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ABSTRACT - A LATIN SECOND SOPHISTIC

This thesis examines the *Noctes Atticae* (*NA*) of Gellius alongside two other Latin authors writing in the Second Sophistic, Apuleius and Fronto. I explore the question of to what extent these authors can be seen to contribute to this broader Greek literary and cultural movement; I argue that these Roman authors are in fact part of what I call the Latin Second Sophistic, and that their works are better interpreted as a continuation of an ongoing Latin literary tradition which should be seen as distinct from the work of their Greek contemporaries. This Latin Second Sophistic is characterised by the following: drawing on a hybrid of Greek and Latin models and assimilating Greek ideas into Roman culture through translation; the channelling of and reflection on Roman Satire and Italic traditions; cultivating a proper Latinity with their engagement in the Latin literary tradition; the use of authorial voice to self-fashion unique Latin works that make Greek learning more accessible for their Roman viewership; and, finally, their approach to the satirisation of pseudo-intellectuals, a recurring theme which reflects their engagement with the disciplines of philosophy, rhetoric and grammar, and the boundaries between these disciplines. My thesis therefore offers a new interpretation of second-century Latin authors and their cultural, intellectual, and literary relationship with Greek authors of the Second Sophistic.

A LATIN SECOND SOPHISTIC

Dissertation Submitted as Part Requirement for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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2023

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INTRODUCTION

In my thesis I will examine the *Noctes Atticae* (*NA*) of Gellius alongside two other Latin authors writing in the Second Sophistic, Apuleius and Fronto. I explore the question of to what extent these authors can be seen to contribute to this broader literary and cultural movement among the Greeks; I argue that these Roman authors are in fact part of what I call the Latin Second Sophistic, and fashion their works in terms of an ongoing Latin literary tradition that sees itself as distinct from the work of their Greek contemporaries.

CHAPTER 1 - Prosopography

Chapter 1 introduces our evidence for the Latin Second Sophistic by mapping Gellius' intellectual network of contemporaries in order to provide the appropriate background for my analysis of his place in it. This web of acquaintances offers initial support for the concept of a Latin movement, which will be elaborated upon in subsequent chapters. First, I offer an overview of secondary literature concerning the social/cultural phenomenon of the Latin Second Sophistic, and offer prosopographical charts to support my analysis in the following chapters. In the final section I outline the main figures involved in this phenomenon, and provide essential historical and literary background to and bibliographical references on these figures. Along the way, I will also introduce in outline more general issues taken up in greater detail later in my thesis.

CHAPTER 2 – Revivals of Republican Literature

In chapter 2 I situate Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto in the history of Latin literature in order to investigate to what extent these authors are carrying on an existing tradition started by Republican authors, or whether their work represents a significant break with

this tradition. I consider the impact that Ennius, Plautus, and Terence had as models for later Republican authors and our Antonine authors. In particular, I highlight the way Republican authors modelled literary and cultural hybridity, engaged with Latin satire and Italic traditions, assimilated Greek ideas into Roman culture through translation, used prologues to engage with their audience in a way reminiscent of Latin law courts, and aimed to develop norms of proper Latinity. I argue that Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto are a part of this much older tradition, and are engaging creatively with their Latin literary antecedents in a form of 'self-fashioning', whereby they create a distinct Latin identity for themselves, contrasted with their Greek contemporaries who are negotiating their role in their own literary tradition under a newly dominant Roman world. I conclude that the engagement with this long and distinctive Roman cultural and literary tradition reveals that the goals of Latin Second Sophistic authors were, by definition, at the very least somewhat different from Greek authors of that period.

CHAPTER 3 – Greek Models, Genre, and Narrative

Having looked at how Gellius and Latin authors of the Second Sophistic follow on from the existing Latin tradition, in chapter 3 I shift my focus to investigate the influence of Greek models on their works, in particular their exploration of genre and narrative. I examine how, despite the authors' great debt to their Greek models, they are nonetheless deliberately distancing themselves from the Greek Second Sophistic in specific ways: they draw on Plutarch, who wrote before the Second Sophistic and was wary of many aspects that would later come to characterise second-century Greek literature, as they explore curiosity and its proper role and limits for an educated Roman audience; they persistently encourage self-reflection as they craft narratives that guide and teach their reader; they make deliberate efforts to transform Greek models into a

more Roman text by making Greek learning more accessible whilst also drawing attention to the limits of proper interest in such learning; and they reject the Greek Second Sophistic's desire to idealise the past and instead focus on contemporary Roman life. Indeed, I argue that the Latin authors in this study show a notable willingness to experiment and innovate in their literary works, in contrast to many Greek authors who project their works into the past and cling closely to well-established genres and traditions.

CHAPTER 4 – Satirisation of Pseudo-Intellectuals

Chapter 4 hones in on the specific way that our Latin authors satirise pseudo-intellectuals. I look closely at passages from the works of Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto in a discussion of how these authors satirise intellectuals and intellectual life, and explore this theme and its relationship to what I have been describing as a distinct Latin movement within the Second Sophistic. I will therefore examine how our Latin authors defined themselves as members of an intellectual elite by positioning themselves against a range of different types of pseudo-intellectual, focussing on several particular stock figures: the pseudo-philosopher, the grammarian, and the *magus*. This satirisation allows Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto to navigate the boundaries between rhetoric and philosophy, promoting what they see as the more appropriate Latin approach to these disciplines: they use Roman satiric imagery to depict pseudo-philosophers as unworthy of the discipline; they satirise the philhellenic view of rhetoric, whilst emphasising proper Roman rhetoric; and they mock the appearance and dress of the Greek pseudo-philosopher.

In the course of my thesis, passages of the *NA* are from the Oxford Classical Texts edition. All other passages in Latin and Greek are those of the Loeb Classical Library series. I have provided translations for illustrative purposes: these are from the Loeb Classical Library series with occasional modifications of my own. The bibliography follows the APA citation style and is divided into three sections: 1) editions and translations of the primary sources quoted, 2) editions, translations, and commentaries of other ancient texts referred to in the thesis; and 3) modern secondary literature.

CHAPTER 1: Prosopography

This chapter introduces our evidence for the Latin Second Sophistic by mapping out Gellius' intellectual network of contemporaries in order to provide the appropriate background for my analysis of his place in it. This web of acquaintances will offer initial support for the concept of a Latin movement, which will be elaborated upon in my later chapters. First, I will provide an overview of secondary literature concerning the social/cultural phenomenon of the Latin Second Sophistic. I will then offer a prosopographical chart to support my analysis in the following chapters, which I also hope will provide a useful reference tool. In the final section, I will outline the main figures involved in this phenomenon. The major figures involved are: Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto; Favorinus, Lucian, Herodes Atticus, and Plutarch. An overview is necessary due to the large number of acquaintances that Gellius engages with in the *NA,* and the wide range of genres, topics, and ideas that feature in this work. By providing essential historical and literary background to, and bibliographical references on, these figures, it will be easier to focus on more detailed readings in future chapters. Likewise, I introduce in outline more general issues taken up in greater detail later in my thesis, such as the nature of the Second Sophistic, the relationship between the disciplines of rhetoric and philosophy, and the tensions between Latin versus Greek identity and self-presentation.

1.1 The Second Sophistic

What is the Second Sophistic?

The Second Sophistic is a difficult term to define, and various scholars have attempted to do so; here I outline some general issues, debates, and review recent work on the movement. The issue of periodisation has been much debated, especially regarding the

Second Sophistic.[1] Whilst it is a necessary and useful tool, dividing the past into different periods is caught up in issues of logic, politics, and tradition, and it should always be the source of scholarly debate.[2] I will use the term 'Second Sophistic' in my thesis because it is widely known and used among classicists. Its breadth is useful in that I will be discussing the relevance of the Latin movement with regards to the literary aims of our authors, the significance of the time period in relation to the Republican and early Imperial periods, and the cultural background of these authors. My goal is to draw out the specifically Latin aspect of the Second Sophistic: as this is an area which is still being formed and debated, this thesis hopes to set the stage for a broader discussion of nomenclature. Since Bowersock's fundamental book *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (1969),[3] which usefully linked epigraphical and historical evidence with literary texts from the period, thus establishing the basic historicity of the Second Sophistic, there have been five major monographs published about the movement,[4] along with various chapters and articles, including a recent handbook.[5] The Imperial Age sophist

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[1] Richter and Johnson (2017: 3-7). For further discussion of some issues with periodisation, concerning both the Second Sophistic and the issue more widely, see: Guillaume, Xavier. (2021). Historical Periods and the Act of Periodisation. In Lòpez, Julia, De Carvalho, Benjamin, and Leira, Halvard (Eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Historical International Relations* (562-570). Routledge; Hayot, Eric. (2011). Against Periodization; or, On Institutional Time. *New Literary History*, 42(4), 739-756; Kotsonas, Antonios (2016). Politics of Periodization and the Archaeology of Early Greece. *American Journal of Archaeology*, 120(2), 239-270; Pernot, Laurent (2021). The concept of a Third Sophistic: Definitional and Methodological Issues. *Rhetorica*, 39(2), 177-187; Richter, Daniel and Johnson, William (Eds.) (2017). *The Oxford Handbook of the Second Sophistic*. New York: Oxford University Press; Strauss, Barry. (1997). The Problem of Periodization: The Case of the Peloponnesian War. In Golden, Mark and Toohey, Peter (Eds.), *Inventing Ancient Culture: Historicism, Periodization and the Ancient World* (165-175). London: Routledge.

[2] Guillaume (2021: 536).

[3] Bowersock, Glen (1969). *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire.* Oxford: Clarendon Press.

[4] Anderson, Graham (1993). *The Second Sophistic: A Cultural Phenomenon in the Roman World.* London; New York: Routledge; Gleason, Maud (1995). *Making Men: Sophists and Self-Presentation in Ancient Rome.* Princeton (N. J.): Princeton University Press; Swain, Simon (1996). *Hellenism and Empire: Language, Classicism, and Power in the Greek World, AD 50-250.* Oxford: Clarendon Press; Schmitz, Thomas (1997). *Bildung und Macht: zur Sozialen und Politischen Funktion der Zweiten Sophistik in der Griechischen Welt der Kaiserzeit.* München: Beck; Whitmarsh, Tim (2005). *The Second Sophistic.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

[5] Richter, Daniel and Johnson, William (Eds.) (2017). *The Oxford Handbook of the Second Sophistic*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Philostratus pioneered the phrase 'Second Sophistic' in his *Vitae Sophistarum* (*Lives of the Sophists*), and arguably invented the idea of the movement as well,[6] though it can be argued that the debate about the nature and role of 'sophistry' goes all the way back to Plato.[7] Eschleman argues that Philostratus' version of the Second Sophistic is only one, partial view of a broad literary and cultural phenomenon,[8] as I will discuss further below. There are other historiographical issues to keep in mind, such as the fact that the list of 'the sophists' is variable, most of their works are lost, and that sophists continued to exist after both the initial and second 'sophistic movements'.[9] Whilst there is no consensus among scholars on a specific definition of the Second Sophistic, broadly speaking it is a literary and historical term describing the period between c. 60-230 CE,[10] in which rhetors gave public performances in order to display their erudition. This type of performance was an art form in its own right, and flourished in Athens, Asia Minor, and the Greek and Roman worlds more widely. Rhetors declaimed in both private or public spaces such as large houses, library lecture halls, and theatres. There was also a political dimension to the movement: many sophists were influential in their cities, and intervened in civic disorder, inter-city rivalry, or acted as emissaries to Roman authorities. They were likewise dispatched as envoys to other cities, and some held office or were honoured with statues.[11] Sophists were usually teachers and charged their students for rhetorical instruction.

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[6] ἡ δὲ μετ᾽ ἐκείνην, ἣν οὐχὶ νέαν, ἀρχαία γάρ, δευτέραν δὲ μᾶλλον προσρητέον, Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* 481; Swain (1997: 167).
[7] See the 'Rhetoric, Philosophy, and Sophistry' section below (pp. 12-13).
[8] Eschleman (2008: 395-413).
[9] Pernot (2005: 13-19). See also Goldhill (2009: 229): there is no indication of a 'coherent group with a shared agenda'.
[10] See Richter and Johnson (2017: 4-7) for issues concerning periodisation in the Second Sophistic specifically.
[11] See Bowie (2016) for an introductory overview of the Second Sophistic.

In *The Oxford Handbook of the Second Sophistic*, Richter and Johnson suggest the following characteristics as the traditional starting point: 'nostalgia for an idealised (Athenian) classical past; archaism and purity of language; sophistic performance and contest and display; *paideia* and erudition; anxieties over (Hellenic) self-definition and identity'.[12] There is an introductory chapter by Habinek, which I discuss below, on the existence of a 'Latin Second Sophistic', but the majority of chapters in this and other works focus on how to view the experience of Greeks under the Roman Empire.

The Latin Second Sophistic

It is therefore unsurprising, given the focus on Greek sophists, that the existence of a Latin movement in this period is still debated; the Roman perspective of the Second Sophistic remains largely unexplored. I aim to address this question in my thesis and argue that there is evidence to suggest a Latin counterpart to the phenomenon of the Greek Second Sophistic in the literary and political pursuits of Gellius, Apuleius, and their Latin contemporaries.

Scholars who have focussed on the the three figures of Fronto, Apuleius, and Gellius tend to look for similarities between them and Greek sophistic authors: Ramírez de Verger argues that the Latin side of the Second Sophistic cannot be viewed in isolation, but must be situated within the Second Sophistic as a whole.[13] For example, he uses three topics to show the proximity between Fronto and the Second Sophistic: the use of adoxography, the affinity for fabulous stories, and archaic terminology.[14] I will build on this to argue that within the Second Sophistic, Fronto uses these three aspects to carve out a Latin niche. Riess' edited volume (2008) focusses specifically on

[12] Richter and Johnson (2017: 4).
[13] Ramírez de Verger, Antonio (1973). Frontón y la Segunda Sofística. *Habis*, IV, 115-126.
[14] Ramírez de Verger (1973: 115-26); Fleury (2017: 254).

Apuleius, and explores how he fits into the larger framework of this period by the way he conveys the Greek concept of *paideia* (as expressed in the *Metamorphoses* and *Apologia*) to a Latin audience. He suggests that whilst the *Metamorphoses* serves mainly literary ends, the *Apologia* serves a concrete social purpose, and that by adapting Greek models Apuleius creates something different, a 'Latin sophistic, which stood in a certain distance from and in tension to its Greek counterpart.' He argues that Apuleius expressed this difference with 'wit and humour', and that he is the best person in the Latin West to observe this phenomenon.[15] I will argue further that there was indeed a Latin Second Sophistic following on from an existing Latin tradition, and that Apuleius, along with Fronto and Gellius, contributed a significant part to its formation.

Whilst Harrison makes the case that Apuleius is a 'Latin Sophist', Swain disagrees and rejects the notion that Latin figures can be included in the Second Sophistic altogether, claiming that Apuleius, whilst most similar to the Greek Sophists, cannot be a 'Latin Sophist', as a 'sense of teaching' must always be included in the definition.[16] I agree with Harrison in that there is in fact a sense of teaching in Apuleius' works. Opeku treats this aspect in depth regarding Apuleius' teaching in Africa.[17] Harrison further points out the encyclopaedic trend in Apuleius' works, the existence of pupils studying with him, and suggests that *De Platone* and *De Mundo* might indicate a further career in rhetorical performance and teaching for Apuleius.[18] This is similar to Gellius and Fronto's didactic aims of promoting a Latin education, which I discuss in chapter 3. Keulen's monograph (2009) focusses on placing Gellius' *NA* in a synchronic

[15] Riess (2008: xiii).
[16] Swain (2004: 12 n26).
[17] Opeku (1993: 31-44). Specifically, his use of the sophistic oration as a tool of popular instruction, formal instruction to more advanced students, and his attempts to replace Greek with Latin as the language of education in the Roman world. Opeku, Fabian. (1993). Popular and Higher Education in *Africa Proconsularis* in the Second Century AD. *Scholia*, 2, 31-44.
[18] Harrison (2000: 9, 203).

(Second Sophistic) and diachronic context (Roman intellectual traditions), however his original plan to investigate whether Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto represented a Latin Second Sophistic is never fully realised, and thus the book provides a useful starting point to this thesis.[19]

Habinek (2017: 25-37) provides the most recent and explicit investigation into the matter. He concludes that there was a sort of Latin Second Sophistic, but it was not one that most Latin authors would admit to, and it never eclipsed more traditional forms of literary and cultural activity: he argues that learning for enjoyment or individual improvement, performing before a crowd, becoming teachers for pay, and having the physical presence and charisma of performers were not only required in order to constitute a Second Sophistic, but that the Latin authors did not generally possess these qualities. Whilst Habinek rightly acknowledges that the Latin authors practised and listened to declamations, studied the classics of their own and the Greek literary tradition, and prioritised learned inquiry, he sees their divergences as not according with our usual understanding of the Greek phenomenon.[20] There are several issues with this assessment. First that the Latin authors do in fact show learning for enjoyment and individual improvement in their literary works [see pp. 107-10], and second that performance, physical presence, and charisma are key ideas in the works of our Latin authors, but they engage with them in a different way to the Greeks. Gellius uses vignettes involving interlocutors engaging in sophistic display, often involving the figure of Fronto, and Apuleius uses several sophistic methods in his speeches [see pp. 166-9]. Thus while the Latin movement differs from the Greek in its portrayal of sophistic performance, contest and display, an element fundamental to definitions of the

[19] Keulen (2009: 11).
[20] Habinek (2017: 25-37).

Greek Second Sophistic, the differences do not preclude the existence of a Latin sophistic.

In my thesis I offer a fresh review of the evidence and argue for the existence of a Latin movement composing of authors such as Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto that follows on from an existing Latin tradition. The Latin movement does not involve the anxieties of Greek self-definition in the context of the Roman Empire, yet our Latin authors are particularly concerned with defining themselves in contrast with both contemporary and older Greeks. This self-definition and relational positioning mirrors the concerns of the Greek focus, giving credence to the term Latin Second Sophistic. Rather than viewing traditional forms of literary and cultural activity as separate from the aims of sophistic culture as Habinek does, I will show that they reflect certain aspects and themes of the Greek sophists,[21] whilst at the same time deliberately distancing themselves from many Greek practices.

I argue that the 'Latin Second Sophistic' is characterised by the following: drawing on a hybrid of Greek and Latin models and assimilating Greek ideas into Roman culture through translation; the channelling of and reflection on Roman Satire and Italic traditions; cultivating a proper Latinity with their engagement in the Latin literary tradition; the use of authorial voice to self-fashion unique Latin works that make Greek learning more accessible for their Roman viewership; and, finally, their approach to the satirisation of pseudo-intellectuals, a recurring theme which reflects their engagement with the disciplines of philosophy, rhetoric and grammar, and the boundaries between these disciplines. My thesis therefore offers a new interpretation of

[21] There are parallels with the Greek Second Sophistic, for example: archaism and purity of language; *paideia* and erudition; anxieties over self-definition and identity.

second-century Latin authors and their cultural, intellectual, and literary relationship with Greek authors of the Second Sophistic.

Rhetoric, Philosophy, and Sophistry

The study of rhetoric, the sophists, and philosophy is interconnected.[22] In the Roman Empire there was not always a clear distinction between the three disciplines.[23] For the elite in Rome, eloquence was one of the necessary conditions of power.[24] It was also common to delight in paradox and to follow the performances of master speakers;[25] we will see examples of this in a figure such as the sophist and academic philosopher Favorinus. The sophists were interested in matters of grammar and rhetoric, theoretical concerns such as truth**,** and teaching/ education. Rhetoric played an essential role in the sophists' teaching, and the sophistic movement and rhetoric were joined in ancient

[22] The debate between rhetoric and philosophy, or sophistry and philosophy is an old one: Pernot (2005: 44-5) argues that the Greeks mistrusted rhetoric as it developed, as it was 'fraught with the possibilities of excessive subtlety, manipulation, and deceit'. It was criticised by Socrates in Plato, particularly *Protagoras*, *Gorgias*, and *Lesser* and *Greater Hippias.* The philosopher unmasks the sophists as 'dangerous charlatans' and criticises their pretension of being experts in speech who teach this 'expertise' to others. From the point of view of rhetoric, the antagonism between philosophers (*philosophoi*) and sophists (*sophistes*) establishes an opposition between the sophistic art of speech and philosophy. There were however more productive interchanges between rhetoric and philosophy: Wardy (2009: 55) suggests that Platonic dialogues are examples of philosophical rhetoric; Pernot (48-53) argues that the *Symposium* looks towards a 'philosophic rhetoric'. This 'give-and-take' was especially advocated by Aristotle and Isokrates, for example in Aristotle's *Ars Rhetorica*, the philosophical notion of the concept of happiness is discussed at length (1:5:5–18) and transposed into the rhetorical enthymeme; Aristotle *Ars. Rhet.* 1.1.3. Pernot (69) argues that the Academy 'evolved toward a rehabilitation of rhetoric', teaching at different times, rhetoric and philosophy, and the Peripatetics, like Aristotle, mixed rhetoric and philosophy. For the origins of the discipline of philosophy, see Moore, Christopher (2020). *Calling Philosophers Names: On the Origin of a Discipline.* Princeton (N. J.); Oxford: Princeton University Press. I will explore Cicero's work in rhetoricising philosophy in chapter 2 (pp. 50-1).

[23] For an overview of how the three were connected in the period of the Second Sophistic, see Lauwers (2015) chapter 1. Lauwers juxtaposes the alleged contradiction between the aims of philosophy, sophistry, and rhetoric with the attitude to these three disciplines attested in the surviving works of Second Sophistic intellectuals.

[24] See Pernot (2005: 91). Caplan (1970: 180): Quintilian believed that it transcended even accomplishments such as success in navigation and astronomy; *Inst. Or.* 12.11.10: *Qui primum renuntient sibi quanta sit humani ingenii vis, quam potens efficiendi quae velit, cum maria transire, siderum cursus numerosque cognoscere, mundum ipsum paene dimetiri minores sed difficiliores artes potuerint.* ('They should remember that lesser, though more difficult, arts than oratory have contrived to cross the seas, know the courses and groupings of the stars, and almost measure the whole universe.').

[25] Goldhill (2009: 228-9).

thought, even though a number of orators refused to be called sophists.[26] There were many opinions of sophists: for philosophers, rhetoricians were almost always sophists;[27] some thought that sophists were exaggerating rhetoricians; and some reclaimed sophism as a good thing, such as Favorinus and Galen.[28]

1.2 Individuals and their Connections

As explained above, the specific figures that make up the Second Sophistic are strongly contested. Eshleman points out that those Philostratus designates as members of the Second Sophistic are ones that show him as a key descendent. He favours Herodes and Hadrian as important, based on his own loyalties, which Eshleman argues is a form of self-fashioning.[29] For a prosopographical chart of the major figures represented in the *Vitae Sophistarum*, see Eshleman (2012: 130). Thankfully, I do not need to wade into the controversies surrounding the creation of a precise cast of Greek sophists; this thesis will focus on the figures of the Roman world to illustrate the phenomenon of the Latin Second Sophistic movement. The major figures involved are Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto. Favorinus also plays a part, and as it is necessary to compare these Roman authors with their Greek contemporaries - such as Lucian, Herodes, and Plutarch - in order to develop a sense of what was distinctively Roman about their activities, I will discuss these Greek figures as well.

I have chosen these specific Greeks as together they cover a broad range of the Greek Second Sophistic, whatever particular definition of this movement one chooses to

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[26] Pernot (2005: 13-19).

[27] Wardy (2009: 47-9). Unusually, Philo of Larissa taught both philosophy and rhetoric at Rome: Cic. *Tusc.* 2.9: *nostra autem memoria Philo, quem nos frequenter audivimus, instituit alio tempore rhetorum praecepta tradere, alio philosophorum*.

[28] Morford (2002: 191). Although in Plato's *Republic,* Socrates speaks against 'sophists' who use the feeble methods of rhetoric, Wardy (2009: 52) suggests that tolerance for rhetorical *logos* by philosophers may be observed in the *Phaedrus.* Socrates argues that since authentic rhetoric is 'verbal competence', it 'taps sources of truth and accords with philosophy'.

[29] Eshleman (2012: 129-33).

adopt. Plutarch plays a role as a forerunner and as a critic of the movement, and is also an inspiration for my Roman authors. Herodes is an example of a 'typical' sophist, and the most prominent of those mentioned by Philostratus. Lucian, on the other hand, is more of an outsider: like Fronto, Apuleius, and Gellius, he is not Greek, yet he writes in Greek and his works are typical of the Greek Second Sophistic. Those mentioned by Philostratus, for example Dio Chrysostum, Aelius Aristides, and Polemo feature sporadically throughout my thesis to illustrate what the Greeks are doing with their own tradition. The figures I have chosen are connected in various ways, as I have illustrated in the diagram and table below.

Diagram: Gellius' Intellectual Network

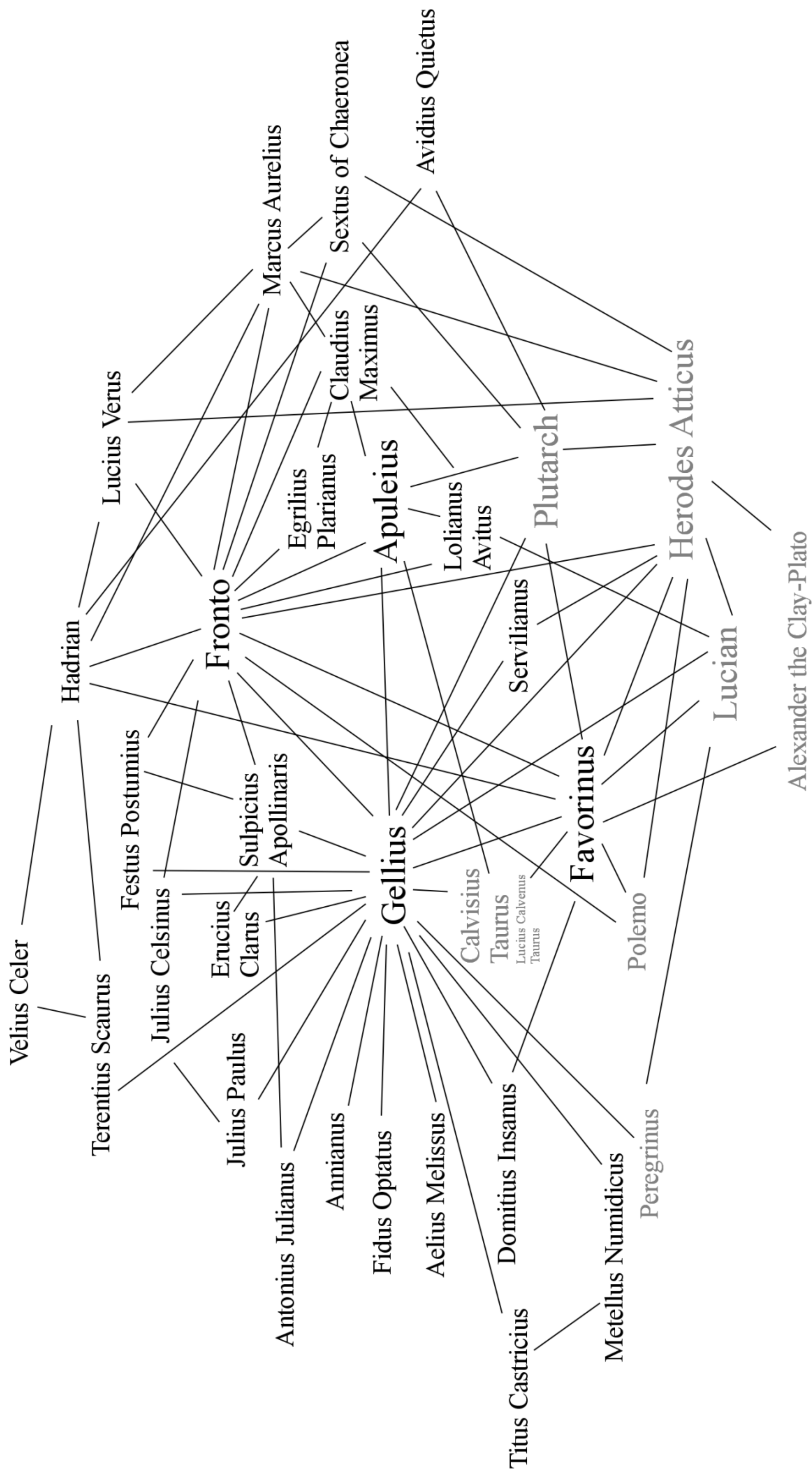

Table of Connections: The Six Major Figures

Gellius	Apuleius	Gellius and Apuleius could have met as Taurus' pupils whilst studying in Athens.[30] There is no explicit mention of each other in their works. There is possible reference to Apuleius' *Florida* in the *NA*.[31] There is a possible use of the *NA* for reference in Apuleius' *De Mundo*.[32] It is possible that Apuleius was the young man mentioned by Gellius as the author of a Latin translation of an epigram of Plato.[33] Both quote the same passage in Ennius in their discussions of philosophy.[34]
Gellius	Fronto	Fronto appears in five chapters of the *NA*: 2.26; 13.29; 19.8; 19.10; 19.13. It is possible that Fronto complains about Aulus Gellius' attempts to procure copies of his writings for publication.[35]
Gellius	Lucian	A similar circle of acquaintances feature in their works. Lucian's *Convivium* is possibly a skit on the *NA*.[36] Lucian may have desired to deflate those of Gellius' circle.[37] Both ridicule excessive love of archaic style.[38]

[30] Keulen (2004a: 224); Sandy (1997: 3); Sandy (1993: 163-74).

[31] The term ανθηρῶν in Gellius *praef.* 6 might refer to Apuleius' *Florida*: *namque alii Musarum inscripserunt, alii Silvarum, ille* πείπλον, *hic* ᾽αμαλθείας κέρας, *alius* κηρία, *partim* λειμῶνας *quidam Lectionis Suae, alius antiquarum Lectionum atque alius* ᾽ανθηρῶν *et item alius* εὑρημάτων; Harrison (2000: 93); Müller-Reineke (2006: 651); Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* 12.10.58: *Namque unum subtile, quod* ἰσχνόν *vocant, alteram grande atque robustum, quod* ἁδρόν *dicunt, constituunt, tertium alii medium ex duobus, alii floridum (namque id* ἀνθηρόν *appellant) addiderunt.*

[32] In *De Mundo,* Apuleius uses a passage also found in the *NA*. It is not certain that Apuleius quoted the passage from Gellius rather than from another source, Sandy (1997: 3); *De Mundo* 13-14 *at Fauorinus, non ignobilis sapiens, haec de uentis refert…*; Gellius, *NA* 2. 22. 3-29. See also Sandy (1993: 163-74) and Holford-Strevens (1977: 101-9), (1988: 12-9).

[33] Gellius, *NA* 19.11.3: *Hoc* δίστιχον *amicus meus,* οὐκ ἄμουσος *adulescens, in plures uersiculos licentius liberiusque uertit. Qui quoniam mihi quidem uisi sunt non esse memoratu indigni, subdidi*. ('This distich a friend of mine, a young man no stranger to the Muses, has paraphrased somewhat boldly and freely in a number of lines. And since they seemed to me not undeserving of remembrance, I have added them here.'). Keulen (2004a: 224).

[34] Gellius, *NA* 5.15.9: *Ennianum Neoptolemum probabamus, qui profecto ita ait: philosophandum est paucis; nam omnino haud placet.* ('I agreed with Ennius' Neoptolemus, who rightly says: Philosophizing there must be, but by the few/ Since for all men it's not to be desired.'). Apuleius, *Apologia* 13.1: *Da igitur veniam Platoni philosopho versuum eius de amore, ne ego necesse habeam contra sententiam Neoptolemi Enniani pluribus philosophari.* ('So give Plato allowance for his love poems, or else I shall be forced to talk philosophy at length, against the advice of Ennius' Neoptolemus.')

[35] Fronto, *Ad Amicos* 1.19. However Baldwin argues that despite the confidence of Van den Hout, there is no certain reference to Gellius in Fronto, Baldwin (1973a: 105).

[36] Baldwin (1973a: 106) argues that Lucian's *Convivium* could conceivably be a skit on the donnish talk and convivial settings of Gellius.

[37] Lucian was not fond of Herodes (*Demonax* 24, 33); Baldwin (1973: 106) He liked to repeat the jokes about Favorinus' anatomy; he sought to blast the fame of Peregrinus; and there are possible non-complimentary references to Fronto and Arrian in *Quomodo Historia Conscribenda Sit*.

[38] Baldwin (1973: 107): The *NA* is in tune with the vignettes of Lucian, Philostratus, and (later) Athenaeus.

Gellius	Herodes	Herodes features in *NA* 1.2, 9.2, 18.10, 19.12.
Gellius	Favorinus	Favorinus was a good friend and teacher of Gellius, who acted as his biographer.[39] Favorinus appears as a main character in the *NA* and is mentioned in thirty-three chapters. They both ridicule excessive love of archaic style.[40]
Apuleius	Fronto	They never mention each other, but Apuleius must have known of Fronto's reputation as a major celebrity, and Fronto had probably heard of Apuleius.[41] They were both from North Africa. Apuleius' self-fashioning closely resembles that of Fronto. There is evidence that Apuleius' word choice was influenced by Fronto.[42]
Apuleius	Lucian	They were born in approximately the same year: 124/125 CE.
Apuleius	Herodes	They both went to Athens to listen to lectures on Platonism.[43]
Apuleius	Favorinus	Vallette proposes that Apuleius modelled himself directly on Favorinus.[44]
Fronto	Lucian	There are possible non-complimentary references to Fronto in Lucian's *Quomodo Historia Conscribenda Sit* (*How to Write History*).[45]
Fronto	Herodes	Fronto was a teacher of Herodes. Herodes was his 'sometime enemy',[46] and they were rival advocates in a lawsuit where Herodes prosecuted Demostratus.[47] Fronto discusses their differences in five letters (*Ad M. Caes.* 3.2-6), but confesses he ultimately came to love Herodes as a friend.[48]
Fronto	Favorinus	Favorinus was the teacher of Fronto. Fronto has only one unequivocal reference to Favorinus.[49]

[39] Gellius also revered him as his teacher. He attached himself to him on leaving the rhetorical schools. See Gleason (1995: 137ff); Müller-Reineke (2006: 651).
[40] Baldwin (1973a: 107).
[41] Keulen (2014: 129): There is no evidence that they are closely intertwined.
[42] Keulen (2014: 130, 144-5).
[43] Sandy (1997: 22).
[44] Vallette (1908: 193-5, 206-7).
[45] Baldwin (1973a: 106).
[46] Fronto wrote a letter of consolation to his 'sometime enemy' Herodes, yet the letter is still barbed, Swain (2004: 22, 25-6).
[47] Swain (2004: 25).
[48] Claassen (2009: 56): *Epist. Graecae* 3 is addressed to Herodes, consoling him on the death of his infant son. Fronto confesses to being Herodes' rival for the love of Marcus Aurelius, but Fronto promises Marcus that he will not attack Herodes *ad personam* (*Ad M. Caes.* 3.3).
[49] Fronto, *Laudes Neglegentiae* 3: *Multa de Favorini nostri pigmentis fuci quisnam appingere <pro>hibet? Ut quaeque mulier magis facie freta est, ita facilius cutem et capillum neglegere; plerisque autem, ut sese magno opere exornent, diffidentia formae diligentiae illecebras creari.* ('Who pray prevents us from painting-in much colour from the paint-box of our friend Favorinus? The more a woman relies on her looks, the more easily does she neglect her complexion and her coiffure; but with most

Lucian	Herodes	Lucian seems to have had a personal connection with Herodes.[50] Herodes is explicitly mentioned in the *Demonax* 24 and 33, and is referenced in *Peregrinus* 19 and *Icaromenippus* 18. Additionally, *Deorum Concilium* can be read as a comic allegory of the situation in Athens under Herodes' influence, and the grief of Megapenthes in *Cataplus* resembles Herodes' famous expression of grief.[51]
Lucian	Favorinus	Favorinus is explicitly mentioned twice in the *Demonax* (12-13), is referred to in *Eunuchus* (7) as τις Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς εὐνοῦχος ἐκ Πελασγῶν τελῶν, ὀλίγον πρὸς ἡμῶν εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, [52] and Lucian bases his character Bagoas on him.[53] They both ridicule excessive love of archaic style.[54] It can also be argued that the *Rhetorum Praeceptor* (*Teacher of Rhetoric*) is directed at Favorinus.[55] Lucian's *Demonax* mocks Favorinus, who confronts Lucian as a result.[56]
Herodes	Favorinus	Favorinus was a teacher and close friend of Herodes.[57] When Favorinus was dying, he gave Herodes all of his books, his house in Rome, and a servant.[58]
Plutarch	Gellius	Plutarch is the first word of the *NA* book one.[59] Gellius was inspired by Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales.*[60]
Plutarch	Apuleius	Apuleius was inspired by Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales.* Lucius stresses kinship with Plutarch in *Metamorphoses* 1.2, 2.3.[61]
Plutarch	Fronto	The correspondence of Fronto contains hints of Plutarch's political thought.[62]

women it is because they distrust their beauty that all the alluring devices which care can discover are brought into being that they may particularly adorn themselves.'); See Baldwin (1973a: 105).

[50] Jones (1986: 20); Lucian, *Peregrinus* 19.

[51] See 'Herodes' section below (pp. 20-1).

[52] ('A certain Academic eunuch hailing from among the Pelasgians, who shortly before our time achieved a high reputation among the Greeks.').

[53] Clay (1992: 3445).

[54] Baldwin (1973a: 107).

[55] Gleason (1995: 129).

[56] See Gleason (1995: 135-6).

[57] See Holford-Strevens (2017a: 238-42).

[58] Kokolakis (1995: 69).

[59] Gellius, *NA* 1.1: *Plutarchus, in libro quem de Herculis quando inter homines fuit animi corporisque ingenio atque uirtutibus conscripsit, scite subtiliterque ratiocinatum Pythagoram philosophum dicit in reperienda modulandaque status longitudinisque eius praestantia.* ('In the treatise which he wrote on the mental and physical endowment and achievements of Hercules whilst he was among men, Plutarch says that the philosopher Pythagoras reasoned sagaciously and acutely in determining and measuring the hero's superiority in size and stature.').

[60] As I discuss further in chapter 3 (pp. 93-8).

[61] See also Müller-Reineke (2006: 649); Hunink (2004: 257-60); Keulen (2004b: 261).

[62] Pade (2014: 531): There are also echoes of passages from the *Lives* in some of Fronto's letters and, possibly, in Marcus' *Meditations*; Stok (1998: 58).

Plutarch	Herodes	In Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales*, he and Herodes are guests at the same dinner party.[63]
Plutarch	Lucian	There is no evidence that Lucian knew or used any of Plutarch's works.[64] They both used the dialogue as a literary form.
Plutarch	Favorinus	Plutarch dedicated two works to Favorinus (*De primo frigido* and *De Amicorum Multitudine*), and mentions him in his *Quaestiones Convivales* 8.10.[65] In return, Favorinus wrote a book entitled *Plutarch*, or *On the Academic Position*.[66]

1.3 Main Figures: Greeks

Plutarch c. 46 – after 119 CE

Sometimes seen as a fore-runner of the Second Sophistic, Plutarch seems aware of a cultural and intellectual movement starting to form. However, Plutarch is rather critical of this emerging sophistic ideology, an issue which I discuss in detail in chapter 3 (pp. 81-2). He prefers a quiet and withdrawn life in the Roman Empire and shows prejudice against the sophists in his work. Gellius and other Latin authors are similarly scornful of the agonistic nature of the Second Sophistic: indeed, authors of the Latin Second Sophistic sometimes draw on Plutarch as a model. Plutarch's form of *Quaestiones Convivales* inspired both Gellius and Apuleius in their use of dramatic settings and character depiction.[67] Both authors are characters in their works as well as narrators,[68] and these characters do not age in a linear fashion, but appear randomly at different stages in the authors' lives. Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales* takes the form of

[63] Plutarch, *Quaestiones Convivales* 8.4 (723 A-B): ἀπηρμένων δὲ τῶν πρώτων τραπεζῶν ἧκέν τις Ἡρώδῃ τῷ ῥήτορι Βπαρὰ γνωρίμου νενικηκότος ἐγκωμίῳ φοίνικα καὶ στέφανόν τινα τῶν πλεκτῶν κομίζων; ('At the clearing away of the first course, someone came in to present Herodes the professor of rhetoric, as a special honour, with a palm-frond and a plaited wreath sent by a pupil who had won a contest with an encomiastic oration.'); see Mazurek (2018: 641).
[64] Pade (2014: 532).
[65] Plutarch *Quaestiones Convivales* 8.10 (734 D-E): τὰ μὲν οὖν ἄλλα μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν οὐκ ἄχαριν ἡμῖν ἐν τοῖς περιπάτοις διατριβὴν παρέσχεν· τὸ δὲ λεγόμενον περὶ τῶν ἐνυπνίων, ὥς ἐστιν ἀβέβαια καὶ ψευδῆ μάλιστα περὶ τοὺς φυλλοχόους μῆνας, οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως ἐφ᾽ ἑτέροις λόγοις πραγματευσαμένου Ετοῦ Φαβωρίνου μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἀνέκυψεν. ('Most of the questions raised provided us with a pleasant pastime during our daytime walks; but the common saying about dreams—that they are especially likely to be unreliable or false in the fall months—somehow came up after dinner, after Favorinus had finished a discourse on other topics.'); Müller-Reineke (2006: 651).
[66] Minar, Sandbach, and Helmbold (1961: 205); Galen, *De Opt. Doctr.* (i. 41 K).
[67] See also Beall (1999: 58-9).
[68] Klotz (2014: 208-10); König (2011: 179-203).

conversations at the Greek symposium, and Gellius' dialogic scenes often feature a dinner table discussion. Dialogue scenes of vivid intellectual exchange and the exposure of imposter figures play an important role, which I discuss further in chapter 4, and the form was not only a genre associated with the authority of Plutarch, but defined the in-person meetings of the intellectual world of Gellius, Fronto, and Apuleius.[69]

Herodes Atticus 101-177 CE

Herodes Atticus was a professional sophist, originally from Greece but served as Roman senator.[70] His identity was composed of both Roman and Greek elements,[71] and like most sophists, he had a complex relationship between his polis and Rome.[72] He appears as a figure in works of both Lucian and Gellius: Gellius mentions him in four chapters of the *NA* (1.2, 9.2, 18.10, 19.12); and he is explicitly mentioned in Lucian's *Demonax* 24 and 33.[73] He is also referenced in *Peregrinus* 19 and *Icaromenippus* 18.[74] Additionally, *Deorum Concilium* can be read as a comic allegory of the situation in Athens under Herodes' influence,[75] and the grief of Megapenthes in *Cataplus* resembles Herodes' famous expression of grief.[76]

[69] Keulen (2004a: 226) is not sure whether Apuleius is to be included in the circle of Fronto and Gellius; see also Champlin (1980: 48–9).
[70] For a thorough treatment of his life, see Kokolakis (1995).
[71] For a detailed analysis, see Gleason (2010), especially 126-8.
[72] Strazdins (2019: 242).
[73] A possibly fictional biography of the eponymous philosopher.
[74] Mestre and Gómez (2009: 97); Kennell and Tobin read Menippus' tirade as a reference to Herodes Atticus. See Kennell, Nigel (1997). Herodes Atticus and the Rhetoric of Tyranny. *Classical Philology*, 92(4), 346-362, and Tobin, Jennifer (1997). *Herodes Attikos and the City of Athens: Patronage and Conflict under the Antonines.* Amsterdam: Gieben.
[75] Kennell (1997: 355-6). As Bartley (2009: 97) notes, Tobin (1997: 285-94) provides a compelling argument to explain why the people of Athens might have viewed Herodes Atticus as a tyrant in the 2nd Century CE; Holford-Strevens (2003: 140); Philost. *Vit. Soph.* 561: ἀναγιγνωσκομένης δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀθηναίων ἐκκλησίας, ἐν ᾗ ἐφαίνοντο καθαπτόμενοι τοῦ Ἡρώδου, ὡς τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῆς Ἑλλάδος ὑποποιουμένου πολλῷ τῷ μέλιτι… ('But when the decree of the Athenian assembly was recited to him, in which they openly attacked Herodes for trying to corrupt the magistrates of Greece with the honeyed strains of his eloquence…')
[76] See chapter 4.

In chapter 3 I will discuss how both authors emphasise Herodes' eloquence, but whereas Lucian situates him in marvellous locations in an attempt to glorify the Greek past, Gellius situates him in the countryside whilst emphasising idle pursuits, as a deliberate contrast to the urban Roman setting. In chapter 4, I will look at how Gellius and Lucian satirise Herodes in their works, and how their differing portrayals of the same figure suggest they have different goals in their writing: whearas Gellius portrays Herodes as sometimes a philosophical authority, and at other times a target of satire, Lucian's Herodes is treated as a caricature to advance his moral aims.

Lucian c. 125 – after 180 CE

Lucian was a famous and prolific writer in the ancient world, and author to over eighty extant works. Although he came from the Roman province of Syria, all of his works were written in Greek. The majority are comic dialogues, rhetorical essays, and prose fiction. Lucian is a popular figure among secondary scholars, with several monographs published on him,[77] as well as numerous articles on a wide range of topics.[78]

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[77] Bozia, Eleni (2014). *Lucian and his Roman Voices: Cultural Exchanges and Conflicts in the Late Roman Empire.* New York: Routledge; Ní Mheallaigh, Karen (2014). *Reading Fiction with Lucian: Fakes, Freaks and Hyperreality.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Mestre, Francesca and Gómez, Pilar (Eds.) (2010). *Lucian of Samosata: Greek Writer and Roman Citizen.* Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona; Ogden, Daniel (2007). *In Search of the Sorcerer's Apprentice: the Traditional Tales of Lucian's 'Lover of Lies'.* Swansea: Classical Press of Wales; Georgiadou, Aristoula and Larmour, David (1998). *Lucian's Science Fiction Novel 'True Histories': Interpretation and Commentary.* Leiden; Boston (Mass.): Brill; Alexiou, Alice (1990). *Philosophers in Lucian.* Fordham University. New York; Branham, Bracht (1989). *Unruly Eloquence. Lucian and the Comedy of Traditions.* Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press; Jones, Christopher (1986). *Culture and society in Lucian.* Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press; Hall, Jennifer (1981). *Lucian's Satire.* New York: Arno Press; Benda, Frederick (1979). *The Tradition of Menippean Satire in Varro, Lucian, Seneca and Erasmus.* University of Texas; Anderson, Graham (1976a). *Lucian. Theme and Variation in the Second Sophistic.* Leiden: Brill; Anderson, Graham (1976b). *Studies in Lucian's Comic Fiction.* Leiden: Brill; Baldwin, Barry (1973b). *Studies in Lucian.* Toronto (Ont.): Hakkert.

[78] Costantini, Leonardo (2019a). Dynamics of Laughter: The Costumes of Menippus and Mithrobarzanes in Lucian's *Necyomantia*. *American Journal of Philology*, 140(1), 101-122; Migliara, Alessandra (2018). Truth and Falsehood in Aristophanes and Lucian: Fantastic Connections. *Sileno*, 44(1-2), 231-248; Richter, Daniel (2017). Lucian of Samosata. In Richter, Daniel and Johnson, William (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Second Sophistic* (327-344). New York: Oxford University Press; Pinheiro, Marília (2016). Playing the Game: Fiction, Truth, and Reality in Lucian's *Verae historiae*. In López Férez, Juan Antonio, López Fonseca, Antonio and Martínez Hernández, Marcos (Eds.), *Πολυπραγμοσύνη: Homenaje al Profesor Alfonso Martínez Díez* (239-250). Madrid: Ed. Clásicas; Pinheiro, Marília (2015). Lucian's

Lucian parodies traditional Socratic dialogue in his works, and they have a comic, irreverent tone. Whilst there are similar trends in both Lucian's work and the works of the Latin authors, I will use Lucian as a foil to show how Gellius distinguishes his Latin writings from those of the Greek Second Sophistic, demonstrating that there are important differences in their criticisms of Greek literary culture. Lucian and Gellius were contemporaries and a similar circle of acquaintances feature in their works.[79] Despite the fact that there are three significant figures that appear in both authors (Favorinus, Herodes,[80] and Peregrinus),[81] a comprehensive comparison of Lucian and

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Satire or Philosophy on Sale. *Archai*, (15), 71-79; Tamiolaki, Eleni-Melina (2015). Satire and Historiography: the Reception of the Classical Models and the Construction of the Author's Persona in Lucian's *De Historia Conscribenda*. *Mnemosyne*, Ser. 4, 68(6), 917-936.; Haller, Benjamin (2014). Homeric Parody, the Isle of the Blessed, and the Nature of *Paideia* in Lucian's *Verae Historiae*. In Pinheiro, Marília; Schmeling, Gareth and Cueva, Edmund (Eds.), *The Ancient Novel and the Frontiers of Genre* (23-37). Eelde: Barkhuis; Möllendorff, Peter von (2014). Mimet(h)ic *Paideia* in Lucian's 'True history'. In Cueva, Edmund and Byrne, Shannon (Eds.), *A Companion to the Ancient Novel* (522-534). Chichester; Malden (Mass.): Wiley-Blackwell; Popescu, Valentina (2014). Lucian's 'True Stories': Paradoxography and False Discourse. In Pinheiro, Marília Pulquério Futre, Schmeling, Gareth and Cueva, Edmund Paul (Eds.), *The Ancient Novel and the Frontiers of Genre* (39-58). Eelde: Barkhuis; Sidwell, Keith (2014). 'Letting it All Hang Out': Lucian, Old Comedy and the Origins of Roman Satire. In Olson, Stuart Douglas (Ed.), *Ancient Comedy and Reception: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey Henderson* (259-274). Berlin; Boston (Mass.): De Gruyter; Bissa, Errietta (2013). Man, Woman or Myth? Gender-bending in Lucian's 'Dialogues of the Courtesans'. *Materiali e Discussioni per l'Analisi dei Testi Classici*, (70), 79-100; Elm von der Osten, Dorothee (2013). *Habitus Corporis*: Age *Topoi* in Lucian's 'Alexander or the False Prophet' and 'The Apology' of Apuleius. In Rüpke, Jörg and Woolf, Greg (Eds.), *Religious Dimensions of the Self in the Second Century CE* (192-217). Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck; Fields, Dana (2013). The Reflections of Satire: Lucian and Peregrinus. *TAPA*, 143(1), 213-245; Konstan, David (2013). The Grieving Self: Reflections on Lucian's 'On mourning' and the Consolatory Tradition. In Baltussen, Han and Adamson, Peter (Eds.), *Greek and Roman Consolations: Eight Studies of a Tradition and its Afterlife* (139-151). Swansea: Classical Press of Wales; Kemezis, Adam (2010). Lucian, Fronto, and the Absence of Contemporary Historiography under the Antonines. *American Journal of Philology*, 131(2), 285-325; Konstan, David (2010). Anacharsis the Roman or Reality vs. Play. In Mestre, Francesca and Gómez, Pilar (Eds.), *Lucian of Samosata: Greek Writer and Roman Citizen* (183-189). Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona; Schmitz, Thomas (2010). A Sophist's Drama: Lucian and Classical Tragedy. In Gildenhard, Ingo and Revermann, Martin (Eds.), *Beyond the Fifth Century: Interactions with Greek Tragedy from the Fourth Century BCE to the Middle Ages* (289-311). Berlin; New York: De Gruyter; Whitmarsh, Tim (2010). The Metamorphoses of the Ass. In Mestre, Francesca and Gómez, Pilar (Eds.), *Lucian of Samosata: Greek Writer and Roman Citizen* (133-141). Barcelona: Universitat de Barcelona; Nesselrath, Heinz-Günther (2009). A Tale of Two Cities: Lucian on Athens and Rome. In Bartley, Adam (Ed.), *A Lucian for our Times* (121-135). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing; Mossman, Hannah (2009). Narrative Island-hopping: Contextualising Lucian's Treatment of Space in the *Verae Historiae*. In Bartley, Adam (Ed.), *A Lucian for our Times* (47-62). Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

[79] Kokolakis (1995: 69): Herodes Atticus was intimate with Favorinus, who, when dying, gave him all his books, his house in Rome, and a servant. Lucian's *Demonax* mocks Favorinus, who confronts Lucian, see also Gleason (1995: 135-6). Favorinus was a good friend of Gellius, who acted as his biographer, see Gleason (1995: 137ff).

[80] See 'Herodes Atticus' section above.

Gellius in existing scholarship has not been undertaken.[82] As Gellius has been largely ignored in discussions of the literature of the period, it will be interesting to see how his view compares with Lucian's, what the differences and similarities are, and what such divergences and convergences can tell us. In chapter 4, I will expand on the questions raised by existing secondary literature to provide a comprehensive investigation of satirical depictions of intellectuals and intellectual life in Lucian and Gellius.[83]

1.4 Main Figures: Romans

Favorinus c. 85–155 CE

Favorinus was a Roman sophist, born in Roman Gaul, and wrote miscellanies, declamations and philosophical works, nearly all of which survive only in fragments.[84]

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[81] Peregrinus Proteus was a Greek Cynic philosopher, famous for committing suicide by immolation at the Olympic Games in 165 CE. Lucian, *Peregrinus* 1: καὶ νῦν ἐκεῖνος ἀπηνθράκωταί σοι ὁ βέλτιστος κατὰ τὸν Ἐμπεδοκλέα, παρ' ὅσον ὁ μὲν κἂν διαλαθεῖν ἐπειράθη ἐμβαλὼν ἑαυτὸν εἰς τοὺς κρατῆρας, ὁ δὲ γεννάδας οὗτος, τὴν πολυανθρωποτάτην τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν πανηγύρεων τηρήσας, πυρὰν ὅτι μεγίστην νήσας ἐνεπήδησεν ἐπὶ τοσούτων μαρτύρων, καὶ λόγους τινὰς ὑπὲρ τούτου εἰπὼν πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας οὐ πρὸ πολλῶν ἡμερῶν τοῦ τολμήματος. ('And now your genial friend has got himself carbonified after the fashion of Empedocles, except that the latter at least tried to escape observation when he threw himself into the crater, whilst this gentleman waited for that one of the Greek festivals which draws the greatest crowds, heaped up a very large pyre, and leaped into it before all those witnesses; he even addressed the Greeks on the subject not many days before his venture.').

[82] Gleason (1995) makes a comparison of Lucian and Gellius' treatment of Favorinus, but not the satirisation of intellectual life as a whole. Whereas other monographs on the Second Sophistic (p. 6 n.3, n.4) occasionally mention Gellius, there is no comparison with Lucian. Bozia (2014: 55) writes that, whilst Gellius gives us the Roman perspective of the Antonine period, Lucian provides the Greek/ Eastern perspective and therefore a contrast of both authors 'will raise and answer questions that mainly concern the position of the Romans and their relation to the Greeks and vice versa'. Bozia provides a comparison of cultural identity, but does not investigate the effect of the satirical aspects of Lucian's and Gellius' work. Keulen (2009: 310) argues that 'Gellius' political satire fits into a larger picture of Antonine literature, and…we can fruitfully compare him with Lucian'. However, as the book focusses on Gellius, the comparisons Keulen draws on are few and limited, with one mention of Lucian's *Deorum Concilium* and a few references to his *Demonax.*

[83] Satire of famous intellectuals was a favourite topic of contemporary satire. Pupils mocking former masters was not unusual in 2nd century intellectual life. Satire against teachers was a popular form of literary communication (see Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* 2, 27). Gellius' satire is influenced by: Cynic diatribe, such as Epictetus, Plutarch, Musonius, and Favorinus; and satirical 'modes', such as that of Socratic irony, Aristophanic comedy (*praef.* 21), and Roman verse satire (Lucilius). It seems very likely that the Menippean 'genre' served as a model for Gellius in his use of 'mock self-deprecation' as a Roman literary technique of establishing authority: see Keulen (2009: 69-70, 107-10, 188, 314); Relihan (1993: 54–59); Marache (1953: 90–93). I will discuss this further in chapter 2 (pp. 47-9).

[84] Only three speeches survive. For the fragments/testimonies of Favorinus, see Amato (2005, 2010).

He taught Gellius, Herodes, and Fronto, and was a friend of Plutarch.[85] Favorinus was viewed as a strange figure in the ancient world as well as the modern. Philostratus writes that he used to describe his life in three paradoxes: he was a Gaul, but spoke Greek; a eunuch, but was put on trial for adultery; he had quarrelled with an emperor, but lived: Γαλάτης ὢν ἑλληνίζειν, εὐνοῦχος ὢν μοιχείας κρίνεσθαι, βασιλεῖ διαφέρεσθαι καὶ ζῆν (Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* 489). He is indeed a man of paradox, and crosses linguistic, ethnic and physical boundaries, as well as disciplinary boundaries.

