 25 and Florus 1.17 are very similar in structure and in content. Both group into a single section four incidents in which the common people (*plebs*) threaten to leave Rome, and their descriptions of the first incident share the phrase "the armed common people withdrew" (*plebs armata secessit*).

Epitome of Livy.[370] In the same vein, Hoyos[371] prefers to make Lucius Arruntius, of whom seven fragments remain,[372] the ultimate source of Ampelius' version of the causes of the First Punic War rather than consider Livy and his tradition.

There is no reason why an educated Roman like Ampelius (or for that matter any Roman with historical interests living before the fifth century CE) could not have read such first-rate historians as Herodotus,[373] Sallust,[374] and Livy. Ampelius was probably able to read Herodotus in Greek--Greek words appear in Ampelius at 1.1, 1.4, 2.4, 2.5, 2.7, 3.2, and 3.3--while philhellenic emperors like Hadrian[375] and Marcus Aurelius[376] encouraged the adaptation of Greek culture.[377] Even if Ampelius does not directly borrow from an extant Greek historian, he cannot exclude Greek history and the other civilizations mentioned in it. Sallust was admired by Fronto, orator and tutor

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370 *tradizione* 43.

371 51-66.

372 *HRR* frr. 1-7 (vol. 2, pp. 41-2).

373 In particular, Ampelius 13.3 on Darius seems to derive from Herodotus 3.86.1-2, 6.34.4, and 7.1, not from Nepos 21.1.2. A comparison of all three passages shows that Nepos lacks three features shared by Ampelius and Herodotus--selection of Darius as Persian king by the neighing of a horse, Darius' expedition against Greece through Europe, and Darius' defeat at Marathon. Furthermore, Barnes 197-199 argues for possible direct use of Herodotus by an even later Latin author, Tertullian (flourished 196-212 CE), while Aulus Gellius in the second century CE cites Herodotus by name as the source of information about the Psylli (*NA* 16.11.3-8; Herodotus 4.73).

374 Sallust is cited by name at Ampelius 19.8 (= *Hist.* fr. 1.4 Reynolds) and 30.5.

375 Syme, *Tacitus*, 504-511.

376 Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* were written in Greek, and the *Historia Augusta Marcus* 2.2 records three Greek rhetors among his tutors (cited in Champlin, *Fronto* 118). Sandy 32 names him as the promoter *par excellence* of Greek learning throughout the Roman Empire.

377 Greek inscriptions, chiefly religious or funerary, appear mainly in coastal cities of Africa (Sandy 10). Ampelius' native city, Caesarea Mauretanensis, though not technically in the province of Africa, is on the coast.

of Marcus Aurelius, and other second century CE *litterati*.[378] A complete Livy must have endured through the second century CE, if Symmachus could have a complete copy made at the beginning of the fifth century CE.[379]

How, then, does Ampelius use Livy? L. Bessone has called attention to passages in which Ampelius is clearer than Florus, his alleged model, and is therefore using the Lost Epitome of Livy.[380] I suspect that in these passages Ampelius is using the original Livy. For example, Ampelius describes Metellus Macedonicus' siege of the Spanish town of Contrebia in even more detail than Florus, and it is hard to add detail to an already epitomated source. A tabular comparison will show Ampelius' greater detail:

Florus:	Ampelius:
The famous Metellus, whose cognomen came from [his campaign in] Macedonia, had also deserved to become styled 'Celtibericus', since, in a memorable instance, he also captured Contrebia.	Two Metelli, of which one, styled *Macedonicus*, after defeating the Macedonians, seized Contrebia, an undefeatable town of Spain, after he ordered his soldiers to write their wills and forbade them to return unless they had won...
Metellus ille, cui ex Macedonia cognomen, meruerat et Celtibericus fieri, cum et Contrebiam memorabili	Duo Metelli, quorum alter Macedonicus, devictis Macedonibus, qui Contrebiam, inexpugnabilem

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[378] Gellius *NA* 1.6, 2.27 (cited in Champlin, *Fronto*41) and 10.21 (cited in Sandy 58). Furthermore, Sallust must have been popular for Granius Licinianus to discuss how Sallust is recommended more as an orator than a historian ("You see, some say that Sallust should not be read as a historian, but as an orator" *nam Sallustium non ut historicu<m a>iunt, sed ut oratorem legendum* [36.31]). Höse 455 has further discussion of Sallust's popularity in the second century CE, while Baldwin, "Historiography" 481 cites the second century CE sophist Zenobius' Greek translation of Sallust as an indication that Sallust's popularity was not limited to Latin writers. By 395 CE, Sallust is considered one of the four most important Latin authors (Barnes 196).

[379] See the Appendix for a description of the Symmachan/Nicomachean recension.

[380] Bessone, *tradizione* 23.

cepisset exemplo (2.17.10).

Hispaniae civitatem, iussis testamenta scribere et vetitis redire nisi vicissent militibus, occupavit... (18.14).

It seems particularly odd that Florus, who delights in depicting people in extreme situations,[381] would omit such a colorful story as a Roman commander making his troops write their wills[382] and commanding them not to come back unless victorious. Florus does describe the situation as a "memorable instance" (*memorabile exemplum*) but does not say why it is worth remembering. The *Periochae* omit this incident completely. Ampelius clearly has recourse to another source here, and I maintain that the other source is Livy, who is very fond of pre-battle exhortations,[383] rather than an epitome, which would tend to omit speeches or refer the reader to their publication elsewhere.[384]

Self-Sacrificing Romans

A more complex example of Ampelius' use of Livy is Ampelius' chapter 20, on self-sacrificing Romans. This chapter answers the question,

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[381] For example, Florus vividly depicts the "Roman 300" who die protecting the escaping Romans from the pursuing Carthaginians near Camerina in the First Punic War (Florus 1.18.13-14) and the women at Noricum who throw their babies as weapons at the Roman army (Florus 2.22.5).

[382] Josephus *BJ* 6.188-189 has another example of a will made *in extremis*. For discussion of this example, see Champlin, *Judgments*, 23 n.74.

[383] Among the numerous examples of pre-battle exhortations in Livy are speeches by Manlius Vulso and Claudius Nero. Manlius Vulso addresses his troops before fighting Galatians (38.17.2-20); Claudius Nero addresses his troops before facing Hasdrubal at the Metaurus River (27.45.2-6).

[384] For example, *Periocha* 69 mentions a speech by Metellus Macedonicus recommending compulsory marriage: "Quintus Metellus the censor favored the idea that all should be forced to acquire wives for the sake of producing children. His speech survives" (*Q. Metellus censor censuit ut cogerentur omnes ducere uxores liberorum creandorum causa. Extat oratio eius, Per.* 69). It is unclear where this particular speech (*oratio*) was preserved, but Mettius Pompusianus' collection of Livian speeches was already widely available.

"Who offered themselves for the sake of safety?" (*Qui pro salute se optulerunt?*). This category of famous Romans is a very Livian way of thinking about Roman history, since self-sacrifice is such a strong motif in the first decade of Livy. Livy does not have a list in mind, but he frequently draws connections between instances of self-sacrifice. For example, P. Decius Mus (cos. 312 BCE) invokes his father's (P. Decius Mus, cos. 340 BCE) example in vowing himself to the infernal gods to save Rome: "'Why do I further postpone," he said, "my familial destiny? This duty--that we be offerings for releasing dangers--has been given to our family. Now I shall vow the legions of the enemy along with myself to be sacrificed to the Earth, to the Gods, and to the Shades'" (*'quid ultra moror' inquit 'familiare fatum? Datum hoc nostro generi est ut luendis periculis piacula simus. Iam ego mecum hostium legiones mactandas Telluri ac Dis Manibus dabo,'* Livy 10.28.12-13). He even takes the same oath as his father: "He was devoted then with the same prayer and dress with which his father P. Decius had ordered himself to be devoted at Veseris in the Latin War" (*Devotus inde eadem precatione eodemque habitu quo pater P. Decius ad Veserim bello Latino se iusserat devoveri,* Livy 10.28.15). In making this comparison, Livy also makes a cross-reference to an oath spoken earlier by Decius Mus the father: "'For the sake of the state (of the Roman people) of the Quirites, for the sake of the army, legions, and auxiliary troops of the Roman people, the Quirites, I vow the legions and auxiliary troops of our enemy along with myself to the Gods, the Shades, and the Earth'" (*'pro re publica [populi Romani] Quiritium, exercitu, legionibus, auxiliis populi Romani Quiritium, legiones auxiliaque hostium mecum Deis Manibus Tellurique devoveo,'* Livy 8.9.8).

Ampelius picks up on this comparison to put the two Decii in the same section: "Two Decii, of whom one in the Latin War, the other in the Samnite war, vowed themselves to the gods and shades" (*Duo Decii, quorum alter Latino bello, alter Samnitico diis manibus se devoverunt,* Ampelius 20.6).[385]

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385 By no means are all of Ampelius' other examples technically *devotio*, an abstract noun derived from *devoveo* : "(of a general) To devote (himself and his army) to the infernal gods on his country's behalf" (*OLD* 2). For more on what constitutes an exact *devotio*, see A. Bouché-Leclercq, "*devotio*," in Daremberg-Saglio II/1.113-119.

