

# A LUDICROUSLY COMPREHENSIVE OUTLINE OF LATIN LITERATURE

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Please ask before circulating.

## Livius Andronicus

- 1) Livius Andronicus was born in 280 BC and came to Rome in 272 BC from Tarentum, in the entourage of Livius Salinator. He was a slave and a *grammaticus*.
- 2) 240 BC—Livius Andronicus puts on the first dramatic work in Rome (first play with a plot). A tragedy and a comedy.
- 3) 207 BC—At the behest of the aediles, Andronicus composes a *partheneion* (“girls’ song”) in honor of Juno to perform in public at a religious ceremony.
- 4) Andronicus’ professional association (*collegium scribarum histrionumque*) was installed in the temple of Minerva on the Aventine.
- 5) *Odyssea*—Latin translation of The Odyssey in Saturnian Meter. Popular school text for Roman youth.
- 6) Livius Andronicus wrote tragedies, including a cycle of Trojan war tragedies (*Achilles*, *Aegisthus*, *Ajax Mastigophorus*, *Equos Troianus*, *Hermiona*) and *Andromeda*, *Danae*, and *Tereus*. We have slightly more than twenty fragments and 40 verses total.
- 7) Livius Andronicus wrote *fabulae praetextae*, of which only *Gladiolus* (“Little Saber”) is securely attested.

## Naevius (d. 204 or 201 BC)

- 1) Naevius is of Campanian origin.
- 2) Naevius fights in the Second Punic War (264-241 BC).
- 3) Naevius attacks the Metelli, and is imprisoned (writes works from Prison). Naevius wrote that the Metelli were consuls in Rome because of fate/luck rather than skill. The Metelli replied something like “The Metelli will make Naevius the poet’s life suck.” Naevius was exiled (probably) to Utica.
- 4) Naevius dies in Utica in 204 or 201 BC.
- 5) Composed *Bellum Punicum*, later divided into seven books by the grammarian Lampadio. Composed in Saturnian meter. Involves both tale of Aeneas and tale of First Punic War.
- 6) Wrote two *fabulae praetextae* (Tragedies on historical Roman subjects): *Romulus* or *The Wolf*, and *Clastidium*. *Clastidium* is on the victory in 222 BC of Marcus Claudius Marcellus against the Insubrian Gauls. *Romulus* treated Rome’s foundation and involved Amulius.
- 7) Wrote *fabulae cothurnatae* (tragedies on Greek subjects) such as *Hector Proficiscens*, *Iphigenia*, *Equos Troianus*, *Danae*.
- 8) Wrote comedy, prefiguring the *fabula togata* (comedy in Roman setting); also wrote *fabula palliata* (comedy in Greek setting). We have a fragment from his *Tarentilla*. Also wrote *Colax*, *Guminasticus*, *Corollaria*, *Dolus*, etc.
- 9) Naevius was awesome.

## Plautus (d. 184 BC)

- 1) Titus Maccius Plautus was born in Sarsina in Umbria. Maccus means either “flat-footed” or “big-eared” and is derived from the name Maccus, a stock character in Atellan Farce.
- 2) 21 works of Plautus were canonized as authentic by Varro.
- 3) Cicero in his *Cato Maior* said that Plautus wrote *Pseudolus* as an old man, which places his birth between 255 and 250 BC.
- 4) *Amphitryon* (only mythological comedy of Plautus), *Asinaria* (“Comedy of Asses”), *Aulularia* (“The Comedy of the Golden Pot”), *Captivi*, *Curculio*, *Casina*, *Cistellaria* (“The Comedy of the Casket”), *Epidicus*, *Bacchides*, *Mostellaria* (“The Comedy of the Ghost”— Haunted House), *Menaechmi*, *Miles Gloriosus* (“The Braggart Soldier”), *Mercator*, *Pseudolus*, *Rudens* (“The Cable”), *Stichus*, *Trinummus* (“The Three Coins”), *Truculentus*, *Vidularia* (“The Comedy of the Satchel”).
- 5) *Stichus* premiered at the Plebeian games in 200 BC and was unique in that it had no plot.
- 6) *Amphitryon*: Zeus comes to Thebes and seduces Amphitryon’s wife Alcmena in the guise of Amphitryon himself, while Mercury accompanies him and impersonates Sosia, Amphitryon’s slave.
- 7) *Aulularia*: the old miser Euclio has hidden a pot of gold, which is stolen and used to pay for a young man (Lyconides) to marry the woman he raped (Euclio’s daughter, Phaedria).
- 8) *Bacchides*: double plot, with two Bacchises and two sets of lover.
- 9) *Captivi*: An old man has lost two sons, one stolen, the other (Philepolemus) taken as a prisoner of war. He obtains two Elean slaves as war booty and one of them turns out to be the stolen boy. He also gets Philepolemus back. No women in this play.
- 10) *Casina*: An old man and his son both want to marry a foundling in their house.
- 11) *Curculio*: Circulio is a man whose name means “weevil,” which is fitting since Curculio acts as a parasite to a young man in love with a courtesan. A boastful soldier, Terapontigonus, also loves the woman but Curculio swindles the woman’s pimp and tricks Terapontigonus (who turns out to be her sister).
- 12) *Epidicus*: The classic “slave’s comedy.” A slave helps his young master, who falls in love with two girls in a row. One turns out to be the young master’s sister.
- 13) *Menaechmi*: two brothers Menaechmus, separated as infants, cause confusion when one arrives at the other’s city.
- 14) *Miles Gloriosus*: the slave Palaestrio helps his master swindle a girl from the braggart soldier Pyrgopolinices.
- 15) *Mostellaria*: the slave Tranio tricks his young master’s father, Theopropides, into believing that his house is haunted by a ghost, to conceal the young master’s liaison.
- 16) *Rudens*: the slave Arcturus foretells the shipwreck of a wicked pimp Labrax, who is holding a girl of free parentage illegitimately. A chest with a cable, fished out of the sea, is involved in the final development.
- 17) *Truculentus*: a cunning slave Phronesium cheats three of her lovers.
- 18) *Pseudolus*: the slave Pseudolus cheats his adversary Ballio, a pimp, to help his young master win the girl he loves.
- 19) Manuscript found, Vatican palimpsest by Cardinal Angelo Mai.
- 20) Plautus practiced *contaminatio*, the mixing of two Greek play plots into one Roman adaptation.

### Caecilius Statius

- 1) Caecilius Statius was an Insubrian Gaul and was from Milan.
- 2) Statius likely came to Rome after the battle of Clastidium in 222 BC.
- 3) Caecilius Statius was buried near Ennius, as he was a close friend of Ennius.
- 4) There is a story that the young Terence read his first work, the *Andria*, to an aged Caecilius. Probably invented to connect Plautus’ two most admired successors (Statius and Terence) to each other.
- 5) Caecilius Statius’ most famous comedy is the *Plocium* (“The Necklace), from Menander’s *Plokion*. Aulus Gellius in his *Atticae Noctes* compared Statius’ *Plocium* with the original.

- 6) He wrote *fabulae palliatae* (comedies in Greek settings).
- 7) Caecilius Statius had close relations to the theatrical actor and producer of Terence, a man named Ambivius Turpio.

### Oratory and Historiography in the Historical Period

- 1) According to Cicero in the *Brutus*, the first Roman whose eloquence is truly attested to is Marcus Cornelius Cethegus, consul in 204 BC, praised by Ennius' *Annales*.
- 2) Cato the Elder was eloquent because of the vehemence of his *actio* and his rhetorical opponent was Servius Sulpicius Galba.
- 3) Fabius Pictor: Introduced the use of Greek in historical writing.
  - a. Belonged to the Fabii (*gens Fabia*), and was a senator and magistrate.
  - b. Fabius Pictor had fought against the Insubrian Gauls from 225 to 222.
  - c. Polybius criticizes Fabius Pictor's entirely pro-Roman stance on the Punic Wars.
- 4) Lucius Cincius Alimentus: An annalist who fought in the Second Punic War, was captured by the Carthaginians, and may have known Hannibal personally. He is fair to both the Romans and Carthaginians in discussing the war.
- 5) Gaius Acilius: An annalist, he was the interpreter for the embassy of three Greek philosophers (the Academic Carneades, the Stoic Diogenes, and the Peripatetic Critolaus) who came to Rome in 155 BC.
  - a. Carneades insinuated that Rome's dominion was violent and coercive, not just.
- 6) Aulus Postumius Albinus: A consul in 151 BC who had fought against Perseus under Aemilius Paullus. Cato mocked Aulus Postumius Albinus because he chose to write in Greek, and apologized in his preface for any linguistic imperfections he might display since he was using a language other than his own.
- 7) Polybius: Brought to Rome as one of 1000 Achaean hostages after Pydna ended the Third Macedonian War, Polybius befriended Scipio Aemilianus and accompanied him on many missions. Polybius chronicled the Second Punic War and personally retraced Hannibal's march.
  - a. Polybius wrote the forty-book *Histories*, in which he explains to the Greeks how the Romans came to dominate the Mediterranean world in fifty years, starting ca. 220.
  - b. Polybius practiced what he called "pragmatic history."
  - c. Polybius covered the First, Second, and Third Punic Wars.

### Literature and Culture in the Period of the Conquests

- 1) 168 BC: Aemilius Paullus defeats Perseus of Macedon at Pydna. Aemilius Paulus brings Perseus' library back to Rome.
- 2) 146 BC: Rome destroys Carthage and Corinth.
- 3) Ennius introduced the Greek theories of Euhemurus and glorified luxurious consumption in his *Hedyphaetica*, which alarmed the conservative Cato.
- 4) Terence's patron was Scipio Aemilianus, adoptive grandson of Scipio Africanus. Scipio Aemilianus was actually the son of Aemilius Paullus, victor over Perseus at Pydna in 168 BC. Full name: Publius Scipio Aemilianus Minor Numantius.
- 5) The Scipionic Circle formed around Scipio Aemilianus. Included the Stoic Panaetius (who wrote *On Duty*), Terence, Gaius Laelius (orator), and Gaius Lucilius (satirist).
- 6) After Pydna in 168 BC (Lucius Aemilius Paullus defeats Perseus), the historian Polybius is brought to Rome as a member of 1000 Achaean Hostages.

### Ennius (239-169 BC)

- 1) Quintus Ennius was born in 239 BC at Rudiae in Calabria (now the region is not called Calabria), traditionally the home of the Messapians.
- 2) Suetonius termed Ennius a *semi-graecus* (an Italo-Greek) and Aulus Gellius said he had three hearts (he could speak Greek, Latin, and Oscan).

- 3) Ennius popularized the philosophy of Euhemerus, leading Cicero to say that he was “above all a follower of Euhemerus.”
- 4) Scipio Africanus acted as a patron for Ennius, and so did Marcus Fulvius Nobilior.
- 5) Ennius wrote the *Annales*, an 18-book work on Roman history in dactylic hexameter. The fifteenth book recounted Quintus Fulvius Nobilior’s victory over the Aetolians.
  - a. Ennius divided his own work into books, an innovation for Latin literature.
  - b. Ennius declares himself the reincarnation of Homer: he recounts a dream in which Homer says Ennius will be his reincarnation. In the second half of the poem Ennius invokes the muses.
  - c. The title *Annales* refers to the *Annales Maximi*, the public records of events year by year.
  - d. *O Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyranne tulisti*
  - e. *Et tuba tarantara terribili sonitu dixit etc.* (this is a loose quote, I don’t have the actual quote, so look it up, you lazy bum)
  - f. The dream and speech of Ilia about her vanishing father.
  - g. Criticizes Naevius’ Saturnian meter as an ancient, uncultured language (*[lingua] fauni vatesque*) in comparison to his learned, Hellenizing hexameter (*dicti studiosus*).
  - h. Did not cover the First Punic War, in deference to Naevius.
  - i. Adopted and adapted Greek morphological and syntactical forms, used much alliteration, invented words for onomatopoeia (e.g. taratantara), often wrote lines entirely in hexameters or dactyls (*labitur uncta carina, volat super impetus undas and olli respondit rex Albai Longai*),
- 6) *Ambracia*: Probably a *fabula praetexta*, this work described the campaigns of Marcus Fulvius Nobilior against the Aetolians in Greece from 189 to 187 BC, culminating with the battle of Ambracia. Ennius had been brought along in Fulvius Nobilior’s retinue, a move criticized by Cato.
- 7) *Hedyphaegetica* (“Eating Well”): a didactic work on gastronomy, probably the first attested Latin poem in hexameters since evidence suggests it predates the *Annales*. Based on a Greek poem by Arcestratus of Gela.
- 8) *Scipio*: honors Scipio Africanus and his victory at Zama in 202 BC.
- 9) *Euhemerus’ Sacred History*: a translation. Euhemerus believed that gods originated from stories about heroes of mankind.
- 10) *Sota*; Four or six books of *Saturae* (Satires).
- 11) Ennius fixed precise rules for metrics and the use of caesura.
- 12) Wrote tragedies until his death in 169, the year of his last work and tragedy, the *Thyestes*.

### Cato the Elder (234-149 BC)

- 1) Marcus Porcius Cato was born at Tusculum in 234 BC
- 2) Cato was a distinguished politician.
  - a. Cato fought in the Second Punic War, gaining the post of military tribune in Sicily in 214 BC.
  - b. In 204 Cato was quaestor, accompanying Scipio Africanus to Sicily and Africa
  - c. 199 BC—Cato is Plebeian Aedile
  - d. 198 BC—Cato is praetor in charge of governing Sardinia
  - e. 195 BC—Cato is elected as a *novus homo* to the consulship, along with Valerius Flaccus.
    - i. Opposes revoking the *Lex Oppia*, which limits women’s spending on jewelry.
    - ii. Later assigned Spain as his province.
  - f. 191 BC—Cato fights at Thermopylae, serving as military tribune with Valerius Flaccus, under Acilius Glabrio.
  - g. 190 onwards—prosecutes series of political trials against Scipios.
  - h. 184 BC—Cato the Elder is a censor along with Valerius Flaccus. Conservative, wants to protect traditional morality, maintain “Romanitas” against rational Greek

- destabilization of religion, old morality, etc. Attacked private extravagance, glorified public extravagance.
- i. 167 BC—Cato opposes the war in Rhodes, eloquently pleading for them in his *Oratio pro Rhodensibus*
  - j. 155 BC—Cato speaks against the Athenian philosophical embassy (Carneades, Diogenes, Critolaus) and has them expelled from Rome through a law.
  - k. Urged the destruction of Carthage, helped incite the Third Punic War: *Carthago delenda est*.
- 3) Works: *Origines*, *Praecepta ad filium*, *De Agri Cultura (De Re Rustica)*, *Carmen De Moribus*, *Apophthegmata*, *Dicta Catonis*.
- a. *Origines*: 7-book history of Rome from foundation. Covered the founding of Rome, other Italian cities' founding, the First Punic War, the Second Punic War, down to the praetorship of Servius Sulpicius Galba in 152 BC.
    - i. Cato wants to glorify the state, not individuals, so he does not name prominent individuals. Hannibal is the *dictator Carthaginensium*. Smaller heroes are included, such as the valiant Quintus Caedicius. In one part only Surus, Hannibal's horse, is mentioned by name.
    - ii. Includes his own speeches such as against Servius Sulpicius Galba and for the Rhodians.
    - iii. The first important historical work in Latin.
  - b. *De Agricultura/De Re Rustica*: A treatise on agriculture. Involves a section on cabbage (*brassica*), and advises selling slaves when they become too old. The oldest fully extant Latin prose work, it comes down to us entirely intact.
  - c. *Carmen de Moribus*: Probably a prose work written in rhythmic prose (*carmen*). On morals, mores, customs, etc.
  - d. *Praecepta ad Filium*: a dictionary of various subjects, addressed to his son. Famous sayings such as "rem tene, verba sequentur" and "vir bonus peritus dicendi."
  - e. *Apophthegmata*: A collection of Cato's various sayings.
  - f. *Dicta Catonis*: moral maxims and such.
  - g. Lives of Cato in the *De Viris Illustribus* of Cornelius Nepos and in Plutarch.

### Terence (b. 185/184?)

- 1) Terence was a native of Carthage who came to Rome as the slave of the senator Terentius Lucanus.
- 2) Terence was a member of the Scipionic Circle, and close to both Scipio Aemilianus and Gaius Laelius.
- 3) Terence died during a voyage to Greece for cultural purposes, supposedly by drowning (though this is circumspect). He was 35 years old.
- 4) Terence's main actor and producer was Ambivius Turpio.
- 5) Chronology of Terence's plays
  - a. *Andria* (166 BC)—Terence's first play.
  - b. *Hecyra* (165, 160 BC)—Terence's worst play, at the very least his most poorly received.
    - i. At the first performance, spectators walked out on the play to see tightrope walkers, at the second, to see gladiators. Only on the third try was it successfully performed.
  - c. *Heautontimorumenos* (163 BC)
  - d. *Eunuchus* (161 BC)—Terence's greatest hit with the public and his greatest financial success.
  - e. *Adelphoi* (160 BC)—Considered Terence's masterpiece.
    - i. The *Hecyra* was finally put on successfully on the third try, playing alongside the *Adelphoi*.
  - f. *Phormio*
- 6) Suetonius wrote a *Vita Terenti* in his *De Viris Illustribus*.

- 7) Terence is most interested in the psychological understanding of his characters, and thus rejects the comic excesses of Plautine comedy, one reason he was not as wildly successful.
- 8) In the prologue to his *Andria* Terence rebuts criticism of his *contaminatio* (cf. Plautus), arguing that even Ennius, Naevius, and Plautus did it.
- 9) Caesar called Terence a “*puri sermonis amator*” (lover of pure diction) for his tendency to make even pimps and prostitutes speak like the upper class. He also said that his *virtus comica* lacked *vis comica* (comic force). Caesar further said that Terence was a *dimidiatus Menander* (“half-sized Menander”).
- 10) Terence uses prologues not to inform of plot but to declare his authorial intent, e.g. relation of the play to Greek originals, rebuttals of criticism.
- 11) *Humanus sum: humani nihil a me alienum puto* (from the *Heautontimorumenos*).

### Early Tragedy: Pacuvius and Accius

- 1) Pacuvius: Marcus Pacuvius was born in Brundisium in 220 BC. He was the nephew of Ennius, the son of Ennius’ sister.
  - a. Cicero judged Pacuvius the greatest of Latin tragedians..
  - b. Pacuvius was an accomplished painter as well as tragedian; one of his paintings was featured in the *forum boarium*.
  - c. In addition to *cothurnatae*, Pacuvius wrote a *praetexta* called the *Paullus*, which celebrated the victory of Aemilius Paullus over Perseus at Pydna in 168 BC.
  - d. *Niptra* (“The Bath”)—Odysseus’ nurse Eurycleia washes his feet when he arrives in disguise, but his illegitimate son Telegonus kills him before recognizing him.
  - e. *Hermiona*—Hermione, daughter of Menelaus and Helen, is given to Neoptolemus after already having been married or betrothed to Orestes.
  - f. *Iliona*—Priam’s eldest daughter, Ilione, is married to Polymestor the king of Thrace. She exchanges her brother Polydorus (entrusted to her as an infant by her father Priam) for her own son by Polymestor, Diphilus. Polymestor, bribed by the Greeks, kills his own son Diphilus while thinking he is killing Priam’s son Polydorus.
  - g. *Antiope*—the myth of Antiope, the mother of Zethus and Amphion by Zeus.
  - h. *Chryses*—named for the famous priest of Apollo in the *Iliad*. Orestes and Pylades have a contest to determine who would show greater nobility in the face of death.
  - i. *Teucer*—Telamon punishes his son Teucer for returning to Salamis without his brother Ajax.
  - j. *Dulorestes* (“Orestes the Slave”)—Orestes dresses as a slave to kill his mother Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus.
- 2) Accius: Lucius Accius was born in Pisaurum in 170 BC to freedmen parents (Accius and Horace were both born to freedmen).
  - a. Accius is the most prolific writer of Latin tragedy.
  - b. For a while, Accius competed with the aged Pacuvius.
  - c. Accius wrote several *fabulae cothurnatae* and two *fabulae praetextae*:
    - i. *Brutus*: tells the story of L. Junius Brutus and his fight against the Tarquins.
    - ii. *Decius (Aeneadae)*: tells the story of Publius Decius Mus’ *devotio* at the Battle of Sentinum in 295 BC.
  - d. In Accius’ *fabula cothurnata* called *Atreus* we find the famous line “*oderint dum metuant*” which was later used as Caligula’s slogan.
  - e. He was a member and president of the *collegium poetarum* and expected a large statue erected to him.
  - f. The satiric poet Lucilius was a contemporary of Accius and attacked him vehemently (Lucilius attacked Pacuvius as well).
  - g. Accius made an educational trip to Pergamum in Asia.

### The Development of Epic Poetry from Ennius to Vergil

- 1) Accius wrote a poem *Annales*.
- 2) Aulus Furius Antias wrote about the Cimbri in his *Annales*.
- 3) Catullus mocks the *Annales* of Volusius as *cacata charta*. Horace mocks Furius Alpinus for his epic *Ethiopic*.
- 4) Cicero wrote a *De Consulatu Suo* and *Marius*.
- 5) Varro of Atax wrote a *Bellum Sequanicum*.
- 6) The *Odyssia* was rewritten in hexameters.

### Lucilius (d. 102 BC)

- 1) Lucilius was the first famous satirist (though Ennius is the first attested writer of Satire). Lucilius was born to a prosperous family originally from Suessa Aurunca in Campania.
- 2) Lucilius was a member of the Scipionic Circle, and his position allowed him to attack many famous people in his 30 books of Satire.
- 3) Lucilius' journey to Sicily (*Iter Siculum*) is a model for Horace's journey to Brundisium.
- 4) Lucilius wrote a *Concilium Deorum* which attacks a certain Lentulus Lupus and presents the gods as deciding on matters as if in a Roman senate.
- 5) Lucilius wrote in hexameter, elegiac couplets (perhaps), and iambic and trochaic meters.
- 6) Lucilius' mistress was named Collyra.
- 7) *Ex praecordiis efero versum* ("I bring forth my poetry from my heart.")