Favorinus appears as a main character in the *NA*: he is mentioned in thirty-three chapters, and in twelve chapters which can be considered dialogic scenes (*NA* 2.22, 2.26, 3.1, 3.19, 4.1, (8.14),[86] 13.25, 14.2, 16.3, 18.1, 18.7, 20.1). He also features in Lucian: he is explicitly mentioned twice in the *Demonax* (12-13); is referred to in *Eunuchus* (7) as τις Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς εὐνοῦχος ἐκ Πελασγῶν τελῶν, ὀλίγον πρὸ ἡμῶν εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν; and Lucian likely bases his character Bagoas on him.[87] It can also be argued that the *Rhetorum Praeceptor* is directed at Favorinus.[88] Holford-Strevens (1988, 2003) provides the first modern comprehensive study of Gellius; however, his analysis of Favorinus as someone with whom Gellius could find no fault is now outdated and has been questioned, for it seems possible that Favorinus was also a target of Gellius' satire,[89] which I elaborate on in chapter 4. Additionally, Gellius often uses Favorinus as a mouth-piece to give his own opinions, or to set up a situation where Gellius can inject his own counter-argument. As a result, the historical Favorinus is often distant and difficult to perceive in the *NA*.

[85] See my diagram and chart above for details. For an overview of Favorinus and Plutarch, see Puech (1992: 4850).
[86] Whilst book eight is lost, the chapter titles remain.
[87] Clay (1992: 3445).
[88] Gleason (1995: 129).
[89] For example, by Keulen (2009: 97-111).

Fronto c. 95-166 CE

Fronto was a powerful and influential Latin-writing intellectual of the Antonine era. He was an orator and suffect consul July–August 143 CE. Fronto was known primarily as a teacher, including tutoring the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and achieved great wealth and political prominence due to his eloquence and intellectual cultivation. He was heavily involved with the connection between Greek and Roman letters, and the world of the Greek intellectual.[90] Fronto appears in five chapters of the *NA*: 2.26; 13.29; 19.8; 19.10; 19.13. The majority of his surviving work is his *Correspondence*,[91] however he also wrote *laudes* or *encomia* on topics such as smoke, dust, and negligence entitled *Laudes Fumi et Pulveris* and *Laudes Neglegentiae*, and an essay on the tales of Arion. There have been several monographs published about Fronto since Marache (1951, 1952),[92] particularly Champlin's *Fronto and Antonine Rome*,[93] and articles and theses on a variety of topics.[94] Various authors have noted that there is something unique about

[90] Habinek (2017: 30-1); see Champlin (1980) for more about Fronto and his role in literary society at the Imperial court.

[91] Davenport, Caillan and Manley, Jennifer (Eds.) (2014). *Selected Letters.* New York; London: Bloomsbury; Van den Hout, Michel (1999). *A Commentary on the Letters of M. Cornelius Fronto.* Leiden; Boston (Mass.): Brill. For a full list of editions of Fronto's work see Van Den Hout (1999: 630).

[92] See below (p. 27 n.101).

[93] Champlin, Edward (1980). *Fronto and Antonine Rome.* Cambridge: Mass. Harvard University Press; Johnson, William (2010). *Readers and Reading Culture in the High Roman Empire: A Study of Elite Communities.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Fleury, Pascale (2006). *Lectures de Fronton: Un Rhéteur Latin à L'époque de la Seconde Sophistique.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres; Kasulke, Christoph (2005). *Fronto, Marc Aurel und Kein Konflikt Zwischen Rhetorik und Philosophie im 2. Jh. n. Chr.* München: Saur; Astarita, Maria (1997). *Frontone Oratore.* Catania: Centro di Studi sull'antico Cristianesimo; Quignard, Pascal (1995). *Rhétorique Spéculative.* Paris: Calmann-Lévy; Levi, Mario-Attilio (1994). *Ricerche su Frontone.* Roma: Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei; Portalupi, Felicita (1974). *Nota Frontoniana.* Torino: Giappichelli; Cawley, Elizabeth (1971). *The Literary Theory and Style of Marcus Cornelius Fronto.* Tufts Univ. Medford, Mass; Cova, Pier (1970). *I Principia Historiae e le Idee Storiografiche di Frontone.* Napoli: Libr. Scientif. Ed.

[94] Zeiner-Carmichael, Noelle (2019). *Magister Domino*: Intellectual and Pedagogical Power in Fronto's Correspondence. In Bosman, Philip (Ed.), *Intellectual and Empire in Greco-Roman Antiquity* (116-141). London; New York: Routledge; Keulen, Wytse (2019). *Oratio oris tui dignitate exornata*: Epistolarity, Panegyrics and Self-fashioning in Fronto, *Epist. ad M. Caes*. 1, 7. *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica*, 4a 17(1), 129-152; Mascoli, Patrizia (2019). Il Recapito della Corrispondenza nella Roma Imperiale. *Classica et Christiana*, 14, 187-199; White, Peter (2018). Senatorial Epistolography from Cicero to Sidonius: Emergence of a Genre. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*, 61(2), 7-21; Zeiner-Carmichael, Noelle (2018). Roman Rhetoric and 'Correspondence Education': The Epistolary *Viva Vox* of Marcus Cornelius Fronto. *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies of the University of London*, 61(2), 78-91; Fleury, Pascale (2017). Fronto and his circle. In Richter, Daniel and

Fronto's encomiums, and Fronto himself, whilst the discussing composition in *Laudes Fumi et Pulveris*, seems to suggest that there is room for a new type of Roman eulogy, rather than producing mere translations of the Greek: *nullum huiuscemodi scriptuni Romana lingua extat satis nobile*,[95] which I will discuss further in chapter 2 (pp. 54-6).

The issue of linguistic archaism, that is the use of obsolete diction found in archaic authors, has been prominent in a number of studies of Fronto, and is also important to my goals in this thesis. A few introductory comments on the topic are therefore in order. Champlin argues that Fronto was 'not only its leading exponent but virtually its progenitor'.[96] Holford-Strevens does not agree, stating that Fronto, 'though in later eyes the chief exponent of the archaizing style—was neither its inventor nor its arbiter'.[97] Lebek supports Holford-Strevens through his use of statistical methods to show that Sallust is an archaist in a 'proper and consistent sense', where his

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Johnson, William (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Second Sophistic* (245-254). New York: Oxford University Press; Holford-Strevens, Leofranc (2017b). Fronto's and Gellius' *Veteres*. In Rocchi, Stefano and Mussini, Cecilia (Eds.), *Imagines Antiquitatis: Representations, Concepts, Receptions of the Past in Roman Antiquity and the Early Italian Renaissance* (199-211). Berlin; Boston (Mass.): De Gruyter; Dickey, Eleanor (2015). How to Say 'Please' in Post-Classical Latin: Fronto and the Importance of Archaism. *Journal of Latin Linguistics*, 14(1), 17-31; Gachallová, Natália (2015). Rhetoric and Philosophy in the Age of the Second Sophistic: Real Conflict or Fight for Controversy?. *Graeco-Latina Brunensia*, 20(1), 19-32; Keulen, Wytse (2014). Fronto and Apuleius: Two African Careers in the Roman Empire. In Lee, Benjamin; Finkelpearl, Ellen; Graverini, Luca and Barchiesi, Alessandro (Eds.), *Apuleius and Africa* (129-153). London: Routledge; May, Regine (2014). Roman Comedy in the Second Sophistic. In Fontaine, Michael and Scafuro, Adele (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy* (753-766). Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Johnson, William (2013). Libraries and Reading Culture in the High Empire. In König, Jason, Oikonomopoulou, Katerina and Woolf, Greg (Eds.), *Ancient Libraries* (347-363). Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Richlin, Amy (2011). Old Boys: Teacher-Student Bonding in Roman Oratory. *Classical World*, 105(1), 91-107; Wei, Ryan (2013). Fronto and the Rhetoric of Friendship. *Cahiers des Études Anciennes*, (50), 67-93; Houston, George (2004). How did you Get Hold of a Book in a Roman library?: Three Second-Century Scenarios. *The Classical Bulletin*, 80(1), 5-13; Wesołowska, Elzbieta (2000). Fronto's Rhetorical Jokes or Much ado about Nothing. In Styka, Jerzy (Ed.), *Studies in Ancient Literary Theory and Criticism* (335-343). Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka; Braund, David (1993). Fronto and the Iberians: Language and Diplomacy at the Antonine Court. *Ostraka*, 2(1), 53-55; Champlin, Edward (1974). The Chronology of Fronto. *The Journal of Roman Studies*, LXIV, 136-159; Baldwin, Barry (1973a). Aulus Gellius and his Circle. *Acta Classica*, XVI, 103-107; Ramírez de Verger, Antonio (1973). Frontón y la Segunda Sofística. *Habis*, IV, 115-126; Grant, Robert (1955). The Chronology of the Greek Apologists. *Vigiliae Christianae*, IX, 25-33.

[95] Fronto *Laudes Fumi et Pulveris* 1.

[96] Champlin (1980: 52).

[97] Holford-Strevens (2015); Holford-Strevens (2003: 354–8).

predecessors were not, and outlies Sallust's motives for 'introducing the new archaising manner'.[98] Haines argues that 'this sort of archaism was nothing novel. Thucydides was a thorough archaist, and so was Vergil, and Sallust was eminently one'.[99] Nonetheless, even though Favorinus and Latin writers of his era were not the creators of Latin archaism, the concept was extremely important to Gellius and his time.[100]

Swain agrees with Marache, one of the first modern scholars to promote the idea of archaism, that from a literary point of view it was right to separate what was going on in Latin from the 'classicising and puristic Atticism' of the Greek Second Sophistic. He argues that archaisers formed more new words than they found and brought back from old texts, and that the importance of knowing the whole of Latin literature down to Vergil emerges from Fronto and Gellius. He suggests that we should see second-century authors as 'linguistic nationalists whose aim was to reinvigorate Latin as a language that was capable of change and innovation but also rightly proud of its ancient pedigree'.[101] This in its own right is an interesting divergence from the Greek sophistic, as I will argue in chapter 2 (pp. 71-76) in a discussion of the select use of archaic language to demonstrate learning and correct use of Latin.

Fronto was similar to the Greek sophists in some ways, yet stood apart in others: he was reluctant to flaunt his talents, defends rhetoric and its eloquence against attacks

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[98] Winterbottom (1972: 353-356); see also Lebek, Wolfgang (1970). *Verba Prisca. Die Anfänge des Archaisierens in der Lateinischen Beredsamkeit und Geschichtsschreibens.* Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht.
[99] Haines (1919: xxix).
[100] For details, see the two monographs by Marache: Marache, René (1951). *Mots Nouveaux et Mots Archaïques chez Fronton et chez Aulu-Gelle.* Fac. des Lettres Paris. Here he makes a detailed investigation into the vocabulary of Fronto and Aulus Gellius, with the aim of clarifying the meaning of the archaic reform undertaken by these two authors. Marache, René (1952). *La Critique Littéraire de Langue Latine et le Développement du Goût Archaïsant au IIe Siècle de Notre ère.* Rennes: Plihon. Here he discusses the literary theory and criticism of the archaising school put forward by Fronto and then developed by Gellius, and their influence on Apuleius' *Apologia* and later authors.
[101] Swain (2004: 17-18); see also Ramírez de Verger (1973).

of some philosophers, avoids the exhibitionist and quarrelsome tendencies of the sophists in his own letters, and believes that erudition is achieved second hand 'through the circulation of writings, the testimony of important friends, and a reputation for hosting events in which others compete for attention.'[102] Fleury (2017) attempts to show the connections that Fronto maintains with the sophists that he encounters, and to illustrate the commonality of thought and literary style between the Roman orator and the Greek sophists.[103] Fronto seems to establish a sharp dichotomy between Latin rhetoric and Greek philosophy, for example in positioning Polemon the Sophist in a world opposite to his own - similar to other devices used in the *Correspondence* where Fronto establishes through the use of speech 'clear distinctions and oppositions between the Greek world, associated with shameful philosophy and dialectic, and the Latin world, associated with respectable eloquence and lifestyle'. However, he then adds that Fronto's circle is more closely related to the Greek sophists than Fronto would admit.[104]

I will argue in chapter 2 that, despite such close relations, Fronto and his circle create a distinct Latin Second Sophistic. His eulogies seem to suggest that Fronto is proposing new and different (Roman) methods of constructing eulogies that are superior to and separate from the Greek originals. He uses them to satirise Greek sophistic writings, which can be seen as evidence for a separate Latin movement, particularly when read alongside Gellius' dialogic passages that include the figure of Fronto.

Apuleius c. 124 – 170 CE

Finally, I will argue that Apuleius is a member of what I am calling the Latin Second Sophistic, alongside Gellius and Fronto. Neither authors mention Apuleius by name, yet

[102] Johnson (2010: 138–148).
[103] Fleury (2017: 244).
[104] Fleury (2017: 246).

he likely belonged to the same network.[105] His literary output was varied; surviving works are the novel *Metamorphoses*, the rhetorical *Apologia* and *Florida,* and the philosophical *De Deo Socratis, De Platone et dogmate eius,* and *De Mundo.*[106] Works that do not survive include poetry and fiction, technical treatises on politics, dendrology, agriculture, medicine, natural history, astronomy, music, arithmetic, and a translation of Plato's *Phaedo*. Apuleius' popularity has been erratic – after a surge in interest during the Renaissance,[107] he remained unpopular until the late 20th Century.[108] The *Metamorphoses* is the work that has been most studied by scholars, followed by the *Apologia*. Yet like Gellius, Apuleius was interested in a wide range of topics, so his less

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[105] See diagram; Sandy (1997: 9): all three have origins in Africa, and Gellius and Apuleius could have met as Taurus' pupils whilst studying in Athens; see Keulen (2004a: 224) for examples; for a detailed overview of Apuleius' biography and literary career, see Harrison (2017: 345-50).

[106] It has been debated whether *De Mundo* (Latin translation of Pseudo-Aristotle's work) and *De Platone et dogmate eius* are authentic. Stover and Kestemont (2016: 656) used computational methods to argue convincingly for their authenticity: 'the attribution of these two works to the Apuleian corpus is extremely stable across a wide variety of algorithmic settings. We have not obtained a single experimental result that would cause one to have any suspicion that these two texts were not written by Apuleius, that is to say the individual responsible for authoring the *Metamorphoses*, the *De deo Socratis* and the *Florida*… we have considerable confidence in the robustness of our results for the *De Platone* and the *De Mundo*.'. However, there has been a sceptical response to the computational methods used by Stover and Kestemont. Nikolaev and Shumilin (2021: 819-48) argue that there is not enough evidence for conclusive attribution of these works to Apuleius: Nikolaev, Dmitry & Shumilin, Mikhail (2021). Some Considerations on the Attribution of the 'New Apuleius'. *Classical Quarterly*, N. S., 71(2), 819-48.

[107] Gaisser traces the transmission and reception of the *Metamoprhoses*: Gaisser, Julia (2008). *The Fortunes of Apuleius and the Golden Ass: A Study in Transmission and Reception.* Princeton (N. J.): Princeton University Press. See also Carver, Robert (2007). *The Protean Ass: The 'Metamorphoses' of Apuleius from Antiquity to the Renaissance.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

[108] Lee, Benjamin; Finkelpearl, Ellen; Graverini, Luca and Barchiesi, Alessandro (Eds.) (2014). *Apuleius and Africa.* London: Routledge; Bradley, Keith (2012). *Apuleius and Antonine Rome: Historical Essays.* Toronto (Ont.): University of Toronto Press; Nicolini, Lara (2011). *'Ad (L)usum Lectoris': Etimologia e Giochi di Parole in Apuleio.* Bologna: Pàtron; Keulen, Wytse (2009). *Gellius the Satirist: Roman Cultural Authority in 'Attic nights'.* Leiden; Boston (Mass.): Brill; Frangoulidis, Stavros (2008). *Witches, Isis and Narrative: Approaches to Magic in Apuleius' 'Metamorphoses'.* Berlin; New York: De Gruyter; May, Regine (2006). *Apuleius and Drama: The Ass on Stage.* Oxford: Clarendon Press; Keulen, Wytse (2004a). Gellius, Apuleius, and Satire on the Intellectual. In Holford-Strevens, Leofranc and Vardi, Amiel (Eds.), *The worlds of Aulus Gellius* (223-248). Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Harrison, Stephen (2000). *Apuleius: A Latin Sophist.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Harrison, Stephen (2000-2001). Apuleius, Aelius Aristides and Religious Autobiography. *Ancient Narrative*, 1, 245-259; Finkelpearl, Ellen (1998). *Metamorphosis of Language in Apuleius: A Study of Allusion in the Novel.* Ann Arbor (Mich.): University of Michigan Press; Sandy, Gerald (1997). *The Greek world of Apuleius: Apuleius and the Second Sophistic.* Leiden: Brill; Vallette, Paul (1908). *L'Apologie d'Apulée.* Paris: Klincksieck.

popular works are relevant to my argument. I will first look at the *Metamorphoses,* then the rhetorical works, and finally his philosophical works.

The Metamorphoses

The *Metamorphoses* or *The Golden Ass* is the only extant Latin novel that survives in its entirety. It is probable that the novel is based on a lost Greek work of the same name, which was also the source of pseudo-Lucian's *Lucius*, or *the Ass/ Onos*. The novel is an important part of the Second Sophistic as it is used to explore the question of cultural and literary identity.[109] There were several translations and general introductions of the *Metamorphoses* written in the 1970s-90s.[110] There has also been great interest in the narrative aspect of Apuleius' work since his revival. Winkler kickstarted this trend with his monograph *Auctor and Actor*,[111] and there have been several influential works on the topics of narrative and genre since.[112] Graverini explores Apuleius' defiance of convention and experimentation with genre within the tradition of narrative and satirical literature. He investigates how the narrative reflects Apuleius' mixed cultural identity

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[109] See Morgan (2017), Zeitlin (2017), and Selden (2017) for Greek novels and their place in the Second Sophistic. See also Harrison, Stephen (Ed.) (1999). *Oxford Readings in the Roman Novel.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Swain, Simon (Ed.) (1999). *Oxford Readings in the Greek Novel.* Oxford: Oxford University Press; Whitmarsh, Tim (Ed.) (2008). *The Cambridge Companion to the Greek and Roman Novel.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

[110] Schlam, Carl and Finkelpearl, Ellen (2000). A Review of Scholarship on Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 1970-1998. *Lustrum*, 42, 7-230; Kenney, Edward (Ed.) (1998). *The Golden Ass or Metamorphoses.* London: Penguin Books; Walsh, Patrick (Ed.) (1994). *The Golden Ass.* New York: Oxford University Press; Schlam, Carl (1992). *The Metamorphoses of Apuleius: on Making an Ass of Oneself.* Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press; London: Duckworth; Tatum, James (1979). *Apuleius and the Golden Ass.* Ithaca (N. Y.): Cornell University Press.

[111] Winkler, John (1985). *Auctor and Actor. A Narratological Reading of Apuleius's 'The Golden Ass'.* Berkeley (Calif.): University of California Press.

[112] Moreschini, Claudio (2014). Latin Culture in the Second Century AD. In Cueva, Edmund and Byrne, Shannon (Eds.), *A Companion to the Ancient Novel* (502-521). Chichester; Malden (Mass.): Wiley Blackwell; Tilg, Stefan (2014). *Apuleius' 'Metamorphoses': A Study in Roman Fiction.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Harrison, Stephen (2013). *Framing the Ass: Literary Texture in Apuleius' 'Metamorphoses'.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Kirichenko, Alexander (2010). *A Comedy of Storytelling: Theatricality and Narrative in Apuleius' 'Golden Ass'.* Heidelberg: Winter; Bowie, Ewen (2002). The Chronology of the Earlier Greek Novels since B.E. Perry: Revisons and Precisions. *Ancient Narrative*, 2, 47-63; Murgatroyd, Paul (2001). Embedded Narrative in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* 1. 9-10. *Museum Helveticum*, 58(1), 40-46.

and what it can tell us of his readership.[113] These aspects are an important consideration in this thesis, specifically in chapter 3, where I will argue that identity was an important concern of Apuleius and Gellius as they navigated the Greek Second Sophistic and attempted to form their own Latin circle.

Particular interest has also been given to book eleven, the 'Isis Book', and its significance to study of Roman religion. It has been long debated whether it is serious or satirical.[114] Satirical exposure of pseudo-philosophers was a common topos of the Second Sophistic, and Apuleius plays with this in the *Metamorphoses*.[115] There have been other monographs on a variety of themes, including magic, curiosity, drama, and the significance of the prologue.[116] Apuleius revives the word *curiositas* which had disappeared from our extant Latin literary corpus for two centuries.[117] I will discuss this theme further in chapter 3, particularly its links with Plutarch and with other authors of the Latin Second Sophistic, and show how Gellius' *NA* is designed to offer the curious

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[113] Graverini, Luca (2012). *Literature and Identity in the 'Golden Ass' of Apuleius.* Columbus (Ohio): Ohio State University Press.

[114] Keulen, Wytse and Egelhaaf-Gaiser, Ulrike (Eds.) (2012). *Aspects of Apuleius' 'Golden Ass'. 3, The Isis Book: a Collection of Original Papers.* Leiden; Boston (Mass.): Brill; Zimmerman, Maaike (Ed.) (2012). *Apulei Metamorphoseon Libri XI.* Oxford: Clarendon Press; Harrison, Stephen (2000-2001). Apuleius, Aelius Aristides and Religious Autobiography. *Ancient Narrative*, 1, 245-259; Egelhaaf-Gaiser, Ulrike (2000). *Kulträume im Römischen Alltag: das Isisbuch des Apuleius und der Ort von Religion im Kaiserzeitlichen Rom.* Stuttgart: Steiner; Merkelbach, Reinhold (1995). *Isis Regina, Zeus Sarapis: die Griechisch-Ägyptische Religion nach den Quellen Dargestellt.* Stuttgart: Teubner.

[115] See Keulen, Wytse (2003). Comic Invention and Superstitious Frenzy in Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*: the Figure of Socrates as an Icon of Satirical Self-exposure. *American Journal of Philology*, 124(1), 107-135 and Keulen, Wytse (2004a). Gellius, Apuleius, and Satire on the Intellectual. In Holford-Strevens, Leofranc and Vardi, Amiel (Eds.), *The worlds of Aulus Gellius* (223-248). Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

[116] Frangoulidis, Stavros (2008). *Witches, Isis and Narrative: Approaches to Magic in Apuleius' 'Metamorphoses'.* Berlin; New York: De Gruyter; May, Regine (2006). *Apuleius and Drama: The Ass on Stage.* Oxford: Clarendon Press; Zimmerman, Maaike (Ed.) (2004). *Apuleius Madaurensis, Metamorphoses. Books IV 28-35, V and VI 1-24: the Tale of Cupid and Psyche: Text, Introduction and Commentary.* Groningen: Forsten; Kahane, Ahuvia and Laird, Andrew (Eds.) (2001). *A Companion to the Prologue of Apuleius' 'Metamorphoses'.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; DeFilippo, Joseph (1990). *Curiositas* and the Platonism of Apuleius' Golden Ass. *The American Journal of Philology*, 111(4), 471–492.

[117] Baldissone (2015: 448). See also Kirichenko, Alexander (2008). Satire, Propaganda, and the Pleasure of Reading: Apuleius' Stories of Curiosity in Context. *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 104, 339-371 and DeFilippo, Joseph (1990). *Curiositas* and the Platonism of Apuleius' Golden Ass. *The American Journal of Philology*, 111(4), 471–492.

reader a curated selection of passages with the aim of both directing them to the proper objects of curiosity, and encouraging them to explore further.

The Rhetorical Works

The *Apologia*, a defence speech given in Sabratha ~158-9 CE, is Apuleius' most studied work after the *Metamorphoses* and is one of the few extant Latin speeches from the period of the Second Sophistic.[118] Along with the *Florida,* a compilation of extracts from various speeches, they are the two surviving rhetorical works of Apuleius.[119] There are very few monographs on the *Apologia*, and they focus on the topic of magic,[120] most recently Costantini (2019c).[121] Various articles and chapters have been published on the *Apologia* and the *Florida*,[122] most interestingly Harrison's (2017) chapter on Apuleius,[123] Baker (2017) on costume and identity,[124] Kehoe and Vervaet (2015) on honour and humiliation,[125] and Hijmans (1994) on Apuleius as an orator.[126]

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[118] Riess (2008: x-xiii). Pliny's *Panegyric* is another extant speech from the period.

[119] Translations and commentaries: Jones, Christopher (Ed.) (2017). *Apologia; Florida; De Deo Socratis.* Cambridge (Mass.); London: Harvard University Press; Lee, Benjamin (Ed.) (2005). *Apuleius' 'Florida': A Commentary.* Berlin; New York: De Gruyter; Harrison, Stephen; Hilton, John and Hunink, Vincent (Eds.) (2001). *Apuleius: Rhetorical Works*. Oxford: Oxford University Press; Hunink, Vincent (Ed.) (1997). *Pro se de Magia: Apologia.* Amsterdam: Gieben; Vallette, Paul (Ed.) (1924). *Apulée: Apologie. Florides.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

[120] Graf, Fritz (1997). *Magic in the Ancient world.* Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press; Abt, Adam (1963). *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura und die Antike Zauberei. Beiträge zur Erläuterung der Schrift de Magia.* Berlin: De Gruyter.

[121] Costantini, Leonardo (2019c). *Magic in Apuleius' 'Apologia': Understanding the Charges and the Forensic Strategies in Apuleius' speech.* Berlin; Boston (Mass.): De Gruyter.

[122] Nugent, Mark (2010). *Art, Literature, and Politics of Identity in the High Roman Empire.* Dissertation, University of Washington; La Rocca, Adolfo (2018). *Seminumida et Semigaetulus*: Etnicità e Status nell'*Apologia* di Apuleio. *Mediterraneo Antico*, 21(1-2), 551-576; Moretti, Gabriella (2018). Lettere dall'Alfabeto in Teatro, a Scuola e in Tribunale: un Itinerario Allegorico. In Bianco, Maurizio and Casamento, Alfredo (Eds.), *'Novom Aliquid Inventum': Scritti sul Teatro Antico per Gianna Petrone* (201-231). Palermo: Palermo University Press.

[123] Harrison, Stephen (2017). Apuleius. In Richter, Daniel and Johnson, William (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Second Sophistic* (345-356). New York: Oxford University Press.

[124] Baker, Ashli (2017). Appearances can be Deceiving: Costume and Identity in Apuleius's Metamorphoses, *Florida*, and *Apology*. *Arethusa*, 50(3), 335-367.

[125] Kehoe, Thomas and Vervaet, Frederik (2015). Honor and Humiliation in Apuleius' *Apologia*. *Mnemosyne*, Ser. 4, 68(4), 605-640.

[126] Hijmans, Benjamin (1994). Apuleius Orator: *Pro se de Magia* and *Florida*. *ANRW* 2.34.2 (1708-84).

Throughout my thesis, I make use of several Apuleian texts of different genres, particularly the *Metamorphoses*, and his two rhetorical works. However, despite these differing genres, several themes are consistent throughout: in chapters 2 and 3 I discuss Apuleius' use of self-fashioning and authorial identity in the way that he attempts to make Greek learning more accessible to his Roman readers. In chapter 4 I investigate how Apuleius creates a hierarchy concerning the satirisation of pseudo-intellectuals, his navigation of the disciplines of rhetoric and philosophy, and his reflections on the nature of sophists.

The Philosophical Works

Three of Apuleius' philosophical works are extant: *De Deo Socratis, De Platone et dogmate eius,* and *De Mundo*.[127] Comparatively little research has been done on these texts. The majority of work focuses on Apuleius' Platonism,[128] and there are several articles and monographs on various related topics.[129] These philosophical texts feature

[127] Jones, Christopher (Ed.) (2017). *Apologia; Florida; De Deo Socratis.* Cambridge (Mass.); London: Harvard University Press; Fowler, Ryan (Ed.) (2016). *Imperial Plato: Albinus, Maximus, Apuleius.* Las Vegas (Nev.); Zurich; Athens: Parmenides Publishing; Stover, Justin (Ed.) (2016a). *A New Work by Apuleius: the Lost Third Book of the De Platone.* Oxford: Oxford University Press; Moreschini, Claudio (Ed.) (1991). *Apuleio, La Novella di Amore e Psiche.* Padova: Ed. Programma; Beaujeu, Jean (Ed.) (1973). *Opuscules Philosophiques (Du Dieu de Socrate; Platon et sa Doctrine; Du monde), et Fragments.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

[128] Puccini, Géraldine (2017). *Apulée: Roman et Philosophie.* Paris: Press. de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne; Moreschini, Claudio (2015). *Apuleius and the Metamorphoses of Platonism.* Turnhout: Brepols; Fletcher, Richard (2014a). *Apuleius' Platonism: The Impersonation of Philosophy.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Fletcher, Richard (2014b). Prosthetic Origins: Apuleius the Afro-Platonist. In Lee, Benjamin; Finkelpearl, Ellen; Graverini, Luca and Barchiesi, Alessandro (Eds.), *Apuleius and Africa* (297-312). London: Routledge; Finamore, John (2006). Apuleius on the Platonic Gods. In Tarrant, Harold and Baltzly, Dirk (Eds.), *Reading Plato in Antiquity* (33-48). London: Duckworth.

[129] Of particular interest are: Simonetti, Elsa (2017). L'Immagine del Saggio nelle Opere di Apuleio. *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, 160(3-4), 371-392; Brethes, Romain and Guez, Jean-Philippe (2016). *Romans Grecs et Latins.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres; Habermehl, Peter (1996). *Quaedam Divinae Mediae Potestates*: Demonology in Apuleius' *De Deo Socratis*. In Hofmann, Heinz and Zimmerman, Maaike (Eds.), *Groningen Colloquia on the Novel. 7* (117-142). Groningen: Forsten; Hunink, Vincent (1995). The Prologue of Apuleius' *De Deo Socratis*. *Mnemosyne*, 48(3), 292-312; Schmutzler, Klaus-Peter (1974). *Die Platon-Biographie in der Schrift des Apuleius De Platone et eius Dogmate.* Dissertation, Kiel; Mueller, Siegfried (1939). *Das Verhältnis von Apuleius De Mundo zu seiner Vorlage.* Leipzig: Dieterich.

only sporadically throughout my thesis: my focus is on Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and his rhetorical works.

CHAPTER 2: Revivals of Republican Literature

In this chapter, I will situate Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto in the history of Latin literature in order to investigate to what extent these authors are carrying on an existing tradition started by Republican authors, or whether their work represents a significant break with this tradition. This discussion is important, because these authors are usually categorised as being authors of the Second Sophistic, and the question of their relationship to earlier Latin literature is one critical to addressing the nascent discussions of the existence of a Latin Second Sophistic. I question whether it is useful to view the works of these authors through the lens of the Greek Second Sophistic and, as a result, view them as a Latin counterpart; instead I argue that it is more accurate to view them as a natural continuation of a tradition started by the Latin authors of the early to late Republic. Whilst some of the traits displayed by Antonine authors are also present in, and being developed by, their near contemporaries from the Flavian and Trajanic periods, Antonine authors pay more attention to early/mid-republican Latin literature, i.e. Ennius, Plautus, Terence, and Lucilius. I argue that this is partly due to the importance they place on looking back to earlier Latin models in an attempt to recreate a *Latinitas*, and partly as an exercise in archaism and learnedness.

Given the scope of the thesis and the fact that our Antonine authors pay less attention to near contemporaries of the Flavian and Trajanic periods, I will not cover the influence of the following figures in great detail: Juvenal, Quintilian, Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, and Statius. They are discussed briefly throughout the following chapters, with most attention given to Juvenal and Quintilian. Whilst Juvenal is not mentioned by any of our Second Sophistic authors, he is nevertheless an important figure with respect to his involvement in the development of Roman Satire (pp. 43-4, 46 n.167, 46 n.168,

87 n.329, 151 n.546) and his use of place and space, which I explore in chapter 3 (pp. 111-2). Quintilian is important when considering Gellius' approach to education (pp. 101-2), in my discussion of the use of improvisation (p. 116), as a model of *Latinitas* (pp. 69, 73), his views on eloquence (p. 12 n.24), improving one's Latin style (p. 53), his views on actors and orators (pp. 139-40), and that Satire is a Roman genre (p 46.). Tacitus, Pliny the Younger, and Statius are mentioned only briefly concerning self-fashioning (p. 99 n.371), the decline of oratory (p. 69), archaism (p. 71 n.267), the depiction of villas (p. 118 n.424-5), the discussion of space (p. 112 n.402), and *varietas* and miscellanies (p. 87 n.329). By acknowledging that some of the traits I discuss in the works of our Antonine authors can also be found in Flavian and Trajanic authors, I hope to present opportunities for other scholars to examine these issues in detail.

In the first section of this chapter, I focus on the authors Ennius, Plautus, and Terence, and examine the impact they had as models for later Republican authors. In particular, I will highlight the way that these early Latin authors model literary and cultural hybridity. I then outline the distinction between Roman Satire and the more casual and general use of satirisation to mean mockery (on the latter point see in more detail chapter 4). I look at how later Roman authors viewed Lucilius as the originator of their own Latin genre, and how Gellius channels Varro's *Menippeans* in his work both as a means to reflect on the nature of satire, and to cultivate a proper Latinity with his engagement in the Latin literary tradition.

I will then move on to look at how both Republican and Antonine authors assimilated Greek ideas into Roman culture through translation. To take one example analysed in detail in this chapter, Gellius demonstrates in his criticism of Latin translations the need for Latin authors to continuously self-fashion their own

literature,[130] not only by improving their style, but by making their style accord with the highest standards of Latinity. By collaborating with other Latin authors of the Second Sophistic, I argue that Gellius affirms his Romanness and distances his work from Greek literature of the period. In this way he is continuing the tradition of Republican authors who themselves used a hybrid of Greek models whilst drawing on distinctly Italic traditions. Gellius and Apuleius follow in the tradition found in Terence, Lucilius, and Cicero with their techniques of inventing a specific viewership to suit their purposes and creating a personal conversation between themselves and their audience.

Finally, I will discuss both the concept of *Latinitas* and the use of linguistic archaism, which was very important to Gellius and his time. The latter was triggered by the archaists' interest in Plautus as a source of unusual words and information, and turned him into one of the most important authors for the Latin Sophistic movement. Throughout this chapter I analyse how and why each author responded differently to the same models, and the impact that their cultural and linguistic backgrounds had on the production of their works. Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto are using and manipulating an existing tradition for their own purposes in a form of 'self-fashioning', creating a distinct Latin identity for themselves, as opposed to the Greeks who are negotiating their role in their own literary tradition under a newly dominant Roman world.

2.1 Ennius and Roman Comedy

Ennius

Ennius had little previous Latin literature to draw on; he was at the forefront of the Latin tradition and integral to its direction. His *Annals* is the earliest example of hexameter in Latin poetry, he is often seen as the 'inventor of Roman history', and an

[130] I discuss the concept of 'self-fashioning' in more detail in chapter 3. For an overview of what I mean by the term, see below (pp. 98-9).

innovator at a cultural crossroads.[131] Ennius has increased in popularity among scholars in recent times, and there have been various monographs, articles and book chapters published.[132] Since Skutch's influential edition and commentary (1985), later scholarship has challenged the view that Ennius' *Annals* is merely a 'Roman Homer with historical interests'.[133] Piergiacomi argues that hybridity is a central theme in the *Annals* and it is worth looking further into Ennius' tragedies in order to see whether Ennius' hybridity differs among the genres. He notes in his review of Damon and Farrell (2020) that in order to evaluate Ennius' authority we must consider the judgement of subsequent poets and historians, and that Ennius can be read both in continuity with his predecessors and as the creator of new cultural alternatives.[134] The various authors conclude that Ennius recognises the cultural hybridity in the Romans of his history and reflects this in his work. This is building on Fisher's proposal of Ennius the 'hybrid' (2013), in which he argues that rather than merely translating Homeric models into Latin, Ennius blended Greek poetic models with Italic diction to create a poetic hybrid. Therefore, Latin literature began as a hybrid form with influences from Greek poetry and Italic languages, and the warfare and ritual traditions of Oscan, Umbrian, Etruscan, and even Greek speakers. As Fisher argues, this hybrid form mirrored Rome's success in incorporating elements of different cultures into a new

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[131] See Fitzgerald and Gowers (2007: ix – xiii).

[132] Works particularly relevant to my discussion include the following: Muecke, Frances (2005). Rome's First 'Satirists': Themes and Genre in Ennius and Lucilius. In Freudenburg, Kirk (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Satire* (33-47). Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Fitzgerald, William and Gowers, Emily (Eds.) (2007). *Ennius Perennis: The Annals and Beyond.* Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society; Elliott, Jackie (2013). *Ennius and the Architecture of the 'Annales'.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Fisher, Jay (2013). *The 'Annals' of Quintus Ennius and the Italic Tradition.* Baltimore (Md.): Johns Hopkins University Press; Goldschmidt, Nora (2013). *Shaggy Crowns: Ennius' 'Annales' and Virgil's 'Aeneid'.* Oxford: Clarendon Press; Damon, Cynthia and Farrell, Joseph (Eds.) (2020). *Ennius' 'Annals': poetry and history.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

[133] Piergiacomi (2021: 90).

[134] Piergiacomi (2021: 91).

model, and that this Italic influence on the *Annals* shows that Latin literature is not a straight translation of the Greek, but a hybrid of cultural elements.[135] Gellius says the following of Ennius: *Quintus Ennius tria corda habere sese dicebat, quod loqui Graece et Osce et Latine sciret.*[136] Neither Ennius, Plautus, nor Terence were natural born Romans, so the first purveyors of Latin literature were foreigners: similarly our Latin Antonine authors, Gellius, Apuleius, Fronto, and Favorinus, were not from Rome but came from the provinces of North Africa and Gaul. Their works show a hybridity of cultural elements, particularly their use of Satire and Italic traditions, as I will show in the following chapters.

Roman Comedy

Recent years have seen a range of work on Roman comedy;[137] the most important works for my purposes include the following. First, those that explore the influence on comedy of native Italian traditions:[138] these were important features of Roman comedy, which are also seen in our Latin authors who demonstrate the influence of specifically

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[135] Fisher (2013: 5, 26-9).

[136] Gellius, *NA* 17.17.1: ('Quintus Ennius used to say that he had three hearts, because he knew how to speak Greek, Oscan, and Latin.'). Ennius was Messapian by birth, probably from an Oscan-speaking family. He would have had a Greek education, but settled in Rome: see Rossi and Breed (2006: 400-2). Ennius is important to Gellius, featuring in 37 chapters of the *NA*: *praef.* 1.22; 2.26, 29; 3.14; 4.7, 17; 5.11, 15, 16; 6.2, 9, 12, 17; 7.5, 6, 16; 9.4, 14; 10.1, 25, 29; 11.4; 12.2, 4; 13.21, 23; 15.24; 16.10; 17.17, 21; 18.2, 5, 9; 19.8, 10; 20.10.

[137] Franko, George and Dutsch, Dorota (Eds.) (2020). *A Companion to Plautus*. John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated; Dinter, Martin (Ed.) (2019). *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Comedy.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Barrios-Lech, Peter (2016). *Linguistic Interaction in Roman Comedy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Fontaine, Michael and Scafuro, Adele (Eds.) (2014). *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Papaioannou, Sophia (Ed.) (2014b). *Terence and Interpretation.* Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing; Augoustakis, Antony; Traill, Ariana and Thornburn, John (Eds.) (2013). *A Companion to Terence.* Oxford; Malden (Mass.): Blackwell; Sharrock, Alison (2009). *Reading Roman Comedy: Poetics and Playfulness in Plautus and Terence.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Karakasis, Evangelos (2005). *Terence and the Language of Roman Comedy.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Leigh, Matthew (2004). *Comedy and the Rise of Rome.* Oxford: Oxford University Press; Anderson, William (1993). *Barbarian Play: Plautus's Roman Comedy.* Toronto (Ont.): University of Toronto Press; Konstan, David (1983). *Roman Comedy.* Ithaca (N. Y.): Cornell University Press.

[138] Panayotakis, Costas (2019). Native Italian Drama and its Influence on Plautus. In Dinter, Martin T. (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Comedy* (32-46). Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Petrides, Antonis (2014). Plautus between Greek Comedy and Atellan Farce: Assessments and Reassessments. In Fontaine, Michael and Scafuro, Adele (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy* (424-443). Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

Roman Satire and Italic traditions. Also important are comedy's use of language and the reception of these authors in antiquity:[139] during the Second Sophistic, interest in comedy was revived after a long period of neglect. And finally, works on adaption, metatheatre and audience:[140] Gellius, Fronto, and Apuleius adapt Greek works for their Latin readership and 'construct an audience' in a similar way to Terence. These specific areas will be elaborated on in the following sections, as I argue that our Latin authors draw on aspects of Roman comedy and thus continue an existing tradition.

Plautus

Plautus, a rough contemporary of Ennius, also creates a hybrid form of literature by drawing on several sources and cultures. Like Livius Andronicus and Naevius, Plautine comedy belongs to the genre *fabula palliata*.[141] Plautus' plots are not original, but are taken from Greek sources. However, despite these borrowings, he skilfully combines

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[139] Barrios-Lech, Peter (2020). The Language of Plautus. In Franko, George and Dutsch, Dorota (Eds.), *A Companion to Plautus* (221-236). John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated; Barbiero, Emilia (2020). Alii Rhetorica Tongent: Plautus and Public Speech. In Franko, George and Dutsch, Dorota (Eds.), *A Companion to Plautus* (393-406). John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated; Manuwald, Gesine (2020). Plautus and His Dramatic Successors in the Republican Period. In Franko, George and Dutsch, Dorota (Eds.), *A Companion to Plautus* (379-392). John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated; Karakasis, Evangelos (2019). The Language of Roman Comedy. In Dinter, Martin T. (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Comedy* (151-170). Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Manuwald, Gesine (2019). The Reception of Republican Comedy in Antiquity. In Dinter, Martin T. (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Comedy* (261-275). Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Karakasis, Evangelos (2014). The Language of the *Palliata*. In Fontaine, Michael and Scafuro, Adele (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy* (555-579). Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Ferri, Rolando (2014). The Reception of Plautus in Antiquity. In Fontaine, Michael and Scafuro, Adele (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Greek and Roman Comedy* (767-781). Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Müller, Roman (2013). Terence in Latin Literature from the Second Century BCE to the Second Century CE. In Augoustakis, Antony; Traill, Ariana and Thornburn, John (Eds.), *A Companion to Terence* (363-379). Oxford; Malden (Mass.): Blackwell.

[140] Cardoso, Isabella (2020). Actors and Audience. In Franko, George and Dutsch, Dorota (Eds.), *A Companion to Plautus* (61-76). John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated; Bungard, Christopher (2020). Metatheater and Improvisation in Plautus. In Franko, George and Dutsch, Dorota (Eds.), *A Companion to Plautus* (237-250). John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated; Christenson, David (2019). Metatheatre. In Dinter, Martin (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Comedy* (136-150). Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Telò, Mario (2019). Roman Comedy and the Poetics of Adaptation. In Dinter, Martin T. (Ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Comedy* (47-65). Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

[141] De Melo (2014: 447): Or 'Comedy in Greek dress', plays based on Greek New Comedy and set in Greek surroundings but with many Roman elements. Brown (2014: 402): The three authors called them *fabulae* or *comoediae.* Although Livius Andronicus and Naevius were writing a generation before Plautus, we only have fragments of their plays, approximately six lines by Livius and 135 by Naevius.

stock characters and situations that result in new plots, and introduces native Italian traditions of farce and entertainment into his works to develop a unique interplay of Greek, Roman, and native Italian elements.[142] Although Plautus' plays are situated in the Greek world, there are frequent mentions of references to Roman institutions and customs (i.e. his own additions), which include allusions to Roman law, social life, religion, the army, and the Senate.[143]

Terence

There was a long and successful tradition of comedy at Rome, which had reached a peak with Plautus. Terence drew on this and fashioned his own unique scripts that did not rely on improvisation from actors, and were not altered after each performance.[144] He pioneered in Latin literature a technique of stifling potential opposition to both his new form of production, its originality, and reliance on Greek plays: a prologue that communicated the play's originality and acted as a defence against an alleged attack on his work that would make him appear innocent to his audience.[145] During the 'trial' of his prologues, Terence defends the originality of his work.[146] Papaioannou suggests that

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[142] Petrides (2014: 428). These native traditions of Italy were primarily the *fabula Atellana.* Petrides (424-5) states the followings as predominant characteristics of those theatrical traditions: 'silly buffoonery and uninhibited scurrility; wordplay, verbal skirmishes (*velitationes*), and other self-indulgent linguistic mechanisms (for instance, hyperbolic mythological exempla); lively physical action, slapstick, and situation comedy developed gratuitously to the detriment of verisimilitude; extemporaneity, and hence correspondingly loose and inconsistent dramatic plots; and stock characters (stupid and lascivious old men, hapless young lovers, crafty slaves, greedy parasites, cooks, pimps, professional soldiers, etc.), associated with traditional comic routines (conventionally called *lazzi* after the *commedia dell'arte*) and lacking coherent, realistic characterization. Finally, this kind of "popular" theatre generally refrains from any manifest moral or sociopolitical agendas to the benefit of unadulterated farce'.

[143] See Panayotakis (2019: 34).

[144] Papaioannou (2014a: 238): Terence presented his actors with completed scripts and instructed them to memorise their parts without improvising.

[145] Papaioannou (2014a: 238). As I will discuss further in chapter 3, Gellius too in his prologue is keen to point out that the *NA* is a new type of miscellany, thus reflecting an ongoing continuity in Roman efforts at self-fashioning against Greek models.

[146] Papaioannou (2014a: 234): 'Terence succeeds in this by describing the attack against him by Luscius as a personal assault reminiscent of a trial… the prologue becomes a role in a separate imaginary play, an agon, in which Ambivius, an individual more renowned than the young Terence, undertakes to fight in order to defend the originality of Terence's compositions'.

his rivals attack him not only as a rival contestant, but because Terence was willing to experiment with the *palliata* genre itself.[147]

Terence's prologues also address the issue of *contaminatio*. Literary critics call a play 'contaminated' if it is based on more than one source, but for Terrence' opponents it was the Greek plays that were contaminated. For the Romans, adaptations of Greek plays counted as Latin literature. It was unacceptable to produce a Latin play based on a Greek source if that Greek source had already been used by someone else as it made it unusable for other translators.[148] Terence continues this tradition of adapting Greek plays, but makes distinct 'Roman' changes to his models. Dunsch argues that the Terentian prologue does not follow Greek models by setting the scene or beginning the action, but rather has a metatheatrical purpose. As Plautus does, Terence makes the prologue itself and his work as a playwright the central theme.[149]

Continuing Influence

Thus the various works of Ennius, Plautus and Terence served to create the beginning of a literary tradition that successive Roman authors could draw upon and engage with. By the time we reach the Late Republic, authors such as Cicero and Varro have a stronger sense of what Latin Literature is, and are actively trying to develop it. Spielberg argues that Ennius was valued in the later tradition for presenting the 'culturally truest' version of events or motifs.[150] Therefore, Cicero sees Ennius as an important model and cultural anchor for Latin literature, as opposed to neoteric poets such as Catullus.[151] As Zetzel

[147] Papaioannou (2014a: 229-30): For example, the placement of *poeta* in the opening lines of the prologues along with the complete absence of Terence's own name suggesting he is the mastermind of a new trend, and his refutation of plagiarism with emphasis on his own compositional methodology. He did not allow actors to deviate from his script in order to preserve his own original reading of Greek models.
[148] De Melo (2011: xxxii); Dunsch (2014: 507-8).
[149] Dunsch (2014: 508-9).
[150] Spielberg (2020: 163-66).
[151] Zetzel (2007: 4–6); Cicero *Att.* 7.2.1; see also Lyne (1978: 167-87); Crowther (1970: 322-7).

points out, Cicero's reception and 'invention' of Ennius influenced later Latin writers, and so our Antonine authors are building on the tradition developed by Cicero.

There has been much research by scholars into the Republican period and early introduction of Greek ideas into Rome, and how Latin authors are navigating this linguistic and cultural relationship,[152] but less investigation of the Antonine period in this respect. This brief review of early Latin authors has shown that Gellius, Fronto, and Apuleius already had precedents and a Roman literary tradition to locate their work in, and could use the engagement of these authors with Greek ideas as models when negotiating their own identities with, and relationships to, the Greek writers of the Second Sophistic. I will investigate which parts of the Latin tradition they latch onto, how they construct new works with a uniquely Latin form within the Second Sophistic, and who they are aiming these writings at. This chapter thus corrects the tendency to read the Second Sophistic from a Greek perspective,[153] by centering the Latin literary tradition in my analysis of what I am calling the Latin Second Sophistic.

2.2 Roman Satire

Roman Satire as a Genre

Roman Satire has traditionally had two distinct threads: Roman Verse Satire, including the works of Lucilius, Horace, Persius, and Juvenal; and Menippean Satire, which includes both prose and poetry. Key examples of this latter genre include Varro's *Menippeans*, Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* and Petronius' *Satyricon.* I will briefly look at

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[152] Gruen examines the attitudes of Romans of the third and second centuries BCE towards Greek culture, and how they adopted and adapted various aspects of it: Gruen, Erich (1992). *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome.* Ithaca (N. Y.): Cornell University Press; London: Duckworth. Feeney investigates the origins of Latin Literature, and how the Romans used and transformed the Greek model into a type of Roman inheritance: Feeney, Denis (2016). *Beyond Greek: The Beginnings of Latin Literature.* Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press. Wallace-Hadrill presents a dialogue of overlapping cultural identities and redefinition of Roman identity: Wallace-Hadrill, Andrew (2008). *Rome's Cultural Revolution.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

[153] See chapter 1 (p. 8).

the influence of Lucilius as the first Roman satirist, and then move on to focus on the use of Menippean Satire in our authors, particularly the use of Varro.

Lucilius – The First Roman Satirist

Lucilius played an important role in the development of the Latin literary tradition with his development of Satire, and he is often considered the first Roman satirist. This genre was seen as a Roman institution, *satura quidem tota nostra est*,[154] and as Lucilius was writing at a crucial moment for the understanding of later Romans of what it means to be Roman, Lucilius represents an influential expression of Roman ideology.[155] Breed, Wallace, and Keitel argue that Lucilius narrows down Ennian variety and chooses invective as a focus for satire that subsequently becomes the basis for that represented by Horace, Persius, and Juvenal; this demonstrates that a literary genre is not simply invented, but requires negotiation.[156] Lucilius is thus playing with forms that the audience were familiar with and trying to create something new. He can therefore be seen as a transitional figure between early Latin literature and late Republican literature.[157] He comments on the translation between Greek and Latin, but the direct translation is less important now due to the pre-existing work of Ennius, Plautus, and Terence.[158] Lucilius' satires were modelled to a significant degree on the Roman comic tradition, especially Plautus, in the use of Graecisms, comic characters, language, and structure and metre.[159] Lucilius had to make some attempt in defining the boundaries of Satire, and he did this partly by differentiating it from existing literary forms. Whilst the iambic and trochaic metres in Ennius' *Saturae* would have caused his readers to

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[154] Quintilian *Inst. Or.* 10.1.93; See Freudenburg (2005: 1-2).
[155] Breed, Wallace, Keitel (2018: 3).
[156] Breed, Wallace, Keitel (2018: 9).
[157] Breed, Wallace, Keitel (2018: 10-12).
[158] Cf. Breed, Wallace, Keitel (2018: 8, 17).
[159] Pezzini (2018: 162): Comic characters include the *adulescens* Pamphilus (991W [950M]), the slave Syrus (652W [669M]), the parasite Gnatho (945W [845M], 946W [843M]), and the old men Chremes and Demaenetus (815W [751M]).

associate satire with comedy and the stage, Lucilius starts to move away from performances to imagined realities only found in books.[160] He uses Graecisms of a higher register than Plautus, and they often belong to the technical language of philosophy, medicine, art, history, and rhetoric.[161]

Keane compares the elements of Lucilius' *Apologia* (his defence of satire), an integrated part of the *Saturae*, with Terence's prologues. She argues that the satiric *Apologia* creates the fiction that satire is being discussed even before the reader has finished the text, and that this fiction allows the satirist to determine their own reception. She compares this to Terence's prologues, which inform the audience's reception of the plays through their defensive rhetoric.[162] Keane suggests that integration between *Apologia* and plot is achieved by Lucilius' choice of a dialogue structure for the former.[163] She argues that Lucilius has a personal connection with his interlocutor(s), and stages intimate discussions of satire itself, which has a precedent in the prologues of Terence. She describes them as 'intimate, sympathetically delivered by a member of the company and alluding meaningfully to the author's rivals… and friends'.[164] Thus, Lucilius responded to earlier Latin models by taking ideas from Ennius, Plautus, and Terence and using them to create something new, whilst defining the genre of Satire. He

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[160] Breed, Wallace, Keitel (2018:10): 'The comic scenario of 793– 814W [771– 92M] is, for example, set not in a Greek neverland, but, implausibly, in Rome, with the threat of the Roman courts hanging over the hijinks.'

[161] See Pezzini (2018: 179): 'philosophy (*physicus*, ἀρχή, *stoechion*, γῆ, πνεῦμα, *eidola*, *atomus*, *philosophus*), medicine (*strabo*, *cataplasma*, ἀπεψία), art, literacy, and rhetoric (ἐπίτευγμα, *monogrammus, cartus, zetematium, scolen,* ἐπιφώνει, ῥήσεις, *idiota*), and sport (*stadium*, *schema, pareutacton*). These semantic spheres are not well represented in Plautus' Graecisms, which generally are taken from lower registers (e.g. *apage*, *attat, pax, aer, hilarus, gubernare, euge*, *moechus, patina*), and/ or refer to more stereotyped aspects of Greek life, such as, in particular, symposium (e.g. *myropolium, oenopolium, opsonium, schyphus, dapinare*, *cantharus*, *amphora*, *cadus*, etc.), clothing (e.g. *zona*, *peplus*, *tiara*, etc.), and theater (e.g. *comoedia*, *tragoedus*, *comicus, choragus*, *proscaenium*, *theatrum*, etc.)'.

[162] Keane (2018: 219-20). For the influence of Terence's plays on Lucilius' themes and language see Muecke (2013), Caston (2016).

[163] Keane (2018: 221).

[164] Keane (2018: 224-5).

associates Satire with comedy and invents imagined realities with a distinctly Roman atmosphere, often involving the law courts.[165]

Satire and Antonine Authors

Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto draw on the genre of Roman Satire to varying degrees, and this is reflected in their work.[166] As the genre was seen as a Roman institution, the conscious appeals to it in the work of Antonine authors signal a move away from Greek models and authority and reflects their engagement with earlier Latin authors and a uniquely Roman genre. Their use of personas and programmatic authorial statements, contexts, and themes suggest the influence of Roman Verse Satire. Starting with Lucilius, it was the convention for the persona to claim a lack of poetic ability (especially compared to writers of epic and tragedy), and to emphasise the rational and truthful nature of their work.[167] Keane suggests that four contexts conjured up by the Roman verse satirists are theatrical, combative, legal, and didactic. Whilst the models of teaching and attacking seem opposed, the satirists deliberately cultivated these tensions in order to provoke critical thinking in their readers. The metaphoric language of 'inquiry and provocation' appear most often in the apologia, 'a rhetorical fiction over which the poet has complete control; by introducing issues that he wishes the reader to consider, he helps to shape his own reception'.[168] In my thesis I will focus more specifically on Mennippean Satire and its influence on our authors.

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[165] I discuss this further below (pp. 59-60).

[166] Lucilius is important to Gellius, featuring in fifteen chapters of the *NA*: *praef*. 8.5, 18.8; 1.3,16; 2.24; 3.14; 4.1, 16, 17; 6.3, 14; 8.5; 9.14; 10.20; 11.7; 12.2; 16.5, 9; 17.21; 18.5, 8; 20.8. Poccetti (2018: 84) points out that as in Cicero, Horace, and Quintilian, quotations of Lucilius in Gellius are primarily focussed on stylistic assessment and literary criticism. Gellius (*NA* 18.5.8) praises Lucilius' Latin language proficiency: *uir adprime linguae Latinae sciens.* ('A man conspicuous for his command of the Latin language'.).

[167] Horace, *Sermones* 1.10.31-39; Persius, *Saturae* 1.121-5; Juvenal, *Saturae* 1.79-80; see Anderson (1982: 3-10).