Again, when discussing Spurius Postumius' offer to return to the Samnites so that the Romans can break the peace treaty imposed on them at the Caudine Forks, Livy has public opinion compare Postumius to P. Decius Mus (the father) in order to set up yet another cross-reference: "Postumius' name was on everyone's lips; they were praising him to the skies and comparing his acts to the self-sacrfice of P. Decius the consul and to other famous acts" (*Postumius in ore erat; eum laudibus ad caelum ferebant, devotioni P. Deci consulis, aliis claris facinoribus aequabant,* Livy 9.10.3). Ampelius again follows up on this comparison with a section about Spurius Postumius: "Spurius Postumius, who was sent by Pontius Telesinus, leader of the Samnites, under the yoke, was the proposer of breaking the treaty and thought that he had to be given to the enemy" (*Spurius Postumius, qui a Pontio Telesino Samnitum duce sub iugum missus cum exercitu auctor fuit rumpendi foederis seque hostibus censuit esse dedendum,* Ampelius 20.10). It seems as though Ampelius, reading Livy like a hypertext, follows the links Livy has set up between one noble Roman and another.

Recent work by J.D. Bolter, trained as a classicist but now studying new electronic media, has identified at least three different paradigms at work in Western media from the Renaissance through the present. The "immediacy" paradigm tries to provide a window, to give access to another self-consistent world; this is the goal of virtual reality technologies and the goal of such techniques as *enargeia* in Greek historiography. The "hypermediacy" paradigm resembles a series of painted tiles and calls attention to itself as an artifact. The "remediation" paradigm occurs when one work includes or remakes another, as in ecphrasis or a painting of an artist's studio.[386] Livy strives for immediacy when he includes in his work speeches like that of Canuleius in Book 4 in favor of allowing intermarriage between patricians and plebeians. Ampelius not only performs remediation on Livy but also strives for hypermediacy when he arranges historical material in non-chronological ways. A prime example is Chapter 20, which Ampelius

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386 For more on this subject, see the work of J. Bolter since the early 1990's, especially his new book (co-authored with R. Grusin), *Remediation: understanding new media* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1999).

composes often by following cross-references or "intrafusions" given by Livy himself. These Livian cross-references function for Ampelius as modern hyperlinks on web pages.

Indeed, almost all of the figures in Chapter 20 can be traced directly to extant portions of Livy. The only figures who do not appear in extant portions of Livy are the "Roman 300" (Ampelius 20.5), Regulus (Ampelius 20.8), and Gaius Metellus (Ampelius 20.11), who performed their deeds during the First Punic War (264-241 BCE), a period certainly covered by Livy. Moreover, the "Roman 300," Regulus, and Metellus all appear in the *Periochae*.

This table shows the close relationship between Ampelius and Livy.

Chap. & sentence in Amp.	Figure(s)	Book, chap. & sentence in Livy or *Periochae*
20.1	Horatius trigeminus	Livy 1.24.1-1.26.14
20.2	Fabii...trecenti	Livy 2.49.1-2.51.11
20.3	Mucius Cordus (Scaevola)	Livy 2.12.2-2.13.1
20.4	Horatius Cocles	Livy 2.10.2-13
20.5	Trecenti sub Calpurnio Flamma	*Per.* 17
20.6	Duo Decii	Livy 8.9.4-9, 10.28.12-18
20.7	Folius pontifex	Livy 5.41.3
20.8	Regulus	*Per.* 18
20.9	Curtius	Livy 7.6.1-5
20.10	Spurius Postumius	Livy 9.8.2-9.11.13
20.11	Gaius Metellus	*Per.* 19

Some may object that the *Periochae* may not be a good guide to what is in Livy or that Ampelius may be using only the *Periochae*. These objections need to be dealt with separately. The first objection seems to have as a subtext the idea that only a late, legend-besotted epitomator, never Livy, would retail

such dubious anecdotes as the "Roman 300"[387] or Regulus' return to Carthage for punishment according to his oath.[388] But an even more outrageous anecdote, concerning Regulus' killing an enormous, Typhon-like serpent ("Atilius Regulus in Africa killed a serpent of ominous size with a great struggle on the part of his soldiers" [*Atilius Regulus in Africa serpentem portentosae magnitudinis cum magna clade militum occidit, Per.* 18]), is described in greater detail by Valerius Maximus, who cites Livy as his source: "Let there be mention also of a serpent described by Livy carefully as well as eloquently" (*Serpentis quoque a T. Livio curiose pariter ac facunde relatae fiat mentio,* 1.8. *ext.* 19). It is hard to conceive of a writer flourishing so soon after Livy completely fabricating an anecdote, then attributing it to Livy. Therefore, the much less outrageous anecdotes about the "Roman 300" and Regulus probably both come from Livy.

As for the second objection, that Ampelius is using the *Periochae*, one example may suffice for rebuttal. The section about Metellus (Ampelius 20.11) includes two details not found in the *Periochae*. *Per.* 19 describes how Caecilius Metellus saved sacred objects from the temple of Vesta: "When the temple of Vesta was burning, Caecilius Metellus, pontifex maximus, snatched the sacred objects from the blaze" (*cum templum Vestae arderet, Caecilius Metellus, pontifex maximus, ex incendio sacra rapuit*). In contrast, Ampelius 20.11 includes the details that Metellus lost his eyesight and saved the Palladium, not unspecified *sacra*: "Gaius Metellus, pontifex, when the temple of Vesta was burning, carried out the Palladium and lost his eyes" (*Gaius*[389] *Metellus pontifex, <qui> ardente templo Vestae Palladium extulit et oculos amisit*). Since it is very difficult to add detail to a *Periocha*, these details are likely to have come from the Livian original. While Pliny *NH* 7.141 also records Caecilius Metellus as saving the Palladium from the temple of Vesta,

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[387] Lazenby 76 comments, "after Thermopylae, one is always suspicious of heroic bands numbering 300 men."

[388] Regulus' return seems to be a "legend," unknown to Polybius and evidently manufactured to exonerate Regulus' widow from charges of torturing to death two Carthaginian prisoners (Lazenby 106).

[389] His real praenomen was Lucius (Arnaud-Lindet 75).

Metellus in Pliny's version becomes blind specifically from seeing the Palladium--an inference not drawn by Ampelius. Accordingly, given the Livian sources for the other material in the chapter, Livy is more likely to be the source than Pliny.

In sum, Ampelius uses a complex mix of sources--Sallust, Nepos, and probably even Herodotus. Nevertheless, Livy is a very important source for Ampelius, particularly since Livy was probably the only available source covering Roman history from monarchy through principate. Ampelius seems to find a source of this scope useful for obtaining material from differing periods and for seeing larger historical patterns. To substantiate this assertation, I shall examine Ampelius' use of Livy for two different sections, one on Macedonia and its downfall and one on the Second Punic War.

The Twilight of Macedonia

Ampelius wants to show Macrinus how waning empires give way to waxing ones when he introduces the seven empires (*imperia*) of recorded history: "There have been seven powers from the moment when memory of the age began...first...the Assyrians, then the Medes, afterwards, the Persians, then the Lacedaemonians, next, the Athenians, after these the Macedonians, likewise, next, the Romans" (*Imperia ab ineunte aevi memoria fuerunt septem...primi...Assyrii, deinde Medi, postea Persae, tum Lacedaemones, dien Atheniensies, post hos inde Macedones, sic deinde Romani,* Ampelius 10.1).

Livy, although concerned with the last transition--from Macedon to Rome--in Books 31-45, draws historical parallels with the Macedonian conquest of the weakened remains of the Persian Empire. After Pydna (168 BCE), Livy describes how in 335-323 BCE Alexander added to the Macedonian Empire all the lands formerly held by the Persian Empire at its height:

> The kingdom of the Macedonians then spilled over into Asia, and in the thirteen[390] years in which Alexander was king, he

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[390] Since the Romans used inclusive reckoning, the period of time from 335 to 323 counts as "thirteen" years.

> first made all places where the power of the Persians had been in a nearly boundless area, subject to his power, then he swept through the Arab tribes and India, where the Indian Ocean embraces the furthest edges of the earth.
>
> [Macedonum regnum] superfudit deinde se in Asiam, et tredecim annis, quibus Alexander regnavit, primum omnia, qua Persarum prope immenso spatio imperium fuerat, suae dicionis fecit, Arabas hinc Indiamque, qua terrarum ultimos fines Rubrum mare amplectitur, peragravit (Livy 45.9.7).

Livy could be implying that Rome, which has just defeated Perseus, the last Macedonian king, will in turn take over all the lands formerly held by the Macedonian Empire at its height. In a more famous digression (9.17-19), Livy favorably compares the figures of the Roman republic to Alexander the Great. In a particularly revealing passage, he says that had Alexander attacked Rome after his eastern conquest, he would have been so softened by adoption of eastern luxury that he would have been more like Darius than Alexander:

> If he is considered in light of his new fortune and new character, so to speak, which he had assumed as a conqueror for himself, he would have come into Italy more like Darius than Alexander, and he would have led an army forgetful of Macedonia and already sliding into the customs of the Persians.
>
> Qui si ex habitu novae fortunae novique, ut ita dicam, ingenii quod sibi victor induerat spectetur, Dareo magis similis quam Alexandro in Italiam venisset et exercitum Macedoniae oblitum degenerantemque iam in Persarum mores adduxisset (Livy 9.18.2-3).

The parallel here is not only based on luxurious behavior but also on being the last great member of his dynasty, a victim of his own success. Moreover, the empire thus built will soon fall to a more powerful empire--Persia to Macedonia, Macedonia to Rome. In 10.1, then, Ampelius has generalized Livy's parallels of succession to cover all of world history.