### Politics and Culture Between the Gracchi and Sulla

#### Oratory

- 1) 133 BC—Tiberius Gracchus, a relative of Scipio Aemilianus, proposes an agrarian land reform law. Ten years later, in 123 BC, his brother Gaius Gracchus proposes another one.
  - a. Tiberius and Gaius were the sons of Cornelia, daughter of Scipio Africanus.
  - b. Cicero calls Gaius the first "classic orator" in Rome.
- 2) Sulla assumed the dictatorship in 82 BC and laid it down in 79 BC. He launched constitutional reform designed to help the aristocracy. He died working on his own autobiography.
- 3) Cicero celebrates Scipio Aemilianus and his friend Gaius Laelius as orators in his *De Amicitia*.
- 4) The greatest orators following Scipio Aemilianus, Laelius, and Gaius Gracchus were Marcus Antonius and Lucius Licinius Crassus.
- 5) Plotius Gallus, a client of Gallus, opened a rhetorical school with Gracchan tendencies, and was therefore shut down. He was influenced by the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* of 85 BC, in 4? Books.
- 6) *Asianism* and *Atticism*:
  - a. Asianism originated at Pergamum. Quintus Hortensius Hortalus was the major figure of Asianism, and was a rival and later friend of Cicero as well as the friend of Catullus.
  - b. The Atticists imitated the simple style of Lysias, and reacted against what they saw as an Asianist trend in Cicero. Gaius Licinius Calvus, friend of Catullus and future killer of Caesar, was the biggest figure in Atticist oratory. Marcus Brutus was also an Atticist orator.

#### The Development of Historiography

- 1) Sempronius Asellio: A Scipionic Circle member, he was a historian who took part in the war of Numantia.
- 2) Coelius Antipater: A plebeian and distinguished jurist, he wrote a monograph on the Second Punic War.

- 3) Other annalists: Gaius Fannius (son-in-law of Laelius), Sempronius Tuditanus, Gnaeus Gellius, Vennonius, Lucius Calpurnius Piso Frugi, Lucius Casius Hemina. Most wrote works called *Annales*.
- 4) Annalists in the Sullan Age
  - a. Gaius Licinius Macer: the father of Gaius Licinius Calvus
  - b. Valerius Antias: wrote an *Annales*.
  - c. Quintus Claudius Quadrigarius: Annalist who began his account from the sack of the city by the Gauls, continuing down to his own day.
- 5) Lucius Cornelius Sisenna: author of the *Fabulae Milesiae*, Sisenna was a “tragic” historiographer who emphasized dramatic elements. Cicero valued Sisenna but mocked his language, calling him a *emendator sermonis usitati* (“improver of everyday speech”).
- 6) The beginnings of autobiography
  - a. Autobiographical commentary by Aemilius Scaurus, Rutilius Rufus, Lutatius Catulus, and by the dictator Sulla himself (Sulla wrote in Greek).
    - i. Sulla glorified himself, claiming he was invested with a divine mission and a favorite of the gods (*felix*).

### ***Antiquarian, Linguistic, and Philological Studies***

- 1) *Antiquarianism*: the science that traces the remote origins of usages, customs, and juridical and social institutions—the civilization of a given people, in short. Fabius Pictor was a noted antiquarian.
- 2) Lucius Aelius Stilo Praeconinus: started philological study. Aelius Stilo taught both Cicero and Varro. He commented on Plautus, the Laws of the Twelve Tables, and the *Carmen Saliare*. Varro completed his work on the twelve tables.
- 3) Lampadio prepared an edition of Naevius with book divisions and Vettius Philocomus prepared an edition of Lucilius.
- 4) There was a break between the Anomalists (such as in Pergamum) who saw language as constructed by usage and thus accepted neologisms, and the Analogists, who were conservative Alexandrians who said language was based on norm (*ratio*) and analogy, based on recognized models. Caesar professed himself a devoted analogist and wrote the *De Analogia* on correct grammar.

### ***Comedy after Terence: The Fabula Palliata and the Fabula Togata***

- 1) *Fabula palliata* was written by authors such as Turpilius and Luscius, who was an enemy of Terence.
- 2) The *palliata* was increasingly considered an old-fashioned genre. Alternate genres such as Atellan Farce and the mime came along in popularity in the 1<sup>st</sup> century BC.
- 3) The *fabula togata*, a comedy with a Roman or Italian setting, became popular.
  - a. Titinius and Lucius Afranius were famous writers of *fabulae togatae*.
  - b. Afranius: “The wise man loves, everyone else desires.”

### ***Atellan Farce in the Late Republic: Pomponius and Novius***

- 1) The Atellan Farce had historically been a comic finale (*exodium*) to accompany other spectacles.
- 2) In the age of Sulla, Lucius Pomponius and Novius were famous writers of Atellan Farce.
- 3) The Atellan Farce survived under the empire, but declined in popularity.

### ***The Mime: Decimus Laberius and Publilius Syrus***

- 1) *Mimi* (“mimes” or “mime performances”) were originally performed at the *Ludi Florales* near the end of April.



- 2) *Mimi* did not wear raised shoes, unlike serious actors, and were thus called *planipedes* ("flat-foots").
- 3) Decimus Laberius and Publilius Syrus were the two important mime writers in the age of Caesar.
- 4) Laberius attacked Caesar in one of his mimes; to retaliate, Caesar made him act in one of his own mimes, a humiliating thing for a Roman knight.
- 5) Pubilius Syrus was younger than Decimus Laberius. Syrus was not of free birth and so acted in his own mimes.
- 6) In a contest between the older Decimus Laberius and the younger Pubilius Syrus, judged by Caesar, the younger Pubilius Syrus won.

## PART TWO: THE LATE REPUBLIC

### Neoteric Poetry

- 1) Cicero disparagingly coined the term *poetae novi* (*neoteroi* in Greek) to refer to this circle of poets, also calling them *cantores Euphrionis*.
- 2) The predecessor of Neoteric poetry was nugatory poetry, from *nugae* (lit. "trifles"), referring to simple poetry without pretense, the sort favored by those who could indulge their *otium* ("leisure").
- 3) The majority of neoteric poets came from Gallia Cisalpina.
- 4) The Callimachean School includes more traditional poets such as Furius Bibaculus and Varro Atacinus as well as Catullus, Cinna, and Calvus.

### *The Pre-Neoteric Poets*

- 1) Quintus Lutatius Catulus: Born in 150 BC, Lutatius Catulus was Marius' consular colleague in 102 BC and helped Marius win over the Cimbri at Vercellae in 101 BC. He later committed suicide due to the Marian persecutions.
  - a. Lutatius Catulus was an orator, praised by Cicero in his *De Oratore*.
  - b. Lutatius Catulus introduced Greek-style epigrams to Latin.
  - c. A literary circle formed around Lutatius Catulus.
  - d. Lutatius Catulus wrote *De Consulatu et rebus gestis suis*.
- 2) Other poets in this circle/era: Valerius Aedituus, Porcius Licinius, Volcaci Sedigitus.
- 3) Laevius wrote the *Erotopaegnia* ("Love jests") on myths like Adonis, Helen, Hector, the Sirens, Circe, Protesilaus and Laodamia, etc.
- 4) Matius wrote a Latin hexameter translation of the *Iliad*. Matius also introduced choliambic (scazons, limping iambic) meter to Latin poetry.
- 5) Sueius wrote a *Moretum* and a *Pulli*.

### *The Neoteric Poets*

- 1) Valerius Cato: Essentially the founder of Neoteric Poetry, he hailed from Cisalpine Gaul and was a famous teacher, grammarian, and critic in Rome.
  - a. Epigram about Valerius Cato: "*Cato grammaticus, Latin siren, / qui solus legit ac facit poetas.*" Cato the grammarian, the Latin siren, who alone chooses and makes poets.
  - b. Valerius Cato wrote a *Dictynna* (*Diana*) and a *Lydia*.
- 2) Furius Bibaculus: Furius Bibaculus was from Cremona and a close friend of Valerius Cato. He wrote epigrams against Augustus and affectionately ironic epigrams on Valerius Cato. He wrote a historical epic *Pragmatica Belli Gallici* and an *Ethiopicid*, as well as a *Lucubrationes* in prose. Horace criticizes the *Ethiopicid* and speaks of a *Furius Alpinus* (could be a satiric epithet).
- 3) Varro Atacinus: Publius Terentius Varro Atacinus (i.e. from Atax, in Gallia Narbonensis).

- a. Varro Atacinus wrote a *Bellum Sequanicum* on Caesar's war against Ariovistus in 58 BC.
  - b. *Leucadia*: erotic poetry on Varro Atacinus' beloved.
  - c. *Chorographia, Ephemeris*.
  - d. *Argonautae*: Varro Atacinus' free translation in hexameters of Apollonius Rhodius' *Argonautica*.
- 4) Cinna: Cinna was a native of Gallia Cisalpina and a friend of Catullus who wrote the *Smyrna*.
- a. Cinna took part with Catullus in the expedition to Bithynia in 57 BC.
  - b. Cinna might have brought Parthenius of Nicaea to Rome.
  - c. Catullus praised Cinna's *Zmyrna/Smyrna*, completed after nine years of labor. The poem was dense and abstruse, on the myth of Myrrha and her father Cinyras' incestuous relationship.
  - d. Cinna wrote a *Prompeticon* (poem of farewell) to Asinius Pollio.
- 5) Calvus: Calvus was born in 82 BC, the son of the historian Licinius Macer.
- a. Calvus wrote an epyllion called *Io*.
  - b. Calvus was a great Atticist orator who prosecuted Vatinius (alluded to in jest by Catullus in a poem addressed to Calvus).
  - c. Calvus wrote a grief-filled *epicedion* on the untimely death of his wife Quintilia (Catullus also treated Quintilia's death in a poem addressed to Calvus).

## Catullus

- 1) Gaius Valerius Catullus was born at Verona in Cisalpine Gaul in 87 or 84 BC, and lived thirty years (probably). Caesar was a guest of his father.
- 2) Catullus knew Hortensius Hortalus, Cinna and Calvus, Lucius Manlius Torquatus, the jurist and future consul Alfenus Varus, Cornelius Nepos, and Gaius Memmius. Catullus had a love relationship with Clodia, the sister of Publius Clodius Pulcher and the wife (and possible killer) of Quintus Metellus Celer.
- 3) In 57 BC Catullus went to Bithynia in the entourage of Memmius and visited his brother's tomb at the troad (Catullus 101).
- 4) Catullus' *libellus* of poems
  - a. 1-60: Polymetra, *nugae*. The most popular meter is hendecasyllabic (Phalaecean), but iambic trimeters, scazons, and Sapphics also show up.
  - b. 61-68: Epyllions, longer efforts. Galliambic, glyconic, pherecretean, hexameter and pentameter meters. Called the *carmina docta*.
  - c. 69-116: "Epigrams" in elegiac couplets.
  - d. Catullus dedicated poem one to Cornelius Nepos.
- 5) Apuleius in his *Apologia* tells us that Lesbia was Catullus' name for Clodia in his poetry. Cicero lambasts Clodia in his *Pro Caelio* (Caelius was accused by Clodia, his former lover, of poisoning).
- 6) Catullus called Cicero *disertissime Romuli nepotum* and said that he didn't care to know whether Caesar was white or black (look up these two poems).
- 7) From the *Nugae/Polymetra*
  - a. Poem 5: *Vivamus*
  - b. Poem 8: *Miser Catulle*
  - c. Poem 85: *Odi et amo*
  - d. Poem 76: *Si qua recordanti*
  - e. Criticizes Arrius' adding of H to words
  - f. Criticizes Rufus' body odor
  - g. Make sure you know the syllabus.
- 8) The *Carmina Docta*
  - a. Catullus 63: *Attis and Cybele*, written in Galliambics.
  - b. 64: The marriage of Peleus and Thetis, includes the *ekphrasis* (built in digression) of Theseus' abandonment of Ariadne on Naxos.

- c. Catullus 61 and 62 are epithalamia (wedding songs).
  - i. Catullus 61: a wedding song composed for the wedding of Catullus' friends Lucius Manlius Torquatus and Vinia Aurunculeia. A hymn to Hymenaeus, god of weddings, and an invitation to the bride to leave her father's house and participate in the *deductio*.
  - ii. Catullus 62: A series of hexameter strophes sung by two choruses of boys and girls on the subject of marriage and virginity. Probably not composed for a real wedding.
- d. Catullus 65: Catullus writes to Hortensius, excusing his only writing a translation rather than an original poem on the basis of his grief for his dead brother. In Elegiac Couplets.
- e. Catullus 66: Catullus' translation of Callimachus/Battiades' *Lock of Berenice*.
- f. Catullus 68: Includes the story of Protesilaus and Laodamia.

## Lucretius

- 1) According to the grammarian Aelius Donatus, Lucretius died on the day that Virgil put on the Toga Virilis, while Pompey and Crassus were consuls (70 or 55 BC).
- 2) Jerome recounts a story that Lucretius was made insane by a love potion and killed himself. Jerome also says that Cicero edited Lucretius' works.
  - a. Cicero himself only refers to Lucretius once, praising his work in a letter to Cicero's brother Quintus.
- 3) In his *Georgics*, Vergil takes Lucretius seriously as a poet (*felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*) but most others seem not to notice him. Later authors such as Manilius, author of the *Aetna*, read him occasionally.
- 4) Lucretius pretty much rocks.
- 5) *De Rerum Natura*: Six books of hexameters
  - a. It is dedicated to Lucretius' patron, Gaius Memmius (also friend and patron of Catullus and Cinna).
  - b. Transmitted by two ninth-century manuscripts, the *Oblongus* and *Quadratus*.
  - c. Lucretius uses lots of archaizing language: *-ier* for the passive infinitive *-i*, *-ai* instead of *-ae* for the genitive singular. Also, Lucretius uses compound adjectives (*suaviloquens*, *navigerum* "ship-carrying," *frugiferens* "fruit-bearing") and creates new adverbs (*filatim*, thread by thread, *moderatim*, gradually, *praemetuenter*, with anticipatory fear).
  - d. The poem aimed to popularize Epicurean doctrine in the form of a didactic poem, though Epicurus condemned poetry and especially Homeric poetry due to its connection with myth.
    - i. Cicero and Cato hated Epicureanism because it threatened to undermine the traditional order with its emphasis on pleasure and rejection of the Gods.
    - ii. Lucretius states he wants to spread an apparently bitter doctrine with "the honey of the muses."
- 6) Summary of the *De Rerum Natura*
  - a. Invocation to Venus, the personification of Nature's generative force.
  - b. The principles of Epicurean physics, the atoms, separating and combining to form the soul, account for death, etc. Epicurus was working off the philosopher Democritus.
  - c. Critical review of other natural philosophers e.g. Heraclitus, Empedocles, and Anaxagoras
  - d. Epicurus' theory of *clinamen* (an addition to Democritus): minimal swerves in atoms account for free will.
  - e. Body and soul are both composed of atoms. The soul dies along with the body.
  - f. *Simulacra* are small membranes that preserve the form of the atoms they surround. The wandering *simulacra* also account for images in dreams. Lucretius digresses

here, condemning the passion of love and the physical attraction involved as the sole cause of this “love.”

- g. *Cosmology*: Lucretius demonstrates the mortality of our world, one of innumerable existing worlds. The movement of the stars and the causes.
- h. The brutish origin of mankind.
- i. Lucretius argues that religion was born of ignorance of natural mechanical laws. He treats positive human developments, such as language, fire, metals, weaving and agriculture, as well as negative ones, such as the beginning and progress of warfare and the emergence of religious fear.
- j. Lucretius exalts reason and enlightenment, and condemns the passion of love.
- k. Sixth book: Lucretius asserts that all physical phenomena, such as thunderbolts and earthquakes, are natural, not the products of divine will.
- l. Lucretius ends *De Rerum Natura* with a narrative of the terrible plague at Athens in 430 BC, which is also found in Thucydides.

### Cicero (106 – 43 BC)

- 1) Marcus Tullius Cicero was born in 106 BC in Arpinum (same town where Marius was born), the son of a prosperous equestrian. He went to Rome to study and began to frequent the forum, under the guidance of the orator Lucius Licinius Crassus and the two Quintus Mucius Scaevolae (the Augur and Pontiff).
  - a. Cicero was good friends with Titus Pomponius Atticus, whom he called “my light.”
  - b. In 89 Cicero served in the Social War (Marsic War) under Pompeius Strabo (the father of Pompey the Great), who besieged Asculum.
  - c. Cicero’s first case, *Pro Quinctio*, was in 81 BC.
  - d. In 80 BC Cicero delivered the *Pro Roscio Amerino*, challenging a powerful freedman of Sulla (Chrysogonus).
  - e. Between 79 and 77 BC, Cicero traveled around Greece and Asia, studying philosophy and, under Molon of Rhodes, rhetoric.
  - f. Cicero’s first wife was Terentia. Cicero and Terentia had two children, Tullia (b. 76 BC) and Marcus (b. 65 BC).
  - g. 75 BC—Cicero is quaestor in Sicily.
  - h. 69 BC—Cicero is aedile.
  - i. 67 BC—Cicero delivers the *Pro Lege Manilia*, in favor of giving Pompey extraordinary powers to defeat Mithridates of Pontus.
  - j. 63 BC—Cicero was consul and suppressed the Catilinarian conspiracy.
  - k. 58-57 BC—Cicero is in exile, driven by Clodius. Clodius proposed a law that would exile anyone who put to death another Roman citizen without a trial (as Cicero had done during the Catilinarian conspiracy).
  - l. Between 56 and 51 BC, Cicero composed the *De Oratore* and *De Republica* and began work on the *De Legibus*.
  - m. 51 BC—Cicero is proconsul (governor) in Cilicia.
  - n. Cicero supported Pompey in the civil war, rather tardily, but received a pardon from Caesar.
  - o. 46 BC—Cicero writes the *Brutus* and *De Optimo Genere Dicendi*. Cicero divorces his first wife Terentia to marry his young ward Publilia. Cicero divorces Publilia within a few months, as she is insensitive to his grief over his daughter Tullia’s death.
  - p. 45 BC—Tullia, Cicero’s daughter, dies.
  - q. 44 BC—Caesar is murdered, and Cicero begins agitating against Antony in his fourteen *Philippics*.
  - r. When Octavian reneges on the senate and joins Antony and Lepidus, Cicero is proscribed.
  - s. December 7, 43 BC—Cicero is killed by Antony’s assassins.
  - t. Cicero’s slave and scribe was Tiro.
  - u. Cicero’s son-in-law was Dolabella.