[168] For a detailed overview see Keane (2006: 3-12). Roman satirists describe their work as the observation of society, where the author is passive and reactive (Horace, *Sermones* 1.4.133–139; Persius, *Saturae* 1.9–

Ancient Menippean Satire

Ancient Menippean Satire is a difficult genre to define,[169] and whilst Satire as a formal literary genre may be entirely Roman, Menippean Satire also has Greek influences.[170] Relihan argues that Varro's *Menippeans* can be seen as both the ancestor of the Verse Satire parody we see in Seneca's *Apocolocyntosis* and Petronius' *Satyricon,* and of the parody of encyclopaedic knowledge found in late classical Menippean satirists (from Martianus Capella to Boethius).[171]

There are influences of Menippean Satire present in the *NA,* and Gellius mentions Varro frequently.[172] Six of these mentions are of Varro's *Menippeans*, and these are our fullest ancient responses to Varro.[173] Gellius points out that Varro was emulating Menippus: *Alii quoque non pauci serui fuerunt qui post philosophi clari exstiterunt, ex quibus ille Menippus fuit cuius libros M. Varro in saturis aemulatus est quas alii cynicas, ipse appellat Menippeas.*[174] He provides three discussions on parts of the *Menippeans* regarding the source of Varro's humour, makes judgements on the

10; Juvenal, *Saturae* 1.63–64). However, Keane (137-8) argues that there is a self-reflexive dimension, 'especially when a speaker is using a mask constructed by generic tradition and personal erudition… we may interpret the satirist figure's observational stance as representing his fascination with the culture that defines him. Rather than being alienated from society, he is a self-professed product of it, both miming Roman critical procedures and holding his experiments up for his audience's view'.

[169] Gowers (2016): 'Originally simply a hotch-potch (in verse, or in prose and verse mixed), satire soon acquired its specific character as a humorous or malicious exposé of hypocrisy and pretension; however, it continued to be a hold-all for mismatched subjects, written in an uneven style and overlapping with other genres. The author himself figured prominently in a variety of shifting roles: civic watchdog, sneering cynic, mocking or indignant observer, and social outcast… *Satura* is the feminine of *satur*, 'full', and was transferred to literary miscellanies from *lanx satura*, a dish crammed with first fruits, or from *satura*, a mixed stuffing or sausage'.

[170] Relihan (1993: 13).

[171] Relihan (1993: 49).

[172] Gellius, *NA* 1.16, 17, 18, 20, 22, 24, 25; 2.10, 18, 20, 21, 25, 28; 3.2, 3, 10, 11, 14, 16, 18; 4.9, 16, 19; 5.21; 6.10, 11, 14, 16; 7.5; 9.9; 10.1, 7, 15, 21, 27; 11.1, 6; 12.6, 10; 13.4, 11, 12, 13, 17, 23, 29, 31; 14.7, 8, 19, 30; 16.8, 9, 12, 16, 17, 18; 17.3, 4, 18, 21; 18.9, 12, 15; 19.8, 10, 14; 20.11.

[173] See Weinbrot (2005: 32).

[174] Gellius, *NA* 2.18.6-7: ('There were not a few other slaves too, who, afterwards became famous philosophers, among them that Menippus whose works Marcus Varro emulated in those satires which others call "Cynic," but he himself, "Menippean."').

elegance of Varro's satire, and the moral maxims to be found in these discussions.[175] These passages suggest Gellius is reflecting on the nature of satire as well as embracing some of its moralising aims.[176] Elsewhere, he merely cites passages for illustration of 'a Latin idiom, a Greek proverb, a grammatical anomaly, proper vowel lengths, or a definition of a technical term'.[177] These passages, on the other hand, reflect Gellius' concern to adopt and cultivate a proper Latinity based on deep engagement with the Latin literary tradition. Whilst there is no mention of Varro in Fronto, he is mentioned once in Apuleius, where he is highly praised: *memini me apud Varronem philosophum, uirum accuratissime doctum atque eruditum, cum alia eiusdem modi, tum hoc etiam legere*.[178]

Gellius' engagement with frivolous topics resembles Menippean Satire, as does the tone of self-parody and the serio-comic listing of words describing weapons and boats taken from Varro's *Menippeans*.[179] Keulen argues that it is very likely that the Menippean 'genre' served as a model for Gellius in his use of mock self-deprecation as a Roman literary technique of establishing authority'.[180] Self-mockery/ parody of the pedant plays a key part in Menippean Satire,[181] and I will investigate Gellius' use of this in chapter 4.

[175] Gellius, *NA* 13.11, 1.22, 6.16; Relihan (1993: 54-9).
[176] Relihan (1993: 59).
[177] Relihan (1993: 54).
[178] Apuleius, *Apologia* 42: ('I recall having read various things of the same kind in the philosopher Varro, a man of the most exact scholarship and erudition'.).
[179] Gellius, *NA* 6.16.4–5; see Keulen (2009: 47-51); Relihan (1993: 54–59, 71).
[180] Keulen argues that Gellius' self-conscious use of Menippean motifs alludes to a 'Meninppean pedigree' that is apparent in his work, and that the act of writing about it, as Gellius does, can be a topic of Menippean Satire in itself. See Keulen (2009: 20, 46-51, 59-70, 110); cf. Relihan (1993: 54-9). For more on the connection with Menippean Satire, see Keulen (2009: 4, 13, 26, 37, 107, 188, 197 n15, 314).
[181] Varro, *Men*. 59, 256; see Relihan (1993: 29-30); Keulen (2009: 48).

2.3 Roman Translation

There was a unique set of circumstances that resulted in Republican Latin authors being able to create their Latin tradition. Feeney argues that Latin literature is only conceivable as the result of the translation project creating linguistic resources and frames of reference.[182] Roman translation differed from our modern day concept of translation:[183] it was generally an elite pastime, and advice on how to translate was part of how to present the ideal elite Roman literary self.[184] They tended to translate in portions, scattering passages from the source text throughout their work, and were perfectly happy to break up and use the source text for their own purposes.[185]

McElduff points out that Roman writing about translation is found across a wide range of genres, including oratorical and educational treatises, letters, lyric and epic poetry, and philosophy; yet their ideas about translation change depending on individual needs and circumstances.[186] This diversity of interest shows how much of a concern understanding the precise relationship between Greek and Latin culture was in the

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[182] Feeney (2016: 6, 15, 17, 84).
[183] McElduff provides a detailed exploration of Roman translation in her monograph: McElduff, Siobhan (2013). *Roman Theories of Translation: Surpassing the Source.* London; New York: Routledge. There have been various prior influential works regarding Roman translation: for philological approaches to Latin texts and their manipulation of Greek literature, see Mariotti, Scevola (1952). *Livio Andronico e la Traduzione Artistica.* Milano: Silvestri, and Traina, Alfonso (1970). *Vortit Barbare: le Traduzioni Poetiche da Livio Andronico a Cicerone.* Roma: Ed. dell'Ateneo. For different styles of translation see Seele, Astrid (1995). *Römische Übersetzer: Nöte, Freiheiten, Absichten: Verfahren des Literarischen Übersetzens in der Griechisch-Römischen Antike.* Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft. See also Bortolussi, Bernard; Bettini, Maurizio (2012). *Vertere: Un'antropologia della Traduzione nella Cultura Antica.* Torino: Einaudi; Glucker, John and Burnett, Charles (Eds.) (2012). *Greek into Latin from Antiquity until the Nineteenth Century.* London: Warburg Institute; McGill, Scott (2012). *Plagiarism in Latin Literature.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Bonnet, Corinne and Bouchet, Florence (2013). *Translatio: Traduire et Adapter les Anciens. Rencontres, 52*. Paris: Classiques Garnier; McElduff, Siobhan and Sciarrino, Enrica (Eds.) (2011). *Complicating the History of Western Translation: the Ancient Mediterrannean in Perspective.* Manchester: St. Jerome Publishing; Keller, Madeleine and Minon, Sophie (Eds.) (2009). *Traduire, Transposer, Transmettre: dans l'Antiquité Gréco-Romaine.* Paris: Picard; Dupont, Florence and Valette-Cagnac, Emmanuelle (Eds.) (2005). *Façons de Parler Grec à Rome.* Paris: Belin; Bortolussi, Bernard; Bettini, Maurizio (2012). *Vertere: Un'antropologia della Traduzione nella Cultura Antica.* Torino: Einaudi.
[184] McElduff (2013: 2-3, 6).
[185] McElduff (2013: 5, 10). Cicero integrated portions translated from Greek philosophers with his own material, giving the resultant dialogue a Roman setting and focus.
[186] McElduff (2013: 2-3).

Republic. Whilst Greek models were the source of Republican authors' inspiration, writers in the Antonine period had an existing Latin tradition to draw on in addition to Classical and later Greek models. I argue that by consciously drawing on Greek literature and reworking it into something Roman, Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto are paying homage to the tradition begun by Republican authors whilst self-fashioning a new contribution to Latin literature and navigating the unique challenges of the Second Sophistic.

Cicero: The Synthesis of Rhetoric and Philosophy

As Ennius, Plautus, and Terence did, Cicero too translated Greek works, namely philosophical texts, into Latin.[187] Like his Roman predecessors, he did not merely produce direct translations, but made them uniquely Roman and accessible to a Roman audience. Baraz writes that the idea of translation is at the centre of Cicero's claims that his project is a service to the state, and that his philosophical works are a product of synthesis, adaption, and re-writing of Greek texts, yet the idea that they are translations is what sticks in the mind of the audience.[188]

Cicero thought that by appropriating Greek philosophy, and finding a place for it in Roman culture, he could strengthen the structure of the *res publica.* This appropriation was viewed with distrust by Romans,[189] however, and so he attempted to

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[187] *Hortensius*, *Academica*, *De Finibus*, *Tusculans*, *De Natura Deorum*, *De Divinatione*, *De Fato*; see also *De Re Publica, De Legibus, De Senectute, De Amicitia*; Wynne (2019: 1-2).

[188] Baraz (2012: 97).

[189] In the preface to *De Finibus*, Cicero explicitly addresses Roman concerns about his project. Cicero, *De Finibus* 1.1-2: *Non eram nescius, Brute, cum quae summis ingeniis exquisitaque doctrina philosophi Graeco sermone tractavissent ea Latinis litteris mandaremus, fore ut hic noster labor in varias reprehensiones incurreret. Nam quibusdam, et iis quidem non admodum indoctis, totum hoc displicet philosophari. Quidam autem non tam id reprehendunt si remissius agatur, sed tantum studium tamque multam operam ponendam in eo non arbitrantur. Erunt etiam, et hi quidem eruditi Graecis litteris, contemnentes Latinas, qui se dicant in Graecis legendis operam malle consumere. Postremo aliquos futuros suspicor qui me ad alias litteras vocent, genus hoc scribendi, etsi sit elegans, personae tamen et dignitatis esse negent*. ('My dear Brutus,—The following essay, I am well aware, attempting as it does to present in a Latin dress subjects that philosophers of consummate ability and profound learning have

connect it to oratory, a staple of traditional Roman public life.[190] Cicero 'rhetoricised' philosophy; he introduced a philosophic dimension to rhetoric, and believed that philosophy should be eloquent and persuasive like rhetoric.[191] The debate between rhetoric and philosophy was, as I have mentioned already, an old one.[192] There were three main issues in the debate: whether rhetoric was an 'art', the potential immorality and misuse of rhetoric, and the knowledge necessary for oratory. In *De Oratore*, the issue of an orator needing philosophical knowledge was central.[193] May and Wisse argue that Cicero's *De Oratore* aims to concentrate on the personal skills of the speaker, rather than rules of rhetoric, and on philosophical knowledge paired with practical, political issues, unlike the quiet, unpolitical life traditionally advocated for by philosophers.[194] The mix of oratory and philosophy in a form of a dialogue would have been unusual to audiences at the time, as rhetorical subjects were very rarely in dialogic form.[195] Cicero's aim to unite philosophy and oratory served as a starting point for Latin Second Sophistic authors to build on. I will return to the question of how they blur boundaries between disciplines below.

Antonine Authors

Gellius

Translation was an important part of education; it was not just a rhetorical exercise for students, but a useful way of developing one's Latin style. I will argue that with his

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already handled in Greek, is sure to encounter criticism from different quarters. Certain persons, and those not without some pretension to letters, disapprove of the study of philosophy altogether. Others do not so greatly object to it provided it be followed in dilettante fashion; but they do not think it ought to engage so large an amount of one's interest and attention. A third class, learned in Greek literature and contemptuous of Latin, will say that they prefer to spend their time in reading Greek. Lastly, I suspect there will be some who will wish to divert me to other fields of authorship, asserting that this kind of composition, though a graceful recreation, is beneath the dignity of my character and position.').

[190] See Baraz (2012: 2-3, 129).

[191] Cf. Wardy (2009: 55-6); Cicero *De Oratore* 1.48-50.

[192] See chapter 1 (p.12 n.22).

[193] May and Wisse (2001: 23, 38).

[194] May and Wisse (2001: 3).

[195] May and Wisse (2001: 3-4).

criticism of other Latin translations, Gellius is demonstrating the need for Latin authors to continuously self-fashion their own literature, not only by improving their style, but by making their style accord with the highest standards of Latinity. By collaborating with other Latin authors of the Second Sophistic, and engaging with the Latin literary tradition, Gellius is therefore affirming his Romanness and distancing his work from Greek literature. In this way, he is continuing the tradition of Republican authors who used a hybrid of Greek models whilst drawing on distinctly Italic traditions.

In a chapter of the *NA*, Gellius looks at how Cicero reshaped a Greek original: *Legebatur Panaetii philosophi liber de officiis secundus ex tribus illis inclitis libris quos M. Tullius magno cum studio maximoque opere aemulatus est. Ibi scriptum est cum multa alia ad bonam frugem ducentia, tum uel maxime quod esse haerereque in animo debet*.[196] He praises the way in which Cicero translated Panaetius' *On Duties.* The anecdote suggests Gellius and his circle had regular 'reading groups' in which they would discuss Greek originals along with a Latin translation. Yet Gellius can also be critical of Roman translations, for example in his discussion of Roman adaptions of Greek comedies:

> Comoedias lectitamus nostrorum poetarum sumptas ac uersas de Graecis Menandro aut Posidippo aut Apollodoro aut Alexide et quibusdam item aliis comicis. Neque cum legimus eas nimium sane displicent; quin lepide quoque et uenuste scriptae uidentur, prorsus ut melius posse fieri nihil censeas. ⟨S⟩et enim si conferas et componas Graeca ipsa unde illa uenerunt, ac singula considerate atque apte iunctis et alternis lectionibus committas, oppido quam iacere atque sordere incipiunt quae Latina sunt, ita Graecarum quas aemulari nequiuerunt facetiis atque luminibus obsolescunt. [197]

[196] Gellius, *NA* 13.28.1-3: ('The second book of the philosopher Panaetius *On Duties* was being read to us, being one of those three celebrated books which Marcus Tullius emulated with great care and very great labour. In it there was written, in addition to many other incentives to virtue, one especially which ought to be kept fixed in the mind.').

[197] ('I often read comedies which our poets have adapted and translated from the Greeks—Menander or Posidippus, Apollodorus or Alexis, and also some other comic writers. And whilst I am reading them, they do not seem at all bad; on the contrary, they appear to be written with a wit and charm which you

[Gellius, *NA* 2.23.1-3.]

Gellius demands more from Latin literature than being a mere copy; whilst the copy can seem well written, it does not compare to the original. The original Greek author was viewed as an adversary in a contest of style (*aemulatio graecorum*).[198] Beall argues that in *NA* 17.20, Gellius was determined to improve Plato's composition and this suggests not only a competition between Plato and Gellius, but also between rhetoric and philosophy, Latin and Greek – thus this emulation was, according to Gellius, 'the spice of liberal studies'.[199] Beall concludes that Gellius exemplifies the type of literary translation recommended by Quintilian and practised by Cicero and Fronto. The aim was to improve one's Latin style, including literary form and details of structure and rhythm, by imitating Greek authors.[200]

Beall argues that in Gellius' translation of Herodotus' Arion and the dolphin tale, he translated the Greek into his own 'mannered' style and also consulted Fronto's translation,[201] suggesting the purpose is for Gellius to define his own style by contrasting it with both Herodotus and Fronto. It seems that either by collaborating with or attempting to out-do other Latin authors of the Second Sophistic, Gellius is affirming his Latinity and distancing himself from Greek literature.

Fronto

Translations are not the only area that Antonine authors explore in their efforts to craft a distinctly Roman identity: Fronto's eulogies, to which I now turn, suggest that he is

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would say absolutely could not be surpassed. But if you compare and place beside them the Greek originals from which they came, and if you match individual passages, reading them together alternately with care and attention, the Latin versions at once begin to appear exceedingly commonplace and mean; so dimmed are they by the wit and brilliance of the Greek comedies, which they were unable to rival.')

[198] Rolfe (1927:171): the word *aemulatus* implies 'not merely imitation, but rivalry, a recognized principle in classic literature'.

[199] Beall (1997: 219).

[200] Beall (1997: 226).

[201] Beall (1997: 222-3).

proposing a new Roman approach to constructing eulogies that are not only superior to and distinct from the Greek genre, but draw inspiration from traditional Atellane farce. He states this clearly at the beginning of *Laudes Fumi et Pulveris*:[202] *sed res poscere videtur de ratione scribendi pauca praefari, quod nullum huiuscemodi scriptum Romana lingua extat satis nobile, nisi quod poetae in comoediis vel atellanis adtigerunt.*[203] Various authors have noted that there is something unique about Fronto's encomiums. Ramírez de Verger argues that Fronto seems to be using a new repertoire of themes that differ from traditional encomiums. As Thorsen points out, Fronto's *laudes* are unusual in that the Greek tradition of paradoxical praise usually focuses on humans or animals. Yet even among the inanimate objects, smoke and dust stand out as they are not seen as dishonourable (unlike sweat, baldness, and fever), but are neutral. Negligence, whilst having dishonourable connotations, is not an object like the others, thus Fronto's choice of topics to praise is unusual.[204]

Fronto stresses the importance of treating trivial matters seriously, whilst writing in a way that calls in to question his sincerity. In *Laudes Fumi et Pulveris* he argues:

> Ubique vero ut de re ampla et magnifies loquendum, parvaeque res magnis adsimilandae comparandaeque. Summa denique in hoc genere orationis virtus est asseveratio. Fabulae deuni vel herourn tempestive inserendae; item versus congru-entes et proverbia accommodata et non inficete conficta mendacia, dum id mendacium argumento aliquot lepido iuvetur.[205]

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[202] As discussed in the last chapter, Fronto wrote *laudes* or *encomia* on seemingly trivial or unexpected topics such as smoke and dust, and negligence entitled *Laudes Fumi et Pulveris,* and *Laudes Neglegentiae*; see also Habinek (2017: 30-2).
[203] Fronto, *Laudes Fumi et Pulveris* 2: ('But the subject seems to require a little to be said first on the method of composition, for no writing of this kind of sufficient note exists in the Roman tongue, except some attempts by poets in comedies or Atellane farces.').
[204] Thorsen (2018: 52).
[205] ('The topic, however, must everywhere be treated as if it were an important and splendid one, and trifling things must be likened and compared to great ones. Finally, the highest merit in this kind of discourse is an attitude of seriousness. Tales of gods or men must be brought in where appropriate; so, too, pertinent verses and proverbs that are applicable, and ingenious fictions, provided that the fiction is helped out by some witty reasoning.')

[Fronto, *Laudes Fumi et Pulveris* 3.]

This juxtaposition of trivial and important matters emphasises the ambiguity of Fronto's intent in writing the encomium. He is ostensibly arguing that an attitude of seriousness is important, whilst his topic is a bizarre choice that calls in to question his sincerity.[206]

Fronto's aim in treating these trivial matters in a serious manner is echoed in Gellius, who has much to say on the matter. In *NA* 13.29, Gellius has Fronto[207] discuss a passage from Claudius Quadrigarious' *Annals*. As it is read out, a man in his company suggests that using *mortalibus multis* for *hominibus multis* in a work of history is frigid and speaks too much of poetry. Fronto disagrees and argues that the use of *mortales* is far richer and more comprehensive as *homines* may be limited to a moderate number, but *mortales* includes almost everyone in the city in some indefinable way. After Fronto has been praised for his argument, he gives a warning not to use *mortales multi* every time, but only where appropriate, to avoid falling victim to the Greek proverb τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ φακῇ μύρον, or 'myrrh on lentils', showy entertainment with little substance. Gellius finishes by noting that Fronto's judgment should not be overlooked, despite its focus on trivial words: *Hoc iudicium Frontonis etiam ⟨in⟩ paruis minutisque uocabulis…*,[208] suggesting that trivial details were serious considerations for both Gellius and Fronto. Swain argues that, for Gellius, the consideration of trivial grammatical matters is very important for acquiring a deep knowledge of the ancients' writings and an understanding of the Latin language, which was the basis of culture.[209] Yet I would argue that there is also a satirical element to Gellius' discussion of trivialities throughout the *NA,* which he is using to mock contemporary culture. For example, he

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[206] Thorsen (2018: 53-4).
[207] As Fronto and Gellius were acquaintances, it is reasonable to assume that the Fronto in the *NA* would closely resemble the real Fronto.
[208] Gellius, *NA* 13.29.6.
[209] Swain (2004: 33). See also Gellius, *NA* 11.3.1.

uses Favorinus to satirise both grammarians' and pseudo-philosophers' pursuit of trivial matters.[210] In *NA* 4.1, he gives his own opinion about trivialities, beginning with the word *praeterea.*[211] Keulen suggests that using this form of *praeteritio* suits the 'general tendency in Gellius to present things as unimportant in order to underline their importance' (see Lausberg 882).[212] Thus Gellius satirises those who focus on trivialities whilst also displaying the same interests himself. I will examine the implications of this practice in chapter 3 in a discussion of curiosity and its proper role and limits for an educated audience.

Apuleius

In his *Metamorphoses,* Apuleius transforms a Greek source for a Latin audience. Slater argues that Apuleius in his prologue sets out to 'manufacture a suitable reader for itself' as the potential audience may be unfamiliar with this type of literary production.[213] As we have seen in the cases of early Republican authors, Latin writers frequently confront the notion of Greek literary superiority,[214] and Apuleius does this throughout the novel, starting in his prologue *fabulam Graecanicam incipimus.* Apuleius takes the original

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[210] Keulen (2009: 78 n.32): In *NA* 3.19, Gellius satirises etymological interpretation by using Favorinus to mock a scholar who wrote on etymology, Gavius Bassus, and his incorrect explanation of the word *parcus*. In *NA* 18.7.3, Gellius quotes the grammarian Domitius Insanus' diatribe against distinguished philosophers caring only about grammar (89 n.58). Holford-Strevens (2003: 119), Keulen (2009: 93 n.71): Book eight is lost, but the summary of 8.2 tells us that it is a passage about grammar and the comparison of Greek and Latin; as in 18.7, there is a role reversal and Gellius is teaching his teacher Favorinus, giving him ten Latin words not found in ancient authors. Keulen (2009: 89): The passage highlights Favorinus' interest in etymology, which shows a certain self-irony due to his frequent characterisation of grammatical matters as trivial; see also *NA* 4.1.17, 3.19 for Favorinus' interest in etymology; for Favorinus' fragments/ testimonia see Amato, Eugenio and Julien, Yvette (Eds.) (2005). *Œuvres. 1.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres; Amato, Eugenio (Ed.) (2010). *Œuvres. 3, Fragments.* Paris: Les Belles Lettres.

[211] Gellius, *NA* 4.1.20: *Praeterea de penu adscribendum hoc etiam putaui, Seruium Sulpicium in reprehensis Scaeuolae capitibus scripsisse Sexto Aelio placuisse, non quae esui et potui forent, sed tus quoque et cereos in penu esse, quod⟨que⟩ esset {non eius} familiae causa comparatum.* ('Besides what Favorinus said, I think this too ought to be added to our consideration of *penus*, that Servius Sulpicius, in his Criticism of the Chapters of Scaevola, wrote that Aelius Catus believed that not only articles for eating and drinking, but also incense and wax tapers were included under the head of penus, since they were provided for practically the same purpose.).

[212] Keulen (2009: 59 n.56).

[213] Slater (2001: 214).

[214] Moreschini (2014: 501-21).

Greek novel and reworks it for his own purpose: whilst at first Socrates is portrayed as the typical satirist who exposes superstition, expectations are subverted when Lucius does not reach the expected conclusion and he instead becomes a follower of Isis. However, in a further twist, Lucius goes to Rome to become a lawyer;[215] like Fronto, Apuleius is trying to bring Roman and Latin order and structure to a Greek source material with his self-fashioning.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the *Metamorphoses* is based on a lost Greek work of the same name, which was also the source of pseudo-Lucian's *Lucius,* or *the Onos*. The *Onos* is believed to be an epitome of the lost work;[216] therefore we can, with caution, use it to examine what changes Apuleius has made to the Greek original.[217] Work on this question shows that Apuleius has transformed the story significantly for his Latin readership: he has inserted his own original episodes, motifs,

[215] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 26, 28, 30: *Diu denique gratiarum gerendarum sermone prolixo commoratus, tandem digredior et recta patrium larem revisurus meum post aliquam multum temporis contendo. Paucisque post diebus deae potentis instinctu raptim constrictis sarcinulis, nave conscensa, Romam versus profectionem dirigo… spiritu faventis Eventus quaesticulo forensi nutrito per patrocinia sermonis Romani… quae nunc incunctanter gloriosa in foro redderem patrocinia, nec extimescerem malevolorum disseminationes, quas studiorum meorum laboriosa doctrina ibidem exciebat.* ('Then, after a long delay for lengthy expressions of gratitude, I finally departed and hurried straight to visit my ancestral hearth again after a long time away. After a few days there, at the powerful goddess's urging I hastily gathered my luggage together, boarded a ship, and set out toward Rome… since my small profits from pleading at law in the Roman language were nourished by the breeze of favouring Success… [Osiris] bidding me unhesitatingly to continue as now to win fame in the courts as an advocate and not fear the slanders of detractors which my industrious pursuit of legal studies had aroused in Rome.').

[216] Frangoulidis (2008: 13). See also Schlam and Finkelpearl (2000: 36-41) and Finkelpearl (2007: 263).

[217] There have been many works on the topic, including: Moyer, Ian (2016). Why Cenchreae?: the Social Topography of a Desultory Crossing in Apuleius' *Golden Ass*. *Phoenix*, 70(1-2), 129-146; Slater, Niall (2014). Various Asses. In Cueva, Edmund and Byrne, Shannon (Eds.), *A Companion to the Ancient Novel* (384-399). Chichester; Malden (Mass.): Wiley-Blackwell; Finkelpearl, Ellen (2007). Apuleius, the *Onos*, and Rome. In Paschalis, Michael; Frangoulidis, Stavros and Harrison, Stephen (Eds.), *The Greek and Roman Novel: Parallel Readings* (263-276). Eelde: Barkhuis; Zimmerman, Maaike (2007). Aesop, the *Onos*, 'The Golden Ass', and a Hidden Treasure. In Paschalis, Michael, Frangoulidis, Stavros and Harrison, Stephen (Eds.), *The Greek and Roman Novel: Parallel Readings* (277-292). Eelde: Barkhuis; Mason, Hugh (1999). The *Metamorphoses* of Apuleius and its Greek Sources. In Hofmann, Heinz (Ed.), *Latin Fiction: the Latin Novel in Context* (103-112). London: Routledge.

and tales in order to make the work a distinctly Latin novel that runs against the grain of Greek novels in general.[218]

One of the major changes is the replacement of Patrae by Corinth as Lucius' home city. Not only is Corinth more familiar to the Latin audience, it had administrative and economic importance as the capital of the Roman province of Achaia: *Corintho, quod caput est totius Achaiae provinciae*.[219] Apuleius changes the name of Lucius' family and acquaintances to give them distinctly Roman names: his mother is named Salvia, with possible connections to high-ranking Romans of the period,[220] and Demeas is most famously recognisable from Terence's *Adelphoe.*[221] Apuleius draws on Roman New Comedy throughout the *Metamorphoses*, as I will discuss later in the chapter. There are clear topographical references to Roman environments and landmarks which Apuleius uses to appeal to the Roman reader, for example the temple of Venus Murcia at the Circus Maximus [*Metamorphoses* 6.8].[222]

Many scholars have debated the question of who Apuleius was aiming his writing at, either the elite circles in Rome, the educated audience of North Africa, or both.[223] It seems more likely that Apuleius is appealing to a broad audience within the Latin speaking world, and taking inspiration from previous Latin tradition such as Ennius' method of drawing on various cultural traditions to create a hybrid work. It is clear, in any case, that Apuleius' audience is a Latin speaking readership, and his reworking of the Greek tale reflects his efforts to domesticate the story for the Roman

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[218] Moyer (2016: 143).
[219] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 10.18; Harrison (2002: 43); Graverini (2002: 59-60).
[220] Harrison (2002: 44). Her lineage is possibly connected to Plutarch, which is significant, as I discuss further in chapter 3 (pp. 80-2); Harrison (2002: 44 n.20-1).
[221] Characters named Demea(s) also occur in fragments of Menander and Caecilius, Harrison (2002: 44).
[222] Harrison (2002: 49); Rosati (2003: 280).
[223] Rosati (2003: 269); Graverini (2002: 67-8); Dowden (1994: 419-34).

world. As such, I argue that his efforts reflect what I am calling the Latin Second Sophistic.

In conclusion, Gellius views direct translation as a limited and inferior way of producing Latin literature, unless it can be fashioned into something that is more distinctly Roman, for example by collaborating with other Roman authors and making their style accord with the highest standards of Latinity. Both Fronto and Gellius create ambiguity in their work as they discuss the use of trivialities,[224] participating in contemporary culture whilst at the same time criticising it and distancing themselves from preoccupations of the Greek Second Sophistic. Their work is specifically Roman in the way that they use previous Italic traditions and adapt Greek originals: Fronto draws on Atellan farce and aims to ensure that his work uses different themes from traditional Greek forms of adoxography in his encomiums, whilst Apuleius' attempts to create a new style of literature distinct from Greek models continue the project started by Ennius, Plautus, and Terence. Like Cicero, they are creating Latin literature inspired by Greek works but aimed at a Latin audience and firmly rooted in a Roman context.

2.4 Constructing an Audience

I have discussed broadly what type of audience Apuleius was aiming the *Metamorphoses* at above, and now I will turn to the more specific audience that Apuleius may have had in mind for his *Apologia*. I will then compare this to the audience that Gellius addresses, and show how both authors draw on techniques used by authors in the earlier Latin tradition such as Terence, Lucilius, and Cicero.[225] These techniques resemble those found in the law courts, and as Ziogas and Bexley point out,

[224] Included under the umbrella of the trivial is the marvellous, specifically Greek marvels. See chapter 3 (pp. 90-1) below for a discussion of how Gellius mocks the trivialities and marvels of incredulous Greeks.
[225] Whilst May (2006: 39) argues that Gellius and Apuleius mostly ignore Terence in terms of imitation of language, I will argue that Terence is nonetheless useful to them as a literary model.

there is much overlap between law and Latin literature.[226] This is apparent in the case of the Latin authors of the Second Sophistic: Apuleius' *Apologia* is a defence speech, and judicial themes run through the *Metamorphoses* which culminates with Lucius becoming a lawyer at Rome; Fronto was involved in court cases, famously as a rival advocate against Herodes, and his eulogies are presented as defences; and Gellius' *NA* is full of references to law and legal discourse.[227]

In his prologues, Terence defends himself against an unnamed critic in a way that is similar to a defendant in court. As the writing of Roman comedy and the development of Latin oratory were happening at the same time, it is highly likely that each influenced the other.[228] Papaioannou argues that the resemblance to judicial oratory brings to mind the comic agonism of Aristophanic comedy:[229] in Aristophanic plays the court scenes are set in fantastic locations and have an air of the absurd, and the judicial system is mocked and made to seem bizarre.[230] However in Terence's plays, the

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[226] Ziogas and Bexley (2022: 7): 'Roman authors were educated in law and saw themselves as champions of justice. Roman orators and jurists were versed in literature and used their literary knowledge in their forensic speeches and reasonings.'.

[227] Wibier (2022: 135): 'Gellius offers an ideal of encyclopaedic learning for the elite Roman reader, which includes at a fundamental level familiarity with legal knowledge and writing.'; see also Howley (2013: 10): 'Gellius frames encounters with juristic literature as an important part of learning about the *mos maiorum* and the language of the ancient Romans, carefully integrating jurists into enquiries alongside other kinds of authoritative source. He emphasises the studiousness and curiosity of good juristic writers which lead them to provide accounts of customs and words that can supplement or even supplant those of more commonly-encountered writers of *antiquitates*. As he excludes juristic reading from his judicial duties, he also emphasises the broad range of other kinds of knowledge and literature whose authority can speak to questions that arise from actual legal experience. The effect is twofold: we are reminded that when we answer legal questions, it is important to be well read, but we are also encouraged to make jurists part of our wide reading, for purposes that go well beyond the legal. Juristic knowledge, for Gellius, is both culturally mainstream in its antiquarian methodology, and uniquely complementary to the other genres and modes of books and enquiry available to the curious Roman intellectual'. I analyse Gellius' use of encyclopaedic learning in chapter 3 (pp. 86-90) below.

[228] Barsby (2007: 39).

[229] Papaioannou (2014: 225).

[230] τοῖς κριταῖς εἰπεῖν τι βουλόμεσθα τῆς νίκης πέρι,/ ὅσ᾽ ἀγάθ᾽, ἢν κρίνωσιν ἡμᾶς, πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς δώσομεν,/ ὥστε κρείττω δῶρα πολλῷ τῶν Ἀλεξάνδρου λαβεῖν./ πρῶτα μὲν γάρ, οὗ μάλιστα πᾶς κριτὴς ἐφίεται,/ γλαῦκες ὑμᾶς οὔποτ᾽ ἐπιλείψουσι Λαυρειωτικαί·/ ἀλλ᾽ ἐνοικήσουσιν ἔνδον, ἔν τε τοῖς βαλλαντίοις/ ἐννεοττεύσουσι κἀκλέψουσι μικρὰ κέρματα./ εἶτα πρὸς τούτοισιν ὥσπερ ἐν ἱεροῖς οἰκήσετε·/ τὰς γὰρ ὑμῶν οἰκίας ἐρέψομεν πρὸς αἰετόν·/ κἂν λαχόντες ἀρχίδιον εἶθ᾽ ἁρπάσαι βούλησθέ τι,/ ὀξὺν ἱερακίσκον εἰς τὰς χεῖρας ὑμῖν δώσομεν./ ἢν δέ που δειπνῆτε, πρηγορεῶνας ὑμῖν πέμψομεν./ ἢν δὲ

court atmosphere is realistic and made to evoke a serious, official Roman atmosphere in order to give credibility to Terence's case. For example, in the prologue of *Heauton Timorumenos*:

> nunc quam ob rem has partis didicerim paucis dabo.
> oratorem esse voluit me, non prologum.
> vostrum iudicium fecit, me actorem dedit,
> si hic actor tantum poterit a facundia
> quantum ille potuit cogitare commode
> qui orationem hanc scripsit quam dicturus sum.[231]

[Terence, *Heauton Timorumenos* 10-15.]

Throughout each of Terence's prologues he continues to create a similar atmosphere, referring to his critics, their accusations, and his own defence.[232]

μὴ κρίνητε, χαλκεύεσθε μηνίσκους φορεῖν/ ὥσπερ ἀνδριάντες· ὡς ὑμῶν ὃς ἂν μὴ μῆν᾽ ἔχῃ,/ ὅταν ἔχητε χλανίδα λευκήν, τότε μάλισθ᾽ οὕτω δίκην/ δώσεθ᾽ ἡμῖν, πᾶσι τοῖς ὄρνισι κατατιλώμενοι. ('We'd like to say a word to the judges about winning the prize, namely all the benefits we'll bestow on them all if they vote for us, so they'll get far better gifts than Paris got. Let's begin with what every judge craves most, those owls from Laureium: they will never run out on you, no, they'll move into your house, and nest in your wallets, and hatch out small change. On top of that, you'll live in houses like temples, because we'll roof them with eagle gables. If you draw a nice little post, then want to do some pilfering, we'll equip you with a sharp crowbar. And if you go out for dinner, we'll send you each off with a gizzard. But if you vote against us, you'd better make some copper lids to wear, like statues, because any of you who doesn't have a lid, whenever you're wearing a white suit, that's just when you'll pay the piper, getting crapped on by all of the birds.') Aristophanes, *Birds* 1102-1117; see also Crichton, Angus (1997). *Popular Attitudes to Judicial Activity in the Age of Aristophanes*. Dissertation, University College London.

[231] ('Now I will explain briefly why I have taken on this role. The playwright wanted me as an advocate, not as a prologue speaker. He has turned this into a court, with me to act on his behalf. I only hope that the eloquence of the actor can do justice to the aptness of the arguments which the writer of this speech has contrived to put together.')

[232] Terence, *Hecyra* 3, 8-10, 21-3, 52-5: *alias cognostis eius: quaeso hanc noscite./ orator ad vos venio ornatu prologi./ sinite exorator sim… ita poetam restitui in locum/ prope iam remotum iniuria advorsarium/ ab studio atque ab labore atque arte musica… sinite impetrare me, qui in tutelam meam/ studium suom et se in vostram commisit fidem,/ ne eum circumventum inique iniqui irrideant./ mea causa causam accipite et date silentium.* ('You have given a hearing to his other plays; please give a hearing to this one. I come to you as an advocate in the guise of a prologue. Allow me to succeed in my advocacy… In this way I restored the playwright to his place, when the the attacks of his opponents had practically driven him from his profession and from his craft and from the dramatic art… So let me prevail on you not to allow an author who has entrusted his career to my keeping and himself to your protection to be cheated and unfairly derided by unfair critics. For my sake listen to my plea and grant me silence.'); Terence, *Andria* 5-8, 15-27: *nam in prologis scribundis operam abutitur,/ non qui argumentum narret sed qui malevoli/ veteris poetae maledictis respondeat./ nunc quam rem vitio dent, quaeso, animum advortite… id isti vituperant factum atque in eo disputant/ contaminari non decere fabulas./ faciuntne intellegendo ut nil intellegant?/ qui quom hunc accusant, Naevium, Plautum, Ennium/ accusant, quos hic noster auctores habet,/ quorum aemulari exoptat neglegentiam/ potius quam istorum obscuram diligentiam./ dehinc ut quiescant porro moneo et desinant/ maledicere, malefacta ne noscant sua./ favete, adeste aequo animo, et rem cognoscite,/ ut pernoscatis ecquid spei sit relicuom,/ posthac quas faciet de*

Republican authors too use this technique, for example in several philosophical works of Cicero. In his attempt to make Greek philosophy accessible and popular to a Roman audience through rhetoricising philosophy (as discussed above), Cicero fills his prologues to dialogues with references to trials and court proceedings, something very familiar to his audience and specifically Roman.[233]

In his *Apologia*, Apuleius has to refute the claim that he was a practitioner of magic, as magicians were the 'enemies of the Roman order' and could be sentenced to

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integro comoedias/ spectandae an exigendae sint vobis prius. ('He is wasting his time writing prologues, not to explain the plot but to respond to the slanders of a malicious old playwright. Now please pay attention whilst I explain the substance of his criticisms… His critics abuse him for doing this, arguing that it is not right to contaminate plays in this way. But isn't their cleverness making them obtuse? In criticising our author, they are actually criticising Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius, whom he takes as his models, preferring to imitate their carelessness in this respect rather than the critics' own dreary pedantry. So I am warning them from now on to hold their tongues and stop their slanders, or they will be forced to acknowledge their own shortcomings. Give us your support, listen with open minds, and come to a decision. It is for you to determine what hope our author has, whether the new comedies he writes in the future are to gain an audience or be driven off the stage without a hearing.'); Terence, *Phormio* 1-3: *postquam poeta vetus poetam non potest/ retrahere a studio et transdere hominem in otium,/ maledictis deterrere ne scribat parat.* ('Since the old playwright cannot drive our playwright from his calling and force him into retirement, he is trying to deter him from writing by the use of slander.'); Terence *Eunuchus* 14-19, 29, 42-3: *dehinc ne frustretur ipse se aut sic cogitet/ "defunctus iam sum: nil est quod dicat mihi,"/ is ne erret moneo et desinat lacessere./ habeo alia multa quae nunc condonabitur,/ quae proferentur post si perget laedere/ ita ut facere instituit… id ita esse vos iam iudicare poteritis… qua re aequomst vos cognoscere atque ignoscere/ quae veteres factitarunt si faciunt novi.* ('From now on, in case he deludes himself and imagines that he is done with this and I have nothing more to say, I warn him not to misjudge the situation or continue to provoke me. I have many other charges which he shall be spared for the moment, but they will be brought up later if he persists in attacking me as he has set out to do… You can judge the truth of this for yourselves… So it's only fair that you should examine the facts and pardon the new playwrights if they do what the old have always done.'); Terence, *Adelphoe* 1-5, 12-19, 24-5: *postquam poeta sensit scripturam suam/ ab iniquis observari et advorsarios/ rapere in peiorem partem quam acturi sumus,/ indicio de se ipse erit, vos eritis iudices / laudin an vitio duci factum oporteat… Pernoscite/ furtumne factum existumetis an locum/ reprehensum qui praeteritus neglegentiast./ nam quod isti dicunt malevoli, homines nobilis/ hunc adiutare assidueque una scribere,/ quod illi maledictum vehemens esse existumant,/ eam laudem hic ducit maxumam quom illis placet/ qui vobis universis et populo placent… in agendo partem ostendent. facite aequanimitas/ poetae ad scribendum augeat industriam.* ('The playwright is aware that his works are being subjected to unfair criticism and that his opponents are misrepresenting the play we are about to perform. He will himself present the evidence in his own trial, and you shall judge whether what he has done merits praise or censure…It is for you to decide whether you deem us guilty of plagiarism or of the reclaiming of a scene which had been carelessly omitted. As for the malicious accusation that members of the nobility assist our author and collaborate with him in his writing all the time, which his enemies consider a serious reproach, he regards it as a great compliment, if he finds favour with men who find favour with all of you and the people at large… See that you give the play a fair hearing and encourage the author to continue with the task of writing.').

[233] Baraz (2012: 148). Riess (2008: 18) notes that courtroom speeches did also feature in Greek novels.

death on conviction.[234] Bradley argues that the only figure Apuleius needed to persuade was the judge, Claudius Maximus, and that he did this by establishing a common intellectual identity.[235] For example, in *Apologia* 25.1-4, Apuleius shames the prosecution for daring to bring trumped up charges into the hearing of such as a man as Claudius Maximus: *Nonne vos puditum est haec crimina tali viro audiente tam adseverate obiectare… quin igitur tandem expergiscimini ac vos cogitatis apud Claudium Maximum dicere, apud virum severum et totius provinciae negotiis occupatum?*[236] Throughout the speech, Apuleius distances the prosecution and their sordid aims from Claudius Maximus and those audience members he is hoping to win to his side. He shows his erudition by appealing to a large number of Greek and Roman authorities, including poets, tragedians, and philosophers, and he uses a wide range of genres.[237] Whereas the significance of these references could be missed by the majority, the elite members of the audience, and specifically Claudius Maximus, would appreciate the connection that Apuleius is trying to form with them.[238]

Apuleius' technique of creating a personal conversation between himself and the audience carries on a tradition found in Terence, Lucilius, and Cicero. Terence's prologues address two different audiences: both the largely illiterate viewers and the elite viewers well versed in Greek literature. The greater part of the audience (illiterate viewers) would not have understood Terence's erudite references to Greek literary

[234] Bradley (2012: 207).
[235] Bradley (2012: 15-16).
[236] Apuleius, *Apologia* 25.1-4: ('Were you not ashamed to hurl these charges so insistently in the hearing of such a man… won't you come to your senses at last, and remember that you are speaking before Claudius Maximus, an upright man busy with the affairs of the entire province?').
[237] May (2006: 81-4). Riess (2008: 39).
[238] May (2006: 32): Claudius Maximus belonged to the tightly-knit literary circle of Apuleius, Gellius, and Fronto.

culture.[239] Papaioannou suggests that Terence's attempt to anticipate the charges against him may function as 'a code of exclusive communication' between himself and the aediles presiding over the performances, who would have been members of the elite audience.[240]

Lucilius also has a personal connection with his interlocutor(s), and stages intimate discussions of satire itself. This informal dialogue made Lucilius' satires seem like 'talks' or 'chats' and may have influenced Horace's *Sermones.*[241] As discussed above, it was the convention for the persona to claim a lack of poetic ability. Similarly, as the task of blending Greek philosophy with Roman tradition was new to Cicero, he could not portray himself as an expert, but instead created an intimate, informal dialogue with his audience that they could imagine participating in as they arrived at the truth together.[242] Cicero comments on the fact that Lucilius addressed his work to an ideal audience, i.e. the learned, but non-expert:

> Nam ut C. Lucilius, homo doctus et perurbanus, dicere solebat ea quae scriberet neque ab indoctissimis se, neque a doctissimis legi velle; quod alteri nihil intellegerent, alteri plus fortasse, quam ipse; de quo etiam scripsit, 'Persium non euro legere' (hic enim fuit, ut noramus, omnium fere nostrorum hominum doctissimus), 'Laelium Decumum volo' (quem cognovimus virum bonum, et non illiteratum, sed nihil ad Persium): sic ego, si iam mihi disputandum sit de his nostris studiis, nolim equidem apud rusticos, sed multo minus apud vos; malo enim non intellegi orationem meam, quam reprehendi.[243]

[Cicero, *De Oratore* 2.25.]

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[239] Papaioannou (2014a: 219, 234).
[240] Papaioannou (2014a: 233).
[241] Warmington (1938: xix).
[242] Baraz (2012: 147).
[243] ('For just as Gaius Lucilius, himself a learned and highly accomplished man, was wont to say that he wished his writings to be read neither by the most ignorant nor the most learned, since the former class understood nothing, and the latter possibly more than he himself did, in which connexion he also wrote:—'I don't want Persius to read me' (Persius, as we knew him, being about the most erudite of all our fellow-citizens), and he continued:—'Laelius Decumus for me' (which Laelius we also knew for an excellent man of some learning, but nothing to Persius): so too I, if I should now have to discuss these pursuits of ours, should of course be sorry to speak before an audience of clowns, but far more reluctant to do so in this present company, for I had rather have my discourse misunderstood than disapproved.')

Warmington has constructed the following fragment of Lucilius: *<ab indoctissimis> nec doctissimis <legi me>; Man<ium Manil>ium/ Persiumve haec legere nolo, Iunium Congum volo.*[244] Although the name (Laelius Decumus/ Junius Congus) has been changed, the concept of the ideal audience remains the same.[245]

Gellius continues this tradition in his *NA* by mimicking the intimate, informal dialogue of Cicero and Lucilius, and the programmatic statements of the other verse satirists by claiming that his work is rustic and not as impressive as that of other authors: *Nos uero, ut captus noster est, incuriose et inmeditate ac prope etiam subrustice ex ipso loco ac tempore hibernarum uigiliarum Atticas noctes inscripsimus, tantum ceteris omnibus in ipsius quoque inscriptionis laude cedentes quantum cessimus in cura et elegantia scriptionis.*[246] He then sets out in his prologue the type of audience he is writing for, i.e. the learned non-expert:

> …ad hoc ut liberis quoque meis partae istiusmodi remissiones essent, quando animus eorum, interstitione aliqua negotiorum data, laxari indulgerique potuisset… sed modica ex his eaque sola accepi quae aut ingenia prompta expeditaque ad honestae eruditionis cupidinem utiliumque artium contemplationem celeri facilique compendio ducerent, aut homines aliis iam uitae negotiis occupatos a turpi certe agrestique rerum atque uerborum imperitia uindicarent… sed primitias quasdam et quasi libamenta ingenuarum atrium dedimus, quae uirum ciuiliter eruditum neque audisse umquam neque attigisse, si non inutile, at quidem certe indecorum est. Ab his igitur, sicui forte nonnumquam tempus uoluptasque erit lucubratiunculas istas cognoscere, petitum impetratumque uolumus, ut in legendo quae pridem scierint non aspernentur quasi nota inuulgataque. Nam ecquid tam remotum in litteris est quin id tamen complusculi sciant? Et satis hoc blandum est, non esse haec neque in scholis decantata neque in commentariis protrita. Quae porro noua sibi ignotaque offenderint, aequum esse puto ut sine uano obtrectatu considerent an

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[244] Lucilius, *Saturae* 26.1 [632-4]: ('…that I should be read by the very unlearned nor by the very learned; I don't want Manius Manilius or Persius to read all this, but I do want Junius Congus to do it.').

[245] For further discussion of how Cicero and Pliny use Lucilius' text to construct their audiences, see Breed (2018: 71-5).

[246] Gellius, *NA praef.* 10: ('But I, bearing in mind my limitations, gave my work off-hand, without premeditation, and indeed almost in rustic fashion, the caption of *Attic Nights,* derived merely from the time and place of my winter's vigils; I thus fall as far short of all other writers in the dignity too even of my title, as I do in care and in elegance of style.').

> minutae istae admonitiones et pauxillulae nequaquam tamen sint uel ad alendum studium uescae uel ad oblectandum fouen dumque animum frigidae, sed eius seminis generisque sint ex quo facile adolescant aut ingenia hominum uegetiora aut memoria adminiculatior aut oratio sollertior aut sermo incorruptior aut delectatio in otio atque in ludo liberalior. Quae autem parum plana uidebuntur aut minus plena instructaque, petimus, inquam, ut ea non docendi magis quam admonendi gratia scripta existiment, et quasi demonstratione uestigiorum contenti, persequantur ea post, si libebit, uel libris repertis uel magistris. Quae uero putauerint reprehendenda, his, si audebunt, succenseant unde ea nos accepimus; sed enim quae aliter apud alium scripta legerint, ne iam statim temere obstrepant, sed et rationes rerum et auctoritates hominum pensitent quos illi quosque nos secuti sumus. Erit autem id longe optimum, ut qui in lectitando ⟨percontando⟩ scribendo commentando numquam uoluptates, numquam labores ceperunt, nullas hoc genus uigilias uigilarunt neque ullis inter eiusdem Musae aemulos certationibus disceptationibusque elimati sunt, sed intemperiarum negotiorumque pleni sunt, abeant {percontando scribendo} a Noctibus his procul atque alia sibi oblectamenta quaerant.[247]
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> [Gellius, *NA* 1-2, 12, 13-19.]

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[247] ('…in order that like recreation might be provided for my children, when they should have some respite from business affairs and could unbend and divert their minds… but I took few items from them, confining myself to those which, by furnishing a quick and easy short-cut, might lead active and alert minds to a desire for independent learning and to the study of the useful arts, or would save those who are already fully occupied with the other duties of life from an ignorance of words and things which is assuredly shameful and boorish… but I have presented the first fruits, so to say, and a kind of foretaste of the liberal arts; and never to have heard of these, or come in contact with them, is at least unbecoming, if not positively harmful, for a man with even an ordinary education. Of those then, if such there be, who may perhaps sometimes have leisure and inclination to acquaint themselves with these nightly writings, I should like to ask and be granted the favour, that in reading of matters which they have known for a long time they shall not scorn them as commonplace and trite; for is there anything in literature so recondite as not to be known to a goodish many? In fact, I am sufficiently flattered if these subjects have not been repeated over and over again in the schools and become the common stock of commentaries. Furthermore, if my readers find anything new and unknown to them, I think it fair that they should not indulge in useless criticism, but should ask themselves whether these observations, slight and trifling though they be, are after all not without power to inspire study, or too dull to divert and stimulate the mind; whether on the contrary they do not contain the germs and the quality to make men's minds grow more vigorous, their memory more trustworthy, their eloquence more effective, their diction purer, or the pleasures of their hours of leisure and recreation more refined. But as to matters which seem too obscure, or not presented in full enough detail, I beg once again that my readers may consider them written, not so much to instruct, as to give a hint, and that content with my, so to speak, pointing out of the path, they may afterwards follow up those subjects, if they so desire, with the aid either of books or of teachers. But if they find food for criticism, let them, if they have the courage, blame those from whom I drew my material; or if they discover that different statements are made by someone else, let them not at once give way to hasty censure, but rather let them weigh the reasons for the statements and the value of the authorities which those other writers and which I have followed. For those, however, who have never found pleasure nor busied themselves in reading, inquiring, writing and taking notes, who have never spent wakeful nights in such employments, who have never improved themselves by discussion and debate with rival followers of the same Muse, but are absorbed in the turmoil of business affairs—for such men it will be by far the best plan to hold wholly aloof from these 'Nights' and seek for themselves other diversion.')

He is very specific in that the audience must either be those who have the leisure to advance their learning by self-study: *ad honestae eruditionis cupidinem utiliumque atrium* [12], or those who have little free time but, nonetheless, desire to learn enough to avoid social embarrassment in their ignorance: *aut homines aliis iam uitae negotiis occupatos a turpi certe agrestique rerum atque uerborum imperitia uindicarent* [12]. Gellius' ideal audience should either be seeking the study of 'useful' arts or already engaged in *negotium*.[248] However, he does not mean the type of person whose life is so full of *negotium* that they have no time for activities such as reading, inquiring, writing and note taking, which are expected of a member of Gellius' elite circle. He makes this clear by warning away that type of reader: *ut qui in lectitando ⟨percontando⟩ scribendo commentando numquam uoluptates, numquam labores ceperunt, nullas hoc genus uigilias uigilarunt neque ullis inter eiusdem Musae aemulos certationibus disceptationibusque elimati sunt, sed intemperiarum negotiorumque pleni sunt* [19]. In fact the first example of the ideal reader is that of Gellius' own sons [1-2].

Having established a perfect audience [12], Gellius pre-empts the objection that his observations might be *minutae… et pauxillulae* [16] and describes in detail the way that the *NA* is the perfect medium from which to guide the reader in their learning: *sed eius seminis generisque sint ex quo facile adolescant aut ingenia hominum uegetiora aut memoria adminiculatior aut oratio sollertior aut sermo incorruptior aut delectatio in otio atque in ludo liberalior* [16-17]. He creates a cosy image of settling down to read and write during the long Attic nights, and he lures the reader in with encouragement and friendly words, emphasising the easy bite sized chunks that he is making accessible

[248] For a discussion of how Gellius associates *otium* with Greek leisure and the countryside, and *negotium* with inquiry in Roman urban spaces, see chapter 3 (pp. 115-8).

for his readers: *sed primitias quasdam et quasi libamenta ingenuarum atrium dedimus* [13].

Thus, both Apuleius and Gellius draw on the technique of forming a close personal connection with their audience, used by authors in the earlier Latin tradition such as Terence, Lucilius, and Cicero. They outline exactly the type of person they wish their work to be associated with: Gellius targets the learned non-expert, like Cicero and Lucilius do; and Apuleius addresses those in the audience who identify with the educated Claudius Maximus as opposed to the witless prosecution. Of course, there is a difference between using courtroom rhetoric metaphorically, as Terence does, and using rhetoric in a defence speech such as Apuleius'. Yet orators represent themselves and their 'character' when they assume a persona and present their case, in a similar way to how an actor takes on a role in front of an audience.[249] This combined with Terence's popularity and Apuleius' familiarity with his work suggest a continuing Latin literary tradition.

2.5 *Latinitas* and Linguistic Archaism

Latin authors not only used the genre of Satire and satirical techniques to create their own unique form of literature; the theory and practice of oratory and grammar also formed a key part. *Latinitas* is an important concept when discussing the Second Sophistic - it highlights 'good' Latin, displays self-confidence in the quality of Latin Literature, and provides a correspondent to Greek ἑλληνισμός.[250] The first surviving

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[249] Batstone (2009: 212-3). See pp. 139-40 below for the differences between actors and orators.
[250] Bloomer (2017: 67-8). For a detailed explanation of ἑλληνισμός (language correctness) and its criteria, see Pagani (2015: 798-849).

mention of *Latinitas* is in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*: *Latinitas est quae sermonem purum conservat, ab omni vitio remotum.*[251]

The Late Republic is in effect an earlier stage or parallel to the efforts of our Antonine authors. Bloomer argues that *Latinitas* in the Second Sophistic is an intellectual pursuit and authors such as Gellius and Fronto loved to make literature about philology, as opposed to Cicero, whose preoccupation was in the later stages of education and composition, and Varro and Quintilian who provided magisterial sources and models for *Latinitas*.[252] Tacitus believed that there was a decline in oratory under the Empire and explores the reasons for this in his *Dialogus*.[253] Whereas for Cicero oratory was profoundly political, by the time we get to the Antonine period, our authors were focussing on developing epidictic oratory and rhetoric.[254] For example, Apuleius' praise of the judge and Fronto's encomiums of smoke and dust. Although used in different ways, the discussion of canon and style in the Republican period provided useful models for the activities and concerns of Roman Antonine authors.