Ampelius is also concerned with a specific example of such succession, the Roman defeat of Macedonia (Livy Books 31-45), which he covers in two sentences:

> Philip was the seventh in the succession, after Alexander the Macedonian, to reign over Macedonia. After riding into Greece, when he ruled it harshly, he was defeated by Sulpicius the consul at Phocis. Soon he was defeated by Flamininus in Thessalian Macedonia at Cynocephalae, where he was fined a part of his kingdom, while his son Demetrius was given as a hostage. Perseus Philip, son of Philip, after he attacked Greece with the greatest Macedonian forces, was defeated at the Ascurian swamp by Marcus the consul with empty props of elephants. After his treasures were hurled into the sea, he fled; soon, put to flight by Aemilius Paulus from all of Macedonia, he sought Samothrace as a refuge, where he handed himself over to Paulus with a pledge given. Led before Paulus' chariot during the triumph, he then grew old in the Alban hills.
>
> Philippus, qui post Alexandrum Macedonem septimo gradu Macedoniae regnavit, invectus in Graeciam, cum saeve dominaretur, a Sulpicio consule in Phocide victus est, mox a Flamininо in Macedonia Thessalidi apud Cynocephalas, ubi dato obside filio Demetrio regni parte multatus est. Perses Philippus, Philippi filius, cum maximis copiis Macedoniis [et] cum impetum in Graeciam fecisset, cum inanibus elephantorum simulacris a Marcio consule apud Ascuridem paludem victus, praecipitatis in mare thesauris, profugit; mox ab Aemilio Paulo tota Macedonia fugatus, Samothracam confugit in asylum unde, data fide cum se Paulo commisisset, ante currum eius in triumphum productus, mox libera custodia in Albano consenuit (Ampelius 16.3-4).

After recounting the reigns of Philip II and Alexander the Great, who was an object of enduring fascination even in the second century CE,[391] Ampelius skips forward seven kings ("in the seventh succession" [*septimo gradu*, Ampelius 16.3]) to Philip V, who faces the encroachment of Rome. Livy

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391 Cf. Arrian's *Anabasis of Alexander* and the discussion of the Alexander phenomenon in the second century CE in Anderson, "Outlook" 145.

begins to treat the Macedonian empire at precisely this point (Livy 31.1.1).[392] Ampelius draws from Livy the two most important battles between Macedonia and Rome, one at Cynocephalae (197 BCE) ("defeated...at Cynocephalae" [*victus...apud Cynocephalas*, Ampelius 16.3]; Livy 33.7.1-33.10.10) and the other at Pydna (168 BCE) (not named but implied in the phrase "put to flight by Aemilius Paulus from all of Macedonia" [*ab Aemilio Paulo tota Macedonia fugatus*, Ampelius 16.4; Livy 44.36.1-44.44.4]). But rather than include only the two most important battles, Ampelius adds to the Livian account Roman victories at Phocis (Ampelius 16.3)[393] and at the Ascurian swamp (Ampelius 16.4)[394] as preludes for the larger battles.

Ampelius also elides the king and his kingdom; Philip V and Perseus, not their army or Macedonia, are each "defeated" (*victus*). Accordingly, the consequences of defeat are limited to the royal family. After Cynocephalae, Philip's son Demetrius is given as a hostage (Ampelius 16.3; Livy 33.13.14, 33.30.10),[395] but Ampelius does not mention here the freedom of Greece from

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392 In contrast, Greek sophistic treatments of Greek or World History, oriented towards the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, often stopped with Alexander. Baldwin, "Historiography" 485 cites as examples the World History of Cephalion (flourished under Hadrian) and the Greek History of Jason of Argos (flourished mid-second century CE).

393 Ampelius may have made faulty connections between some names of places and names of Roman commanders, as he does later for Scipio Africanus and Liternum (Ampelius 46.5, 28.4). As for Sulpicius' victory at Phocis, Publius Sulpicius Galba defeats Philip V near Lyncus, not Phocis, in 200 BCE (Livy 31.33-38), while the main Roman military action in Phocis is that Titus Quinctius Flaminius takes it by siege in 198 BCE (Livy 32.24) while Philip is far away. By emphasizing Philip's presence, Ampelius is de-emphasizing siege warfare, as he does later for the siege of Nola (Ampelius 46.6).

394 Marcius Philippus' main achievement near the Ascurian swamps, in 169 BCE, is less distinguished--he frightens Perseus into withdrawing to Pydna (Livy 44.6.17), where Perseus is defeated in the next year--but may have been exaggerated by a non-Livian source. Moreover, Ampelius describes Marcius as using "empty props of elephants" (*inanibus elephantorum simulacris*, Ampelius 16.4) to frighten the Macedonians. Had Livy known this detail, he would almost certainly have used it, as he did the anecdote about Perseus leaping up from his bath when he heard the news of Marcius' arrival (Livy 44.6.1). This is comparable to Florus' not knowing and therefore not using the will-writing anecdote about Contrebia included in Ampelius 18.14.

395 In Livy, Demetrius' murder at the command of his brother Perseus (Livy 40.5-24) is a family tragedy of Atreid proportions, a fitting revenge by the gods for Philip V's expulsion of Thessalians from the coast near Chalcidice (Livy 40.5.1).

Macedonian rule,[396] which Livy shows Titus Quinctius proclaiming at the Isthmian Games of 196 BCE (Livy 33.32.5). After Pydna, Ampelius focuses not on the partition of Macedonia (Livy 45.18.7, 45.29.5-30.8) but on the fate of Perseus.

Ampelius follows Livy rather closely in describing Perseus' retreat, defeat, surrender, and subsequent retirement (Ampelius 16.4).[397] Ampelius includes the casting of Perseus' treasure into the sea ("after his treasures were hurled into the sea" [*praecipitatis in mare thesauris*, Ampelius 16.4]), which Livy has Perseus order along with the burning of shipyards: "he sent two of his friends, one to Pella to throw into the sea the money which had been stored at Phacus, the other to Thessalonica to burn the shipyards" (*duos ex amicis, Pellam alterum, ut quae ad Phacum pecunia deposita erat, in mare proiceret, Thessalonicam alterum, ut navalia incenderet, misit*, Livy 44.6.2). Ampelius also shows Perseus "put to flight by Aemilius Paulus from all of Macedonia" (*mox ab Aemilio Paulo tota Macedonia fugatus*, Ampelius 16.4). This captures in a single phrase both Perseus' defeat at Pydna (Livy 44.36.1-44.44.4) and his flight from Pella: "he had left from Pella by night" (*nocte a Pella exierat*, Livy 44.43.8). In Ampelius as in Livy, Perseus flees to Samothrace: "he sought Samothrace as a refuge" (*Samothracam confugit in asylum*, Ampelius 16.4); "they reached Samothrace, which they were seeking" (*Samothracam, quam petebant, perveniunt*, Livy 44.45.14). There, "he handed himself over to Paulus with a pledge given" (*data fide cum se Paulo commisisset*, Ampelius 16.4); "then he handed himself and his son over to Octavius"[398] (*tum sese filiumque Octavio tradidit*, Livy 45.6.10). Ampelius also describes the pitiful spectacle of Perseus "led in a triumph in front of

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[396] Ampelius mentions the liberation of Greece as a prelude to an anecdote about Aemilius Paulus: "Paulus, after he had conquered Macedonia and set Greece free and brought back the wealthiest triumph..." (*Paulus, qui cum Macedoniam vicisset et Graeciam liberasset et opulentissimum triumphum reportasset...*, Ampelius 18.13).

[397] Such portraits of generals in defeat seem to have become even more popular in the second century CE than in the first. Plutarch's account of Antony between Actium and his death (*Antony* 69.1-77.7) is especially noteworthy.

[398] Gnaeus Octavius, praetor in charge of the Roman fleet.

Paulus' chariot" (*ante currum eius in triumphum productus*, Ampelius 16.4); "Perseus...led in chains in front of the chariot of the victorious leader through the city of his enemies" (*Perseus...in catenis ante currum victoris ducis per urbem hostium ductus*, Livy 45.40.6). Nevertheless, Perseus is not killed but put under relatively lenient house arrest in the Alban hills: "then he grew old in free protection in the Alban region" (*mox libera custodia in Albano consenuit*, Ampelius 16.4); "the senate agreed that Quintus Cassius should take Perseus the king, along with his son Alexander into his protection and that he should allow nothing which the king had--friends, money, silver, equipment--to be taken away" (*patres censuerunt, ut Q. Cassius Persea regem cum Alexandro filio Albam in custodiam duceret; comites, pecuniam, argentum, instrumentum, quod haberet, nihil detrahens habere sineret*, Livy 45.42.4).

As we can infer from the *Periochae*, Ampelius continued to use Livy as a source for other aftereffects of the downfall of the Macedonian empire. In 16.5, Ampelius mentions the pretender Pseudophilippus, whom he counts as the last Macedonian king,[399] and probably draws most of the details from Livy. Pseudophilippus, also called Andriscus (*Per.* 49), was "a plebeian and illegitimate man" (*vir plebeius et degener*, Ampelius 16.5); "a man of the lowest class" (*ultimae sortis homo, Per.* 49). He persuades the Macedonians that he is the legitimate heir to the throne: "he persuaded them that he was Philip's son by a resemblance in appearance" (*ex similitudine formae Philippi*[400] *filium se persuasisset*, Ampelius 16.5); "pretending that he was the son of Perseus the king" (*Persei regis filium se ferens, Per.* 49). "He stirred up the Macedonians to war" (*Macedonas in bellum excitasset*, Ampelius 16.5); "He seized all Macedonia, either with the consent of the inhabitants or with weapons" (*totam Macedoniam aut voluntate incolentium aut armis occupavit, Per.* 49) before being defeated by Quintus Caecilius Metellus: "soon he was defeated in a huge battle by Caecilius Metellus" *mox a Caecilio Metello*

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399 *Per.* 53 mentions yet another Macedonian pretender. The presence of multiple pretenders to the throne recalls the false *Nerones* in Tacitus *Hist.* 1.2, 2.8, 2.86.

