

# ARCTOS

ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

VOL. LIV



HELSINKI 2020

## ARCTOS – ACTA PHILOLOGICA FENNICA

*Arctos* has been published since 1954, annually from vol. 8 (1974). *Arctos* welcomes submissions dealing with any aspect of classical antiquity, and the reception of ancient cultures in mediaeval times and beyond. *Arctos* presents research articles and short notes in the fields of Greek and Latin languages, literatures, ancient history, philosophy, religions, archaeology, art, and society. Each volume also contains reviews of recent books. The website is at [www.journal.fi/arctos](http://www.journal.fi/arctos).

### *Publisher:*

Klassillis-filologinen yhdistys – Klassisk-filologiska föreningen (The Classical Association of Finland), c/o House of Science and Letters, Kirkkokatu 6, FI – 00170 Helsinki, Finland.

### *Editors:*

Martti Leiwo (*Editor-in-Chief*), Arttu Alaranta (*Executive Editor and Secretary*), Minna Vesa (*Review Editor*).

### *Editorial Advisory Board:*

Øivind Andersen, Therese Fuhrer, Michel Gras, Gerd Haverling, Richard Hunter, Majastina Kahlos, Mika Kajava, Jari Pakkanen, Pauliina Remes, Olli Salomies, Heikki Solin, Antero Tammisto, Kaius Tuori, Jyri Vaahtera, Marja Vierros

Correspondence regarding the submission of articles and general enquiries should be addressed to the Executive Editor and Secretary at the following address (e-mail: [arctos-secretary@helsinki.fi](mailto:arctos-secretary@helsinki.fi)).

Correspondence regarding book reviews should be addressed to the Review Editor at the following address (e-mail: [arctos-reviews@helsinki.fi](mailto:arctos-reviews@helsinki.fi)).

### *Note to Contributors:*

Submissions, written in English, French, German, Italian, or Latin, should be sent by e-mail to the Executive Editor and Secretary (at [arctos-secretary@helsinki.fi](mailto:arctos-secretary@helsinki.fi)). The submissions should be sent in two copies; one text version (DOCX/RTF) and one PDF version. The e-mail should also contain the name, affiliation and postal address of the author and the title of the article. Further guidelines can be found at [www.journal.fi/arctos/guidelines1](http://www.journal.fi/arctos/guidelines1).

### *Requests for Exchange:*

Exchange Centre for Scientific Literature, Snellmaninkatu 13, FI – 00170 Helsinki, Finland.

– e-mail: [exchange.centre@tsv.fi](mailto:exchange.centre@tsv.fi)

### *Sale:*

Bookstore Tiedekirja, Snellmaninkatu 13, FI – 00170 Helsinki, Finland.

– Tel. +358 9 635 177, fax +358 9 635 017, internet: [www.tiedekirja.fi](http://www.tiedekirja.fi).

ISSN 0570–734–X

Layout by Vesa Vahtikari

Printed by KTMP Group Oy, Mustasaari

## INDEX

	CHRISTER BRUUN	<i>Transfer of Property in an Ostian Professional Corpus: Sexti Sextilii and Lucii Iulii among the <i>lenuncularii</i> in CIL XIV 251, and a Possible Effect of the 'Antonine Plague'</i>	9
	ANN BRYLSBAERT, IRENE VIKATOU & HANNA STÖGER	<i>Highways and Byways in Mycenaean Greece: Human–environment Interactions in Dialogue</i>	33
	GABRIEL EVANGELOU	<i>Strategies of Reconciliation in Cicero's Private and Public Life</i>	95
	PAOLO GAROFALO	<i>Romolo e i katharmoi per la morte di Tito Tazio: presso la "selva" o la "porta" Ferentina? (note di storia e topografia romana)</i>	123
	ANTTI IJÄS	<i>Greek Papyri of Pragmatic Literature on Combat Technique (P. Oxy. III 466 and LXXIX 5204)</i>	141
	KAI JUNTUNEN	<i>The Incident at Elegeia: The Meaning of στρατόπεδον in Ioannes Xiphilinus' Epitome of Cassius Dio (S.297,14–21)</i>	167
	NIKOLETTA KANAVOU	<i>Two Rare Names from Inscriptions in the Archaeological Museum of Messenia</i>	197
	TUOMO NUORLUOTO	<i>The Nomenclature of (Claudia) Livia, "Livilla"</i>	201
	TRISTAN POWER	<i>The Text of Catullus 6,12–14</i>	207
	DIMITRIS ROUMPEKAS	<i>Aloe in the Greek Papyri of Greco-Roman and Late Antique Egypt: A Contribution Concerning the Aloe Supply and Use in Antiquity</i>	213
	OLLI SALOMIES	<i>Some Eloquent Imperial Senators</i>	227
	HEIKKI SOLIN	<i>Analecta Epigraphica 331–336</i>	241
	KAIUS TUORI	<i>Breaking Chairs: Sella Curulis in Roman Law, Identity and Memory</i>	257



EEVA-MARIA VIITANEN	<i>Painting Signs in Ancient Pompeii: Contextualizing scriptores and Their Work</i>	285
MARK JANSE	<i>The Sociolinguistic Study of Ancient Greek and Latin: Review Article</i>	333
KAIUS TUORI	<i>Spatial Theories and the Study of Ancient (Roman) Urbanism: Review Article</i>	357
	<i>De novis libris iudicia</i>	379
	<i>Index librorum in hoc volumine recensorum</i>	437
	<i>Libri nobis missi</i>	439
	<i>Index scriptorum</i>	442

## SOME ELOQUENT IMPERIAL SENATORS<sup>1</sup>

OLLI SALOMIES

This article is meant to complement a much more substantial article from 2005 dealing with various aspects of the significance of eloquence for senators active between Augustus and the end of the third century.<sup>2</sup> In that article, I concentrate on eloquence and on identifying eloquent senators, but I also point out in passing (p. 238ff.) that, although readers of the letters of Pliny and Fronto could get the impression that oratory was regarded as one of the most important preoccupations of Roman senators, they could in fact also be interested in other activities, for instance, in addition e.g. to agriculture,<sup>3</sup> pisciculture,<sup>4</sup> medicine, poetry or law,<sup>5</sup> in epic and historical writing. In fact, turning to epic or history

---

<sup>1</sup> Thanks are due to two anonymous referees of this article.