Varro, Caesar, and Cicero

Spencer suggests that Varro's project in *De Lingua Latina* could be seen as a reinvention of Latin as a system for citizen self-fashioning, or 'Romespeak'.[255] Spencer

[251] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.17. It is the first extant Latin manual of rhetoric which dates from the beginning of the first century BCE. It has long been falsely attributed to Cicero, although the author is unknown.
[252] Bloomer (2017: 69): The Antonines searched ancient literature 'rather like a cook looking for a sparkling ingredient, but only the old cookbooks will do and one must not follow a recipe. The composition must be new and tasty - the Antonine author wants to read Cato, select from Cato, and have his reader know that his diction is the result of long scholarship and selective taste, but he does not want to ape Cato'.
[253] Tacitus, *Dialogus de Oratoribus*. See also Winterbottom's introduction (1969: 219-27) in Tacitus. *Dialogue on Oratory.* Translated by M. Hutton, W. Peterson. Revised by Ogilvie, Robert, Warmington, Eric, Winterbottom, Michael. Loeb Classical Library 35. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1914.
[254] Pernot (2017: 209). Pernot, Laurent (2017). Greek and Latin Rhetorical Culture. In Richter, Daniel and Johnson, William (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Second Sophistic* (205-16). New York: Oxford University Press.
[255] Spencer (2019: 257).

coins the term to mean the distinct organisation of shared narratives and forms of expression, and it is a way of uniting Latin speakers.[256] The thesis of Spencer's book is that '*De Lingua Latina* led Varro's audience on a journey of discourse enrichment, at the end of which all successful Romespeakers could contribute actively and consciously to a consensual civic ideal'.[257] In the period there was a complex relationship linking Greeks, Italians, and Romans,[258] and so Varro's exploration of the language can be seen as an attempt to self-fashion a distinct Latin identity through language.

Garcea writes that Ceasar's *De Analogia* was a contribution to the debate about the role of language in the rapidly changing Latin society. Caesar proposed a standardisation and therefore legitimisation of the Latin language, particularly after his conquests in Gaul. This was in opposition to Cicero's attempts to define the difference between Roman and Latin orators.[259] Yet both Caesar and Cicero agree that language forms a key part in defining the identity of a people.[260] Garcea argues that like Varro's *De Lingua Latina*, *de Analogia* shows the importation of Hellenistic grammatical knowledge to Rome and the imposition of a Latin order on these Hellenisms to achieve autonomy for the Latin language.[261] A key element of Caesar's eloquence is *elegantia*, a rhetorical term defined in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* book 4 as *elegantia est, quae facit, ut unum quidque pure et aperte dici videatur.*[262] This idea occurs frequently in the works of Cicero, too.[263]

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[256] Spencer (2019: 11, 43, 257).
[257] Spencer (2019: 42).
[258] Wallace-Hadrill (2008: 6, 73-143); Spencer (2019: 20).
[259] Garcea (2012: 3-4); Cicero, *Brutus* 171.
[260] Garcea (2012: 7); Cicero, *Verr.* 2.5.167; Caesar, *Gall.* 1.1.2.
[261] Garcea (2012: 10).
[262] *Rhetorica ad Herennium* 4.22-3; see Garcea (2012: 50).
[263] Cicero, *De Oratore* 1.144-5: *Audieram etiam, quae de orationis ipsius ornamentis traderentur: in qua praecipitur primum, ut pure et latine loquamur; deinde ut plane et dilucide; tum ut ornate; post ad rerum dignitatem apte et quasi decore: singularumque rerum praecepta cognoram*. ('I had listened also to the

Cicero quotes extensively from Roman comedy, particularly Terence,[264] who was well known for his elegance of language.[265] Manuwald argues that passages and scenes from Terence provide 'precedents or illustrations of points of style, ways of argument, of forms of behaviour or of the treatment of models'; Cicero uses Terence as an authoritative model to confirm his own views and establish them as works of literature that are a shared artistic heritage.[266] The Antonine authors continue this tradition of using early Latin writers as authorities for their own *Latinitas.*

Archaism in the Second Sophistic

As discussed in chapter 1 (pp. 26-7), the use of linguistic archaism was very important to Gellius and his time. Archaism was first used to convey solemnity, and express the mock-grandeur of the Plautine slave, but in the 2nd Century this was not necessarily its only purpose.[267] It was often used to avoid the obvious, to demonstrate learning, or to restore correct usage of Latin.[268] Gellius, Fronto and Apuleius all share an interest in

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traditional precepts for the embellishment of discourse itself: that we must speak, in the first place, pure and correct Latin, secondly with simple lucidity, thirdly with elegance, lastly in a manner befitting the dignity of our topics and with a certain grace; and on these several points I had learnt particular maxims.'); Garcea (2012: 51).

[264] Manuwald (2014: 179-80): Cicero quotes 67 lines by Terence, consisting of 16 lines from *Andria*, 22 from *Eunuchus*, 10 from *Heauton Timorumenos*, 11 from *Phormio*, 8 from *Adelphoe* and none from *Hecyra*.

[265] Suetonius, *Vita Ter.* 7: *Cicero in "Limone" hactenus laudat: Tu quoque, qui solus lecto sermone, Terenti/ Conversum expressumque Latina voce Menandrum/ In medium nobis sedatis vocibus effers/ Quiddam come loquens atque omnia dulcia dicens.* ('Cicero in his "Limo" gives him this much praise: Thou, Terence, who alone dost reclothe Menander/ in choice speech, and rendering him into the Latin/ tongue, dost present him with thy quiet utterance/ on our public stage, speaking with a certain graciousness/ and with sweetness in every word.'); Manuwald (2014: 184-5).

[266] Manuwald (2014: 199-200).

[267] Gibson (2005: 76): 'Although the taste for archaic vocabulary itself should not be seen as a second-century innovation, since Latin historiography from the time of Sallust had looked to the past for its stylistic inspiration, a tradition continued by Tacitus, the widening scope for archaisms outside the confines of historiography should be seen as a distinctively second-century feature…'. Gibson, Bruce (2005). The High Empire: AD 69-200. In Harrison, Stephen (Ed.), *A Companion to Latin Literature* (69-79).

[268] For an introductory overview of the term archaism, see Holford-Strevens (2015). See also Dickey, Eleanor (2015). How to Say 'Please' in Post-Classical Latin: Fronto and the Importance of Archaism. *Journal of Latin Linguistics*, 14(1), 17-31; Swain, Simon (2004). Bilingualism and Biculturalism in Antonine Rome: Apuleius, Fronto, and Gellius. In Holford-Strevens, Leofranc and Vardi, Amiel (Eds.), *The Worlds of Aulus Gellius* (3-40). Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Lebek, Wolfgang (1970). *Verba Prisca. Die Anfänge des Archaisierens in der Lateinischen Beredsamkeit und*

archaism. While they search ancient texts for unusual words, they are only used if they do not hinder the clarity of the text.[269] Gellius is meticulous about citing the authorities he uses in the *NA*, and is far more likely to take from authors of the Republic and earlier than he is from those of the early Empire or his contemporaries. However, there was a fine line between the select use of archaic language to demonstrate learning or correct use of Latin, and its overuse.

Use of Plautus

During the Second Sophistic, interest in comedy was revived after a long period of neglect. It was triggered by the archaists' interest in Plautus as a source of unusual words and information, and turned him into one of the most important authors for the Latin Sophistic movement;[270] of which Fronto, Gellius, and Apuelius were the main representatives.[271] This contributed to Plautus' popularity both as a text to be studied for its language, and as a literary inspiration. Guides were needed for students of rhetoric, and studying stock comic characters was part of a Roman education.[272] Fronto's interest in Plautus lies mainly in the correct usage of archaic words, use of language to polish

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Geschichtsschreibens. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht; Beall, Stephen (1988). *Civilis Eruditio. Style and Content in the 'Attic Nights' of Aulus Gellius*. Dissertation, University of California; Cicero, *De Oratore* 3.153: *Inusitata sunt prisca fere ac vetusta et ab usu quotidiani sermonis iamdiu intermissa; quae sunt poetarum licentiae liberiora quam nostrae, sed tamen raro habet etiam in oratione poeticum aliquod verbum dignitatem; neque enim illud fugerim dicere, ut Coelius, 'Qua tempestate Poenus in Italiam venit,' nec 'prolem,' aut 'sobolem,' aut 'effari,' aut 'nuncupare'; aut, ut tu soles, Catule, 'non rebar,' aut 'opinabar'; et alia multa quibus loco positis grandior atque antiquior oratio saepe videri solet.* ('Rare words are usually archaisms which because of their antiquity have long passed out of use in everyday speech. These are more freely allowed to the licence of poets than to ourselves, but nevertheless on rare occasions even in oratory a poetic word has dignity. Indeed I should not be afraid to use Coelius's phrase 'what time the Carthaginian came into Italy,' nor the word 'offspring' or 'progeny,' or 'utter' or 'pronounce,' or your favourite expressions, Catulus, 'I did not deem' or 'I opined'; or many others that if used in the proper context often seem to have a way of adding grandeur and antiquity to the style.').

[269] Moreschini (2014: 507).

[270] May (2014: 764). For a recent, detailed look into the language of Plautus and what makes it distinctly Plautine, see Barrios-Lech, Peter (2020). The Language of Plautus. In Franko, George and Dutsch, Dorota (Eds.), *A Companion to Plautus* (221-236). John Wiley and Sons, Incorporated.

[271] Ferri (2020: 410).

[272] May (2014: 755).

his own style, and as a model for innovative word formations.[273] Gellius also uses Plautus for similar reasons, but he also discusses the content and literary value of his comedies.[274] For example, he cites the *Cistellaria* as evidence for the period of gestation,[275] and speaks admiringly of his style: *Plautus, linguae Latinae decus.*[276] May argues that Apuleius was the most prolific admirer of Plautus in the second century, who used comedy imaginatively as an important literary device.[277] Comic characters in the *Metamorphoses* have a tendency to use Plautine language, and Apuleius also uses it in the *Apologia* to evoke a comic subtext.[278] Whilst Plautus does not model the 'correct' Latin of Terence, Cicero, Varro, and Quintilian, he provides an opportunity for our Antonine authors to display their erudition by utilising the language and cultural milieu of Plautus and other Republican authors.

The Disciplines of Rhetoric and Grammar

Suetonius

The study of grammar was seen as low brow before it became a distinguished profession; Kaster writes that Suetonius' biographical account of scholars and teachers of language and literature was a category rarely found in Greek writers and never in Roman. At the time in Rome, the study of grammar and rhetoric was a new category in comparison to the much-studied fields of history, poetry, and oratory, but it became increasingly popular.[279] Although it may have shocked Cicero, Latin authors after the

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[273] May (2014: 756).
[274] May (2014: 757).
[275] Gellius, *NA* 3.16.2: *Idque Plautum, ueterem poetam, dicere uidemus in comoedia Cistellaria his uerbis: tum illa quam compresserat/ decumo post mense exacto hic peperit filiam.* ('And this we find the ancient poet Plautus saying in his comedy the *Cistellaria*, in these words: And then the girl whom he did violate/ Brought forth a daughter when ten months had sped.'); see Plautus, *Cistellaria* 1.162.
[276] Gellius, *NA* 19.8.6: ('Plautus, glory of the Latin language.').
[277] May (2014: 759).
[278] May (2006: 39-40). For further discussion of Apuelius' use of Plautus, see May (39-43). See also Kirichenko (2007: 259-71) on similarities between Apuelius' prologue to the *Metamorphoses,* and the prologues of Plautus.
[279] Kaster (1995: xxvii-xxviii).

Republic adapted to this phenomenon,[280] thus fashioning a new Latin category of work. Suetonius choses a thoroughly Romanocentric view in the introduction of *de Grammaticis et Rhetoribus* and virtually ignores the Greeks,[281] further cementing the idea that grammar and rhetoric as a category of study, separate from oratory, was specifically Roman.

Thus our Antonine authors demonstrate their learnedness through an ongoing Latin tradition in two ways: first they emulate Republican and early Imperial authors in their focus on *Latinitas*, and second that they also mine the works of older Republican authors such as Ennius for archaic words in order to demonstrate their learning. However, it is the select usage of authors who use more obscure language that is important, and attempts to reference these authors without the proper learning to back them up were regularly met with scorn and mockery, as I will introduce here in the case of the grammarians, and further discuss in chapter 4 (pp. 153-7).

Satirisation of Grammarians

Gellius uses Favorinus to satirise the obscure and antiquated language of grammarians in the *NA*. *NA* 8.14 is lost, but the chapter summary Gellius provides suggests that the chapter is similar to *NA* 4.1 in which, through Favorinus, Gellius is satirising grammarians and their discourse as *intempestiuum*: *Lepidissima altercatio Fauorini philosophi aduersus quendam intempestiuum de ambiguitate uerborum disserentem; atque inibi uerba quaedam ex Naeuio poeta et Cn. Gellio non usitate collocata; atque ibidem a P. Nigidio origines uocabulorum exploratae.*[282] In *NA* 1.21, Gellius writes

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[280] Kaster (1995: xxix).
[281] Kaster (1995: xlv).
[282] Gellius, *NA* 8.14: ('A highly entertaining discussion of the philosopher Favorinus with a tiresome person who held forth on the double meaning of certain words; also some unusual expressions from the poet Naevius and from Gnaeus Gellius; and further, some investigations of the derivation of words by Publius Nigidius.').

Hyginus autem, non hercle ignobilis grammaticus.[283] *non hercle* gains an ironic undertone[284] as Gellius mocks Hyginus' occupation as no obscure grammarian, alluding to their obsession with obscurities. In *NA* 1.10, Gellius uses Favorinus to mock a young man's use of archaic language and his idealisation of the past.[285] The use of archaic language conveys morality, but Gellius has to warn against its abuse and exaggeration.[286] He advises that although a student can cite anachronisms of well-known writers with approval, it would be unwise to speak like the ancients themselves,[287] quoting Caesar's *De Analogia*: *ut tamquam scopulum, sic fugias inauditum atque insolens uerbum.*[288] Favorinus uses harsh words towards the young man, saying: *proinde quasi cum matre Euandri nunc loquare.*[289] Through the mouthpiece of Favorinus, Gellius uses the authority of Caesar to enhance his own authority and shut down the debate.[290] It is ironic that the youth's mistake was reading too many books and taking them too much to heart, yet Favorinus/ Caesar's advice is to use the first book of his treatise *De Analogia* to keep antiquities *semper in memoria atque in pectore*:[291] this is just what Gellius wants readers of the *NA* to do with his work. Thus in passages *NA* 8.14, 1.21 and 1.10 Gellius, through Favorinus, is using satire to mock grammarians who are obscure and too concerned with archaic language.

Therefore, whilst Gellius is drawing on the tradition of Caesar, he is also responding to the situation of the Second Sophistic regarding the relatively new

[283] Gellius, *NA* 1.21.2.
[284] Keulen (2009: 78 n.31).
[285] Cf. Heusch (2011: 30).
[286] Cf. Heusch (2011: 265); Holford-Strevens (2003: 357-8).
[287] Gunderson (2009: 176).
[288] Gellius, *NA* 1.10.4.
[289] Gellius, *NA* 1.10.2. This is similar to an insult of Lucian's in his *Demonax,* which draws an interesting parallel as Lucian often used Favorinus in the context of satire as Gellius does here, cf. Holford-Strevens (2003: 100); Lucian, *Demonax* 26.
[290] Gunderson (2009: 95).
[291] Gellius, *NA* 1.10.4, Gunderson (2009: 95).

standing of grammarians. He is using Favorinus to mock the pedant, as was a common literary topos in the Second Sophistic. Much like the stock characters of Roman comedy, the pedant had a clear role in the literary culture of the time. In chapter 4, I will further analyse Gellius' mockery of pedants, and argue that Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto, despite a return to the rules of rhetoric and an archaism that may have surprised Cicero, continue to explore the idea of combining rhetoric with philosophy.

2.6 Conclusion

This discussion of Republican attempts to navigate the relationship between Latin literature and its Greek predecessors and models underlines that Latin authors in the Second Sophistic are in fact carrying on a project already started in the Republic. What I am calling the Latin Second Sophistic is therefore an ongoing movement; furthermore, Antonine authors' engagement with this long and distinctive Roman cultural and literary tradition reveals that their goals were by definition at the very least somewhat different to Greek authors of that period. Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto are using and manipulating this literary tradition for their own purposes in a form of 'self-fashioning', thereby creating a distinct Latin identity for themselves; this stands in contrast to the Greeks who were, as most scholars argue, negotiating their role in their own literary tradition under a newly dominant Roman world. These Latin authors use translation to assimilate Greek ideas into Roman culture, and model their approaches on the practices and example of older Romans, such as Ennius, for correct Latinity. With his criticism of Latin translation, Gellius is demonstrating the need for Latin authors to continuously self-fashion their own literature; by collaborating with other Latin authors of the Second Sophistic, Gellius is affirming his Latinity and distancing himself from Greek literary

movements of his time. In this way he is continuing the tradition of Republican authors who used a hybrid of Greek models whilst drawing on distinctly Italic traditions.

CHAPTER 3: Greek Models, Genre, and Narrative

Having looked at how Gellius and other Latin authors of the Second Sophistic can be seen as part of an ongoing Latin literary tradition, I will now move on to investigate the influence of Greek models on their works, in particular their exploration of genre and narrative. Authors of the Second Sophistic are indebted to earlier Greek models in different ways. Householder's statistics show that Greek writers of the Second Century used a narrow-prescribed canon of Greek authorities when referencing early writers.[292] Our Latin writers make use of several of these authoities. In the first section of this chapter, I investigate how our Latin authors deal with the older Greek figure of Socrates and his representation in Greek literature. I then move on to the more contemporary model of Plutarch, who, as I explained in chapter 1, advanced a variety of concerns about sophists; these criticisms, I argue, made him a good source for Gellius and Apuleius to draw on, since they distinguish themselves from the Greek Second Sophistic. I focus particularly on the theme of curiosity in his Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης, as this is also a main topic of Apuleius' *Metamorphoses* and has links with genre of the miscellany and also with Gellius' programmatic aims to act as a guide in his readers' learning.

I will then move on to look at the genres of the miscellany and the literary dialogue. Despite Gellius' clear use of Plutarch's dialogic scenes in the *Quaestiones Convivales* (or *Table Talk*) as a model, he makes deliberate efforts to transform them

[292] Sandy (1997: 59); see Householder, Fred (1941). *Literary Quotation and Allusion in Lucian.* New York: King's Crown Press.

into a more Latin style of text by making Greek learning more accessible to his Roman readers. For Gellius, Fronto, and Apuleius, it was a delicate balancing act between the overuse of Greek knowledge and ignorance of it. Gellius' *NA* is designed to offer the curious reader a curated selection of passages with the aim of both directing them to the proper objects of curiosity, and to encourage them to then explore independently in a way that is reminiscent of Plutarch's discussion of curiosity in his Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης. Gellius and Apuleius focus their attention on those who have not put enough effort into their studies, and only possess a superficial knowledge of a topic.

I will then examine the dialogic genre in a broader sense as it applies to the creative narrative of our Latin authors. Fronto uses his letters to create an image of himself as a teacher and authority on the Latin language. I will argue that Gellius, through his use of narrative dialogic scenes, is self-fashioning an identity distinct from other writers of the Greek Second Sophistic. This identity is characterised by a focus on contemporary Roman intellectual life, and the creation of two personas: one is Gellius as an elite teacher and guide who is making his *NA* available for readers to learn from; and the second is a separate 'past Gellius' that goes on a journey in his narrative scenes which offers a template for his readers to imitate.

In addition to guiding the reader through their education, Gellius is simultaneously guiding his reader through the Rome of the cultural elite and their travels in Greece. To provide a contrast to this aspect of Gellius' work, I will look at how Greek writers such as Lucian prefer to set their dialogic scenes in fantastic locations in order to pay homage to the long history and mythology of Greece. I will examine how, despite Latin authors' great debt to their Greek models, they are nonetheless deliberately distancing themselves from the Greek Second Sophistic in

some important ways, thus providing further evidence that these Roman authors are doing something original and meaningfully distinct from their Greek contemporaries.

3.1 Greek Models

In this section, I will introduce the ways in which the older Greek figure of Socrates and the more contemporary figure of Plutarch influenced our Latin authors.

Socrates

Apuleius and Gellius share a fascination with the character, appearance, and gestures of Socrates, and they use him as a model for dialogic scenes, as a character in their work, and also in their exposure and satire of false intellectuals.[293] Their versions of Socrates draw from many different sources as they acknowledge the broad intellectual tradition surrounding this philosopher whilst twisting his characterisation to suit their own purposes.

Socrates/ *Socraticus* appear in 17 chapters of the *NA*.[294] Gellius identifies his interlocutors with Socrates and has them use Socratic irony in his dialogic scenes. For example, take Apollinaris in *NA* 18.4:

> Cum iam adulescentuli Romae praetextam et puerilem togam mutassemus, magistrosque tunc nobis nosmet ipsi exploratiores quaereremus, in Sandaliario forte apud librarios fuimus, cum ibi in multorum hominum coetu Apollinaris Sulpicius, uir in memoria nostra praeter alios doctus, iactatorem quempiam et uenditatorem Sallustianae lectionis inrisit inlusitque genere illo facetissimae dissimulationis qua Socrates ad sophistas utebatur.[295]

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[293] I will briefly introduce this last point below. In chapter 4 I will look further at how satirical modes including Socratic irony, Aristophanic comedy, and Menippean satire influenced Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto in their use of self-satire and satirisation of pseudo-philosophers.

[294] Holford-Strevens (2019: 415-16): for reference, other figures appear as follows: Favorinus 33, Plato 30, Aristotle 24, Taurus 15, Plutarch 12, Epicurus 9, Theophrastus 8, Pythagaros/ Pythagoreans 8, Chrysippus 6.

[295] (‘When I was already a young man at Rome, having laid aside the purple-bordered toga of boyhood, and was on my own account seeking masters of deeper knowledge, I happened to be with the booksellers in Shoemaker’s Street at the time when Sulpicius Apollinaris, the most learned man of all within my memory, in the presence of a large gathering made fun of a boastful fellow who was parading his reading of Sallust, and turned him into ridicule with that kind of witty irony which Socrates used against the

[Gellius, *NA* 18.4.1-2.]

Gellius uses Favorinus almost as a personal 'Socrates' and has him use the Socratic manner in a discussion with a grammarian: *Sermo quidam Fauorini philosophi cum grammatico iactantiore factus in Socraticum modum*.[296] The rhetor Julianus covers his head like Socrates in *NA* 19.9: *capite conuelato*.[297] As Holford-Strevens notes, Gellius himself practises *eirôneia* on a grammarian in *NA* 6.17, but does not invoke Socrates.[298] Howley argues that every genre of expert in the *NA* has a 'Socrates moment' but the most visible and explicit is Favorinus, who is based on the literary Socrates as commemorated by Plato and Xenophon.[299] In chapter 4 I will explore further how he uses the method to satirise false intellectuals, and how Apuleius subverts the Aristophanic Socrates in the *Metamorphoses.*

Plutarch

Authors of the Latin Second Sophistic sometimes draw on Plutarch as a model. Both Gellius and Apuleius mention Plutarch at the beginning of their works to demonstrate their intellectual legitimacy. Plutarch is a relation of the narrator in the *Metamorphoses*,[300] and it is even the first word of the *NA* book one.[301] They are both

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sophists.'); Quintilian *Inst. Or.* 9.2.44: Εἰρωνείαν *inveni qui dissimulationem vocaret.* ('I have found authority for calling *eironeia* "Dissimulation".'). See also Howley (2018: 223).

[296] ('A discourse of the philosopher Favorinus carried on in the Socratic manner with an over-boastful grammarian'). I discuss in detail how Gellius has his interlocutors use Socratic irony to mock grammarians in chapter 4. Lucian parodies traditional Socratic dialogue in his works, and they have a comic, irreverent tone. Whilst there are similar trends in both Lucian's work and the works of the Latin authors, I will use Lucian as a foil to show how Gellius distinguishes his Latin writings from those of the Greek Second Sophistic.

[297] Gellius, *NA* 19.9.10; Howley (2018: 241).

[298] Holford-Strevens (2019: 418); Gellius, *NA* 6.17: *Tum uero ego permotus agendum iam oblique ut cum homine stulto existimaui et 'cetera,' inquam, 'uir doctissime, remotiora grauioraque si discere et scire debuero, quando mihi usus uenerit, tum quaeram ex te atque discam…* ('Then indeed I was angry, but thinking that I ought to dissemble, since I was dealing with a fool, I said; "If, most learned sir, I need to learn and to know other things that are more abstruse and more important, when the occasion arises I shall inquire and learn them from you…"').

[299] Howley (2018: 241).

[300] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 1.2: *Thessaliam—nam et illic originis maternae nostrae fundamenta a Plutarcho illo incluto ac mox Sexto philosopho nepote eius prodita gloriam nobis faciunt—eam Thessaliam ex negotio petebam.* ('I was travelling to Thessaly, where the ancestry of my mother's family

influenced by Plutarch in their treatment of the concept of curiosity, a theme that runs throughout both works, and by his *Quaestiones Convivales*, which inspired both Gellius and Apuleius in their use of dramatic settings and character depiction. Gellius furthermore designates Plutarch a Greek intellectual authority: *homo in disciplinis gravi auctoritate* [4.11.11], and is sometimes viewed as a 'Roman Plutarch';[302] for an overview of references to Plutarch in the *NA*, see Delgado (2017).[303] Both are acquainted with Favorinus, and both write miscellanic texts (Gellius' *NA* and Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales*).

Plutarch and Detachment from the Sophists

As mentioned in chapter 1 (pp. 19-20), Plutarch has variously been seen as a partial member of the Second Sophistic, as a fore-runner, or as someone who might have been critical of later developments in the period. Whilst sometimes seen as a fore-runner, Plutarch is nevertheless aware of a movement starting to form, and that some of his contemporaries called themselves 'sophists'.[304] As Schmitz points out, the Second Sophistic played an important role in Plutarch's self-fashioning, and he used the sophists as a counter-image to define his own style of philosophy.[305] Schmitz argues that Plutarch is ideologically detached from the sophists: he prefers the quiet and withdrawn life in the Roman Empire, defined himself as a philosopher as opposed to a sophist, is prejudiced against the greedy, overly clever charlatan sophists, and refers to

brings us fame in the persons of the renowned Plutarch and later his nephew, the philosopher Sextus. Thessaly, I say, is where I was heading on business.')

[301] Gellius, *NA* 1.1.1: *Plutarchus, in libro quem de Herculis quando inter homines fuit animi corporisque ingenio atque uirtutibus conscripsit, scite subtiliterque ratiocinatum Pythagoram philosophum dicit in reperienda modulandaque status longitudinisque eius praestantia.* ('In the treatise which he wrote on the mental and physical endowment and achievements of Hercules whilst he was among men, Plutarch says that the philosopher Pythagoras reasoned sagaciously and acutely in determining and measuring the hero's superiority in size and stature.')

[302] Delgado (2017: 84). See also Stok (1998: 56) and Baldwin (1975: 36).

[303] Delgado (2017: 61-84).

[304] Schmitz (2014: 36). For an overview of how Plutarch understood the term 'sophist' when applied to contemporary intellectuals, see Schmitz (2014: 37-8).

[305] Schmitz (2014: 32, 40-41).

amoral behaviour as sophistic.[306] Schmitz argues that Plutarch defines extreme ambition and competitiveness as the defining traits of sophists, and uses the verb *sophistiaō* as a synonym for quarrelling [*Quaestiones Convivales* 1.3, 613C].[307]

Plutarch was more a part of the Roman world than many Greeks of the period: he dedicated both his *Quaestiones Convivales* and *Parallel Lives* to the Roman senator Sosius Senecio, as well as a treatise *On Progress in Virtue*.[308] Stadter argues that this project continued Plutarch's role as philosophical advisor to his Roman friends, and indeed he had extensive contacts with Romans who were prominent in imperial affairs.[309] Plutarch had a comfortable knowledge of Latin, allowing him to read Latin authors that caught his attention, as well as the historians he cites as sources.[310] In Plutarch's *Lucullus* 39.5, we find one of the very rare citations of Latin poetry in Greek prose. Whereas references to poets of the Hellenic tradition was a sign of *paideia,* references to Latin poets 'violated stylistic propriety as well as Hellenic pride'.[311]

In the following section, I will argue that Gellius and Apuleius are both influenced by Plutarch's περί πολυπραγμοσύνη or *De Curiositate*. By drawing on such a 'Romanised' Greek like Plutarch, as discussed above, and then further adapting his themes to suit their aims as elite Romans, Gellius and Apuleius become even more removed from the Greek Second Sophistic.

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[306] *How To Tell a Flatterer* 65C; *Stoic Self-Contradictions* 1047F; *On Listening to Lectures* 46E; *Sertorius* 10.4; *Alexander* 62.7; Schmitz (2014: 32-41): Plutarch frequently contrasts sophists and philosophers, and the opposition 'sophistic – philosophic' (inherited from Plato and the Academic tradition) occurs several times in his work (e.g. *On Moral Virtue* 449A; *On Listening to Lectures* 48D).
[307] Schmitz (2014: 39).
[308] Stadter (2015: 17).
[309] Stadter (2015: 121-2). See the prosopographical chart in chapter 1 (p. 15).
[310] Stadter (2015: 145). Stadter (133) also notes that whilst recent scholars see little reason for Plutarch to have read Latin, i.e. Setaioli (2007); Strobach (1997); De Rosalia (1991); Dubuisson (1979), 'the general lack of citations of non-historical Latin literature cannot be taken as an indication that Plutarch or other Greeks could not or did not read Latin literature for curiosity, education, or enjoyment'. See also Gellius, *NA* 19.9.7.
[311] Stadter (2015: 140); Plutarch *Luc*. 39.5, Horace *Epist*. I.6.45.

Curiosity and Plutarch's Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης

In Leigh's monograph on ancient concepts of curious behaviour, he examines both the Greek *polypragmosyne* and *periergia*, and the Latin *curiosus* and *curiositas*, and treats them as operating within a single intellectual tradition. Leigh argues that from the Hellenistic period, *polypragmosyne* (and synonyms) begin to be associated with the world of knowledge, and innocent, often commendable forms of investigation, and that the Latin *curiosus* reflects this meaning from Cicero onwards. This change underpins Plutarch's advice on redirecting curiosity, as I will now discuss.[312]

Plutarch's Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης is an essay describing the concept of curiosity as the desire for meddling in the business of others. Plutarch is critical of this practice and argues that it is better to harness curiosity in less malicious and petty ways. The Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης starts by condemning the idea of a certain kind of curiosity: Οἷον εὐθὺς ἡ πολυπραγμοσύνη φιλομάθειά τίς ἐστιν ἀλλοτρίων κακῶν, οὔτε φθόνου δοκοῦσα καθαρεύειν νόσος οὔτε κακοηθείας·[313] Whilst little research has been done on Gellius' response to Plutarch's Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης, this is not the case for Apuleius. His *Metamorphoses* is a key text for the ancient understanding of curiosity, and offers a more sophisticated handling of the topic than the Greek treatment.[314] Lucius shows great curiosity throughout the novel, from his first interest in what the two travellers had seen, to the increasingly shocking things he witnesses on his journey. These involve spying [3.19-23], dreams [4.26-7], and cautionary inset tales warning

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[312] Leigh (2013: 196-7); however, *curiosus* can also simply mean 'careful' or 'precise', (54); TLL 1492-4.

[313] Plutarch, Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης 515D: ('Such a malady of the mind, to take the first instance, is curiosity, which is a desire to learn the troubles of others, a disease which is thought to be free from neither envy nor malice.').

[314] 'The narrators of both the *Onos* and the *Metamorphoses* represent themselves as first falling into danger through curiosity, then finally learning the lesson of their experiences. Yet Apuleius develops this outer structure to truly striking effect; categories are first separated, then conflated; and what appears to be the acquisition of wisdom is made to appear little more than the transference of an uncured psychological drive'. For further detail see Leigh (2013: 137ff.). See chapter 2 (pp. 53-9) for a discussion comparing Lucian's *Onos* with Apuleius' *Metamorphoses*.

against the dangers of curiosity (Cupid and Psyche books 4-6). Lucius' curiosity is mirrored by that of the audience. In the prologue the reader is promised that they will be amazed by the tale and is directly asked to find delight: *lector intende; laetaberis.*[315] The reader's curiosity is built up with Lucius' viewing of hidden lives, and when the reader expects to witness the final shocking performance of Lucius the ass copulating with the convict on stage, the reader's expectations are subverted. Instead, Lucius takes off to Cenchreae where he has a vision of Isis, and he is ultimately cured from his curiosity, unlike the reader.[316]Kirichenko points out that the reader's progression from inquisitiveness to a grave religious crime corresponds exactly to Plutarch's portrayal of how the affliction of the πολυπράγμων deteriorates. Plutarch stresses that if curiosity about forbidden things is not curbed, a criminal and even sacrilegious urge develops.[317] Yet Lucius' curiosity for things which do not concern him is cured, and the reader has learned of the dangers and unfulfilling nature of that sort of curiosity.

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[315] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 1.1.

[316] Lucius first apologises that he is unable to let the reader know what happened in the sanctuary, then appears to relent and gives a ludicrously vague account before deciding that he will only let the reader know certain information going forward. Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 23: *Quaeras forsitan satis anxie, studiose lector, quid deinde dictum, quid factum. Dicerem si dicere liceret, cognosceres si liceret audire. Sed parem noxam contraherent et aures et lingua, ista impiae loquacitatis, illae temerariae curiositatis. Nec te tamen desiderio forsitan religioso suspensum angore diutino cruciabo. Igitur audi, sed crede, quae vera sunt. Accessi confinium mortis et, calcato Proserpinae limine, per omnia vectus elementa remeavi; nocte media vidi solem candido coruscantem lumine; deos inferos et deos superos accessi coram et adoravi de proximo. Ecce tibi rettuli quae, quamvis audita, ignores tamen necesse est. Ergo quod solum potest sine piaculo ad profanorum intelligentias enuntiari referam.* ('Perhaps, my zealous reader, you are eager to learn what was said and done next. I would tell if it were permitted to tell; you would learn if it were permitted to hear. But both ears and tongue would incur equal guilt, the latter from its unholy talkativeness, the former from their unbridled curiosity. Since your suspense, however, is perhaps a matter of religious longing, I will not continue to torture you and keep you in anguish. Therefore listen, but believe: these things are true. I came to the boundary of death and, having trodden the threshold of Proserpina, I travelled through all the elements and returned. In the middle of the night I saw the sun flashing with bright light. I came face to face with the gods below and the gods above and paid reverence to them from close at hand. Behold, I have told you things which perforce you may not know, although you have heard them. Therefore I shall relate only what can be expounded to the minds of the uninitiated without atonement.'); Apuleius subverts the reader's expectations in his 'translation' of the lost Greek source for a Latin audience.

[317] Kirichenko (2008: 365-6); He also mentions spying on secret cults (*Mor.* 522E), which happens often throughout Apuleius' novel.

Whilst Apuleius' use of the dangers of curiosity has been well researched by scholars, there has been less attention given to its association with the world of knowledge, and innocent, often commendable forms of investigation. Howley suggests that Gellius has developed a concept of *inlecebra* as a counterpart to πολυπραγμοσύνη,[318] but Setaioli finds this unlikely as Plutarch's conception of πολυπραγμοσύνη is 'clearly depicted as negative'.[319] However, Plutarch goes on to explain that each πολυπράγμων could use their own curiosity wisely: Plutarch advises first that curiosity should be directed inwards, rather than outwards (515D), and then recommends directing it to nature (517C-E). He suggests that if one is not interested in these subjects because they lack evil, one could turn to history where many bad things are described. However, this would not satisfy the curiosity that longs for κακοῖς… προσφάτοις (517E-518A). Gellius provides his reader with the skills and material to harness their curiosity in beneficial ways, as suggested by Plutarch, saying in his prologue that he is leading his readers to the study of useful arts, *utiliumque artium contemplationem*.[320]

Plutarch argues that curiosity is a passion for discovering that which is hidden and concealed: Ἔστι γὰρ ἡ πολυπραγμοσύνη φιλοπευστία τῶν ἐν ἀποκρύψει καὶ λανθανόντων·[321] He states that those who are curious in this way delight in revealing secrets to others, so people avoid them, resulting in the nosy person being foiled by their own vice (518C-519F). Gellius shows his distaste for the brazen, boastful nature of those who are nosy about topics that they have not properly researched and understood, by exposing them as frauds. Thus just as the πολυπράγμων is foiled by their own vice,

[318] See Howley (2018: 28-36) for a detailed explanation of this concept.
[319] Setaioli (2020: 251).
[320] Gellius, *NA praef.* 12.
[321] Plutarch, Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης 518C.

so is the nosy grammarian [e.g. 1.2, 4.1, 13.31].[322] To sum up, Gellius draws on Plutarch's discussion of curiosity in his *NA*, which is designed to offer the curious reader a curated selection of passages with the aim of both directing them to the proper objects of curiosity, and encouraging them to then explore independently, as I will now discuss.

3.2 Genre and Narrative

Miscellanies

Miscellanies were well suited to the literary landscape of the Second Sophistic, and were central to Roman Imperial culture. Morgan points out that the Roman social and economic elite had an 'education which drew on the technical expertise of elite grammarians, rhetoricians, astronomers, theoretical musicians, philosophers, and lawyers'.[323] They drew not only on the content of their work, but also on 'their styles of analysis and expression'. She argues that 'collecting, sorting, breaking down, recombining, analysis of the subject—these are all characteristic processes in the creation of many types of imperial miscellany'.[324] Indeed the process of ordering and synthesising knowledge was a preoccupation of Latin authors of the Second Sophistic.[325] Classicists have often used the word miscellany in a narrow sense of 'a collection of often fragmentary material borrowed from other sources, and more or less reworked to a new purpose',[326] and as we saw in chapter 2, this is in keeping with the Latin literary tradition. Miscellanies were also popular in the renaissance, which

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[322] I will discuss the exposure of pseudo-philosophers further in chapter 4.
[323] Morgan (2011: 58).
[324] Morgan (2011: 58-60).
[325] See König, Jason and Whitmarsh, Tim (Eds.) (2007). *Ordering Knowledge in the Roman Empire.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Butterfield, David (Ed.) (2015). *Varro Varius: The Polymath of the Roman World.* Cambridge: Cambridge Philological Society.
[326] Morgan (2011: 61).

likewise engaged deeply with past traditions.[327] It is difficult to characterise the generic features of miscellanies precisely due to their diverse nature, but it can be reasonably said that they are characterised by 'thematic variety and loose organisation'.[328] Gellius refers to his text as *commentarii* and *commentationes,* and notes that the arrangement is '*indigeste et incondite*'.[329] Gellius refers to miscellaneous texts in his preface as he sets out the aims of his *NA*:

> Nam quia uariam et miscellam et quasi confusaneam doctrinam conquisiuerant, eo titulos quoque ad eam sententiam exquisitissimos indiderunt… Sed ne consilium quidem in excerpendis notandisque rebus idem mihi quod plerisque illis fuit. Namque illi omnes et eorum maxime Graeci, multa et uaria lectitantes, in quas res cumque inciderant alba ut dicitur linea sine cura discriminis solam copiam sectati conuerrebant, quibus in legendis ante animus senio ac taedio languebit quam unum alterumue reppererit quod sit aut uoluptati legere aut cultui legisse aut usui meminisse. Ego uero, cum illud Heracliti Ephesii, uiri summe nobilis, uerbum cordi haberem, quod profecto ita est, πολυμαθίη νόον οὐ διδάσκει, [330] ipse quidem uoluendis transeundisque multis admodum uoluminibus per omnia semper negotiorum interualla in quibus furari otium potui exercitus defessusque sum, sed modica ex his eaque sola accepi quae aut ingenia prompta expeditaque ad honestae eruditionis cupidinem utiliumque artium contemplationem celeri facilique compendio ducerent, aut homines aliis iam uitae negotiis occupatos a turpi certe agrestique rerum atque uerborum imperitia uindicarent.[331]

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[327] See also König, Jason and Woolf, Greg (Eds.) (2013). *Encyclopaedism from Antiquity to the Renaissance.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

[328] Oikonomopoulou (2017: 448). See also 447-462 for an analysis of the genre of the miscellany in the Second Sophistic. See Vardi (2004: 159-186) for a discussion of Gellius' use of the genre. See Morgan (2011: 50-3) for an attempt to define the classical and modern definitions of the miscellany. Morgan, Teresa (2011). The Miscellany and Plutarch. In Klotz, Frieda and Oikonomopoulou, Katerina (Eds.), *The Philosopher's Banquet: Plutarch's 'Table Talk' in the Intellectual Culture of the Roman Empire* (49-73). Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

[329] Gellius, *NA praef.* 3. Juvenal refers to his Satires as *farrago* [1.86] or 'mixed mash'. Fitzgerald (2016: 84-100) argues that *varietas* plays a significant strategic role in the letters of Pliny the Younger. This is particularly evident in the way that he, aware of the fact that he is not an expert in any one area, explores a variety of topics.

[330] Heraclitus, Frag. 40 Diels. As I discuss below, Heraclitus is attacking polymaths in this and in other fragments.

[331] ('For since they had laboriously gathered varied, manifold, and as it were indiscriminate learning, they therefore invented ingenious titles also, to correspond with that idea… neither had I in making my excerpts and notes the same purpose as many of those whom I have mentioned. For all of them, and in particular the Greeks, after wide and varied reading, with a white line, as the saying goes, that is with no effort to discriminate, swept together whatever they had found, aiming at mere quantity. The perusal of

[Gellius, *NA praef.* 5, 11-12.]

In the passage, Gellius quotes Heraclitus' saying: πολυμαθίη νόον οὐ διδάσκει. In doing this, he is distancing himself from the type of polymath that Heraclitus attacks. Authors of miscellaneous texts are keen to reject the sort of polymathy that involves the 'sterile reproduction of knowledge in order simply to make an impression'.[332] Rather, Gellius criticises miscellanies and their indiscriminate way of collecting information, making the distinction between *Nam quia uariam et miscellam et quasi confusaneam doctrinam*,[333] and *quae aut ingenia prompta expeditaque ad honestae eruditionis cupidinem utiliumque artium contemplationem celeri facilique compendio ducerent, aut homines aliis iam uitae negotiis occupatos a turpi certe agrestique rerum atque uerborum imperitia uindicarent.*[334]

This way of thinking is very similar to Plutarch's discussion of curiosity in his Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης. Towards the end of the essay, he discusses the fact that the πολυπράγμων misses out on things that are beautiful and entertaining by focussing on trifles. And that instead of collecting the worst of life, they should focus on the best (519F-520D). The key to breaking the obsession is self-control: when one feels the need to pry into an unimportant matter, one must stop and focus the mind on more important things of value so as not to waste the curiosity of learning (520D-521A). *NA* 11.16 is

such collections will exhaust the mind through weariness or disgust, before it finds one or two notes which it is a pleasure to read, or inspiring to have read, or helpful to remember. I myself, on the contrary, having at heart that well-known saying of the famous Ephesian, "Much learning does not make a scholar," did, it is true, busy and even weary myself in unrolling and running through many a scroll, working without cessation in all the intervals of business whenever I could steal the leisure; but I took few items from them, confining myself to those which, by furnishing a quick and easy short-cut, might lead active and alert minds to a desire for independent learning and to the study of the useful arts, or would save those who are already fully occupied with the other duties of life from an ignorance of words and things which is assuredly shameful and boorish.')

[332] Oikonomopoulou (2017: 453).

[333] Gellius, *NA praef.* 5.

[334] Gellius, *NA praef.* 12. Yet despite this, Gellius himself is at risk of being seen as one of those he criticises, for example as he tells of the marvels he found within books purchased in Brundisium (9.4), or retells the miraculous story of Arion (16.19).

the first chapter in Gellius' work where Plutarch is quoted directly. Gellius questions whether the πολυπραγμοσύνης in the title of Plutarch's essay is a vice or a virtue through a dialogue with an interlocutor, *qui et litterarum et uocum Graecarum expers fuit.* They debate the meaning of πολυπραγμοσύνη and the correct way to render it in Latin. Gellius considers many possible translations before concluding: *'Ad multas' igitur 'res adgressio earumque omnium rerum actio* πολυπραγμοσύνη*' inquam 'Graece dicitur, de qua hunc librum conpositum esse inscriptio ista indicat.'* [335] Whilst ostensibly referring to the book of Plutarch's, the description is also true of the *NA* and the variety of topics it contains. When his interlocutor assumes that this is a virtue praised by Plutarch in the book, Gellius replies that it is in fact the opposite:

> 'Minime' inquam 'uero; neque enim ista omnino uirtus est, cuius Graeco nomine argumentum hoc libri demonstratur, neque id quod tu opinare aut ego me dicere sentio aut Plutarchus facit. Deterret enim nos hoc quidem in libro quam potest maxime, a uaria promiscaque et non necessaria rerum cuiusquemodi plurimarum et cogitatione et petitione.[336]
>
> [Gellius, *NA* 11.16.7-8.]

Rather than focussing on the evils of prying, Gellius emphasises the indiscriminate pursuit of too many things. In the *Metamorphoses* Lucius (and Apuleius) share an interest in miscellaneous learning.[337] Keulen argues that Lucius' characterisation 'as a writer of a miscellaneous book full of marvels, who has learnt many things but not

[335] Gellius, *NA* 11.16.6-7: ('"Well then," said I, "undertaking many things and busying oneself with them all is called in Greek πολυπραγμοσύνη, and the title shows that this is the subject of our book."').

[336] ('"Not at all," said I; "for that is by no means a virtue which, expressed by a Greek term, serves to indicate the subject of this book; and neither does Plutarch do what you suppose, nor do I intend to say that he did. For, as a matter of fact, it is in this book that he tries to dissuade us, so far as he can, from the haphazard, promiscuous, and unnecessary planning and pursuit of such a multitude of things.')

[337] Keulen (2004a: 237): Apuleius not only 'manifests himself as a polymath' throughout his Florida and Apology, but he also wrote a miscellany entitled *Quaestiones Conuiuales*.

acquired much wisdom' comes close to Gellius' portrayals of Apion and Pliny the Elder,[338] figures to whom I now turn.

Types of Knowledge

Although Gellius quotes and uses both Apion and Pliny the Elder as sources of information, it is clear he considers them as sophistic or otherwise unsophisticated purveyors of marvels, wishing to impress their audience with their 'miscellaneous collections of trivia'.[339] Throughout the *NA*, Gellius is disgusted (*quia pertaesum est*) by rival miscellanies and works full of *mirabilia*; it is no surprise, then, that he views Pliny's *Naturalis Historia* as full of *multaque uana atque intoleranda.*[340] Gellius goes further in his criticism of Apion, whom he views as too wordy and full of himself:

> Apion, qui Plistonices appellatus est, litteris homo multis praeditus rerumque Graecarum plurima atque uaria scientia fuit. Eius libri non incelebres feruntur, quibus omnium ferme quae mirifica in Aegypto uisuntur audiunturque historia comprehenditur. Sed in his quae uel audisse uel legisse sese dicit fortassean uitio studioque ostentationis sit loquacior, est enim sanequam in praedicandis doctrinis sui uenditator; hoc autem, quod in libro Aegyptiacorum quinto scripsit, neque audisse neque legisse, sed ipsum sese in urbe Roma uidisse oculis suis confirmat.[341]
>
> [Gellius, *NA* 5.14.1-4.]

Gellius first points out that Apion's knowledge of all things Greek is *plurima atque uaria*, and then criticises his self-display. By juxtaposing the two, Gellius is showing his

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[338] Keulen (2004a: 238).
[339] Keulen (2004a: 239).
[340] Gellius, *NA* 10.12.1. His repeated warnings about the marvellous indicate that he is conscious of his own unhealthy interest, cf. Holford-Strevens (2003: 41), and by associating Favorinus with writers of marvels like Pliny, he uses the character of Favorinus to distance himself from the 'weirdness' of marvellous tales. In *NA* 13.25.4-5 Gellius associates Favorinus' memory with the marvellous: *egregia vel divina quadam memoria,* suggesting that he is not to be taken seriously. Thus Gellius goes to some lengths to assure his reader that his work is a serious endeavour. See Keulen (2009: 202 n.28) for a discussion of how Gellius associates 'uncanny knowledge' with writers like Pliny.
[341] ('Apion, who was called Plistonices, was a man widely versed in letters, and possessing an extensive and varied knowledge of things Greek. In his works, which are recognised as of no little repute, is contained an account of almost all the remarkable things which are to be seen and heard in Egypt. Now, in his account of what he professes either to have heard or read he is perhaps too verbose through a reprehensible love of display—for he is a great self-advertiser in parading his learning; but this incident, which he describes in the fifth book of his Wonders of Egypt, he declares that he neither heard nor read, but saw himself with his own eyes in the city of Rome.')

distaste for sophistic Greek culture and a poor grasp on the the importance of proper curiosity. The social acceptability of a particular body of knowledge was linked to its cultural affiliations, and some forms of Greek knowledge were viewed with suspicion. For Latin authors it was a delicate balancing act between 'excessive devotion to Greek knowledge and ignorance of it'.[342] This is a challenge that our Latin authors in the period of the Second Sophistic grapple with in their writings, as I now show in a discussion of Fronto and Apuleius.

Latin authors had to be mindful of the contexts in which they used Greek: Fronto in his *Correspondence* uses code-switching from Latin to Greek when discussing certain 'Greek' topics such as philosophy, love and agonistic contexts.[343] Elder and Mullen argue that the decision to write in Greek offered Fronto an indirect method of criticising or deflecting criticism, and for 'playing power games'.[344] For example, Fronto's choice to write his imitative Platonic Ἐρωτικὸς λόγος to Marcus in Greek rather than Latin lends a distancing effect.[345]

As I discussed in chapter 1 (pp. 8-9), Riess (2008) asks how Apuleius fits into the larger framework of this period by the way he conveys the Greek concept of *paideia* (as expressed in the *Metamorphoses* and *Apologia*) to a Latin audience.[346] In Apuleius'

[342] König and Whitmarsh (2007: 23-4).
[343] Mullen (2015: 225). Mullen (2015: 219): 'Marcus [Aurelius] appears as Fronto's most regular correspondent; over 170 of the 232 extant letters are a result of this epistolary relationship… Most of the letters are in Latin, but seven are entirely in Greek… Four of these are written to Greeks… Marcus' mother, Domitia Lucilla, is the recipient of two Greek Letters… The only other extant letter in Greek is written by Fronto to Marcus on love, a topic with important Greek cultural and literary associations.' For an exploration of how linguistic power was deployed by the bilingual elite, and a systematic analysis of Greek code-switches in the letters of Fronto (among others), see Elder, Olivia and Mullen, Alex (2019). *The Language of Roman Letters: Bilingual Epistolography from Cicero to Fronto.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Mullen, Alex (2015). In Both our Languages: Greek–Latin Code-Switching in Roman Literature. *Language and Literature*, *24*(3), 213–232.
[344] Elder and Mullen (2019: 192); Swain (2004: 20-6).
[345] Elder and Mullen (2019: 207).
[346] Riess (2008: xiii).

Apologia, he has to ensure that his sophistic display speech is not too Greek. Just before he begins to deal with the actual charge of magic, he anticipates the prosecution's objections:

> Nonne vos puditum est haec crimina tali viro audiente tam adseverate obiectare, frivola et inter se repugnantia simul promere et utraque tamen reprehendere? At non contraria accusastis? Peram et baculum ob austeritatem, carmina et speculum ob hilaritatem, unum servum ut deparci, tris libertos ut profusi, praeterea eloquentiam Graecam, patriam barbaram? Quin igitur tandem expergiscimini ac vos cogitatis apud Claudium Maximum dicere, apud virum severum et totius provinciae negotiis occupatum? Quin, inquam, vana haec convicia aufertis? Quin ostenditis quod insimulavistis: scelera immania et inconcessa maleficia et artis nefandas? Cur vestra oratio rebus flaccet, strepitu viget?[347]
>
> [Apuleius, *Apologia* 25.1-4.]

In the centre[348] of the objections is *eloquentiam Graecam.* This is the claim that Apuleius most wants to address as he sets out to prove that he is not a magic using Greek barbarian, but instead a Roman orator. That is not to say that Apuleius entirely shuns the Greek sophistic, yet it is clear that Apuleius was aiming to display his Romanness, rather than his Greekness. For example, later in the speech he explains how he has translated some Greek scientific texts for the first time into Latin, and is keen to emphasise that they are truly Roman, despite their strangeness and Greek influence: *et*

[347] ('Were you not ashamed to hurl these charges so insistently in the hearing of such a man, to make two frivolous and mutually incompatible charges simultaneously and yet to find fault on both grounds? For were your accusations not contradictory? A bag and a stick to portray me as a puritan, poems and a mirror as a dandy, one slave as a miser, three freedmen as a spendthrift, and after that eloquence in speaking Greek and a barbarous origin? Won't you come to your senses at last, and remember that you are speaking before Claudius Maximus, an upright man busy with the affairs of the entire province? I repeat, won't you drop this empty abuse? Won't you prove your allegations—monstrous crimes, forbidden magic, the black arts? Why is your speech so weak on facts and so strong on noise?')

[348] Exactly 46 words come before and after *eloquentiam Graecam*. Whilst the speech was supposedly written in haste, it is possible that Apuleius revised it for publication, thus suggesting that the placement of *eloquentiam Graecam* is deliberate. See Bradley (2012: 213-14) for a detailed outline of various scholars' differing views on whether the extant version was revised.

in hodiernum quod sciam infecta, ea tamen nomina labore meo et studio ita de Graecis provenire, ut tamen Latina moneta percussa sint.[349]

Dialogues

In this section I will look at dialogic scenes in the sense of the genre of literary dialogue. Despite Gellius' clear use of Plutarch's dialogic scenes in the *Quaestiones Convivales* as a model, he makes deliberate efforts to transform them into a more Latin style of text by making Greek learning more accessible to his Roman readers. In addition, Gellius and other Latin authors exhibit distaste for the showy, competitive and quarrelling nature of the Second Sophistic. The term διάλογος was first used in the fourth century BCE by Plato,[350] and was associated in his works with a certain type of conversation involving two or more interlocutors inquiring about an issue via a question-and-answer format.[351] Jażdżewska argues that in the Hellenistic period, the term was used for the genre of literary dialogue: 'prose works representing conversations between two or more characters' and this meaning continued in the Second Sophistic. Occasionally the term can refer to a broader sense of dialogic exchange or a real-life conversation.[352] There was innovation of the genre of dialogue in the Imperial period, and we see this in the works of our Latin authors. The *NA* is a distinctly Latin text, which, however, also engages with contemporary and near contemporary Greek works of the era, such as

[349] Apuleius, *Apologia* 38.5-6: ('However, thanks to my effort and research, those words, though of Greek origin, nonetheless have the stamp of Latin.').
[350] Jażdżewska (2014: 19): 'The noun makes no appearance in extant literature of the fifth century at all. It is also curiously rare in the fourth century.The first extant author who uses the noun is Plato, yet it is by no means frequent in his dialogues'.
[351] Jażdżewska (2014: 34); Redfield (2017: 129). See Jażdżewska (2014: 17-36) for an account of the detailed use of the term from Plato to the Second Century CE.
[352] Jażdżewska (2014: 34-5).

those by Plutarch, Lucian, and Epictetus. Gellius drew particularly on Plato and Cicero as models for his dialogic scenes.[353]

Plutarch's Quaestiones Convivales

Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales* inspired both Gellius and Apuleius in their use of dramatic settings and character depiction.[354] Dialogue scenes of vivid intellectual exchange in which an imposter figure is exposed as a fraud is one distinctive characteristic particularly relevant to our Latin authors. There is, however, a broader issue worth emphasising: more than just a literary genre given authority from its use by Plutarch, the *Quaestiones Convivales* offers vivid portraits of the lived intellectual world of Gellius, Fronto, and Apuleius - the *Quaestiones Convivales* enacts the sorts of debates our authors took part in, and in turn depicted in their own works.[355] There are many similarities between the *NA* and the *Quaestiones Convivales* in terms of their dialogic structure. Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales* is designed to be conversations at the Greek symposium, and Gellius' dialogic scenes often feature a dinner table discussion. Both authors use dialogic scene setting and a guiding narrative voice,[356] and are characters in their works as well as narrators.[357] These characters do not age in a linear fashion, but appear seemingly randomly at different stages in the authors' lives. In the *Quaestiones Convivales,* Plutarch appears as variously a student and a middle-aged figure of authority, and interacts with friends and colleagues in cities throughout

[353] Howley (2018: 207-212).
[354] See Beall (1999: 58-9).
[355] Keulen is not sure whether Apuleius is included with Fronto and Gellius (2005: 226); see also Champlin (1980: 48–9). Many dialogues in both works feature the exposure of imposter figures, which I discuss further in chapter 4. For a discussion of continuity between Pliny, Plutarch, and Gellius, see König, Jason (2019). Representations of Intellectual Community in Plutarch, Pliny the Younger and Aulus Gellius. *Archimède. Archéologie et Histoire Ancienne*, *Special Issue 1*, 54-67.
[356] König (2011: 179-80).
[357] Klotz (2014: 208-10); König (2011: 179-203).