400 Ampelius probably uses Philip's name instead of Perseus' (cf. *Per.* 49) because Andriscus adopted the name Philip.

ingenti proelio victus, Ampelius 16.5); "he was defeated and captured by Quintus Caecilius" (*ab Q. Caecilio victus captusque, Per.* 50). Ampelius is slightly more explicit than the *Periochae* about Andriscus' fate: "led away to a triumph" (*in triumphum deportatus*, Ampelius 16.5); "Metellus celebrated a triumph over Andriscus" (*Metellus de Andrisco triumphavit, Per.* 52). Ampelius, by repeating the motif of the king's being led in a triumphal procession, underlines the notion that the Macedonian kingdom, personified here by Pseudophilippus, has truly ended, without hope of revival. Macedonian power has fallen; Roman power is ascendant.

To recapitulate, Ampelius is fascinated with the final collapse of the empire increased so greatly by Alexander the Great, probably because of the enduring popularity of Alexander in the second century CE. Nevertheless, Ampelius represents a Roman view of Macedon very different from that of the Greeks. Greek sophists draw examples from Alexander, but not from his successors, while Greek historians such as Jason of Argos end their histories at Alexander's death as if to efface all later vicissitudes of Greece.[401]

In response to Greek valorization of Alexander and his kingdom, Ampelius exalts Rome over Macedon by extracting the most ideologically significant details from Livy's account of the last Macedonian War. Perseus, treated as a metonymy for his kingdom, is not only conquered by Rome but also incorporated into its political system under relatively lenient house arrest in such a way as to make any attempt at independence illegitimate. Ampelius symbolically shows the new state of affairs when "a plebeian and illegitimate man" (*vir plebeius et degener*, Ampelius 16.5) who pretends to be the heir to the Macedonian throne briefly stirs up a revolt that the Romans promptly crush. Of course, Roman panegyrists consider all actions against Rome as "plebeian and illegimate" and praise Rome for crushing them, whether composed of Macedonians or of Marcomanni. Thereby Ampelius emphasizes that the hegemony of the seventh world power, Rome, has truly begun.

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[401] Baldwin, "Historiography" 485.

Ampelius occasionally dabbles in narrative, and his account of the three Punic Wars, which condense eighteen books of Livy into seven long sentences, is a masterpiece of epitomization. Since only Books 21-30 of Livy, dealing with the Second Punic War, survive complete,[402] we can only investigate Ampelius' use of Livy for the Second Punic War. Here is the relevant passage of Ampelius 46:

> The Second Punic War was by far the most bloody of all: the cause was that Hannibal had destroyed Saguntum in violation of the treaty. The first disaster of this war was at Liternum. When the elder Scipio was wounded, Publius Scipio, not yet an adolescent, shielded and rescued him. The second disaster was at Trebia, where the consul Flaccus was wounded. The third was at Trasimene, where the army of Flaminius was wiped out. The fourth was at Cannae, where two armies were destroyed, accompanied by the death of the consul Paulus and the flight of Terentius Varro. But afterwards, four leaders win for themselves the glory of the Punic war: Fabius "the Delayer", who broke by delay Hannibal, who was threatening the destruction of Rome; Marcellus, who was the first to resist Hannibal at Nola and almost tortured his wavering battle line with a surprise attack; Claudius Nero, who surprised Hasdrubal, coming from Spain with enormous reinforcements, before he could join forces with Hannibal, and defeated him in an enormous battle..."
>
> Secundum Punicum bellum longe omnium cruentissimum fuit: causa, quod Hannibal contra foedus Saguntum evertisset. Prima clades huius belli apud Liternum vulnerato patre Scipione, quem Publius Scipio nondum pubes protexit ac liberavit; secunda clades apud Trebiam, vulnerato Flacco consule; tertia apud Trasimenum, vastato Flaminii exercitu; quarta apud Cannas, deletis duobus exercitibus Pauli consulis

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402 The *Periochae* show us that Livy dealt with the First Punic War in Books 16-20 and with the Third Punic War in Books 49-51. For the First Punic War, modern historians rely on Polybius, Book 1 (Lazenby 2). For the Third Punic War, modern historians rely on Appian's *Libyca* 67-136.

> morte, Terentii fuga Varronis. Postea vero quattuor duces Punici belli gloriam sibi vindicant: Fabius, [sibi] Cunctator, qui imminentem Vrbis excidio Hannibalem mora fregit; Marcellus qui primus Hannibali apud Nolam restitit et inclinatam eius aciem paene ictu cruciavit; Claudius Nero, qui venientem ab Hispania Hasdrubalem cum ingentibus copiis, priusquam se Hannibali iungeret, excepit et ingenti proelio vicit...(Ampelius 46.4-6).

The ellipsis at the end indicates a lacuna in the manuscript; the fourth leader was almost certainly Scipio Africanus. His name could be left out deliberately because he is discussed sufficiently elsewhere (Ampelius 24, 23.1, 18.11).[403]

The above passage shows three general tendencies in adapting Livy. First, Ampelius shows in even stronger terms than Livy a master narrative of Roman failure through Cannae followed by Roman success until the end of the war. Second, Ampelius emphasizes individuals featured in Livy, which makes the account more vivid but also leads to mistakes. Third, Ampelius focuses on open battles, in which Livy emphasizes individuals, rather than on siege warfare, in which Livy emphasizes entire armies and besieged civilians.

The very first clause of Ampelius' account sounds a Livian note. The hyperbolic description of the Second Punic War--"the most bloody war of all" (*bellum longe omnium cruentissimum*, Ampelius 46.4)--recalls Livy's appellation, "the most memorable war of all" (*bellum maxime omnium memorabile*, Livy 21.1.1).[404] The second clause, which deals with the cause of the war, is actually rather scrupulous for so few words: "that Hannibal had destroyed Saguntum in violation of the treaty" (*quod Hannibal contra foedus Saguntum evertisset*, Ampelius 46.4). Ampelius' use of the subjunctive with *quod* shows Macrinus that he does not put his own authority behind the

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403 Arnaud-Lindet 87 n.17.

404 Cf. Livy's eulogy of Scipio Africanus: "One man won the outstanding glory of completing the Punic War, than which the Romans have waged no greater or more dangerous war" (*Punici tamen belli perpetrati quo nullum neque maius neque periculosius Romani gessere, unus praecipuam gloriam tulit*, Livy 38.53.11).

reason.[405] Ampelius diverges from Livy in being sceptical about the existence of this "treaty" (*foedus*).[406] Lazenby asserts that this treaty is probably a fiction of Roman propaganda, intended to minimize Rome's theft of Sardinia in violation of the treaty that ended the First Punic War.[407]

The first four "disasters" (*clades*) of the war show increasing Roman defeat and humiliation through Cannae--Liternum,[408] Trebia (Livy 21.54-21.56), Trasimene (Livy 22.3-22.7), and Cannae (Livy 22.42-22.50). Ampelius may have derived this list from Livy's list of Roman disasters in the Second Punic War in the mind of Marcellus (Livy 23.45.6). Moreover, the figures mentioned in conjunction with the battles show increasing personal blame for the Roman defeat, with increasing casualties: "when the elder Scipio was wounded" (*vulnerato patre Scipione*) ... "when Flaccus the consul was wounded" (*vulnerato Flacco consule*) ... "when the army of Flaminius was wiped out" (*vastato Flaminii exercitu*) ..."when two armies were destroyed accompanied by the death of the consul Paulus, by the flight of Terentius Varro" (*deletis duobus exercitibus Pauli consulis morte, Terentii fuga Varronis*). Of course, wounds are not intrinsically blameworthy, as long as they are received in the front--"he kept showing the wounds of battles on the front of his chest" (*pugnarum cicatrices adverso pectore ostentabat*, Livy

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405 Woodcock, *New Latin Syntax*, § 242b.

406 According to Livy, there were two treaties between Rome and Carthage, the first negotiated by Lutatius after his victory at the Aegates Islands (21.18.8-10, 21.19.2-5), and a second negotiated by Hasdrubal, Hannibal's brother-in-law (21.2.7, 21.10.2-13, 21.18.10-11, 21.19.2-5). Ampelius certainly distinguishes propaganda from fact by using *quod* with the subjunctive in explaining the causes of the First Punic War (Ampelius 46.2), where two *quod*-with-subjunctive clauses are followed by an indicative clause marked by the phrase "in fact" (*re vera*). Hoyos 51-53 has further discussion of passages in Florus and Dio that are also rather sceptical about Roman motives.

407 174-5; Polybius 3.28.1-3. *Periocha* 20 assumes the Roman conquest of Sardinia and Corsica: "When the Sardinians and Corsicans revolted [*sc.* from Roman control, they were put down [*sc.* by the Romans]" (*Sardi et Corsi cum rebellassent, subacti sunt, Per.* 20).

408 Actually the battle of the Ticinus (Livy 21.39.10-21.47.1). Ampelius mistakenly locates the site of this battle at Liternum, where Scipio Africanus died. Ampelius repeats this mistake at 28.4 (Arnaud-Lindet 79 n.11).