- 2) Asconius Pedius wrote five books of commentaries on Cicero for his young sons.
- 3) Summary of Cicero's works
- a. Speeches:
- i. 81 BC—*Pro Quinctio*: Cicero's first speech
  - ii. 80 BC—*Pro Roscio Amerino*
    1. Cicero went up against the powerful freedman of Sulla named Chrysogonus. But Cicero targeted Sulla himself as little as possible.
  - iii. 77? BC—*Pro Roscio Comoedo*
    1. Involves the slave Panurgus, half of whose ownership was given to Roscius the actor after Panurgus was slain.
  - iv. 72 or 71 BC—*Pro Tullio*
    1. Cicero prosecutes a veteran of Sulla who had destroyed the country house of his plaintiff Tullius.
  - v. 70 BC—*Divinatio in Q. Caecilium* and *In Verrem* (4 speeches)
    1. *In Verrem*: Cicero prosecuted Verres, corrupt governor of Sicily, who was defended by Hortensius Hortalus. Cicero only got to say the first of his *actiones in Verrem*, since Verres fled into exile.
    2. *Divinatio in Quintum Caecilium*: Cicero defends his right to appear as Verres' prosecutor. Cicero says that Hortensius has met his match, and chides Hortensius for accepting such an unworthy client.
  - vi. 69 BC—*Pro Fonteio*
    1. Cicero defends Fonteius, former governor of Gaul, against a charge of maladministration in Gaul.
  - vii. 69 or 68—*Pro Caecina*
    1. Cicero examines whether Caecina has used illegal force to take some land which his late wife had been a life tenant of.
  - viii. 66 BC—*Pro Cluentio*
    1. A defense of Cluentius against a charge of poisoning. The speech involves bribery, incest, abortion, forgery, bribery, etc.
  - ix. 66 BC—*Pro Lege Manilia* or *De Imperio Gnaei Pompei*
    1. Cicero supports giving Pompey the command against Mithridates. The *publicani* (tax collectors), influential among Cicero's own equestrian order, were notably disturbed by Mithridates' meddling with trade.
  - x. 63 BC—*De Lege Agraria* or *Contra Rullum* (3 speeches)
    1. Rullus, an agent of Caesar, had introduced legislation to give land to the surplus population of Rome. Cicero attacks the Agrarian Law as impractical and politically motivated.
  - xi. 63 BC—*Pro Rabirio Perduellionis*
    1. Cicero defends the aged knight Rabirius against a charge, instigated by Caesar, of murdering a popular leader (Saturninus?) 37 years earlier.
  - xii. 63 BC—*Pro Murena*
    1. Cicero defended Lucius Licinius Murena, a consul designate accused of electoral corruption by the defeated candidate Servius Sulpicius Rufus and by Cato the Younger. Cicero mocked Cato's stoic rigor and jested that Murena's military success was a better claim to the consulship than Servius Sulpicius Rufus' intellectual formation. Hortensius and Crassus assisted Cicero in defending Murena against Sulpicius Rufus and Cato the Younger.
    2. Delivered between the first and second Catilinarians.
  - xiii. 63 BC—*In Catilinam* (4 speeches—two to the people, two to senate)

1. Catiline was an aristocrat of Sullan origin who “Championed” the proletarian masses. Cicero had all the conspirators executed as consul.
  2. Cicero used *prosopopoeia* (“personification”), imagining the Country itself as rebuking Catiline.
  3. The individual speeches of *In Catilinam*
    - a. First Speech delivered in the Senate on November 8<sup>th</sup>.
    - b. Second Speech delivered to the people on November 9<sup>th</sup>.
    - c. Third Speech delivered to the people on December 3<sup>rd</sup>, reports the arrest of the conspirators and the evidence provided by the tribe of the Allobroges.
    - d. Fourth Speech delivered on December 5<sup>th</sup> to the Senate, and argues that the conspirators should receive the death penalty.
- xiv. 62 BC—*Pro Sulla*
1. Cicero defends Sulla against a charge of complicity in the Catilinarian conspiracy.
- xv. 62 BC—*Pro Archia Poeta*
1. Cicero defends the citizenship of the Greek poet Archia, in the process offering a famous eulogy of literature.
- xvi. 59 BC—*Pro Flacco*
1. Cicero defends Flaccus against a charge of extortion as proconsul in Asia. Cicero acknowledges the help he received from Flaccus in suppressing the Catilinarian conspiracy, and spends most of the speech impugning the character of the witnesses, Asiatic Greeks and Jews.
- xvii. 57 BC—*Cum Senatui Gratias Egit/Post Reditum in Senatu*
- xviii. 57 BC—*Cum Populo Gratias Egit/Post Reditum in Quirites*
- xix. 57 BC—*De Domo Sua*
1. Cicero argues he deserves compensation for his house, which has been illegally “consecrated” by Clodius.
- xx. 56 BC—*De Haruspicum Responso*
- xxi. 56 BC—*Pro Sestio*
1. Cicero defended Sestius, a tribune accused by Clodius of acts of violence under the *lex de vi*. Cicero replaced his idea of the *concordia ordinum* with the *consensus omnium bonorum* (an agreement of well-to-do landholding persons loyal to the political order).
- xxii. 56 BC—*In Vatinius*
1. Cicero prosecutes Vatinius, a witness who had given testimony against Sestius.
- xxiii. 56 BC—*Pro Caelio*
- xxiv. 56 BC—*De Provinciis Consularibus*
1. Cicero spoke in favor of renewing Caesar’s Gallic command. Cicero also attacks Piso and Gabinius, the consuls of 58 who helped exile him, proposing their recall from Macedonia and Syria.
- xxv. 56 BC—*Pro Balbo*
1. Cicero defends the citizenship of Balbus, a rich Spaniard and friend of the triumvirs.
- xxvi. 55 BC—*In Pisonem*
1. Cicero replies to Piso’s complaints about the *De Provinciis Consularibus*. Involves remarks on the Epicurean philosopher Philodemus.
- xxvii. 54 BC—*Pro Planco*

1. Cicero defends an aedile who had befriended him in exile against the charge of procuring his election by bribery.
  - xxviii. 54 BC—*Pro Rabirio Postumo*
    1. Cicero defends Rabirius Postumus, a friend of Caesar, against the charge of extorting money from Ptolemy Auletes.
  - xxix. 52 BC—*Pro Milone*
    1. Cicero argues that Milo's murder of Clodius on the Appian Way was in self-defense. Cicero was so frightened by partisans of Clodius in the courtroom that he was unable to deliver his speech. Milo lost and went into exile at Massilia.
  - xxx. 46 BC—*Pro Marcello*
    1. Cicero argues for the pardon of a former Pompeian, Marcellus.
  - xxxi. 46 BC—*Pro Ligario*
    1. Cicero argues for the pardon of an assassin of Caesar, Ligarius.
  - xxxii. 45 BC—*Pro Rege Deiotaurō*
    1. Cicero defends the Galatian king Deiotarus on a charge of attempting to murder Caesar, brought by Deiotaurus' grandson.
  - xxxiii. 44-43 BC—*Philippics* against Antony (14 speeches).
    1. Title taken from Demosthenes' orations against the Macedonian king Philip. Cicero denounces Antony as a brute and drunken bully. In the last *Philippic* Cicero proposes a public thanksgiving for the defeat of Antony at Mutina, and praises the fallen soldiers as *qui morte vicerunt*.
- b. Rhetorical Works
- i. *De Inventionē* (ca. 54 BC): 2 books. Defines the parts of speech and defends eloquence.
  - ii. *De Oratore* (54 BC): Cicero's largest treatise, 3 books. Addressed to Quintus, the work is a dialogue on the difficulty and usefulness of the orator's art. Involves the orators Lucius Licinius Crassus and Marcus Antonius (grandfather of the triumvir), the greatest orators of their day.
  - iii. *Partitiones Oratoriae* (ca. 54 BC): written for the instruction of Cicero's son. Written in dialogue form between Marcus Junior and Marcus Senior.
  - iv. *De Optimo Genere Oratorum* (52 BC): a refutation of Atticism.
  - v. *Brutus* (46 BC): Cicero narrates a critical history of Roman oratory down to himself (he has an autobiographical account). The orator Hortensius is mentioned as having died in the beginning, and Hortensius is the last orator discussed. Brutus and Atticus are present, as is Cicero, in the dialogue.
  - vi. *Orator* or *De Optimo Genere Dicendi* (46 BC)
  - vii. *Topica* (44 BC): Cicero, at the request of Trebatius, expounds on a copy of Aristotle's *Topica* found at Cicero's Tusculan villa. Along with *De Inventionē* and *Partitiones Oratoriae*, the work is a technical treatise.
- c. Political Works
- i. *De Republica* (54-51 BC)
    1. Cardinal Mai discovered some of the *De Republica* in a Vatican palimpsest.
    2. Contains the famous *Somnium Scipionis* ("Dream of Scipio"), commented on later by Macrobius.
  - ii. *De Legibus* (52-? BC)
    1. Conceived of as a sequel to *De Republica*.
    2. All laws from God. Treats Cicero's ideal set of laws.
- d. Philosophical Works
- i. *Paradoxa Stoicorum* (46 BC)
  - ii. *Academica* (45 BC): Cicero's treatise on epistemology.

- iii. *De Finibus Bonorum et Malorum* (45): Cicero examines the chief good which is the final end of life, through the lenses of Epicurean, Stoic, and Old Academic philosophers.
- iv. *Tusculanae Disputationes* (45 BC): Examines the essentials of happiness, and the distractions which take away from happiness.
- v. *De Natura Deorum* (45 BC): Sets forth the views of Epicureans, Stoics, and Academics on the nature and existence of the gods.
- vi. *De Divinatione* (44 BC): Cicero's treatment of divination, the mantic art.
- vii. *De Fato* (44 BC): dedicated to Hirtius, the principal speaker.
- viii. *Cato Maior de Senectute* (44 BC): Involves Cato the Elder, Scipio Africanus Minor, and Laelius. Opens with an address to Atticus and examines old age, refuting the pains charged against it.
- ix. *Laelius de Amicitia* (44): Companion piece to the *De Senectute*. Laelius says patriotism must supersede friendship.
- x. *De Officiis* (44 BC): Cicero's treatment of moral duties, addressed to his son, then a student at the university of Athens.
- e. Correspondence
  - i. *Ad Familiares* (16 Books)
    - 1. Includes the letter written to Cicero by the jurist Sulpicius on Cicero's daughter Tullia's death.
  - ii. *Ad Atticum* (16 Books)
  - iii. *Ad Quintum Fratrem* (27 letters)
    - 1. *Commentariolum petitionis*: Quintus asks his brother Cicero about campaigning for the consulship.
  - iv. *Ad Marcum Brutum* (2 books of an original 9, disputed authenticity).
- f. Poetic Works
  - i. *Aratea*—translation of Aratus' astronomical poem *Phaenomena*
  - ii. *Marius*
  - iii. *De Consulatu Suo*
    - 1. *O fortunatam me consule Romam!* This was ridiculed by Juvenal.
    - 2. *Cedant arma togae...*
  - iv. *Juvenilia*
  - v. *Limon* ("Meadow")
  - vi. *Uxorius, Nilus, Thalia Maesta* (an elegy).
- g. Lost prose Works
  - i. *Consolatio*: written after the death of his daughter Tullia.
  - ii. *Hortensius*: written after Munda, an exhortation to the study of philosophy.
  - iii. *Laus Catonis*
  - iv. *De Gloria*
  - v. *De Virtutibus*
  - vi. *De Auguriis*
  - vii. *De Consiliis Suis*
  - viii. *Chorographia* (geography)
  - ix. *Admiranda* (curiosities)
- h. Translations
  - i. Plato's *Timaeus*
  - ii. Plato's *Protagoras*
  - iii. Xenophon's *Oeconomicus*

### Philology, Biography and Antiquarianism at the End of the Republic

- 1) Titus Pomponius Atticus: friend of Cicero, *eques*, his house on the Quirinal was a meeting place for those interested in antiquarian research, such as Cicero, Varro, probably Nepos.
  - a. *Liber Annalis* (47 BC): summary of history down to the year 49 BC.



- b. Atticus was probably an Epicurean. Cicero's eulogium of him mentioned that he was a collector of *memorabilia* (achievements and deeds of Romans).
- 2) Varro (Marcus Terentius Varro Reatinus) was born in 116 BC at Reate, and died in 27.
- a. Along with Cicero, Varro was a student of the first philologist, Aelius Stilo.
  - b. Varro fought in the Dalmatian campaign from 78-77, and was in Pompey's entourage during the fight against Sertorius, and later against the pirates. He was Pompey's legate in Spain during the civil war.
  - c. Caesar entrusted Varro with the task of creating a large library.
  - d. Varro was proscribed in 43 BC but he was saved by Fufius Calenus. His wife Fundania was saved as well.
  - e. Varro coined the term "Menippean Satires" with reference to the Cynic philosopher Menippus of Gadara.
  - f. Preserved works
    - i. *De Lingua Latina*: 25 books. 6 damaged books remain. Varro dedicated all but the first four books of *De Lingua Latina* to Cicero.
      1. *De Lingua Latina* treats the origins of language, morphology, syntax, stylistics, foreign language assimilation, etc. Includes several etymologies, many bizarre.
    - ii. *De Re Rustica*: 3 books. Dedicated in part to his wife Fundania. Virgil largely based the structure of his *Georgics* on the *De Re Rustica*
  - g. Fragmentary or lost works
    - i. *Menippean Satires (Saturnae Menippeae)*: 150 books of mixed verse and prose (term for that is prosimetron). Somewhat gloomy, satirical view.
    - ii. *Antiquitates rerum divinarum et humanarum*. Dedicated to Caesar as pontifex maximus. Attacked by Augustine for its pagan theology.
      1. Examined Rome's origins, foundation, and three different methods of theology (mythological, natural, and civil).
    - iii. *Hebdomades vel de imaginibus*: a series of biographies (*imagines*), seven hundred in total, each accompanied by an epigram.
    - iv. *Logistorici*: dialogues on philosophical and historical subjects, in prose.
    - v. *Disciplinae*: a nine-book dictionary of sorts on the liberal arts: ancient science and grammar, dialectic, and rhetoric, as well as geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, music, astronomy, and medicine.
    - vi. *De Vita Populi Romani* and *De Gente Populi Romani*
    - vii. *De Vita Sua* and *Legationes* (both autobiographical)
    - viii. *Annales, Ephemeris Navalis ad Pompeium, De Ora Maritima*.
    - ix. *Quaestiones Plautinae, De Comoediis Plautinis, De Scaenicis Originibus, De Actionibus Scaenicis*
    - x. *De Poetis* (a fundamental literary chronology of poets) and *De Poematis*.
      1. Suetonius also wrote a *De Poetis*, part of his *De Viris Illustribus*.
    - xi. *De Iure Civili*
- 3) Nigidius Figulus: a friend of Cicero who "revived Pythagoreanism" and was interested in cosmology, natural history, philosophy. Always opposed to the Caesarian party; Caesar exiled him and he died in 45 BC.
- a. *Commentarii Grammatici*: 29 Books.
  - b. His cognomen *figulus* means "potter." He declared that the world turns on its own axis at the speed of a potter's wheel.
  - c. Nigidius Figulus has often been classified as a Neo-Pythagorean philosopher.
- 4) Cornelius Nepos: Born around 100 BC in Gallia Cisalpina.
- a. *Chronica*: 3 books, a "universal history" alluded to by Catullus 1.
  - b. *Exempla*: 5+ books, a collection of curiosities and notices, presumably conceived as a repertory for orators. Used by Pliny the Elder as a source for his *Naturalis Historia*.
  - c. *De Viris Illustribus (Vitae)*: 16 books divided into 8 pairs. Includes a book on foreign military leaders (*De Excellentibus Ducibus Exterarum Gentium*) and biographies of Cato as well as of Nepos' friend Atticus. Nepos grouped his persons in professional

categories (kings, orators, grammarians, etc.), each of which was supposed to fill two books.

- i. *De Viris Illustribus* includes a long biography of Atticus (Nepos' friend and patron) as well as a biography of Hannibal and one of Cato. In depicting Atticus, Nepos wanted to show the example of an old-fashioned virtue combined with modern values.

### Caesar (100 BC-44 BC)

- 1) Caesar was born at Rome on July 13, 100 BC to a patrician family. He was a relative of Marius and Cinna, and persecuted therefore as a youth by the Sullans.
- 2) Quaestor (68 BC), Aedile (65 BC), Pontifex Maximus (63 BC), Praetor (62 BC), Proprætor in Further Spain (61 BC). Entered the First Triumvirate with Pompey and Crassus (60 BC). Caesar consul for the first time (59 BC) with Bibulus, whom he disregarded.
  - a. 58 BC—Caesar gains proconsulship of Illyria and Romanized Gaul (Gallia Cisalpina and Gallia Narbonensis).
  - b. January 10, 49 BC—Caesar invades Italy with two legions.
  - c. 48 BC—Caesar defeats Pompey at Pharsalus
  - d. 46 BC—Caesar defeats Pompey, Juba, and Metellus Celer's senatorial army at Thapsus.
  - e. 45 BC—Caesar defeats the sons of Pompey at Munda.
  - f. March 15<sup>th</sup>, 44 BC—Caesar is assassinated by aristocrats, after declaring himself dictator for life.
- 3) Works
  - a. *De Bello Gallico*—7 books by Caesar, 8<sup>th</sup> book by Aulus Hirtius, his lieutenant.
  - b. *Commentarii de Bello Gallico*—3 books, unfinished.
  - c. A versum epigram on Terence (lacking *vis comica*; *emendator sermonis usitati, dimidiata Menander*)
  - d. Funeral eulogium on his aunt Julia, in which he asserts the descent of the *gens Julia* from Iulus, Aeneas, and Venus.
  - e. *De Analogia*—2 books, on grammar, language and style
  - f. *Iter*—poem on his expedition to Spain/Munda in 45 BC.
  - g. *Oedipus*—a tragedy
  - h. *Laudes Herculis*—a poem
  - i. *Anticatores*—a pamphlet in two books, written as a reply to Cicero's eulogium of Cato the Younger (*Laus Catonis*).
  - j. The spurious *Corpus Caesarianum*
    - i. *Bellum Alexandrinum*
    - ii. *Bellum Africum*
    - iii. *Bellum Hispaniense*
- 4) Summary of the *De Bello Gallico*
  - a. 1<sup>st</sup> book: Campaign against Helvetii in 58 BC, and campaign against the German king Ariovistus.
  - b. 2<sup>nd</sup>: revolt of Gallic tribes, 3<sup>rd</sup>: campaign against Atlantic coast peoples.
  - c. 4<sup>th</sup> book: Operations against the Usipeti and Tencteri, German peoples who had crossed the Rhine. Operations against the rebel Gallic leaders Indutiomarus and Ambiorix.
  - d. 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> books: Expeditions against the Britons accused of aiding Gallic rebels.
  - e. 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup> books: Caesar exterminates people in Gallia Belgica, who are offering vigorous resistance.
  - f. In 52 BC, Vercingetorix, king of the Arveni, rebels.
  - g. 7<sup>th</sup> Book: Caesar defeats Vercingetorix at Alesia in 52 BC.

### Sallust (86 BC—35/34 BC)

- 1) Gaius Sallustius Crispus was born at Amiternum in Sabine country in 86 BC.
- 2) Sallust became a *novus homo* politician. As a *tribunus plebis* in 52, he led a campaign against Clodius' killer, Milo, and his defender, Cicero.
- 3) Sallust had been horse-whipped for having an adulterous affair with Milo's wife.
- 4) Aristocrats expelled him from the senate in 50 BC for moral degeneracy. Specifically, the optimate censor Appius Claudius Pulcher (brother of Clodius Pulcher) expelled Sallust from the senate.
- 5) In the civil war Sallust fought for Caesar, and was thus readmitted to the Senate.
  - a. 46 BC—Sallust is praetor.
  - b. Caesar makes Sallust governor of Africa Nova after Caesar deprives King Juba of Numidia.
  - c. Sallust is a crappy administrator of Africa Nova, and is accused of embezzlement when he returns to the Senate.
  - d. Sallust retires to his residence, with a large park (the *horti Sallustiani*) between the Quirinal and Pincian.
  - e. Sallust died while working on and leaving his last work, the *Historiae*, unfinished.
- 6) *Bellum Catilinae (De Catilinae Coniuratione)*: historical monograph
  - a. Catiline takes advantage of Rome's moral degeneracy to get people for his conspiracy.
  - b. Catiline's aide, Manlius, gathers an army at Faesulae. Catiline flees there.
  - c. Silanus argues in favor of executing the conspirators, but Caesar disagrees.
  - d. Catiline dies trying to flee to Gallia Cisalpina, in battle at Pistoria.
  - e. Sallust holds that Caesar and Cato are the only two great men of the time.
    - i. At the beginning of *Bellum Catilinae* is an "archaeology," a quick sketch of Rome's rise and fall, which depicts the turning point as the fall of Carthage and the ensuing lack of *metus hostilis* that had kept citizens united. Sallust emphasizes the degeneracy and horror of Sulla's actions.
    - ii. Caesar is not criticized for his policies as leader of the *populares*, or linked at all to Catiline.
    - iii. Sallust depicts Catiline as depraved and evil.
- 7) *Bellum Iugurthinum*: on the war with Jugurtha
  - a. Sallust describes the war against Jugurtha, from 111 to 105 BC, as the first occasion when "men dared to oppose the insolence of the nobility."
  - b. Jugurtha makes himself king of Numidia through crime. Rome sends Metellus to Africa, and his successes are admirable but not decisive. Metellus' lieutenant, Marius, goes to Rome and is elected consul in 107 BC. He enrolls the *capite censi*, proletarians not subject to taxation, in his army and goes back to Africa. Eventually Bocchus, king of Mauretania, betrays his former ally Jugurtha.
  - c. Sallust points to factional government (*mos partium et factionum*) as the cause of the Republic's destruction.
  - d. In *Bellum Iugurthinum*, the tribune Memmius gives a speech criticizing the inconclusive policy of the Senate, and urging people to rebel against the *pauci*, the aristocrats controlling the Senate. Later, Marius gives a speech persuading the plebs to enroll in his army en masse, talking about the establishment of a new aristocracy based on *virtus*.
- 8) *Historiae*: Sallust's greatest historical work, begun in 39 BC. Covers the period between 78 and 67 BC, from the death of Sulla to the end of Pompey's war against the pirates. Sallust attaches the *Histories* to Sisenna's narrative.
  - a. A speech by Mithridates on Rome's thirst for power, and drive to conquer other peoples. Speeches by Lepidus, Marcius Philippus, Licinius Macer.
  - b. Sallust expresses admiration for Sertorius, who rebelled against Sulla and the *optimates*.
- 9) *Invectiva in Ciceronem*: spurious, invective against Cicero.
- 10) *Epistulae ad Caesarem Senem de Republica*: also spurious.

- 11) Perhaps a poem, *Empodoclea*, mentioned by Cicero, but the poem is probably by Cicero's friend Sallustius.
- 12) Sallust virtually introduced the historical monograph to Roman literature; the only real possible precedent is Coelius Antipater.
- 13) In his works and monographs Sallust criticizes the corrupted institutions and evils of greed and power that have poisoned Roman political life.
- 14) Sallust's style frequently uses asymmetry, antithesis, and variations in construction. Sallust often archaizes in his idiom and diction. He uses made-up speeches quite a bit.

## PART THREE: THE AGE OF AUGUSTUS

### 43 BC – AD 17: Characteristics of a Period

- 1) Augustus' *Res Gestae Divi Augusti*: propagandistic biography, large fragment found in Ankara/Ankyra in Turkey (Anatolia). This is called the *Monumentum Ankyranum*. Augustus dedicated it to his friends Agrippa and Maecenas.
- 2) Augustus attempted to write a poem called *Ajax* which he spoke of with irony.
- 3) Varius Rufus introduced, along with Vergil, Horace to Maecenas. Varius Rufus also published, along with Plotius Tucca, Vergil's *Aeneid* after his death.
  - a. Varius Rufus wrote a tragedy called *Thyestes*.
  - b. Varius Rufus' poem *De Morte* illuminated his Epicureanism.
  - c. Varius Rufus also composed a *Panegyric* on Augustus.
- 4) Gaius Clinius Maecenas was from Arezzo in Etruria. Maecenas came from an aristocratic family but never rose above equestrian status or obtained public office, by choice.
  - a. Maecenas was the patron of Vergil, Horace, and Propertius.
- 5) Asinius Pollio: Pollio fought for Antony before retiring from his promising political career.
  - a. Pollio founded the first public library at Rome in the atrium of the temple of Liberty.
  - b. Pollio is praised by Horace and Vergil in the *Eclogues* as a writer of tragedy.
  - c. Pollio wrote the *Historiae*, which is lost.
- 6) Marcus Valerius Messala: Messala fought with Brutus and Cassius and then with Antony but switched at the right moment to Octavian.
  - a. Messala was the patron of Tibullus and Ovid. In Tibullus' work, there are poems by Sulpicia, Messala's niece and the lover of Cerinthus.
  - b. There is a *Panegyric* on Messala in the *Corpus Tibullianum*.