Greece and Rome.[358] In the *NA*, Gellius appears both as an elite teacher and guide, and as a student on his travels around Greece and Italy, as I shall discuss further below.[359]

Quarrelling Sophists

Despite Plutarch's aversion to the quarrelling sophists, he self-consciously sought to explore less idealised aspects of symposiastic activity by including disruptive elements in his *Quaestiones Convivales*, for example, rivalry, discord, and lack of self-control.[360] In contrast, the works of Gellius and other Latin authors are disdainful of the ostentatious and quarrelsome nature of the Second Sophistic. Apuleius speaks favourably of the gymnosophists of India,[361] especially their learning. He praises their ability to end quarrels and forge friendships: *Hic alius se commemorat inter duos arbitrum delectum, sanata simultate, reconciliata gratia, purgata suspicione amicos ex*

[358] König (2011: 179-80).

[359] For an analysis of this phenomenon in Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales,* see Klotz, Frieda (2011). Imagining the Past: Plutarch's Play with Time. In Klotz, Frieda and Oikonomopoulou, Katerina (Eds.), *The Philosopher's Banquet: Plutarch's 'Table Talk' in the Intellectual Culture of the Roman Empire* (161-178). Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

[360] Klotz and Oikonomopoulou (2011: 14); Plutarch, *Quaestiones Convivales* 7.5.1 (704C): Ἐν Πυθίοις Καλλίστρατος, τῶν Ἀμφικτυόνων ἐπιμελητής, αὐλῳδόν τινα πολίτην καὶ φίλον ὑστερήσαντα τῆς ἀπογραφῆς τοῦ μὲν ἀγῶνος εἶρξε κατὰ τὸν νόμον, ἑστιῶν δ᾽ ἡμᾶς παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον ἐσθῆτι καὶ στεφάνοις, ὥσπερ ἐν ἀγῶνι, μετὰ τοῦ χοροῦ κεκοσμημένον ἐκπρεπῶς. καὶ νὴ Δία κομψὸν ἦν ἀκρόαμα τὸ πρῶτον· ἔπειτα διασείσας καὶ διακωδωνίσας τὸ συμπόσιον, ὡς ᾐσθάνετο τοὺς πολλοὺς ἐγκεκλικότας καὶ παρέχοντας ὑφ᾽ ἡδονῆς ὅ τι βούλοιτο χρῆσθαι καὶ καταυλεῖν καὶ ἀκολασταίνειν, ἀποκαλυψάμενος παντάπασιν ἐπεδείξατο τὴν μουσικὴν παντὸς οἴνου μᾶλλον μεθύσκουσαν τοὺς ὅπως ἔτυχεν καὶ ἀνέδην αὐτῆς ἐμφορουμένους· οὐδὲ γὰρ κατακειμένοις ἔτι βοᾶν ἐξήρκει καὶ κροτεῖν, ἀλλὰ τελευτῶντες ἀνεπήδων οἱ πολλοὶ καὶ συνεκινοῦντο κινήσεις ἀνελευθέρους, πρεπούσας δὲ τοῖς κρούμασιν ἐκείνοις καὶ τοῖς μέλεσιν. ('At the time of the Pythian Games, Callistratus, who was a director of the Amphictyons, had, in accordance with the rule, disqualified for late registration a certain flute-player who was a fellow citizen and friend of his. But when he gave a dinner for us, he brought the man before the party, with his dancing-group, splendidly arrayed as for a contest, in costume and garlands. And for a fact it was a fine performance to hear—at first. But then, shaking the hall and filling it with resounding noise, when he perceived that most of the auditors were so overwhelmed as to allow him, under the spell of pleasure, to do with them what he pleased and hypnotise them with his piping or even with licentious movements, he cast off all disguise and showed that music can inebriate, more effectively than any wine, those who drink it in as it comes, with no restraint. For the guests were no longer content to shout and clap from their places, but finally most of them leapt up and joined in the dancing, with movements disgraceful for a gentleman, though quite in keeping with that kind of rhythm and melody.'). Cf. *Quaestiones Convivales* 1.2, 2.2, 6.7.

[361] The term 'gymnosophist' refers to an idealised form of a wise man, not the more technical idea of a sophist, of which they resembled very little.

infensis reddidisse.[362] Apuleius also contrasts the sophistic quarrels of the Greek Protagoras and his pupil Euathlus with the Roman Sabidius Severus and Julius Persius:

> Nonne vobis videntur haec sophistarum argumenta obversa invicem vice spinarum, quas ventus convolverit, inter se cohaerere, paribus utrimque aculeis, simili penetratione, mutuo vulnere?... in quo sermocinabuntur Sabidius Severus et Iulius Persius, viri et inter se mutuo et vobis [et] utilitatibus publicis merito amicissimi, doctrina et eloquentia et benivolentia paribus, incertum modestia quietiores an industria promptiores an honoribus clariores. Quibus cum sit summa concordia, tamen haec sola aemulatio et in hoc unum certamen est, uter eorum magis Carthaginem diligat, atque summis medullitus viribus contendunt ambo, vincitur neuter.[363]
>
> [Apuleius, *Florida* 18.28, 39-41.]

The two pairs are clearly meant to be contrasted against one another, with the quarrelling Greek sophists shown up against the two Romans who are able to have a friendly discussion despite differing views. Apuleius states that he is not quarrelsome: *praeter quod non sum iurgiosus*,[364] and associates quarrelling with Sophists such as Hippias. He claims to only desire true friendship and disparages sophists who pretend to seek friendship whilst intending something else [*Florida* 17]. Favorinus on the other hand famously quarrelled with Polemo, which led Philostratus to remark that quarrelling with a sophist is enough to classify him as one - perhaps a partial jest, but nevertheless a revealing one.[365] This quarrelling is in effect a sort of celebrity

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[362] Apuleius, *Florida* 6.11: ('At this, one reports that he was chosen to arbitrate between two people, and has turned enemies into friends by patching up their quarrel, restoring their goodwill, and allaying their suspicions.').

[363] ('Don't you think that these arguments between two sophists are like tumbleweeds rolled together by the wind? They cling to each other, both of them equally prickly, similarly piercing, mutually wounding?... The speakers will be Sabidius Severus and Julius Perseus, men who are the closest of friends to each other and to you too, as well they should be for their public services. They are matched in learning, eloquence and benevolence, and it is an open question whether they are more unobtrusively modest, energetically zealous, or conspicuously distinguished. Though on the best of terms, still they have just one source of rivalry and compete only on one point—which of them loves Carthage the more; both contend with every ounce of their strength and neither loses.')

[364] Apuleius, *Apologia* 16.9.

[365] Philostratus *Vit. Soph.* 491: τοῖς μὲν οὖν σοφιστὴν τὸν Φαβωρῖνον καλοῦσιν ἀπέχρη ἐς ἀπόδειξιν καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ διενεχθῆναι αὐτὸν σοφιστῇ, τὸ γὰρ φιλότιμον, οὗ ἐμνήσθην, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀντιτέχνους φοιτᾷ. ('And so when people called Favorinus a sophist, the mere fact that he had quarrelled with a sophist was

showmanship game, in which the participants 'feud' with each other, to their mutual benefit, as it draws interest and creates 'news'. Eshleman argues that public compliments and insults provided 'a crucial medium for self-fashioning' with regards to a sophist's public personality, their alliances and communities. Their personal conflicts were not only integral to the internal relation of their own sophistic circles, but could also mirror inter-city rivalries and had real consequences.[366] Our Latin authors portray quarrels between Greek intellectuals and between Roman and Greek intellectuals, but rarely between two Roman intellectuals. I have suggested in chapter 2 (pp. 53-4) that Gellius and Fronto may have been trying to out shine one another in their attempts at translating from the Greek, however this is more in a sense of amicable competition as opposed to the typical sophistic performace displayed by Favorinus and Polemo.[367] In a section below I will discuss how, whilst sophists thrived in Athens when able to improvise on the spot, especially when participating in these sorts of rivalries, the same behaviour can be viewed as showy and without substance in Imperial Rome.

As I have shown above (pp. 83-6), Gellius' *NA* is designed to offer the curious reader a curated selection of passages with the aim of both directing them to the proper objects of curiosity, and encouraging them to then explore independently in a way that is reminiscent of Plutarch's discussion of curiosity in his Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης. The narrative is utilised in an original way to establish his larger cultural and literary goals of creating a guide for elite Romans to follow in the course of their education. In this

evidence enough; for that spirit of rivalry of which I spoke is always directed against one's competitors in the same craft.'); see 490-1 for details of the quarrel. See also König (2010: 284-6) for further discussion.

[366] Eshleman (2008: 407); see Gleason (1995: 73) for an examination of the role these quarrels played in elite male socialisation; see Hahn (1989: 109-15) on the function of quarrels among philosophers as a medium in constructing their professional profiles.

[367] As I will discuss further in chapter 4, whilst the character of Gellius encounters hapless grammarians in various chapters of the *NA,* Apuleius makes his protagonist Lucius the target of exposure. Yet both are recognisable in Plutarch's πολυπράγμων. Lucius is a comic figure resembling contemporary targets of satire, and his portrayal can be compared to how Gellius exposes intellectuals in his dialogic scenes.

way, Gellius models proper Roman conduct, which allows his readers to see how to engage with Greek ideas and literature whilst maintaining an appropriate Roman sense of decorum. Despite Gellius' clear use of Plutarch's dialogic scenes in the *Quaestiones Convivales* as a model, he makes deliberate efforts to transform them into a more Latin style of text by making Greek learning more accessible to his Roman readers. As discussed above, Plutarch's stance toward aspects that would come to be central to the Second Sophistic is often quite critical. I propose, therefore, that Apuleius' and Gellius' admiration of him suggests they too are distancing themselves from certain aspects of the Greek movement and should therefore be considered to represent a distinct cultural manifestation of a Latin Sophistic.

3.3 Broader Dialogic/ Narrative Scenes

I will now examine the dialogic scenes in a broader sense as it applies to the creative narrative of Gellius and Apuleius. I will argue that Gellius, through his use of narrative dialogic scenes, is self-fashioning an identity distinct from other writers of the Greek Second Sophistic. This identity is characterised by a focus on contemporary Roman intellectual life, and the creation of two personas: one is Gellius as an elite teacher and guide who is making his *NA* available for readers to learn from; and the second is a separate 'past Gellius' that goes on a journey in his narrative scenes as a template which his readers should imitate.

Self-fashioning a Latin Identity

I have mentioned briefly the idea of self-fashioning a Latin identity in chapter 2,[368] and in the following section I will explore what this means. 'The self' in Latin literature relies upon and engages with various concepts of personal identity, with perhaps the

[368] For example, Terence's authorial voice in his prologues and how it compares to that of other authors within the Latin tradition, and how Lucilius' role in the creation of the genre of Satire forms a part of the Latin tradition of self-fashioning.

best represented type in Latin literature being the rhetorical self: this is the identity that is conveyed to the audience by means of 'speaking, writing, and other types of social performance',[369] and it is this rhetorical self that I will be exploring. The Latin authors employ various approaches to persona,[370] and show continuity with the preceding period of Latin literature in the way that they use personas to engage with Republican authors such as Cicero.[371] They often make sharp contrasts between themselves and Greeks, thus providing further evidence of something distinctive about the goals and nature of our Latin authors' written works.

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[369] Habinek (2016). For a brief introductory overview of the concept of the self in Latin literature, see Habinek (2016). See also: Gunderson, Erik (2003). *Declamation, Paternity, and Roman Identity: Authority and the Rhetorical Self.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Bartsch, Shadi (2006). *The Mirror of the Self: Sexuality, Self-Knowledge, and the Gaze in the Early Roman Empire.* Chicago (Ill.): University of Chicago Press; Gill, Christopher (2006). *The Structured Self in Hellenistic and Roman Thought.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press.

[370] Clay (1998: 9-14) discusses the theory of the Literary Persona in antiquity, but does not manage to find an ancient critical theory equivalent to our modern conception. He describes an 'awareness' among poets who created personae within their poems. In light of this, Mayer (2003: 55-80) attempts to establish what the literary persona was thought to be in antiquity, as it was not the same as our own. He concludes that whilst Greek and Roman writers and readers recognised that the author could mask themselves and speak through a persona, they tended to assume that the character still presented the writer's views. He argues that there is no evidence that the ancient reader would recognise the type of persona that a modern reader would recognise, e.g. the didactic writer or satirist. Most recently in 2014, a collected volume explores the significance of the voice, or projected persona, on our understanding of the meaning of the text: Marmodoro, Anna and Hill, Jonathan (Eds.) (2014). *The Author's Voice in Classical and Late Antiquity.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press. In her chapter, Stroup (2014: 123-151) evaluates Cicero's use of the dialogue form and the way he discusses creating an authorial voice in his introductions. In his later dialogues, Cicero develops a more sophisticated authorial voice when he himself appears as a character. Stroup claims that with Cicero we see the invention of the Latin dialogue as we know it (139-40). Nguyen (2008: 43-51) discusses the idea of the persona in a more general sense, i.e. how Romans projected rank and status in everyday life. He argues that this was particularly important to elite Romans as they lived in a '*persona*-conscious' society.

[371] Ash (2014: 206-232) discusses self-fashioning with regards to Pliny the Younger and the construction of an authorial voice in his letters. She argues that the persona of Regulus is consistent in conveying a moralising message and is used to allow Pliny to engage in a 'nostalgic rivalry' with Cicero. Ash, Rhiannon (2014). Drip-feed Invective: Pliny, Self-fashioning, and the Regulus Letters. In Marmodoro, Anna and Hill, Jonathan (Eds.), *The Author's Voice in Classical and Late Antiquity* (207-232). Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press. Similarly, Riggsby (1995: 123-35) discusses self-fashioning in Pliny and Cicero, particularly Pliny's professed *aemulatio* of Cicero: Riggsby, Andrew (1995). Pliny on Cicero and Oratory: Self-fashioning in the Public Eye. *American Journal of Philology*, 116(1), 123-135. Noreña (2011: 29-44) looks at the role of the text in constructing public persona in his discussion of self-fashioning in Pliny's *Panegyricus*: Noreña, Carlos (2011). Self-fashioning in the *Panegyricus*. In Roche, Paul (Ed.), *Pliny's Praise: The Panegyricus in the Roman World* (29-44). Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Whilst Fronto himself probably did not prepare his letters for publication,[372] they represent a self-fashioning in the way he presents himself as the author. Zeiner-Carmichael (2018) argues that he seems to simultaneously address both the recipient of his correspondence, and 'imagined external audience(s)'.[373] She expands on this in her chapter focusing on 'the epistolarity of the letters and their complex interplay between power and status, and the intellectual.' Here she argues that Fronto uses his letters to create an image of himself as '*rhetor* and *magister*, *personae* intimately connected to personal and imperial power and its display'. She suggests that he exploits the epistolary genre 'to achieve two interrelated goals: (1) the advancement and protection of the value of Latin rhetoric as an intellectual discipline, and (2) the promulgation of his preeminent position as a leading intellectual and *magister* of this discipline'.[374] Fronto displays his Romanness by having native, elegant Latin and learned Attic Greek, whilst emphasising that he comes from a land far from Rome: ἐγὼ δὲ Λίβυς τῶν Λιβύων τῶν νομάδων.[375] This self-presentation is corroborated by Gellius' presentation of Fronto in the *NA*. I return to this scene and investigate how Fronto portrays himself as an intellectual in his *Correspondence* in chapter 4 below. In chapter 2, I discussed Apuleius' self-fashioning concerning the way he creates a personal conversation with the audience in his *Apologia*, and reworks the lost Greek work with his *Metamorphoses* to appeal to a Roman audience. As with Fronto, I return to the topic of Apuelius' self-fashioning in chapter 4.

[372] Elder and Mullen (2019: 178); See also Freisenbruch (2004: 23– 30); Salzman (2017: 26). Cf. Zeiner-Carmichael (2019: 120-1): 'ambiguity surrounding Fronto's intentions for publication… It is more likely than not that in many cases Fronto did, in fact, intend many of his so-called private letters for broader consumption. Fronto clearly knew that what he wrote, and how he wrote it, could ultimately be more widely read… see *Ad M. Caes*. 2.2 (c. 143 CE), in which Marcus [Aurelius] admits to having read aloud to his father, the emperor Antoninus, Fronto's earlier letter. Marcus apologises for his 'rashness' (*temere*), but goes on to say that this reading inspired a 'long chat' (*longus sermo*) with the emperor about Fronto'.
[373] Zeiner-Carmichael (2018: 79).
[374] Zeiner-Carmichael (2019: 116).
[375] Fronto, *Epist. Graecae* 1.5 (Haines 1.136); See Bozia and Mullen (2021: 52).

Gellius uses his dialogic scenes to form a narrative in which his younger self learns how to become a member of the elite in Rome. On his journey he is involved in learned conversations at dinner, he debates with his friends whilst walking around Greece and Rome, and challenges those he feels are puffed-up pseudo-intellectuals. He is always portrayed as learning from his interlocutors, or from watching others speak. The journey in his narrative scenes is, I argue, a template which his readers should imitate. As this narrative plays out, there is also Gellius the author of the *NA*, whose aim is to lead his readers along curated paths to become independent and curious about their own learning. In this way he is a mature, expert teacher and guide who is making his *NA* available for readers to learn from.

Gellius: an elite teacher and guide

Gellius is keen to point out that the *NA* is a new type of miscellany, with the specific intention to guide the reader as they form their own education:

> Quae autem parum plana uidebuntur aut minus plena instructaque, petimus, inquam, ut ea non docendi magis quam admonendi gratia scripta existiment, et quasi demonstratione uestigiorum contenti, persequantur ea post, si libebit, uel libris repertis uel magistris. Quae uero putauerint reprehendenda, his, si audebunt, succenseant unde ea nos accepimus; sed enim quae aliter apud alium scripta legerint, ne iam statim temere obstrepant, sed et rationes rerum et auctoritates hominum pensitent quos illi quosque nos secuti sumus.[376]

[Gellius, NA praef. 17-18.]

[376] ('But as to matters which seem too obscure, or not presented in full enough detail, I beg once again that my readers may consider them written, not so much to instruct, as to give a hint, and that content with my, so to speak, pointing out of the path, they may afterwards follow up those subjects, if they so desire, with the aid either of books or of teachers. But if they find food for criticism, let them, if they have the courage, blame those from whom I drew my material; or if they discover that different statements are made by someone else, let them not at once give way to hasty censure, but rather let them weigh the reasons for the statements and the value of the authorities which those other writers and which I have followed.')

Gellius is a very present teacher and guide in the text, but rather than outlining exactly what the reader (student) must learn, as do Quintilian,[377] and Gellius' Greek contemporary Lucian,[378] he lets them find their own route. Gellius does not want to simply teach his readers specific information (*docendi*), but rather open their minds to possible options for them to pursue (*admonendi*). He will point to various paths (*demonstratione uestigiorum*) but not spoon-feed one correct answer, in direct contrast to Quintilian's goal of planning out the orator's studies *ab infantia.* Gellius' use of *vestigium* also suggests the steps and footprints of the learner as they meander through the various educational paths that suit their own aims. Quintilian's *Institutio Oratoria* on the other hand has a transparently organised structure and the information he imparts to his reader is not embedded in any dialogic narrative.[379]

It is not just in his programmatic preface that Gellius sets out his guide to learning, he appears 'in person' in various chapters to model various learning techniques for his readers. These range from the fairly straightforward such as memorisation: *Tunc prolato libro de analogia primo uerba haec ex eo pauca ⟨legit, quae⟩ memoriae mandaui*,[380] and taking notes, both whilst listening to a speaker: *Capita autem locorum argumentorumque quibus usus est, quod eius meminisse potui, egressus*

[377] Quintilian *Inst. Or.* 1 *praef.* 5: *Ego cum existimem nihil arti oratoriae alienum sine quo fieri non posse oratorem fatendum est, nec ad ullius rei summam nisi praecedentibus initiis perveniri, ad minora illa, sed quae si neglegas non sit maioribus locus, demittere me non recusabo, nec aliter quam si mihi tradatur educandus orator studia eius formare ab infantia incipiam.* ('For my part, however—holding as I do that nothing is foreign to the art of oratory which must be admitted to be essential for the making of an orator, and that one cannot reach the top in any subject without going through the elementary stages—I shall certainly not refuse to stoop to those matters which, though minor, cannot be neglected without blocking the way to greater things. I shall proceed exactly as if a child were put into my hands to be educated as an orator, and shall plan his studies from his infancy.').

[378] In his dialogue *Rhetorum Praeceptor*, a satire on contemporary oratory, Lucian reassures a young man that there are two paths to rhetoric, and that he should choose the easy path of a sophist.

[379] Bloomer (2015b: 350).

[380] Gellius, *NA* 19.8.8: ('At the time, the first book *On Analogy* being brought, I committed to memory these few words from it.').

ibi ex auditione propere adnotaui, eaque fuerunt ad hanc ferme sententiam...,[381] and after researching in books: *Quas requisitas ego et repertas cum primarum significationum exemplis, ut commentariis harum Noctium inferrem, notaui, et intulisse iam me aliquo in loco {commentationibus istis} existimo*,[382] to the more advanced such as further investigation and self-study. Gellius sometimes does this by modelling the behaviour for his readers: *Quid significet prandium caninum, rem leuiculam diu et anxie quaesiuimus.*[383] At other times Gellius provides some specific sources for his readers to investigate themselves: *Et nebulo quidem ille, ubi hoc dixit, digressus est; si quis autem uolet non originem solam uerbi istius, sed significationem quoque eius uarietatemque recensere, ut hoc etiam Plautinum spectet, adscripsi uersus ex Asinaria…*[384]

Gellius uses renowned learned figures in his dialogic scenes to give authority to his teachings. In *NA* 19.8, he has Fronto say the following in order to encourage intellectual inquiry in his readers:

> …quaeri, inquam, ista omnia et enucleari et extundi ab hominibus negotiosis in ciuitate tam occupata non queunt. Quin his quoque ipsis quae iam dixi demoratos uos esse uideo, alicui opinor negotio destinatos. Ite ergo nunc et, quando forte erit otium, quaerite an quadrigam et harenas dixerit e cohorte illa dumtaxat antiquiore uel oratorum aliquis uel poetarum, id est classicus adsiduusque aliquis scriptor, non proletarius.' Haec quidem Fronto requirere nos iussit uocabula, non ea re opinor quod scripta esse in ullis ueterum libris existumaret, sed ut nobis studium lectitandi in quaerendis rarioribus uerbis exerceret. Quod unum ergo rarissimum uidebatur, inuenimus quadrigam numero singulari dictam in libro saturarum M. Varronis qui inscriptus est Ecdemeticus.

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[381] Gellius, *NA* 14.1.2: ('But I promptly jotted down the heads of the topics and of the arguments which he used, so far as I could recall them immediately after leaving the meeting, and they were about to this effect…').

[382] Gellius, *NA* 18.4.11: ('Having sought for these words and found them, with examples of their earliest meanings, I made a note of them, in order to include them in the notes contained in these *Nights*, and I think that I have already introduced them somewhere among them.'). See also 19.1.21, 19.5.9, 19.9.5, 20.6.15.

[383] Gellius, *NA* 13.31.15-16: ('The meaning of "a dinner for a dog," though a slight matter, I have investigated long and anxiously.').

[384] Gellius, *NA* 6.17.12: ('And saying that fool made off; but in case anyone should wish to investigate, not only the origin of this word, but also its variety of meaning, in order that lie may take into consideration this Plautine use also, I have quoted the following lines from the *Asinaria*…').

> Harenas autem πληθυντικῶς dictas minore studio quaerimus, quia praetor C. Caesarem, quod equidem meminerim, nemo id doctorum hominum †dedit†.[385]
>
> [Gellius, *NA* 19.8.14-18.]

At Fronto's encouragement, Gellius proceeds to look up *quadriga* and *harenae*. He then models some critical thinking by not merely finding the information as instructed, but researching in a discerning way that suits his interests: *Harenas autem* πληθυντικῶς *dictas minore studio quaerimus.*

Gellius is keen to ensure that his readers think critically about the sources of their information. He recalls a time when Apollinaris seemed to be giving a learned speech, but, after some study of Cicero, he realises that Apollinaris was incorrect: *Haec tunc Apollinaris scite acuteque dicere uisus est. Set postea in libro M. Tullii epistularum ad Seruium Sulpicium sic dictum esse inuenimus 'intra modum', ut 'intra Kalendas' dicunt qui dicere 'citra Kalendas' uolunt. Verba haec Ciceronis sunt quae adposui…*[386] On another occasion, Julianus seemed to be explaining things clearly, but Gellius later finds that he had merely been repeating remarks verbatim from a well-known handbook: *Hoc tum nobis Iulianus et multa alia erudite simul et adfabiliter dixit. Sed eadem ipsa post etiam in peruulgatis commentariis scripta offendimus.*[387] This anecdote also serves

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[385] ('All these questions, I say, cannot be investigated, unravelled, and thrashed out by men of affairs in so busy a city; indeed, I see that you have been delayed even by these matters of which I have spoken, being intent, I suppose, on some business. So go now and inquire, when you chance to have leisure, whether any orator or poet, provided he be of that earlier band—that is to say, any classical or authoritative writer, not one of the common herd—has used *quadriga* or *harenae*." Now Fronto asked us to look up these words, I think, not because he thought that they were to be found in any books of the early writers, but to rouse in us an interest in reading for the purpose of hunting down rare words. The one, then, which seemed the rarest, *quadriga*, I found used in the singular number in that book of Marcus Varro's Satires which is entitled *Ecdemeticus*. But I sought with less interest for an example of the plural *harenae*, because, except Gaius Caesar, no one among learned men has used that form, so far as I can recall.')

[386] Gellius, *NA* 7.13.21-2: ('At the time, what Sulpicius Apollinaris said seemed to be learned and acute. But later, in a volume of Letters to Servius Sulpicius by Marcus Tullius, I found "within moderation" (*intra modum*) used in the same sense that those give to "within the Kalends" who mean to say "this side of the Kalends." These are the words of Cicero, which I quote…').

[387] Gellius, *NA* 18.5.12: ('This at the time Julianus explained to us, along with other problems, clearly and courteously. But afterwards I ran upon the very same remarks in some very well-known handbooks.').

as a warning to those using handbooks as a shortcut, rather than forming an opinion from reading the primary text first-hand.

Gellius advocates for wide and varied learning, which he models for his reader in *NA* 18.10:

> Hoc ego postea cum in medico reprehensum esse meminissem, existimaui non medico soli, sed omnibus quoque hominibus liberis liberaliterque institutis turpe esse ne ea quidem cognouisse ad notitiam corporis nostri pertinentia quae non altius occultiusque remota sunt et quae natura nobis tuendae ualitudinis causa et in promptu esse et in propatulo uoluerit; ac propterea, quantum habui temporis subsiciui, medicinae quoque disciplinae libros attigi quos arbitrabar esse idoneos ad docendum. Et ex his cum alia pleraque ab isto humanitatis usu non aliena, tum de uenis quoque et arteriis didicisse uideor ad hunc ferme modum.[388]
>
> [Gellius, *NA* 18.10.8.]

He realises he has a gap in a particular area of knowledge which all educated people should know, and immediately devotes his spare time to correct this through further research. Gellius wants his readers to push themselves intellectually, as he demonstrates in *NA* 17.20: *Haec admonitio Tauri de orationis Platonicae modulis non modo non repressit, sed instrinxit etiam nos ad elegantiam Graecae orationis uerbis Latinis adfectandam.*[389]

Thus in some of the dialogic scenes, Gellius is not an interlocutor, but merely models behaviour for his readers: he witnesses a discussion, gives a few thoughts, and expects the reader to go away and do their own research. In other chapters he takes the reader through both primary and secondary texts relevant to the topic being discussed,

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[388] ('Afterwards when I recalled this criticism of the physician, I thought that it was shameful, not only for a physician, but for all cultivated and liberally educated men, not to know even such facts pertaining to the knowledge of our bodies as are not deep and recondite, but which nature, for the purpose of maintaining our health, has allowed to be evident and obvious. Therefore I devoted such spare time as I had to dipping into those books on the art of medicine which I thought were suited to instruct me, and from them I seem to have learned, not only many other things which have to do with human experience, but also concerning veins and arteries what I may express as follows…')

[389] Gellius, *NA* 17.20.7-8: ('This admonition of Taurus as to Plato's style not only did not deter me, but even encouraged me to try to equal the elegance of the Greek in a Latin rendering.').

and in others he explicitly encourages his readers to investigate matters for themselves. Miscellaneous works such as the *NA* have often been regarded as short cuts to culture and learning which 'have an inevitable homogenising effect, as creative research and original thought give way to regurgitation',[390] however, as I have shown above, Gellius is not simply regurgitating information: his dialogic scenes form a deliberate narrative, which he utilises in an original way. Gellius models the ideal life of the educated Roman by inserting himself as a character in the narrative which guides the reader into creating their own learning route. By putting his anecdotes into short chapters in a seemingly random order, the *NA* is unlikely to be read straight through, thus each reader will encounter a different group of anecdotes and gain a different perspective. Yet each group is likely to include at least one of Gellius' narrative scenes. The dialogic scenes in Gellius are seemingly on various random topics, but there is a narrative thread running throughout, just as the *Metamorphoses* consists of disparate tales, *varias fabulas*,[391] with themes that run through.[392]

The Travels of Gellius

Gellius explains to the reader how to use his miscellany, and throughout the *NA* he tells the story of his own path from student at Athens to elite Roman in the Latin Second Sophistic. He goes on a journey in his narrative scenes which can be seen as a template for his readers to imitate. In addition to guiding the reader through their education, Gellius is simultaneously guiding his reader through the Rome of the cultural elite and their travels in Greece. I am going to focus on the following chapters of the *NA* as they

[390] Sandy (1997: 89).
[391] Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 1.1.
[392] Plutarch's *Quaestiones Convivales* is arranged in a smilar way: for its haphazard organisation, see Meeusen, Michiel (2020). As each Came to Mind: Intertextualizing Plutarch's Mentality of Intricacy in the 'Table Talk' and 'Questions'. In Schmidt, Thomas, Vamvouri, Maria and Hirsch-Luipold, Rainer (Eds.), *The Dynamics of Intertextuality in Plutarch* (283-296). Leiden; Boston (Mass.): Brill. For the concept of variety in the Roman world, see Fitzgerald, William (2016). *Variety: The Life of a Roman Concept.* Chicago (Ill.): University of Chicago Press.

include narrative and dialogic scenes where Gellius is present at the time, and the location is stated. I have included scenes where Gellius is alone and narrating his journey to the reader.

NA	**Summary**	**Loc.**
1.2	Students at Athens. Description of relaxing at Herodes' villa. Herodes exposes a pseudo-philosopher.	Greece
1.22	Gellius is present in the court of a praetor.	Italy
1.26	Gellius asks Taurus a question in his lecture room, then summarises.	Greece
2.2	Conversing with Taurus outside his room in Athens. Gellius summarises the discussion then adds his own comments based on reading he has done on the topic.	Greece
2.21	Gellius is with Greek and Roman students conversing in a boat, crossing from Aegina to the Piraeus. Gellius asks one a question and gives judgement on the best answer.	Greece
2.22	Discussion at Favorinus' dinner table. Favorinus is asked a question and answers at length. Gellius praises his eloquence, contradicts some of his information, and then corrects himself after following up with his own reading.	Italy
2.26	Favorinus invites Gellius to Fronto's house. Gellius recounts a conversation between Fronto and Favorinus.	Italy
3.1	Walking with Favorinus and others in the court of the Titian baths. A passage is read from a book and Favorinus asks Gellius a question. They discuss it with those present.	Italy
3.19	Discussion at Favorinus' dinner table. A passage is read out and Favorinus comments on it.	Italy
4.1	Favorinus is speaking in the entrance hall of the palace on the Palatine. He exposes a pseudo-intellectual. Afterwards, Gellius adds his own comments to the topic based on his reading.	Italy
5.4	Sitting in a bookshop in the Sigillaria with the poet Julius Paulus. Gellius uses a word from Varro to prove a grammarian wrong.	Italy
6.17	Inquiring of a grammarian at Rome. Gellius proves him wrong then provides additional reading for further investigation	Italy
7.13	A discussion at the home of Taurus in Athens.	Greece
7.16	An evening stroll in the Lyceum. Gellius corrects a false intellectual by providing quotations from early literature.	Greece
[8.2]	[Discussion with Favorinus.][393]	Italy[394]

[393] Book 8 is lost, but from the chapter titles we can assume that the following probably contain dialogic scenes in a given location. Gellius, *NA* 8.2: *Quae mihi decem uerba ediderit Fauorinus quae usurpentur quidem a Graecis, sed sint adulterina et barbara; quae item a me totidem acceperit quae ex medio communique usu Latine loquentium minime Latina sint neque in ueterum libris reperiantur.* ('Ten words pointed out to me by Favorinus which, although in use by the Greeks, are of foreign origin and barbarous; also the same number given him by me which, though of general and common use by those who speak Latin, are by no means Latin and are not to be found in the early literature.'). Gellius, *NA* 8.3: *Et adsiduo oscitantem uidit, atque illius quidem delicatissimas mentis et corporis halucinationes. Quem in modum et quam seuere increpuerit audientibus nobis Peregrinus philosophus adulescentem Romanum ex equestri*

[8.3]	Peregrinus rebukes a young Roman in Gellius' hearing.	Greece
[8.6]	Discourse of Taurus.	Greece
[8.10]	Gellius schools a conceited grammarian in the town of Eleusis.	Greece
[8.14]	A discussion between Favorinus and a tiresome person.	Italy
9.4	Buying books in the port of Brundisium, after travelling from Greece to Italy. Gellius discusses and criticises the content of the books.	Italy
9.15	Gellius withdraws to Naples in the Summer with the rhetorician Antonius Julianus. They listen, unimpressed, to a pseudo-intellectual.	Italy
10.25	Gellius is riding in a carriage, trying to recall various items in order to train his memory.	-[395]
11.3	Evening walk alone in Praeneste, east of Rome. Gellius is ruminating on the use of certain particles in the Latin language.	Italy
11.7	At Rome, a man is speaking to a praeter in Gellius' presence. He is mocked for his use of antiquated words.	Italy
11.17	Sitting with friends in the library of Trajan's temple.	Italy
12.1	Gellius and others go with Favorinus to visit the house of a pupil. He discourses in Greek and Gellius comments on his eloquence.	Italy
12.5	Gellius is travelling to Delphi with Taurus. Their journey is interrupted as they stop in Lebadia to visit a sick friend of Taurus'. Afterwards Taurus discourses at length.	Greece
12.11	Gellius meets Peregrinus at Athens and frequently visits him in his hut just outside the city.	Greece
12.13	Gellius is a judge at Rome. He asks advice from Sulpicius Apollinaris who talks at length. Gellius thinks he sounds wise, but after further reading of his own, contradicts Apollinaris.	Italy

familia, stantem segnem apud se et assidue oscitantem. ('And saw him continually yawning and noticed the degenerate dreaminess expressed in his attitude of mind and body… in what terms and how severely the philosopher Peregrinus in my hearing rebuked a young Roman of equestrian rank, who stood before him inattentive and constantly yawning.'). Gellius, *NA* 8.6: *Cum post offensiunculas in gratiam redeatur, expostulationes fieri mutuas minime utile esse; superque ea re et sermo Tauri expositus et uerba ex Theophrasti libro (Περὶ φιλίας) sumpta; et quid M. quoque Cicero de amore amicitiae senserit cum ipsius uerbis additum.* ('That when a reconciliation takes place after trifling offences, mutual complaints are useless; and Taurus' discourse on that subject, with a quotation from the treatise of Theophrastus; and what Marcus Cicero also thought about the love arising from friendship, added in his own words.'). Gellius, *NA* 8.10: *Halophantam mendacem uelit. Qualis mihi fuerit in oppido Eleusino disceptatio cum grammatico quodam praestigioso tempora uerborum et puerilia meditamenta ignorante, remotarum autem quaestionum nebulas et formidines capiendis imperitorum animis ostentante.* ('Would wish a lying scoundrel. A discussion that I had in the town of Eleusis with a conceited grammarian who, although ignorant of the tenses of verbs and the exercises of schoolboys, ostentatiously proposed abstruse questions of a hazy and formidable character, to impress the minds of the unlearned.').
Gellius, *NA* 8.14: *Lepidissima altercatio Fauorini philosophi aduersus quendam intempestiuum de ambiguitate uerborum disserentem; atque inibi uerba quaedam ex Naeuio poeta et Cn. Gellio non usitate collocata; atque ibidem a P. Nigidio origins uocabulorum exploratae.* ('A highly entertaining discussion of the philosopher Favorinus with a tiresome person who held forth on the double meaning of certain words; also some unusual expressions from the poet Naevius and from Gnaeus Gellius; and further, some investigations of the derivation of words by Publius Nigidius.').

[394] The chapter titles of 8.2, 8.3, 8.6 and 8.14 do not state the location. As all other dialogic scenes here involving Favorinus are set in Italy and involving Taurus and Peregrinus are set in Greece, book 8 probably follows the same pattern.

[395] Although it is not certain whether Gellius is in Greece or Italy, this is a narrative scene in a specified place (the interior of a carriage).

13.20	Sitting with Apollinaris and friends in the library of the palace of Tiberius. Apollinaris corrects a pseudo-intellectual, and Gellius and friends confirm he is right after some further reading.	Italy
13.25	Gellius is walking with Favorinus in the court of Trajan's forum. He witnesses a discussion between Favorinus and a learned man.	Italy
13.31	Gellius challenges a pseudo-intellectual who was sitting in a bookseller's shop. After showing him up, Gellius provides evidence of his further investigation on the matter.	Italy
14.1	Hearing Favorinus discourse at Rome. Gellius makes notes, summarises, then adds other testimonies from ancient poets.	Italy
14.2	Gellius' first time as a judge. He asks friends for help, but dissatisfied with their advice, turns to Favorinus. Gellius is still not convinced.	Italy
14.5	Weary of writing, Gellius goes for a walk in the park of Agrippa. He witnesses two grammarians arguing, but as they do not look likely to stop any time soon, he walks away.	Italy
15.1	Walking up Cispian Hill with rhetorician Antonius Julianus and friends. Gellius asks a question, then later follows up by finding a quotation from a book.	Italy
16.3	Gellius often spends whole days at Rome with Favorinus. On this occasion, they visit a sick man and Favorinus speaks entertainingly. Gellius later reads a book and finds a quotation that Favorinus mentioned.	Italy
16.6	Gellius stops at Brundisium on his return from Greece, and is amused by a pseudo-intellectual. After arguing with him, Gellius leaves and researches the matter in his books.	Italy
16.10	During a holiday in the Forum at Rome, a book of Ennius' is read out. Gellius asks a friend a question which they discuss, then they ask Julius Paulus who happens to be walking by. He speaks at length.	Italy
17.8	A discussion at the dinner table of Taurus in Athens. Taurus asks Gellius a question, then discusses his answer.	Greece
17.10	Gellius leaves Rome to visit Favorinus and a friend of his at a villa in Antium during the Summer. He recalls Favorinus' discourse.	Italy
17.20	Gellius is with Taurus in Athens as Plato's *Symposium* is being read to him. Taurus criticises Plato to Gellius, which encourages Gellius rather than deterring him.	Greece
18.1	Evening walk along the shore at Ostia in springtime with Favorinus as he argues with two philosopher friends.	Italy
18.2	Relaxing at dinner during the Saturnalia in Athens. Gellius describes the intellectual party game they are playing.	Greece
18.4	Gellius as a young man in Rome is with booksellers in Shoemaker's Street. He witnesses Apollinaris ridiculing a pseudo-intellectual. Gellius makes notes to include in his *NA*.	Italy
18.5	Spending Summer holidays relaxing in Puteoli with rhetorician Antonius Julianus. They go to hear a rhetorician and afterwards Julianus contradicts the speaker. Gellius notes afterwards that he had found the same remarks in some well-known handbooks.	Italy
18.7	Gellius is with Favorinus as he meets the grammarian Domitius	Italy

	Insanus at the temple of Carmentis. Favorinus afterwards says he is mad. Insanus provides Favorinus with a book to back up his point. Gellius provides him with better information from his own reading.	
18.10	Gellius is sick during the summer at Herodes' villa in Cephisia. Taurus visits him then corrects a physician. Gellius is shocked and later does his own research on the matter.	Greece
18.13	Again during the Saturnalia at Athens: they play an intellectual game then have dinner. Gellius praises the philosopher Diogenes.	Greece
19.1	Sailing from Cassiopa to Brundisium on a boat during a storm in the Ionian sea. Gellius inquires of a Stoic Philosopher he had known at Athens. He produces a book of Epictetus' *Discourses* for Gellius to read, and Gellius records some of the words in his *NA*.	Italy
19.5	Withdrawing to a villa in Tibur in summer with companions and fellow students. A Peripatetic reads from a volume of Aristotle, and Gellius notes some words from the same book in his *NA*.	Italy
19.6	Asking Taurus a question about a book Gellius had read in Athens.	Greece
19.7	After dinner conversation at Julius Paulus' estate in the Vatican district in autumn.	Italy
19.8	Gellius as a young man at Rome, visiting Fronto's house. A book is brought out and Gellius commits some of it to memory. Fronto suggests everyone do some further reading, which Gellius does.	Italy
19.9	At dinner in a country place near the city, listening to Antonius Julianus. Some singers and lyre-players perform verses of Anacreon which Gellius notes down. Greeks criticise Julianus who lies on his back and chants more verses which Gellius records in his *NA*.	Italy
19.10	Gellius visits Fronto with Julius Celsinus. Fronto humiliates a pseudo-intellectual.	Italy
19.12	Listening to Herodes in Athens. Gellius recounts his discourse.	Greece
19.13	Fronto, Festus Postumius, and Apollinaris are talking in the vestibule of the palace of Caesars on the Palatine. Gellius is nearby with friends and listens to the discussion. He notes some verses that were mentioned.	Italy
20.1	Favorinus and Sextus Caecilius converse in the Palatine square, in Gellius' presence.	Italy
20.6	Inquiring of Apollinaris, whilst studying with him at Rome as a youth. Gellius notes down his words exactly as they are spoken.	Italy
20.8	Dining with the poet Annianus and friends in the Faliscan territory.	Italy

Space and Place

In recent years, there has been a great deal of interest in the concept of space and place in Latin literature, and many avenues have been explored.[396] As Spencer points out,

[396] Scott (2013: 2-7) provides a thorough analysis of previous scholarship on the concept of space in Greek and Roman literature. Key themes include: 'the presence of multiple 'views' of, and ways of understanding, the same physical landscape at one time and over time… the changing importance of the boundary between city and countryside… wider, culturally contrasting ways of using and talking about space demonstrated in the Greek as opposed to the Latin sources… how domestic space reflects and

Cicero famously characterised Varro's power to construct an essentially Roman sense of place: *Tum ego, "Sunt," inquam, "ista, Varro; nam nos in nostra urbe peregrinantis errantisque tamquam hospites tui libri quasi domum reduxerunt, ut possemus aliquando qui et ubi essemus agnoscere...".*[397] Juvenal too provides a type of exploration of Rome in his Satires.[398] In Satire 3 for example, we follow Umbricius who decides to leave Rome and head for a better life in the country. As he is packing his belongings and getting ready to leave, he laments the vices of life in the city by giving a descriptive 'journey' around Rome.[399] Juvenal immediately situates Umbricius amongst various

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articulates sequences of movement and interaction, helps us understand the continued interaction between the 'function' and the 'character' of particular spaces (e.g. of individual rooms within a house), as well as how such spaces play an important part in wider issues of identity, power display, community structure and hierarchy… studies of the varying ways of experiencing the different sites of Rome… the dynamics of sacred space'. See also Netz, Reviel (2020). *Scale, Space and Canon in Ancient Literary Culture.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Fitzgerald, William and Spentzou, Efrossini (Eds.) (2018). *The Production of Space in Latin Literature.* Oxford: Oxford University Press; Rimell, Victoria (2015). *The Closure of Space in Roman Poetics: Empire's Inward Turn.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press; Skempis, Marios and Ziogas, Ioannis (Eds.) (2014). *Geography, Topography, Landscape: Configurations of Space in Greek and Roman Epic.* Berlin; Boston (Mass.): De Gruyter; Scott, Michael (2013). *Space and Society in the Greek and Roman Worlds.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Newsome, David (2009). Centrality in its Place: Defining Urban Space in the city of Rome. In Driessen, Mark (Ed.), *TRAC 2008: Proceedings of the Eighteenth Annual Theoretical Roman Archaeology Conference which Took Place at the University of Amsterdam, 4-6 March 2008* (25-38). Oxford: Oxbow Books; Larmour, David and Spencer, Diana (Eds.) (2007). *The Sites of Rome: Time, Space, Memory.* Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Paschalis, Michael and Frangoulidis, Stavros (Eds.) (2002). *Space in the Ancient Novel.* Eelde: Barkhuis; Edwards, Catharine (1996). *Writing Rome: Textual Approaches to the City.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

[397] Cicero, *Academica* 1.9: ('"What you say, Varro, is true," I rejoined, "for we were wandering and straying about like visitors in our own city, and your books led us, so to speak, right home, and enabled us at last to realise who and where we were…"'); Spencer (2018: 46).

[398] There has been some interest in Juvenal's exploration of space in recent years: Larmour, David (2018). Juvenal in the Specular City. In Fitzgerald, William and Spentzou, Efrossini (Eds.), *The Production of Space in Latin Literature* (95-118). Oxford: Oxford University Press; Geue, Tom (2017). Free-Range, Organic, Locally-Sourced Satire: Juvenal Goes Global. In Rimell, Victoria and Asper, Markus (Eds.), *Imagining Empire: Political Space in Hellenistic and Roman Literature* (189-215). Heidelberg: Winter; Umurhan, Osman (2008). *Spatial Representation in Juvenal's 'Satires': Rome and the Satirist.* Dissertation, University of New York.

[399] Juvenal, *Saturae* 3.1-14, 17-20: *Quamvis digressu veteris confusus amici/ laudo tamen, vacuis quod sedem figere Cumis/ destinet atque unum civem donare Sibyllae./ ianua Baiarum est et gratum litus amoeni/ secessus. ego vel Prochytam praepono Suburae;/ nam quid tam miserum, tam solum vidimus, ut non/ deterius credas horrere incendia, lapsus/ tectorum adsiduos ac mille pericula saevae/ Vrbis et Augusto recitantes mense poetas?/ sed dum tota domus raeda componitur una,/ substitit ad veteres arcus madidamque Capenam./ in vallem Egeriae descendimus et speluncas/ dissimiles veris. quanto praesentius esset/ numen aquis, viridi si margine cluderet undas/ herba nec ingenuum violarent marmora tofum./ hic, ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae,/ nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra locantur Iudaeis, quorum cophinus fenumque supellex…* ('Although I'm distressed at the departure of my old friend, all the same I

landmarks and emphasises their ‘Romanness’: *veteres arcus madidamque Capenam* [11], *vallem Egeriae* [17], *ubi nocturnae Numa constituebat amicae/ nunc sacri fontis nemus et delubra* [12-13]. Throughout Umbricius’ monologue, he gives the audience a virtual tour of Rome, moving around the city from one landmark to the next.[400] Whereas Juvenal laments the condition of Rome, Gellius is endorsing it to his readers. The *NA* guides the reader through spaces used by the elite in Rome, as opposed to Juvenal who shows Umbricius fleeing the depravity and squalor of the city. Although Gellius does not mention Juvenal in his work, if we assume that he was aware of his *Saturae*, Gellius could be said to ‘react’[401] to Juvenal in his exploration of space. At the very least he is continuing a tradition of spatial exploration set by Varro and Juvenal.[402] I argue that Gellius uses space in a particular way that promotes the thoroughly Roman nature of the *NA*, and that this contrasts to Lucian’s settings in his dialogues.

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approve of his decision to establish his home at empty Cumae and to donate a single fellow-citizen to the Sibyl. It’s the gateway to Baiae, a lovely coast, delightfully secluded. Personally, I would prefer even Prochyta to the Subura. After all, have you seen any place so dismal and lonely that you wouldn’t consider it worse to live in dread of fires, and buildings collapsing continually, and the thousand other dangers of savage Rome—and poets reciting in the month of August? *** But while his entire house was being loaded onto a single waggon, he halted under the ancient arch of dripping Capena. We walk down into the vale of Egeria with its artificial grottoes. How much more real the spirit of the spring would be were the waters enclosed by a green edge of grass and if marble didn’t profane the native tufa stone. Here, where Numa used to date his nighttime girlfriend, the grove and shrine of the sacred spring are rented out to Jews, with their equipment, a hay-lined chest…’).

[400] References to specific locations or landmarks include: the river Tiber [1.62], the Circus Maximus [1.65], the Esquiline and Viminal hills [1.72], the Aventine hill [1.85], the temple of Vesta [1.139]. There are also more general references to various buildings and places in Rome including temples, rivers, and ports [1.31], public toilets [1.38], lodgings [1.166], theatres [1.173], collapsing buildings [1.190], narrow, twisting streets [1.237], high rooves [1.269], houses and shops [1.303-4].

[401] Bozia (2014: 16-51) discusses how Lucian ‘reacts’ to Juvenal in her monograph. She argues that ‘a close examination of Juvenal and Lucian clearly demonstrates that the similarities in the presentations of Greek parasites and Roman patrons cannot be coincidental and that the notable literary equivalences between the two authors are meant to be read as Lucian’s direct answer to Roman misapprehension of the Greeks’ (22). She finds it likely that Lucian had read the works of Juvenal (28).

[402] Geue (2017: 189, 192, 215) describes Satire as a genre ‘full of space’. He argues that it is deeply invested in producing space in some way: ‘Juvenal’s fourth book opens with a long philosophical gaze poring over the globe (*omnibus in terris*, 10.1). Our satirist here combs through a ton of exempla from many different corners of space and time’. For a detailed discussion of Statius’ use of space in the *Silvae*, see Kirichenko, Alexander (2017). *Beatus Carcer/ Tristis Harena*: The Spaces of Statius’ *Silvae*. In Rimell, Victoria and Asper, Markus (Eds.), *Imagining Empire: Political Space in Hellenistic and Roman Literature* (167-188). Heidelberg: Winter.

Gellius sets the majority of his dialogic scenes in Italy (mainly Rome) with approximately one quarter taking place in Greece. There are conversations at dinner [1.2*, 2.22, 3.19, 7.13*, 17.8*, 17.20, 18.2*, 19.7, 19.9*, 20.8], at a particular Roman landmark [3.1, 4.1, 5.4, 11.17, 12.20, 13.25, 14.5, 15.1, 16.10, 18.7, 19.13, 20.1], or in a bookshop or library [5.4, 9.4, 11.17, 12.20, 13.31, 18.4, 19.6*].[403] Some of these are arranged meetings, and some are chance encounters. The dialogues that take place in Greece, or with Greek interlocutors, involve predominately leisure activities such as strolling with friends, casual conversation, and relaxation. On the other hand, dialogues set in Italy involve many activities focussed on investigation and the compiling of knowledge, with many set in bookshops or libraries.[404] Gellius refers to places that he has personally seen on his travels and stages his narrative scenes there;[405] many of the locations are particular Roman landmarks, which in effect create a map of the city.[406] The way that Gellius jumps around the city in his anecdotes follows on from the the tradition of Varro.[407] Thus in addition to being an educational guide for his readers,

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[403] Chapters with an asterisk are set in Greece. 17.20 is set in both Italy and Greece.

[404] Borg (2004: 7-8): Neudecker argues on the basis of archaeological, epigraphical, and literary evidence that public libraries were not places of leisure (reading, writing poetry, learned conversation) but were places for investigation and compilation of knowledge. Cf. Neudecker (2004: 293): 'Das war nicht diengenießerische Pflege einer literarischen Muse beim häuslichen Convivium der frühen Kaiserzeit, die damals als unverhohlender Überdruss an öffentlichen Geschäften die Literatur zum alternativen Lebensprojekt werden ließ. Stattdessen ging es um Kenntnisse und Stellenverweise bis hin zu den Zitatenschlachten des Plutarch, Athenaios, Fronto und Gellius. Das setzte zum Zweiten einen reichen Fundus an Kompendien, an Quellen und Raritäten voraus, denn wie in einem Untersuchungsausschuss wurde recherchiert und kontrolliert, wurden originale Quellenbelege wie die *laudationes funebres* und Verzeichnisse wie der *liber commentarius de familia Porcia* konsultiert. Bei solchem Bücherkonsum sind Erreichbarkeit und Zugänglichkeit entscheidend'.

[405] Stadter (2015: 125-6) notes that Plutarch is alone or one of few who cite contemporary sources is his work and frequently refers to objects, monuments, or landscapes which he has personally seen in Italy and Greece.

[406] For example: the court of a praetor [1.22], the court of the Titian baths [3.1], the entrance hall of the palace on the Palatine [4.1], a bookshop in the Sigillaria [5.4], the library of Trajan's temple [11.17], the library of the palace of Tiberius [13.20], the court of Trajan's forum [13.25], the park of Agrippa [14.5], the Cispian Hill [15.1], the Forum at Rome [16.10], the booksellers in Shoemaker's Street [18.4], the temple of Carmentis [18.7], Julius Paulus' estate in the Vatican district [19.7], the vestibule of the palace of Caesars on the Palatine [19.13], and the Palatine square [20.1].

[407] Spencer (2018: 45-63) argues that Varro's *De Lingua Latina* shows movement through the city of Rome, starting at *De Lingua Latina* 5.141. She argues that he emphasises urban space when mapping

Gellius is also a guide in the way that he takes his reader around the spaces of the city of Rome, and also on his trips to places in Italy and Greece, as is appropriate for the Roman educated elite.

On the other hand, Greek writers such as Lucian set their dialogic scenes in fantastic locations as homage to the long history and mythology of Greece; this use of the Greek past as a literary vehicle is commonly agreed to be a defining feature of the Second Sophistic.[408] Lucian's *Verae Historiae*, for example, is set an indeterminable time in the past (ποτε ἀπὸ) yet in an imaginary reality, giving no sense of time: Ὁρμηθεὶς γάρ ποτε ἀπὸ Ἡρακλείων στηλῶν καὶ ἀφεὶς εἰς τὸν ἑσπέριον ὠκεανὸν οὐρίῳ ἀνέμῳ τὸν πλοῦν ἐποιούμην.[409] In *Bis Accusatus*, the trials are held in Athens on the acropolis at the Areopagus, and specific geographical features around Athens are mentioned: Προΐωμεν, ὦ Δίκη, ταύτῃ εὐθὺ τοῦ Σουνίου μικρὸν ὑπὸ τὸν Ὑμηττὸν ἐπὶ τὰ λαιὰ τῆς Πάρνηθος, ἔνθα αἱ δύο ἐκεῖναι ἄκραι·[410] Yet, as Gallogly notes, the gods are shown to transcend space as they look down from heaven and summon souls from the dead for the trial, suggesting that the Athens of the dialogue is set in the imaginary world of the gods and their affairs. She proposes that this invokes the literary

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language, and that analyses rooted in theories of movement through space and how space is constructed can be usefully applied to the text, particularly the *dérive*: 'the rapid transitions through multifarious scenes and ambiances which characterise the *dérive* are at the heart of many of Varro's topographic sequences'(51-2). Whilst they do not form part of my discussion, various literary theories have been usefully applied when considering the concept of space in Latin literature. For further analysis see the edited volume by Fitzgerald and Spentzou (2018), which contains articles discussing the following as applied to the production of space in Latin literature: 'Lefebvre's production of space and rhythmanalysis, de Certeau's distinction between space and place, Benjamin on Baudelaire and the *flâneur*, Bakhtin's chronotope, Soja's Thirdspace, Foucault's heterotopia, Debord's *derive*, Maingueneau's paratopia, and Nora's *lieux de mémoire*'; see MacDonald (2019).

[408] Lee (2005: 24). Bompaire wrote the seminal work on this dynamic concerning Lucian: Bompaire, Jacques (1958). *Lucien Écrivain. Imitation et Création.* Paris: De Boccard.