2.23.4)[409]--but the loss of an entire army or two can be blamed only on the commander, especially if he fled from battle.

Ampelius also mentions among the first "disasters" (*clades*) Scipio Africanus' rescue of his father in 218 BCE: "The first disaster of this war was at Liternum. When the elder Scipio was wounded, Publius Scipio, not yet an adolescent, shielded and rescued him" (*prima clades huius belli apud Liternum, vulnerato patre Scipione, quem Publius Scipio nondum pubes protexit ac liberavit,* Ampelius 46.5).[410] Since Ampelius probably mentioned Scipio Africanus again at the end of 46.6, this earlier incident functions as a type of foreshadowing. Here Ampelius is adopting the Livian technique of binding together his narrative of the entire Second Punic War by foreshadowing later Roman success amidst earlier failure.[411] When Livy mentions Scipio Africanus' saving his father's life, he fully exploits foreshadowing:

> This fear struck the Romans, and a wound of the consul increased the fear, and danger was driven away at first by the intervention of his still-growing son. This will be the youth to whose leadership belongs the praise for the completion of this war, the person called 'Africanus' on account of his outstanding victory over Hannibal and the Carthaginians.
>
> Is pavor perculit Romanos, auxitque pavorem consulis volnus periculumque intercursu tum primum pubescentis filii propulsatum. Hic erit iuvenis penes quem perfecti huiusce belli

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[409] Marcus Servilius' speech in favor of Paulus' triumph also mentions such wounds: "I have a body marked by honorable wounds, all received in the front of my body" (*insigne corpus honestis cicatricibus, omnibus adverso corpore exceptis, habeo,* Livy 45.39.16).

[410] Ampelius mistakenly locates the site of the rescue at Liternum instead of at the Ticinus River (Livy 21.40-46; Arnaud-Lindet 79 n.11) and repeats this mistake at Ampelius 28.4.

[411] For example, Livy has Fabius Cunctator recommend to Lucius Aemilius Paulus before Cannae the policy of delay which Fabius later uses: "So do you doubt that by waiting we will conquer him who day by day grows weaker and has neither supplies, nor reinforcements, nor money?" (*Dubitas ergo quin sedendo superaturi simus eum qui senescat in dies, non commeatus, non supplementum, non pecuniam habet?* Livy 22.39.15). Polybius points out, conversely, that supplies and reinforcements were the Romans' chief advantages (3.89.9).

> laus est, Africanus ob egregiam victoriam de Hannibale Poenisque appellatus (Livy 21.46.7-8).

Ampelius may be implicitly foreshadowing the Scipio Africanus' "rescue" of the Roman state in the rescue of his father. Ampelius occasionally treats an individual as standing for his country; for example, Ampelius treats Hannibal as a metonymy for Africa when he describes Scipio Africanus' major achievement: "He defeated Hannibal and, by defeating him, Africa" (*Hannibalem et in eo Africam debellavit,* Ampelius 18.11).

Although following Livy in using foreshadowing, Ampelius has reshaped the rescue of the elder Scipio to put even more emphasis on Scipio Africanus. In Livy's account, Scipio Africanus does not receive all the credit; a unit of cavalry form a circle of defense and drag the elder Scipio to safety: "Another unit, of cavalry, stayed together and, defending the consul who had been received into their midst not only with weapons but also with their own bodies, led him back into camp by withdrawing in neither a frightened nor a disorderly way" (*alius confertus equitatus consulem in medium acceptum, non armis modo sed etiam corporibus suis protegens, in castra nusquam trepide neque effuse cedendo reduxit,* Livy 21.46.9).[412] Ampelius, in contrast, assigns the role of the cavalry to Scipio Africanus himself and even uses the same verb (***protegere***), for protecting the elder Scipio from further Carthaginian attack (***protexit*** *ac liberavit* [Ampelius 46.5]; ***protegens...****reduxit* [Livy 21.46.9]).

Ampelius' emphasis on Scipio Africanus leads to a mistake--a mistake which illuminates how Ampelius reads Livy. Ampelius locates Africanus'

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[412] Livy even has an alternative account from the Roman historian Coelius Antipater, who wrote a monograph on the Second Punic War shortly after 120 BCE. In Coelius' account, a Ligurian slave, not Scipio Africanus, saves the elder Scipio's life: "Coelius assigns the honor of saving the consul to a slave, Ligurian in origin; I would really prefer that the story about the son be true, which both the majority of authors handed down and tradition maintained" (*Servati consulis decus Coelius ad servum natione Ligurem delegat; malim equidem de filio verum esse, quod et plures tradidere auctores et fama obtinuit,* Livy 21.46.10). Even though Livy prefers the version in which Scipio Africanus saves his father's life, making what is true a matter of preference ("I would prefer" [*malim*]) plants a seed of suspicion about tradition, a technique which Ampelius chooses not to adopt; Ampelius omits any mention of the Ligurian slave.

rescue of his father at Liternum, a swampy area near Formiae, instead of at the Ticinus River, where the incident actually happened (Livy 21.40-46). Yet *Liternum* is probably not a scribal error or a name pulled out of Ampelius' memory at random; rather, it is where Scipio Africanus died and was buried. After being falsely accused of miscellaneous crimes by the tribunes of the people (Livy 38.51.1-4), Scipio Africanus retired to Liternum and ordered his body buried there so that he would not have to be buried in Rome, which repaid his winning the Second Punic War by letting him be prosecuted: "he spent the rest of his life at Liternum without any longing for Rome; some say that he ordered that, when he died in the country, he should be buried in that very place" (*vitam Literni egit sine desiderio urbis; morientem rure eo ipso loco sepeliri se iussisse ferunt monumentumque ibi aedificari ne funus sibi in ingrata patria fieret*, Livy 38.53.8). Even though Livy himself acknowledges that there are varying traditions about Scipio Africanus' tomb (Livy 38.56.1-3), the Liternum-tradition is the only one given a cross-reference later in Livy's text. In 167 BCE, Marcus Servilius cites Scipio's tomb in Liternum as a negative example of the results of Roman ingratitude for military success ("may we blush that the home and abode of the conqueror of Africa was at Liternum, that his tomb is shown at Literunum" [*Literni domicilium et sedem fuisse domitoris Africae, Literni sepulcrum ostendi erubescamus*, Livy 45.38.7]) while defending Lucius Aemilius Paulus' right to celebrate a triumph over Macedonia (Livy 45.37.1-45.39.20[413]). Ampelius, then, wrote *Liternum* because he was thinking about the biography of Scipio[414] Africanus rather than about incidents of the Second Punic War.

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[413] A lacuna in the Livian text has swallowed the end of his speech.

[414] Ampelius emphasizes the *Scipiones* throughout his work; Ampelius 24 contains mini-biographies of six of the more famous ones. In a similar way, Livy often structures his narratives to suggest similarities among members of a *gens*, even if they live centuries apart. For example, members of the Valerian *gens* keep introducing a law providing the opportunity to appeal a decision of magistrates to the people (Livy 2.8.2, 3.55.4, 10.9.3). Moreover, Walsh 90 notes that a certain Publius Cornelius "did not lack luck" (*non defuisse fortunae*, Livy 4.57.8), while Cornelius Scipio Africanus describes such a trait as characteristic of a noble Roman: "this is the characteristic of a man and a leader, that he does not lack luck" (*id est viri et ducis, non deesse fortunae*, Livy 28.44.8).

In contrast to Roman failure through the battle of Cannae, later Roman generals--Fabius Cunctator, Marcellus, Claudius Nero (Ampelius 46.6)--lead their armies only to victory. According to Ampelius, Fabius' strategy of delay saves the city of Rome itself: "Fabius 'the Delayer'...broke by delay Hannibal, who was threatening the destruction of the city" (*Fabius Cunctator...imminentem Urbis excidio Hannibalem mora fregit,* Ampelius 46.6).[415] Ampelius may have drawn this statement from the eulogy of Fabius in Livy 30.26.7-9. In this eulogy, Livy approvingly cites a fragment of Ennius which praises Fabius' strategy of delay: "Nothing is more certain than that one man restored the state (*rem* [*sc. publicam*]) by delaying, just as Ennius said" (*nihil certius est quam unum hominem nobis cunctando rem restituisse, sicut Ennius ait,* Livy 30.26.9). Ampelius interprets *Urbs* as a metonymy for the Roman *res publica.*

Ampelius makes Marcellus' achievements at Nola significant for the beginning of Roman resistance to Hannibal: "Marcellus...was the first to resist Hannibal at Nola and almost tortured his wavering battle line with a surprise attack" (*Marcellus...primus Hannibali apud Nolam restitit et inclinatam eius aciem paene ictu cruciavit,* Ampelius 46.6). By characterizing Marcellus as "first...to resist" (*primus...restitit*), Ampelius may be suggesting that Marcellus' achievement is ultimately an increase in Roman morale and willingness to attack Hannibal rather than in Carthaginian casualities. In a similar vein, Livy puts Marcellus' victory in the context of a Roman army crushed by Hannibal at Cannae (216 BCE) but before successes in Spain (215 BCE) or Sicily (212 BCE): "The achievement on that day was huge and maybe the greatest in that war; for not being defeated by Hannibal was harder than [for those defeating] to defeat Hannibal later" (*ingens eo die res ac nescio an*

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[415] The same metaphor of "breaking by delay" appears in Ampelius in an earlier explanation of the cognomen Cunctator: "Fabius broke Hannibal by delay, because of which he was styled 'Delayer'" (*Fabius Hannibalem mora fregit, ex quo Cunctator est cognominatus,* Ampelius 18.6). The use of *frangere* in a military context also appears in Livy, in his digression on Alexander the Great: "What battle line could have broken the Roman [soldier], whom the Caudine Forks and Cannae did not break?" (*Romanum, quem Caudium, quem Cannae non fregerunt, quae fregisset acies?* Livy 9.19.9).

gesta sit; non vinci enim ab Hannibale [vincentibus] difficilius fuit quam postea vincere, Livy 23.16.16).