<sup>2</sup> Salomies 2005. This publication was the result of a colloquium arranged by the *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* which takes into account persons active between Augustus and the end of the third century, this accordingly being also the period discussed by me.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Salomies 2005, 238 n. 45 on the consul of 108, Pompeius Falco, who devoted his time to arboriculture; H. Niquet, ‘The Ideal of the Senatorial Agriculturist and Reality during Roman Republic and Empire (*sic*)’, in K. Pollmann (ed.), *Double Standards in the Ancient and Medieval World* (GFA - Beihefte 1, 2000) 121–33.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the senator Demostratus, an authority on fishes who is referred to a few times by Aelian in books thirteen and fifteen (see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> D 49), surely identical with C. Claudius Titianus Demostratus from Ephesus, proconsul of Crete and Cyrenae in AD 161 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1044).

<sup>5</sup> On senators (and emperors – cf. the future emperor Nerva being compared to Tibullus, Mart. 8,70) writing poetry including tragedy and comedy see Stein-Hölkeskamp 2011, 184f. Note that according to Gallia 2012, 149, 173f., 176, some eloquent men may have turned their attention from oratory to poetry, as poetry was “an antidote to the demanding labors of public business” (p. 178); cf., however, Künzer 2016, 284f. n. 149. As for law, cf. e.g. the observations by Eck 2012, 174f. and 177 on P. Salvius Iulianus, ordinary consul in 148, and in general on the literary activities of Roman jurists, D. Mantovani, *Les juristes écrivains de la Rome antique : les oeuvres des juristes comme littérature* (2018).

may well have been considered by many as the highest goal of a senator with literary and/or scholarly interests, for in the case of some prominent senators it is attested that they abandoned eloquence and rhetoric in order to be able to concentrate on the writing of epic or history.<sup>6</sup> Be that as it may, in addition to observations on aspects of senatorial eloquence in general, my 2005 article also includes (on p. 251–59) a list of senators attested, in one way or another, as having been regarded as eloquent,<sup>7</sup> and on p. 260 a list of some senators attested

<sup>6</sup> See Salomies 2005 p. 240 nn. 56 and 62 on Silius Italicus and Servilius Nonianus. Cf. on Nonianus Stein-Hölkeskamp 2011, 183, on Silius Italicus *ibid.* 186.

<sup>7</sup> Addenda and corrigenda to the list: Avidius Nigrinus is there (p. 253) said to have spoken *presse* etc. (Plin. 5,20,6) as tribune of the plebs, but in fact Nigrinus is simply said by Pliny in his description of the trial of Rufius Varenus (cf. n. 8) to have spoken *presse graviter ornate* against Rufius. In the case of Catus Fronto (registered on p. 253, with quotes from Pliny) the passage in Martial 1,55,2, where an obviously senatorial Fronto, perhaps Catus Fronto (thus Bablitz 2009, 202; but cf. J. Fernández Valverde in Moreno Soldevila & al. 2019, 239f.), is described as *clarum militiae ... togaeque decus* also seems relevant. For another reference to a senator's success both as a soldier and in the *toga* see below at n. 28 on Q. Iunius Blaesus, and for the *toga* 'as the symbol of peacetime or civilian occupation, esp. in ref. to forensic activity' see *OLD* s. v. *toga* 4(a). For the reference to M. Cornelius Fronto as *orator* in *ILS* 1149 cf. Eck 2012, 180f. As for L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus (the sources for his eloquence being cited in n. 42; cf. on this person N. Hächler, *Kontinuität und Wandel des Senatorenstandes im Zeitalter der Soldatenkaiser* [2019] 409–15, 415f., 684f.), there is a new inscription in his honour from Athens, once again referring to him as ῥήτωρ (and set up by a man calling himself ῥήτωρ): D. Sourlas, in C. F. Noreña – N. Papazarkadas (eds.), *From Document to History. Epigraphic Insights into the Greco-Roman World* (2019) 399 A. Ἐγνάτ(ιον) Οὐκίτορα Λολλιανὸν τὸν λαμπρότατον ὑπατικόν, τὸν πρώτιστον τῶν δέκα ῥήτορα etc. Sourlas p. 401 translates this as 'the foremost orator amongst the ten (orators)' and observes that the phrase 'probably refers, retrospectively and somewhat misleadingly, to the ten canonical orators of Classical Athens'. The man who set up the inscription, M. Ulpius Asclepiades Eurytidas, apparently thought that Lollianus could be accorded a place within this venerable group (one wonders at whose expense this could have happened), unless he was just trying to say that Lollianus was even better than the rest. As for Vitorius Marcellus, I should have quoted (on p. 259) not only Statius, *Silvae* 4,4,43ff., but also lines 64f., *nec enim tibi sola potentis / eloquii virtus* (a reference to Marcellus' *membra accommoda bellis* follows). Note finally that C. Sosius, consul in 32 BC, but attested as *quindecimvir sacris faciundis* in 17 BC (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 776), could perhaps have been added to the list of senatorial *declamatores* (p. 260f.; cf. now for this category of men Roller 2011, 217–19), as he is attested as having been present in the *schola* of a certain Corvus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1521), a *rhetor*, listening to this person's declamation of a *controversia* on a woman *quae apud matronas disserebat liberos non esse tollendos et ob hoc accusatur rei publicae laesae* (Sen *suas.* 2,21; note that this particular episode is not registered in the *PIR* article on Sosius, which does mention the passage, but from another point of view). Cf. in general also Eck 2012, 181f. with observations on C. Sallius Aristaenetus, the three Postumii (registered by me on p. 259), M. Caecilius Novatillianus, Ti.