[409] Lucian, *Verae Historiae* 1.5: ('Once upon a time, setting out from the Pillars of Hercules and heading for the western ocean with a fair wind, I went a-voyaging.').

[410] Lucian, *Bis Accusatus* 8: ('Let us set out in this direction, Justice, straight for Sunium, not far from the foot of Hymettus, to the left of Panies, where you see those two heights.').

imagination of the Second Sophistic 'with its predominant focus on the historical legacy of Greek culture and on Athens as a cultural centre'.[411]

Lucian and Gellius were contemporaries, and a similar circle of acquaintances feature in their works. Yet whilst Lucian puts these figures in marvellous locations and satirises them with showy and agonistic parody, Gellius encounters them in mundane locations and is politely scornful towards their sophistic tendencies, for example in the case of Herodes. Lucian's dialogues featuring or referencing Herodes are set in the underworld, in heaven, or even involve a journey to the moon: *Cataplus*, *Icaromenippus*, *Deorum Concilium.*[412] In contrast, Gellius sets his dialogic scenes involving him in Athens:

> In Herodis C. V. uillam quae est in agro Attico loco qui appellatur Cephisiae, aquis et {lucis} nemoribus frequentem, aestu anni medio concesseram. [18.10.][413]
>
> Herodem Atticum, consularem uirum, Athenis disserentem audiui Graeca oratione, in qua fere omnes memoriae nostrae uniuersos grauitate atque copia et elegantia uocum longe praestitit. [19.12.][414]
>
> Herodes Atticus, uir et Graeca facundia et consulari honore praeditus, accersebat saepenumero, cum apud magistros Athenis essemus, in uillas ei urbi proximas me et clarissimum uirum Seruilianum compluresque alios nostrates qui Roma in Graeciam ad capiendum ingenii cultum concesserant. Atque ibi tunc cum essemus apud eum in uilla cui nomen est Cephisiae… [1.2.][415]

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[411] Gallogly (2012: 54-5).

[412] *Cataplus* is a dialogue about journeying to the Underworld; *Icaromenippus* is a work of Menippean Satire in which the character Menippus, unhappy with philosophers who cannot give a straight answer, relates his journey to the moon and what he learns about Earth from his vantage point; and *Deorum Concilium* is a dialogue in which *Momus,* the personification of satire, argues that numerous gods should be expelled from heaven for being frauds. I analyse these dialogues further in chapter 4 .

[413] ('In the midst of the summer's heat I had withdrawn to the country house of Herodes, a man of senatorial rank, at a place in the territory of Attica which is called Cephisia, abounding in clear waters and groves.')

[414] ('I once heard Herodes Atticus, the ex-consul, holding forth at Athens in the Greek language, in which he far surpassed almost all the men of our time in distinction, fluency, and elegance of diction.')

[415] ('Whilst we were students at Athens, Herodes Atticus, a man of consular rank and of true Grecian eloquence, often invited me to his country houses near that city, in company with the honourable

> Ad Herodem Atticum, consularem uirum ingenioque amoeno et Graeca facundia celebrem… [9.2.][416]
>
> [Gellius, *NA* 1.2, 9.2, 18.10, 19.12.]

In three out of the four opening passages, Gellius is quick to emphasise Herodes' eloquence. According to Philostratus, he liked to be known as the 'king of words' and 'tongue of the Athenians'.[417] Strazdins argues that Herodes has the most verbal power in Athens, and that Philostratus portrays Herodes as the greatest of sophists, who established Athens as the centre of sophistic activity where improvisation and variation are celebrated, and spoken improvisation is valued over written composition. Those who fail to navigate Athens' sophistic culture are openly ridiculed.[418] Whilst sophists thrived in Athens when able to improvise on the spot, the same behaviour can occasionally be viewed as over the top and without substance in Imperial Rome, emphasising that oratorical performances could be received very differently in Athens to Rome.[419] There is of course a tradition of improvisation in the Roman world, as we can see in Seneca the Elder and Quintilian. However I suggest that there is a tendency to focus on written composition as a foundation to build on.[420]

Servilianus and several others of our countrymen who had withdrawn from Rome to Greece in quest of culture. And there at that time, whilst we were with him at the villa called Cephisia…')

[416] ('To Herodes Atticus, the ex-consul, renowned for his personal charm and his Grecian eloquence…')

[417] Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* 586, 598; cf. Swain (1996: 81).

[418] Strazdins (2019: 244, 247-8).

[419] Strazdins (2019: 248-9) uses the examples of Philagrus who was named chair of rhetoric in Rome but gained infamy in Athens (*Vit. Soph.* 571), and Alexander the Clay Plato who is successful in Athens (*Vit. Soph.* 571-3) but faces problems in Rome (*Vit. Soph.* 571).

[420] La Bua (2010: 187): 'Writing, assiduous reading, and long years of study enable the orator to speak extempore.'; Quintilian, *Inst. Or.* 10.7.7-8, 28-9: *Et haec quidem ex arte; illa vero ex studio, ut copiam sermonis optimi quem ad modum praeceptum est comparemus, ⟨ut⟩ multo ac fideli stilo sic formetur oratio ut scriptorum colorem etiam quae subito effusa sint reddant, ut, cum multa scripserimus, etiam multa dicamus… Scribendum certe numquam est magis quam cum multa dicemus ex tempore. Ita enim servabitur pondus et innatans illa verborum facilitas in altum reducetur, sicut rustici proximas vitis radices amputant, quae illam in summum solum ducunt, ut inferiores penitus descendendo firmentur. Ac nescioan, si utrumque cum cura et studiofecerimus, invicem prosit, ut scribendodicamus diligentius, dicendo scribamus facilius. Scribendum ergo quotiens licebit…* ('These are matters of art; what follows depends on study. We must acquire first-class linguistic resources, in the way that I have recommended; our style must be formed by a great deal of conscientious writing, to ensure that even our sudden

Despite being idyllic locations, the conversations that take place involve 'polemic, diatribe, and verbal abuse',[421] a tone true to Herodes' controversial reputation. Keulen argues that Gellius uses Herodes in a similar way to Favorinus – rather than introducing an 'intellectual celebrity' as a mouthpiece for his own viewpoints, as has sometimes been argued, he satirises their personality by having them make statements that expose their own failings.[422] As I will discuss further in chapter 4, in *NA* 19.12 Herodes is mocked for his *dolor* which is inappropriate for a Roman statesman.[423] He is repeatedly given epithets that highlight his Roman political activity, but they are always juxtaposed with a comment on his Greek eloquence: *uir et Graeca facundia et consulari honore praeditus* [1.2.1], c*onsularem uirum ingenioque amoeno et Graeca facundia celebrem* [9.2.1], *Herodem Atticum, consularem uirum, Athenis disserentem audiui Graeca oratione* [19.12.1].

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effusions reflect the tone of our written work; abundant writing must then be followed by abundant practice in speaking… Certainly, writing is never more necessary than when we have to improvise a lot. It is the way in which weightiness can be maintained, and the superficial verbal facility acquire some depth. Think of the way farmers prune away the topmost roots of the vine, which pull the plant towards the surface, to enable the lower roots to go deeper and get stronger. It may well be that if we do both these things with care and persistence, each will help the other: we shall speak more accurately because we write, and write more fluently because we speak. We must write, therefore, whenever we can…'); Seneca the Elder, *Controversiae* 1. *Praef.* 22-3: *Solebat autem et hoc genere exercitationis uti, ut aliquo die nihil praeter epiphonemata scriberet, aliquo die nihil praeter enthymemata, aliquo die nihil praeter has translaticias quas proprie sententias dicimus, quae nihil habent cum ipsa controversia inplicitum, sed satis apte et alio transferuntur, tamquam quae de fortuna, de crudelitate, de saeculo, de divitiis dicuntur; hoc genus sententiarum supellectilem vocabat. Solebat schemata quoque per se, quaecumque controversia reciperet, scribere.* ('He practised another sort of exercise: one day he would write only "exclamations," one day only enthymemes, one day nothing but the traditional passages we properly call *sententiae*, that have no intimate connection with the particular *controversia*, but can be quite aptly placed elsewhere too, such as those on fortune, cruelty, the age. riches. This type of *sententia* he called his "stock." He also used to write out figures on their own, such as would go into a *controversia*.').

[421] Keulen (2009: 282).

[422] Keulen (2009: 283). This view challenges the position of Holford-Strevens, for example, who generally sees Favorinus as someone Gellius could find no fault with.

[423] I discuss how Gellius and Lucian satirise Herodes' *dolor* in chapter 4 (pp. 130-1, 143-4).

In the one passage where his eloquence is not specifically mentioned, his villa is used instead:[424] *In Herodis C. V. uillam* [18.10]. Keulen suggests that Herodes' villa in the *NA* represents the seductive and relaxing aspects that the Romans found in Greek culture - aspects that they associated with 'oral rather than written culture, and with *otium* rather than *negotium*'.[425] He suggests that the pure Attic of the countryside is contrasted with the urban Latin literary sophistication of Gellius' world, and that the embodiment of oral culture is a clear contrast to the world of Rome, which is associated with Roman textual authority and imperial inscriptions.[426] Whilst oral culture is dominant in Rome, Latin authors of the Antonine period also emphasise the importance of its written literary culture.[427] Intellectuals, particularly those who focus on philosophical pursuits, are often seen as a product of *otium*.[428] In the following chapter I will explore the ways authors of the Second Sophistic present themselves as Roman intellectuals, and distance themselves from philhellenic rhetoric and Greek sophistry.

3.4 Conclusion

Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto draw on Greek models and themes which they adapt in their creation of new Latin works. Gellius identifies his interlocutors with Socrates and has them use Socratic irony in his dialogic scenes. Gellius and Apuleius draw on

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[424] Keulen (2009: 274) argues that Gellius' descriptions of Herodes' villa stand in the tradition of Imperial writers such as Statius [*Silvae* 1.3, 2.2], Pliny the Younger [*Epist.* 1.3, 2.17], and Seneca [*Epist. Morales* 12, 55, 86].

[425] For a thorough analysis of how Herodes' villa in the *NA* can be read, see Keulen (2009: 272-82). Baraz (2012: 30) points out that in the Republican period, *negotium* is associated with 'the practical instantiation of virtue and knowledge in action' whereas *otium* is associated with 'idleness and pleasure, whilst idle philosophers are branded as hypocrites'. See also Newlands (2002: 124-5): Newlands, Carole (2002). Statius' 'Silvae' and the Poetics of Empire. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

[426] Keulen (2009: 278). For textual approaches to Rome, see Edwards (1996). For the circulation of literary texts in the Roman world, see Starr (1987: 213-23).

[427] Sandy (1997: 68, 44) argues that bibliomania dominated the intellectual life of the period. Gellius, *NA praef.*, 5.4, 9.4, 9.14, 11.17, 13.20. Apuleius often appeals to books, writing, and the collection of knowledge during his speeches, and presents himself as a learned reader (eg. *Apologia* 25.9: *quod ego apud plurimos lego*). See Harrison (2008: 3-18) for Apuleius' impressive and successful play with his status as a writer and a reader in the *Apologia*.

[428] Baraz (2012: 42).

Plutarch, especially his Περὶ πολυπραγμοσύνης and *Quaestiones Convivales*. As Plutarch is already distancing himself from the sophists, he is a good source for our Latin authors to draw on, since in doing so they distinguish themselves from the preoccupations of the Greek Second Sophistic. Fronto in his *Correspondence* appears to craft an image of himself as a teacher and an authority on the Latin language, and he explores personal and imperial power and its display. Apuleius, rather than being the straightforward Latin equivalent of a Greek sophist, i.e. an anomaly in the Roman sphere, has links with Gellius in the way that he creates his authorial identity in the *Metamorphoses*: that is they are both distinctly Latin guides for their readers and, like Fronto, try to convey the Greek concept of *paideia* to their Roman viewership.

Gellius and Apuleius explore curiosity and its proper role and limits for an educated audience, and they persistently encourage self-reflection as they craft a narrative that guides and teaches the reader. Apuleius' character Lucius and the character of Gellius depicted in the *NA* are both using their curiosity to navigate the intellectual world of the Second Sophistic from a distinctly Roman perspective. Rather than appearing as a simple compilator of disparate facts, Gellius is a surprisingly original educational thinker who offers his own, unique vision of Roman education: instead of spoon-feeding students with the correct ways of learning, Gellius explores in the *NA* many possible routes to learning and models the correct way to do so, with his character acting as an example. His dialogic scenes form a deliberate narrative, aimed at particular didactic ends, such as effectively modelling different ways for his readers to learn, and encouraging independent investigation. This narrative is utilised in an original way to establish his larger cultural and literary goals of creating a guide for elite Romans to follow in the course of their education. With the random organisation of the

chapters and the jumping between different life stages and locations, Gellius ensures that his reader is building their own unique experience of reading the *NA*.

Despite Gellius' love of Atticism, he is rejecting the Greek Second Sophistic's desire to idealise the past and instead focusses on contemporary Roman life. He situates his Greek interlocutors in the countryside and emphasises their idle pursuits, as a deliberate contrast to the urban Roman setting. Whilst Lucian puts these figures in marvellous locations and satirises them with showy and agonistic parody, Gellius encounters them in mundane, realistic locations and is politely scornful towards their sophistic tendencies, as I have shown in the case of Herodes. Whilst the Greeks have to use the classical world and cannot innovate in the same way as they are subjects of the Empire and projecting into the past, Latin authors show a notable willingness to experiment and innovate in their literary works. This investigation has shown that Latin authors found many and varied ways to engage their readers, in what I argue is a conscious effort to distance themselves from the Greeks and carve out a Latin space in an era of competing identities. A picture of the Latin Second Sophistic is emerging that highlights the complexity of various authorial voices within Latin texts.

CHAPTER 4: Satirisation of Pseudo-Intellectuals

In this chapter, I will investigate how Latin authors' satirisation of intellectuals in their work, and, more generally, the way they present themselves as intellectuals suggests that they are self-consciously distancing themselves from certain aspects of the Greek Second Sophistic. Therefore, they can more accurately be seen as contributing to a distinctly Roman literary and cultural movement. In chapter 2 I outlined the distinction between Roman Satire and the more casual use of satirisation to mean mockery: my discussion here refers to the latter, more general usage. Throughout my discussion in this chapter, I will note how various satirical modes including Socratic irony, Aristophanic comedy, and Menippean satire influenced the authors in their satirisation of pseudo-intellectuals. There is no Latin or Greek direct equivalent for the term intellectual.[429] I will therefore examine how our Latin authors defined themselves as members of an intellectual elite by positioning themselves against a range of different types of pseudo-intellectual, focussing on several particular stock figures: the pseudo-philosopher, the grammarian, and the *magus*.

In part one of this chapter I will compare Gellius and Lucian in order to draw parallels and contrasts between the Greek and Latin styles of satirising pseudo-

[429] As discussed in the Durham 2021-2 seminar series and conference: Portrayals of 'Intellectuals' in the Ancient World organised by Thorsten Fögen and Phillip Horky. There are many different approaches for what makes an intellectual; key considerations that I will be discussing in this chapter include the intellectual's social role, the difference between expert of knowledge/ the professional and an intellectual, and the role of the pseudo-intellectual. See also Bosman, Philip (Ed.) (2019). *Intellectual and Empire in Greco-Roman Antiquity.* London; New York: Routledge; König, Jason and Woolf, Greg (Eds.) (2017). *Authority and Expertise in Ancient Scientific Culture.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Bloomer, Martin (2015a). *A Companion to Ancient Education.* Chichester; Malden (Mass.): Wiley Blackwell; Eshleman, Kendra (2012). *The Social World of Intellectuals in the Roman Empire: Sophists, Philosophers, and Christians.* Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press; Keulen, Wytse (2004a). Gellius, Apuleius, and Satire on the Intellectual. In Holford-Strevens, Leofranc and Vardi, Amiel (Eds.), *The worlds of Aulus Gellius* (223-248). Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press; Zanker, Paul (1995). *The Mask of Socrates: the Image of the Intellectual in Antiquity.* Berkeley (Calif.): University of California Press. Lauwers (2015: 22): The public display of intellectual prowess was an important aspect of Second Sophistic elite culture: sophists advertised their level of cultural knowledge and competed with others to win renown.

philosophers and frauds. I will then look at how Gellius treats pseudo-intellectuals in general, for example his mockery of the pedantic grammarian, especially his use of Fronto in this endeavour. In part two, I will examine how the authors represent themselves as intellectuals: first I will analyse Apuleius' self-representation as a philosopher and compare him to how Lucian satirises pseudo-intellectuals with respect to the supernatural; then I will examine how Apuleius and Fronto navigate the boundaries between rhetoric and philosophy and portray themselves as intellectuals in their works.

4.1 Satirisation of Pseudo-Intellectuals in the Second Sophistic

As I introduced in chapter 3, dialogue scenes of vivid intellectual exchange and exposing of imposter figures play an important role in defining the meetings of the intellectual world of Gellius, Fronto, and Apuleius. The cliché figure of the pseudo-philosopher in particular is common in contemporary discourse, reflecting moral and political concerns about the authority of intellectuals in the Antonine age.[430] Satire of intellectuals is a tradition that goes back to Aristophanes' *Clouds,* which parodied the sophists and *physikoi*. In Roman comedy there were certain 'philosophical' characters that were mocked for their pseudo-philosophy and Greekness, for example Terence's Gnatho,[431] and the *palliati Graeci* in Plautus' *Curculio*.[432] There was a concern about

[430] Keulen (2009: 289).
[431] Gnatho in Terence's *Eunuchus* plays the role of the *parasitus* and postures as a philosopher, Saylor (1975: 300-1). His speech is characterised by vivid language, metaphor, and paradox, Arnott (1970: 35, 53).
[432] Plautus, *Curculio* 288-98: *tum isti Graeci palliati, capite operto qui ambulant, qui incedunt suffarcinati cum libris, cum sportulis, constant, conferunt sermones inter sese drapetae, opstant, opsistunt, incedunt cum suis sententiis, quos semper uideas bibentes esse in thermopolio, ubi quid surrupuere: operto capitulo calidum bibunt, tristes atque ebrioli incedunt: eos ego si offendero, ex unoquoque eorum crepitum exciam polentarium. tum isti qui ludunt datatim serui scurrarum in uia, et datores et factores omnis subdam sub solum. proin sese domi contineant, uitent infortunio.* ('Then those Greeks in their cloaks, who wander around with their heads covered, who prance about stuffed with books and food baskets, who stop and palaver among each other, those runaway slaves, who stand in your way and block your path, who prance about with their clever sayings, whom you can always see drinking in the tavern when they've stolen something; with their heads covered they drink mulled wine and prance about with a

philosophers in the Republic, with periodic expulsions starting with Cato the Elder in 155 BCE,[433] and in the Imperial period.[434]

Our Latin authors engage with this larger cultural concern in specific ways that are distinct from their Greek contemporaries, as I will show with a case study of Gellius and Lucian. As mentioned in chapter 1, scholars have not yet provided a comprehensive comparison of Lucian and Gellius, despite the fact that there are three significant figures that appear in both authors: Favorinus, Herodes, and Peregrinus. I will examine the way both authors treat these figures in order to investigate whether they use different methods to satirise the same figures, which might suggest they are working toward different goals.

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grave expression and drunk. If I meet them, I'll drive the barley-fed farts out of every single one of them. Then those slaves of the city *bon vivants*, who play ball in the street, I'll put all the throwers and players under the ground. So let them stay at home and avoid a thrashing.').

[433] Gellius, *NA* 15.11.1: *C. Fannio Strabone M. Valerio Messala coss. senatusconsultum de philosophis et de rhetoribus {Latinis} factum est: M. Pomponius praetor senatum consuluit. Quod uerba facta sunt de philosophis et de rhetoribus, de ea re ita censuerunt ut M. Pomponius praetor animaduerteret, curaretque uti ei e re publica fideque sua uideretur, uti Romae ne essent.* ('In the consulship of Gaius Fannius Strabo and Marcus Valerius Messala the following decree of the senate was passed regarding Latin speaking philosophers and rhetoricians: "The praetor Marcus Pomponius laid a proposition before the senate. As the result of a discussion about philosophers and rhetoricians, the senate decreed that Marcus Pomponius, the praetor, should take heed and provide, in whatever way seemed to him in accord with the interests of the State and his oath of office, that they should not remain in Rome."'); Plutarch, *Vit. Cat. Mai.* 22.4-5: ἐπεὶ δὲ προὔβαινεν ἡ δόξα τῶν φιλοσόφων ἐν τῇ πόλει καὶ τοὺς πρώτους λόγους αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν σύγκλητον ἀνὴρ ἐπιφανὴς σπουδάσας αὐτὸς καὶ δεηθεὶς ἡρμήνευσε, Γάϊος Ἀκίλιος, ἔγνω μετ᾽ εὐπρεπείας ἀποδιοπομπήσασθαι τοὺς φιλοσόφους ἅπαντας ἐκ τῆς πόλεως. ('And when the fame of the visiting philosophers rose yet higher in the city, and their first speeches before the Senate were interpreted, at his own instance and request, by so conspicuous a man as Gaius Acilius, Cato determined, on some decent pretext or other, to rid and purge the city of them all.'). See also Star (2015: 239).

[434] Gellius, *NA* 15.11.3-5: *Neque illis solum temporibus nimis rudibus necdum Graeca disciplina expolitis philosophi ex urbe Roma pulsi sunt, uerum etiam Domitiano imperante senatusconsulto eiecti atque urbe et Italia interdicti sunt. Qua tempestate Epictetus quoque philosophus propter id senatusconsultum Nicopolim Roma decessit.* ('And it was not only in those times, which were somewhat rude and not yet refined by Greek training, that philosophers were driven from the city of Rome, but even in the reign of Domitian by a decree of the senate they were driven from the city and forbidden Italy. And it was at that time that the philosopher Epictetus also withdrew from Rome to Nicopolis because of that senatorial decree.'). See Keulen (2009: 289) for a discussion of how Gellius' concerns about illegitimate philosophical authority reflect those of several emperors.

Gellius and the Pseudo-Philosopher

Gellius satirises those he sees as false philosophers, i.e. people who pretend lofty wisdom but do not demonstrate this with their actions, as explained in *NA* 17.19:

> Fauorinum ego audiui dicere Epictetum philosophum dixisse plerosque istos qui philosophari uiderentur philosophos esse huiuscemodi ἄνευ τοῦ πράττειν, μέχρι τοῦ λέγειν; id significat 'factis procul, uerbis tenus'. Iam illud est uehementius, quod Arrianus solitum eum dictitare in libris quos de dissertationibus eius composuit scriptum reliquit: 'Nam cum' inquit 'animaduerterat hominem pudore amisso, inportuna industria, corruptis moribus, audacem confidentem, linguam ceteraque omnia praeterquam animum procurantem, istiusmodi' inquit 'hominem cum uiderat studia quoque et disciplinas philosophiae contrectare et physica adire et meditari dialectica multaque id genus theoremata aucupari sciscitarique, inclamabat deum atque hominum fidem ac plerumque inter clamandum his eum uerbis increpabat: Ἄνθρωπε, ποῦ βάλλεις; σκέψαι εἰ κεκάθαρται τὸ ἀγγεῖον. ἂν γὰρ εἰς τὴν οἴησιν αὐτὰ βάλῃς, ἀπώλετο ἢν σαπῇ· οὖρον ἢ ὄξος ἐγένετο ἢ εἴ τι τούτων χεῖρον.' Nil profecto his uerbis grauius, nil uerius, quibus declarabat maximus philosophorum litteras atque doctrinas philosophiae, cum in hominem falsum atque degenerem tamquam in uas spurcum atque pollutum influxissent, uerti, mutari, corrumpi, et, quod ipse κυνικώτερον ait, urinam fieri aut si quid est urina spurcius.[435]
>
> [Gellius, *NA* 17.19.1-4.]

The figures used to mock the pseudo-philosophers are the Stoic Epictetus and his pupil Arrian. Gellius praises Epictetus, a rough contemporary of Plutarch, highly as *maximus philosophorum*. He is again choosing to model another Greek exemplar from before the heyday of the Second Sophistic.[436] Gellius satirises pseudo-philosophers and uses vocabulary typical of the genres' tendency to depict the 'grotesqueries of human

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[435] ('I heard Favorinus say that the philosopher Epictetus declared that very many of those who professed to be philosophers were of the kind ἄνευ τοῦ προάττειν, μέχρι τοῦ λέγειν, which means "without deeds, limited to words"; that is, they preached but did not practise. But that is still more severe which Arrian, in his work On the Dissertations of Epictetus, has written that this philosopher used to say. "For," says Arrian, "when he perceived that a man without shame, persistent in wickedness, of abandoned character, reckless, boastful, and cultivating everything else except his soul—when he saw such a man taking up also the study and pursuit of philosophy, attacking natural history, practising logic and balancing and investigating many problems of that kind, he used to invoke the help of gods and men, and usually amid his exclamations chided the man in these terms: 'O man, where are you storing these things? Consider whether the vessel be clean. For if you take them into your self-conceit, they are lost; if they are spoiled, they become urine or vinegar or something worse, if possible.'" Nothing surely could be weightier, nothing truer than these words, in which the greatest of philosophers declared that the learning and precepts of philosophy, flowing into a base and degenerate man, as if into a soiled and filthy vessel, are turned, altered, spoiled, and as he himself more cynically expresses it, become urine or, if possible, something worse than urine.')

[436] Cf. Gellius' use of Plutarch above (pp. 80-6).

disfigurement',[437] along with exposure of vice and crime.[438] The way that he not just refers to the *hominem falsum atque degenerem* but 'leers' at him, and 'wallows' in his faults, is typical of Roman satirists.[439] Gellius' writing resembles a form of Menippean Satire,[440] a phenomenon that came at a time where Roman satire was changing from generally Roman social concerns to more abstract, intellectual concerns,[441] such as the worthiness of those who study *litteras atque doctrinas philosophiae.* Although Romans satirists engaged with philosophy in different ways,[442] the Roman satirist generally took a wary approach to philosophy.[443] This can be seen by Gellius in the above passage, for despite lauding Epictetus as *maximus philosophorum*, he viciously attacks the pseudo-philosophers he deems unworthy.

Gellius is keen to emphasise that all of this information is hearsay from Favorinus, which suggests that Gellius is distancing himself from the subject of philosophy: *Fauorinum ego audiui dicere Epictetum philosophum dixisse… Praeterea idem ille Epictetus, quod ex eodem Fauorino audiuimus, solitus dicere est duo esse uitia multo omnium grauissima ac taeterrima, intolerantiam et incontinentiam…* [444] *intolerantiam et incontinentiam* recalls Gellius' description of Socrates in 2.1, and the lengths he went to in order to achieve endurance and self-restraint. However, whilst philosophers are satirised by Gellius, it does not compare to the scorn that he has for pseudo-philosophers and their faults. Gellius seems to speak favourably of philosophy

[437] Hooley (2007: 8).
[438] Keane (2006: 46).
[439] Freudenburg (2005: 9).
[440] See chapter 2 (pp. 47-9).
[441] Relihan (2005: 109, 111).
[442] Mayer (2005: 147, 158).
[443] Ennius *fr.* 95: *Philosophari est mihi necesse, at paucis: nam omnino haut placet*; this fragment is quoted several times by Cicero and Gellius: Cicero *Tusc.* 2.1, *De Oratore* 2.156, *Rep.* 1.30; Gellius, *NA* 5.16.5, 5.15.9; May (2006: 84); Mayer (2005: 146).
[444] Gellius, *NA* 17.19.1, 5: ('I heard Favorinus say that the philosopher Epictetus declared… moreover, that same Epictetus, as we also heard from Favorinus, used to say that there were two faults which were by far the worst and most disgusting of all, lack of endurance and lack of self-restraint...').

itself in this chapter and presents it as something only befitting the worthy, yet still distances himself from the subject by presenting the information as overheard from Favorinus, and recalls his satiric mockery of the eccentricities of philosophers such as Socrates in *NA* 2.1, as I now discuss.

Whilst Gellius uses Socratic questioning in his mockery of false-intellectuals,[445] he is not always overly complimentary to Socrates himself as a real figure. In *NA* 2.1 he seems to poke fun at the way that Socrates used to train in self-endurance: *stare solitus Socrates dicitur pertinaci statu perdius atque pernox, a summo lucis ortu ad solem alterum orientem, inconiuens immobilis, isdem in uestigiis et ore atque oculis eundem in locum derectis, cogitabundus tamquam quodam secessu mentis atque animi facto a corpore.* [446] This is rather different to the admiring portrayal found in Plato:

> συννοήσας γὰρ αὐτόθι ἕωθέν τι εἱστήκει σκοπῶν, καὶ ἐπειδὴ οὐ προυχώρει αὐτῷ, οὐκ ἀνίει ἀλλὰ εἱστήκει ζητῶν. καὶ ἤδη ἦν μεσημβρία, καὶ ἄνθρωποι ᾐσθάνοντο, καὶ θαυμάζοντες ἄλλος ἄλλῳ ἔλεγεν ὅτι Σωκράτης ἐξ ἑωθινοῦ φροντίζων τι ἕστηκε. τελευτῶντες δέ τινες τῶν Ἰώνων, ἐπειδὴ ἑσπέρα ἦν, δειπνήσαντες—καὶ γὰρ θέρος τότε γ᾽ ἦν—χαμεύνια ἐξενεγκάμενοι ἅμα μὲν ἐν τῷ ψύχει καθηῦδον, ἅμα δ᾽ ἐφύλαττον αὐτὸν εἰ καὶ τὴν νύκτα ἑστήξοι. ὁ δὲ εἱστήκει μέχρι ἕως ἐγένετο καὶ ἥλιος ἀνέσχεν: ἔπειτα ᾤχετ᾽ ἀπιὼν προσευξάμενος τῷ ἡλίῳ.[447]
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> [Plato, *Symposium* 220 C-D.]

Whilst Plato begins by noting that he was pondering an intellectual problem (συννοήσας) and describes how people would gather to watch in wonder, Gellius has

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[445] See above (pp. 79-80) for Gellius' use of Socratic irony in his dialogic scenes.

[446] Gellius, *NA* 2.1.2: ('He would stand, so the story goes, in one fixed position, all day and all night, from early dawn until the next sunrise, open-eyed, motionless, in his very tracks and with face and eyes riveted to the same spot in deep meditation, as if his mind and soul had been, as it were, withdrawn from his body.').

[447] ('Immersed in some problem at dawn, he stood in the same spot considering it; and when he found it a tough one, he would not give it up but stood there trying. The time drew on to midday, and the men began to notice him, and said to one another in wonder: 'Socrates has been standing there in a study ever since dawn!' The end of it was that in the evening some of the Ionians after they had supped—this time it was summer—brought out their mattresses and rugs and took their sleep in the cool; thus they waited to see if he would go on standing all night too. He stood till dawn came and the sun rose; then walked away, after offering a prayer to the Sun.')

him merely standing (*stare*) and focusses on his unsettling appearance: *inconiuens immobilis, isdem in uestigiis et ore atque oculis eundem in locum derectis*… He then has Favorinus add a further bemused comment: πολλάκις, *inquit*, ἐξ ἡλίου εἰς ἥλιον εἱστήκει ἀστραβέστερος τῶν πρέμνων.[448] In the *NA*, Favorinus himself instead serves as a 'Socrates' to Gellius on occasion. However, Gellius' Favorinus is not entirely a perfect exemplar of moral virtue, as I will argue later in the chapter.[449]

Gellius also uses Epictetus' authority in *NA* 1.2 to humiliate a pseudo-philosopher. In his chapter preface, he makes it clear that whilst the young man appears to be a student of philosophy, he is not a true philosopher: *Ab Herode Attico C.V. tempestiue deprompta in quendam iactantem et gloriosum adulescentem, specie tantum philosophiae sectatorem, uerba Epicteti Stoici, quibus festiuiter a uero Stoico seiunxit uolgus loquacium nebulonum qui se Stoicos nuncuparent.* [450] After setting the scene of relaxing at Herodes' villa, Gellius then has the pseudo-philosopher reveal his fraudulent nature:

> Erat ibidem nobiscum simul adulescens philosophiae sectator, disciplinae ut ipse dicebat Stoicae, sed loquentior inpendio et promptior. Is plerumque in conuiuio sermonibus qui post epulas haberi solent multa atque inmodica ⟨de⟩ philosophiae doctrinis intempestiue atque insubide disserebat, praeque se uno ceteros omnes linguae Atticae principes gentemque omnem togatam totumque nomen Latinum rudes esse et agrestes praedicabat, atque interea uocabulis haut facile cognitis syllogismorum captionumque dialecticarum laqueis strepebat,

[448] Gellius, *NA* 2.1.3: ('He said: "He often stood from sun to sun, more rigid than the tree trunks..."').

[449] As mentioned in chapter 1 (p. 24), Holford-Strevens' analysis of Favorinus as someone with whom Gellius could find no fault is now outdated and has been questioned, for it seems possible that Favorinus was also a target of Gellius' satire. See Keulen (2009: 97-111). I discuss Gellius satirisation of Favorinus in greater detail in a dedicated section below (pp. 132-42).

[450] Gellius, *NA* 1.2. *praef.*: ('The apt use made by Herodes Atticus, the ex-consul, in reply to an arrogant and boastful young fellow, a student of philosophy in appearance only, of the passage in which Epictetus the Stoic humorously set apart the true Stoic from the mob of prating triflers who called themselves Stoics.').

> κυριεύοντας et ἡσυχάζοντας et σωρίτας aliosque id genus gripos neminem posse dicens nisi se dissoluere.[451]
>
> [Gellius, *NA* 1.2.3-5.]

Gellius emphasises that the pseudo-philosopher is *loquentior inpendio et promptior* and that he used to *intempestiue atque insubide disserebat. Loquentior* recalls the *loquentia* of Probus [1.15.18][452] in Gellius' discussion of empty loquacity, and this is a frequent criticism which he aims at those he considers pseudo-intellectuals.[453] *intempestiue* is also used by Gellius in *NA* 4.1 to satirise grammarians.[454] As a consequence of his unfounded boasting, Herodes cuts him down to size by quoting from Epictetus:

> Has ille inanes glorias cum flaret, iamque omnes finem cuperent uerbisque eius defetigati pertaeduissent, tum Herodes, Graeca ut plurimus ei mos fuit oratione utens, 'permitte,' inquit, 'philosophorum amplissime, quoniam respondere nos tibi, quos uocas idiotas, non quimus, recitari ex libro quid de huiuscemodi magniloquentia uester senserit dixeritque Epictetus, Stoicorum maximus,' iussitque proferri dissertationum Epicteti digestarum ab Arriano librum II, in quo ille uenerandus senex iuuenes qui se Stoicos appellabant, neque frugis neque operae probae, sed theorematis tantum nugalibus et puerilium isagogarum commentationibus deblaterantes, obiurgatione iusta incessuit. Lecta igitur sunt ex libro qui prolatus est ea quae addidi, quibus uerbis Epictetus seuere simul et festiuiter seiunxit atque diuisit a uero atque sincero Stoico, qui esset procul dubio ἀκώλυτος ἀνανάγκαστος ἀπαραπόδιστος ἐλεύθερος εὐπορῶν εὐδαιμονῶν, uolgus illud nebulonum hominum qui se Stoicos nuncuparent atraque uerborum et argutiarum fuligine ob oculos audientium iacta sanctissimae disciplinae nomen ementirentur…[455]

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[451] ('There was with us there at the time a young student of philosophy, of the Stoic school according to his own account, but intolerably loquacious and presuming. In the course of the conversations which are commonly carried on at table after dinner, this fellow often used to prattle unseasonably, absurdly, and at immoderate length, on the principles of philosophy, maintaining that compared with himself all the Greek-speaking authorities, all wearers of the toga, and the Latin race in general were ignorant boors. As he spoke, he rattled off unfamiliar terms, the catchwords of syllogisms and dialectic tricks, declaring that no one but he could unravel the "master," the "resting," and the "heap" arguments, and other riddles of the kind.')

[452] Holford-Strevens (2020: 10).

[453] I discuss Gellius' comparisons of concise, Roman rhetoric to Greek loquaciousness below.

[454] As I discuss in chapter 2 (pp. 153-9).

[455] ('Once when he was puffing out these empty boasts, and already all, weary of his prating, were thoroughly disgusted and longing for an end, Herodes, speaking in Greek as was his general custom, said: "Allow me, mightiest of philosophers, since we, whom you call laymen, cannot answer you, to read from a book of Epictetus, greatest of Stoics, what he thought and said about such big talk as that of yours." And he bade them bring the first volume of the *Discourses* of Epictetus, arranged by Arrian, in which that venerable old man with just severity rebukes those young men who, though calling themselves Stoics, showed neither virtue nor honest industry, but merely babbled of trifling propositions and of the fruits of

[Gellius, *NA* 1.2.6-7.]

Thus the pseudo-philosopher is put in his place: *His ille auditis insolentissimus adulescens obticuit, tamquam si ea omnia non ab Epicteto in quosdam alios, sed ab Herode in eum ipsum dicta essent.* [456] In this scenario Gellius uses the figure of Herodes to invoke the authority of Epictetus and thus mock the false philosopher.

However, in a later scenario, Gellius' use of Herodes is not so clear cut. In *NA* 9.2, Gellius has Herodes reproach a man who falsely claimed the title of philosopher: *Qualibus uerbis notarit Herodes Atticus falso quempiam cultu amictuque nomen habitumque philosophi ementientem*. The man is described as having a cloak, long hair, and a beard that almost reached his waist. He is surprised that Herodes would ask who he is since it should be obvious from his appearance that he is a philosopher. Herodes replies: *'Video' inquit Herodes 'barbam et pallium, philosophum nondum uideo.* [457] Herodes, quoting Musonius Rufus, declares that since the fraud is not a good man, he deserves money: ἄξιος οὖν ἐστιν ἀργυρίου.[458] He then claims that his ancestors made it unlawful for slaves to be given the great names of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, so why is it allowed for base men to be given the great title of philosopher: *cur ergo nos patimur nomen philosophiae inlustrissimum in hominibus deterrimis exsordescere?*[459] The man is treated as a pseudo-philosopher, *philosophum sese ostentanti*,[460] due to his

their study of such elements as are taught to children. Then, when the book was brought, there was read the passage which I have appended, in which Epictetus with equal severity and humour set apart and separated from the true and genuine Stoic, who was beyond question without restraint or constraint, unembarrassed, free, prosperous and happy, that other mob of triflers who styled themselves Stoics, and casting the black soot of their verbiage before the eyes of their hearers, laid false claim to the name of the holiest of sects…')

[456] Gellius, *NA* 1.2.13: ('On hearing these words, that most arrogant of youths was mute, just as if the whole diatribe had been pronounced, not by Epictetus against others, but against himself by Herodes.').

[457] Gellius, *NA* 9.2.4.

[458] Gellius, *NA* 9.2.8.

[459] Gellius, *NA* 9.2.11.

[460] Gellius, *NA* 9.2.8.

appearance,[461] and the fact that he is asking for money. Giving the fake philosopher cash underlines his real, base nature: he is a seeker after cash, not wisdom. On the surface it seems that Gellius is juxtaposing the wise Herodes against the sham philosopher. However, Keulen argues that the reverence of the Tyrannicides was mocked in Aristophanic comedy as naïve,[462] and Gellius' audience would have found it amusing that Herodes, known for his interest in boys, would relate this story. Gellius is making as satirical allusion to the pederastic aspects of Greek education, which might conflict with standard Roman values,[463] thus not only is Gellius satirising the pseudo-philosopher, he is also mocking Herodes, further distancing himself from the Greeks of his day.

This is also seen in the manner in which Gellius satrises Herodes' grief, for example in *NA* 19.12, the title is: *Dissertatio Herodis Attici super ui et natura doloris suaeque opinionis affirmatio per exemplum indocti rustici qui cum rubis fructiferas arbores praecidit*.[464] The chapter is set in Athens, and Herodes is attempting to defend

[461] It was customary in the Second Sophistic for philosophers to have a certain appearance. In *Discourse* 1.2.29, Epictetus says a philosopher would rather die than shave off his beard: 'ἄγε οὖν, Ἐπίκτητε, διαξύρησαι.' ἂν ὦ φιλόσοφος, λέγω 'οὐ διαξυρῶμαι.' 'ἀλλ' ἀφελῶ σου τὸν τράχηλον.' εἰ σοὶ ἄμεινον, ἄφελε,. In *Discourse* 4.8 there is discussion of the pseudo-philosopher, for example (34-5): Νῦν δ' αὐτὸ μόνον κινηθέντες πρὸς φιλοσοφίαν, ὡς οἱ κακοστόμαχοι πρός τι βρωμάτιον, ὃ μετὰ μικρὸν σικχαίνειν μέλλουσιν, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὸ σκῆπτρον, ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. καθεῖκε τὴν κόμην, ἀνείληφε τρίβωνα, γυμνὸν δεικνύει τὸν ὦμον, μάχεται τοῖς ἀπαντῶσιν κἂν ἐν φαινόλῃ τινὰ ἴδῃ, μάχεται αὐτῷ. ('But, as it is, being merely moved towards philosophy, like dyspeptics who are moved to some paltry foods, which they are bound in a short whilst to loathe, immediately these men are off to the sceptre, to the kingdom. One of them lets his hair grow long, he takes up a rough cloak, he shows his bare shoulder, he quarrels with the people he meets, and if he sees somebody in an overcoat he quarrels with him.'). See Zanker (1995) for depictions of the philosopher's appearance in art. Sidebottom (2009: 72–87) argues that imperial sophists and philosophers are defined by their appearance, e.g. clothes, expression, and grooming, and their use of gestures and way of speaking, rather than education and knowledge; see also Strazdins (2019: 251). By focussing on the appearance of these pseudo-philosophers, the authors make it immediately apparent that they are talking about a charlatan.

[462] Keulen (2009: 303): It was debated in antiquity about the Tyrannicides' true motives, and used politically by those in Gellius' day.

[463] Keulen (2009: 305).

[464] Gellius, *NA* 19.12. *praef.*: ('A discourse of Herodes Atticus on the power and nature of pain, and a confirmation of his view by the example of an ignorant countryman who cut down fruit-trees along with thorns.').

himself against accusations of excessive grief, particularly over the deaths of his foster sons: *tamquam minus sapienter et parum uiriliter dolorem ferret ex morte pueri quem amauerat.*[465] The word *dolor* or *doleo* is repeated three times in the passage and occurs again in *NA* 1.2.5, and *NA* 9.2 – passages focussing on Herodes. Keulen suggests that the emphasis of Herodes' *dolor* is Gellius' way of satirising his identity and reminding the reader of his negative reputation, despite giving him the chance to defend himself against accusations in this passage.[466] Gleason points out that it is not easy to determine what the socially acceptable amount of grief looks like, and investigates what Herodes' bereavement might reveal about his own perception of his position on the border between Greek and Roman culture. She concludes that since Greek culture was a part of every elite Roman's self-formation, when an educated Greek looked at a Roman he saw himself reflected.[467] With Gellius we have an educated Roman looking at a Greek, and he seems to be rejecting the overly emotional 'Greek' aspect of Herodes by satirising his unseemly despair.[468] According to Philostratus, Herodes' display of emotion at death often sees him ridiculed by philosophers, particularly the death of his wife Regilla, who died in suspicious circumstances, and his foster sons, with whom he is rumoured to have had homoerotic relations.[469]

Thus Gellius use of Herodes is complex: as noted above in the scene where Herodes uses the authority of Epictetus to mock a pseudo-philosopher, Gellius seems to

[465] Gellius, *NA* 19.12.2: ('He did not endure the grief which he felt at the death of a beloved boy with sufficient wisdom and fortitude.').
[466] Keulen (2009: 272).
[467] Gleason (2010: 156-62).
[468] Baltussen (2013 67-92): Cicero's grief after the death of Tullia was also seen as excessive. It was a known topic of discussion and about which he was defensive. Thus as the example of Cicero shows, Romans dealt with these same issues. Gellius is constructing stereotypes of Greeks which he thereby uses to praise Roman qualities and practices, rather than there being an actual cultural difference. I will elaborate on this further below.
[469] Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* 556-7; Strazdins (2019: 249). I discuss Lucian's reaction to Herodes' grief below (pp. 143-4).

be agreeing with him. Yet Herodes also becomes a target of Gellius' satire in other respects when Gellius wants to distance himself from Greek excess.

Gellius and Favorinus

As I mentioned in chapter 1 (pp. 23-4), Favorinus had a complex, hybrid identity and Gellius emphasises this in the *NA*. On the one hand, Favorinus can be an exemplar, and praised for his knowledge of the Latin language, and used as a sort of 'Socrates' to Gellius. On the other hand, Gellius also uses him as an object of satire: although he admires Favorinus, he is undoubtedly Hellenised (ὅτι Ῥωμαῖος ὢν ἀφηλληνίσθη),[470] and therefore Gellius cannot be seen to promote this aspect too heavily. Throughout the *NA* he is sure to satirise Favorinus' 'Greekness' in order to further his aim of providing a

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[470] For his explicit 'conversion' to Hellenism, see his *Corinthian Oration* 25-7 (Dio Chrysostom *Or.* 37): Εἰ δέ τις οὐ Λευκανὸς ὤν, ἀλλὰ Ῥωμαῖος, οὐδὲ τοῦ πλήθους, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἱπποτρόφων, οὐδὲ τὴν φωνὴν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γνώμην καὶ τὴν δίαιταν καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐζηλωκώς, καὶ ταῦθ' οὕτως ἐγκρατῶς καὶ περιφανῶς, ὡς οὔτε τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ῥωμαίων οὔτε τῶν καθ' αὑτὸν Ἑλλήνων, εἰρήσεται γάρ, οὐδὲ εἷς· τῶν μὲν γὰρ Ἑλλήνων τοὺς ἀρίστους ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἐκεῖσε πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ῥωμαίων πράγματα ἀποκλίνοντας, τὸν δὲ πρὸς τὰ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ τούτων ἕνεκα καὶ τὴν οὐσίαν καὶ τὸ πολιτικὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ πάνθ' ἁπλῶς προϊέμενον, ἵν' αὐτῷ περιῇ ἓν ἀντὶ πάντων Ἕλληνι δοκεῖν τε καὶ εἶναι—εἶτα τοῦτον οὐκ ἐχρῆν παρ' ὑμῖν ἑστάναι χαλκοῦν; καὶ κατὰ πόλιν γε· παρ' ὑμῖν μέν, ὅτι Ῥωμαῖος ὢν ἀφηλληνίσθη, ὥσπερ ἡ πατρὶς ἡ ὑμετέρα, παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις δέ, ὅτι ἀττικίζει τῇ φωνῇ, παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις δέ, ὅτι φιλογυμναστεῖ, παρὰ πᾶσι δέ, ὅτι φιλοσοφεῖ καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν ἤδη τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐπῆρε συμφιλοσοφεῖν αὐτῷ, οὐκ ὀλίγους δὲ καὶ τῶν βαρβάρων ἐπεσπάσατο. ἐπ' αὐτὸ γὰρ τοῦτο καὶ δοκεῖ ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν οἷον ἐξεπίτηδες κατεσκευάσθαι, Ἕλλησι μέν, ἵνα ἔχωσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι τῆς Ἑλλάδος παράδειγμα ὡς οὐδὲν τὸ παιδευθῆναι τοῦ φῦναι πρὸς τὸ δοκεῖν διαφέρει· Ῥωμαίοις δέ, ἵνα μηδ' οἱ τὸ ἴδιον ἀξίωμα περιβεβλημένοι τὸ παιδεύεσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἀξίωμα παρορῶσι· Κελτοῖς δέ, ἵνα μηδὲ τῶν βαρβάρων μηδεὶς ἀπογιγνώσκῃ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς παιδείας, βλέπων εἰς τοῦτον. ('Well, if some one who is not a Lucanian but a Roman, not one of the masses but of the equestrian order, one who has affected, not merely the language, but also the thought and manners and dress of the Greeks, and that too with such mastery and manifest success as no one among either the Romans of earlier days or the Greeks of his own time, I must say, has achieved—for whilst the best of the Greeks over there may be seen inclining toward Roman ways, he inclines toward the Greek and to that end is sacrificing both his property and his political standing and absolutely everything, aiming to achieve one thing at the cost of all else, namely, not only to seem Greek but to be Greek too—taking all this into consideration, ought he not to have a bronze statue here in Corinth? Yes, and in every city—in yours because, though Roman, he has become thoroughly hellenised, even as your own city has; in Athens because he is Athenian in his speech; in Sparta because he is devoted to athletics; in all cities everywhere because he pursues the study of wisdom and already has not only roused many of the Greeks to follow that pursuit with him but also attracted even many of the barbarians. Indeed it seems that he has been equipped by the gods for this express purpose—for the Greeks, so that the natives of that land may have an example before them to show that culture is no whit inferior to birth with respect to renown; for Romans, so that not even those who are wrapped up in their own self-esteem may disregard culture with respect to real esteem; for Celts, so that no one even of the barbarians may despair of attaining the culture of Greece when he looks upon this man.'). See König, Jason (2001). Favorinus' Corinthian Oration in its Corinthian Context. *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society*, 47, 141-171. See also Swain (2004: 30-1).

notably Roman education. Favorinus is used to provide a contrast between philhellenic aspects of rhetoric, and the Roman perspective on rhetoric. In 13.25, Favorinus discusses the meaning of *manubiae* and whether or not it is right to use several words of the same meaning. The scene is meant to give an impression of a typical Roman declamation, as it is set in the *forum Traiani*, a place where the courts held session and Roman orators gave speeches.[471] Gellius begins by having Favorinus emphasise his philhellenic perspective, despite declaiming in Latin:[472]

> 'Etiamsi' inquit Fauorinus 'opera mihi princeps et prope omnis in litteris disciplinisque Graecis sumpta est, non usque eo tamen infrequens sum uocum Latinarum, quas subsiciuo aut tumultuario studio colo, ut hanc ignorem manubiarum interpretationem uulgariam, quod esse dicantur manubiae praeda… Atque, ut erat Fauorinus egregia uel diuina quadam memoria, uerba ipsa M. Tulli statim dixit.[473]
>
> [Gellius, *NA* 13.25.4, 5.]

The use of both *subsicivus* (literally ‘that is cut off and left’) and *tumultuarius* (confused, irregular, disorderly, tumultuary, improvised) suggest that Gellius is satirising Favorinus’ study of Latin.[474] The juxtaposition of these two words brings to mind the *lanx satura* of satire.[475] Gowers argues for the significance of food in Roman satirical writings, stating that ‘food is in the guts of Roman Satire’ and that the very nature of the

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[471] Gellius, *NA* 13.25.1; Pernot (2005: 90).

[472] As I argue in chapter 3 (pp. 112-18), Gellius is attentive to the locations in which his narrative scenes take place. The *forum Traiani* is a quintessentially Roman setting, and Favorinus is declaiming in Latin, yet as Schmitz (1997: 175-7) points out, Favorinus is well known for being a philhellene; in the ‘Corinthian’ speech *Or*. 37 from the corpus of Dio Chrysostom, commonly attributed to Favorinus, he repeatedly appeals to Greek national pride ‘*griechischen Nationalstolz’*. See also König (2001: 141-71).

[473] (‘Then Favorinus rejoined: “Although my principal and almost my entire attention has been given to the literature and arts of Greece, I am nevertheless not so inattentive to the Latin language, to which I devote occasional or desultory study, as to be unaware of this common interpretation of *manubiae,* which makes it a synonym of *praeda*… And then, such was Favorinus' marvellous and almost miraculous memory, he at once added Cicero's own words.’)

[474] Whilst Favorinus is usually used as an authority on the Latin language (e.g. *NA* 14.1, 14.2, 17.10), Gellius’ gentle mocking here cautions the reader against forgetting Favorinus’ focus on the Greek language (‘*“Etiamsi,” inquit Favorinus, “opera mihi princeps et prope omnis in litteris disciplinisque Graecis sumpta est…”*’). For a discussion of Favorinus as an authority on Latin in the *NA*, see Swain (2004: 33-5).

[475] See chapter 2 (pp. 43-9).

word is culinary by origin.[476] She highlights the mock gutting of a pig from the *Cena Trimalcionis* of Petronius' *Satyricon* [49. 9-10], and the 'leftover' blood puddings and sausages that fall out. Gellius uses *subsicivus* three times in the *NA*, and both other times he is speaking with some degree of sarcasm. The first comes at the end of his preface, after quoting from Aristophanes' *Frogs* [354-6, 369-71] he says he will spend every moment of his leisure time collecting brief and entertaining snippets [*NA praef.* 20-24]. The other comes near the end of the *NA* when Gellius is so exasperated at the incompetence of a Greek physician, he has to devote what little of his spare time he has to learning some basic medicine that the physician really ought to have known [*NA* 18.10].

Gellius is ostensibly respectful towards his mentor Favorinus in the *NA*, yet does not shy from gently mocking his Greek eloquence and tendency to babble. In *NA* 2.22 he responds to Favorinus' discourse on winds and seems to praise his eloquence: *Haec nobis Fauorinus in eo quo dixi tempore apud mensam suam summa cum elegantia uerborum totiusque sermonis comitate atque gratia denarrauit.* [477] He then proceeds to correct some details by drawing on the Roman orator Cato, and Nigidius, an authority on Latin:[478] *Sed quod ait uentum qui ex terra Gallia flaret Circium appellari, M. Cato in libris originum eum uentum Cercium dicit, non Circium.* [479] Keulen argues that Gellius concludes his representation of Favorinus' teaching with demonstrations of his own intellectual authority acquired through independent research. He proposes that by satirising the instability and unreliability of Hellenic 'star intellectuals', Gellius

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[476] Gowers (1993: 109).
[477] Gellius, *NA* 2.22.28: ('This is what Favorinus recounted to us at his own table at the time I mentioned, with extreme elegance of diction and in a delightful and graceful style throughout.').
[478] Gunderson (2009: 103).
[479] Gellius, *NA* 2.22.29: ('But as to his statement that the wind which blows from the land of Gaul is called circius, Marcus Cato in his Origins calls that wind, not circius, but cercius.').

advertises the stable and reliable written authority of the *NA*.[480] Gellius seems to be suggesting that rhetoric should be concise and accurate, i.e. Roman, rather than verbose and off the cuff, i.e. Greek, as I will discuss below.

Later in the chapter, Gellius goes on to portray Favorinus as having concluded a drunken 'exhibition speech': *...rationesque omnium uocabulorum, quoniam plus paulo adbibi, effutissem, nisi multa iam prosus omnibus uobis reticentibus uerba fecissem, quasi fieret a me ἀκρόασις epidictica.*[481] With the juxtaposition of *adbibi* and *effutissem,* combined with the references to Favorinus' verbosity and taste for delivering ἀκρόασις ἐπιδεικτική, Gellius recalls the discourse against the rhetoric of sophists who 'spit out' their endless stream of words.[482] Of the four times Gellius uses the word *effutire,* three are in reference to Favorinus [2.22.25 *effutissem*; 14.1.33 *effutire*; 16.12.6 *effutivit*] and one refers to the chattering praise of those who are listening to a philosopher interested more in leisure and unrestrained applause than in giving a serious philosophical lecture.[483]

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[480] Keulen (2009: 93 n.72, 316).

[481] Gellius, *NA* 2.22.25: ('…and since I have drunk a good bit, I would have prated on about the meaning of all these terms, had I not already done a deal of talking whilst all of you have been silent, as if I were delivering 'an exhibition speech.'').

[482] Keulen (2009: 219).