In a mini-biography of Hannibal, Ampelius makes Hannibal's last victory his victory over Marcellus: "He [Hannibal] defeated Marcellus in Campania" (*Marcellum in Campania superavit*, Ampelius 28.4). But this victory in fact took place in Apulia at Venusia (Livy 27.26-27). Arnaud-Lindet suggests that Ampelius has probably confused Marcellus' exploits in Campania (216-214 BCE) with his last campaign in Apulia (208 BCE).[416] Livy shows Marcellus in Campania as consistently successful against Hannibal except when his subordinate Gaius Claudius Nero lets him down (Livy 24.17.3-5), while in his Apulian campaign, Marcellus is defeated and killed (Livy 27.27.7,11, Livy 27.27.12-14 for varying accounts of his death).

Ampelius agrees with Livy that the battle of Nola is important, since he includes it in his highly abbreviated account. Nevertheless, rather than repeat Livy's description of this battle as "greatest in that war," (*maxima illo bello*), Ampelius exaggerates Livy's description of battle action. Livy describes the Roman attack at Nola: "They [the Romans] had brought to bear enough fear and chaos against the middle of the [Carthaginian] battle line, when Publius Valerius Flaccus and Gaius Aurelius, lieutenants, burst out of the two gates on either side against the wings of the enemy" (*Satis terroris tumultusque in aciem mediam intulerant, cum duabus circa portis P. Valerius Flaccus et C. Aurelius legati in cornua hostium erupere*, Livy 23.16.13). Ampelius characterizes this event as a crucifixion, with additional emphasis on the role of Marcellus: "Marcellus almost tortured Hannibal's wavering battle line with a surprise attack" (*inclinatam eius aciem paene ictu cruciavit*, Ampelius 46.6). The Romans commonly punished slave revolts with crucifixion,[417] so by using crucifixion as a metaphor, Ampelius exalts

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[416] 79 n. 16.

[417] For example, the praetor M'. Acilius Glabrio brutally suppresses a slave revolt in Etruria in 196 BCE: "After having the slaves who had been the leaders of the conspiracy whipped, he [Glabrio] nailed them to crosses" (*verberatos crucibus adfixit, qui principes coniurationis fuerant*, Livy 33.36.3).

Marcellus (the crucifier) while disparaging his opponents (the crucified) as little better than slaves.

Livy's account shows that the battle of Nola begins as a siege, since the Romans must emerge from the gates to fight: "they burst out of the two gates on either side" (*duabus circa portis...erupere*, Livy 23.16.13). Moreover, throughout his work, Livy includes a great deal of siege warfare.[418] In contrast, Ampelius' account of the battle of Nola focuses only what happens after the Romans emerge from the gates. Ampelius' use of the word "battle line" (*acies*) emphasizes his overall tendency, as mentioned above, to stress mostly open battle instead of siege warfare.[419] This tendency leads Ampelius, in his account of the Second Punic War, to omit such events as the siege and capture of Capua in 211 BCE, which Livy makes an important psychological turning point for south Italian views of Rome.[420]

Ampelius follows Livy 27.43-49 in making the Roman victory at the Metaurus River in 207 BCE important for cutting Hannibal off from Hasdrubal, bringing reinforcements from Spain: "Nero intercepted and in a huge battle defeated Hasdrubal, who was coming from Spain with enormous reinforcements, before he could join his forces to those of Hannibal" (*Nero...venientem ab Hispania Hasdrubalem cum ingentibus copiis, priusquam se Hannibali iungeret, excepit et ingenti proelio vicit,* Ampelius 46.6). In this account and in two others--one under Hasdrubal's name (Ampelius 36.3)[421] and one under Claudius Nero's name (Ampelius 18.12)[422]-

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[418] For example, Corioli (Livy 2.33.5-9). Walsh 191-197 describes in detail Livy's variations of the siege-*topos*.

[419] The chief exception is the Third Punic War, which consists mostly of the siege of Carthage: "Aemilianus completed the destruction of Carthage" (*excidium Carthaginis Aemilianus consummavit*, Ampelius 47.7).

[420] "An admission was extracted from the enemy [the Capuans] about how much power was in the Romans' hands for exacting punishments from treacherous allies and how no aid was in Hannibal's hands for protecting those received into alliance" (*confessio expressa hosti quanta vis in Romanis ad expetendas poenas ab infidelibus sociis et quam nihil in Hannibale auxilii ad receptos in fidem tuendos esset*, Livy 26.16.13).

[421] The version focusing on Hasdrubal (Ampelius 36.3) adds the detail that Hasdrubal was Hannibal's brother, which agrees with Livy (27.39.4, 27.49.4, etc.). Ampelius claims that Nero "despoiled" Hasdrubal: "Hasdrubal...was despoiled by Claudius Nero" (*Hasdrubal...a*

-Ampelius gives all the credit for the Roman victory to Claudius Nero. Livy, in contrast, after noting that Claudius Nero suggests joining consular armies (Livy 27.43.8-9), stresses the participation of both consuls, Livius and Nero, who together defeat Hasdrubal with a larger than expected army (Livy 27.45.2-46.12).

In sum, Ampelius' adapts Livy's account of the Second Punic War to the changed situation of the late second century CE. First, his master narrative of Roman failure through Cannae followed by Roman success allows panegyrical application to Marcus Aurelius' success in turning back the severe invasions of the early 170's, especially his defeat of the Macromanni. Second, Ampelius' emphasis on individuals of both sides personalizes battle in a way congruent with the personal military leadership of the emperor and his legates. Third, Ampelius emphasizes open battle over siege warfare, probably to reflect the type of warfare in which the High Imperial Roman army had greater tactical advantage. The first two tendencies are already present in Livy, but Ampelius strengthens them considerably, even though the second leads him to make mistakes. The third tendency, an Ampelian innovation, explains why Ampelius leaves out many events which Livy considers important.

Claudio Nerone expoliatus est, Ampelius 36.3). In Livy, Hasdrubal is defeated in battle and presumably also despoiled by an anonymous Roman cohort (Livy 27.49.4). Ampelius may have in mind an incident in which Nero throws Hasdrubal's severed head on the ground in front of Hannibal's camp in Apulia (Livy 27.51.11). Ampelius may be connecting despoiling one's enemy and severing his head based on an earlier incident in Livy, in which Titus Manlius removes a torque from a Gaul he has just killed and beheaded: "He despoiled the body of the dead man, touched by no other violence, of one torque" (*iacentis inde corpus ab omni alia vexatione intactum uno torque spoliavit*, Livy 7.10.11). Livy implies that Manlius cut off the Gaul's head--how else could he have removed the torque?--while Claudius Quadrigarius' account of the same incident is explicit about the beheading: "he cut off his head" (*caput praecidit*, *HRR*, fr. 10b [vol. 1, pp. 207-10]). For a different view, see von Albrecht 90 n.7. Accordingly, Ampelius may be using language (*expoliare*) that reflects not the exact situation in Livy Book 27, but an analogous situation in Livy Book 7.

422 The version focusing on Claudius Nero makes him a savior of the *populus Romanus*: "Had Hasdrubal joined forces with Hannibal, it could not be doubted that the Roman people would not have been able to do acts equal to them [Hannibal & Hasdrubal]" (*si [Hasdrubal] se cum Hannibale iunxisset, dubitari non potest paria eis p.R. effecturum non fuisse*, Ampelius 18.12).

Conclusion

This chapter discussed Ampelius' connections between education and power and his close relationship to the Livian historiographical tradition. Working along Frontonian lines, Ampelius offers to future members of the imperial élite ready-made ways to organize the world and its past, especially historical *exempla* useful both for moral instruction and for panegyric. Ampelius' hitherto unacknowledged use of Livy is especially evident in Ampelius' treatments of self-sacrifice, the Roman conquest of Macedonia, and the Second Punic War.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

This chapter will trace out some implications of the arguments made in this dissertation and suggest directions for further research.

Implications

Not only did I break new ground in discussing each author within the context of the High Roman Empire, I also added a new perspective to each author. In Chapter Two, I tried to emulate Miles' revolutionary study of Livy by treating Florus as a writer of the literary genre of history who wrestles with historiographical problems rather than as an unsuccessful positivist historian in the 19th-century-CE mold who fails to give us the data we would like. In Chapter Three, using Granius as an example, I raised the possibility of resistance to imperial propaganda in the Roman Empire among educated citizens who wrote Latin literature. In Chapter Four, simply showing that Ampelius can use a "first-rate" source like Livy was completely without precedent.

Florus, Granius, and Ampelius have suffered not only from being non-canonical but also from writing about the Roman Republic. The mere fact that they write about the Roman Republic has often led to two unstated assumptions. First, they are escapists who have no concern for, or connection to their own time, and second, interpretations of their works therefore need not consider their contemporary context. But I suspect few people would disagree with the idea that ancient texts should always be read with attention to their cultural and political context, regardless of their place within the curriculum. Just as no one would exclude Augustus from interpretations of the *Aeneid*, no one should exclude Trajan from interpretations of Florus, even though most of Florus treats events before Trajan was even born.