as advocates, some names in which list I should perhaps have added to the preceding list.<sup>8</sup> The modest, and only, aim of this article is to add a few names to the 2005 list of orators<sup>9</sup> and to illustrate for its part the 'intellectual' activities of senators, and thus Roman intellectual history in general. As this article consists of a number of observations which are not interconnected, it cannot be furnished with concluding remarks, as there are no general conclusions that offer themselves. The inspiration for the compilation of the notes that follow has been provided by my observation of the presence of *Calliepius*, a *signum*, in the nomenclature of P. Cornelius Saecularis, consul for the second time in 260, this surely being relevant for the illustration of the personality of the consul (cf. below).

After (or in the case of Balbo 2004 just preceding) the publication of my 2005 article, some work relevant from my point of view has been published (for some instances see the bibliography), notably, in addition to Eck 2012, 178ff., the two volumes by Andrea Balbo containing the fragments of Augustan and Tiberian orators, with *testimonia*, biographical notes and commentaries (Balbo 2004 and 2007, the individual orators only in the latter volume being numbered). The volumes have been of great use in the compilation of this article, as many, if not most, of the orators in Balbo are senators. It must, however, be stressed that

---

Claudius Aristocles, L. Egnatius Victor Lollianus.

<sup>8</sup> Thus in the case of Rufius Varenus (see *PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 261 and *AE* 2012, 1419 for Varenus' nomenclature and for the date of the proconsulate of Bithynia in 103), for the fact that Pliny (5,20,1) tells us that the Bithynians had asked Varenus to act as their advocate in their accusation of Iulius Bassus (*Varenum, quem nuper adversus Bassum advocatum et postularant et acceperant*; for other instances of provinces contacting directly advocates in Rome see Bablitz 2009, 199 n. 10) seems to imply that he was regarded as an able, and thus probably eloquent, advocate. The fact that the Bithynians turned to Varenus cannot be explained simply by the fact that he had been proconsul of Bithynia and was thus known in the province, for the trial of Iulius Bassus surely precedes Varenus' proconsulate in 103 (in *PIR* the trial is dated 'paulo ante a. 103'). However, although Varenus had accepted (cf. above), something may have happened, for, as pointed out by Bablitz 2009, 198 n. 7, there is no trace of Varenus in Pliny's description of the trial itself (4,9).

<sup>9</sup> I have not added Plotius Grypus, described in the early nineties as an orator in Statius, *Silvae* 4,9,15f., thought by some scholars to have been the son of D. Plotius Grypus, suffect consul in 88 (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 506) and thus a senator, for the offices mentioned by Statius (ibid. 16ff.) point to an equestrian, a fact not altogether convincingly explained away by F. Bérard, *MEFRA* 96 (1984) 259–306, and Grypus is registered as a knight in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 505. According to W. Eck, *Chiron* 5 (1975) 383, Grypus may have been the elder Grypus' nephew, i.e. the son of an equestrian brother of the elder Grypus.

many of the orators in Balbo have been registered as such by the author simply because they are attested as having spoken in the senate,<sup>10</sup> something which senators present at senate meetings were in any case expected to do,<sup>11</sup> with no evidence of them having been regarded as eloquent speakers.<sup>12</sup> These senators, and some senators recorded by Balbo for other reasons,<sup>13</sup> accordingly do not appear in my lists, as my only aim has been to register senators described in one way or another (cf. below) as corresponding to the ideal of the eloquent orator. On the other hand, my list and Balbo's catalogue of orators evidently overlap in the case of Augustan or Tiberian senators attested as eloquent speakers for whose performance as orators there is some actual evidence, i.e. fragments that can be registered.<sup>14</sup> As for the definition of 'eloquent' and 'eloquence', I do not, as

---

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Balbo 2007, p. XVII: the book includes persons 'per i quali sia attestata in maniera sufficientemente convincente l'attività effettiva nel foro, in Senato o nel tribunale centumvirale'.

<sup>11</sup> For the procedure of senate meetings, with various references to senators taking the floor, see R. J. A. Talbert, *The Senate of Imperial Rome* (1984) 221–89.

<sup>12</sup> Note one of the speakers in the *Dialogus* of Tacitus saying (in 36,7) that in the past – this meaning the Ciceronian period – it was expected of a senator expressing his *sententia* that he spoke *ingenio et eloquentia*, the reference to the past apparently implying that speaking *ingenio et eloquentia* may have become more rare in the later first century AD.