[483] Gellius, *NA* 5.1.1-4: *⟨***⟩ Musonium philosophum solitum accepimus. 'Cum philosophus' inquit 'hortatur monet, suadet obiurgat, aliudue quid disciplinarum disserit, tum qui audiunt, si de summo et solute pectore obuias uulgatasque laudes effutiunt, si clamitant etiam, si gestiunt, si uocum eius festiuitatibus, si modulis uerborum, si quibusdam quasi fretamentis orationis mouentur exagitantur exsiliunt, tum scias et qui dicit et qui audiunt frustra esse neque illi philosophum loqui, sed tibicinem canere. Animus' inquit 'audientis philosophum, ⟨cum⟩ quae dicuntur utilia ac salubria sunt et errorum atque uitiorum medicinas ferunt, laxamentum atque otium prolixe profuseque laudandi non habet; quisquis ille est qui audit, nisi {ille} est plane deperditus, inter ipsam philosophi orationem et perhorrescat necesse est et pudeat tacitus et paeniteat et gaudeat et admiretur, uarios adeo uultus disparilesque sensus gerat, proinde ut eum conscientiamque eius adfecerit utrarumque animi partium, aut sincerarum aut aegrarum, philosophi pertractatio.'* ('I have heard that the philosopher Musonius was accustomed… "When a philosopher," he says, "is uttering words of encouragement, of warning, of persuasion, or of rebuke, or is discussing any other philosophical theme, then if his hearers utter trite and commonplace expressions of praise without reflection or restraint, if they shout too, if they gesticulate, if they are stirred and swayed and impassioned by the charm of his utterance, by the rhythm of his words, and by certain musical notes, as it were, then you may know that speaker and hearers are wasting their time, and that they are not hearing a philosopher's lecture, but a flute-player's recital. The mind," said he,

NA 1.15 is a chapter criticising *leues et futtiles et inportuni locutores.*[484] Gellius starts by giving his own view on the hatefulness of empty chatter, and then backs this up with examples from famous Greek and Latin writers. Near the end of the chapter, he quotes Favorinus' assessment of Euripides:[485] *sed uel maxime de hominibus quoque posse dici stulta et inmodica blaterantibus, quorum lingua tam prodiga infrenisque sit ut fluat semper et aestuet conluuione uerborum taeterrima, quod genus homines a Graecis significantissimo uocabulo* κατάγλωσσοι *appellantur.* [486] This is ironic given Favorinus' own reputation for talking too much.[487] Gellius is using Favorinus as a satirical figure by exposing and deriding his reputation as a 'blabbermouth' and using him to make the point that philosophers who babble in a way that is *stulta et inmodica* are frauds. The other sources quoted in *NA* 1.15 are only referenced for their quotations on the benefits of concise speech,[488] whereas Favorinus is mocked for his hypocrisy.

"of one who is listening to a philosopher, so long as what is said is helpful and salutary, and furnishes a cure for faults and vices, has no time or leisure for continued and extravagant applause. Whoever the hearer may be, unless he is wholly lost, during the course of the philosopher's address he must necessarily shudder and feel secret shame and repentance, or rejoice or wonder, and even show changes of countenance and betray varying emotions, according as the philosopher's discourse has affected him and his consciousness of the different tendencies of his mind, whether noble or base."')

[484] Gellius, *NA* 1.15.1.

[485] Euripides, *Bacch.* 386.

[486] Gellius, *NA* 1.15.17: ('But men who prate foolishly and immoderately, whose tongues are so extravagant and unbridled that they ceaselessly flow and seethe with the foulest dregs of language, the sort of persons to whom the Greek supply the highly significant term κατάγλωσσοι.').

[487] Philostratus, *Vit. Soph.* 541.

[488] Gellius, *NA* 1.15.5-9: *M. quoque Tullii uerba posui quibus stultam et inanem dicendi copiam grauiter et (se)uere detestatus est: Dummodo (inquit) hoc constet, neque infantiam eius qui rem norit, sed eam explicare dicendo non queat, neque inscientiam illius cui res non subpetat, uerba non desint, esse laudandam: quorum si alterum sit optandum, malim equidem indisertam prudentiam quam stultam loquacitatem. Item in libro de oratore primo uerba haec posuit: 'Quid enim est tam furiosum quam uerborum uel optimorum atque ornatissimorum sonitus inanis, nulla subiecta sententia nec scientia?' Cumprimis autem M. Cato atrocissimus huiusce uitii insectator est. Namque in oratione quae inscripta est Si se Caelius tribunus plebis appellasset numquam (inquit) tacet, quem morbus tenet loquendi tamquam ueternosum bibendi atque dormiendi.* ('I have added also a passage from Marcus Tullius, in which he expresses his strong and just hatred of silly and unmeaning volubility. He says: "Provided this fact be recognised, that neither should one commend the dumbness of a man who knows a subject, but is unable to give it expression in speech, nor the ignorance of one who lacks knowledge of his subject, but abounds in words; yet if one must choose one or the other alternative, I for my part would prefer tongue-tied knowledge to ignorant loquacity." Also in the first book of the De Oratore he wrote as follows: "For what is so insane as the empty sound of words, however well-chosen and elegant, if there be no foundation of sense or sagacity?" But Marcus Cato in particular is a relentless assailant of this fault. For

This hypocrisy is alluded to as Gellius ironically ends the chapter with epithets from Aristophanes: ἄνθρωπον ἀγριοποιόν, αὐθαδόστομον,/ ἔχοντ' ἀχάλινον ἀκρατὲς ἀπύλωτον στόμα,/ ἀπεριλάλητον, κομποφακελορρήμονα.[489]

Similarly, throughout *NA* 13.25, Favorinus ironically speaks at length of the fact that Cicero and Cato sometimes used several words where one would do: *tribus uocabulis idem sentientibus.*[490] Favorinus debates Cato and Cicero's use of several words, whilst he himself is drawing on multiple sources and examples as he gives his lengthy discourse on the value of being concise. Thus, Gellius subtly mocks Favorinus' tendency to babble in several ways: through his clarification of Favorinus' speeches with comments from Roman authors and independent research; by associating Favorinus' speech with chattering; and by juxtaposing his speech with criticisms of lengthy rants. Keulen suggests that 13.25 is Gellius increasing the cultural authority of his *NA* by satirising Favorinus' judgement of Latin orators. Gellius never associates Favorinus with *gravitas, dignitas* or *virtus*, unlike Cato or Cicero,[491] but in this passage, Favorinus is praising Cicero's eloquence, ironically using the words that are never used to describe himself.[492] By quoting Favorinus' judgement of Cato's style as *lumina quaedam sublustria*,[493] Gellius 'invites the reader to scrutinise the integrity of Favorinus' authority as a judge of Cato… and expose the arrogance of Favorinus' philhellenic

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in the speech entitled If Caelius, tribune of the commons, should have summoned him, he says: "That man is never silent who is afflicted with the disease of talking, as one in a lethargy is afflicted with that of drinking and sleeping. For if you should not come together when he calls an assembly, so eager is he to talk that he would hire someone to listen.'); Gellius continues in this vein, further mentioning Homer, Sallust, Hesiod, and Epicharmus.

[489] Gellius, *NA* 1.15.19, citing Aristophanes, *Frogs* 837-9): ('A stubborn-creating, stubborn-pulling fellow/ Uncurbed, unfettered, uncontrolled of speech/ Unperiphrastic, bombastiloquent.').

[490] Gellius, *NA* 13.25.13.

[491] Keulen (2009: 255 n.53).

[492] Gellius, *NA* 13.25.11: *Sed quia cum dignitate orationis et cum graui uerborum copia dicuntur…* ('But since the mention of them all adds to the dignity of the speech and the impressive copiousness of its diction…').

[493] Gellius, *NA* 13.25.12.

perspective'. The reader is asked to weigh the authority of Favorinus against that of Cato, and to question Favorinus' judgement of his style.[494] Gellius is using Favorinus to satirise his philhellenic view of rhetoric, and emphasise proper Roman rhetoric, as displayed by Cato and Cicero. Similarly in *NA* 9.8, Favorinus uses his rhetorical skill and wit to reword a popular aphorism. In an argument that is 'so tortuous that the form completely overshadows its content', he nevertheless earns applause for his 'rhetorical showpiece': *inter ingentes omnium clamores*.[495] In Roman rhetoric, words are not wasted, and the *gravitas* and *auctoritas* of the orator are essential elements of his speech.[496] In contrast, Favorinus is focussing on the style of his declamation and his ability to present an eloquent speech. Thus Gellius is using Favorinus to satirise the showmanship of Hellenic philosophers/ orators, emphasising its contrast to the speech of concise, Roman orators.

Gellius is making a larger point about the dangerous lures of effeminate rhetoric, and demonstrates this by his ostentatious praise of Favorinus' eloquence. In *NA* 16.3, Gellius represents himself as being enthralled by Favorinus: *Cum Fauorino Romae dies plerumque totos eramus, tenebatque animos nostros homo ille fandi dulcissimus, atque eum quoquo iret quasi ex lingua prorsum eius apti prosequebamur; ita sermonibus usquequaque amoenissimis demulcebat.*[497] Despite this seemingly favourable praise by Gellius, Favorinus' voice is described as *fandi dulcissimus*, which suggests he has a feminine voice.[498] Roman authors, in particular Cicero, have often made comparisons of

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[494] Keulen (2009: 238, 253-4).
[495] Gellius, *NA* 9.8.3, Keulen (2009: 163, 257 n.6).
[496] See Cato's dictum *rem tene verba sequentur*. He condemns formalistic effects and promotes rhetoric based on values and facts, Pernot (2005: 83-4, 96).
[497] Gellius, *NA* 16.3.1: ('I often spent whole days in Rome with Favorinus. His delightful conversation held my mind enthralled, and I attended him wherever he went, as if actually taken prisoner by his eloquence; to such a degree did he constantly delight me with his most agreeable discourse.').
[498] Keulen (2009: 141 n.13).

rhetoric to drama, and orators to actors.[499] Orators represented themselves, their *auctoritas,* and their character, with the courtroom being like a stage. Rhetoric, like self-representative drama is 'endemic to Roman identity'.[500] As Connolly points out, rhetoricians emphasise 'the essential difference between actors, *imitatores veritatis* (''mimes of truth''), and orators, *actores veritatis* (''agents of truth'') who literally enact legal and political order'.[501] Actors suffered a 'diminished civil status' as *infames,* those described as *molles*. Orators moved their bodies in ways similar to actors: they used their voices for effect, which could be described as 'singing' or 'chanting', and used gestures and moved their bodies in a way that may be considered dancing. As acting and dancing were associated with 'effeminacy' in the Roman mind,[502] actors were viewed 'as base persons, of ambiguous and venal sexuality, whose words could not be trusted'.[503] Actors pretended to be what they were not, and were praised for their ability to deceive, yet they still commanded the attention of the Roman people. Therefore, they could become persons of any status, disregarding the conventions by which members of Roman society were categorised. There were many similarities between actors and orators, and Quintilian, in his treatise on the education of the orator, emphasises that 'the good orator should take care that his manner does not resemble that of an actor'.[504] Like actors, Favorinus upset social conventions with his

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[499] For comparisons between orators and actors, see Cicero *De Oratore* 1.18, 1.118, 1.125, 1.128, 1.156, 2.34, 2.193-4, 2.251, 2.259.
[500] Batstone (2009: 212-3).
[501] Connolly (2007: 89); Cicero *De Oratore* 3.102, 214; cf. Quintilian *Inst. Or.* 1.8.3, 1.11.3.
[502] Richlin (1997: 100).
[503] Edwards (1993: 99).
[504] Edwards (1993: 99-119); Stroup (2007: 27); *Quint. Inst.* 1.12, 11.70, 11.89, 11.181; Quintilian may have been reacting to the indignity of Nero acting and forcing senators to act. Dio Cassius, *Hist. Rom.* 62.17.3: ἐκεῖνο δὲ δὴ καὶ αἴσχιστον καὶ δεινότατον ἅμα ἐγένετο, ὅτι καὶ ἄνδρες καὶ γυναῖκες οὐχ ὅπως τοῦ ἱππικοῦ ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ βουλευτικοῦ ἀξιώματος ἐς τὴν ὀρχήστραν καὶ ἐς τὸν ἱππόδρομον τό τε θέατρον τὸ κυνηγετικὸν ἐσῆλθον ὥσπερ οἱ ἀτιμότατοι, καὶ ηὔλησάν τινες αὐτῶν καὶ ὠρχήσαντο τραγῳδίας τε καὶ κωμῳδίας ὑπεκρίναντο καὶ ἐκιθαρῴδησαν, ἵππους τε ἤλασαν καὶ θηρία ἀπέκτειναν καὶ ἐμονομάχησαν, οἱ μὲν ἐθελονταὶ οἱ δὲ καὶ πάνυ ἄκοντες. ('There was another exhibition that was at once most disgraceful and most shocking, when men and women not only of the equestrian but even of the senatorial order

hermaphroditism, effeminacy and paradoxical nature. Thus by describing Favorinus' voice as *fandi dulcissimus*, Gellius is suggesting that his manner resembles that of an actor, in contrast to Quintilian's advice for a good orator.

Mockery of Greek appearance and mannerisms is used by Latin authors in an attempt to distance themselves from their Greek counterparts by portraying them as overly 'effeminate'. Richlin, in her analysis of oratory being contaminated by a 'certain kind of poetry' suggests that effeminacy, Greek vocabulary and artistic syntax, along with the feminised body of a speaker are rejected by the 'manly satirist'.[505] Orators attacked each other with allegations of effeminacy, not only of their physical bodies, but also their style of speech, phrasing, syntax and use of rhetorical figures.[506] Roman writers associated effeminacy with 'political, social and moral weakness' and accusations of *mollitia* were attempts to humiliate their opponent. Victims are alleged to dress too carefully in feminine clothing, bathe too often, wear perfume and remove hair from their legs and beard in order to seem more youthful.[507] Keane argues that 'the performance of the satirist figure is not simply akin to that of a rhetorician or actor; it is the performance of various Roman male social agents, concentrated in one figure'.[508]

NA 4.1 is a discussion about how the word *penus* should be defined, in which Gellius has Favorinus use his rhetorical flair to mock a grammarian. In this passage, Gellius makes many allusions to Favorinus' effeminate reputation and sexual ambiguity:

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appeared as performers in the orchestra, in the Circus, and in the hunting-theatre, like those who are held in lowest esteem. Some of them played the flute and danced in pantomimes or acted in tragedies and comedies or sang to the lyre; they drove horses, killed wild beasts and fought as gladiators, some willingly and some sore against their will.').

[505] Persius *Sat*. 1; Richlin (1997: 98).

[506] Richlin (1997: 99).

[507] See Edwards (1993: 65-9).

[508] Keane (2006: 137).

> Tum aspiciens ad Fauorinum, quamquam ei nondum etiam satis notus esset: 'penus quoque' inquit 'uariis generibus dictum et uarie declinatum est. Nam et hoc penus et haec penus et huius peni et penoris ueteres dictitauerunt; mundum quoque muliebrem Lucilius in satirarum XVI non uirili genere, ut ceteri, sed neutron appellauit his uerbis: legauit quidam uxori mundum omne penumque/ Atqui quid mundum, quid non? quis diuidet istuc?'[509]
>
> [Gellius, *NA* 4.1.2-3.]

The grammarian confronts the reputed hermaphrodite Favorinus with questions on words of ambiguous gender, which, along with the mention of *penus*, resembling *penis*, alludes to Favorinus' sexual ambiguity.[510] *Mollis* and *demissa*[511] connote effeminacy and degradation, and the combination only occurs in one other passage in Gellius (*NA* 5.1), where it characterises the 'effeminate and meek voice' of the Roman orator Hortensius.[512] A similar theme continues in *NA* 4.1: *sed hoc plane indigeo discere, quid sit penus*.[513] Even in chapters where Favorinus does not feature so heavily, there are various allusions to Favorinus' reputation throughout the *NA*, for example, the self-referential *meretricum* in *NA* 3.3.6.[514]

Thus, Gellius satirises pseudo-philosophers in several ways: he has 'acceptable' philosophers (Greeks who are not a part of the Second Sophistic such as Epictetus, or a figure like Favorinus with a complex, hybrid identity) criticise frauds who pretend at

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[509] ('Then, looking at Favorinus, although as yet he was hardly acquainted with him, he said: "*Penus* too is used in different genders and is variously declined. For the early writers used to say *hoc penus* and *haec penus*, and in the genitive *peni* and *penoris*; Lucilius in his sixteenth satire also used the word *mundus*, which describes women's ornaments, not in the masculine gender, as other writers do, but in the neuter, in these words: a man once willed his wife all ornaments (*mundum omne*) and stores. But what are ornaments? Who will determine that?"')

[510] Keulen (2009: 121, 128).

[511] Gellius, *NA* 4.1.13.

[512] Keulen (2009: 109).

[513] Gellius, *NA* 4.1.6. *Quid sit penus* is said often by Favorinus, suggesting a lack of familiarity with a certain body part; Keulen (2009: 129): 4.1.8 '*penus' est?*; 4.1.9 '*penus' appelletur; ...quid sit 'penus'*; 4.1.12 *quid sit 'penus'..., non ... aliquid ex penu*; 4.1.14 "*scire," inquit ridens iam Fauorinus, "quid 'penus' sit*"; 4.1.16 *quid sit penus*; 4.1.17 *ad demonstrandam penum*; see Keulen (2009: 129-30) for further allusions.

[514] Keulen (2009: 130 n.44); *delectatus faceta verborum antiquitate, meretricum vitia atque deformitates significantium, "vel unus hercle," inquit, "hic versus Plauti esse hanc fabulam satis potest fidei fecisse."*; Gellius, *NA* 3.3.6.

lofty wisdom; he promotes concise Roman rhetoric over Hellenic eloquence by using Roman satirical allusions to mock Greek aspects of philosophers; and he constructs stereotypes of Greeks which he uses to praise Roman qualities and practices.

Lucian

In this section I will examine how Lucian satirises the specific figures of Favorinus, Peregrinus, and Herodes in order to make direct comparisons to Gellius, and later Apuleius. In addition to satirising named contemporaries, Lucian satirises pseudo-philosophers in general, often referring to them as γόης or μάγος.[515] Lucian's works that focus on this theme specifically are the *Demonax*, *Nigrinus*, *Symposium*, *Icaromenippus*, *Vitarum Auctio*, *Piscator*, *Menippus*, *Alexander*, *Eunuchus*, *Peregrinus*, *Fugitivi*, and *De Mercede Conductis*. In Lucian the pseudo-philosopher is a stock character type that is often not individually characterised. Instead, external markers are used such as physical appearance and dress, which is in keeping with the theories of physiognomy current among contemporary sophists.[516]

There is much overlap in the way that Gellius and Lucian satirise pseudo-intellectuals and make charges against them, warranted or not. Yet the subtle differences in the ways that they do this are important. Although the mockery of the various figures, particularly Favorinus, Peregrinus, and Herodes, are similar, contextual factors such as the way that they are framed in specific scenarios, their different purposes in the work, and the different figures they interact with show that the intended conclusions for readers are very different.

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[515] Costantini (2019a: 114-5) argues that Lucian predominately uses the term μάγος with the negative connotation of 'enchanter' and 'quack': Lucian *Demon*. 23; 25; *Philops*. 12; 14; 15; *Merc. Cond*. 27. He suggests that the only occurrence where this meaning cannot be detected is *Fugitivi* 8. For a brief history of the term μάγος in the Greek world see Rives (2010: 60-1). For a discussion of what it means to be a *magus* in the Latin speaking world, see below (pp. 160-61).

[516] Hodkinson (2017: 545). For physiognomy, see Gleason (1995: 55–81).

Herodes Atticus

I will now investigate how Lucian satirises the specific figures of Favorinus, Herodes and Peregrinus. Lucian seems to have had a personal connection with Herodes, yet he is only praised on one occasion, and it is a brief comment in passing, likely to emphasise Peregrinus' faults.[517] Elsewhere, Lucian relentlessly mocks Herodes just as he does with Favorinus: Lucian satirises Herodes unseemly grief in the *Demonax,* connects this grief to the behaviour of tyrants in *Cataplus*,[518] and treats him as a tyrannical fraud in *Icaromenippus*,[519] and *Deorum Concilium*.[520]

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[517] Lucian, *Peregrinus* 19: "Οὕτω δὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑλλάδα ἐλθὼν ἄρτι μὲν Ἠλείοις ἐλοιδορεῖτο, ἄρτι δὲ τοὺς Ἕλληνας ἔπειθεν ἀντάρασθαι ὅπλα Ῥωμαίοις, ἄρτι δὲ ἄνδρα παιδείᾳ καὶ ἀξιώματι προὔχοντα, διότι καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις εὖ ἐποίησεν τὴν Ἑλλάδα καὶ ὕδωρ ἐπήγαγεν τῇ Ὀλυμπίᾳ καὶ ἔπαυσε δίψει ἀπολλυμένους τοὺς πανηγυριστάς, κακῶς ἠγόρευεν ὡς καταθηλύναντα τοὺς Ἕλληνας, δέον τοὺς θεατὰς τῶν Ὀλυμπίων διακαρτερεῖν διψῶντας καὶ νὴ Δία γε καὶ ἀποθνήσκειν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ σφοδρῶν τῶν νόσων αἳ τέως διὰ τὸ ξηρὸν τοῦ χωρίου ἐν πολλῷ τῷ πλήθει ἐπεπόλαζον." ('Coming at last to Greece under these circumstances, at one moment he abused the Eleans, at another he counselled the Greeks to take up arms against the Romans, and at another he libelled a man outstanding in literary attainments and position because he had been a benefactor to Greece in many ways, and particularly because he had brought water to Olympia and prevented the visitors to the festival from dying of thirst, maintaining that he was making the Greeks effeminate, for the spectators of the Olympic games ought to endure their thirst—yes, by Heaven, and even to lose their lives, no doubt, many of them, through the frequent distempers which formerly ran riot in the vast crowd on account of the dryness of the place!'); Clay (1992: 3430); Jones (1986: 20).

[518] Mestre and Gómez connect Herodes Atticus' reputation for excessive grief with his supposed tyranny: tyranny and tyrants are major themes in sophistic literature of the Imperial period, in Greek as well as Latin. They argue that in Lucian's *Cataplus,* the tyrant Megapenthes, meaning 'great woe', is based on Herodes and his famous public expression of grief. For a detailed analysis of how Megapenthes in *Cataplus* can be read as an allusion to Herodes Atticus' tyranny over the Athenians, see Mestre and Gómez (2009: 93-108).

[519] As introduced in chapter 3 (p. 115), Lucian's *Icaromenippus* is a work of Menippean Satire in which the character Menippus, unhappy with philosophers who cannot give a straight answer, relates his journey to the moon and what he learns about Earth from his vantage point. He marvels at how small and insignificant the world really is, remarking in chapter 18: τῆς γοῦν Ἑλλάδος ὅλης ὡς τότε μοι ἄνωθεν ἐφαίνετο δακτύλων οὔσης τὸ μέγεθος τεττάρων, κατὰ λόγον, οἶμαι, ἡ Ἀττικὴ πολλοστημόριον ἦν. ὥστε ἐνενόουν ἐφ' ὁπόσῳ τοῖς πλουσίοις τούτοις μέγα φρονεῖν κατελείπετο… καὶ μὴν εἴ τινα ἴδοιμι ἐπὶ χρυσῷ μέγα φρονοῦντα, ὅτι δακτυλίους τε εἶχεν ὀκτὼ καὶ φιάλας τέτταρας, πάνυ καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ ἂν ἐγέλων τὸ γὰρ Πάγγαιον ὅλον αὐτοῖς μετάλλοις κεγχριαῖον ἦν τὸ μέγεθος. ('As a matter of fact, since the whole of Greece as it looked to me then from on high was no bigger than four fingers, on that scale surely Attica was infinitesimal. I thought, therefore, how little there was for our friends the rich to be proud of … Again, if I saw any man pluming himself on gold because he had eight rings and four cups, I laughed heartily at him too, for the whole of Pangaeum, mines and all, was the size of a grain of millet.'). Mestre and Gómez (2009: 99) point out that the above possessions coincide with those of Herodes Atticus' family.

[520] In *Deorum Concilium*, a dialogue in which *Momus* the personification of satire argues that numerous gods should be expelled from heaven for being frauds, Lucian presents a comic allegory for the tensions, both social and political, caused by those ineligible entering the high councils of Athens. Lucian *Deorum Concilium* 3-4: Φημὶ τοίνυν δεινὰ ποιεῖν ἐνίους ἡμῶν, οἷς οὐκ ἀπόχρη θεοὺς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων αὐτοῖς

In the *Demonax* 24, Lucian paints a strange picture of Herodes going about his life as if his foster son Polydeuces was still alive: Ἐπεὶ δὲ Ἡρῴδης ὁ πάνυ ἐπένθει τὸν Πολυδεύκη πρὸ ὥρας ἀποθανόντα καὶ ἠξίου ὄχημα ζεύγνυσθαι αὐτῷ καὶ ἵππους παρίστασθαι ὡς ἀναβησομένῳ καὶ δεῖπνον παρασκευάζεσθαι, προσελθών; Παρὰ Πολυδεύκους, ἔφη, κομίζω σοί τινα ἐπιστολήν.[521] Herodes, unsuspecting, is initially pleased that he is being humoured and asks what Polydeuces wants. Demonax then delivers the punchline: Αἰτιᾶταί σε, ἔφη, ὅτι μὴ ἤδη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄπει.[522] Herodes is reduced to the butt of a morbid joke as Lucian mocks his unseemly grief. Thus, in contrast to Gellius' nuanced portrayal of Herodes as sometimes a philosophical authority, and at other times a target of satire, Lucian's Herodes is treated as a caricature without a great deal of depth.

Peregrinus

Lucian believed that Peregrinus was a fraud and set out to prove this in two dialogues: *Peregrinus* and *Fugitivi*.[523] In *Peregrinus*, Lucian details the career of Peregrinus Proteus, painting him as both pseudo-philosopher and sophist. In *Peregrinus* 13, he

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γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλ', εἰ μὴ καὶ τοὺς ἀκολούθους καὶ θεράποντας αὐτῶν ἰσοτίμους ἡμῖν ἀποφανοῦσιν, οὐδὲν μέγα οὐδὲ νεανικὸν οἴονται εἰργάσθαι… Πολλοὶ γάρ, φημί, οὐκ ἀγαπῶντες ὅτι αὐτοὶ μετέχουσι τῶν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ξυνεδρίων καὶ εὐωχοῦνται ἐπ' ἴσης, καὶ ταῦτα θνητοὶ ἐξ ἡμισείας ὄντες, ἔτι καὶ τοὺς ὑπηρέτας καὶ θιασώτας τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀνήγαγον ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ παρενέγραψαν, καὶ νῦν ἐπ' ἴσης διανομάς τε νέμονται καὶ θυσιῶν μετέχουσιν, οὐδὲ καταβαλόντες ἡμῖν τὸ μετοίκιον. ('Well then, I say that some of us behave shockingly; it is not enough for them that they themselves have become gods instead of men, but unless they can make their very attendants and servants as good as we are, they do not think they have done anything important or enterprising… Many, I say, not content that they themselves take part in the same assemblies as we and feast with us on equal terms, and that too when they are half mortal, have lugged up into heaven their own servants and boon-companions and have fraudulently registered them, so that now they receive largesses and share in sacrifices on an equal footing without even having paid us the tax of resident aliens.'). Kennell (1997: 356): Lucian's Athenian audience would have recognised the allusion to Herodes and his freedmen.

[521] Lucian, *Demonax* 24: ('When Herodes, the superlative, was mourning the premature death of Polydeuces and wanted a chariot regularly made ready and horses put to it just as if the boy were going for a drive, and dinner regularly served for him, Demonax went to him and said: "I am bringing you a message from Polydeuces".').

[522] Lucian, *Demonax* 24: ('"He finds fault with you," said he, "for not going to join him at once!"').

[523] Peregrinus Proteus was a Greek cynic philosopher, famous for his suicide in which he cremated himself at the Olympic Games in 165CE. Unlike Nigrinus, Demonax, and Alexander of Abonouteichos, Peregrinus is mentioned in more than one of Lucian's dialogues. In addition to *Peregrinus* and *Fugitivi*, he is featured in *Demonax* 21, *Adversus Indoctum* 14, and *Hermotimus* 7. See Clay (1992: 3435).

writes: ἣν τοίνυν παρέλθῃ τις εἰς αὐτοὺς γόης καὶ τεχνίτης ἄνθρωπος καὶ πράγμασιν χρῆσθαι δυνάμενος, αὐτίκα μάλα πλούσιος ἐν βραχεῖ ἐγένετο ἰδιώταις ἀνθρώποις ἐγχανών.[524] He is described as γόης καὶ τεχνίτης, and tricks people out of their money. In *Peregrinus* 18, he is shown to be a pseudo-philosopher,[525] and in *Peregrinus* 32, Lucian describes him as the epitome of a sophist:

> Ταῦτα μέν σοι τὰ ἐν Ἤλιδι. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐς τὴν Ὀλυμπίαν ἀφικόμεθα, μεστὸς ἦν ὁ ὀπισθόδομος τῶν κατηγορούντων Πρωτέως ἢ ἐπαινούντων τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ, ὥστε καὶ εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἦλθον οἱ πολλοί, ἄχρι δὴ παρελθὼν αὐτὸς ὁ Πρωτεὺς μυρίῳ τῷ πλήθει παραπεμπόμενος κατόπιν τοῦ τῶν κηρύκων ἀγῶνος λόγους τινὰς διεξῆλθεν περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, τὸν βίον τε ὡς ἐβίω καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους οὓς ἐκινδύνευσεν διηγούμενος καὶ ὅσα πράγματα φιλοσοφίας ἕνεκα ὑπέμεινεν. τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰρημένα πολλὰ ἦν, ἐγὼ δὲ ὀλίγων ἤκουσα ὑπὸ πλήθους τῶν περιεστώτων. εἶτα φοβηθεὶς μὴ συντριβείην ἐν τοσαύτῃ τύρβῃ, ἐπεὶ καὶ πολλοὺς τοῦτο πάσχοντας ἑώρων, ἀπῆλθον μακρὰ χαίρειν φράσας θανατιῶντι σοφιστῇ τὸν ἐπιτάφιον ἑαυτοῦ πρὸ τελευτῆς διεξιόντι.[526]
>
> [Lucian, *Peregrinus* 32.]

Peregrinus has already managed to draw a huge crowd of passionate fans (μεστὸς ἦν ὁ ὀπισθόδομος) who are eagerly waiting in anticipation of his arrival. As he enters he is

[524] Lucian, *Peregrinus* 13: ('So if any charlatan and trickster, able to profit by occasions, comes among them, he quickly acquires sudden wealth by imposing upon simple folk.'). Lucian here is referring to the Christians.

[525] Lucian, *Peregrinus* 18: ἐκείνῳ γάρ, ὡς εἰκός, ὀλίγον ἔμελεν τῶν βλασφημιῶν καὶ οὐκ ἠξίου τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ὑποδυόμενόν τινα κολάζειν ἐπὶ ῥήμασι καὶ μάλιστα τέχνην τινὰ τὸ λοιδορεῖσθαι πεποιημένον. τούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τούτων τὰ τῆς δόξης ηὐξάνετο, παρὰ γοῦν τοῖς ἰδιώταις, καὶ περίβλεπτος ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπονοίᾳ, μέχρι δὴ ὁ τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτετραμμένος ἀνὴρ σοφὸς ἀπέπεμψεν αὐτὸν ἀμέτρως ἐντρυφῶντα τῷ πράγματι, εἰπὼν μὴ δεῖσθαι τὴν πόλιν τοιούτου φιλοσόφου. πλὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο κλεινὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ στόματος ἦν ἅπασιν, ὁ φιλόσοφος διὰ τὴν παρρησίαν καὶ τὴν ἄγαν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξελαθείς, καὶ προσήλαυνε κατὰ τοῦτο τῷ Μουσωνίῳ καὶ Δίωνι καὶ Ἐπικτήτῳ καὶ εἴ τις ἄλλος ἐν περιστάσει τοιαύτῃ ἐγένετο. ('The Emperor, as one would expect, cared little for his libels and did not think fit to punish for mere words a man who only used philosophy as a cloak, and above all, a man who had made a profession of abusiveness. But in our friend's case, even from this his reputation grew, among simple folk anyhow, and he was a cynosure for his recklessness, until finally the city prefect, a wise man, packed him off for immoderate indulgence in the thing, saying that the city had no need of any such philosopher. However, this too made for his renown, and he was on everybody's lips as the philosopher who had been banished for his frankness and excessive freedom, so that in this respect he approached Musonius, Dio, Epictetus, and anyone else who has been in a similar predicament.').

[526] ('Well, there you have what happened at Elis; and when we reached Olympia, the rear chamber was full of people criticising Proteus or praising his purpose, so that most of them even came to blows. Finally, Proteus himself appeared, escorted by a countless multitude, after the contest of the heralds, and had somewhat to say about himself, telling of the life that he had led and the risks that he had run, and of all the troubles that he had endured for philosophy's sake. His speech was protracted, though I heard but little on account of the number of bystanders. Afterwards, fearing to be crushed in such a throng, because I saw this happening to many, I went away, bidding a long farewell to the sophist enamoured of death who was pronouncing his own funeral oration before his demise.')

escorted in with even more followers (μυρίῳ τῷ πλήθει παραπεμπόμενος). He gives a long declamation about his travels and the influence philosophy has had on his life. Yet although this is a common activity of famous sophists, Peregrinus' depiction here is not flattering: the majority of his followers are too rowdy (ὥστε καὶ εἰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν ἦλθον οἱ πολλοί). His speech is overly long (τὰ μὲν οὖν εἰρημένα πολλὰ ἦν) and is compared to a funeral oration: his claims to philosophy are clearly false, and his behaviour is exactly as described in *Piscator* 29, where the figure of *parrhesia* scorns sophistic practices.[527]

In *Fugitivi* the dialogue opens with Apollo and Zeus mocking *Peregrinus*' suicide: Ἀληθῆ ταῦτά φασιν, πάτερ, ὡς ἐμβάλοι τις φέρων αὑτὸν εἰς τὸ πῦρ κατέναντι Ὀλυμπίων, ἤδη πρεσβύτης ἄνθρωπος, οὐκ ἀγεννὴς θαυματοποιὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα; ἡ Σελήνη γὰρ ἡμῖν διηγεῖτο, αὐτὴ ἑωρακέναι καιόμενον λέγουσα.[528] The dialogue continues with mockery of Peregrinus' new followers, i.e. pseudo-philosophers masquerading as Cynics, and then focuses on one of these individuals in particular. The figure of Philosophy appears as a character in the dialogue and laments the fact that all these frauds preach in her name, but are not worthy of philosophy οἱ ξυνήθεις καὶ φίλοι φάσκοντες εἶναι καὶ τοὔνομα τοὐμὸν ὑποδυόμενοι, ἐκεῖνοί με τὰ δεινότατα εἰργάσαντο.[529] This is a clear admonition of Peregrinus and those like him. Throughout the dialogue, Philosophy continues to mock pseudo-philosophers in a similar vein.[530] She then moves on to mock sophists:

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[527] See below (p. 171) for further discussion of this passage.
[528] Lucian, *Fugitivi* 1: ('Is the report true, father, that someone threw himself bodily into the fire, in the very face of the Olympic festivities, quite an elderly man, not a bad hand at such hocus-pocus? Selene told me, saying that she herself had seen him burning.').
[529] Lucian, *Fugitivi* 3: ('Those who say they are my familiars and friends and creep under the cloak of my name, they are the people who have done me the direst possible injuries.').
[530] Lucian, *Fugitivi* 4-5.

> Μεθ᾽ οὓς τὸ σοφιστῶν φῦλον οὐκ οἶδ᾽ ὅπως μοι παρενεφύετο, οὔτε ζηλοῦν τἀμὰ ἐς βάθος οὔτε κομιδῇ ἀπᾷδον, ἀλλ᾽ οἷον τὸ Ἱπποκενταύρων γένος, σύνθετόν τι καὶ μικτὸν ἐν μέσῳ ἀλαζονείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας πλαζόμενον, οὔτε τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ τέλεον προσεχόμενον οὔτε ἡμᾶς ἀτενέσι τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς καθορᾶν δυνάμενον, ἀλλ᾽ οἷον λημῶντες ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀμβλυώττειν ἀσαφές τι καὶ ἀμυδρὸν ἡμῶν εἴδωλον ἢ σκιὰν ἐνίοτε ἰδόντες ἄν· οἱ δὲ ᾤοντο ἀκριβῶς πάντα κατανενοηκέναι. ὅθεν παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς ἡ ἀχρεῖος ἐκείνη καὶ περιττὴ σοφία καί, ὡς αὐτοὶ ᾤοντο, ἀπρόσμαχος ἀνεφλέγετο, αἱ κομψαὶ καὶ ἄποροι καὶ ἄτοποι ἀποκρίσεις καὶ δυσέξοδοι καὶ λαβυρινθώδεις ἐρωτήσεις. εἶτα κωλυόμενοι καὶ ἐλεγχόμενοι πρὸς τῶν ἑταίρων τῶν ἐμῶν ἠγανάκτουν καὶ συνίσταντο ἐπ᾽ αὐτούς, καὶ τέλος δικαστηρίοις ὑπῆγον καὶ παρεδίδοσαν πιομένους τοῦ κωνείου.[531]
>
> [Lucian, *Fugitivi* 10-11.]

Philosophy portrays the sophists as a hybrid mix, somewhere between philosophy and false pretence (ἀλλ᾽ οἷον τὸ Ἱπποκενταύρων γένος, σύνθετόν τι καὶ μικτὸν ἐν μέσῳ ἀλαζονείας καὶ φιλοσοφίας πλαζόμενον), recalling Lucian's mockery of the hybrid Favorinus, i.e. someone he deems unsuitable for the discipline. Philosophy then emphasises how far these sophists are from true philosophers like Socrates by suggesting that the sophists bring the true followers before the courts and have them drink hemlock (καὶ τέλος δικαστηρίοις ὑπῆγον καὶ παρεδίδοσαν πιομένους τοῦ κωνείου).

Yet despite these differences between true philosophers and frauds, it is not easy to tell the difference at first glance: Τὰ δ᾽ ἡμέτερα πάνυ ῥᾷστα, ὡς οἶσθα, καὶ ἐς μίμησιν πρόχειρα—τὰ προφανῆ λέγω—καὶ οὐ πολλῆς τῆς πραγματείας δεῖ τριβώνιον περιβαλέσθαι καὶ πήραν ἐξαρτήσασθαι καὶ ξύλον ἐν τῇ χειρὶ ἔχειν καὶ βοᾶν, μᾶλλον δὲ

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[531] ('After them, the Sophist tribe somehow or other fastened themselves to my skirts. They were neither profoundly interested in my teaching nor altogether at variance, but like the Hippocentaur breed, something composite and mixed, astray in the interspace between quackery and philosophy, neither completely addicted to ignorance nor yet able to keep me envisioned with an intent gaze; being purblind, as it were, through their dim-sightedness they merely glimpsed at times an indistinct, dim presentment or shadow of me, yet thought they had discerned everything with accuracy. So there flared up among them that useless and superfluous "wisdom" of theirs, in their own opinion invincible—those clever, baffling, absurd replies and perplexing, mazy queries. Then, on being checked and shown up by my comrades, they were indignant and combined against them, at length bringing them before courts and handing them over to drink the hemlock.')

ὀγκᾶσθαι ἢ ὑλακτεῖν, καὶ λοιδορεῖσθαι ἅπασιν·[532] Lauwers points out that the lack of foundation for 'the demarcation between true philosophers and clever charlatans' in this passage reflects the problematic relationship between true devotion and mere appearance in the Imperial era.[533]

Lucian's portrayal of Peregrinus contrasts with that of Gellius':

> Philosophum nomine Peregrinum, cui postea cognomentum Proteus factum est, uirum grauem atque constantem, uidimus cum Athenis essemus deuersantem in quodam tugurio extra urbem. Cumque ad eum frequenter uentitaremus, multa hercle dicere eum utiliter et honeste audiuimus. In quibus id fuit quod praecipuum auditu meminimus…[534]
>
> [Gellius, *NA* 12.11.1.]

Gellius emphasises that Peregrinus is a philosopher, rather than the fraud that Lucian portrays him as. Schettino has suggested that this may be a silent correction of Lucian's portrayal of Peregrinus.[535] Fields argues that Lucian uses the figure of Peregrinus to 'call attention to the shortcomings and hypocrisies of his own authoritative satirical position, and to comment on the culture of agonistic self-promotion in which both men take part'.[536] The differences in the portrayal of Peregrinus highlight the more agonistic and showy aspects of the Greek Second Sophistic in contrast to Gellius. Lucian may even be playing up or indeed inventing criticisms to help establish his own moral voice. It is difficult to know for sure as the only other scene involving Peregrinus in the *NA* is

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[532] Lucian, *Fugitivi* 14: ('What characterises us is very easily attainable, as you know, and open to imitation—I mean what meets the eye. It does not require much ceremony to don a short cloak, sling on a wallet, carry a staff in one's hand, and shout—say rather, bray, or howl, and slang everyone.').

[533] Lauwers (2015: 99); Lucian, *Hermotimus* 68 and *Piscator* 31-42.

[534] ('When I was at Athens, I met a philosopher named Peregrinus, who was later surnamed Proteus, a man of dignity and fortitude, living in a hut outside the city. And visiting him frequently, I heard him say many things that were in truth helpful and noble. Among these I particularly recall the following…')

[535] Schettino (1985: 79); Clay (1992: 3431).

[536] Fields (2013: 215).

lost [*NA* 8.3],[537] but, as there is little room for invention in such a short scene, it seems likely that Gellius in *NA* 12.11 is portraying Peregrinus as he actually was.

Favorinus

Like Gellius, Lucian also has Favorinus feature in his work. However, Lucian uses him purely as a figure of mockery and he only appears as a pseudo-philosopher, as opposed to Gellius, for whom Favorinus also represents in various scenarios an authority on the Latin language, and a philosophical or moral guide. For example, in the *Demonax*, Lucian tells his story through short dialogues with various figures. One of these is Favorinus, who, when he heard that Demonax had made fun of his lectures and his use of sentimental verses by calling them ἀγεννὲς καὶ γυναικεῖον καὶ φιλοσοφίᾳ ἥκιστα πρέπον,[538] confronted him and asked who Demonax was to criticise him so. He demands to know what turned Demonax from infant to philosopher, and receives the crude reply ὄρχεις.[539] Demonax then mocks Favorinus for having a shaved face rather than a beard, and makes the comment that philosophers are expected to have a certain appearance:[540]

> Ἄλλοτε δέ ποτε ὁ αὐτὸς προσελθὼν ἠρώτα τὸν Δημώνακτα, τίνα αἵρεσιν ἀσπάζεται μᾶλλον ἐν φιλοσοφίᾳ· ὁ δέ, Τίς γάρ σοι εἶπεν ὅτι φιλοσοφῶ; καὶ ἀπιὼν ἤδη παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ μάλα ἡδὺ ἐγέλασεν· τοῦ δὲ ἐρωτήσαντος, ἐφ᾽ ὅτῳ γελᾷ, ἐκεῖνος ἔφη, Γελοῖόν μοι εἶναι ἔδοξεν, εἰ σὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ πώγωνος ἀξιοῖς κρίνεσθαι τοὺς φιλοσοφοῦντας αὐτὸς πώγωνα οὐκ ἔχων.[541]
>
> [Lucian, *Demonax* 13.]

Favorinus is used here purely as comic relief: Lucian mocks his unmanly body and speech, and declares that such a person is unsuited to philosophy.

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[537] See chapter 3 (pp. 107-8 n.393).
[538] Lucian, *Demonax* 12: ('Vulgar and effeminate and not by any means appropriate to philosophy.').
[539] Lucian, *Demonax* 12.
[540] See above (p. 130 n.461).
[541] ('Another time the same man went to him and asked what philosophical school he favoured most. Demonax replied: "Why, who told you that I was a philosopher?" As he left, he broke into a very hearty laugh; and when Favorinus asked him what he was laughing at, he replied: "It seemed to me ridiculous that you should think a philosopher can be told by his beard when you yourself have none".')

A similarly mocking tone is used by Lucian in his dialogue *Eunuchus,* a satirical account of a competition for a chair of philosophy in the form of dialogue between Pamphilus and Lycinus discussing the two candidates (Bagoas and Diocles), and their suitability for the chair.[542] It has been strongly suggested that Bagoas in the *Eunuchus* is actually Favorinus; this seems plausible given the specificity of the overlap between the background and characterisation of Bagoas and Favorinus.[543] Lucian has Diocles say that Bagoas' status as a eunuch should exclude him from laying claim to the discipline, and even from appearing in other public places due to his monstrous hybridity:

> τὸ τελευταῖον ἤδη ὁ Διοκλῆς ἔφη μηδὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν θεμιτὸν εἶναι τῷ Βαγώᾳ μεταποιεῖσθαι φιλοσοφίας καὶ τῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῇ ἀριστείων εὐνούχῳ γε ὄντι, ἀλλὰ τοὺς τοιούτους οὐχ ὅπως τούτων ἀποκεκλεῖσθαι ἠξίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερῶν αὐτῶν καὶ περιρραντηρίων καὶ τῶν κοινῶν ἁπάντων συλλόγων, δυσοιώνιστόν τι ἀποφαίνων καὶ δυσάντητον θέαμα, εἴ τις ἕωθεν ἐξιὼν ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἴδοι τοιοῦτόν τινα. καὶ πολὺς ἦν ὁ περὶ τούτου λόγους, οὔτε ἄνδρα οὔτε γυναῖκα εἶναι τὸν εὐνοῦχον λέγοντος, ἀλλά τι σύνθετον καὶ μικτὸν καὶ τερατῶδες, ἔξω τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως.[544]
>
> [Lucian, *Eunuchus* 6.]

Finally he states that even the reputation of Favorinus himself (καί τις Ἀκαδημαϊκὸς εὐνοῦχος ἐκ Πελασγῶν τελῶν, ὀλίγον πρὸς ἡμῶν εὐδοκιμήσας ἐν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν)[545] would not have been enough to allow him to be considered suitable for the chair of philosophy, and Diocles would have excluded him too. In the above passage [*Eunuchus* 6], Lucian has Diocles mock the hybrid nature of the eunuch (οὔτε ἄνδρα οὔτε γυναῖκα

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[542] Alexiou (1990: 24): In 176CE Marcus Aurelius established in Athens chairs for the four major philosophical sects: Stoics, Epicureans, Peripatetics, and Platonists; Dio Cassius 82.31.3.

[543] Clay (1992: 3445): 'Bagoas of the 'Eunuch' is clearly none other than Favorinus of Arles and one of Lucian's less carefully disguised victims'. Holford-Strevens (2003: 101 n19): 'A second real philosophical eunuch charged with the same offence [adultery] would seem unlikely'.

[544] ('Diocles at length said in conclusion that it was not at all permissible for Bagoas to lay claim to philosophy and the rewards of merit in it, since he was a eunuch; such people ought to be excluded, he thought, not simply from all that but even from temples and holy-water bowls and all the places of public assembly, and he declared it an ill-omened, ill-met sight if on first leaving home in the morning should set eyes on any such person. He had a great deal to say, too, on that score, observing that a eunuch was neither man nor woman but something composite, hybrid, and monstrous, alien to human nature.')

[545] Lucian, *Eunuchus* 7: ('Also a certain Academic eunuch hailing from among the Pelasgians, who shortly before our time achieved a high reputation among the Greeks.').

εἶναι τὸν εὐνοῦχον λέγοντος, ἀλλά τι σύνθετον καὶ μικτὸν καὶ τερατῶδες, ἔξω τῆς ἀνθρωπείας φύσεως) as something non-human. Whereas Gellius uses Favorinus' hybridity to his advantage, allowing him to be an important source of philosophical wisdom, to Lucian he is purely a figure to be mocked.

In the next chapter, Lucian describes Bagoas' voice as weak and effeminate: τέλος δὲ λεπτόν τι καὶ γυναικεῖον ἐμφθεγξάμενος…[546] Gleason suggests that Lucian's portrait of the effeminate sophist in his dialogue *Rhetorum Praeceptor* recalls 'various elements of the style of Favorinus'.[547] She argues that a hyper-manly style of rhetoric is more respectable, but less successful than an effeminate style, thus contributing to a sense of unease around the discipline. In *Rhetorum Praeceptor*, a satire on contemporary oratory, Lucian reassures a young man that there are two paths to rhetoric, and that he should choose the easy path of a sophist.[548] He advises him that if he really wants to enjoy rhetoric before he is too old, he should avoid the hard path and dismiss τῷ μὲν δασεῖ τούτῳ καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου ἀνδρικῷ.[549] He is advised to take the easy route and describes the teacher as follows:

> ἐν τούτοις δὲ καὶ πάνσοφόν τινα καὶ πάγκαλον ἄνδρα, διασεσαλευμένον τὸ βάδισμα, ἐπικεκλασμένον τὸν αὐχένα, γυναικεῖον τὸ βλέμμα, μελιχρὸν τὸ φώνημα, μύρων ἀποπνέοντα, τῷ δακτύλῳ ἄκρῳ τὴν κεφαλὴν κνώμενον, ὀλίγας μὲν ἔτι, οὔλας δὲ καὶ ὑακινθίνας τὰς τρίχας εὐθετίζοντα.[550]
>
> [Lucian, *Rhetorum Praeceptor* 11.]

[546] Lucian, *Eunuchus* 7: ('But finally in a weak, effeminate voice he said...'). Richlin (2017: 125): Juvenal too treats the eunuch as a joke in his *Saturae* [6.366-76]. See 125-29 for a discussion of how Juvenal, Lucian and Gellius (among others) portray eunuchs and effeminacy in their work.
[547] Gleason (1995: 129).
[548] Cribiore (2007: 74-5): Whilst it is not known who the dialogue is directed at, some scholars suggest that the charlatan sophist of the easy road is Julius Pollux of Naucratis. However, there are problems with this identification, and as it is difficult to know for certain, the sophist's manner is so like Favorinus that an analysis of this dialogue would prove useful to our understanding of how Lucian views such figures.
[549] Lucian, *Rhetorum Praeceptor* 10: ('that hairy, unduly masculine fellow').
[550] ('And among them a wholly clever and wholly handsome gentleman with a mincing gait, a thin neck, a languishing eye, and a honeyed voice, who distils perfume, scratches his head with the tip of his finger, and carefully dresses his hair, which is scanty now, but curly and raven-black.') Corbeill (1997: 121): effeminate men scratched their head with only one finger so as not to disturb their hairstyle.

Lucian emphasises the teacher's eloquence and says that any pupil would become βασιλεὺς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις ἀπονητὶ καταστήσῃ τὰ τέθριππα ἐλαύνων τοῦ λόγου[551] under his tuition. He then says that his talent is not great enough to describe such an eloquent teacher, and so he will let the teacher take over, but not before remarking: ἄγροικον γὰρ τὸ ἀρρενωπὸν καὶ οὐ πρὸς ἁβροῦ καὶ ἐρασμίου ῥήτορος.[552] Lucian with his uncultivated manliness, stands in contrast to the graceful and lovely rhetor who is mocked for his effeminacy. The word ἁβρός was frequently used in a disparaging way to mean overly delicate.[553]

Thus in Lucian's description of the teacher as ἁβροῦ καὶ ἐρασμίου ῥήτορος, and Gellius' description of Favorinus' voice as *fandi dulcissimus,* they are drawing attention to Favorinus' effeminate reputation and undermining his authority as a manly orator. Gellius' satirical attacks on philosopher figures draw attention to stereotypical qualities such as masculinity, to argue that Romans are superior to Greeks in this regard. The focus on voice and eloquence reflects Roman concerns about 'manly' rhetoric, as I shall discuss further below. Lucian too, writing in Greek and generally favourable towards the Greeks, attempts to put down his rivals by suggesting that they are not 'manly' enough. Yet Lucian's goals are clearly different to Gellius' – he is not satirising Favorinus out of nationalistic pride,[554] rather his attacks suggest a personal rivalry,[555] as with Peregrinus and Herodes. We see here, then, that although the mockery of

[551] Lucian, *Rhetorum Praeceptor* 11: ('King of the platform, driving the horses of eloquence four-in-hand.').
[552] Lucian, *Rhetorum Praeceptor* 12-13: ('Since masculinity is boorish and not in keeping with a delicate and charming platform-hero.').
[553] LSJ, *s.v.* ἁβρός.
[554] For Gellius' rejection of the 'Hellenised' aspects of Favorinus, see my analysis above (pp. 132-42).
[555] For a discussion of how quarrels were rife amongst Greek sophists of the period and how Gellius and other Latin authors exhibit distaste for the behaviour, see chapter 3 (pp. 95-8).

Favorinus is similar, contextual factors show that the intended conclusions for readers are very different.

Gellius and the Grammarians

Whilst Gellius does satirise and expose pseudo-philosophers in the *NA*, the vast majority of exposure scenes do not in fact involve philosophers, but instead grammarians. The scenes involve Gellius himself or another figure exposing 'the pedant', a seemingly stock character, usually a grammarian, as a pseudo-intellectual.[556] This is an unusual take on the traditional satirisation of pseudo-philosophers, and reflects Gellius' divergent aims from Lucian. In this section I will explore specifically why this is, and how it shows that Gellius is doing something different to contemporary Greek authors.

Gellius can be admiring of grammarians, for example: *Valerium Probum, grammaticum inlustrem, ex familiari eius, docto uiro* [1.15.18];[557] *Fidum Optatum, multi nominis Romae grammaticum* [2.3.5];[558] *Valerius Probus grammaticus inter suam aetatem praestanti scientia fuit* [4.7.1-2];[559] *Terentius autem Scaurus, diui Hadriani temporibus grammaticus uel nobilissimus* [11.15.3];[560] *Caesellio Vindice, grammatico ut mea opinio est haudquaquam inerudito* [18.11.1-2];[561] *ille grammaticus, homo sane perquam in noscendis ueteribus scriptis exercitus* [19.8.5].[562] However, he also uses them in his exposure of the false expert in an attempt to exclude them from his circle. For example in *NA* 4.1, a chapter discussed above, the grammarian is repeatedly

[556] For a detailed investigation of the grammarian in Gellius, see Vardi, Amiel (2001). Gellius against the Professors. *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*, (137), 41-54. For the grammarian as a professional, see chapter 2 of Kaster, Robert (1988). *Guardians of Language. The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity.* Berkeley (Calif.): California University Press.
[557] ('I learned from a friend of his, a man of learning, that the famous grammarian Valerius Probus.')
[558] ('Fidus Optatus, a grammarian of considerable repute in Rome.')
[559] ('Valerius Probus the grammarian was conspicuous among the men of his time for his learning.')
[560] ('Terentius Scaurus, a highly distinguished grammarian of the time of the deified Hadrian.')
[561] ('Caesellius Vindex, the grammarian, though in my opinion he is by no means without learning.')
[562] ('And that grammarian, a man very well versed in knowledge of the early literature.')

shunned for daring to contradict Favorinus. Similar scenes take place in *NA* 5.8, 5.21, 6.16, 9.15, 13.30, 15.9, 16.6, 16.10, 18.4, 18.6, 18.9, 18.10, and 20.10. I will focus on chapters involving Fronto as they demonstrate how Gellius is creating in his work a coterie of intellectuals that exemplify his efforts to demarcate clear social hierarchies and to establish the proper practice and comportment for his Roman readers - an ongoing concern in the *NA* as a whole. First I will look at *NA* 19.13, a chapter which involves Fronto seeking the advice of an 'approved' grammarian, and then *NA* 19.10 which involves Fronto besting a boastful grammarian.

Gellius' Fronto

In *NA* 19.13, Gellius happens to be near Fronto, Festus Postumius, and Sulpicius Apollinaris as they are discussing literary subjects on the Palatine.[563] Fronto asks Apollinaris whether he is right to call dwarfs *pumiliones* rather than *nanos*, as he thought *nanos* was vulgar and barbarous. Apollinaris replies: *in consuetudine inperiti vulgi frequens, sed barbarum non est censeturque linguae Graecae origine*,[564] and points out that it occurs in a comedy of Aristophanes. Festus Postumius asks a Latin grammarian friend of Fronto's to tell everyone whether *nanos* is good Latin, and about its usage:

> Tum Festus Postumius grammatico cuipiam Latino, Frontonis familiari, 'docuit' inquit 'nos Apollinaris nanos uerbum Graecum esse, tu nos doce, quoniam de mulis aut eculeis humilioribus uulgo dicitur, anne Latinum sit et aput quem scriptum reperiatur.' Atque ille grammaticus, homo sane perquam in noscendis ueteribus scriptis exercitus, 'si piaculum' inquit 'non committitur praesente Apollinare quid de uoce ulla Graeca Latinaue sentiam dicere, audeo tibi, Feste, quaerenti respondere esse hoc uerbum Latinum scriptumque inueniri in poematis Helui Cinnae, non ignobilis neque indocti poetae', uersusque eius ipsos dixit,

[563] For the implications of this choice of location and the subject of discourse, see chapter 3 (pp. 112-4).
[564] ('The word *nani* is frequent in the language of the ignorant vulgar; yet it is not barbarous, but is thought to be of Greek origin.')

> quos, quoniam memoriae mihi forte aderant, adscripsi: at nunc me Genumana per salicta/ bigis raeda rapit citata nanis.[565]
>
> [Gellius, *NA* 19.13.4-5.]

The grammarian is described as *Frontonis familiari* and *homo sane perquam in noscendis veteribus scriptis exercitus*. He is polite and expresses humility as he wonders if he is able to give an opinion in the presence of Apollinaris.