Moreover, I hope that the concept of the "Roman Sophistic," the Roman counterpart of the so-called (Greek) Second Sophistic,[423] will be

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[423] Sirago, "seconda sofistica" 36-7 prefers the term «neosofistica» ("Neosophistic"), which would include Roman writers.

useful in placing second century CE Latin authors in context. Study of the Roman Sophistic should be replete with connections to the Second Sophistic, just as the term "Roman Literature" does not place Plautus, Cicero, and company into an interpretive chamber hermetically sealed against Greek influence. At the same time, one should not flatten out what is Roman about the Roman Sophistic and what is Greek about the Second Sophistic into a cosmopolitan blur. For example, Ampelius' treatment of the downfall of Macedonia, so ideologically loaded with the assertion of Roman superiority, would never have been written by a Greek sophist.

A broader view of historiography results from the application of literary criticism or rhetorical analysis to it.[424] Such an approach is especially useful for historians of the Roman Sophistic such as Florus, who is self-conscious about his appropriation of other literary genres and of rhetoric. Anderson describes Sophistic historiography thus, "History itself has to be seen as yet another branch of *paideia*, overlapping with religion, philosophy, and the rest, and subject to the same laws of literary natural selection."[425] Florus is not attempting to look at original documents or weigh the evidence from earlier annalists but to provide a tour as if by helicopter of Livy's text, with stops at the events with the most rhetorical and dramatic potential.

Granius, whose history I have interpreted as anti-Hadrianic, will help round out the literary and historical picture of dissidence and dissidents in the second century CE. Granius' anti-Hadrianism, in conjunction with various civil disturbances throughout the empire,[426] indicates at the very least that resistance to the Roman Empire was deeper and more widespread than previously thought.[427] Indeed, if a literate man, who benefits from the

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[424] For similar applications to historical works of other periods cf. not only Miles and Hutton but also H. White, *Metahistory* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973) 1-43.

[425] Anderson, "Outlook" 137-8.

[426] For which see Sirago, *Involuzione.*

[427] See B. van Groningen, "General Literary Tendencies in the Second Century A.D." 53-6 for the (misleading) image of second century CE authors as prostrate before Roman imperial power.

status quo, criticizes the emperor, what must illiterate peasants, who do not benefit from the status quo, think?

Ampelius' work forms a basis for Roman education. One can easily imagine similar works being used in the early education of such Roman sophists as Fronto or Aulus Gellius, before they learned such specialized bits of knowledge as Latin and Greek color-terms (*NA* 2.26). The education provided by Ampelius in turn helps create an imperial mentality in his student, the future emperor Macrinus. Just as one can reconstruct the mentality of Marcus Aurelius from some of Fronto's letters, from his philosophical *Meditations*, and from his actions and character as described by historians, one can reconstruct the mentality of Macrinus from Ampelius' work and from his actions and character, although rather scantily documented. Finally, Ampelius' reading of Livy like a hypertext to create his chapter on self-sacrifice (20) suggests that modern technology is (unintentionally) reviving ancient ways of reading and producing texts. According to the categories of Bolter discussed earlier, Ampelius not only "remediates" Livy but also practices "hypermediacy" in his own work, especially in such chapters as 20 or 24, which concerns the famous Scipiones from various periods of the Republic.

Further Research

This dissertation lays some groundwork for a new history of Roman literature in the second century CE, a history that treats the Roman Sophistic as a coherent movement from Tacitus through Tertullian. Steinmetz's history of Roman literature in the second century CE, while a very useful survey, does not try to treat the Roman Sophistic as a movement or to show links between minor and major authors. Sandy's broader vision of the period, although applied only to a single author, provides a more useful model. For example, just as Sandy draws parallels between rhetorical subjects in Apuleius and Maximus of Tyre, a new study of second century CE Roman literature could draw parallels between the use of *exempla* in Tertullian and Ampelius.

More specifically, the chapter on Florus may not only show how Florus reads Livy but also thereby aid in the reconstruction of lost books of Livy from Florus. For example, Florus 1.18, on the Tarentine War in which King Pyrrhus of Epirus was involved, is based on a portion of Livy that is no longer extant but attested in *Periochae* 13-4, which also mention Pyrrhus. Florus' story of the elephant mother who indiscriminately attacks both sides after she recognizes a cry of distress from her calf, its head pierced by a Roman spear (Florus 1.18.12, discussed above) has no parallel in *Periochae* 13-4.

We know that the Livian original showed Pyrrhus using elephants, since *Periocha* 13 mentions his novel and effective use of elephants--"the [Roman] soldiers were terrified by the extremely unfamiliar sight of elephants" (*elephantorum maxime inusitata facie territis militibus, Per.* 13). Because the incident of the elephant mother and her calf took place during the last battle against Pyrrhus in Florus ("the last battle was in Lucania," [*Lucaniae suprema pugna fuit,* Florus 1.18.11]), this incident was probably in the Livian original of Book 14, which described Pyrrhus' final defeat by Curius Dentatus: "[Dentatus] defeated Pyrrhus, who had returned from Sicily to Italy and drove him out of Italy," (*Pyrrhum ex Sicilia in Italiam reversum vicit et Italia expulit, Per.* 14). Elsewhere Livy shows how elephants could become a liablity instead of an advantage (Livy 37.42.5, 27.48.11), and as an "animal story," it is certainly more plausible than the sea monster discussed in Book 18 of the Livian original.[428] While not every passage of Florus dealing with events covered in the Livian original may contribute to reconstruction, we can work backwards from how Florus transforms his Livian material.

While Granius is perhaps too small for his own, separate study, he could be included in studies of second century CE antiquarians or *historiae omnigenae,* especially if his testimonia are read in conjunction with the fragments of his history. Moreover, new studies of resistance to imperial authority in the second century could include Granius as a rare elite exemplar of resistance. I hope to have shown that Granius' historigraphy is a means of

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[428] Cited in Valerius Maximus 1.8.19.

resistance and, as such, should no longer be considered untouched by historiographical bias.

Ampelius, in contrast, could merit his own, separate study. In Chapter Four, I addressed only briefly the problem of combining different kinds of material--cosmological, meteorological, geographical, religious, and historical--into a single work and provided only a few suggestions about how the various types of material interact with each other. Moreover, as mentioned above, Ampelius' work could be useful for a biography of Macrinus, since so little is known about his youth,[429] or for a new history of Roman education. Also, Ampelius' methods of reading Livy could contribute to a history of reading history, especially in conjunction with Florus' methods of reading the same text.

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[429] Such a biography could supersede H. Basset, "Macrinus and Diadumenianus" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1920) cited in Rostovtzeff 720 n. 39.

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Appendix

The Survival of Livy's Text

Livy's work originally consisted of 142 books, but a majority of these have perished. One extant portion covers the period from the landing of Aeneas to 292 BCE (Books 1-10), while the other extant portion covers the period from the beginning of the Second Punic War in 218 BCE to the embassy of King Prusias II of Bithynia to Rome in 167 BCE (Books 21-45). We know about the structure of Livy's work from brief, book-by-book summaries of the entire work called the *Periochae*.

Attempts to excerpt and summarize Livy's lengthy, unwieldy work began not long after Livy's work was published during Augustus' reign. For example, Pliny the Younger writes to the historian Tacitus that after feeling a pre-eruption tremor from Vesuvius in 79 CE, "I ask for a book of Livy, and I read as if at leisure and even take notes, just as I began" (*posco librum Titi Livi, et quasi per otium lego atque etiam ut coeperam excerpo, Ep.* 6.20.5). He followed in the footsteps of his uncle, Pliny the Elder (cf. *Ep.* 3.5.11), in making anthologies of select passages to overcome the limitations of the papyrus roll.[430] According to Dio 67.12.2-4, Mettius Pompusianus made a collection of Livian speeches, which displeased the emperor Domitian. Another excerptor, the fourth-century CE author Julius Obsequens, excerpted from Livy for the years 190-11 BCE the annual list of omens, along with a sprinkling of political and military events.

As for epitomation, Martial refers to an epitome of Livy that has been "compressed" in order to fit into his library: "Enormous Livy, whom my library cannot contain in his entirety, is fit onto thin parchment rolls" (*Pellibus exiguis artatur Livius ingens, / quem mea non totum bibliotheca capit*, 14.190.1-2). These "thin parchment rolls" could be what now survives as the *Periochae* of Livy, given that the language of the *Periochae* would not rule out a date as early as Martial.[431] Also, fragments of a Livian epitome

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[430] Sherwin-White 225, 379.

[431] Begbie 337.

from the fourth century CE have been found at Oxyrhynchus in Egypt; these fragments cover the years 189-179 BCE and 149-137 BCE and show a particular interest in Lusitania,[432] which could have been the place of composition.

The second century CE Roman historians on whom I focus in this dissertation--Florus, Granius Licinianus, and Lucius Ampelius--are not strictly epitomators. As we shall see, they used Livy in conjunction with other sources to create new historical works on a smaller scale than Livy. Also, several historians of the fourth century or later used Livy as a source for their own work, but they deserve separate treatment[433] because their cultural context has changed a great deal, especially given the increasing prominence of Christianity. Examples include Eutropius' *Breviarium ab urbe condita* (before 378 CE), Jerome's *Chronicon* (after 378 CE), Orosius' triumphalist Christian history of the world called *Historiae Adversos Paganos* (after 417 CE), and Cassiodorus' *Chronica* (after 519 CE). But what was happening to the Livian original?