<sup>13</sup> Senators in Balbo who are only attested as having spoken in the senate and thus are not, or at least not necessarily, to be identified as orators in the Ciceronian and Quintilianian sense: e.g. M. Aemilius Lepidus (consul in AD 6, Balbo 2007, 225–34 no. 11); L. Caninius Gallus (consul in 2 BC, Balbo 2007, 26–29 no. 3); D. Haterius Agrippa (consul in AD 22, Balbo 2007, 328–32 no. 24); M. Papius Mutilus (consul in AD 9, Balbo 2007, 508 no. 45); Q. Veranius the Elder (Balbo 2007, 511 no. 48). For senators listed by Balbo for some other reason but not necessarily to be classified as orators note M. Aemilius Lepidus (consul in AD 11, Balbo 2007, 521 no. 54), attested as having defended his sister Lepida in her trial in AD 20, something which does not necessarily imply that Lepidus was regarded as an excellent speaker; Caepio Crispinus (quaestor in Bithynia, Balbo 2007, 479–84 no. 39), attested as having accused his superior, the proconsul, and thus a *delator* rather than necessarily an orator. The reasons for the presence in Balbo of P. Sulpicius Quirinius (consul in 12 BC, Balbo 2007, 519f. no. 53) are not altogether clear to me. Finally, there are some orators who seem to have been active only before Augustus, e.g. L. Cornificius (consul in 35 BC, Balbo 2004, 85–8 and Velleius Capito (Balbo 2004, 89f.).

<sup>14</sup> Mam. Aemilius Scaurus (p. 252): Balbo 2007, 309–20 no. 22; L. Arruntius (p. 252): Balbo 2007, 235–46 no. 12; C. Asinius Gallus (p. 252): Balbo 2007, 175–206 no. 7; M. Aurelius Cotta Maximus (p. 252): Balbo 2007, 321–27 no. 23; M. Claudius Marcellus Aeserninus (p. 253): Balbo 2007, 517 no. 51; Cn. Domitius Afer (p. 254): Balbo 2007, 405–46 no. 33; Paullus Fabius Maximus (p. 255): Balbo 2004, 147–55; L. Fulcinus Trio (p. 255): Balbo 2007, 359–65 no. 29; Q. Haterius (p. 255): Balbo



mentioned above, regard the fact that someone who is simply attested as having spoken in the senate or at a trial or at some other occasion is evidence of this particular person's eloquence; and the same goes for persons known only as *delatores*. In order to be ranked as an *orator* in the Ciceronian and Quintilianian sense, a person's performance as a speaker needs to be assessed in a positive and complimentary way in our sources ('speaking' being sometimes referred to as appearing in the *forum*, the natural setting of an eloquent man, or as dressed in a *toga*, in order to establish a contrast between the speaker and the military man); or one has to be identified as an *orator* (cf. C. Furnius, below) or as a person equipped with *eloquentia* (cf. C. Sulpicius Galba, below). But there are also some other ways of identifying an eloquent senator; cf. below on P. Cornelius Saecularis.

As in Salomies 2005, I have not considered emperors<sup>15</sup> who cannot be seen as representing the category of normal senators, with the exception perhaps of the emperors of AD 68–69 who managed to reign for only a few months.<sup>16</sup> For some addenda and corrigenda to my 2005 article, see notes 7 and 8.

**C. Asinius Pollio** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> A 1241, consul in 40 BC). Born around 76/5 BC, Pollio, known in addition to other activities also as an orator, started his oratorical career long before Augustus and can thus be referred to as a Republican orator (thus E. Malcovati, *Oratorum romanorum fragmenta liberae rei publicae* [1976<sup>4</sup>] 516–26 no. 174). However, he died only in AD 5 and could thus, although not appearing in Balbo 2004, surely be described as an orator of the Augustan age as well. Note Malcovati's fragments III, IV, V, VII, VIII, dated between 'post a. 29' and 9 BC, and e.g. the mention of Pollio's activities both as advocate and as

---

2007, 3–22 no. 1; Iunius Gallio (p. 256): Balbo 2007, 247–53 no. 13; D. Laelius Balbus (p. 256): Balbo 2007, 489–95 no. 41; M. Iunius Silanus (p. 256): Balbo 2007, 280–83 no. 18; Sex. Pompeius (p. 257): Balbo 2007, 275–79 no. 17; C. Sallustius Crispus Passienus (p. 258): Balbo 2007, 395–404 no. 32; M. Valerius Messalla Messallinus (p. 258f.): Balbo 2007, 207–15 no. 8; Q. Varius Geminus (p. 259): Balbo 2004, 187–200; L. Vinicius (p. 259): Balbo 2004, 141–46; M. Vinicius (p. 259): Balbo 2007, 518 no. 52; P. Vinicius (p. 259): Balbo 2007, 219–24 no. 10; P. Vitellius (p. 259): Balbo 2007, 366–73 no. 30.

<sup>15</sup> On the subject of the eloquence of Roman emperors cf. Fleury 2019 and references there.

<sup>16</sup> As for Vitellius, note that his speech, once he had arrived in Rome, was magnificent (Tac. *hist.* 2,90,1 *magnificam orationem de semet ipso prompsit*); Otho, on the other hand, was assumed to rely in speaking on the eloquence of Galerius Trachalus (cf. Salomies 2005, n. 35).

a speaker in the senate in Horace, *carm.* 2,1,13f.<sup>17</sup> and the reference in Tac. *dial.* 38,2 to Pollio, speaking *mediis divi Augusti temporibus*, as the only *magnus orator* whose speech in a centumviral court, namely that held *pro heredibus Urbiniae* (a famous case), is still read.<sup>18</sup>