### Vergil

- 1) Publius Vergilius Maro was born on October 15<sup>th</sup>, 70 BC near Mantua.
  - a. In Naples, Vergil attended the school of the Epicurean Siro. The *Georgics* speak of Naples as his beloved place of retirement and literary activity.
  - b. Immediately after publishing the *Bucolics*, Vergil joined Maecenas' circle.
  - c. After defeating Antony and Cleopatra, Octavian stopped at Atella in Campania in 29 BC and had Vergil read to him from the *Georgics*. Augustus followed the development of the *Aeneid* with great interest.
  - d. Vergil died on September 21<sup>st</sup>, 19 BC at Brundisium, returning from a voyage to Greece. At Augustus' behest, Plotius Tucca and Varius Rufus published the *Aeneid*.
- 2) The *Eclogues (Bucolics)*: 10 poems in dactylic hexameters
  - a. The *Eclogues* allude to the land confiscations around Mantua following Philippi.
  - b. Based on Theocritus's *Idylls*, Vergil's work spoke of the lives of shepherds. In the *Bucolics* Vergil refuses to sing of *reges et proelia*.
  - c. Summary of the *Eclogues*
    - i. One: Dialogue between Tityrus and Meliboeus, on the land confiscations.
    - ii. Two: The shepherd Corydon complains of his love for Alexis.

- iii. Four: The Messianic Eclogue on the birth of a child who will witness a new and happy cosmic age. *Paulo maiora canamus, Sicelides Musae.*
  - iv. Five: Menalcas and Mopsus lament the death of Daphnis, a deified pastoral hero.
  - v. Six: The aged Silenus is captured by two young men and sings a catalogue of mythical and naturalistic scenes, culminating with the poetic consecration of the great elegiac writer Cornelius Gallus. A declaration of poetics introduces the sixth eclogue, introducing also the second half of the work.
  - vi. Seven: Meliboeus recounts a duel between the Arcadian shepherds Thyrsis and Corydon.
  - vii. Eight: A singing contest dedicated to Asinius Pollio, with two stories of unhappy love: the lament of Damon, who will choose death, and the magical practices of a woman in love.
  - viii. Nine: Dialogue between two shepherd-poets on the reality of the Mantuan countryside and the expropriations that followed the civil wars.
  - ix. Ten: The bucolic poet Virgil consoles the elegiac poet Cornelius Gallus for his love pangs.
- d. Vergil dedicated the *Eclogues* to Octavian.
- 3) *The Georgics*
- a. Based on Hesiod's *Works and Days*, *The Georgics* was ostensibly a didactic poem, treating technical subjects as well as natural ones. Vergil also describes small scenes such as the behavior of bees when ill: as Vergil himself says of the *Georgics*, *in tenui labor*.
  - b. Vergil had had to forfeit his farm, "too close to wretched Cremona."
  - c. The four books cover the working of the fields, arboriculture, the raising of livestock, and beekeeping. There are digressions in each book:
    - i. Book one: the civil wars
    - ii. Book two: the praise of the rural life
    - iii. Book three: the plague among animals of Noricum
    - iv. Book four: the story of Aristaeus the beekeeper and his bees
  - d. According to Servius, Vergil had originally ended Book 4 with a *laudes Galli*, but substituted the story of Aristaeus, Orpheus, and Eurydice when Gallus committed suicide after falling into disgrace with Augustus.
  - e. In the *Georgics*, Vergil said of Lucretius: *felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas*.
  - f. Vergil introduces the princeps Augustus and Maecenas as poetic inspirers, portraying the young Octavian as the only one who can save the civilized world from war and decline.
  - g. Aristaeus the beekeeper has lost his bees in an epidemic. Aristaeus' mother Cyrene helps him to figure out the cause: he has unintentionally caused the death of Eurydice, the singer Orpheus' wife, by trying to rape her. The story of Orpheus and Eurydice follows. Then, Aristaeus removes the curse by sacrificing oxen, and the life of new bees develops from the rotting carcasses of the sacrificed oxen.
- 4) *The Aeneid*
- a. Vergil's object was partly to praise Augustus' ancestors through Ascanius/Iulus, the forebear of the *gens Iulia*.
  - b. Summary of the *Aeneid*
    - i. Book One: Juno provokes Aeolus to send the winds against Aeneas's fleet, which forces him to put ashore in Africa near Carthage. Aided by his mother Venus, Aeneas finds welcome from Dido, who asks him to recount the end of Troy.
    - ii. Aeneas recounts the end of Troy, in which he loses Creusa.
    - iii. Aeneas' account of his travels after leaving the Troad.
    - iv. The story of Dido's love for Aeneas and after his desertion, her suicide. Dido's sister Anna is sad.
    - v. The Trojans stop in Sicily and celebrate Anchises' funeral games.

- vi. Aeneas arrives at Cumae in Campania and consults the Sibyl to gain access of the world of the dead. He meets Deiphobus, Dido, his helmsman Palinurus, and Anchises. Parade of future Roman heroes e.g. Marcellus.
- vii. Aeneas disembarks at the mouth of the Tiber. He makes a pact with King Latinus. Juno launches Allecto, demon of discord, to stir up the Rutulian prince Turnus and Amata, Latinus' queen and wife. Lavinia is the "new Helen".
- viii. Book Eight: Aeneas sails up the Tiber where he finds Evander, the king of a small nation of Arcadians. Aeneas allies with the coalition against Mezentius, the cruel tyrant of Caere. Aeneas gets a set of armor made for Vulcan.
- ix. Book Nine: The Trojan youths Nisus and Euryalus sacrifice themselves during a nighttime expedition.
- x. Book 10: Aeneas comes back to the battle, but Turnus kills Evander's son Pallas and strips him of his sword belt. Aeneas kills Mezentius in turn.
- xi. Book 11: Aeneas mourns Pallas. Camilla the Latin warrior dies.
- xii. Book 12: A duel between Aeneas and Turnus, which fails due to Juturna, Turnus' sister. Aeneas slays Turnus, not sparing him after seeing the belt of Pallas.

## Horace

- 1) Quintus Horatius Flaccus was born on December 8<sup>th</sup>, 65 BC at Venusia, a Roman military colony in Apulia (really on the border between Apulia and Lucania). Horace's father was a freedman, like the father of Lucilius.
  - a. At Rome Horace attended the school of Orbilius, whom he termed *plagosus* for his penchant for blows. Orbilius stressed the archaic poets.
  - b. At twenty, Horace went to Athens to study. He joined Burtus' republican army and was made a military tribune with command over a legion. He fought at Philippi (42 BC) where he "threw down his shield" in the tradition of Archilochus, Anacreon, Alcaeus, et. al.
  - c. Horace became a *scriba quaestorius*, a scribe in the treasury. Soon Virgil and Varius Rufus presented him to Maecenas, who gave Horace a Sabine farm in 33 BC.
  - d. Horace gracefully refused Augustus' offer to make Horace his personal secretary.
  - e. Horace died on November 27<sup>th</sup>, 8 BC.
  - f. Suetonius included a *Vita Horati* in his *De Poetis* in the *De Viris Illustribus*.
- 2) *Epodes*: 17 short poems written between 41 and 30 BC, and published with the second book of the *Satires*.
  - a. Horace called the *Epodes* the *Iambi* because of the predominating Iambic rhythm. The work's meters: iambic trimeters, also hexameters, etc.
  - b. The prefatory poem of the *Epodes* is addressed to Maecenas, whom Horace claims he will accompany to face any danger.
  - c. Invective against the witch Canidia; playful invective against garlic and Maecenas, who prepared it for him.
  - d. Horace claims to be the first to bring Archilochus' iambs to Latium, though he is not bringing the "subjects and words that pursued Lycambes." Horace was influenced by Archilochus and Callimachus.
  - e. Tenth epode: a reverse *propempticon* (wishing someone a good voyage) to Maevius, wishing Maevius a shipwreck.
- 3) *Satires*: Two books in dactylic hexameter.
  - a. Horace's *Journey to Brundisium* is modeled on Lucilius' journey to Sicily.
  - b. Ofellus, the Stoic Damasippus, Stertinius, Catius' gastronomic theory; Tiresias and Ulysses on building estate; Horace and his slave Davus; the rich man

- Nasidienus expounds on gastronomic therapy in his house (Petronius would use this satire of Horace as a cue for his *Cena Trimalchionis*).
- c. According to Quintilian, *Satura Tota Nostra Est*
    - i. Horace credits Lucilius with inventing satire, though Ennius had written it. Quintilian's "line" of satiric poets: Lucilius, Horace, Persius, Juvenal.
  - 4) *Odes* (in Latin, *Carmina*): Four Books, the first three published in 23 BC.
    - a. *Carmen Saeculare*: composed at Augustus' behest for the Ludi Saeculares, a hymn in Sapphic meter to the gods, especially Apollo and Diana, asking for prosperity for Rome and Augustus' government. Performed by a chorus of 27 girls.
    - b. Meters: Alcaic strophe, minor Sapphic strophe, Asclepiadic strophe in various forms.
    - c. The Horatian Lyric is most indebted to Alcaeus. In regard to his *Epodes*, Horace proclaims himself the heir of Archilochus; in regard to his lyric writing in the *Odes*, Horace calls himself the Roman Alcaeus.
      - i. Horace is also indebted to Anacreon of Teos and Sappho. Horace admires Stesichorus, and uses Bacchylides, Pindar.
    - d. Ode to Thaliarchus on winter. Ode on Sappho and Alcaeus bewitching the Underworld with their song.
    - e. *Carpe diem*, ship of state, *fons Bandusiae*, Ligurinus,
  - 5) *Epistles*: Two Books
    - a. The prefatory epistle is dedicated to Maecenas.
    - b. With the *Epistles*, Horace introduced a new literary genre, that of the verse epistle (specifically, a systematic collection of verse epistles).
    - c. Horace instructs Tibullus on Epicurean precepts; Horace advises Lollius on reading Homer; Horace talks to Fuscus on city and country life; Bullatius on *strenua inertia* ("frenzied torpor"), Quincitus, Lollius, Numonius Vala, Vinnius,
    - d. The Second book contains two long epistles: The first to Augustus criticizing admiration for the archaic poets and examines the development of Roman literature. The second, to Julius Florus, is a sort of retirement from poetry and describes the Roman writer's daily life and the pursuit of philosophical wisdom.
  - 6) *Ars Poetica (Epistulae ad Pisones)*: might have been in the second book of the *Epistles*
    - a. Horace's source was Neoptolemus of Parium.
    - b. Horace's *Ars Poetica* is a treatise in 476 hexameter lines on Peripatetic theories on poetry, especially dramatic poetry.
    - c. Horace talks about tragedy, comedy, the satyr play, the theater, the history of Greek and Roman culture and literature, etc.

## Roman Elegy: Cornelius Gallus, Tibullus, Propertius

### Quintilian's Canon of Elegists

- 1) Quintilian: *elegia quoque Graecos provocamus (Institutio Oratoria)*
- 2) Quintilian fixed the famous canon of elegiac authors: Gallus, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid. Ovid named himself as the youngest in his *Tristia*.

### Cornelius Gallus

- 3) Gaius Cornelius Gallus was born in Narbonese Gaul at Forum Iulii. He was a friend and fellow student of Vergil at Rome, and may have helped him preserve his land during the confiscations following Philippi. Our chief source for Gallus' life is Suetonius.
- 4) Gaius Cornelius Gallus was made the first prefect of Egypt by Octavian after he fought in Egypt for Octavian against Antony, in 30 BC.

- 5) Gallus fell into disgrace with Augustus through his haughtiness as *praefectus Aegypti*, perhaps erecting figures to himself instead of Augustus. Gallus' property was confiscated and he was exiled; he was left no choice but to commit suicide.
- 6) Gallus wrote four books of elegies called the *Amores*. He sang his passion for Lycoris, the poetic pseudonym of the mime actress Volumnia, whose stage name was Cytheris. Antony may also have been Volumnia's lover.
  - a. Gallus, according to Vergil's tenth eclogue, was an admirer of Euphorion. Gallus sang of the Scythian river Hypanis which *uno tellures dividit amne duas*.
  - b. In 1979 a papyrus discovered in Egypt had ten verses of Gallus.
- 7) Gallus was a good friend of Vergil. Vergil dedicated his tenth eclogue to Gallus.
  - a. Gallus was also a good friend of the poet Parthenius of Nicaea, who dedicated to him a collection of prose myths about love, *Erotika pathemata*, from which Gallus might draw inspiration.

### **Tibullus**

- 1) Albius Tibullus was born between 55 and 50 BC in rural Latium, perhaps at Gabii or Pedum. He was from a well-to-do equestrian family.
  - a. The sources for Tibullus' life are scant. We have a *Vita Tibulli*, perhaps from Suetonius' *De Poetis*; Horace's epistle 1.4; a funeral epigram on Tibullus by Domitius Marus; Ovid's epicedion, *Amores* 3.9 on Tibullus.
- 2) Tibullus' patron was Messala. He followed Messala on several military expeditions, such as the expedition to Aquitania.
- 3) Quintilian saw Tibullus as the classic of Roman elegiac poetry, calling him "terse and elegant."
- 4) *Corpus Tibullianum*: 3 books (later divided into four books).
- 5) Tibullus' loves: Delia (Plania), Nemesis, Marathus, Glycera\*
  - a. Tibullus' first book is dominated by Delia, whose real name is Plania (according to Apuleius).
  - b. In addition to Delia and Nemesis, Tibullus wrote elegies on his love for the boy Marathus.
  - c. Horace mentions Tibullus' unhappy love for Glycera, but we have no such elegies.
- 6) Lygdamus' love for Neaera and Sulpicia's love for Cerinthus
  - a. The first six poems of book 3 of Tibullus' *Corpus* are the work of a poet called Lygdamus. Lygdamus addresses his love for Neaera.
  - b. After Lygdamus' six elegies is a 211 hexameter poem, the *Panegyric of Messala*.
  - c. Tibullus wrote five poems on the love of Sulpicia, Messala's niece, for Cerinthus.
  - d. Sulpicia was the niece of Messala and the jurist Servius Sulpicius.
  - e. Sulpicia herself also wrote six elegies in the *Corpus* to Cerinthus.
    - i. Cerinthus might be the hellenized version of Tibullus' friend Cornutus. Tibullus wrote some elegies to Cornutus.

### **Propertius**

- 7) Sextus Propertius was born in Umbria, at Assisi (most probably) between 49 and 47 BC.
- 8) Propertius' patron was Maecenas.
- 9) Propertius wrote four books of Elegies. His first book is called *Monobiblos*.
  - a. The first book opens with the name of Cynthia ("*Cynthia prima suis miserum me cepit ocellis,/contactum nullis ante cupidinibus*"). In the final poem of the first book, a *sphragis* ("signature") to the *monobiblos*, Propertius deals with the death of a relative of his in the Perusine war.
  - b. *Tu mihi sola domus, tu, Cynthia, sola parentes,/omnia tu nostrae tempora laetitiae*.
  - c. Cynthia's real name was Hostia, according to Apuleius.
- 10) In Propertius' third book, he wrote an *epicedion* ("funeral song") for the death of Marcellus, Augustus' son-in-law and adopted son.



- a. Propertius also wrote a consolation on the death of Cornelia, Scribonia's daughter (Scribonia was the second wife of Augustus).
- 11) In Propertius' third book, he talks of how the dead Cynthia visits him as a ghost in a dream. He also talks about the myths and rituals of Roman and Italian traditions: Vertumus, Tarpeia, Hercules and Cacus, Jupiter Feretrius.
- 12) Propertius hailed the coming of the Aeneid, and the Aeneid as a work greater than the Iliad (*nescio quid maius nascitur Iliade*: something greater than the Iliad is born).
- 13) Propertius declares himself to be the "Roman Callimachus" just as Horace declares himself the "Roman Alcaeus" and tries to take up Archilochus' mantle.

### Ovid (b. 43 BC)

- 1) Publius Ovidius Naso was born at Sulmo on March 20<sup>th</sup>, 43 BC. Sulmo was a city of the Paelignians. At Rome he attended the schools of Arellius Fuscus and Porcius Latro, intending to go into a career in law and politics, as his father wanted.
- 2) Ovid's patron was Messala, whose circle he joined.
- 3) In his *Amores*, Ovid wrote to Corinna, possibly a fictional woman.
- 4) In 8 AD, Ovid was exiled to Tomi on the Black Sea for a *carmen et error*. He might have been involved in the adultery of Julia Minor, Augustus' granddaughter, with Decimus Junius Silanus. His *Ars Amatoria* or *Metamorphoses* also pissed off Augustus.
- 5) *Amores*: Five books, Ovid's first work, consisting of 49 elegies in elegiac couplets.
- 6) *Heroides*
  - a. Ovid bragged he had created a new literary genre: mythological elegy, verse letters on the subject of love, etc.
  - b. Penelope to Ulysses; Phyllis to Demophon; Briseis to Achilles; Phaedra to Hippolytus; Oenone to Paris; Dido to Aeneas; Hypsipyle to Jason; Hermione to Orestes; Deianira to Hercules; Ariadne to Theseus; Canace to Macareus; Medea to Jason; Laodamia to Protesilaus; Hypermestra to Lynceus; Sappho to Phaon.
    - i. Second series: three double letters. Paris and Helen; Hero and Leander; Acontius and Cydippe.
- 7) *Medea*: Ovid's lost tragedy, which had great success in antiquity.
- 8) *Ars Amatoria*: 3 books. First two on seducing and keeping a woman, third for women on how to seduce men. Ovid is the *praeceptor amoris*. Didactic poem.
- 9) *Remedia Amoris*: how to fall out of love. Didactic poem.
- 10) *Medicamina Faciei Femineae*: The Cosmetics of Women, "Face Potions". A didactic poem.
- 11) *Metamorphoseon Libri*: 15 books, composed between AD 2 to AD 8.
- 12) *Fasti*: 6 books, a poetic calendar in elegiac couplets on Roman and Italian traditions and myths. Broken off in June, the sixth month.
  - a. Ovid's "civic poetry", meant to illustrate the ancient myths and customs of Latium.
  - b. *Fasti* is based on Ovid's direct predecessor, Propertius, and on Callimachus' *Aitia* (their shared model). It is aitiological in that it investigates the causes in myth of present day reality.
    - i. Verrius Flaccus the grammarian had written a commentary on the Roman calendar already
- 13) *Tristia*: five books composed during his exile.
  - a. Ovid's first work in exile.
  - b. First book during the voyage to Tomi.
  - c. Second book is one single elegy, a plea and defense addressed to Augustus
  - d. Ovid laments his condition in exile and appeals to his friends and wife to obtain a better location, if not a remission of exile.
  - e.
- 14) *Epistulae ex Ponto*: 4 books. 46 elegies in elegiac couplets.
  - a. *Epistulae ex Ponto* includes a catalogue of Augustan age poets.
  - b. All the works in *Epistulae ex Ponto* are in the form of letters. *Heroides* and *Epistulae ex Ponto* are Ovid's two epistolary works, written in letters.

- 15) *Ibis*: An invective poem against Ovid's enemy in Rome. Name based on a coprophilic bird, the Ibis. Modeled on a poem of Callimachus against a detractor of his, perhaps Apollonius of Rhodes.
- 16) A poem in the Getic language spoken at Tomi.

### Livy (59 BC - AD 17)

- 1) Titus Livius was born at Padua/Patavium in 59 BC. His cognomen is unknown.
- 2) Livy went to Rome initially interested in philosophy, but devoted himself entirely to his massive historical work at age 30.
- 3) Livy encouraged the future emperor Claudius to write history.
- 4) Livy often visited Padua, where he died in AD 17.
- 5) *Ab Urbe Condita*: 142 books, 35 extant books (1-10; 21-45) and fragments.
  - a. Livy's history of Rome down from its foundation to the contemporary period.
  - b. Famous fragments on the death of Cicero and Livy's judgment on Cicero; these were passed down to us by Seneca the Elder.
  - c. *Ab Urbe Condita* uses an annalistic structure, rejecting the monograph format of Sallust's early works.
  - d. Begins with Aeneas' flight from Troy.
  - e. *Ab Urbe Condita* ends with the death of Drusus I, Augustus' stepson, in Germany in 9 BC. Or it goes down to Varro's defeat by Arminius in the Teutoberg Forest in AD 9.
  - f. Livy's sources: Valerius Antias, Licinius Macer (an annalist who favored Marius), Claudius Quadrigarius, to a lesser extent Fabius Pictor and the *Origines* of Cato very little.
  - g. Livy is an *exornator rerum* according to some, caring most about an exciting narrative rather than critical evaluation of his sources.
  - h. In the preface, Livy says narrating the past is a refuge from the distress of narrating the present.
  - i. Livy justifies Rome's acquisition of empire as resulting from *fortuna* (here, essentially divine providence) and the Roman people's *virtus*.
  - j. Livy conceives of history as a narrative conducted in terms of personalities and representative individuals. He frequently uses composed speeches.
- 6) According to Quintilian, Asinius Pollio criticized Livy for *Patavinitas*.
- 7) According to Tacitus, Augustus jokingly called Livy a "Pompeian" because of the Republican sympathies in *Ab Urbe Condita*. But like Augustus, Livy wished to restore ancient moral and religious values.
- 8) Quintilian compared Sallust's *brevitas* with Livy's *lactea ubertas*. Quintilian considered Sallust a superior historian to Livy.
  - a. Livy himself criticized Sallust for excessively concise expression, and a pursuit of *brevitas* attempting to rival Thucydides.