Livy probably survived more or less complete at least until 401 CE, when Quintus Aurelius Symmachus mentions "the entire Livian work" (*totum Livianum opus*) in a letter. Nevertheless, this text was not finished because he was still emending it.[434] Was it finished before his death the following year? There is no way to know for sure. In another letter, he advises using the diaries (*ephemerides*) of Gaius (Octavius, later Augustus) to supplement the last books (*extrema*) of Livy;[435] if even a man as learned as

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[432] Schlesinger 47 n.7.

[433] See D. Rohrbacher's forthcoming study, *The Historians of Late Antiquity* (London: Routledge).

[434] "The gift of the entire Livian work which I promise is even now delayed by care in removing mistakes" (*munus totius Liviani operis quod spopondi etiam nunc diligentia emendationis moratur, Ep.* 9.13).

[435] "Open the Patavian writer's last books, in which the deeds of Caesar [Augustus] are treated, or if Livy is no match for your yearning, take up the diary of Gaius Caesar [Augustus] plucked from my library" (*resolve Pativini scriptoris extrema, quibus res Caesaris explicantur, aut si impar est desiderio tuo Livius, sume ephemeridem C. Caesaris decerptam bibliothecae meae,Ep.* 4.18).

Symmachus considered the diaries of Augustus as good as the books of Livy, it is not surprising that so many of Livy's later books perished.[436]

Nevertheless, there is disagreement about how all the preceding excerptors, epitomators, and historians relate to Livy. L. Bessone takes the tentative view that once Livy becomes epitomated, successive epitomes become sources for later historians (see Diagram A).[437] In contrast, I assert that the Livian epitomes are dead ends, while the historians I treat always use the Livian original, albeit with varying degrees of detail and care (see Diagram B). Why would someone who wanted to do anything more than copy the *Periochae* not use the Livian original?

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[436] It is noteworthy that even the extant *Periochae* do not cover the years 24-16 BCE, which overlap with three military campaigns (27-24, 22-19, and 16-13 BCE) conducted personally by Augustus.

[437] Bessone, *epitomatoria*.

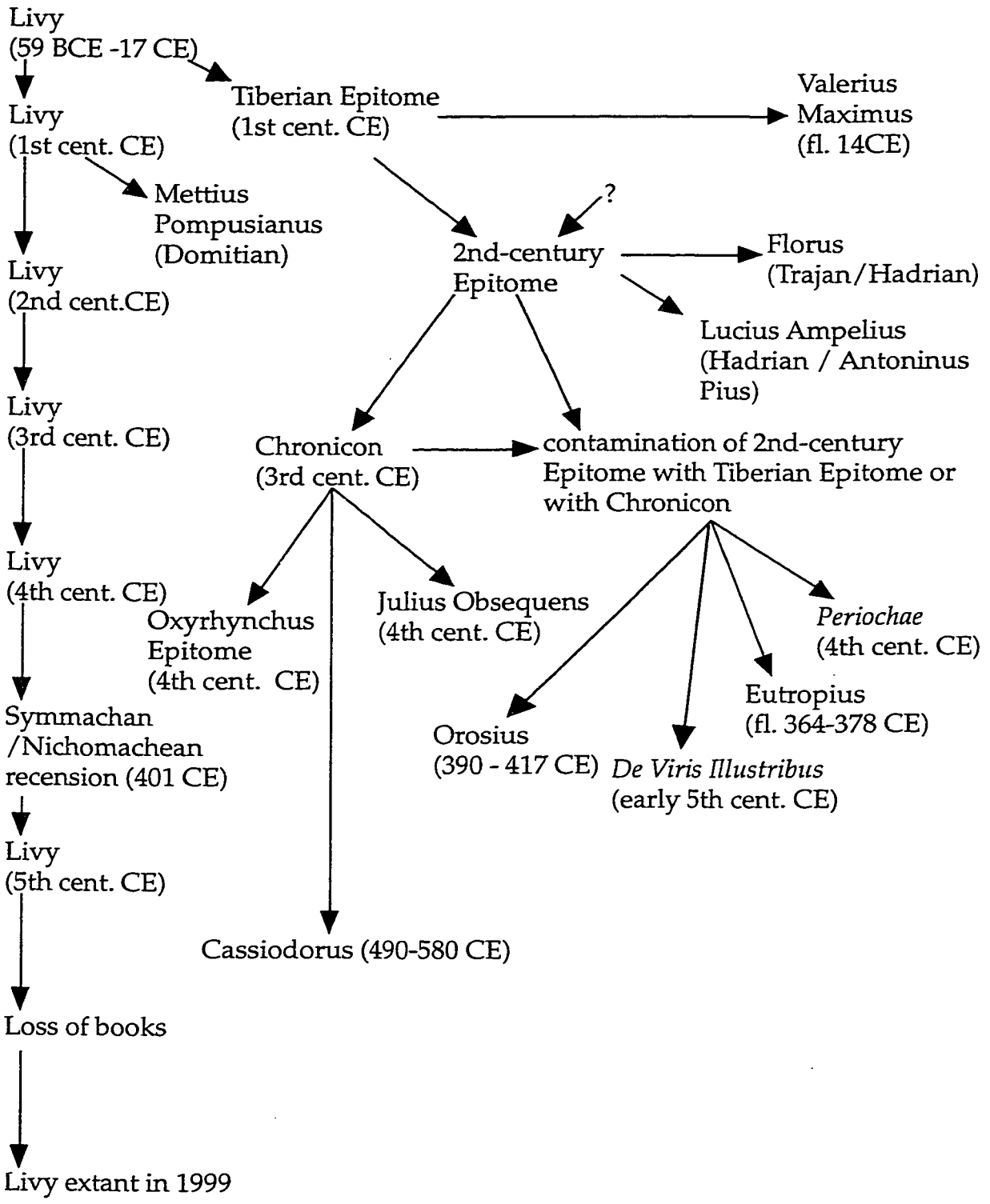

Figure 1. Diagram A

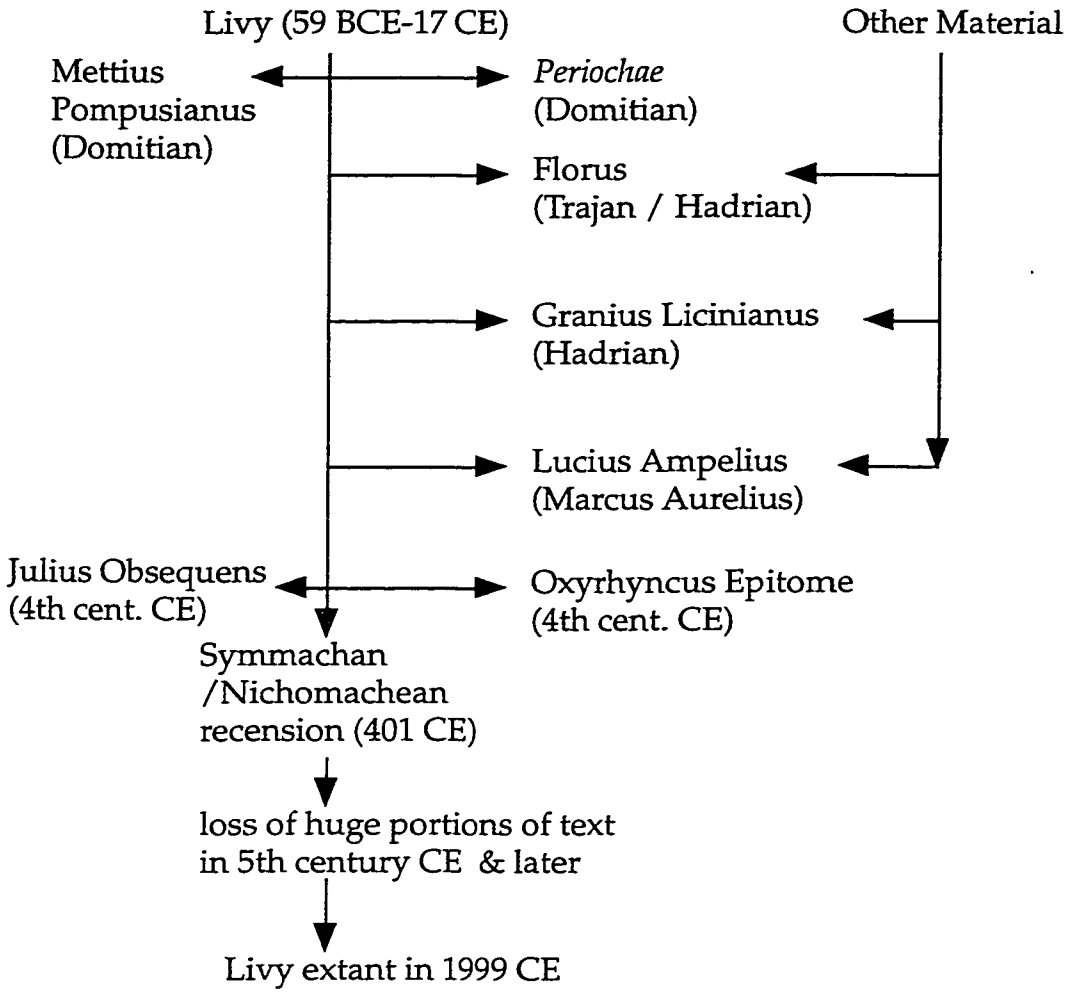

Figure 2. Diagram B

Index Locorum

VITA

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