**P. Cornelius Saecularis** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> C 1432 and *PLRE* I Saecularis, consul II in 260). The original reading of *IRT* 687, the inscription of a statue base from Lepcis Magna (of which only the upper part has been preserved) and dated in *IRT* on the basis of the letter forms to the third century, is *Calliepi. / P. Cornelio / Saec[ --- / --- ]*, with the reading of the letters *AEC* in l. 3 being described as uncertain.<sup>19</sup> In spite of this, the honorand was identified with P. Cornelius Saecularis, consul for the second time in AD 260, by H.-G. Pflaum, *BACTH* n.s. 6 (1970) 226f. = Id., *Afrique romaine. Scripta varia* I (1978) 346f. no. III, who in the establishment of the approximate date of the inscription also adduced the presence of the *signum*, inscribed on the margin above the panel with the inscription proper beginning in line 2. But the reading of l. 3 is in fact *Saeculari*, for one can discern at least the upper parts of all the letters in this line in the photos of the inscription available in *IRT*, in I. Tantillo – F. Bigi (eds.), *Leptis Magna. Una città e le sue iscrizioni in epoca tardoromana* (2010) 436 no. 61, in the Heidelberg epigraphical database (HD059538, by F. Bigi) and also in the Clauss-Slaby database (EDCS-06000678); that this is the consul II of 260 thus seems practically certain. As *Calliepius* is an extremely rare *signum*, being apparently attested only in the inscription from Lepcis and in a recently published inscription on a statue base from Rome (I. Tantillo, *Epigraphica* 74 [2012] 383–85 no. 1 = *AE* 2012, 207 = EDR129360: *Calliepi / [[ --- ]]*, with the *signum* inscribed in the upper margin and the rest erased), it seems more than probable, as seen by Tantillo, that this latter

<sup>17</sup> *Insigne maestis praesidium reis / et consulenti, Pollio, curiae.* (As for the *maesti rei*, according to S. Harrison, *Horace. Odes Book II* [2017] 51 Pollio “is here praised for the benevolence of his defences”, but I think that Horace is simply saying that Pollio has acted as a defence lawyer, for it is normal to describe a *reus* as aggrieved and afflicted.)

<sup>18</sup> This is confirmed by the quotations of the speech in Quintilian (4,1,11; 7,2,4f.; 7,2,26f.; 9,3,13; these passages are registered in Balbo 2004 under T. Labienus, Pollio’s opponent in the case, p. 210–14 as fragments 26, 27, 28, 30). Cf. on Pollio also Bablitz 2007, 151.

<sup>19</sup> The same reading is repeated in the online version from 2009 (<http://inslib.kcl.ac.uk/irt2009/IRT687.html>).

inscription must also be ascribed to the consul Saecularis.<sup>20</sup> As for the *signum* (a nickname of sorts) *Calliepius*, known to I. Kajanto from *IRT* and thought by him to be in need of emendation,<sup>21</sup> Pflaum pointed out that it must be derived from καλλιεπής ‘elegant in diction’, ‘speaking well’, and that this *signum* ‘a dû faire allusion aux dons d’orateur’ of Saecularis. As this is evidently the correct interpretation of the *signum*, it follows that Saecularis can most probably be added not only to the list of senatorial orators of the first three centuries of the Empire but surely also to the list of ‘intellectuals’, these including the philosopher Plotinus, active under the emperor Gallienus, known for his interest in the liberal arts and according to the author of the *Historia Augusta* himself celebrated for his oratory and his poetry and for ‘all arts’ in general: *Fuit enim Gallienus, quod negari non potest, oratione, poemate atque omnibus artibus clarus* (*HA Gall.* 11,6, cf. *tam inter poetas quam inter rhetores emicuit* *ibid.* § 9).<sup>23</sup> The fact that Saecularis was accorded the distinction of holding a second consulate is since E. Groag’s article in *PIR*<sup>2</sup> (1936) normally explained by assuming that he was a relative of the empress Cornelia Salonina, Gallienus’ wife; this proximity to Gallienus may also be the reason for the inscription from Rome in his honour having been erased after the death of the emperor.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Cf. M. Giovagnoli – D. Nonnis, in M. L. Caldelli – G. L. Gregori (eds.), *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio, 30 anni dopo* (Tituli 10, 2014) 218.

<sup>21</sup> I. Kajanto, *Supernomina. A Study in Latin Epigraphy* (1966) 78, suggesting the emendation of the name to Καλλιόπιος.

<sup>22</sup> This refers to the fact that the author is most critical of Gallienus and thus reluctant to admit that the emperor might have been good at something; however, oratory and poetry are not activities an emperor should be concentrating on (11,9 *sed aliud in imperatore quaeritur, aliud in oratore vel poeta flagitatur*).

<sup>23</sup> For other relevant details, including the quotation of an epithalamium by Gallienus himself, see the whole passage 11,3–9; and e.g. A. Alföldi, *Studien zur Geschichte der Reichskrise des 3. Jahrhunderts nach Christus* (1967) 257f. (with a list of some ‘intellectuals’ of this period); L. De Blois, *The Policy of the Emperor Gallienus* (1976) 145–47, cf. his ch. 5 on “The Gallienic Renaissance” in the plastic arts; M. Geiger, *Gallienus* (2013), ch. 7 (p. 256–75) on the “Philhellenentum des Gallienus”, with section 7.4 (p. 268ff.) on the “Beziehungen des Kaisers zu Plotin”.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. Tantillo p. 385, according to whom the erasion of the name (except for the *signum*) “potrebbe esser dovuta alla parentela di Saecularis con la famiglia di Gallieno, il cui nome è talora oggetto di *damnatio* anche a Roma (vd. *CIL* VI, 1107)”. For Cornelius Saecularis in general see M. Christol, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio* (n. 20) 143–57, who thinks that Saecularis may have been the son of P. Cornelius Anullinus, a Spaniard, consul ordinarius in 216, and that he may have been born around

**C. Furnius** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 591, consul in 17 BC; addressed by Horace as *candide Furni* in *sat.* 1,10,86). He and his father, C. Furnius, tribune of the plebs in 50 BC (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 590; E. Malcovati, *Oratorum romanorum fragmenta liberae rei publicae* [1976<sup>4</sup>] 451–52 no. 151<sup>25</sup>), are described as orators in the chronicle of Jerome (Hieron., *chron.* p. 159 ed. Helm): *Furnii pater et filius clari oratores habentur. Quorum filius consularis ante patrem moritur*. Jerome assigns the date 37 BC to the two Furnii, and book 1 of Horace’s *Satires*, where Furnius seems to be described as an intellectual of sorts,<sup>26</sup> was published before Actium, but since Furnius was certainly alive in 17 BC, I think it would be not be too bold to add him to the list of Augustan orators.