### Directions in Historiography

- 1) Asinius Pollio: wrote the *Histories*. The *Histories* cover the period from the first triumvirate onwards, including the civil war between Caesar and Pompey. Horace notes in his Odes how Asinius Pollio went down a fiery terrain with his work.
  - a. Pollio was from Teate (Chieti) in the country of the Marrucini.
  - b. A follower first of Caesar and then of Antony. He was a patron of poets.
  - c. In his youth Pollio had been a friend of Catullus and Helvius Cinna. Vergil dedicated his fourth eclogue to Asinius Pollio.
  - d. Asinius Pollio was an Atticist orator and remained hostile to Cicero.
- 2) Augustus: Augustus wrote *Commentarii de Vita sua*. A funeral inscription to himself, the *Res Gestae*, is preserved in both Greek and Latin in Ankara at a temple dedicated to Augustus and the goddess Rome.
  - a. Agrippa also wrote *Commentarii*.

- 3) Pompeius Trogus: wrote the 44-book *Historicae Philippicae* (Philippic Histories).
  - a. Trogus came from Gallia Narbonensis and was a contemporary of Livy.
  - b. The *Philippic Histories* were a universal history stretching down to the author's own day, but it focused on the history of Macedon, and only the last two books dealt with Rome and the western regions.
  - c. Trogus relied on the Greek historian Timagenes, who was very anti-Roman.
- 4) Velleius Paterculus: Wrote the 2-book *Historiae*.
  - a. Velleius Paterculus served under Tiberius as a cavalry commander in Germany and Pannonia, and was designated praetor for AD 15 in AD 14. Velleius Paterculus tells us these biographical tidbits himself.
  - b. Velleius Paterculus profusely praises Tiberius in his *Histories*.
- 5) Valerius Maximus: wrote the *Factorum et Dictorum Memorabilium* (9 books)
  - a. Divided into sections by subject: *De religione, de patientia, de humanitate...*
  - b. Used as a source by Pliny, Aulus Gellius, Lactantius, Priscian, Plutach.
- 6) Cremutius Cordus and Titus Labienus were senatorial historians who opposed Tiberius.
  - a. Labienus's work was burnt by order of Tiberius.
  - b. Cremutius Cordus wrote the *Annales*, which were also destroyed. According to Tacitus, Cremutius Cordus's *Annales* had glorified Brutus and termed Cassius the last of the Romans.
- 7) Curtius Rufus wrote the 10 book *Historiae Alexandri Magni* (history of Alexander the Great).

### Scholarship and Technical Disciplines

- 1) Verrius Flaccus was the greatest grammarian of the Augustan Age.
  - a. Augustus made Verrius Flaccus the tutor of his two grandsons Gaius and Lucius.
  - b. The *Fasti* of Verrius Flaccus, commentaries on the Roman calendar, used by Ovid.
  - c. *De Verborum Significatu*: an alphabetic glossary of difficult or obsolete terms.
  - d. *Rerum Etruscarum Libri*
  - e. Festus later made an epitome of Flaccus, and Paulus Diaconus made an abridgment of Festus.
- 2) Hyginus, a freedman of Augustus, was in charge of the Palatine Library.
  - a. Hyginus wrote a commentary on Virgil's works, a treatise on agriculture, one on the origin of bees, etc.
- 3) Vitruvius wrote *De Architectura*, a 10 book treatise on architecture.
  - a. Vitruvius Pollio had been an officer in Caesar's engineering corps and entrusted with building war machines. As a civilian, he was an architect, developing the basilica of Fano.
  - b. *De Architectura* is dedicated to Augustus, who allowed Vitruvius to dedicate himself to his work.
  - c. Vitruvius thinks architects should get a well-rounded liberal arts education.
- 4) Aulus Cornelius Celsus wrote the 8-book *De Medicina*.
  - a. *De Medicina* was part of Celsus' vast encyclopedic handbook on the six *artes*, agriculture, medicine, military art, oratory, philosophy, jurisprudence. Only medicine is left.
  - b. Celsus lived in the age of Tiberius.
  - c. Other writers on Medicine: Scribonius Largus and Antonius Musa
    - i. Scribonius Largus wrote *Compositiones*, a book of prescriptions intended only for practical use. He lived in the time of Claudius.
    - ii. Antonius Musa wrote (not really, but his name is given to) *De Herba Vettonica*.
      1. Antonius Musa was Augustus' doctor and also Horace's doctor.
- 5) Lucius Junius Columella wrote the 10-book *De Re Rustica*, a treatise on agriculture.

- a. Columella's tenth book, *De Cultu Hortorum*, deals with gardens and is written in hexameters in homage to Vergil. Vergil had left the topic of gardens untreated (at least in depth), asking future writers to address the topic.
  - b. Columella whines that there are no schools for farmers, such an important profession, and embraces an encyclopedic education such as Cicero did in the *De Oratore* and Vitruvius did in the *De Architectura*.
- 6) Agrippa made a massive map of the known world and commentaries on it.
- a. After Agrippa's death in 12 BC, Augustus made sure the map was set up in the Campus Martius.
- 7) Pomponius Mela wrote the 3 book *Chorographia* ("Description of Places")
- a. Pomponius Mela was a Spaniard from Tingitana near Gibraltar.
  - b. *Chorographia* proceeds counterclockwise from the Straits of Gibraltar and returns there at the time.
  - c. Pomponius Mela was the first "pure" geographer.
  - d. Pomponius Mela wrote under Caligula or Claudius.
  - e. Mela wrote in an archaizing style like Sallust.
- 8) Apicius wrote the 10 book *De Re Coquinaria*, a collection of recipes, many of which were intended for medicinal purposes.
- a. Marcus Gavius Apicius was a contemporary of Tiberius.
  - b. Apicius' original name was just Marcus Gavius, and he was called Apicius because of a famous gourmet in the second century BC.

### Legal Literature: From Its Beginnings to the Early Empire

- 1) Tiberius Coruncianus and Gnaeus Flavius were juriconsults.
- a. Coruncianus was the first plebeian Pontifex Maximus.
  - b. Gnaeus Flavius was the freedman and secretary of Appius Claudius Caecus. Flavius published Appius Claudius' *legis actiones*
- 2) Sextus Aelius Paetus Catus wrote the *Triperita*, a renowned commentary on the Twelve Tables which also included the text of the Twelve Tables.
- a. "Catus" = Cunning
- 3) The Two Scaevolae
- a. Quintus Mucius Scaevola the Augur, son-in-law of Laelius, was the teacher of Cicero.
  - b. Quintus Mucius Scaevola the Pontifex, slightly younger, wrote a systematic treatment of civil law.
- 4) Sulpicius Rufus continued legal studies and was a juriconsult. Cicero ridiculed Sulpicius Rufus in the *Pro Murena* but praised him in the ninth *Philippic*.
- a. Sulpicius Rufus wrote Cicero a consolation letter on the death of Tullia.
  - b. Sulpicius Rufus also wrote a famous letter on the murder of Marcus Marcellus.
- 5) Labeo and Capito were heads of legal schools in the Augustan Age. Capito was consul, while Labeo refused Augustus' offer of a consulship. Labeo and Capito were rivals.

## PART FOUR: THE EARLY EMPIRE

### Culture and Spectacle: The Literature of the Early Empire

- 1) Claudius wrote histories of the Etruscans and Carthaginians, a Roman history beginning with the death of Caesar but focusing on Augustus' principate, a defense of Cicero against Asinius Gallus (son of Asinius Pollio), and a grammatical work which proposed to introduce three new letters into the Latin alphabet.
- a. Claudius learned and was fluent in Etruscan and Punic. He was the last man to be fluent in Etruscan.
- 2) Nero was himself a poet who wrote a lot on Trojan themes.

- a. Nero instituted the *Neronia* in 60 AD, a quinquennial contest of song, music, poetry, and oratory.
- 3) Vespasian established the first state-supported chairs of rhetoric.
- 4) Papinius Staius earned his livelihood by writing a libretto for a pantomime (e.g. his *Agave*, as Juvenal informs us). Martial had to earn his *sportula* as a client in trying fashion. Lucan was also a librettist.
  - a. *Fabula saltica*: term for a libretto
  - b. Paris was a pantomime actor at the court of Domitian before falling afoul of the emperor. Paris is mentioned by Juvenal.
- 5) Catullus was a mime writer who lived under Caligula and wrote the *Laureolus*, which involved vomiting blood and a crucifixion on stage, and a *Phasma*.
- 6) Seneca the Elder wrote *Oratorum et Rhetorum Sententiae Divisiones Colores*.
  - a. Annaeus Seneca was born in Cordoba, Spain, around 50 BC.
  - b. The *Controversiae* and the *Suasoriae* of Seneca the Elder are included in his larger *Oratorum et Rhetorum Sententiae Divisiones Colores*. The *Sententiae* were epigrammatic phrases to impress the listener, etc.
    - i. *Controversia*: trial of a fictitious case of Greek or Roman law
    - ii. *Suasoria*: orator attempts to guide the action of a famous historical or mythical person facing a difficult decision.
- 7) *Recitatio*: author reads passages of literature to an invited audience.
  - a. Asinius Pollio introduced the *recitatio*.
- 8) The Silver Age = "The Age of Rhetoric" for abuse of rhetorical artifices

### Seneca the Younger

- 1) Lucius Annaeus Seneca (the Younger) was born in Spain, at Cordoba, around 4 BC.
- 2) Caligula, jealous of Seneca's oratorical fame, condemned him to death (a lover of Caligula interceded to save Seneca).
- 3) Claudius exiled Seneca to Corsica on the charge of adultery with Julia Livilla, the sister of Caligula and the younger daughter of Germanicus.
  - a. Agrippina the Younger persuaded Claudius to recall Seneca, so he could tutor her son Nero.
- 4) Seneca was implicated in the Pisonian Conspiracy and condemned to death by Nero. Seneca committed suicide.
  - a. Seneca's wife Paulina was saved.
    - i. Seneca's brother was Novatus; Seneca's mother was Helvia.
  - b. Tacitus' *Annales* have a famous description of Seneca's death.
- 5) Seneca wrote nine *fabulae cothurnatae* (tragedies on Greek subjects):
  - a. *Hercules Furens*, *Hercules Oetatus*, *Troades* ("Trojan Women"), *Phoenissae*, *Medea*, *Phaedra*, *Oedipus*, *Agamemnon*, *Thyestes*, *Phaedon*\*
  - b. Tragedies found in the Etruscus manuscript.
  - c. *Octavia*: Seneca's only surviving tragedy, very probably spurious. On Nero's first wife Octavia, daughter of Claudius and Messalina, abandoned when he goes for Poppaea Sabina (wife of Otho).
  - d. Seneca's are the only Latin tragedies to come down complete.
- 6) Summary of the Senecan *cothurnatae*
  - a. *Hercules Furens*: Juno makes Hercules mad, leading him to slay his wife Megara and his sons. He goes to Athens to be purified.
  - b. *Troades (Trojan Women)*: Based on Euripides' *Trojan Women* and *Hecuba*; the captive Trojan women witness helplessly the sacrifice of Polyxena, Priam's daughter, and the murder of Astyanax, son of Hector and Andromache.
  - c. *Phoenician Women*: Seneca's only incomplete tragedy, it draws on Euripides and Sophocles to tell the tale of Oedipus, and of Polyneices and Eteocles' mutual hatred.
  - d. *Medea*: perhaps based on Ovid, as well as Euripides.

- e. *Phaedra*: based on Euripides' *Hippolytus* and other sources. Phaedra's love for her stepson Hippolytus, son of Theseus.
  - f. *Oedipus*: based on Sophocles' *Oedipus Rex*. Oedipus kills Laius, marries Jocasta.
  - g. *Agamemnon*: loosely based on Agamemnon's Aeschylus. Agamemnon's wife Clytemnestra and her lover Aegisthus assassinate Agamemnon upon his return.
  - h. *Thyestes*: the tale of the Pelopidae. Atreus feeds his brother Thyestes his own sons.
  - i. *Hercules Oetatus*: based on Sophocles' *Trachinian Women*. Deianira's jealousy when Hercules woos Iole, and Heracles' subsequent death on a pyre and assumption by the gods, enacted upon Mount Oetatus.
- 7) *Dialogi* (12 books): treatises on ethical and philosophical questions, they contain Seneca's Stoic wisdom.
- a. *Ad Helviam Matrem de Consolatione*, to his mother Helvia on his exile
  - b. *Ad Marciam de Consolatione*: addressed to Marcia, the daughter of the historian Cremutius Cordus
  - c. *Ad Polybium de Consolatione*: to a powerful freedman of Claudius on the loss of his brother; really Seneca's attempt to flatter Claudius and get him to recall Seneca from exile.
  - d. *Ad Paulinum de Brevitate Vitae; Ad Novatum de Ira; Ad Lucilium de Providentia*
  - e. Three works dedicated to Seneca's friend Serenus on Stoic ethics: *De Constantia Sapientis, De Otio, De Tranquillitate Animi*.
- 8) *De Ira* (3 books): dedicated to Seneca's brother Novatus
- 9) *De Vita Beata*: dedicated to Seneca's brother Gallio (Novatus' new name).
- 10) *De Beneficiis* (7 books)
- 11) *De Providentia*: dedicated to Lucilius. Tries to reconcile Stoic doctrine about an interventionist God with the problem of evil.
- 12) *De Clementia* (3 books): dedicated and addressed to the young emperor Nero
- 13) *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium* (20 books containing 124 epistles)
- a. Seneca addressed his friend Lucilius, an equestrian and poet from Campania slightly younger than himself.
  - b. Seneca has introduced a new genre into Latin literature: the philosophical letter.
- 14) *Quaestiones Naturales* (7 books): Seneca's only work on science, it treats questions of physics and natural phenomena.
- 15) *Quaestiones Morales* (12 dialogues): on moral precepts, composed on Seneca's deathbed
- 16) *Apocolocyntosis (Ludus de Morte Claudii or Divi Claudii Apotheosis per Saturam)*: a Menippean satire on the strange apotheosis of the emperor Claudius.
- a. Claudius goes up to heaven in hope of being admitted to the rank of the gods, but they condemn him to the Underworld, where he becomes the slave of Caligula and later assigned to the freedman Menander. Seneca praises Nero and scorns Caligula.
- 17) Other Tragedians of the Julio-Claudian Period
- a. Marmercus Scaurus took his life because Tiberius found critical allusions in his tragedy *Atreus*. Scaurus was also a well-known orator.
  - b. Pomponius Secundus wrote under Claudius and was a friend of Pliny the Younger, who wrote a biography of him. He wrote *cothurnatae* and *Aeneas, a praetexta*.
  - c. Curiatus Maternus wrote under Vespasian and was an orator featured as an interlocutor in Tacitus' *Dialogus de Oratoribus*. Curiatus Maternus wrote two *fabulae praetextae* entitled *Cato* and *Domitius*, among others.
- 18) Seneca wrote epigrams, some of which might not be his.

## The Poetic Genres in the Julio-Claudian Period

### The Minor Poetry of Ovid's Generation

- 1) Valgius Rufus (consul in 12 BC) and Domitius Marsus were elegiac poets. Domitius Marsus wrote a famous epigram on the death of Tibullus.

- 2) Grattius Faliscus wrote *Cynegetica*, a short didactic poem on hunting. Faliscus is his epithet. Ovid names Grattius in the *Epistulae ex Ponto*.
- 3) Aemilius Macer wrote Hellenistic didactic poetry such as *De Herbis*, *Theriaca*, and *Ornithographia* (on herbs, serpents, and birds respectively).

### ***Astronomical Poetry: Germanicus and Manilius***

- 1) Aratus, already translated by Cicero, was the model for Manilius and Germanicus.
- 2) In Vergil's proem to the first book of the *Georgics*, he predicts the catasterism of Octavian (he will be made an immortal star).
- 3) Germanicus: adopted son and successor of Tiberius and son of Drusus II.
  - a. *Aratea*: a translation of Aratus' *Phaenomena*. Dedicated to a *genitor*, who is Tiberius.
  - b. *Prognostica*
- 4) Manilius: author of the five book didactic hexameter poem *Astronomica*.
  - a. Manilius examines astronomy (the cosmos, its origins, stars, planets, celestial circles, comets), the signs of the zodiac, horoscopes, the *locus Fortunae*, decans of zodiacal signs and their influences on human characteristics, extra-zodiacal signs.
  - b. Manilius is a Stoic. He says there is a *res publica* in the structure of the cosmos.
  - c. Manilius emulates Lucretius, seeing the *De Rerum Natura* as the only example of a "high" didactic poetry.

### ***Developments in Historical Epic***

- 1) Varius Rufus: a member of Maecenas' circle and friend of Virgil and Horace.
  - a. *Thyestes*: a tragedy
  - b. *De Morte*: a poem, perhaps a didactic one
  - c. *Panegyric of Augustus*
  - d. Wrote lost epics which Horace calls *forte epos*.
- 2) Albinovanus Pedo: a rival of Virgil and Ovid, he wrote a poem on Germanicus' expedition.
- 3) Rabirius: *Bellum Actiacum*.
- 4) Cornelius Severus: wrote *Res Romanae*.
- 5) Sextus Ena

### ***The Appendix Vergiliana***

- 1) *Dirae*: a poem of invective, with curses, on the land confiscations.
- 2) *Lydia*: a pastoral love lament to a woman named Lydia. Joined, without any indicated separation, to the *Dirae*
- 3) *Catalepton* ("small collection", "few at a time"): 15 short poems, a "container" of small texts. With a panegyric on Messala, who celebrated a triumph in 27 BC.
- 4) *Culex*: an epyllion on a shepherd who kills a kindly mosquito, who stings a snake about to sting the farmer. The mosquito visits the shepherd in a dream and tells him about his descent to the underworld. Historically attributed to the young Virgil. The *Culex* is a parody of a serious epic.
- 5) *Ciris* (a type of heron): an epyllion on the love of Scylla for Minos. Scylla betrays her father Nisus.
- 6) *Copa* ("Cabaret girl"): a lady innkeeper draws tenants to her inn by dancing.
- 7) *Moretum* ("The Loaf"): the morning rising of a peasant and the making of his meal, a salad. Describes in minute detail the simple life of a peasant.
- 8) *Priapea* (3 poems): Priapus speaks.
- 9) *Elegiae in Maecenam*
- 10) *Aetna*: a scientific poem in 645 hexameters on the causes and phenomena of volcanoes. The author of the *Aetna* imitates Manilius.

### ***Phaedrus and the Fable Tradition***

- 1) Phaedrus is the first author of either Greece or Rome to create a collection of fables “conceived as an independent poetic work and intended for reading” (Conte 433).
- 2) Phaedrus was a freedman from Thrace—a freed Thracian slave.
- 3) Phaedrus wrote 5 books of fables.
- 4) Phaedrus is indebted to Aesop for his fables. Phaedrus used the devices of the foreword (*promythion*) and afterword (*epimythion*).
- 5) Phaedrus was persecuted by Sejanus, as he says in the prologue to his third work of fables.
- 6) Phaedrus was active under Tiberius, Caligula, and Claudius.
- 7) Some of Phaedrus’s fables are found in the *Appendix Perrotina*.

### ***The Poetic Genres in the Neronian Age***

- 1) Calpurnius Siculus wrote Eclogues in the style of Vergil, under Nero.
  - a. Nemesianus was a fourth century writer who wrote four eclogues transmitted along with Calpurnius Siculus’ eclogues.
- 2) Some random dude wrote a *Carmina Einsidlensia*.
- 3) *Laus Pisonis*: a long panegyric on Piso in hexameters, attributed by some to Calpurnius Siculus. Praises Piso of Pisonian conspiracy fame.
- 4) Nero wrote much poetry before he died at 30.
  - a. *Troica*: on the war at Troy, with Paris as its hero.
  - b. Nero supposedly recited his *Troica* while Rome burned.
  - c. Nero loved mythological and geographic allusion.
  - d. To review literary emperors: Claudius wrote histories, Hadrian wrote a poem to his *animula*, Nero wrote *Troica* and mythological works.
- 5) *Ilias Latina*: a poetic abridgment of the *Iliad*.
- 6) Caesius Bassus was a lyric poet who also wrote a medical treatise dedicated to Nero.
- 7) Sulpicia wrote to her husband Calenus. Martial praises her, comparing her to Sappho.

### **Lucan**

- 1) Marcus Annaeus Lucanus was born in Cordoba in Spain on November 3<sup>rd</sup>, 39 AD.
- 2) Lucan was the nephew of Seneca the Younger, being the son of Annaeus Mela (Seneca’s brother). Lucan moved in 40 AD to Rome from Corduba.
- 3) At Rome, the Stoic Annaeus Cornutus taught Lucan. At school, under the tutelage of Cornutus, Lucan met his friend Persisu.
- 4) Lucan entered the court of Nero and was, for a while, his intimate friend.
  - a. Lucan wrote and recited a *Laudes Neronis* at the Neronia of 60 AD.
  - b. Lucan broke with Nero; sources claim that Nero was jealous of his literary talent.
  - c. Lucan praises Nero at the beginning of the *De Bello Civili*.
- 5) *Pharsalia (Bellum Civile)*: a 10-book hexameter poem on the civil war between Caesar and Pompey, Lucan (an “anti-Vergil”) styled his poem an anti-*Aeneid*.
  - a. Left unfinished, abruptly breaking off in Book 10, due to the author’s death.
  - b. Pompey sees the ghost of Julia in a dream. Cato and Brutus discuss joining Pompey vs. not joining the conflict at all.
  - c. Includes a lengthy list of allies, in imitation of Homer’s *Iliad*’s catalogue of ships.
  - d. Naval battle between the people of Massilia (Marseilles) and Caesar’s army.
  - e. The Pompeian hero Vulteius; the death of the young Caesarian Curio at the hands of Numidian troops.
  - f. The Senate meets in Epirus; the Pompeian Appius gets an ambiguous reply when he consults the oracle at Delphi. Pompey and his wife Cornelia grieve about their separation.