In *NA* 19.10, the grammarian plays a very different role. Fronto is seriously ill with gout, and Gellius goes with Julius Celsinus the Numidian to visit him. He is surrounded by friends famous for learning, birth or fortune. One of them uses the word *praeterpropter,* and Fronto responds by asking what the word means. His friend suggests asking a grammarian, who is surprised at the uncertainty over a common and familiar word, and says: *'quaerimus' inquit 'quod honore quaestionis minime dignum est. Nam nescioquid hoc praenimis plebeium est et in opificum sermonibus quam (in nostris) notius.'*[566] Fronto earnestly disagrees and says that it is used in early writers as good Latin. Julius Celsinus adds that it is in Ennius' *Iphigeneia.* The passage is read out and Fronto mocks the grammarian: *'audistine,' inquit, 'magister optime, Ennium tuum dixisse 'praeterpropter', et cum sententia quidem tali quali seuerissimae philosophorum*

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[565] ('Thereupon Postumius Festus said to a Latin grammarian, a friend of Fronto's: "Apollinaris has told us that *nani* is a Greek word; do you inform us whether it is good Latin, when it is used, as it commonly is, of small mules or ponies, and in what author it is found." And that grammarian, a man very well versed in knowledge of the early literature, said: "If I am not committing sacrilege in giving my opinion of any Greek or Latin word in the presence of Apollinaris, I venture to reply to your inquiry, Festus, that the word is Latin and is found in the poems of Helvius Cinna, a poet neither obscure nor without learning." And he gave the verses themselves, which I have added, since I chanced to remember them: But now through Genumanian willow groves/ The wagon hurries me with dwarf steeds (*bigis nanis*) twain.')

[566] Gellius, *NA* 19.10.8-9: ('We inquire about something which does not at all deserve the honour of investigation, for this is some utterly plebeian expression or other, better known in the talk of mechanics than in that of cultivated men.').

esse obiurgationes solent? petimus igitur, dicas, quoniam de Enniano iam uerbo quaeritur, quis sit †motus† huiusce uersus sensus.[567]

Vardi has argued that the only essential characteristic of this stock figure is the proclamation of expertise.[568] He notes that Gellius never has a layman put to shame by a professional, unlike Lucian in his *Adversus Indoctum*. Yet this does not explain the difference seen here. The difference in portrayal of the same stock figure, i.e. the grammarian seems to be that in *NA* 19.13 he is playing an appropriate role in the intellectual circle: he has specific knowledge of an approved subject, which is used to supplement the learned discussion of Fronto and Apollinaris on their whim. In *NA* 19.10 on the other hand, the grammarian does not know his own place in the hierarchy. One of Fronto's friends, a member of those *doctrina aut genere aut fortuna nobilibus* [*NA* 19.10.2], suggests asking a grammarian the meaning of *praeterproper.* After all, specialised grammatical knowledge is their area of expertise. But he protests at being asked the question, and suggests that it is a plebeian matter, not worthy of investigation. This of course does not fit with Gellius' circle and their interest in antiquarianism.[569]

Scholars have advanced several different interpretations of scenes like this: Stevenson argues that 'in the second century there was a realisation of the intellectual, linguistic and historical patrimony of the Roman state: quite probably at least in part a result of, or reaction to, Greek influence'. He notes that this is clearly represented by Fronto in his *Correspondence* as he recommends to Marcus Aurelius the study of old orators in order to show him the 'amplitude of Latin vocabulary available to him' and

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[567] Gellius, *NA* 19.10.13: ('Have you heard, most worthy master, that your Ennius used *praeterpropter,* and that too in an expression of opinion resembling the austerest diatribes of the philosophers? We beg you then to tell us, since we are now investigating a word used by Ennius, what the hidden meaning is in this line.').

[568] Vardi (2001: 41).

[569] See the discussion of *Latinitas* in chapter 2 (pp. 68-74).

'extend Marcus' awareness of his cultural inheritance'.[570] Puertas argues that the pedants' knowledge was worthless and inadequate to Gellius' cultural programme, and if their overspecialisation consumed cultural discussions, learned *otium* would be 'inefficient'. Therefore, Gellius did not have a personal grudge against grammarians, but a dislike of petty quarrels over trivial issues.[571] Habinek states that Gellius' Fronto 'serves as an antitype to all of those brash and boorish characters whose learning is superficial and eloquence too ready for their own good'. He also seems to suggest that Gellius is constructing a coterie of intellectuals with one of the defining qualities being that they are Roman, and not too Greek.[572] Whilst it is true that Gellius shows distaste for the petty quarrels of grammarians (e.g. *NA* 14.5), as Puertas claims, I argue that their knowledge was not considered worthless, but had to be used properly and by the right people within Gellius social and intellectual circle. I agree with Habinek's assessment of Gellius' circle being Roman and not too Greek: he is sure to emphasise the close ties between Roman figures in his work and pits them against Greek culture, as I now move on to discuss.

Important characters in the *NA* rarely interact with each other. They do not show the rivalry that Philostratus portrays when describing the Second Sophistic; in the *NA* Fronto is the only important character who meets other sophistic personalities.[573]An example of this is when Gellius uses both as figures in his work to demonstrate that Fronto's defence of Latin words is more convincing than Favorinus' defence of Greek: *NA* 2.26 is a scene in which Fronto and Favorinus get into a discussion of the Greek and Latin names of various colours. Favorinus begins by arguing that there are more ways to

[570] Stevenson (2004: 155).
[571] Puertas (2013: 107-8).
[572] Habinek (2017: 31).
[573] Fleury (2017: 247).

discuss colour varieties in Greek: *Atque eam uocum inopiam in lingua magis Latina uideo quam in Graeca.*[574] He gives the example of *rubor* being an umbrella term for red in Latin, whereas Greek distinguishes the colour varieties using ξανθός, ἐρυθρός, πυρρός, κιρρός and φοῖνιξ. Fronto replies by pointing out the many different words in Latin that mean red, discusses how Ennius, Virgil, and Pacuvius use *flavus,* and concludes that Greek does not have more names for red than Latin, neither does *viridis*, and writers such as Virgil would deliberately use a Greek word when it suited, despite there being an available equivalent in Latin. Favorinus is impressed with Fronto's knowledge and elegance of speech, and responds: *'absque te' inquit 'uno foret, lingua profecto Graeca longe anteisset; sed tu, mi Fronto, quod in uersu Homerico est, id facis*: καί νύ κεν ἢ παρέλασσας ἠ' ἀμφήριστον ἔθηκας.[575] Favorinus' manner of addressing Fronto here is slightly patronising, using *mi Fronto,* whilst pointing out a flaw in his argument, as *mi* plus the vocative almost always represents intimacy between lovers or very close relatives.[576] *Mi* is used to address a person in three other chapters of the *NA*. In *NA* 15.7 it is used as Gellius quotes a letter from Augustus to his son Gaius, but in *NA* 13.20 and *NA* 20.1 the usage becomes satirical. In *NA* 13.20.5, Sulpicius Apollinaris says *mi fili* to patronise a young grammarian who was showing off his incorrect knowledge, and in *NA* 20.1 Sextus Caecilius says it to Favorinus three times whilst pointing out that he fails to internalise true Roman values, despite his abundant learning. The description has a comic ring, by suggesting that Favorinus has

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[574] Gellius, *NA* 2.26.5.

[575] Gellius, *NA* 2.26.20: ('Were it not for you, and perhaps for you alone, the Greek language would surely have come out far ahead; but you, my dear Fronto, exemplify Homer's line: Thou would'st either have won or made the result indecisive.').

[576] Dickey (2002: 216-21): *mi* is used rarely in literature; 'in conversation perhaps 15% of the time in early Latin, probably less often by the first century AD.' In Cicero's oratorical, rhetorical, and philosophical works *mi* is used less than 1% of the time. When he quotes in an oration something which was originally spoken, *mi* is never used with vocatives, no matter how friendly the interaction.

personal charm but no intellectual seriousness.[577] In *NA* 20.1 Gellius appears to be using Sextus Caecilius as a mouthpiece to successfully satirise Favorinus, whereas in the above passage, Favorinus' mocking falls flat as Fronto bests him in the discussion. Although Favorinus has the last word, Habinek points out that Fronto, unlike other interlocutors in Gellius, shows restraint and does not allow himself to be drawn into arguments.[578] Thus despite his illness, Fronto is presented as having the upper hand over Favorinus. His argument is better substantiated, and the overall impression Gellius gives in this chapter is that the Roman Fronto's defence of Latin words is more convincing than Favorinus' defence of Greek.

To sum up, the lack of rivalry and the close ties between Roman figures seem to be important features of the Latin Second Sophistic. Yet although Romans are polite to each other, there is a rivalry with the Greeks, as evidenced in the mockery I have analysed above. Gellius' unusual take on the traditional satirisation of pseudo-philosophers reflects Gellius' divergent aims from Lucian and his Greek contemporaries. Gellius is concerned with the proper hierarchy of both social members and topics of discussion, and suggests that this is also a concern of Fronto's. Apuleius is likewise concerned with these issues, as I will discuss below.

4.2 Intellectual Self-Representation

As discussed in chapter 1, the disciplines of rhetoric, sophistry and philosophy are interconnected, and there was not always a clear distinction between philosophers and sophists in the period of the Second Sophistic.[579] Lauwers (2015) offers a detailed look

[577] Keulen (2009: 171-3).
[578] Habinek (2017: 31). Swain (2004: 19-20): The language of friendship is well known from the politics of the Late Republic as a political discourse, and this is present in Fronto's letters. Fronto taught Marcus rhetoric, and they used codes to speak to one another, eg. profuse expressions of love and friendship.
[579] For the distinction between sophist and philosopher, see chapter 1 (pp. 12-13).

at the presentation of both philosophers and sophists in the Imperial period.[580] He argues for the coexistence of two different systems: 'on the one hand, there is the socio-political 'sophistic' system, in which the profession of sophist is regarded as an honourable pursuit that brings about conspicuous social prestige… On the other, there is the intellectual-'philosophical' system, in which the discursive influence of Plato and other philosophical authorities is conspicuously felt. Inspired by these traditional authors, many self-proclaimed philosophers in the Roman Empire affirm their own philosophical identity by opposing themselves to some fallacious and insincere thinkers whom they label as sophists'.[581] He points out that each author in the Second Sophistic deals with the conflict between sophistry, rhetoric, and philosophy in their own way.[582]

In this section I will first explore specifically how, rather than focussing on defining himself as a philosopher in contrast to sophists, Apuleius presents himself as both. I will then compare this to how Lucian presents himself as a proponent of philosophy in contrast to sophistry. Finally, I will investigate how Fronto portrays himself as an intellectual in his *Correspondence*; I argue that Fronto's use of both rhetoric and philosophy in combination is consistent with our other Latin authors and represents further developments of a pre-existing Latin tradition of negotiating the quarrel between philosophy and rhetoric.

Apuleius

Philosopher or *Magus*?

I will first look at Apuleius' self-representation as a philosopher as opposed to a *magus*, and then at how he constantly has to define his philosophical identity against the ideals

[580] See Lauwers (2015: 36-7) for an overview of previous scholarship on this issue, including Van Hoof (2010), Sidebottom (2009), Trapp (2007: 226-57), Whitmarsh (2001: 113-180), Schmitz (1997: 86-9), Hahn (1989: 96), Brancacci (1985: 11), and Stanton (1973).
[581] Lauwers (2015: 38).
[582] Lauwers (2015: 40).

of eloquence and sophistry. Apuleius presents himself as a philosopher by rejecting the accusation that he is a *magus* (or pseudo-philosopher) in his *Apologia*.[583] Throughout this discussion, I make use of several Apuleian texts of different genres, specifically the *Metamorphoses* (a novel), the *Apologia* (a defence speech), and the *Florida* (a compilation of extracts from various speeches). However, despite these differing genres, several themes are consistent throughout and will feature in the following discussion. [584]

Hierarchy is important to Apuleius, and he is keen to point out that should he be accused of being a *magus,* it will be an actual magician, rather than a pseudo-magician who is easily caught: *Dein etsi maxime magus forem, tamen ostendam neque causam ullam neque occasionem fuisse, ut me in aliquo maleficio experirentur*.[585] Apuleius' interest in magic and superstition is clear from his *Metamorphoses*, where he uses it to delineate a hierarchy: at the bottom is the pseudo-*magus*, a purveyor of superstition; then come those pseudo-intellectuals and Greeks who are taken in by superstition such as Lucius; and at the top are true philosophers such as Socrates, Apuleius himself and those of his circle. In the *Apologia*, Apuleius argues that he is a true philosopher in comparison to the pseudo-intellectual, i.e. the *magus*.

Our first impression of Lucius is that he aspires to be a student of philosophy, but appears as an incredulous Greek who foolishly believes in marvellous tales and wondrous powers of nature.[586] In book 1, Lucius comes across two travellers; one is

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[583] See Costantini, Leonardo (2019b). Exploring the Semantic Complexity of the *Voces Mediae*: *Magus*, *Magicus*, and *Magia*. In Holmes, Nigel, Ottink, Marijke, Schrickx, Josine and Selig, Maria (Eds.), *Lemmata Linguistica Latina. 1, Words and Sounds* (21-35). Berlin; Boston (Mass.): De Gruyter; Rives, James (2013). *Magus* and its Cognates in Classical Latin. In Gordon, Richard and Simón, Francisco (Eds.), *Magical Practice in the Latin West: Papers from the International Conference Held at the University of Zaragoza, 30 Sept.-1 Oct. 2005* (51-77). Leiden: Brill.

[584] As set out in chapter 1 (pp. 30-34).

[585] Apuleius, *Apologia* 28.4: ('Next I will show that, even if I were a thoroughgoing magician, they had no reason or opportunity to catch me in some act of magic.').

[586] Kirichenko (2008: 353-4).

laughing at the other and accuses them of telling lies that are *tam absurda tamque immania* [*NA* 1.2]: Apuleius shows Lucius to be taken in by the travellers' tales and appearing as a gullible fool open to mockery:

> Isto accepto, sititor alioquin novitatis, "Immo vero" inquam "impertite sermone non quidem curiosum, sed qui velim scire vel cuncta vel certe plurima. Simul iugi quod insurgimus aspritudinem fabularum lepida iucunditas levigabit." At ille qui coeperat "Ne" inquit "istud mendacium tam verum est quam siqui velit dicere magico susurramine amnes agiles reverti, mare pigrum colligari, ventos inanimes exspirare, solem inhiberi, lunam despumari, stellas evelli, diem tolli, noctem teneri."Tunc ego in verba fidentior "Heus tu," inquam "qui sermonem ieceras priorem, ne pigeat te vel taedeat reliqua pertexere." Et ad alium "Tu vero crassis auribus et obstinato corde respuis quae forsitan vere perhibeantur. Minus hercule calles pravissimis opinionibus ea putari mendacia quae vel auditu nova vel visu rudia vel certe supra captum cogitationis ardua videantur; quae si paulo accuratius exploraris, non modo compertu evidentia, verum etiam factu facilia senties.[587]
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> [Apuleius *Metamorphoses* 1.2-3.]

Apuleius is for the most part respectful towards the historical Socrates, even attributing a divine perfection to him in *De Deo Socratis*.[588] However, the treatment of him in the

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[587] ('When I heard that, my thirst for novelty being what it is, I asked, "Please let me share your conversation. Not that I am inquisitive, but I am the sort who wants to know everything, or at least most things. Besides, the charming delight of some stories will smooth out the ruggedness of the hill we are climbing." But the first speaker continued: "Indeed that lie you told is just as true as if someone should assert that by magic mutterings rivers can be reversed, the sea sluggishly shackled, the winds reduced to a dead breathlessness, the sun be halted, the moon drop her dew, the stars made to fall, daylight banished, and the night prolonged." At that point I spoke up more confidently. "You there," I said, "the one who started the story before, don't become disgusted and lose interest in spinning out the rest of your tale. And you," I said to the other one, "with your thick ears and stubborn mind, are rejecting what may be a true report. You are not being very clever, by Hercules, if your wrongheaded opinions make you judge as false what seems new to the ear or unfamiliar to the eye or even too difficult for the intellect to grasp, but which upon a little more careful investigation you will perceive to be not only easy to ascertain, but even simple to perform".')

[588] Apuleius, *De Deo Socratis* 17, 20.6 - 21.1: *Igitur mirum, si Socrates, vir adprime perfectus et Apollinis quoque testimonio sapiens, hunc deum suum cognovit et coluit… Quod si cuivis potest evenire facultas contemplandi divinam effigiem, cur non adprime potuerit Socrati obtingere, quem cuivis amplissimo numini sapientiae dignitas coaequarat? Nihil est enim deo similius et gratius quam vir animo perfecte bonus, qui hominibus ceteris antecellit, quam ipse a diis immortalibus distat. Quin potius nos quoque Socratis exemplo et commemoratione erigimur ac nos secundo studio philosophiae pari similitudini numinum aventes permittimus?* ('Is it then surprising if a man of complete perfection such as Socrates, to whose wisdom even Apollo testified, recognized and worshiped this being as his god… But if any person might be granted the ability to observe a supernatural form, why should it not be vouchsafed to Socrates more than anyone, considering that his degree of wisdom had made him equal to any divinity, however

Metamorphoses is rather different. Apuleius introduces a character called Socrates, a superstitious outcast representing negative aspects of intellectualism such as exclusiveness and arrogance:

> 'Mira' inquam 'nec minus saeva, mi Socrates, memoras. Denique mihi quoque non parvam incussisti sollicitudinem, immo vero formidinem, iniecto non scrupulo sed lancea, ne quo numinis ministerio similiter usa sermones istos nostros anus illa cognoscat. Itaque maturius quieti nos reponamus et, somno levata lassitudine, noctis antelucio aufugiamus istinc quam pote longissime.'[589]
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> [Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 1.11.]

iniecto non scrupulo sed lancea is a reference to the way Socrates, according to Meno, numbs people like a stingray. He then says that Socrates would be taken for a wizard in any other city. [590] Murgatroyd points out that the story of Socrates sets up the recurrent themes of magic, marvel, and metamorphoses, and here Lucius is clearly frightened out of his wits due to Socrates' superstitious fear mongering. He foreshadows Lucius as the typical satirist persona who exposes superstition to ridicule but then succumbs to

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august? For there is nothing more similar or more welcome to godhead than a man of perfectly virtuous mind, who is as far above all other men as he is distant from the immortal gods. Let us then be moved to action by the example and memory of Socrates, and, guided by the study of philosophy, let us eagerly devote ourselves to achieving a similar resemblance to the gods.')

[589] (''What you tell me is marvellous,' I said, 'but none the less violent, my friend Socrates. You have aroused considerable worry—even fear—in me too. You have hit me with no small concern, but with a spear-thrust of anxiety, that the old woman might learn of our conversation with the help of those same supernatural forces. So let us go to bed early and, after we have relieved our weariness with sleep, let us leave before dawn and get as far away as we can.'')

[590] Plato, *Meno* 80 A-B: καὶ νῦν, ὥς γέ μοι δοκεῖς, γοητεύεις με καὶ φαρμάττεις καὶ ἀτεχνῶς κατεπᾴδεις, ὥστε μεστὸν ἀπορίας γεγονέναι. καὶ δοκεῖς μοι παντελῶς, εἰ δεῖ τι καὶ σκῶψαι, ὁμοιότατος εἶναι τό τε εἶδος καὶ τἆλλα ταύτῃ τῇ πλατείᾳ νάρκῃ τῇ θαλαττίᾳ: καὶ γὰρ αὕτη τὸν ἀεὶ πλησιάζοντα καὶ ἁπτόμενον ναρκᾶν ποιεῖ, καὶ σὺ δοκεῖς μοι νῦν ἐμὲ τοιοῦτόν τι πεποιηκέναι, ναρκᾶν: ἀληθῶς γὰρ ἔγωγε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν καὶ τὸ στόμα ναρκῶ, καὶ οὐκ ἔχω ὅτι ἀποκρίνωμαί σοι. καίτοι μυριάκις γε περὶ ἀρετῆς παμπόλλους λόγους εἴρηκα καὶ πρὸς πολλούς, καὶ πάνυ εὖ, ὥς γε ἐμαυτῷ ἐδόκουν: νῦν δὲ οὐδ᾽ ὅτι ἐστὶν τὸ παράπαν ἔχω εἰπεῖν. καί μοι δοκεῖς εὖ βουλεύεσθαι οὐκ ἐκπλέων ἐνθένδε οὐδ᾽ ἀποδημῶν: εἰ γὰρ ξένος ἐν ἄλλῃ πόλει τοιαῦτα ποιοῖς, τάχ᾽ ἂν ὡς γόης ἀπαχθείης. ('And so now I find you are merely bewitching me with your spells and incantations, which have reduced me to utter perplexity. And if I am indeed to have my jest, I consider that both in your appearance and in other respects you are extremely like the flat torpedo sea-fish; for it benumbs anyone who approaches and touches it, and something of the sort is what I find you have done to me now. For in truth I feel my soul and my tongue quite benumbed, and I am at a loss what answer to give you. And yet on countless occasions I have made abundant speeches on virtue to various people—and very good speeches they were, so I thought—but now I cannot say one word as to what it is. You are well advised, I consider, in not voyaging or taking a trip away from home; for if you went on like this as a stranger in any other city you would very likely be taken up for a wizard.')

superstition himself (book 11), thus becoming the object of his own satire.[591] Thus the figure of 'Socrates' is used to expose Lucius' poor philosophical approach: unlike Lucius, a philosopher is supposed to be unwavering.

Finally, at the bottom of the hierarchy is the pseudo-*magus*, such as a soothsayer. Much like Gellius exposes babbling philosophers in the *NA*, Lucius exposes the babbling eunuch priests in *Metamorphoses* 9.8-10:

> Nec isto saltem tam nefario scelere impuratissima illa capita confutari terrerive potuere, sed mendoso risu cavillantes, "En" inquiunt "indignae rei scaevitatem! Quam plerumque insontes periclitantur homines! Propter unicum caliculum, quem deum mater sorori suae deae Syriae hospitale munus obtulit, ut noxios religionis antistites ad discrimen vocari captis." Haec et alias similes afannas frustra blaterantes, eos retrorsus abducunt pagani statimque vinctos in Tullianum compingunt…[592]
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> [Apuleius, *Metamorphoses* 9.10.]

Within Apuleius' satirisation of the pseudo-intellectual, the *magus* is most reviled, followed by the Greek pseudo-philosopher, and then at the top even philosophers such as Socrates are not immune to mockery.

Apuleius often associates pseudo-philosophers with Greeks, both in the *Metamorphoses* and in his rhetorical works, to which I now turn. Like Gellius, Apuleius mocks those who disguise themselves in cloaks to trick the unsuspecting: *Nec tamen vos parva quaedam et prava similitudo falsos animi habeat, quoniam quaedam, ut saepe*

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[591] Murgatroyd (2001: 46).

[592] ('Yet even in the face of such a sacrilegious crime those horribly vile creatures could not be dismayed or frightened but pretended to laugh and made jokes: "The perversity and injustice of it all! How often innocent men are accused of crime! Just because of one little cup, which the Mother of the Gods offered her sister the Syrian Goddess as a token of hospitality, high priests of holiness are being charged as if they were criminals, and put in jeopardy of life and limb." They kept on blabbering this sort of nonsense to no avail, whilst the villagers led them back to town and immediately put them in chains and locked them in jail.')

dixi, palliata mendicabula obambulant. [593] He only mentions the *pallium* when discussing pseudo-philosophers, and at the time the *pallium* was considered to be almost exclusively Greek.[594] Therefore by associating fraudulent philosophers with Greek dress, the implication is that Roman philosophers were to be taken more seriously over frauds and Greeks. He satirises these frauds in *Florida* 4, 7, and 9.[595] In *Florida* 7 Apuleius laments that philosophy could not be as regulated as the statues of Alexander. He describes the frauds as *rudes, sordidi, imperiti* [7.10] and suggests that they could only imitate being a philosopher by wearing the cloak: *pallio tenus philosophos imitarentur* [7.10], and that it would be better if only the best attempted to be philosophers.

Of course, Apuleius views himself and those of his circle at the top of the hierarchy.[596] In the *Apologia,* Apuleius states that his aim is to prove his innocence and clear philosophy in the eyes of the ignorant: *purgandae apud imperitos philosophiae et probandi mei*.[597] In chapter 3, he once again advocates for philosophy:

> Sustineo enim non modo meam, verum etiam philosophiae defensionem, cuia magnitudo vel minimam reprehensionem pro maximo crimine aspernatur, propter quod paulo prius patroni Aemiliani multa in me proprie conficta et alia communiter in philosophos sueta ab imperitis mercennaria loquacitate effutierunt.[598]
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> [Apuleius, *Apologia* 3.5-6.]

[593] Apuleius, *Florida* 9.9: ('Even so, do not let a kind of slight, vulgar similarity lead you into a mistake, since, as I have said several times, there are certain beggars going around in cloaks.'). This description is reminiscent of the 'Socrates' found at the beginning of *Metamorphoses* 1.
[594] Olson (2015: 430-3).
[595] Sandy (1997: 120-1) argues that *Florida* 4, although fragmented, would probably have warned the audience about being influenced by false philosophers.
[596] See chapter 2 (pp. 63-4) for how Apuleius forms a connection with Claudius Maximus by emphasising their similarities.
[597] Apuleius, *Apologia* 1.
[598] ('It is not only my defence that I am undertaking but Philosophy's too, whose exalted status refuses to accept even the slightest aspersion as if it were the gravest of charges. I do so because Aemilianus' lawyers, with their paid loquacity, a little whilst ago spouted many things, some of them made up against me personally, and others that ignorant people tend to aim at philosophers collectively.')

Apuleius begins his defence by refuting the opposition's claims about his appearance and eloquence: *"accusamus apud te philosophum formosum et tam Graece quam Latine" (pro nefas!) "disertissimum."*[599] Philosophers were often mocked for their stereotypical appearance,[600] and at *Apologia* 3.3 Apuleius humorously uses this to his advantage. He laments the fact that he is not as handsome and eloquent as the prosecution say he is: *Quod utinam tam gravia formae et facundiae crimina vere mihi opprobrasset!*[601] He even begins to list philosophers who are more attractive than he is, before concluding with an observation of his own average looks. Zanker argues that Apuleius responds with a learned defence to justify the way he must have appeared in court: since Apuleius could not have appeared in public with unwashed hair all the time, he 'deliberately played a variety of roles', and that there was a 'pressure on the professional intellectual who was also a public figure to define his own image, that is, to declare himself as either rhetorician/Sophist or philosopher'.[602]

Apuleius as both Rhetorician/ Sophist and Philosopher

I will now look at how Apuleius navigates the boundaries between rhetoric and philosophy. Rather than choosing between rhetorician/sophist or philosopher, he seems to be presenting himself as both, whilst giving the impression that this is a particularly Latin phenomenon. This is a contrast to Lucian, among other Greek contemporaries, who despite his sophistic works, rejects the label of sophist and actively promotes himself solely as a philosopher.

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[599] Apuleius, *Apologia* 4.1-2: ('"We accuse a handsome philosopher in your court and" (shocking to say!) "one very eloquent both in Greek and in Latin."').
[600] See above (p. 130 n.461).
[601] Apuleius, *Apologia* 3.3: ('If only he had been telling the truth when he brought such grave charges of handsomeness and eloquence against me!').
[602] Zanker (1995: 234-5).

Although the *Apologia* is a speech defending philosophy, Apuleius makes a strong case for eloquent rhetoric. Rather than pitting the two disciplines against each other, he advocates for both. As Apuleius comes to the end of defending his own appearance, he argues that it is perfectly acceptable for him to use a mirror, as the philosopher Socrates himself famously does so:

> An non Socrates philosophus ultro etiam suasisse fertur discipulis suis, crebro ut semet in speculo contemplarentur… adeo vir omnium sapientissimus speculo etiam ad disciplinam morum utebatur. Demosthenen vero, primarium dicendi artificem, quis est qui non sciat semper ante speculum quasi ante magistrum causas meditatum? Ita ille summus orator cum a Platone philosopho facundiam hausisset, ab Eubulide dialectico argumentationes edidicisset, novissimam pronuntiandi congruentiam ab speculo petivit. [603]
>
> [Apuleius, *Apologia* 15.4, 7-9.]

And again the mention of a philosopher is immediately followed up with a comparison to an orator. Apuleius then goes on to say that there are more reasons for a philosopher to look into a mirror, other than to see their appearance: *Quid quod nec ob haec debet tantummodo philosophus speculum invisere? Nam saepe oportet non modo similitudinem suam, verum etiam ipsius similitudinis rationem considerare*.[604]

This theme of eloquent philosophy also runs throughout the *Florida.* For example, Apuleius praises the sophist Hippias and makes much of his eloquence and rhetorical skill, both of which Apuleius professes to share: *Et Hippias e numero sophistarum est, artium multitudine prior omnibus, eloquentia nulli secundus…*[605]. In

[603] (‘Do they not say that the philosopher Socrates went so far as to advise his pupils to observe themselves in a mirror often?... So much did even that wisest of all men use a mirror for moral instruction. As for Demosthenes, that supreme master of oratory, does anyone not know that he always practiced his speeches before a mirror as if before a teacher? Consequently, once he had learned eloquence from the philosopher Plato and argumentation from the logician Eubulides, he finally resorted to a mirror for the proper way to speak.’)

[604] Apuleius, *Apologia* 15.11-12: (‘What is more, even these are not the only reasons for a philosopher to look in a mirror. For often he should contemplate not only his likeness but the cause of likeness itself.’); Holford-Strevens (2019: 428).

[605] Apuleius, *Florida* 9.15: (‘Hippias too is counted among the sophists, superior to them all in the variety of his skills and second to none of them in eloquence.’).

Florida 13 Apuleius compares the eloquence of a philosopher to birdsong, and finds that the philosopher's speech is superior: *Non enim mihi philosophia id genus orationem largita est, ut Natura quibusdam avibus brevem et temporarium cantum commodavit… Sed enim philosophi ratio et oratio tempore iugis est et auditu venerabilis et intellectu utilis et modo omnicana*.[606] In *Florida* 15, Apuleius acknowledges that Pythagoras, *primus philosophiae nuncupator et conditor* [15.22],[607] taught his students silence, and their first exercise was *linguam omnem coercere* [15.23].[608] Despite this, Apuleius is keen to combine both philosophy and eloquence, and so concludes with the following:

> utrumque meditationibus academicis didici, et, cum dicto opus est, impigre dicere, et, cum tacito opus est, libenter tacere. Qua moderatione videor ab omnibus tuis antecessoribus haud minus oportuni silentii laudem quam tempestivae vocis testimonium consecutus.[609]
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> [Apuleius, *Florida* 15.26-7.]

This eloquent philosophy has parallels in Cicero's aim to combine rhetoric and philosophy. As discussed in chapter 2 (pp. 50-1), in addition to believing that there was real value in philosophy for helping to ensure proper moral education, he thought that by appropriating philosophy as a type of Greek cultural capital he could strengthen the structure of the *res publica* in this respect. As this appropriation was viewed with distrust by Romans, Cicero attempted to connect it to oratory. Thus Apuleius can set his self-representation as an eloquent philosopher firmly within the Latin tradition. This

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[606] Apuleius, *Florida* 13: ('For it was not that kind of speech that Philosophy bestowed on me, as Nature has lent certain birds a brief, temporary song… But by contrast the philosopher's reasoning and speaking are continuous in time, solemn to the ear, profitable to the mind, and polyphonous in tone.').

[607] ('The first to give a name and foundation to philosophy.')

[608] ('To suppress all speech.')

[609] ('I learned two things from the practices of the Academy: to be prompt to speak when speech is required, and also to be willing to be silent when silence is required. By this middle course, I think I have caused your predecessors to praise me for opportune silence as much as to commend me for timely speech.')

idea is echoed in Gellius' presentation of the Latin Favorinus:[610] both figures navigate the boundaries between disciplines, and negotiate their cultural identity. Vallette proposes that Apuleius modelled himself directly on Favorinus,[611] and Sandy argues that both Apuleius and Favorinus were 'purveyors of popularised, anecdotal, intellectual history'. He writes that at the time of the Second Sophistic, there was a transformation from '*philosophia* into *philologia*',[612] and both Apuleius' self-representation and Favorinus' representation in Gellius demonstrate how tricky it was to navigate these waters.

Lucian

I will now explore how Lucian presents himself as a proponent of philosophy in contrast to sophistry. As Lauwers points out, despite Lucian's 'outsider position' of a satirist, he takes a keen interest in the discipline of philosophy. Yet although Lucian composed sophistic declamations, he is nothing but scathing of sophistic practices in his works.[613] I have discussed how Lucian satirises pseudo-intellectuals, particularly pseudo-philosophers, above. He mocks the charlatans who do not live up to the philosophical teachings they claim to preach and are thus contrasted to the true philosopher. Examples of true philosophers that Lucian praises are Nigrinus and Demonax.[614] Clay argues that the lack of theatricality displayed by these two figures mark them as distinct from the two frauds Peregrinus and Alexander.[615] Lucian's

[610] As discussed at the beginning of this chapter.
[611] Vallette (1908: 193-5, 206-7); Sandy (1997: 94).
[612] Sandy (1997: 125, 33, 80, 83).
[613] Lauwers (2015: 101).
[614] For a discussion of these two figures as paragons of philosophy in Lucian, see Clay (1992: 3420-30).
[615] Clay (1992: 3418-9): 'Lucian's Peregrinus Proteus and Alexander are very much at home in this theatrical culture. They are always on stage and always histrionic; their success was the success of the actor - it hung on their ability to convince their audience.'.

alignment with philosophy is further emphasised by his self-positioning against sophistry,[616] as can also be seen in the case of Aristides,[617] and of Maximus of Tyre.[618]

In contrast to Apuleius however, Lucian does not praise sophistry in any real sense, and even mocks sophists as charlatans akin to pseudo-philosophers, as in *Fugitivi* 10-11.[619] Despite writing sophistic texts, Lucian does not acknowledge this behaviour and instead mocks forms of sophistry.[620] For example, the superficiality of sophists who want to be seen to be learned, but lack *paideia*.[621] In *Adversus Indoctum* the ignorant book collector is mocked for his lack of knowledge, in *Rhetorum Praeceptor* the easy and superficial path to rhetoric is promoted by the teacher, and in *Lexiphanes*, the eponymous protagonist is mocked for his use of bizarre and outdated vocabulary and syntax. As Harmon points out, the 'cult of rare words' is not conspicuous in contemporary Greek prose as it is in Latin, particularly promoted by Fronto.[622] In *Piscator* the figure representing *parrhesia* comments:

> Ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐπειδὴ τάχιστα συνεῖδον ὁπόσα τοῖς ῥητορεύουσιν ἀναγκαῖον τὰ δυσχερῆ προσεῖναι, ἀπάτην καὶ ψεῦδος καὶ θρασύτητα καὶ βοὴν καὶ ὠθισμοὺς καὶ μυρία ἄλλα, ταῦτα μέν, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ἦν, ἀπέφυγον, ἐπὶ δὲ τὰ σά, ὦ Φιλοσοφία, καλὰ ὁρμήσας ἠξίουν ὁπόσον ἔτι μοι λοιπὸν τοῦ βίου καθάπερ ἐκ

[616] Lauwers (2015: 101-2).
[617] Lauwers (2015:79): 'In Aristides, we find a generally sustained difference between the art of rhetoric, which generally receives a positive appreciation, and the 'art' of sophistry, which is seen as a deviation from proper rhetorical and philosophical practices… despite the appreciation of his contemporaries for his sophistic abilities, his self-presentation revolves around the dissimulation of sophistry and the adoption of the art of rhetoric as a full-blown epistemological road to knowledge and wisdom.'.
[618] Lauwers (2015:166-9) classes Maximus of Tyre as an 'Anti-Sophist' on the basis that he 'exclusively presents himself as an ardent follower of the discursive norms of his contemporary philosophers. In his speeches, Maximus uses the word sophist in a consistently negative fashion, as a label for perverters of the truth, quarrelling philosophers, deviant imitators of a philosopher, and so on.' See Max. *Or.* 3.3; 14.8; 15.6; 17.1; 18.4; 18.6; 18.9; 20.3; 21.4; 26.2; 27.8; 30.1; 31.1.
[619] Quoted above (p. 147).
[620] Lucian, *Demonax* 12; Lauwers (2015: 101): 'Lucian self-consciously buys into the philosophical (and thus anti-sophistic) repertoire, in that he quite often uses sophistry as a term of abuse, even for people who are traditionally regarded as philosophers'.
[621] Richter (2017: 339).
[622] Harmon (1936: 291).

> ζάλης καὶ κλύδωνος εἰς εὔδιόν τινα λιμένα ἐσπλεύσας ὑπὸ σοὶ σκεπόμενος καταβιῶναι.[623]
>
> [Lucian, *Piscator* 29.]

Whilst it is true that the dialogue is not meant to be taken too seriously,[624] the fact that the representation of *parrhesia* is so scornful of sophistic practices can be seen as Lucian's own preference for the study of philosophy.[625]

In *Bis Accusatus* Lucian presents himself as having abandoned epideictic and forensic rhetoric, staples of sophistic performance, and is instead pursuing 'more inventive, literary forms'.[626] Whilst Lucian is also seeking a balance between innovation (in the form of the comic dialogue) and proper mimesis of ancient models,[627] the models he draws on are firmly embedded in the Greek tradition, and his comic dialogues are set in imaginary worlds hearkening back to Greek mythology. This is a contrast to how our Latin authors are locating their works in the present day, as discussed in chapter 3 (pp. 113-18).

Fronto's Self-Representation

I will now investigate how Fronto portrays himself as an intellectual in his *Correspondence*. In chapters 2 and 3 I explored how Fronto uses code-switching from Latin to Greek when discussing certain topics such as philosophy, love and agonistic contexts. I discussed how Fronto's letters represent a self-fashioning in the way he presents himself as an author: he creates an image of himself as a teacher and authority

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[623] ('As soon as I perceived how many disagreeable attributes a public speaker must needs acquire, such as chicanery, lying, impudence, loudness of mouth, sharpness of elbow, and what all besides, I fled from all that, as was natural, and set out to attain your high ideals, Philosophy, expecting to sail, as it were, out of stormy waters into a peaceful haven and to live out the rest of my life under your protection.')
[624] Harmon (1921: 1).
[625] See Alexiou (1990: 138).
[626] Branham (1985: 237 n2). Branham argues that Lucian wrote *Bis Accusatus* primarily with a view to defend the artistic value of his hybrid of comedy and philosophical dialogue (240).
[627] Richter (2017: 333-4).

on the Latin language, thus providing an interesting parallel to my interpretation of Gellius' self-presentation as a teacher in the *NA*.

Scholars have traditionally argued that Fronto despised philosophy and deliberately set out to demonstrate the superiority of rhetoric, lamenting that his pupil Marcus abandoned rhetoric for philosophy. Examples of this view include scholars such as Haines and Grant, who claim that Fronto hated philosophy.[628] Fleury, on the other hand, argues that Fronto establishes a dichotomy between Latin rhetoric and Greek philosophy, and that the Greek world is associated with 'shameful philosophy and dialectic' and the Latin world with 'respectable eloquence and lifestyle'.[629] However, recently some scholars have suggested that Fronto may have not been so opposed to philosophy as earlier scholars claimed. Indeed Grimal argues that Fronto channelled Platonism,[630] and Taoka argues that Fronto promotes the union of rhetoric and philosophy.[631] Keith suggests that Fronto's letters to Marcus reveal a more sympathetic attitude to philosophy as he frequently uses philosophers and philosophical ideas in his rhetorical teachings.[632] I argue that Fronto's use of both rhetoric and philosophy in combination is consistent with our other Latin authors and represents further developments of a pre-existing Latin tradition of negotiating the quarrel between philosophy and rhetoric.

In a letter to Marcus Aurelius, Fronto writes the following:

> Omnium artium, ut ego arbitror, imperitum et indoctum omnino esse praestat quam semiperitum ac semidoctum. Nam qui sibi conscius est artis expertem esse

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[628] Ronnick (1997: 195); Haines (1920:1.xxxiv); Grant (1994: 86).
[629] Fleury (2017: 246).
[630] Grimal, Pierre (1992). La Philosophie de M. Cornelius Fronto. In *Au Miroir de la Culture Antique: Mélanges Offerts au Président René Marache* (251-257). Rennes: Press. Universitaires de Rennes; Ronnick (1997: 196).
[631] Taoka (2013: 409).
[632] Keith (2018: 47).

> minus adtemptat, eoque minus praecipitat; diffidentia profecto audaciam prohibet. At ubi quis leviter quid cognitum pro comperto | ostentat, falsa fiducia multifariam labitur. Philosophiae quoque disciplinas aiunt satius esse numquam adtigisse quam leviter et primoribus, ut dicitur, labiis delibasse, eosque provenire malitiosissimos, qui in vestibulo artis obversati prius inde averterint quam penetraverint. Tamen est in aliis artibus ubi interdum delitescas et peritus paulisper habeare quod nescias. In verbis vero eligendis conlocandisque ilico dilucet, nec verba dare diu quis potest, quin se ipse indicet verborum ignarum esse, eaque male probare et temere existimare et inscie contrectare, neque modum neque pondus verbi internosse.[633]
>
> [Fronto, *ad M. Caesarem* 1.1, Haines 1.80.]

First he mentions those who are *semiperitum ac semidoctum*, reminiscent of the boastful grammarians Gellius meets who are out of their depth, then he scoffs at the pseudo-philosophers and their lack of understanding. Finally he points out those who seem knowledgeable but are caught out *in verbis vero eligendis conlocandisque*. At the top of the hierarchy are those few who have mastered the art of seeking out works with the proper diligence.[634] Clearly Fronto favours the discipline of rhetoric, and like Gellius, Apuleius, and Lucian, Fronto distances himself from the pseudo-intellectual.

I have looked at how Apuleius and Gellius use the figure of Socrates in their exposure and satire of false intellectuals. Their versions of Socrates draw from many different influences as they acknowledge the intellectual tradition that started with Aristophanes whilst twisting the figure to suit their own purposes: Gellius mocks the historical Socrates and replaces him with his own 'Socrates' in the form of Favorinus.

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[633] ('In all arts, as I think, total inexperience and ignorance are preferable to a semi-experience and a half-knowledge. For he who is conscious that he knows nothing of an art aims at less, and consequently comes less to grief: in fact, diffidence excludes presumption. But when anyone parades a superficial knowledge as mastery of a subject, through false confidence he makes manifold slips. They say, too, that it is better to have kept wholly clear of the teachings of philosophy than to have tasted them superficially and, as the saying goes, with the tips of the lips; and that those turn out the most knavish who, going about the precincts of an art, turn aside or ever they have entered its portals. Yet in other arts it is possible, sometimes, to escape exposure, and for a man to be deemed, for a period, proficient in that wherein he is an ignoramus. But in the choice and arrangement of words he is detected instantly, nor can anyone make a pretence with words for long without himself betraying that he is ignorant of them, that his judgment of them is incorrect, his estimate of them haphazard, his handling of them unskilful, and that he can distinguish neither their propriety nor their force.')

[634] M. Porcius, C. Sallustius, Plautus, Ennius, Coelius, Naevius, Lucretius, Accius, Caecilius, Laberius, Novius, Pomponius, Sisenna, Lucilius, and Cicero.

Apuleius' 'Socrates' is a superstitious outcast that he uses to establish a hierarchy in which to satirise intellectuals, particularly the *magus.* Fronto also draws on Socrates in his *Correspondence* for his own aim of convincing Marcus that rhetoric is as necessary as philosophy. In one letter he uses the example of Socrates being a master of eloquence just as much as a master of philosophy: *Quidnam igitur tibi videtur princeps ille sapientiae simul atque eloquentiae Socrates*?[635] Graverini and Keulen argue that 'both Fronto and Gellius use Socrates in their teachings as a paradigm for a friendly, polite, and coaxing manner of showing the opponent who truly possesses authority in the debate. Moreover, they both explicitly associate this Socratic mode with *dissimulatio*, the Latin rendering of the famous Socratic εἰρωνεία, which is defined as a method of arguing that is not open, direct, and blunt, but rather devious, cunning, and concealed.'[636] In another letter to Marcus, Socrates along with other philosophers is said to be famed as much for eloquence as for wisdom.[637] Thus just like Apuleius and Cicero

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[635] Fronto, *Ad M. Caes.* 3. 15.1-2 (Haines 1.100-103): *Neque magis oratoribus arbitror necessaria eiusmodi artificia quam philosophis. In ea re non oratorum domesticis, quod dicitur, testimoniis utar, sed philosophorum eminentissimis, poetarum vetustissimis excellentissimisque, vitae denique cotidiano usu atque cultu artiumque omnium experimentis. Quidnam igitur tibi videtur princeps ille sapientiae simul atque eloquentiae Socrates? Huic enim primo ac potissimo testimonium apud te denuntiavi: eone usus genere dicendi, in quo nihil est obliquum, nihil interdum dissimulatum? Quibus ille modis Protagoram et Polum et Thrasymachum et sophistas ceteros versare et inretire solitus? Quando autem aperta arte congressus est? Quando non ex insidiis adortus? Quo ex homine nata inversa oratio videtur, quam Graeci* εἰρωνείαν */ appellant?* ('Nor, in my opinion, can philosophers dispense with such artifices any more than orators. In support of my contention I will adduce not "family" evidence, as the phrase is, from oratory, but I will call upon the most outstanding philosophers, the most ancient and excellent poets, in fact, the everyday practice and usage of life and the experience of all the arts. What, then, have you to say about that master of eloquence no less than of wisdom, Socrates?—for him, first and foremost, I have subpoenaed as witness before you—did he cultivate a style of speech in which there was nothing crooked, nothing at times dissembled? By what methods was he wont to disconcert and entrap Protagoras and Polus and Thrasymachus and the other Sophists? When did he meet them without masking his batteries? When not attack them from an ambush? From whom, if not from him, can we say that the inverted form of speech, which the Greeks call εἰρωνεία, took its rise?').

[636] Graverini and Keulen (2009: 214). See also Gellius, *NA* 18.4.1.

[637] Fronto, *Ad Verum Imp*. 1.4 (Haines 2.50-3): *Quid.... Epictetus incuriosus.... Socrates.... Xenophon.... Antisthenes.... Aeschines.... Plato....*[11 line *lacuna*] *Haud igitur indicarent ea si....* [9 line *lacuna*] *Quid nostra memoria Euphrates, Dio, Timocrates, Athenodotus? Quid horum magister Musonius? Nonne summa facundia praediti neque minus sapientiae quam eloquentiae gloria inclyti extiterunt?* (What.... Epictetus unconcerned.... Socrates.... Xenophon.... Antisthenes.... Aeschines.... Plato.... Would they then not indicate this, if.... ('What in our own recollection of Euphrates, Dio, Timocrates, Atherodotus? What

before him, Fronto seems to be promoting an eloquent philosophy to Marcus in his *Correspondence.*

4.3 Conclusion

In conclusion, Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto, have much in common with the Greek Second Sophistic in their satirisation of philosophers, and their engagement with the disciplines of philosophy, rhetoric and grammar, and the boundaries between these disciplines. However, they approach these topics in a different way than many of their Greek contemporaries do.

Gellius satirises pseudo-philosophers in several ways: he has 'acceptable' philosophers (Greeks who are not a part of the Second Sophistic such as Epictetus, or a figure like Favorinus with a complex, hybrid identity) criticise frauds who pretend at lofty wisdom, and he promotes concise Roman rhetoric over Hellenic eloquence by using Roman satirical allusions to mock Greek aspects of philosophers. I discussed the gendered language used by the Latin authors in an attempt to distance themselves from their Greek counterparts. More specifically, Gellius' satirical attacks on philosopher figures draw attention to Roman qualities such as masculinity, in contrast to the effeminate Greeks. Gellius' mockery of Favorinus' status as a eunuch is more out of a sense of nationalistic Roman pride than as a personal attack. Thus Gellius is constructing stereotypes of Greeks which he thereby uses to praise Roman qualities and practices; Lucian is also making broadly similar charges, but without the cultural and nationalistic purpose/stereotypes. In other words, for Gellius the issue is Greeks vs. Romans, for Lucian many Greeks vs. effeminate Greeks. These differences could be based on Lucian and Gellius' relationship with the figures. Gellius knew Favorinus

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of their master Musonius? Were they not gifted with a supreme command of words, and famed as much for their eloquence as for their wisdom?').

personally so may have been more willing to engage with sensitive issues, whereas Lucian merely reduces him to a parody - an abstract figure used for satirical dialogic purposes. They may also have been due to Gellius and Lucian's interests: as shown in chapter 3, whereas Lucian delights in oral improvisation and agnostic display, Gellius is not keen on Greek sophistry. In either case, I argue that the differences in portrayal reflect the particularly Roman concerns of what I have been calling the Latin Second Sophistic.

Gellius and Lucian draw on Menippean Satire in different ways: whilst Lucian's satires are notably influenced by the Greek Menippus, Gellius also draws on the Latin tradition of Varro and Petronius. Their versions of Socrates draw from many different influences as they acknowledge the intellectual tradition that started with Aristophanes whilst twisting the figure to suit their own purposes. Whilst Gellius does satirise and expose pseudo-philosophers in the *NA*, the vast majority of exposure scenes do not in fact involve philosophers, but instead grammarians. This unusual take on the traditional satirisation of pseudo-philosophers reflects Gellius' divergent aims from Lucian and his Greek contemporaries. Gellius is concerned with the proper hierarchy of both social members and topics of discussion, and suggests through his dialogic scenes that this is also a concern of Fronto's.

Despite engaging with similar themes as their Greek contemporaries, they also distance themselves from some Greek aspects and emphasise their Latinity. Gellius and Apuleius navigate the boundaries between rhetoric and philosophy, promoting what they see as the more appropriate Latin approach to these disciplines: they use Roman satiric imagery to depict pseudo-philosophers as unworthy of the discipline; they satirise the philhellenic view of rhetoric, whilst emphasising proper Roman rhetoric; they mock

the appearance and dress of the Greek pseudo-philosopher; and they display a distaste for the showy, competitive and quarrelling nature of the Greek Second Sophistic. Rather than choosing between rhetorician/sophist or philosopher, Apuleius seems to be presenting himself as both, whilst giving the impression that this is a particularly Latin phenomenon. It is a contrast to his Greek contemporaries who deliberately distance themselves from sophistry. The self-representation as an eloquent philosopher is firmly within the Latin tradition popularised by Cicero, and when commending poverty as suitable for a philosopher Apuleius puts more emphasis on great Roman men rather than Greek, further suggesting a Latin Second Sophistic through prioritising exempla from Roman history, as Cicero did. Thus, due to the differing goals our Latin authors have in their satirisation of pseudo-intellectuals, and the different ways that they present themselves as intellectuals, their literary work should be considered as a part of a Latin Second Sophistic.

CONCLUSION

The overall goal of this thesis is to offer a fresh reading of several second century Latin authors - particularly Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto - as members of a Latin literary and cultural phenomenon that is distinct from the Greek Second Sophistic. This Latin Second Sophistic is characterised by the following: drawing on a hybrid of Greek and Latin models and assimilating Greek ideas into Roman culture through translation; the channelling of and reflection on Roman Satire and Italic traditions; cultivating a proper Latinity with their engagement in the Latin literary tradition; making Greek learning more accessible for their Roman viewership; and their approach to the satirisation of pseudo-intellectuals, and their engagement with the disciplines of philosophy, rhetoric and grammar, and the boundaries between these disciplines. In chapter 1 I mapped out Gellius' intellectual network of contemporaries in order to provide a framework for analysis. By establishing their interconnections, I argue that our Latin authors form clear associations which justify treating them as a distinct Latin movement.

In chapter 2, I assessed the evolution of the Latin literary tradition, charting developments from Roman Comedy and Italic traditions through to the Roman genre of Satire. I argued that we should locate the works of Latin authors such as Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto in this pre-existing Latin literary tradition, one which had long grappled both with its own past as well as its relationship to Greek models, authors, traditions, and culture rather than viewing them as direct Latin counterparts to or an idiosyncratic offshoot of Greek writers of the Second Sophistic. These Latin authors are therefore carrying on a project started in the Republic, and their work represents an ongoing, self-conscious movement. This Latin literary movement can be characterised by the following themes: the use of translation to assimilate Greek ideas into Latin culture; the modelling of older authors, such as Ennius, for correct Latinity; the drawing

on of distinctly Italic and Roman traditions (e.g. satire) that set them apart from the Greeks; and their thematic use of prologues to justify their literary and cultural contributions – often to rebuff critics and justify their literary efforts or their Latinity. I have demonstrated this through analyses of Ennius, Plautus, Terence, and authors of the Late Republic such as Cicero, and have emphasised that we repeatedly observe Latin authors undertaking the process of self-fashioning in order to carve out a distinctive Latin identity through literature. Rather than perceiving the works of these authors as misfits standing at the edge of the Greek Second Sophistic, they are instead a natural continuation of the Latin tradition.

In chapter 3 I explored how Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto draw on Greek models and their engagement with particular topics, which they adapt in their literary works. From my analysis of these Latin authors, I have uncovered a picture of the Second Sophistic that emphasises the complexity of various authorial voices within second century literary movement and draws attention to the unique preoccupations and goals of Latin writers of this period. Whilst the Greeks are subjects of the Empire and therefore often project into the Greek classical past, Latin authors have the freedom to experiment with genre, narrative, and authorial persona in novel ways. This investigation has shown that within the Second Sophistic, Latin authors found many and varied ways to engage their readers, in what I argue is a conscious effort to distance themselves from the Greeks and carve out a Latin space in an era of competing identities.

Fronto in his *Correspondence* crafts an image of himself as a teacher and an authority on the Latin language, and he explores personal and imperial power and its display. Apuleius, rather than being the straightforward Latin equivalent of a Greek

sophist, i.e. an anomaly in the Roman sphere, has links with Gellius in the way that he creates his authorial identity in the *Metamorphoses*: that is they are both distinctly Latin guides for their readers and try to convey the Greek concept of *paideia* to their viewership. Gellius and Apuleius explore curiosity and its proper role and limits for an educated audience, and they persistently encourage self-reflection as they craft a narrative that guides and teaches the reader. Apuleius' character Lucius and the character of Gellius depicted in the *NA* are both using their curiosity to navigate their intellectual world, and they display distaste for the ostentatious, competitive and agonistic nature of the Greek Second Sophistic. Rather than appearing as a simple compilator of disparate facts, Gellius is a surprisingly original educational thinker who offers his own, unique vision of Roman education: instead of spoon-feeding students with the correct ways of learning, Gellius explores in the *NA* many possible routes to learning and models the correct way to do so, with his character acting as an example. With the seemingly random organisation of the chapters and the jumping between different life stages and locations, Gellius ensures that his readers are building their own unique experience of reading the *NA*.

In chapter 4, I argued that Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto, have much in common with the Greek Second Sophistic in their satirisation of pseudo-intellectuals, and their engagement with the disciplines of philosophy, rhetoric and grammar, and the boundaries between these disciplines. However, they approach these topics in a way that draws a distinction between their efforts and those of the Greeks. Gellius has significantly different aims from Lucian and his Greek contemporaries in his satirisation of pseudo-intellectuals. Gellius is concerned with the proper hierarchy of both social members and topics of discussion, and suggests through his dialogic scenes that this is

also a concern of Fronto's. Gellius and Apuleius navigate the boundaries between rhetoric and philosophy, promoting what they see as the more appropriate Latin approach to these disciplines: they use Roman satiric imagery to depict pseudo-philosophers as unworthy of the discipline; they satirise the philhellenic view of rhetoric, whilst emphasising proper Roman rhetoric; and they mock the appearance and dress of the Greek pseudo-philosopher. Gellius is constructing stereotypes of Greeks which he thereby uses to praise Roman qualities and practices; Lucian is also making broadly similar charges, but without the denigrating cultural and nationalistic purpose/stereotypes. Rather than choosing between rhetorician/sophist or philosopher, Apuleius seems to be presenting himself as both, whilst giving the impression that his work represents a distinctly Latin phenomenon. It is a contrast to his Greek contemporaries such as Lucian who deliberately distances himself from sophistry. The self-representation as an eloquent philosopher finds clear antecedents within the Latin tradition; the attempt to merge disciplines is reminiscent of Cicero's aim to create a 'Roman Philosophy'.

Therefore, in my thesis I have endeavoured to move beyond the basic assessment that there may have been a 'Latin Second Sophistic', by offering a more nuanced consideration of precisely how this phenomenon can be observed in authors such as Gellius, Apuleius, and Fronto. I hope that this investigation might provide a more concrete starting point for further exploration of a Latin movement in the period of the Second Sophistic, and offer insight into the continuing efforts of those in the Latin literary tradition to define themselves against Greek ideas and authors.

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