**Herennius Senecio** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> H 128, quaestor in Baetica, killed by the emperor Domitian in AD 93). Known especially for his biography of Helvidius Priscus the Stoic philosopher (for which he was executed), but references to him in Pliny the Younger seem to point to the fact that Senecio was considered an orator as well. He defended the absent Valerius Licinianus (accused of *incestum* with a Vestal) in the presence of Domitian, calling himself Licinianus’ *advocatus* who had, because Licinianus had in the meantime confessed, become the *nuntius* of Licinianus’ confession (Plin. *epist.* 4,11,12 *ex advocato nuntius factus sum*). When Baebius Massa was accused of extortion by the province of Baetica, the senate appointed Senecio, together with Pliny, as the provincials’ advocate (*epist.* 7,33,4 *dederat me senatus cum Herennio Senecione advocatum provinciae Baeticae contra Baebium Massam*; both are referred to as advocates also in § 5 and Senecio also in § 7, in a quote from Massa himself). This passage is, however, not necessarily a testimony to Senecio’s oratorical qualities, for the fact that Senecio was from Baetica<sup>27</sup> and had been the provincial quaestor there and thus

---

the time of Septimius Severus’ *ludi saeculares* in AD 204, this providing the inspiration for the cognomen. The same author places Saecularis’ first consulate in the time of the emperor Maximinus and discusses the possibilities of explaining the inscription from Lepcis the existence of which does not necessarily mean that Saecularis had been proconsul of Africa.

<sup>25</sup> Cf. esp. Plut. *Ant.* 58,6 Φουρνίου ... ὃς ἦν ἀξιώματος μεγάλου καὶ δεινότατος εἰπεῖν Ῥωμαίων.

<sup>26</sup> The interpretations of *candidus* cited in the commentary of E. Gowers, *Horace. Satires Book I* (2012) *ad loc.* (with some errors) do not seem very helpful (the claim of the Cruquian scholiast that Furnius was a historian noted for his honesty and elegance is surely an invention).

<sup>27</sup> Cf. below; and A. Caballos Rufino, *Los senadores hispanorromanos y la romanización de Hispania* (1990) 155–56 no. 83.

had a *necessitudo* with the province may have played a role in the senate's choice of him alongside the experienced orator Pliny (cf. § 5 for Senecio saying *ipse et natus ibi et quaestor in ea fui*, preceded by the observation that Pliny himself did not have the same kind of *necessitudo* with the province). In any case, it is surely worth observing here that Senecio is also attested as a critic of oratory, for he is quoted with approval in *epist.* 4,7,5 on Aquillius Regulus' eloquence, Regulus being described, with a little twist added to Cato's famous dictum, '*orator est vir malus dicendi imperitus*'; after Senecio's death this led to Regulus' attack on him, *epist.* 1,5,3.

**Q. Iunius Blaesus** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> I 738, suffect consul in AD 10). As legate of Pannonia in AD 14, Blaesus had to suppress the mutiny of the legions stationed there. In addressing the soldiers, Blaesus spoke *multa dicendi arte*<sup>28</sup> (*Tac. ann.* 1,19,2, the passage also including quotations, partly in indirect speech, from Blaesus' speech). Blaesus' role in suppressing the mutiny is also referred to by Velleius who describes him (in the ablative) as *viro nescias utiliore in castris an meliore in toga* (*Vell.* 2,125,5), where I think that *in toga*, as opposed to *in castris* which is obviously a reference to Blaesus' military merits, could be understood as a reference to his eloquence; cf. the description *clarum militiae ... togaeque decus* of (probably) the celebrated orator Catius Fronto (above n. 7, with a reference also to the interpretation of *toga*).

**P. Martius Verus** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> M 348, suffect consul in 166 and again as *consul ordinarius* in 179, perhaps from Tolosa in Aquitania<sup>29</sup>). Reporting on Verus' activities as legate of Cappadocia between 172 and 175, Dio offers a brief description of the man, said to be not only an excellent general but also a most convincing and persuasive speaker, whatever he did or said being characterised by charm (*χάρις*): *χάρις τε ἦν ἐπὶ πᾶσι τοῖς πρασσομένοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ λεγομένοις*, *Dio* 71,3,1). Verus can thus surely be added to the list of eloquent senators.

<sup>28</sup> F. D. R. Goodyear, *The Annals of Tacitus. Books 1–6* (1972) 211 thinks that *multa dicendi arte* does not define the verb *ait* but Blaesus himself (this being an 'ablative unattached to a common noun'), the result being that Tacitus described Blaesus as eloquent in general rather than only at this particular moment. Blaesus remains in any case a person that Tacitus described as eloquent.

<sup>29</sup> Thus G. Alföldy, *Konsulat und Senatorenstand unter den Antoninen* (1977) 317; P. M. M. Leunissen, *Konsuln und Konsulare in der Zeit von Commodus bis Severus Alexander* (1989) 362.