- g. Pompey is besieged at Dyrrhachium; the Caesarian hero Scaeva performs gallant deeds. Pompey's son Sextus Pompey consults the sorceress Erichthon, who uses necromancy to summon back to life a soldier, who says that ruin awaits Sextus Pompey and his family.
  - h. At the battle of Pharsalus, the Pompeian Domitius Ahenobarbus (an ancestor of Nero) dies a Heroic death.
  - i. Pompey suggests joining his troops to the Parthians but Lentulus speaks, objecting. King Ptolemy has Pompey killed on the advice of his courtiers. Pompey's headless body is abandoned on the seashore, where a man named Cordus buries it.
  - j. Cato takes command of Pompey's army and crosses the Libyan desert, meeting sandstorms and snakes. Cato refuses to consult the oracle of Ammon, since knowledge of the future should not alter a wise man's decisions.
  - k. Caesar visits the tomb of Alexander the Great at Alexandria and holds a banquet which Cleopatra attends. The Egyptian priest Achoreus discusses the sources of the Nile. The Alexandrians try to rebel against Caesar. The poem breaks off.
- 6) Lost works: *Iliacon* (on the Trojan war), *Catachthonion* (descent to the underworld), *De Incendio Urbis*, *Medea* (an unfinished tragedy), *Saturnalia*, *Silvae* (10 books), *Laudes Neronis*.
- a. Lucan also wrote libretti for pantomimes, like Juvenal.
- 7) Characteristics of the *Pharsalia*
- a. The *Pharsalia* sings of "wars more than civil": it criticizes fratricidal war
  - b. The *Pharsalia* as an anti-*Aeneid* which destroys Augustan myths.
  - c. Lucan as an anti-Vergil.
  - d. Lucan erects an "anti-myth of Rome" which
  - e. Inversion of Anchises' "tu, Romane" speech in the *Aeneid*.
  - f. Prophecies of Disaster.
  - g. *Victrix causa deis placuit, sed victa Catoni*
  - h. Quintilian described Lucan as *ardens et concitatus*.
  - i. Martial says that *Bellum Civile* sold well in his time; Tacitus associates Lucan with Horace and Virgil; Statius and Florus admired the *Bellum Civile*.
  - j. Petronius' own *Bellum Civile* may be a criticism of Lucan's style.
  - k. Servius in his commentaries on the *Aeneid* said Lucan wrote history, not poetry.
  - l. Fronto attacked Lucan's style as repetitive.

## Petronius

- 1) Gaius Petronius Niger, described by Tacitus in his *Annals*, was consul around 62 AD and a courtier of Nero. He committed suicide by Nero's command. He may not actually be the man who wrote the *Satyricon*.
- 2) Tacitus says that Petronius was the *arbiter elegantiae* in Nero's court, regarded by Nero as an optimal judge of chic and refinement.
  - a. Petronius opened his veins and then spent his last hours at a banquet. Before his death, he openly denounced the emperor's crimes in his testamentary letter, which listed Nero's wicked deeds. He destroyed his signet ring.
- 3) *Satyricon*: Satirical novel on the adventures of Encolpius, Giton, Ascyltus, Eumolpus.
  - a. Contains the famous *Cena Trimalchionis*, rediscovered in the Dalmatian town of Trogir in the *Codex Traguriensis*. We have all of Book 15, parts of 14 and 16.
  - b. The *Satyricon* is narrated by the protagonist Encolpius. Encolpius and Giton are the only characters to appear in all episodes of the novel.
  - c. Encolpius discusses the decline of oratory with his teacher Agamemnon.
  - d. Encolpius travels with the troubled Ascyltos and Giton. A woman named Quartilla involves Encolpius, Giton, and Ascyltos in a rite of Priapus to satisfy her sexual desires. The three escape to a banquet at Trimalchio's house.
  - e. Trimalchio is a boastful, crude, extremely wealthy freedman who speaks with imperfect Latin.

- f. Encolpius and Ascyrtos both have a homosexual love for Giton, which culminates in a violent quarrel in which Ascyrtos takes Giton away.
  - g. Encolpius meets the wandering poet Eumolpus, who recites to him a book on the *Capture of Troy*.
  - h. Encolpius recovers Giton from Ascyrtos. A new romantic triangle arises when the poet Eumolpus shows affection towards Giton.
  - i. Encolpius, Giton, and Eumolpus disembark at a Greek city where they meet Encolpius' work enemy, the merchant Lichas, who wants to avenge an earlier happening. Lichas is traveling with a woman of "dubious morality," named Typhaena. During a storm, Lichas is swept overboard.
  - j. Encolpius, Giton, and Eumolpus find themselves at Croton, where they hatch a scheme to take advantage of all the legacy hunting going on there. Eumolpus plays a wealthy old rich man with Encolpius and Giton as his slaves.
    - i. On the road to Croton, Eumolpus lectures his friends on epic poetry and declaims a long poem called *Bellum Civile*.
  - k. Encolpius loses his sexual ability after he meets the woman Circe.
  - l. Priapus persecutes Encolpius, so Encolpius submits to humiliating magical practices to regain his virility.
  - m. Eumolpus' ploy: whoever wants his estate must eat his corpse.
- 4) Ancient terms for narratives: *historia, fabula, Milesia*, etc.
- 5) The Priapean genre was a type of joking and obscenely sexual epigram, practiced by Martial, the author of the *Priapea* in the Appendix Vergiliana, and apparently Catullus.
- a. The *Satyricon* shows some similarities and allusions to Priapus.

## Persius

- 1) Aulus Persius Flaccus was born at Volterra in Etruria in 34 AD.
- a. Persius' father died when he was six years old.
  - b. The name Aules is a mixture of Aulus and the Etruscan Aule.
  - c. The Stoic philosopher Annaeus Cornutus left the biggest mark on Persius. Under Cornutus, Persius met Lucan (his friend), Caesius Bassus, Seneca, and Thræsea Paetus.
    - i. Thræsea Paetus wrote a life of Cato Uticensis that would become a model for Plutarch's biography. He committed suicide when ordered by Nero.
  - d. Persius died when he was almost 28 years old.
- 2) Valerius Probus was the first commentator on Persius and probably wrote a *vita* of Persius. According to Valerius Probus, Persius *scriptitavit raro et tarde*.
- a. Persius published nothing during his lifetime. Cornutus revised his works and Caesius Bassus made sure they were published.
  - b. Upon his death, Persius left his extensive library to his friend and teacher Cornutus.
- 3) *Satires*: 6 satire poems in hexameters.
- a. Persius criticizes the mannerisms of contemporary poetry, contemporary moral degeneration, etc. Persius encourages the Stoic lifestyle.
  - b. Satire 4: *nosce te ipsum* is important for those seeking public office.
  - c. Satire 5: addressed to Cornutus, develops theme of freedom according to Stoic doctrine.
  - d. Satire 6: form of letter, addressed to Persius' friend Caesius Bassus. Criticizes avarice, promotes the moderate Stoic sage instead.
    - i. Persius' satire is informed by a Stoic ethical need to point out and combat corruption and vice. Related to this, he calls himself *semipaganus* and espouses *rusticitas*.
    - ii. Persius obsesses over the metaphor of the belly as the center of man's existence.
    - iii. Persius has a harsh style with which he denounces vice, to shake men into realizing their faults.

- iv. Persius rejects rhetorical embellishments (*tectae pictoria linguae*) in favor of common language (*verba togae*), but distorts that language using his own style. Persius is quite obscure
- 4) At a recitation of Persius, Lucan got so excited that he exclaimed that Persius' works were real poetry, and his only trivialities.

## Juvenal

- 1) Decimus Junius Juvenalis was born at Aquinum. He had rhetorical training and continued to practice rhetoric, mostly for fun, until middle age. His satires make accurate reference to the Roman legal system.
- 2) Juvenal wrote 16 *Satires*, divided into 5 books.
- 3) Juvenal was banished either under Domitian or Trajan.
- 4) Juvenal started writing poetry at a mature age, after the death of Domitian in 96 AD, and he continued to write into the reign of Hadrian.
- 5) Juvenal's oldest friend was Martial.
- 6) According to the ancient tradition, he was sent to Egypt when he was eighty years old, under the pretext of a military command, because certain of his verses gave offense to a the emperor's favorite.
- 7) Quotes by Juvenal
  - a. *Difficile est saturam non scribere*: widespread moral corruption compels Juvenal to become a satiric poet.
  - b. *Quando uberior vitiorum copia?*—never has there been more moral degeneracy.
  - c. *Si natura negat, facit indignatio versum*.
- 8) Summary of Juvenal's *Satires*
  - a. Satire 1: Juvenal's prefatory satire, in which he rails against fashionable declamations and mythological obscurity. *Difficile est saturam non scribere*
  - b. Satire 2: Juvenal rants against homosexuals. Attacks hypocrites who cloak the "foulest vice beneath the appearance of virtue" (Conte 474).
  - c. Satire 3: Juvenal's friend Umbricius is leaving Rome, because the city has become dangerous for honest men.
  - d. Satire 4: Domitian calls a council to deliberate how to cook a gigantic turbot given to him as a gift.
  - e. Satire 5: The rich Virro gives a dinner and his guests are humiliated.
  - f. Satire 6: Juvenal's longest satire, a famous tirade against the immorality and vices of women.
  - g. Satire 7: Juvenal remembers fondly the patronage of Augustan age literature, lamenting the decline of study and the wretched condition of contemporary writers.
  - h. Satire 8: Juvenal attacks the false nobility of birth and extols the true nobility that comes from talent and feeling.
  - i. Satire 9: A dialogue where the homosexual Naevolus protests for being "ill-rewarded for his difficult services" (Conte 475).
  - j. Satire 10: The folly of human desires.
  - k. Satire 11: Juvenal's friend gives him a modest dinner, which he compares with the ostentatious banquets of rich men.
  - l. Satire 12: Juvenal attacks legacy hunters
  - m. Satire 13: Juvenal attacks cheats and swindlers.
  - n. Satire 14: Juvenal discusses the upbringing of children, arguing that example must accompany teaching.
  - o. Satire 15: Juvenal recounts an episode of cannibalism in Egypt, which he claims to know.
  - p. Satire 16: Incomplete, this satire lists the advantages of military life.
- 9) Unlike Persius, Juvenal believes that men are irredeemably susceptible to corruption, and does not believe he can influence their behavior.

- 10) Juvenal, a member of the Italian middle class, often conveys a certain rancor towards society, a hidden resentment at being excluded from it.
- 11) Juvenal scornfully views the crowd. He also does not like flattering, intriguing Greeks and Orientals. Pretty much, Juvenal does not like anybody.
- 12) In his last two books of five, Juvenal renounces *indignatio* and adopts the more detached attitude of Stoic *apatheia*. He thus returns to the “diatribe tradition” of previous satire, from which he has previously departed.
- 13) Juvenal breaks satire’s “traditional link with comedy” and brings satire “near to tragedy” (Conte 477). He uses epic-tragic language in connection with vulgar content to emphasize the lowness of its content.
- 14) Juvenal is first mentioned by Lactantius. Servius Donatus’ student Nicaeus made an epitome of Juvenalian satire.

## Epic in the Flavian Period

### *Publius Papinius Statius*

- 1) Statius was born at Naples between AD 40 and AD 50, the son of a schoolmaster. He had success in public recitations and poetic contests at Rome.
- 2) Statius was a protégé of Domitian.
- 3) *Silvae* (5 books): 32 short verse poems in various meters, published gradually from 92 AD onwards.
  - a. According to Quintilian, the title indicates a series of sketches.
  - b. Statius addresses courtly poems directly to Domitian in his *Silvae*. He embodies the beginnings of imperial worship in his fawning over Domitian.
  - c. Statius’ *Silvae* includes a famous poem about him not getting any sleep.
  - d. Statius was renowned for improvising short poems.
- 4) The *Thebaid* (12 books): published in 92 AD.
  - a. Statius sings *fraternae acies*, but treats a mythological topic, rather than a historical topic like Lucan, but the *Thebaid* recalls the *Bellum Civile* in subject matter.
  - b. Statius’ programmatic epilogue says he has a lofty model, the *Aeneid*. Statius wants the *Thebaid* to follow the *Aeneid*’s model “at a distance”.
  - c. Two halves of the *Thebaid*: one half (6 books) on the journey, one half (6 books) on the war. So, like the *Aeneid*.
  - d. Book 1: Oedipus summons the Furies of the Underworld to persecute the house of Thebes. Oedipus’ two sons are quarreling over the thorne.
  - e. Laius returns to earth from the Underworld and inspires Eteocles to break the pact with Polyneices. Tydeus, Adrastus’ son-in-law, goes to Thebes to claim the throne, and escapes an ambush set by Eteocles.
  - f. The seven against Thebes (Adrastus, Polyneices, Tydeus, Capaneus, Parthenopaeus, Hippomedon, Amphiaraus) march on the city. Hypsipyle aids them.
  - g. The Seven establish the Nemean games when Opheltes is killed.
  - h. Amphiaraus is swallowed into hades. Tydeus eats his enemy Melanippus’ brains when mortally wounded. The fury Tisiphon urges on the battle.
  - i. Hippomedon falls during a battle in the river.
  - j. Menoeceus, Creon’s son, sacrifices himself for the good of the city. Capaneus tries to scale the walls of Thebes but is struck by Zeus’ thunderbolt for proclaiming that not even Zeus could stop him.
  - k. Eteocles and Polyneices kill each other, Jocasta hangs herself, Oedipus is driven out of Thebes, Creon becomes king, and forbids the Argives burial. Theseus, king of Athens, intervenes.
  - l. “Who can deny that presages come from hidden causes? Destiny is unfolded before man, but he does not want to read it, and anticipation of the future is lost. Thus we turn presages into accidents, and Fortune has the power to smite us.”
  - m. The emperor Gordian I based his *Antoninias* on the *Thebaid*.

- 5) The *Achilleid*: an unfinished epic poem. Only book 1 and the beginning of book 2 are left.
  - a. We only have episodes dealing with the young Achilles on Scyros.
  - b. Statius planned to narrate all of Achilles life, but obviously died before he could.
- 6) *De Bello Germanico*: Statius' historical poem on the deeds of Domitian, his patron. Lost.
- 7) *Agave*: Statius' successful pantomime libretto. Lost.

### **Valerius Flaccus**

- 1) Gaius Valerius Flaccus Balbus Setinus. We know next to nothing about him.
- 2) Quintilian wrote *multum in Valerio Flacco nuper amisimus* ("we have recently suffered a great loss in the death of Valerius Flaccus").
- 3) The *Argonautica* (8 books): unfinished epic poem, dedicated to Vespasian.
  - a. Recounts about three quarters of the story told in Apollonius of Rhodes' 4 book *Argonautica*.
  - b. Jason's expedition to find the Golden Fleece, returning with Medea, etc.
  - c. Aeson commits suicide, persecuted by the tyrant Pelias. Overtones of Roman history.
  - d. The Argo is the first ship, which must open up the seas so that civilization can develop.

### **Silius Italicus**

- 1) Tiberius Catus Asconius Silius Italicus was born around AD 26.
- 2) Silius Italicus was a lawyer and connected to Nero. According to Pliny, he was an informer for Nero.
- 3) Silius Italicus was proconsul of Asia under Vespasian. Earlier, he had been familiar with the emperor Vitellius.
- 4) Silius Italicus got an incurable disease and starved himself to death.
- 5) Silius Italicus purchased the tomb of Vergil, and collected the relics of him.
- 6) Of Silius, Pliny wrote: *scribebat carmina maiore cura quam ingenio*. The
- 7) *Punica* (17 books): Epic on the Second Punic War
  - a. The *Punica* is the longest Latin historical epic to come down to us, and usually considered the worst (if not the worst poem in all of Latin literature).
  - b. It recounts the Second Punic War, beginning with Hannibal's expedition to Spain and ending with Scipio's triumph following Zama.
  - c. Silius has ludicrous divine intervention, like Hannibal being whisked away on a cloud. Scipio Africanus journeys to the underworld.
  - d. Silius includes a sketch of Ennius, the heroic poet from Rudiae who fought with the Roman army in Sardinia. Ennius was a revived Orpheus, relaxing from battle by playing his cithara, protected by Apollo when attacked, combining the abilities of Homer and Hesiod.
  - e. The war against Hannibal is presented as a continuation of Vergil, derived from the curse of Dido against Aeneas' descendants. Juno protects Carthage in the *Punica*.
  - f. *Aition* on Bacchus and Falernian wine.
  - g. Silius Italicus generally just sucks.

### **Pliny the Elder and Roman Encyclopedism**

- 1) Gaius Plinius Secundus was born at Comum in AD 23 or 24.
- 2) Pliny the Elder began his career with stretches of military service in Germany between AD 46-58. He met the general Domitius Corbulo, the general and writer Pomponius Secundus (of whose life Pliny wrote a biography), and the young future emperor Titus.
- 3) After Claudius' death Pliny withdrew to a secluded, scholarly life, but became an imperial procurator under Vespasian. The *Naturalis Historia* indicates Pliny the Elder's fierce loyalty to Nero.

- 4) Pliny was a Stoic-inspired author who attempted to sum up the entirety of the existing state of practical and scientific knowledge in his *Naturalis Historia*.
- 5) Pliny the Elder was the commander of the naval fleet at Misenum near the Bay of Naples, in Campania, during the eruption of Mount Vesuvius, and died trying to save people living at Stabiae, of inhaling fumes (probably).
- 6) *De Iaculatione Equestri*—on the techniques of fighting from horseback.
- 7) *De Vita Pomponii Secundi*—Pliny's biography of his friend Pomponius Secundus.
- 8) *Bella Germaniae*—Pliny's work on German wars, probably inspired by his own time serving in Germany. *Bella Germaniae* was later used as a source by Tacitus.
- 9) *Studiosus* (6 books)—an essay in six books, probably a handbook for students of rhetoric.
  - a. In one fragment, Pliny the Elder explains how an orator should arrange his hair.
- 10) *Dubius Sermo*—Pliny the Elder's handbook concerned with problems and variations of linguistic usage, met with considerable success.
- 11) *A Fine Aufidi Bassi*—One of Pliny's two historical works. *A Fine Aufidi Bassi* was Pliny's most ambitious and important work, but it has not been preserved.
  - a. Pliny's history attaches itself to the end of a text by the great historian Aufidius Bassus. Pliny therefore covers from 50 to 71 AD, from the end of Claudius' reign to the accession of Vespasian.
- 12) *Natural Historia*: Pliny's monumental 27 book encyclopedia, dedicated to the new emperor Titus at its completion around 77-78 AD.
  - a. Pliny the Elder claimed he had never read a book so bad as not to have any value at all, which led him to constantly read, take notes, and index, culminating with the *Natural History*.
  - b. 34,000 notices; 2,000 volumes read, from 100 different authors, 170 different dossiers of notes and preparatory files.
  - c. Pliny the Elder said of the *Natural History* "I have not knowingly omitted any piece of information, if I have found it anywhere."
  - d. Pliny the Elder attached a dedicatory letter addressed to the future emperor Titus to the beginning of *Naturalis Historia*; in the dedicatory letter he explained the motivations and limits of his work.
  - e. Pliny was the only Roman author to conceive of a project of preserving all knowledge. The only author as prolific as Pliny is Varro.
  - f. The *Naturalis Historia* covers cosmology, physical and cultural geography, anthropology, zoology, botany, medicine, metallurgy, mineralogy, and the history of art.
  - g. There is a large excursus on the history of art in Pliny's *Naturalis Historia*.
- 13) Suetonius wrote a biography of Pliny the Elder in the *De Viris Illustribus*
  - a. Pliny the Younger wrote of his uncle Pliny the Elder's literary activity, and gave a catalogue of his writings (*Epistulae*). Pliny the Younger also wrote a letter to Tacitus describing the elder Pliny's death.
- 14) Licinius Mucianus: most famous author of *mirabilia*. Mucianus was the chief military leader and politician in the early days of Vespasian's reign, and a decisive supporter of Vespasian.
- 15) *Breviarum Rerum Memorabilium*: composed in the third century probably by Iulius Solinus, three quarters of this summary-style work came from Pliny the Elder.

## Frontinus

- 1) Sextus Julius Frontinus was *curator aquarum* (director of aqueducts) under Nerva from 96-97 AD. Frontinus was also consul in 74, and legate in Britain.
- 2) *De Aquis Urbis Romae* (*De Aquae Ductu Urbis Romae*): 4 book comprehensive treatment of the problems of Rome's water supply.
- 3) *Strategemata* (4 books): a collection of military anecdotes. Frontinus, who had successfully fought in Britain, intended to be of use to warriors, but kind of failed.
- 4) Frontinus also dealt with land surveying, using a device called the *groma* (from which the title for surveyors, *gromatici*, comes).

## Martial and the Epigram

- 1) Marcus Valerius Martialis was born at Bilbilis in Hispania Tarraconensis between AD 38 and AD 41.
- 2) In 64 AD Martial went to Rome and was supported by the Spanish family of Seneca, who introduced him into the circles of good society. Martial knew Calpurnius Piso and centers of senatorial opposition to Nero.
- 3) Martial's *Liber Spectaculorum* won him the appreciation and money of Titus.
- 4) From 84 AD onward Martial started writing poems regularly, which were successful, but he complained of the lack of patronage and the hard life he consequently lived.
- 5) In 87-88 AD, Martial got sick of city life and left Rome to stay at Forum Corneli and other cities in Emilia. He returned briefly in Rome, but left it for good in 98. Returning to his native Bilbilis (on a voyage paid for by his friend Pliny the Younger), he died around 104 AD.
- 6) *Liber Spectaculorum* (*Epigrammaton Liber, Liber de Spectaculis*): composed in 80 AD.
- 7) *Epigrams* (12 books): published between AD 86 and 101-102.
  - a. Martial regarded the epigram as the humblest of all genres.
  - b. Martial points to his epigrammatic predecessors as Domitius Marsus, Albinovanus Pedo, Lentulus Gaetulicus.
  - c. Martial claims that his epigrams are realistic and close to life (*hominem pagina nostra sapit*), making the epigram his only form of poetry.
  - d. Martial reduces people to recurring types with grotesque features (parasites, the vain, plagiarists, misers, swindlers, legacy hunters, petulant poetasters, dangerous doctors, etc.)
    - i. Earlier, the Greek Lucillius of the Neronian period had treated deformed people, etc.
  - e. Martial's social satire aims not to be harsh (*parcere personis, dicere de vitiis*), unlike Juvenal's.
  - f. Some of Martial's epigrams flatter Domitian.
  - g. Martial uses the technique of the closing quip, a witty way to end the brief poem (*fulmen in clausula*, the parting thrust).
  - h. Martial likes obscene words: *lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba*.
- 8) *Xenia* ("gifts for guests" intended for Saturnalia): 84 AD
- 9) *Apophoreta* ("carryouts," gifts intended for guests at banquets): 85 AD
- 10) Martial's Reception
  - a. Aelius Caesar, Hadrian's adoptive son, called Martial his Vergil.
  - b. Martial was popular in late antiquity.

## Quintilian

- 1) Marcus Fabius Quintilianus was born at Calagurris (modern Calahorra) in Spain around 35 AD to a teacher of rhetoric. At Rome, he was taught by the grammarian Remmius Palaemon and the rhetorician Domitius Afer. Then he returned to Spain, practicing law.
- 2) Galba summoned Quintilian to Rome in AD 68, where he worked as a teacher of rhetoric and continued to practice law.
- 3) Pliny the Younger was among Quintilian's pupils of rhetoric; probably, Tacitus was too.
- 4) In 78 AD Vespasian appointed Quintilian the first salaried state professor, of rhetoric (the first holder of an official chair of rhetoric).
- 5) Domitian put Quintilian in charge of educating two of his nephews, which brought him the *ornamenta consularia*. Quintilian died after 95 AD.
- 6) *De Causis Corruptae Eloquentiae*: Quintilian discusses remedies for the corruption of eloquence, often symptomatic of corrupt morals among orators and teachers of rhetoric (e.g. Quintilian's own professor Remmius Palaemon, and informers). Quintilian looks at the problem in moral terms and

- 7) *Artis Rhetoricae* (2 books): a set of notes published by Quintilian's students, taken from his lessons and published against his will. Lost to us.
- 8) *Declamationes maiores* and *Declamationes minores*, probably spurious.
- 9) *Institutio Oratoria* (12 books): Quintilian's principal work. The *Institutio* sketches a comprehensive program of cultural and moral training which the future orator should follow devotedly from his infancy to his entrance into public life.
  - a. Quintilian dedicates *Institutio Oratoria* to Victorius Marcellus, an orator admired by Statius and who was friends with Valerius Probus.
  - b. Preceding the *Institutio Oratoria* is Quintilian's letter to Tryphon, who was to "publish" and oversee circulation of the work.
  - c. Elementary instruction, instructors' duties, technical examination (subdivisions of rhetoric, *elocutio*, figures of speech and thought, how to acquire *facilitas*—ease of expression), techniques of memorization, the art of delivery, cultural and moral requirements for the orator, the problem of relations with the *princeps*.
    - i. Quintilian adds a famous literary-historical digression on Greek and Latin writers, to review which authors should be read and imitated.
    - ii. Quintilian has a polemic against Senecan-style *sententiae*.
    - iii. Quintilian attempted to "win back for the orator a role in civil life" (cont. 516), sticking to the Catonian ideal of *vir bonus dicendi peritus*. In contrast, Tacitus' *Dialogus de Oratoribus* is very aware of the orator's reduced role in public affairs and declares an irreversible political impotence.
- 10) Quintilian stated that his goal was to take up and adapt Cicero's legacy for his own time.
- 11) Quintilian held that elocution should proceed from the "substance of things" (*rerum pondera*) rather than constantly being plagued by *sententiae* intended to gather continuous applause. Essentially, he polemicized against Seneca's Asianisms and the New Style in favor of a new classicism.
- 12) *Institutio* was epitomized by Julius Victor and Fortunatianus.

### The Age of Adoptive Emperors

- 1) Trajan's Basilica Ulpia, located in the Forum of Trajan, was the biggest library Rome had ever had.
- 2) Under the renaissance of Greek writing during Hadrian's time, the Second Sophistic school was formed, consisting of rhetoricians such as Aelius Aristides, Herodes Atticus, and Fronto (the teacher and friend of Marcus Aurelius).
- 3) Marcus Aurelius' *Meditations* were dedicated "to himself".
- 4) Hadrian was himself a poet, writing short poems in the neoteric style of the Catullans.
  - a. We have a short poem Hadrian wrote to his dying soul (*animula vagula blanda*).
  - b. Hadrian established a rhetorical and intellectual academy at Rome called the Athenaeum.
  - c. Hadrian collected many works of the ancient masters at his villa at Tibur (Tivoli).
- 5) Mithras: a divinity of light and truth, the agent of Ahura-Mazda (the good Zoroastrian divinity, opposed to Ahriman, the power of evil), Mithras became the central divinity of a Roman mystery cult. The Mithras cult included a "baptism" in bull's blood, taken from the cult of Cybele. The cult also espoused a code of altruistic morality also found in Christianity. Importance was attached to zodiacal signs, planetary divinities, etc. The Mithras cult was limited to men, especially appealing to military men and wealthy businessmen.
- 6) *Acta Martyrum*: produced by Christian communities.

### Pliny the Younger

- 1) Gaius Caecilius Secundus was born at Comum in AD 61 or 62. When his father died he was adopted by his maternal uncle Pliny the Elder, whose name he took.



- 2) Pliny the Younger studied rhetoric at Rome under Quintilian and the Asianic Greek Nicetes Sacerdos.
- 3) Pliny embarked on a legal career and later the *cursus honorum*, becoming quaestor, tribune of the plebs, praetor and *praefectus aerarii Saturni* in 98 AD.
- 4) Pliny was friends with the historian Tacitus. In 100 AD, Pliny and Tacitus brought an accusation against Marius Priscus, proconsul of Asia.
- 5) In 100 AD, Pliny was appointed *consul suffectus*.
- 6) In 111 AD Trajan appointed Pliny the Younger his legate in Bithynia.
- 7) *Panegyricus* (Panegyric on Trajan): an enlarged version of a speech of thanks Pliny the Younger delivered to Trajan in the Senate, on the occasion of his appointment as *consul suffectus* in 100 AD.
  - a. Pliny lists the virtues of the *optimus princeps* Trajan, who has restored the freedom of speech and thought. In the process Pliny virulently attacks Domitian's tyranny (even though Pliny had had a good life, proceeding through the *cursus honorum*, under Domitian).
- 8) Pliny's *Epistulae* (10 books): the tenth book contains private and official letters from Pliny to Trajan, and Trajan's replies, mostly from Pliny's governorship of Bithynia.
  - a. Famous letters on the treatment of prisoners and Christians.
  - b. Public works, problems of finance and public order including the trials of Christians.
  - c. Pliny published the first nine books of his *epistulae* by himself. The prefatory letter is to Septicius Clarus, Pliny's preferred model seems to be Cicero.
  - d. Pliny's letters are "really a series of brief letters chronicling the fashionable, intellectual, and civil life of his day" (Conte 527).
  - e. Pliny praises Silius Italicus and Martial.
- 9) Pliny wrote a letter to Tacitus on the eruption of Mount Vesuvius and the death of his maternal uncle Pliny the Elder.
  - a. Pliny was mistaken for Tacitus in the Circus Maximus, an event which he evidently took great delight in.
  - b. Pliny urges Suetonius to publish the *De Viris Illustribus*

## Tacitus

- 1) Publius (or Gaius) Cornelius Tacitus was born in Terni or Narbonese Gaul around AD 55.
- 2) Tacitus married the daughter of Gnaeus Julius Agricola, an influential statesman and governor and later governor Britain, in 78 AD.
- 3) Thanks to Agricola's help, Tacitus began his political career under Vespasian, continuing it under Titus and Domitian.
- 4) Under Nerva in 97 AD, Tacitus became *consul suffectus* after the consul Virginius Rufus died. Tacitus gave the funeral eulogy for Virginius Rufus.
- 5) Under the principate of Trajan, Tacitus and his friend Pliny the Younger successfully prosecuted Marius Priscus, the ex-governor of Africa, for corruption.
- 6) Tacitus was proconsul of Asia in 112 or 113 AD. He died around 117 AD.
- 7) *Agricola* (*De Vita Iulii Agricolae*): Tacitus' biography of his father-in-law Agricola, from 98 AD. Agricola governed Britain from 77 to 84 AD.
  - a. In one of the early chapters, Tacitus expresses his intention to narrate the years of Domitian's tyranny and then the freedom recovered under Nerva and Trajan.
  - b. Tacitus describes how his father-in-law Agricola conquered large parts of Britain under the reign of Domitian. Tacitus wrote the work at the beginning of Trajan's reign, taking advantage of new opportunities for free speech.
  - c. Tacitus explicitly criticizes Domitian and Domitian's cruel system of espionage and repression. Agricola finally fell into disgrace with Domitian. Tacitus "draws a veil over the real causes of his death, whether natural or intended by Domitian" (Conte 533).
  - d. Tacitus says that a silent death is preferable to the *ambitiosa mors* (the ostentatious suicide, such as done by Stoics).

- 8) *Germania (De Origine et Situ Germanorum)*: from 98 AD.
- Tacitus' short geographic-ethnographic treatise. Practically the sole instance of specifically ethnographic literature that was popular at Rome (Seneca did have monographs on India and Egypt).
  - Caesar's *De Bello Gallico* had also dealt with the life of the Germans. Sallust must have had an excursus on Germany in his third book of *Histories*.
  - Tacitus may have drawn on Pliny the Elder's *Bella Germaniae*. Pliny had served in the Rhine armies, invading territories across the Rhine that had not yet been placed under Rome's rule.
  - Germania* in some ways extols the virtues of the "barbarians" and reveals the vice and corruption, frivolity and weakness, that underlies Roman rule. But Tacitus also criticizes the barbarian tendency toward drink and cruelty, games, indolence, quarreling, etc.
- 9) *Dialogus de Oratoribus*: dedicated to Fabius Justus. From shortly after 100 AD.
- The *Dialogue on Orators* is connected to the Ciceronian tradition of dialogues on philosophical rhetorical subjects.
  - Tacitus reports an imaginary discussion taking place at the house of Curiatus Maternus, between Maternus, Marius Aper, Vipstanus Messalla, and Julius Secundus.
  - Tacitus claims that he was present at this discussion in his youth.
  - Aper and Maternus give duelling speeches promoting eloquence and poetry.
  - Messalla arrives, and folks start discussing the causes of the decline of oratory. Messalla argues that the deterioration of the future orator's training, at home and school (unprepared teachers, vacuous rhetoric, etc.) has led to this decline in the quality of oratory.
  - Maternus, perhaps a spokesperson for Tacitus, argues that a great oratory may have been possible only with the freedom (or even anarchy) that characterized the Republic, during civil turmoil and conflict. Oratory becomes "anachronistic and impracticable" in a tranquil, orderly society such as the one that came into being after the establishment of the Empire. The peace that comes forthwith is worth the less fertile ground for literature and great personalities.
- 10) *Histories* (12 or 14 books): written between 100 and 110. The *Histories* narrates the period from 69 to 96 AD, from the year of four emperors to the year of Domitian's death.
- Only books 1-4 and parts of book 5 as well as fragments have come down to us.
  - Includes an *excursus* on Judaea, occasioned by Titus' placement there during Vespasian's reign.
  - Tacitus deals with the problem of adoption, and the "revealed secret" that emperors can be chosen from outside of Italy.
  - In the proem to the *Histories*, Tacitus refers to Augustus after the battle of Actium, emphasizing how the concentration of power in a single person maintained peace.
  - Tacitus summarizes Galba's inept reign: "In the judgement of all worthy to rule, if only he had not ruled."
  - Tacitus summarizes Otho: *omnia serviliter pro dominatione* (in all things he behaved like a slave in order to acquire power").
  - The *Histories* has a very dark tone, depicting human nature as violent, dishonest, and unjust.
- 11) *Annales (Ab Excessu Divi Augusti)*: 16 or 18 books, written after the *Histories* and possibly left incomplete by the author's death. The *Annales* start with the death of Augustus and go to the death of the Nero, covering the earliest days of the principate onwards.
- The *Annales* treats the sinister character of Sejanus, Tiberius' Praetorian Prefect, and Tiberius' increasingly degenerate and cruel regime.
  - Germanicus' successes in Germany; Germanicus' quarrel with Piso in the East and his death; Dolabella defeats Tacfarinas in Numidia; the revolt of the Germanic Frisians; the principate of Claudius, a weak man increasingly controlled by his freedman Narcissus and his fourth wife Agrippina the Younger.

- c. The reign of Nero, at first controlled by Seneca and Burrus, later fallen to his own depraved instincts; Nero's rule in the manner of a Hellenistic monarch, concerned with games and spectacles. Nero's murder of his mother and the succession of Tigellinus as Praetorian Prefect. Nero blames the Christians for the fire; Pison's conspiracy is suppressed, leading to the deaths of Lucan, Petronius, and Thrasea Paetus (the account of whose death breaks off in the middle, ending the preserved portion of the *Annales*).
- d. Tacitus gives credence to the story that Nero started the fire at Rome.
- e. The senatorial aristocracy, degenerating morally and losing its freedom at the same time, descends into servile assent to the princeps (*libidino adsentandi*). Tacitus continues to show little sympathy for martyrdom, which is no use to the state.
- f. Tacitus depicts the emperor Tiberius as grim, austere, cruel and harsh, eternally suspicious, taciturn, often frowning, wearing false smiles, repulsive in old age (bent, with a face full of scars and pimples, bald).
- g. Description of Petronius, who was lax in his own character but upright in his public offices, and mocked the Stoic tradition of theatrical suicide by having light poetry read to him rather than treatises on the immortality of the soul and sayings of philosophers (perhaps the same Petronius who wrote the *Satyricon*).
- h. We have books 1-4, book 6, some of book 5 and 11, books 12-15, and part of 16.
- 12) Tacitus is convinced that the principate is the only solution for ensuring peace, the loyalty of the armies, and the Empire's cohesion, but he does not like despotic emperors.
- 13) Tacitus may have consulted the *acta senatus* (minutes of senatorial sessions) and the *acta diurna populi Romani* (acts of the government and notices of whatever happened at the court and in the capital). Tacitus mentions Pliny's *Bella Germaniae* and *A Fine Aufidi Bassi* as well as Vipstanus Messala (an interlocutor in the *Dialogus*) as sources.
  - a. *Exitus illustrium virorum*: a literary genre of pamphlets originating with the senatorial opposition recounting the sacrifice of martyrs of freedom, especially ones who did so for Stoic principles. Tacitus used this to tell of Seneca and Thrasea Paetus' death. Thrasea Paetus himself had written a biography of Cato Uticensis.
- 14) Pliny the Younger said that the *Historiae* would win immortal fame. Pliny the Younger also praised Tacitus' scrupulous attention to sources. Pliny the Younger is one of our sources for Tacitus' life.
- 15) The fourth-century AD pagan historian Ammianus Marcellinus wrote a *Res Gestae a fine Corneli Taciti*, a continuation of Tacitus' *Historiae*.

### Suetonius and the Minor Historians

- 1) Gaius Suetonius Tranquillus, a biographer, was probably born after AD 70.
- 2) Suetonius entered the court as an official thanks to the patronage of Pliny the Younger at first, and later Septicius Clarus.
- 3) Under Trajan, Suetonius was put in charge of the public libraries (which granted him the *ius trium liberorum*). More famously, Hadrian made Suetonius his personal secretary, and employed him in the imperial archives.
- 4) In 122 AD, Suetonius, along with Septicius Clarus (the Praetorian Prefect and his patron), fell into disgrace with the emperor and was dismissed from the court, ending his "brilliant bureaucratic career" (Conte 546).
- 5) *Pratum* or *Prata*: probably an encyclopedic work, or the title for his entire corpus.
- 6) *De Viris Illustribus*: a collection of biographies of writers subdivided by genres.
  - a. *De Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* is the only fully extant section. The first 24 chapters are devoted to grammarians/philologists, covering Crates of Mallos (the Greek who introduced grammatical study to Rome) all the way to Valerius Probus.
  - b. The *De Poetis* gives us extant *vitae* of Terence, Virgil, Horace, and Lucan. Authors such as Donatus and Jerome compiled the *De Poetis*.

- 7) *De Vita Caesarum* (8 books containing 12 biographies): Suetonius' collection of biographies of the emperors, from Julius Caesar to Domitian. It is dedicated to Suetonius' patron Septicius Clarus.
  - a. Earlier in Rome, Varro's *Imagines* and Nepos' *De Viris Illustribus* had dealt with biographies of famous people.
  - b. Suetonius explains how his work proceeds not *per tempora* (chronologically) but *per species*, according to a series of categories/headings dealing with his emperor's personality. Suetonius thus rejects an annalistic scheme for his work.
- 8) Suetonius "determined the form of the genre for biographers until at least the eighteenth century" (Conte 549). Christian biography (e.g. Jerome) and pagan biography (*Historia Augusta*) both depend on his models.
- 9) Lucius Annaeus Florus wrote a concise *Epitoma* of Roman military history in 2 or 4 books. It is incorrectly titled *Epitoma de Tito Livio Bellorum Omnium Annorum DCC*: Florus uses Livy as his primary source, but also uses Sallust, Caesar, Virgil, and Lucan.
- 10) Granius Licinianus lived in the time of Hadrian and wrote an encyclopedic work *Cenae Suae* as well as a large historical work.
- 11) Lucius Ampelius wrote the *Liber Memorabilis*, which covers geography and mythology for the most part but also contains historical notices mostly from Livy.
- 12) Justin wrote an epitome of Pompeius Trogus' 44 book *Philippicae Historiae*.

### Apuleius

- 1) (Lucius?) Apuleius was an African orator, scientist, author, and philosopher born in Madaura (between Gaetulia and Numidia) around 125 AD.
- 2) Apuleius completed his studies at Carthage and then at Athens. He was at Rome too.
- 3) Apuleius stopped at Oea on a journey to Alexandria and met his old schoolmate from Athens, Pontianus. Apuleius Pontianus' wealthy, widowed mother Pudentilla. Later, he had to defend himself (*Apologia*) on charges of witchcraft brought against him by Pudentilla's parents at Sabrata.
- 4) *Metamorphoses* (*Asinus Aureus*, "The Golden Ass"): 11 books
  - a. May be related to the *fabula Milesia*, of which the original was written by Aristides of Miletus.
  - b. Lucian of Samotracia is attributed a *Lucius, or the Ass*.
  - c. Lucius investigates witchcraft, and eventually converts to the cult of Isis.
  - d. *Excursus* on Cupid and Psyche
    - i. Psyche disobeys her order not to look upon her husband Cupid when goaded by her sisters.
    - ii. Lucius calls the tale a *bella fabella*.
  - e. Lucius sees statues of Actaeon, who was punished for his curiosity.
  - f. Lucius, Aristomenes, Pythias, Milo and his wife Pamphila (who is connected to magic and changes into an owl). Lucius begs Pamphila's slave to transform him but a mistake with the unguent turns him into an ass.
    - i. Lucius must eat roses in order to regain his human form.
    - ii. A group of brigands carries Lucius the ass off; he flees and is delivered by his co-hostage Charite's fiancée,
    - iii. Lucius wakes up in the middle of the night and is ritually purified while he prays to the moon. He recovers his human form by eating the roses of a crown taken from a priest of Isis, who had prescribed this to him by appearing to him on the beach. Lucius is initiated into the cult of Isis.
    - iv. Lucius, at Osiris' behest, becomes a lawyer in the Roman Forum.
- 5) *Apologia* (*De Magia, Apulei Platonici pro Se de Magia Liber*): Apuleius defends himself against charges of using witchcraft to get his rich widower wife Pudentilla to marry him, and later to murder her; in the process he reveals the real names of poets' mistresses, such as Lesbia/Clodia, Cynthia/Hostia. Apuleius says it is Pontianus, his friend and Pudentilla's son, who got him to marry Pudentilla.