**?(Cn.?) Pedanius Fuscus Salinator** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> P 199, suffect consul around AD 84). A certain Fuscus is addressed by Martial in epigram 7,28 with references to Tartessian oil-presses (*Tartesiaca ... trapeta*) and to Fuscus' villa in Tibur, both items pointing to the conclusion that the man was from Spain.<sup>30</sup> Moreover, the way he is described by Martial (cf. below) clearly implies that he is a senator, and accordingly he is normally and plausibly identified with the Flavian senator and consul Pedanius Fuscus Salinator who appears to have been from, or at least to have had close connections to, Barcino in Hispania Tarraconensis.<sup>31</sup> In lines 5f. of the epigram Martial writes *sic fora mirentur, sic te Palatia laudent, / excolat et geminas plurima palma fores* (the subjunctive here expressing a wish), in the Loeb volume of 1993 by D. R. Shackleton Bailey translated as 'so may the Forums<sup>32</sup> admire you and the Palace praise you, and many a palm deck your twin doors'. In such a context, the term *forum* indicates the normal sphere of activity of the advocate,<sup>33</sup> and the *plurima palma* fixed to the front door indicates a forensic victory;<sup>34</sup> taking into account also the mention of the imperial residence on the Palatine, it seems obvious that this Fuscus 'is not a mere *causidicus* ..., but

<sup>30</sup> For Tibur as a place where upper-class Spaniards congregated see R. Syme, 'Spaniards at Tivoli', *Anc. Soc.* 13–14 (1982–3) 241–63 = Id., *Roman Papers* IV (1988) 94–114; on the probable identity of Fuscus with Pedanius Fuscus see p. 255 = 107, where Syme observes that the epithet 'Tartessian', 'although appertaining to Baetica, may merely stand for 'Spanish'.

<sup>31</sup> For Barcino see P. Le Roux, in *Epigrafia e ordine senatorio II* (*Tituli* 5, 1982) 448f. (cf., on the senatorial Pedanii in general, F. Chausson, *Epigraphica* 75 [2013] 167–86, who thinks that the connections of the Pedanii with Barcino may not necessarily mean that Barcino was their *patria*), and for the identification of Martial's Fuscus with the senator Fuscus Salinator see R. Syme (n. 30) and the scholars cited in *PIR*, by R. Nauta in W. Eck – M. Heil (eds.), *Senatores populi Romani. Realität und mediale Präsentation einer Führungsschicht* (HABES 40, 2005) 217, and in J. Fernández Valverde in Moreno Soldevila & al. 2019, 242 Fuscus 1 (where, however, the identification with Pedanius Fuscus is because of the common cognomen said to remain uncertain). In the inadequate *PIR* article on Martial's Fuscus (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> F 599 by A. Stein) the man is only said to have been 'causidicus ut videtur clarus'. This Fuscus is not mentioned in E. D. Augenti, *Gente dell'antica Roma. Personaggi dagli Epigrammi di M. Valerio Marziale* (2017).

<sup>32</sup> In his note on this passage, Shackleton Bailey explains *fora* as 'the law courts', but the singular 'the forum' would surely be more correct, as *forum* is the general expression for the field of activity of the orator (see n. 33) and as Martial uses the plural *fora* only for metrical reasons.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. *TLL* VI 1, 1204, 33ff. ('saepissime hoc vocabulo variis modis denotatur officium oratoris vel iudicis in causis publicis vel privatis'), with references also to relevant passages cited on p. 1199.

<sup>34</sup> See E. Courtney, *A Commentary on the Satires of Juvenal* (1980, repr. 2013) p. 319 on *Iuv. sat.* 7,118 with references.

of high quality as a public speaker' (R. Syme, see n. 30) or, in the words of R. Nauta (n. 31), 'ein angesehener, auch vom Kaiser favorisierter Redner', and the conclusion that we are dealing with a man of senatorial status seems inevitable.

**L. Rutilius Pudens Crispinus** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> R 257;<sup>35</sup> consul around AD 235). In his narration of the siege of Aquileia by the emperor Maximinus in AD 238, Herodian (8,3,4ff.) tells us that Crispinus, as a consular sent by the senate to Aquileia, spoke to the people (part of the speech being 'quoted') in order to persuade the Aquileians to resist the invitation of the emperor for them to surrender, and that he did succeed in this. In addition to being a man who commanded respect (αἰδέσιμος), Crispinus is described by Herodian (8,3,7) as fluent in his speech when speaking Latin (ἐν ... τῇ Ῥωμαίων φωνῇ εὐπρόσφορος ἐν λόγοις; his Greek may have been less impressive). Herodian thus clearly wishes to convey the impression that Crispinus was an eloquent orator, a personality commanding respect also being a prerequisite of the successful speaker.

**P. Suillius Rufus** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 970, suffect consul in AD 41, or perhaps 44 or 45). An unpleasant character, Suillius Rufus was known especially as an *accusator*,<sup>36</sup> but from the narration of the prosecution, apparently instigated by Seneca, of Rufus in AD 58 in Tacitus (13,42)<sup>37</sup> it emerges that among other charges Rufus was accused of having received money for acting as advocate. In the same passage Rufus himself is quoted as attacking Seneca, said by Rufus to be familiar only with 'idle studies and with the ignorance of youths' and for being envious of persons who 'practised vigorous and uncorrupted eloquence in defending citizens', Rufus himself undoubtedly being meant to be included in this category of men. The fact that Rufus had been able to act as advocate, and not only that but indeed for profit, and furthermore that he clearly considered himself a speaker of some note, surely allows us to register him as an imperial orator.

<sup>35</sup> The praenomen is now attested in *CIL* II<sup>2</sup> 14. 2. 1, 992a from Tarraco.