- 6) *Florida* (= *Anthera*, "Selection of Flowers"): 23 of Apuleius' oratorical passages. Extracted from Apuleius' public readings in Africa after his return to Carthage. Apuleius thanks the Carthaginian citizenry for dedicating a statue to him.
- 7) *De Platone et eius Dogmate* (2 books): a synthesis of Plato's physics and ethics; Apuleius planned to treat Plato's logic in a third part.
- 8) *De Deo Socratis*: a systematic treatment of the doctrine of demons. Examines the separate worlds of gods and mens, the position of demons in the hierarchy of rational beings and their function as intermediaries between the divine and human world, and Socrates' inner voice, the *daimon* that made him continually seek the truth.
- 9) *De Mundo*: a reworking of the pseudo-Aristotelian *Peri Kosmou*.
- 10) Dubious works: *Peri Hermeneias* (Latin treatise on Aristotle's logic), *Asclepius*, *Hermagoras*, translations from the *Phaedo* and *Republic* of Plato, encyclopedic works (*De Proverbiis*, *De Medicinalibus*, *De Re Rustica*, *De Arboribus*, *De Musica*). Possibly a fragment of translation from Menander's *Anechomenos*.
- 11) Apuleius was popular in Carthage. The citizens of Madaura erected a statue to him, dedicated "to the Platonic philosopher, the citizens of Madaura." He is called *Platonicus* in some places.
- 12) Apuleius' extant writings on natural science/philosophy are the three treatises *De Platone et eius Dogmate*, *De Deo Socratis*, and *De Mundo*.

### Latin Philology: Major Figures

- 1) Lucius Aelius Stilo Praeconinus was the greatest grammarian and philologist of the Second Century BC. He taught Varro and Cicero, and was influenced by the Pergamenes (including Crates of Mallos). He applied philological studies to the law.
- 2) Valerius Cato was a critic and poet in the Age of Caesar best known for his own *epyllia*, the *Lydia* and *Dictynna*. He was in many ways the founder of Neoteric poetry, and he *docuit multos et nobiles viros visusque est peridoneus praeceptor, maxime ad poetican tendentibus* (Suetonius, *De Viris Illustribus*).
- 3) Caecilius Epirota gave lectures on Vergil.
- 4) Gaius Julius Hyginus was the first "librarian" in the conventional Alexandrian sense. Hyginus directed Augustus' new public library on the Palatine and promoted Vergilian studies, writing at least five books (fragments of which we have, from Gellius) on Vergilian problems.
- 5) Remmius Palaemon was the most eminent *grammaticus* of the early Empire. Palaemon was a freedman and learned to read while accompanying his master's son to school. He was a teacher of "indisputable learning but dubious morality, to the point that Tiberius and then Claudius regarded it as impossible to entrust boys to him" (Conte 577).
  - a. Palaemon wrote *Ars Grammatica*.
  - b. Palaemon was a self-styled philological genius.
  - c. Palaemon taught both Quintilian and Persius.
- 6) Asconius Pedianus was a contemporary of Remmius Palaemon and wrote commentaries on five speeches by Cicero. He went blind at 72 and lived till 84, according to Jerome.
- 7) Valerius Probus was a Vergil schol and from the age of the Flavians. He studied Vergil, Terence, and Persius.
- 8) At the end of the second century AD, Acron and Porphyrion wrote on Horace.

### Fronto

- 1) Marcus Cornelius Fronto, tutor of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus and proponent of archaizing, was valued as a "kind of a new Cicero," revered and imitated by intellectuals like Gellius.
- 2) Fronto was a rhetorician from Africa, a native of Cirta, born around 100. He was a public figure under Hadrian and Antoninus Pius. Fronto educated the adoptive sons of the emperor Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus.

- 3) In 1815 Cardinal Mai discovered some Fronto in a Milanese palimpsest.
- 4) Fronto corresponded with Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, and especially Marcus Aurelius.
- 5) Fronto gave an anti-Christian speech called *Arion*, to which Minucius Felix replied.
- 6) Fronto wrote a work on Lucius Verus' wars against the Parthians (Vologeses III).

### Aulus Gellius

- 1) Aulus Gellius wrote the 20-book *Atticae Noctes* (*Attic Nights*) as a collection of notes taken on evenings during his winter spent near Athens.
  - a. *Atticae Noctes* is filled with small antiquarian discoveries and small details.
  - b. *Atticae Noctes* consists of notes on grammar, philosophy, geometry, history, and nearly every other branch of knowledge.
  - c. *Atticae Noctes* is devoid of sequence or deliberate structure.
- 2) In Rome, Aulus Gellius was taught by Fronto. In Athens he was taught by Herodes Atticus. He was also taught by Sulpicius Apollinaris.

## PART FIVE: THIRD, FOURTH, FIFTH CENTURIES AD

### The Historia Augusta

- 1) The *Historia Augusta* was written around AD 395 and contains biographies of the emperors from Hadrian to Marcus Aurelius and biographies of two non-emperors, Avidius Cassius and Lucius Verus.
- 2) Marius Maximus and Aelius Junius Cordus are the only two biographers who wrote in the *Historia Augusta* of whom we have independent record outside of it.
  - a. Marius Maximus wrote twelve *Lives* from Nerva to Elagabalus, continuing from Suetonius.
  - b. Aelius Junius Cordus treated Severus Alexander and Gordian III.
- 3) Aurelius Victor wrote the *Caesares*

### Nemesianus

- 1) Marcus Aurelius Olympius Nemesianus was praised highly in the *Historia Augusta*.
- 2) Nemesianus, in the prologue to *Cynegetica*, justifies his subject matter by saying that mythological topics have been exhausted. Nemesianus promises to treat the warlike prowess of Carinus and Numerian (Carus' sons) in his next work.
  - a. *Haliutica*—a didactic poem on fishing
  - b. *Cynegetica*—a didactic poem on hunting
  - c. *Nautica*—a didactic poem, perhaps on fowling

### Macrobius

- 1) Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius was called *vir clarissimus et illustris* and said, in his *Saturnalia*, "*Vestustas quidem nobis, si sapimus, adoranda est*" (We must always venerate antiquity, if we are wise).
- 2) Macrobius was a Neoplatonist who belonged to the cult of the sun, a tendency that comes out in his Commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis*.
- 3) *Saturnalia*
  - a. Dedicated to Macrobius' son Eustachius
  - b. The book is a medley of writers from all ages, Greek and Latin.
  - c. Servius and Symmachus are present at the dinner party in *Saturnalia*.
- 4) Commentary on the *Somnium Scipionis* from Cicero's *De Republica*

### Ammianus Marcellinus

- 1) Ammianus Marcellinus was a fourth century AD historian who continued the histories of Tacitus in his *Res Gestae a fine Corneli Taciti*. Ammianus Marcellinus was considered the “last great Roman historian”.
- 2) Ammianus Marcellinus was born in Syrian Antioch between AD 325 and 320.
- 3) A Sketch of Ammianus’ Life
  - a. Ammianus Marcellinus served with Ursinius until the fall of Amida.
  - b. Ammianus probably participated in the Persian expedition against Shapur I during which Julian was speared in the side. He returned then to Antioch.
  - c. After the Goths defeated Valens at Adrianople in 378 AD, Ammianus went to Rome, where he was disgusted by the arrogance of the aristocrats.
- 4) The *Res Gestae* covered, according to Ammianus’ own epilogue, the principate of Nerva to the death of Valens I.
  - a. Ammianus was a pagan and a friend of the pagan defender Symmachus. Ammianus wrote “No wild beasts are such enemies to mankind as Christians are to one another.”

### Eutropius, Aurelius Victor, and Others

- 1) Aurelius Victor wrote an *Epitome de Caesaribus* and a three part *Historia Tripertita*, consisting of the *Origo gentis Romanae* on Aeneas, its continuation *De Viris Illustribus*, and the *Caesares*, which covered from Augustus to Constantius.
- 2) Eutropius wrote the 10 book *Breviarium ab urbe condita* at the request of Valens, under who he was *magister memoriae*. Eutropius also served in Julian’s Persian campaign (362 AD).
- 3) Firmicus Maternus wrote *Mathesis* and *De Errore Profanarum Religionum*. The *Mathesis* is about astrology. Between his two works he converted to Christianity, after which he wrote the zealously anti-Pagan *De Errore Profanarum Religionum*.
- 4) Quintus Aurelius Symmachus was called the greatest living orator by Prudentius, and was a friend of Ammianus Marcellinus. He was a pagan and mounted a vigorous defense of the traditional religion against Christianity
  - a. Symmachus was the spokesman for the pagans who petitioned Valentinian II to restore the Altar of Victory in 384. The altar had been removed by Constantine, restored by Julian, and removed again by Gratian at the behest of Saint Ambrose and Pope Damasus.
  - b. Symmachus was an orator praised by Prudentius, and we have 8 of his speeches.
- 5) Aelius Donatus was the most distinguished teacher of his age, and taught many, including Jerome. He wrote commentaries on Terence and Virgil.
- 6) Servius was a youthful Vergilian scholar who commented on Vergil’s grammar, rhetoric and style. He makes use of his Aelius Donatus, who lived earlier in the 4<sup>th</sup> century.
- 7) Avianus wrote fables for which he cited Phaedrus as a source.
- 8) Festus Avienus wrote *Orbis terrae, Ora maritima*, and a translation of Aratus.
- 9) Dares Phrygius wrote a *Historia de excidio Troiae*.

### Humanist Survival in Poetry

- 1) Ausonius was tutor to both Crispus (son of Constantine) and Gratian. Ausonius’ masterpiece is the *Mosella*. He was born at Bordeaux around 310 AD. He studied under his uncle Aemilius Magnus Arborius, professor at Toulouse, and was the first Christian poet to write on themes other than Christianity. Among others, he wrote to Paulinus.
- 2) Claudian was the “last poet of Classical Rome.” He was a court poet under Honorius and Stilicho, and wrote the *De Raptu Proserpinae*.
- 3) Merobaudes was a poet from Spain who had a statue erected to him in the Forum of Trajan. Merobaudes was a court poet under Aetius. He wrote a *Laus Christi*.

- 4) Rutilius Namatianus went home from Rome to Gaul by sea after the sack of Rome in 410. He treated this in his *De Reditu Suo*.
- 5) Sidonius Apollinaris, the chief literary figure of the fifth century, was bishop of Clermont and son-in-law of Avitus (emperor in 455), to whom he delivered a panegyric.
- 6) Boethius was born in AD 480 and was a descendant of Symmachus. Boethius was esteemed by the Arian Theodoric until he was charged with high treason against his friend Albinus and tortured to death. He wrote his *On the Consolation of Philosophy* in prison. The *Consolation* deals with the problem of evil and a good God. The work was in the form of a Menippean satire, with 39 poems worked into it.
- 7) Cassiodorus was a friend of Boethius but, frankly, I don't care what he wrote.

## PART SIX: CHRISTIAN LATIN

### Tertullian

- 1) The first major Christian Latin writer, Tertullian was Bishop of Carthage.
- 2) Tertullian was called the "Christian Juvenal". He was also called a "Barbarizing Tacitus."
- 3) Quintus Septimius Florus Tertullianus was born a pagan at Carthage and educated in the same school of rhetoric as Apuleius. Tertullian practiced law and rhetoric at Rome.
- 4) Tertullian is most known for his defenses of Christian against pagan persecution.
- 5) *Ad Martyras*: to Christians in prison awaiting execution.
- 6) *In Marcion*: Tertullian's major invective, in five books.
- 7) *The Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas*: Extant in both Greek and Latin. Perpetua was a lady of "position" and Felicitas was her slave. Perpetua refused to recant when her father wanted her to, saying she could no more call herself other than a Christian than a pitcher could be called other than a pitcher. Perpetua was killed by beats in the amphitheater.
- 8) *Apologeticus*: addressed to provincial governors.
  - a. *Ad Scapulam*: Tertullian warns Scapula, proconsul of Africa, to leave Christians alone.
  - b. "We multiply every time we are mowed down by you; the blood of Christians is seed."
- 9) *On the Prescription of Heretics*: an attack on deviations from Rome.
- 10) Treatises before 202 AD: *On the Dress of Women*, *On Patience*, *On Prayer*, etc.
- 11) *On Modesty*: Attacks Pope Calixtus for declaring that adultery and fornication could be forgiven by the Church even after baptism.
- 12) Tertullian says that Christians pray for, not to the Emperor.
- 13) *On the Chaplet*: defends a Christian soldier who refuses to wear the honorary chaplet.
- 14) *On Idolatry*: condemns games, shows, theatrical and gladiatorial exhibitions as brutal, immoral, and connected with pagan rites.
- 15) *On Veiling Virgins*, *On the Adornment of Women*, *ON Baptism*, *On Patience*, *On Prayer*, *On Modesty*, *On Repentance*, *On Shows* (*On Shows* is well known because of Gibbon).
- 16) *On the Soul* defends the corporeality of the soul against the *Gnostics*; *Against Praxeas* defends the doctrine of the Trinity against the Monarchianists; *On the Flesh of Christ* and *On the Reurrection of the Flesh*.

### Minucius Felix

- 1) Minucius Felix wrote the *Octavius*, a Latin apology for Christianity probably written to refute an attack against Christianity by Marcus Cornelius Fronto in AD 150.
- 2) In the *Octavius*, Minucius acts as umpire while his friends Caecilius Natalis (pagan) and Octavius Januaris (Christian) debate Christianity.
  - a. The *Octavius* is indebted to Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*.

### Cyprian



- 1) Cyprian was also a Bishop of Carthage. He was an African, born a pagan and trained in rhetoric. He converted after an unchaste manhood.
- 2) Cyprian was martyred, after going into hiding, during the persecutions of Decius.
- 3) *De Unitate Ecclesiae* (On the Unity of the Church)
- 4) *De Lapsis*: on those who had lapsed during the persecutions.
- 5) *Ad Donatum* (To Donatus): written shortly after he became a Christian. Cyprian draws on Minucius Felix to argue that educated men should turn to the Church.
- 6) *To Demetrianus, Testimonies to Quirinus, To Fortunatus on Exhortation to Martyrdom*
- 7) Homiletic writings:
  - a. *On the Dress of the Virgins*: eulogy of virginity.
  - b. *On the Lord's Prayer*: emphasizes social aspect of prayer.
  - c. *On Mortality*
  - d. *On Works and Alms, On the Advantages of Patience, On Envy and Jealousy.*

### Novatian

- 1) Novatian was the first Christian writer to write exclusively in Latin.
- 2) Found among Cyprian's correspondence, he was a celebrated clergyman.
- 3) *On the Trinity, On the Food of the Jews.*

### Commodian

- 1) First recorded Christian poet.
- 2) *Instructions through the Initial Letters of Verses*: satirizes pagan gods, describes varieties of Christians.
- 3) *Carmen Apologeticum* (Poem of Apologetics): history of Israel to incarnation to anti-Christ.

### Arnobius

- 1) *Adversus Nationes* (Against the Heathen): 7 books, written to allay his bishop's suspicions of his *bona fides* following Arnobius' conversion to Christianity after a dream.
  - a. *Adversus Nationes* refutes the claim that Christians had brought calamity.
- 2) Arnobius converted when he was sixty years old. He had taught rhetoric in Africa.
- 3) Arnobius' pupil was Lactantius.

### Lactantius

- 1) Lactantius is called the "Christian Cicero."
- 2) Diocletian made Lactantius professor of rhetoric at Nicomedia, his residence in Bithynia.
- 3) Constantine appointed Lactantius tutor to his son Crispus.
- 4) *On the Handiwork of God*: Lactantius' earliest extant work
- 5) *Divine Institutions*: 7 books dedicated to Constantine, aiming to justify Christianity to educated minds.
- 6) Jerome said of Lactantius: "Would that he could affirm our doctrine as readily as he destroys others'."
- 7) *On the Wrath of God; On the Deaths of the Persecutors*

### Saint Ambrose

- 1) Ambrose was counselor to the emperors Gratian, Valentinian, and Theodosius. He was the first of the four original doctors of the Church and urged Gratian to remove the altar of victory from the senate house.
- 2) Ambrose was born around AD 335 and was, while still unbaptized, elected Bishop of Milan in AD 374.

- 3) Ambrose was called the “father of Church song” for his hymns. According to Augustine, he introduced the eastern practice of antiphonal singing to comfort his people when the Arians were besieging Milan.
- 4) *De Officiis Ministrorum*: Ambrose’s systematic synthesis of Christian doctrine. Ambrose borrows from Cicero’s stoic ideology in *De Officiis*.
- 5) Ambrose wrote ninety one letters.
- 6) *Exameron*: sermons. *On Virgins, On Virginity, On Widows, Exhortation to Virginity, On the Mysteries, On Faith, On the Holy Spirit*, etc.

### Juvenecus and Paulinus

- 1) Juvenecus was the first considerable Christian poet in the Latin tongue. Juvenecus was a Spanish priest, and he wrote *Books of the Evangelists* (4 books) during the reign of Constantine. He invokes the Holy Spirit instead of the Muses, to sing the deeds of Christ on earth.
- 2) Paulinus of Nola was a pupil of Ausonius and a Christian lyrical poet in the west. He is featured in the *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum*. Paulinus, to his teacher Ausonius’ consternation, renounced worldly wealth to devote himself to monastic life.

### Prudentius

- 1) The Spaniard Prudentius is called “the first great Christian poet.”
- 2) Prudentius’ lyrical poems are collected under the titles *Cathemerinon* and *Peristaphanon*.
- 3) The *Peristaphanon* venerates martyrs, especially Spanish (both also African and Roman).
- 4) *Apotheosis*: refutes a serious onf errors on the Trinity and the divinity of Christ.
- 5) *Hamartigenia* (“Birth of Evil”)
- 6) *Psychomachia*: perhaps Prudentius’ most famous poem, a historically important Christian epic where personified virtues like Modesty and Patience wage a series of epic combats with speeches. They battle against Lust of Sodom, Worship of Ancient Gods, Anger, Pride, etc.
- 7) *Against Symmachus*: 2 books. Refutes Symmachus’ Altar of Victory plea 20 years earlier. Attacks the heathen gods and contemporary astrology and sun worship. Includes a eulogy of Symmachus.
- 8) About Julian the Apostate, Prudentius said “*perfidus ille deo quamvis non perfidus urbi.*”

### Jerome

- 1) Jerome was born between AD 340 and 350 in Pannonia and died in 420 AD at Bethlehem. He and Augustine were the most prolific doctors of the western Church.
- 2) At Rome, Jerome was educated by Aelius Donatus, commentator on Terence and Vergil.
- 3) Jerome spent three years in the desert of Chalcis, where he learned Hebrew and confronted his lustful desires.
- 4) Jerome had a dream in which he was accused of being Ciceronian, not Christian.
- 5) Jerome was the secretary and intimate friend of Pope Damasus (who also wrote poetry).
- 6) The *Vulgate*: Jerome’s Latin translation of the Bible, which occupied twenty years of his time.
- 7) *Lives* on Eremites such as Paul of Thebes, Malchus and Hilarion.
- 8) *De Viris Illustribus*. Three authors: Nepos, Suetonius and Jerome.
- 9) Like Juvenal, Jerome describes worldly women’s “gaudy turbans and elaborate coiffures, their costly silks and liberally applied cosmetics and blazing wealth of jewels” (Hadas 435).
- 10) *Against Helvidius*: first Latin treatise on Mariology; defends the perpetual virginity.
- 11) *Against Jovinian, Against Vigilantius* (called punningly by Jerome “Dormitantius”)
- 12) *Dialogues against the Pelagians; Against Rufinus*

- 13) The *Chronicle* of Jerome was his translation of Eusebius' *Chronological Canons*, which dealt with the chronological systems of the Chaldaeans, Assyrians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans.

### Augustine

- 1) Augustine was a pagan, Manichee, and Neoplatonist before becoming a Christian.
- 2) Augustine was an African, born in AD 354 at Tagaste in Numidia (Tagaste was near Carthage). Augustine was born to a pagan father, the local official Patricius, and a devout Christian mother, Monnica.
- 3) Augustine was educated at Madaura until age 16, when he returned and was idle (due to a lack of money for education) and partied hard. He writes later of his behavior: "Behold with what companions I walked the streets of Babylon, in whose filth I was rolled as if in cinnamon and precious ointments."
- 4) Augustine then studied rhetoric at Carthage, taking a mistress, who became the mother of his son Adeodatus. He taught in Tagaste, then in Carthage, then in Rome, and finally in Milan as a professor of rhetoric (he took his mistress, his mother Monica, and his son Adeodatus with him to Milan).
- 5) Augustine dismissed his mistress when his mother Monnica found him a bride, and she went back to Africa. Augustine and his son Adeodatus eventually converted to Christianity, after which Augustine became a staunch critic of heresy.
- 6) Augustine battled against the Pelagians, who disputed his doctrine of original sin and maintained that men were naturally good. Augustine thought most people would go to Hell.
- 7) *Confessions*: Augustine's lyrical treatise on his search for God and early days, in which he asks "What do I love, when I love Thee?" and questions the stars and earth about God.
- 8) *City of God* (22 books): Written to answer why so many calamities had befallen the empire with the advent of Christianity. Augustine answers through an epic synthesis of doctrine. Pagans are to regard their calamities simply as "the heritage of their city of sin and death".
  - a. *Books 1-10*: Augustine polemicizes against pagan religion and philosophy, drawing upon Arnobius. Augustine says that the key to human history is the coexistence of a City of God, founded by angels, and a City of Man, founded by fallen angels.
- 9) *Psalm against the Donatists*: The first example of poetry based on rhythm.
- 10) *Seven Books to Confute the Pagans*: a universal history on the problem of evil, etc.
- 11) Salvian was a priest of Marseilles who wrote *On the Government of God*, which held that the calamities befalling Christians must mean that Christians were inferior to pagans in everything but orthodoxy and the "right religion."

### Random Dudes in the Sixth Century

- 1) Dracontius was an African poet who offended the Vandal King Gunthamund. He wrote a lengthy didactic poem called *On the Praises of God*.
- 2) Caelius Sedulius wrote *Carmen Paschale*.
- 3) Avitus, bishop of Vienne in 490 AD, wrote a verse paraphrase of the Old Testament.
- 4) Venantius Fortunatus started as a troubador and became bishop of Poitiers around 590. He was the last representative of Latin poetry on the threshold of the Middle Ages.