<sup>36</sup> Rivière 2002, 545f. no. 70, cf. the index p. 593 for the mentions of Suillius throughout the book.

<sup>37</sup> *Eius* (i.e. Rufus) *opprimendi gratia repetitum credebatur senatus consultum poenaeque Cinciae legis adversum eos, qui pretio causas oravissent. Nec Suillius questu aut exprobratione abstinebat, ... Senecam increpans infensum amicis Claudii ... ; simul studiis inertibus et iuvenum imperitiae suetum vivere iis, qui vividam et incorruptam eloquentiam tuendis civibus exercerent.*

**C. Sulpicius Galba** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> S 999, suffect consul in 5 BC; Balbo 2004, 135–40), father of the emperor, was according to Suetonius (*Galba* 3,6) short and hump-backed and only moderately talented in speaking, but did plead causes ‘industriously’;<sup>38</sup> Galba’s *habitus corporis* is seen as a problem also by Macrobius, but in Macrobius, who seems to have used a source not identical with Suetonius, this Galba was *eloquentia clarus* (*sat.* 2,6,3).<sup>39</sup> In another passage (*sat.* 2,4,8, not in Balbo 2004), Macrobius has Galba pleading a cause before Augustus, but we seem to be dealing with a declamation or an exercise of sorts, as Galba is reported to have asked Augustus to correct any faults he may notice in Galba’s delivery (another joke on Galba’s appearance follows).<sup>40</sup> In any case, Balbo is clearly right in placing Galba among the Augustan orators.

**M. Vipsanius Agrippa** (*PIR*<sup>2</sup> V 674, consul in 37, 38, 27 BC; Balbo 2004, 71–83). References to Agrippa’s oratorical activities have been registered in Balbo (esp. F 9 = *Sen. contr.* 2,4,13f. and F 10 = *Plin. nat.* 35,26) and not being exactly datable and thus possibly from a period preceding Augustus do not need to be repeated here.

*University of Helsinki*

---

<sup>38</sup> Suet. *Galba* 3,6 *quamquam brevi corpore atque etiam gibber modicaeque in dicendo facultatis causas industrie acitavit.*

<sup>39</sup> *In Galbam eloquentia clarum, sed quem habitus, ut supra dixi, corporis destruebat, M. Lollii vox circumferebatur* (the *vox* being a joke on Galba’s appearance); *supra* refers to *informe gibbo erat corpus* in *sat.* 2,4,8.

<sup>40</sup> *Galbae ... agenti apud se causam et frequenter dicenti 'corrigere, in me si quid reprehendis', respondit* (Augustus): *'Ego te monere possum, corrigere non possum.'*



### Select Bibliography

- L. Bablitz 2007. *Actors and Audience in the Roman Courtroom*.
- L. Bablitz 2009. "The Selection of Advocates for *repetundae* Trials. The Case of Pliny the Younger", *Athenaeum* 97: 197–208.
- A. Balbo 2004. *I frammenti degli oratori dell'età augustea e tiberiana. Parte prima: Età augustea*.
- A. Balbo 2007. *I frammenti degli oratori dell'età augustea e tiberiana. Parte seconda: Età tiberiana*.
- W. Blösel – K.-J. Hölkeskamp (eds.) 2011. *Von der «militia equestris» zur «militia urbana». Prominenzrollen und Karrierefelder im antiken Rom*, 175–95.
- W. Eck 2012. "Senatorisches Leben jenseits von Politik, Militär und Administration: Die öffentliche Repräsentation der intellektuellen Seite der Führungsschicht", in M. van Ackeren – J. Opsomer (eds.), *Selbstbetrachtungen und Selbstdarstellungen. Der Philosoph und Kaiser Marc Aurel im interdisziplinären Licht*, 169–86.
- R. Moreno Soldevila – A. Marina Castillo – J. Fernández Valverde 2019. *A Prosopography to Martial's Epigrams*.
- P. Fleury 2019. "Des modèles pour jeunes gens à la guerre: l'histoire de l'éloquence impériale dans l'*Ad Verum* II de Fronton", in A. Heller – C. Müller – A. Suspène (eds.), *Philorhōmaios kai philhellèn. Hommage à Jean-Louis Ferrary*, 577–88.
- A. B. Gallia 2012. *Remembering the Roman Republic. Culture, Politics and History under the Principate*.
- I. Künzer 2016. *Kulturen der Konkurrenz. Untersuchungen zu einem senatorischen Interaktionsmodus an der Wende vom ersten zum zweiten Jahrhundert n. Chr.* (*Antiquitas* 1:68).
- Y. Rivière 2002. *Les délateurs sous l'empire romain*.
- M. Roller 2011. "To Whom Am I Speaking? The Changing Venues of Competitive Eloquence in the Early Empire", in Blösel – Hölkeskamp (eds.) 2011, 199–221.
- O. Salomies 2005. "Redner und Senatoren. Eloquenz als Standeskultur (1. – 3. Jh. n. Chr.)", in W. Eck – M. Heil (eds.), *Senatores populi Romani. Realität und mediale Präsentation einer Führungsschicht* (*HABES* 40), 229–62.

- E. Stein-Hölkeskamp 2011. “Zwischen Pflicht und Neigung? Lebensläufe und Lebensentwürfe in der römischen Reichsaristokratie der Kaiserzeit”, in Blösel – Hölkeskamp (eds.), 175–95.
- K. Tempest 2017. “Oratorical Performance in Pliny’s Letters”, in S. Papaioannou – A. Serafim – B. Da Vela (eds.), *The Theatre of Justice: Aspects of Performance in Greco-Roman Oratory and Rhetoric* (Mnemosyne Supplements 403), 175–97.